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The Work of Performativity: Staging Social Justice at the University of Southern California

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This chapter explores the connections between labor, community, and memory as they were imagined, performed, and articulated by low-wage service workers at the University of Southern California (USC). From 1996 to 2000, food service workers, represented by the Hotel Employees and the Restaurant Employees (HERE; Local 11), waged a protracted struggle against USC's unfair labor practices. The conflict centered on the university's desire to subcontract work, which would have a negative impact on an already highly marginalized workforce, including a reduction in wages, the loss of family health care, tuition remission, and a general exclusion from the "Trojan Family," the much-vaunted community of USC workers, students, and alumni. The workers' struggle at USC speaks directly to the ways in which difference is constructed through place, notions of justice, citizenship, community, and everyday social practices (Shields 1997, 95). We are particularly interested in how the workers used performative strategies as part of their struggle for better work conditions. Our analysis centers on two performances by HERE Local 11 workers, *The USC You Never See*, a street-theater skit performed at USC and in Pershing Square in downtown Los Angeles; and *The Hungry for Justice Campaign*, a rolling fast that traveled throughout California. The workers' performances contributed a great deal to their campaign in several important aspects. First, the performances revealed problematic and contradictory notions of "community" and "place" deployed by USC in its effort to represent and contain the labor conflict in particular ways. Second, they played a pivotal role in increasing workers' consciousness, organizing skills, and sense of efficacy. And finally, the performances were crucial to generating broad-based community support, which was instrumental in resolving the contract dispute.

The primary purpose of this chapter is to argue for the importance of collective politics within the realm of performativity in geography. In this regard, we question the ways in which social agency and political action have been articulated by contemporary geographic work on the role of performativity in everyday life (Bell, Binnie, Cream, and Valentine 1994; Nash 2000; Thrift 1997). Particularly influential in much contemporary research on performativity in geography and elsewhere, has been Judith Butler's groundbreaking work (1990, 1997, 1999) that revealed the extent to which identity formation is inscribed by the reiterative (performative) and regulatory power of discourses. Indeed, Butler's work on the compulsory performances of gendered identities has been both critiqued and extended by social theorists and has contributed significantly to the popularity of performativity across the humanities and social sciences, including geography (see work by Bell et al. 1994; Diamond 1996; Kondo 1997; Lott 1995).

While the trope of performativity has provided a necessary corrective to formulaic notions of identity and resistance, we also feel that there is an urgent need to reconnect performativity to historical materialism and collective social action. Indeed, despite providing many useful and imaginative insights, we argue that poststructural and postmodern theories of performativity, while often claiming to be about the everyday practices of ordinary people, has become increasingly abstract. It is in this context that we explore the performativity of the workers' struggle at USC and the ways in which theories of performativity in general might be resituated within the larger literature and politics of oppositional social movements, which are currently undergoing a resurgence in the United States and other parts of the world today. While we are cognizant that much contemporary work on performativity has little to do with theatrical performance in the conventional sense (see Thrift and Dewsbury 2000), we turn to the tradition of radical theater grounded in Marxist theory and practice, to help us make the connections between work and imagination outlined above. Research for this project was conducted over the course of several years, as one of the authors helped organize campus support for the workers. In addition to extensive ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation, a survey and series of interviews were conducted with workers and activists regarding union participation (Pulido 1998). In the first part of the paper we discuss recent debates concerning performativity within human geography. In the second part, we describe the political and economic context of the workers' conflict and discuss how USC responded to it. In the third section, we analyze the workers' performance in terms of memory, identity, resistance, and collective social action.

Performing Resistance or Resisting Performance?

The trope of performativity in human geography has been used to understand the movement or "play" between bodies, texts, identities and space (see Bell et al. 1994; Nash 2000; Nelson 1999; "Performance" 2000; Rose 1997; Thrift 1997).



While there is no denying that understanding how the body inscribes and is inscribed with discourses, representations and practices is pivotal to an analysis of resistance. In this paper, we consider the continued relevance of performance as an oppositional, critical and collective form of political and social action. Instead of thinking of performativity in a postmodern sense as being “radically inclusive”—that is the idea that the self is constituted through compulsory social performances that can be either coercive or enabling—we think of performativity as a dialectical operative—that makes connections between labor, work and the practices associated with the material production of everyday life with imaginative work as a means of engaging in political action and resistance.

Our emphasis on performance as dialectical practice demonstrates the importance of thinking about cultural politics and performance from a radical materialist perspective. As we demonstrate in the third part of this paper, the workers’ performances of *The USC You Never See* and the *Hungry for Justice Campaign*, demonstrate the work of performativity in its historical, geographical, social and imaginative contexts. The workers at USC engaged the performative not only to expose the ruptures and contradictions of the university’s unfair labor practices, but also to enact social justice as the work of collective action and imaginative intervention by intentional social agents. Consequently, we understand performativity as a dialectical set of practices, which are enacted in specific historical and geographical contexts, and that expose the dynamics of power and exploitation while at the same time producing and rehearsing strategies for social and personal transformation.

As such, we are somewhat critical of postmodern theories of performativity that tend to locate both identity formation and resistance on either a discursive or a “nonrepresentational” terrain, where subjects are inscribed by regulatory discourses and normative power relations, or, governed by a set of contingent localized practices (see for example Butler 1990; Thrift 1997). To be fair, Judith Butler and Nigel Thrift’s theorizations of performativity differ substantially in that Thrift sees nonrepresentational theory as a means of grasping “performative ‘presentations,’ ‘showings’ and ‘manifestations of everyday life’” that extend well beyond the realm of discourse and which are clearly enacted within specific spatial contexts (Thrift 1997). However, Butler and Thrift, despite their differences, do share a certain debt to a Foucauldian analytics of power, which maintains that since discourses are fundamentally unstable, so too are the power-knowledge regimes, networks and practices that give rise to them.

Resistance, in this sense, becomes an increasingly slippery concept to grasp since political action arises at moments of indeterminacy and through nonintentional everyday practices (no matter how insignificant or small) that carry the potential to disrupt normative geographies (Hennessy 1995). In Butler’s work, this mode of theorizing is indebted to an uneasy linking of Derrida’s deconstructive textual strategies (1976) with Foucault’s discursive materialism (1976).¹ Such a reading maintains that since discourses are constantly repeated and performed, they can always be undermined, exposed, and/or subverted. As Foucault suggests

“discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (101). Moreover, resistance not only arises from what is inadvertently exposed through the reiterative performance of power, but also by what remains hidden in the gaps of, or supplemental to, the dominant cultural logic. What is important here, is that postmodern theories of performativity offer a nonintentionalist account of the world where identity formation and modes of resistance are decentered and rendered intelligible through multiple networks of power, signification and embodiment.

Thus from a postmodern perspective, it is precisely “the unstable improvisations within our deep cultural performances,” that, “can expose the fissures, ruptures and revisions that have settled into continuous reenactment” (Diamond 1996, 2). John-David Dewsbury (2000, 472) also takes up this notion of performativity when he argues that, “the performative is the gap, the rupture, the spacing that unfolds the next moment allowing change to happen.” In this regard, performativity is not about what one is (especially in a radical humanist or empirical sense), but rather, what one does, or more specifically, by what is rendered visible in the act of doing (Dewsbury 2000, Thrift 1997). The continual movement or play between discourses, bodies, identities and places registered by the performative gesture, continually troubles hegemonic social and spatial relations which appear to us as “natural,” by threatening to expose the performance of power as a performance. For human geographers, particularly Daniel Bell and colleagues (1994), Dewsbury (2000), Longhurst (2000), Thrift (1997), and the performative provides an important connective between identity, power and the construction of normative geographies, what Catherine Nash (2000, 656) calls “microgeographies of habitual practices,” in which the body becomes a performative site upon which multiple social identities are continually encoded and potentially resisted.²

Positing subjectivity, or more specifically, the processes of subject formation as performative, however, is not without its difficulties. As we have already suggested, the emphasis on nonintentionality in postmodern accounts of performativity, whether they are inspired by Butler, Thrift, or Foucault, mark the move towards a conception of human agency as the product of the compulsory “play” of discourses and practices. In line with this, moments seized for resistance emerge when ruptures in deeply embedded cultural performances appear at times of uncertainty or indeterminacy. Since resistance can only take place when the fiction of identity is exposed as a fiction, this implies a notion of human agency that is the product of cultural inscriptions and habitual practices increasingly abstracted from social, spatial and economic production. This has the effect of mystifying material relations and radically reduces the scale of resistance to the site of the individual body, and thereby diminishing the power and viability of collective political and social action.

The resulting reification of discursive representations as a form of materialism, which is particularly evident in Butler’s work, has been well documented (Ebert 1996; Hennessy 1995; Nelson 1999). However, nonrepresentational ac-



counts of performativity also run a similar risk in that they reify the minutiae of everyday practices and replaces materiality (historical and embodied praxis) with a fluid and contingent notion of “embodiment,” which implies physicality and sensuous experience, yet is suspiciously disconnected from the laboring body and contradictions of economic and social production (see, also, Callard 1998).

Moreover, while we do not wish to deny the power of discourse, embodied practice or disavow the many forms that resistance may take (Cresswell 1996; Miller 2000; Nagar 2000; Pile and Keith 1997; Robinson 2001; J. Scott 1990), postmodern configurations of performativity can run the risk of fetishizing resistance to the point of encompassing everything and nothing. Such theorizing tends to conflate the discursive with the social, while at the same time devaluing oppositions, and thus oppositional politics, as being oppressive and totalizing. This has the effect of emphasizing the politics of cultural difference (which is concerned almost exclusively with issues of representation and embodied practices) at the expense of an analysis of the politics of economic difference “as the struggle of the exploited and oppressed for systemic social *emancipation*” (Sahay 1998, emphasis in original). This distinction is crucial because the social reality of late capitalist cultures is that daily life continues to be structured by the biggest binary of all: the division between capital and labor. Indeed, for many people throughout the world, questions regarding the body and resistance are life and death struggles, embedded in the very material struggle of how to keep one’s body alive (Price 2000).

As David Harvey (2000) has suggested, “the body is not monadic nor does it float freely in some ether of culture, discourses, and representations” (130). For low-wage workers fighting for job security, improved wages, dignity, and better opportunities for their children, Harvey’s point is not insignificant. Given that the vast majority of Local 11 workers are Latino immigrants, they are acutely aware of the migrations their bodies have made from the “Third” to the “First” world; of the racial and class geography of Los Angeles which restrict their bodies to the ghetto and barrio; as well as the social boundaries which destine them to be low-wage workers rather than faculty or administrators at USC. It is within this political and economic context that workers’ performances must be understood as not only a form of embodied social critique, but also a struggle over the means to reproduce one’s body. While some postmodern theorists might critique the workers’ performances at USC for their “metaphysics of presence,” we believe that such a presence, secured through the performance of work, place, and memory, not only exposed asymmetrical power relations, but also posited workers as historically and geographically specific subjects with multiple social identities as workers, immigrants, and Latino/as. The performances were thus crafted with a number of goals in mind, including challenging the administration, engaging the audience, empowering and inspiring workers, and locating their campaign within the larger historical context of Latino workers’ struggles in the region.

REVOLUTIONARY BODIES AND POPULAR PERFORMANCE

To bridge the gap between postmodern performative theory and oppositional forms of collective action, we turn to Marxian theatrical practices, which have emphasized a long tradition of embodied social critique and imaginative political intervention. Some critics, such as Carlson (2000), have argued that few contemporary performances fall within the tradition of such explicitly oppositional theatre as Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed*, Luis Valdez's *El Teatro Campesino* (Broyles-Gonzalez 1994), or the guerrilla theater of the 1960s. Instead, in keeping with the rise of new social movements (Handler 1992; Jasper 1997), contemporary theater focuses largely on the various tensions and dissimulations of postmodern identity politics. While this may be true to a large extent, it overlooks many class-based struggles, including those that manage to link material and identity-based politics and their practices (Anner 1996). For example, in Los Angeles, one of the best examples of Marxian theatrical praxis has been embodied by the Bus Riders Union (BRU; Sindicato de Pasajeros), in their much-popularized struggle against transit racism. BRU members performed skits on Los Angeles Metropolitan Transit Authority buses and on city streets as a way of both demonstrating the racial and class biases of Los Angeles's transportation system and as a means of encouraging people to join the BRU (Mann and Dutton 1996; see also www.thestrategycenter.org). The workers' performances at USC fall within this tradition of performance and labor activism in Los Angeles, and in fact, there is a class and racial overlap between the BRU and USC's low-wage workers.

Performance as embodied social critique has enjoyed a long and lively tradition in Marxist-inspired theatrical practice (Boal 1993; Brecht 1964; Case and Reinelt 1991; Valdez 1971). The performative goal of radical theater is to serve as social critique and to articulate alternatives to the oppressive regimes of capitalism, imperialism, patriarchy, and white supremacy. In this approach to theatre, the performative operates dialectically with the material relations of production. As we have already suggested, dialectical and revolutionary theatrical practice makes explicit connections between economic and social production. For example, writing on Bertold Brecht's *Epic Theater*, Walter Benjamin (1968) observed that revolutionary performance seeks to develop actions as the representation of social conditions. Brecht achieved this by breaking down bourgeois theatrical conventions (especially those exemplified by Naturalist theater) that mystified class power relations. He achieved this by constructing minimalist and mechanical sets that were designed to expose the actual workings of theatrical production, and by challenging the passivity of the audience by transforming spectators into actors. Brechtian theatre exposed the operational and ideological contexts of performativity, in other words, the production of the production. As Bryant-Bertail (1991) explains:

Epic theater should not only naively reflect our images of historical change, causality, and agency, but expose these images as ideological discourse, to catch them in the act of mechanical self-reproduction, so to speak. The "dialectical" theater



would demonstrate human existence as a work-in-progress by openly pointing to itself as an operating model of that work. (20)

Brecht's performativity resonates with embodied revolutionary praxis in at least three important ways. First, it maintains that "radical social change begins with the actions and gestures of everyday life" (Hyman 1997, 81). Such an observation is in keeping with the burgeoning literature on everyday forms of resistance, which is sometimes the only avenue available to subordinated populations (de Certeau 1984; Enstad 1998; Mullings 1999; J. Scott 1990). Second, it situates performance as both critical and imaginative praxis. By interpreting performance as a form of political practice, workers/actors are given the opportunity to rehearse resisting the boss/landlord/police, or whoever the oppressor may be. Paulo Freire's observation (1990) that praxis entails "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (33), is central to understanding the development of worker consciousness and the performances themselves. Finally, revolutionary performance, as Raymond Williams (1989) suggests, exposes asymmetrical power relations and contradictions while presenting the bourgeois world as "domineering" and "grotesque" (93). This underscores Bakhtin's notion in *Rabelais and His World* (1984), of performance as a social inversion that temporarily turns "the world upside down" in order to critique or parody dominant power structures. Performativity as dialectical praxis, understood in this sense, operates simultaneously as a space of possibility and becoming, and as a mechanism for working through existing social contradictions by making them visible. As it can be seen, proletarian performance and theatrical productions function both as a "weapon" of class struggle and as a vehicle for educating audiences about oppressive and exploitative situations, sustaining worker consciousness and organizing efforts, and supporting campaigns and strikes (Hyman 1997, 2).

As we discuss in detail in the third part of this paper, the performances of *The USC You Never See* and the *Hungry for Justice* campaign illustrate the fluidity and dynamism of the workers' identities and social space, without severing them from the larger historical and geographical processes that shape the social realities of race, class, and gender formation. In both cases, workers' theatricalized protest served to perform, imagine, and bring into being an alternative configuration of social justice. The workers and activists were thus able to assert their presence as social agents, and in doing so (re)inscribe racial and class politics onto the social and material landscape of the campus. In particular, they revealed the contradictions embedded in definitions of community, place, and memory as imposed by USC's official culture. In addition, the workers connected their struggle with the wider labor movement of Southern California, which has been at the forefront of social movement unionism (Cleeland 1996; Savage 2000; Silverstein 1996). By engaging the performative as a form of social critique, the workers at USC linked their political struggle with other workers in California both past and present, and demonstrated the ways in which labor activism and unionism in Los Angeles has been transformed both politically and culturally in recent years.

(RE)PLACING LABOR: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF USC'S LABOR CONFLICTS

USC was established in 1880 and is currently the largest private university in the western United States. Originally built on the periphery of downtown, USC is now located in what has become known as South Central, and is the largest private employer in Los Angeles County. Despite being situated in one of the poorest areas of the region, USC has been derisively dubbed as the "University of Spoiled Children," as it has, for most of its history, served a white, wealthy, conservative constituency, and was considered academically inferior to its cross-town public school rival, UCLA. Figure 18.1, published by the university, seeks to subvert this pejorative title by emphasizing not only the extent to which the institution has changed, but also the supportive environment that it provides for its students.

And USC has indeed changed. Beginning in the 1980s, USC sought to remake itself by becoming a serious research institution, attracting a more diverse and better-prepared student body, and renegotiating its relationship with the surrounding neighborhood (Sample 2001; see the spring 2001 issue of *USC Trojan Family Magazine*, 33). The contemporary social and political landscape of USC has been described as follows:

Though it is a largely white, prosperous enclave surrounded by the impoverished black and Latino neighborhoods of South Central Los Angeles, USC has developed a remarkable form of protection—by bonding with inner-city residents in one of the most ambitious social outreach programs of any university in the nation. (Hornblower 1999, 71)

USC's efforts to cultivate a positive relationship with the local residents of South Central was felt to have paid off in 1992 when during the civil unrest that erupted after the Rodney King verdict, USC emerged unscathed. The university responded in two telling ways. First, it built a wrought-iron fence around the campus to further insulate itself from the neighborhood. Second, and to the university's credit, it decided to increase its "good neighbor" efforts to enhance the community's investment in USC. Such efforts were recognized when USC was named "College of the Year 2000," largely due to its extensive community outreach (Hornblower 1999).

Such shifts cannot be understood outside of the dramatic demographic and economic changes that southern California underwent in the 1980s and 1990s. Although southern California has always been ethnically diverse, Asian and Latino immigration grew significantly during this period and changed the face of Los Angeles (Allen and Turner 1997). Factors including the Mexican debt crisis, Central American civil unrest, the 1965 Immigration Reform Act, as well as already-existing networks, all contributed to increased immigration (Ethington 2000; Sabagh and Bozorgmehr 1996). According to the 2000 census, Latinos now constitute 44.6 percent of Los Angeles county, whites compose 31 percent, while Asian/Pacific Islanders and Africans registered 10 percent and 12 percent,



UNIVERSITY OF SPOILED CHILDREN?

A favorite stunt of rival football fans from UCLA, Stanford and Notre Dame is to wave their car keys and credit cards in cadence to the Trojan Marching Band as it plays "Tribute to Troy," a march our opponents love to hate. This amusing ritual is meant to symbolize their contention that USC is the "University of Spoiled Children."

If you have heard the myth promoted by students at other colleges that USC's student body is rich and spoiled, consider this:

- Among the nation's most selective universities, our student body is also one of the most ethnically and racially diverse,

and draws students from all fifty states and more than one hundred countries.

- USC distributes \$200 million in financial aid; over 60 percent of our students receive assistance.
- More than 60 percent of USC students volunteer in community-service programs in neighborhoods around campus and throughout L.A.

And consider this:

- The student-to-faculty ratio is 14-to-1;
- The average class size is 26 students;
- Full-time faculty teach the vast majority of our courses;

- Students can get all the classes they need in order to graduate in four years;
- USC grads get great jobs, attend the best graduate and professional schools in the country (including our own) and are supported by the Trojan Family, a network of nearly a quarter million alumni.

So, maybe we do spoil our students—and we intend to keep it that way.



USC

Figure 18.1. University of Southern California Advertisement Subverting the School's Image as the "University of Spoilt Children" <http://homer.ssd.census.gov/cdrom/lookup>.

respectively. One major consequence of these changes has been a large supply of low-wage, nonwhite labor (A. Scott 1996; Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy 2000).

These demographic changes have also been accompanied by geographic shifts, with important implications for both USC's workforce and its relationship

<Q1>Figure 18.2 shows the extent to which poverty is concentrated in central Los Angeles.

with the surrounding community. Whites, sustaining a shift begun in the post-World War II era, have continued to move toward the outer suburbs (Allen and Turner 1997, 51; *Los Angeles Times* 2001; Pulido 2000). People of color have also participated in widespread suburbanization (Johnson and Roseman 1990; Li 1998; Texeira 2001), however, due to immigration, economic polarization and continued housing discrimination, segregation is still a serious problem (Ethington 2000). The end result of these many changes has been the creation of a dynamic South Central, a poor area that is not only growing in size, but is home to both a large African American and Latino population (Allen and Turner 1997).<Q1>

While popular representations of South Central Los Angeles, as seen in music, film, and television often depict a solidly black community, such is not the case (Valle and Torres 2000, chapter 2). Parts of South Central, are in fact, 50 percent Latino (Tobar 1990). This is important when considering USC's nonacademic workforce. While the faculty and administration are overwhelmingly white (and reside in the suburbs), the staff is racially mixed, and low-wage workers are almost exclusively black and brown, with the majority being Latino. Many of these workers come from the surrounding community.

The composition of USC's workforce reflects the economic and racial polarization that characterizes the region as a whole (Ong and Blumenberg 1996). Like other major cities, Los Angeles's economy has become increasingly polarized with the rise of the service sector, which produces both high- and low-paying jobs. Southern California is unique, however, in that manufacturing is still important to the region. While on the one hand, an abundance of low-wage labor has contributed to a partial reindustrialization, there has also been a simultaneous downgrading of manufacturing employment (A. Scott 1996). As a result of all these shifts, Los Angeles is now the "capital" of the working poor in the United States. Although Latinos constitute 40 percent of the workforce, they make up 73 percent of the working poor. In contrast, whites are 39 percent of the workforce, but only 13 percent of the working poor (Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy 2000, 17). In short, despite the existence of a stable middle-class community of color, whites are clearly the most privileged group, while people of color and immigrants constitute the majority of those in poverty.

IMMIGRANTS, LABOR, AND POLITICS IN LOS ANGELES

Commentators frequently dismiss Los Angeles's poverty and inequality as simply a function of immigration. There is strong sentiment that immigrant poverty and hardships are entirely justifiable and acceptable, since they are, after all, immigrants (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1995). For example, in discussing the fact that undocumented children do not qualify for resident college tuition, one woman wrote in a letter to the editor, "Regardless that they came here as children with their parents, it does not erase the fact that they are criminals who think nothing of flouting our



laws. They should be grateful for the education they have already received. Why these people [are referred to] as Americans is beyond my comprehension. One does not become a citizen simply by living here for a long time" (Lieberman 2001, B9; see also, Leovy 2001). This practice of rationalizing extreme inequality reached its highpoint with Proposition 187, in which California voters sought to exclude undocumented residents from all social services, including education and health-care. Though many decried such a hostile move, often overlooked was the extent to which such a political project is predicated upon *not* acknowledging immigrants as *workers*. By focusing attention solely on immigrants' legal status and consumption of state services, a highly racialized picture has been created of an exploding mass of Latino parasites that burden communities and institutions: Latino immigrants' are not constructed as workers, or members of the working class—they are "illegals," and thus not deserving of consideration.

While it is easy to blame such initiatives on unethical individuals, such as then governor Pete Wilson, or a racist electorate, significant responsibility lies with the labor movement itself. During the 1980s, unions continued a long-standing tradition of treating immigrants as the enemy of organized labor. This, coupled with resistance to accepting women and people of color into its ranks, despite their growing numbers ("Building on Diversity: The New Unionism" 1993; Needleman 1993; Savage 1996), left the door wide open for a series of bitter attacks. Immigrants became, in effect, the scapegoats for California's economic woes during the 1980s and 1990s (Davis 1995). The following anecdote suggests the level of resistance on the part of organized labor to its new constituency:

In L.A. labor's prize moment of idiocy, the leadership of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union spent \$100,000 in a 1984 lawsuit to ensure union meetings would *not* be translated into Spanish for their membership—70 percent of whom were Latino. (Gardetta 1993, 23)

Shortly after this debacle, María Elena Durazo, a Latina union organizer, was elected president of Local 11 and radically reoriented the organization to meet the needs of its members (Milkman and Wong 2000; Siegel 1993; Spichen 1997).

Though one cannot ignore the structural problems that confronted labor in the 1980s, including deindustrialization and attacks by then-president Ronald Reagan, it must be recalled that long ago organized labor consciously chose "bread and butter" unionism over social movement unionism, thus precluding the building of a radical politics (Davis 1986). This shift included the abandonment of serious organizing. Only when unions were willing to embrace a diverse workforce, return to the nuts and bolts of organizing, and adopt a more democratic and activist model, did its situation improve. Key to the rebirth of organized labor have been service unions, including the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the Hotel Employees and the Restaurant Employees (Banks 1991; Johnston 1994; Lerner 1991; Savage 2000; Wial 1993). Partly because their membership is overwhelmingly female, nonwhite, and immigrant, both unions have had to devise new ways of operating and appealing to

its membership (Savage 1996). It is also these unions that have been at the cutting edge of a revival of social movement unionism, which includes direct action and militant protest, democratic participation, worker leadership, and fostering ties to the community (Hoyos 1994; Johnston 1994; Scipes 1992). This new type of union culture was exactly what was needed to wage a successful campaign at USC.

ERASING LABOR FROM THE USC "COMMUNITY"

That USC sought to subcontract its low-wage service workers should not be surprising. Not only is subcontracting becoming a preferred means of organizing labor ("Privatization and Contracting Out" 1989), but institutions of higher learning are becoming increasingly like private corporations in their management styles (Nast and Pulido 2000). The first indication that the university wished to alter its more Fordist work arrangement came in the summer of 1994 when the university experimented with subcontracting.³ The food-service workers have been represented by HERE for approximately twenty-five years, when they fought a bitter battle for the right to unionize. Many of these workers are routinely laid off for the summer simply because there is less to do. Though the university and workers disagreed on several important issues during contract negotiations in 1995, the stumbling block was subcontracting (Deemer 1995). USC wanted the right to subcontract out summer work, rather than ensuring that Local 11 members be given any available employment. Local 11 decided to fight this move for at least two reasons. First, subcontracting was becoming a rampant problem and could potentially undermine union contracts. Second, given that USC is the largest private employer in the county, its labor practices help set the standards for the region, thus it was a battle worth taking on, despite the fact that it lasted over four years.

Given that USC desired to subcontract its low-wage workforce, its opposition to workers' demands was perhaps inevitable. Nonetheless, *how* the university sought to sway public opinion and workers' response to it, is worth examining in brief. USC invoked several distinct social and spatial strategies to dismiss workers' claims, including abstracting labor from the operational contexts of the university, and defining the "Trojan Family" in an exclusionary way. In this section, we consider how universities in general may be interpreted as non-work sites, and how USC deployed its community initiative as a substitute for addressing labor issues and its role as an employer.

Universities as Nonwork Sites

The university as both a real and imagined space represents a site where institutional and cultural power is inscribed and embedded in the very architecture of place (McDowell 1999). Universities are not only extremely powerful institutions, but their particular role as sites of education, knowledge, and truth,



contribute to their hegemonic position. With its long association with the production of masculine and European forms of knowledge, the space of the university is the virtual embodiment of instrumental reason. This is especially true of USC, which until recently, has been considered the school of choice for wealthy whites. Not only was USC's early history marred by anti-Semitism, but traditionally it has not been receptive to working class communities and people of color. Despite such clear exclusions and biases, it is precisely because the university is represented as a place of "progress" or as a repository of enlightenment values, that it has been able to naturalize its own privilege while maintaining invisible boundaries that exclude "Others."

By presenting itself as a modern site of education rooted in the enlightenment project, USC was able to pretend it was not engaged in the *business* of higher education, and thus, not a site of a labor conflict. As the Reverend James Lawson, a member of Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice, who actively supported the workers, commented, "unlike a normal corporation, USC is able to clothe its actions as natural because it is an institution of learning" (quoted in Medina 1999, 19). The representation of USC as a modern and enlightened institution also served to disavow the university's role in producing economic and cultural differences. Essentially, power only becomes explicit to those who do not feel they are permitted "to enter," either on the basis of race, gender, sexuality, class, and/or ability.

This dynamic of exclusion and the erasure of labor was illustrated dramatically at a fundraiser when USC alumni and friends confirmed that the "Trojan Family" was defined as wealthy white alumni and not low-wage service workers. This particular event, which targeted alumni, was attended almost entirely by white, upper-class guests. Local 11 activists decided that it was a valuable opportunity not only to alert members of the "Trojan Family" that an unresolved labor dispute existed, but also to remind the administration that workers would make their presence known at inopportune moments, until the conflict was resolved. As the master of ceremonies, entertainer Steve Allen, was greeting the guests, approximately twenty-five workers interrupted his monologue as they burst across the stage carrying union banners, chanting "no justice, no peace!" and distributing leaflets. To show their support for the administration, the audience, almost as if on cue, rose and began singing the USC Trojan's fight song. This was a remarkable display of how "Family" status was reserved for alumni, students, donors, and properly behaved faculty and staff, rather than low-wage, nonwhite workers.

As parts of its effort to ideologically exclude workers, USC developed a highly spatialized conception of "community" centered on USC's relationship with the surrounding neighborhood. The notion of community deployed by USC was highly selective and served to reinforce the separation of production and reproduction, which in turn, reinforced the image of the university as a site of "enlightened" abstract space. Our purpose here is not to critique the efforts of students, administrators and faculty at USC to forge a better relationship with

the residents of South Central. However, we are critical of the ways in which such efforts were repackaged by USC's official culture and deployed as a strategy to obfuscate the university's own unfair labor practices.

The university's community initiatives are indeed numerous and impressive (Holland 2001; Hornblower 1999), but it is perhaps most proud of its community education projects. This includes its extensive service-learning program (Joint Educational Project), the Neighborhood Academic Initiative, which helps prepare local children to attend USC by offering them supplemental training plus scholarships, and the Family of Five Schools:

USC's "Family of Five Schools" [is] an unprecedented effort, begun in 1994, to target the university's vast resources on a close-in area. The aim is to transform five nearby schools . . . with a total of 8,000 students into no less than 'the best schools in the entire city of L.A. . . . The intense focus, with one program layering on another, has woven a safety net around the children, their families, and their teachers. (Hornblower 1999, 73)

USC is understandably proud of its record and should be commended for engaging with the ghetto and barrio in a positive way.⁴ Nonetheless, there remains a number of profound contradictions between USC's community outreach and labor policies that warrant interrogation. First, USC deployed the notion of "community" as an inclusive term that served to suppress difference under a rhetoric of "common goals." This was an important strategy for the university administration who consistently represented the labor dispute as disruptive toward the achievement of common goals, and which subsequently constructed the striking workers as being "out of place" (Cresswell 1996). This was vividly demonstrated when USC secured a restraining order against both HERE Local 11 and SEIU Local 1877, both of whom were organizing campus workers at the time. Arguing that the unions' activities were disruptive to the primary function of the university, the union activists were only allowed to congregate in groups of four or fewer on campus and the surrounding streets (*University of Southern California v. Local 11* 1996). Not only was worker organizing considered contrary to USC's purpose, but so too were students who wished to learn about economic justice by supporting the workers. According to the chief of campus security, "student labor . . . supporters can't demonstrate with union members and claim not to be on the union's team" (in Trendowski 1997, 6). Consequently, for a period of time, the university threatened to apply the court injunction against students, and on one occasion a student activist (a geography student, no less) wearing a bright red union T-shirt was held by campus security for several hours and questioned (Whang 1997). In short, the idea of "community" implied a false inclusivity, since it was USC that defined what should be valued and how. This was not lost on either the workers or students:

There is something your university administration wants you to know . . . the message is . . . "USC is not an elitist institution. USC is not a school whose sole purpose



is for rich kids to meet each other and forge lifelong business connections.” A message to this effect appears every year in the brochure distributed to potential applicants. And of course, it’s true.

It sometimes makes you wonder, though. . . . What are these university administrators trying to hide? A possible answer is revealed by their recent actions toward a student group that has vocally supported USC janitorial workers. . . . The student support committee, instead of being allowed the free-speech rights given to students . . . has been placed under the restraining order on union representatives, with its markedly lower free speech parameters. (*Daily Trojan* 1997, emphasis in original)

In what follows, we show how Local 11 workers actively challenged official versions of “community” and “the place of labor” at USC at multiple geographical scales by relying upon performative strategies.

SCALING PERFORMANCE: LABOR, MEMORY, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE AT USC

As we have seen, USC sought to erase labor from public representations of the campus, and to reframe the conflict as one centered on an ideal of “community.” Given this situation, Local 11 realized it had to reassert the centrality of labor to the conflict. Fortunately, a renewed labor movement, plus widespread community support were available to the union (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Lemma 2001). The workers realized that “jumping scales” (see Herod 1996), was one of the most effective ways that they could take control of the discourse and redefine it as a *labor struggle*. Engaging in a politics of resistance that deployed both performance and forms of cultural memory was central to this effort. Since USC was intent on erasing workers from its institutional landscape, the union’s performance dramatically reinscribed the social relations of an exploitive employer (USC) and oppressed workers (Local 11 members).

Acknowledging that workers are complex individuals occupying multiple subject positions, the union and its members forged a political culture appropriate to a workforce comprised overwhelmingly of Latino immigrants. Though the union never sought to portray the conflict as a strictly racial one (whites versus Latinos), it actively exploited the racial/ethnic power differential to further malign the image of USC. Not only did USC’s policies contribute to the racial polarization and economic inequality that characterize Los Angeles, but the union used the workers’ identities as a resource in mobilizing both workers and supporters. Consequently, while this was very much a labor issue, it was also a Latino one, enabling the union to draw on ethnic specific support from organizations like the student group, el Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán, Latino politicians and community leaders as well as the prominent Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. Local 11 essentially implemented Neil Smith’s observation (1993) that scale can be used to either constrain struggles within fixed borders, or expand them into new spaces (106). In this case,

the workers' performances were intended to jump scales in two distinct but related spheres: among labor activists and among Chicanos/Latinos.

The degree to which union culture has changed is readily evident in places like Los Angeles (Cleeland 1996). Because of its racial and ethnic diversity, large immigrant population, and economic structure, the city has emerged as a leader in the new, militant, social movement unionism (Milkman and Wong 2000; Pulido 1998; Savage 2000; Waldinger et al. 1997). As evidence of the region's growing labor prominence, for example, the AFL-CIO executive committee switched its annual meeting from Florida to Los Angeles in 1996 (Cleeland 1996). Key to the transformation of the labor movement has been the development of close ties with the larger community. Local 11's connections with social justice, civil rights, student, environmental, clergy, and peace organizations have served to create a dense fabric of resistance that was able to take on USC.

THE PLACE OF LABOR: PERFORMING SOCIAL JUSTICE AT USC

We now present two theatrical interventions enacted by USC workers. In both cases, workers' theatricalized protest served to perform, imagine, and bring into being an alternative configuration of social justice. In particular, the workers and activists purposefully enacted racial and working class politics on the social and material landscape of the university, and demonstrated the contradictions embedded in USC's official version of community, place, and memory. In the skit *The USC You Never See* (Haitsuka 1995, 1), workers challenged the progressive and enlightened image of the university by emphasizing the class and exploitive nature of the relationship between administrators, faculty, and students on the one hand, and the workers who serve food and clean offices and bathrooms on the other. They did this by exposing the naturalization of race and class oppression in the USC "community." The play was performed in three parts by members of HERE Local 11 and enacted workers' frustrations with the contract negotiations. Indeed, this performance clearly exposes exploitive economic conditions and presents USC's articulation of "community" as domineering and grotesque. The first scene was performed in English and the second and third scenes performed primarily in Spanish, with English narration. Below is a short summary of the performance:

In the first scene, two members of the "USC Administration" discussed the ramifications of employing union members all year:

The audience booed the administrator dressed in a black graduation gown and rainbow cowl, who used phrases such as, "We need to run this place more like a business," and, "Let's get some cheap workers in here . . . these people can live on air."

The second scene depicted non-union workers as slaves, chained to a contractor. The robed administrator clapped the well dressed, cigar-smoking, whip-toting man on the back.

In the final scene, the union workers confronted the administration. The administrator in the graduation gown held up a sign, which represented USC's "Strategic Plan," a 15-page document that, among other things, touts the university as "the largest private employer in Los Angeles."

One of the union workers snatched the sign from him, crumpled it up and threw it back in his face, accompanied by a roar of applause and cheering.⁵ (Haitsuka 1995, 1)

The skit was performed at both USC and in downtown Los Angeles. In both cases large numbers of students, union members and staff and workers were the audience. Because administrators did not attend such performances there was an open and celebratory air to the events. Not only was a diverse group of individuals working together and forging a new community, but people felt energized and positive about empowering themselves and others. Indeed, taking over public space and participating (either as actors or spectators) was one of the genuine pleasures of the campaign (see Jasper 1997). Though we are focusing on formal performances, it must be recalled that they were just one part of a much larger campaign that included petitions, strikes, slow-downs, community pressures, civil disobedience, and fasts. Figures 18.3 and 18.4 hint at the size of the mobilization that Local 11 was able to organize and the context in which the performances were "consumed."

In *The USC You Never See*, theater quite literally becomes a site of ethical engagement that clearly troubled USC's official definition of community by explicitly rendering the university as a site of employment. Power was made explicit

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Figure 18.2. Workers' Protest in Pershing Square, Downtown Los Angeles, with Police in Foreground. Photo courtesy of Local 11.



Figure 18.3. Local 11 Supporters Holding a Banner Referring to Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers. Photo courtesy of Local 11.

via the symbolism of the administrator in the black graduation gown, a marker of privilege and cultural capital, and the figure of the contractor, who is represented as a slave owner. Significantly, the skit with its references to “we need to run this place more like a business” and the cigar-toting slave owner, foregrounded the ways in which the university sought to abstract labor and focus the dispute around the economic bottom line. Moreover, the actors saw the degree to which university practices drew on a heavily racialized discourse. The university’s justification of cheap labor is based on racist assumptions that African Americans and Latinos “can live on air.” The idea that the university is a site of the production of abstract space (that is, a space of capitalist accumulation) was abundantly clear to the workers who attempted to expose power hidden in the architecture of the university, and the specific strategies deployed by USC in order to erase the signs of its own production.

The USC You Never See challenged the aggressive self-promotion of the university that touted community outreach, economic prosperity and notions of justice on the one hand; and naturalized exploitation and reduced the workers’ struggle as simply disruptive to the “Trojan Family” on the other. The comparison of the workers’ struggle at USC with the institution of slavery resonated with the long history of racialized labor exploitation in the United States and with the sentiment of many workers that the political economy of USC’s “enlightened self interest” in the neighborhood of South Central Los Angeles, perhaps more closely resembles the political economy of the plantation.



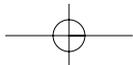
While *The USC You Never See* was a highly formalized performance, *The Hungry for Justice* campaign drew primarily on both ritualized performance and oppositional cultural memory as a way of engaging in and embodying a politics of resistance. Marita Sturken (1997, 19) defines cultural memory as “memory that is shared outside the avenues of formal historical discourse,” yet is entangled with cultural products and cultural meanings. While *The USC You Never See* was intended to challenge the university’s identity and representation of work and community, the primary purpose of *Hungry for Justice* was to expand the scale and visibility of the workers’ struggle, as well as to actively build broad-based support for Local 11 workers throughout California. This was achieved by the workers’ who actively drew upon the memory and history of labor activism in the Southwest, particularly that of the United Farm Workers (UFW).

In 1998 the workers decided to engage in an *ayuno*, or fast. This form of protest was familiar to USC workers because not only is fasting a regular part of Catholicism and indigenous spirituality, but it also has a long history in oppositional Mexican struggles. A group of workers, union organizers, and supporters (including USC faculty, students, and staff), participated collectively in a five-day fast. Each day included a service held at the University Church, as well as vigils and rallies to support the fasters (Rorlich 1998). The workers believed that the fast was not only an effective publicity and organizing tool, but also recognized the personal and spiritual benefits it generated for the fasters and the larger community. Consequently, they initiated a second fast in the spring of 1999. Durazo, the president of Local 11, participated in the fast, but then decided to pursue a hunger strike until the conflict was resolved. After eleven days and facing irreparable harm, she ended her strike, but not wanting to lose momentum, union organizers decided to transform the hunger strike into a rotating fast. Under this scenario, the fast was rotated from person to person every twenty-four hours for a four-month period. This allowed the fast to travel geographically to various parts of the city and state, as well as among diverse groups, including politicians, clergy, unions, Latino groups, and Hollywood celebrities.<Q3>

Large institutions and organizations committed to maintaining the fast anywhere from a few days to several weeks. So, for instance, the faculty, staff, and students of USC maintained the fast for three weeks, which, not coincidentally, turned out to be the final weeks of the campaign, as the contract was settled while the USC community was fasting (Luna 1999; Medina 1999). The result of the rotating fast was that it expanded the scale of the workers’ struggle by reaching out to an ever-larger audience and by transforming spectators into performers.

Since fasting is the act of *not* eating, organizers had to devise a way to collectivize and ritualize this form of protest. “As forms of enacted meaning,” Peter McLaren writes that “rituals enable social actors to frame, negotiate, and articulate their phenomenological existence as social, cultural and moral beings” (1999, 50). Thus, for the workers and their supporters at USC, not only was it

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necessary to *perform* the fast for the sake of publicity, it was also necessary for the sake of the fasters themselves. Maintaining a water only diet from one to three days is not easy, and the organizers quickly realized that collective action was necessary to raise the spirits of the fasters and remind them of the larger political reason for their sacrifice. Part of this was accomplished by the “transition ceremony,” a form of ritualized performance that was enacted when the fast was rotated from one person, or set of people, to the next.

During the three weeks that the USC community fasted, all fasters and union supporters would meet in the center of campus at noon. This site, which is frequently depicted in university promotional brochures as emblematic of the Trojan Family, became instead, the site of resistance on behalf of USC’s most subordinated workers. At the transition ceremony, fasters would introduce themselves, explain why they were fasting, offer updates on the struggle, and conclude with a series of chants and claps in support of the workers. This was accompanied by a passing of a simple wooden cross that Cesar Chávez, cofounder of the UFW, had worn during his numerous fasts. The cross had been lent to Local 11 by Helen Chávez (Cesar’s widow), and one faster would be chosen to wear the cross for twenty-four hours as emblematic of the group’s commitment and solidarity. Given the significance and symbolism of Chávez’s cross, there was a friendly competition to see who would get to wear it, with the wearer solemnly acknowledging the responsibility of caring for this historical artifact. Such collectivized rituals were essential to breaking the individual experience of fasting.

The presence and memory of the UFW and Chavez was constant throughout the fast and is worth considering in some detail, as it raises important issues about the politics of cultural memory. Indeed, the memory and acknowledgment of the UFW not only allowed workers to draw political sustenance from the protests staged by Chavez and the UFW, but also offered a degree of moral authenticity to the campaign.

To a certain degree, both performance and memory operate through technologies or mechanisms that mediate human relations (Sturken 1997). Chavez’s cross represented such a “technology of memory” that linked the USC workers to “past performances” of regional labor politics. Specifically, it represented the historical exploitation of Mexican workers and acknowledged the extent to which they are no longer confined to the agricultural sector, but are central to the manufacturing and service industries. In short, the staging of cultural memory became a strategic site of political intervention and praxis, which Durazo makes explicit in the following quote:

Fasting nourishes the soul, even as it weakens the body. The memory of the sacrifices of my parents, immigrants who worked in the fields to see that their children would have a better life, returned to inspire me. Conversations with Dolores Huerta, co-founder of the United Farm Workers, brought to life again the work and teaching of Cesar Chávez, which gave me strength. How could I ask others to work harder in the labor movement, to take even greater risk for their children and their co-workers, unless I was willing to fast side by side with them? (Durazo 1999, B9)



It is important to understand that most of the USC workers do not necessarily have any personal memory or connection to the UFW. The UFW is most closely associated with the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s, while most of the workers are more recent immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Nonetheless, they had learned the significance of Chávez and the UFW through HERE organizers, many of whom are Chicana/o and initially became involved in labor through the UFW (Pulido 1998). By consciously referencing the UFW in their political practice, Local 11 transformed this memory into a living and breathing politics of resistance. But this is not a one-way street. Local 11 workers themselves are building on this tradition by becoming the stuff of legend and memories that will inspire future generations. Indeed, one observer has suggested that the urban labor movement, led by Justice for Janitors and Local 11, is in fact, replacing the UFW as the contemporary “touchstone” for this generation of Latino, labor, and social justice activists.⁶

The janitors, in tandem with Local 11 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, have supplanted the United Farm Workers as the political powerhouse and moral beacon of local Latino politics. It was the UFW’s legendary Dolores Huerta who coined the slogan, “Si, se puede” (Yes, we can!) for a union of immigrants who’d come to rural California. Today, the slogan has been picked up by the unions representing, at least in spirit, the millions of immigrants who’ve since settled in urban California; and it is these unions whose members have shown, in fact, that they can do it—win good contracts and amass political clout. Today, the janitors and hotel workers . . . have caught the imagination and won the allegiance of a new generation of immigrants. (Meyerson 2000, 20)

While there were many factors that contributed to the success of USC workers, including broad community support and a vibrant labor movement, the role of theatre and performance should not be underestimated. The performance of both formalized skits with scripts and costumes, as well as actors/spectators enacting their individual and collective identities as activists, were powerful forces contributing to the workers’ success.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have argued for the need to rethink questions of performativity and materiality. Our analysis has focused on how the performance of community, labor, and memory is always linked to the material and economic processes in which gender, race, and class formations are constructed, located, and negotiated within specific circuits of power. For workers at USC, the performance of their identity as workers allowed them to not only make their struggle visible and garner support, but it also allowed them to challenge USC’s attempt to separate notions of community from work practices and labor politics. In addition, the workers’ performances demonstrate the importance of symbolic

and imaginative work in social struggle, and its potential for helping to create solidarity amongst proletarian constituencies. This has been especially true in Los Angeles, where labor activism and unionism have been radically transformed by cultural and demographic shifts in the urban landscape in recent years. Significantly, the workers' performances at USC were all about mobilizing a collectivized and critical oppositional politics against an oppressive situation. The workers thus deployed the performative strategies both to expose and undermine USC's unfair labor practices and to transform an exploitative situation into a socially and economically just one. Importantly, the workers emphasized *both* economic and cultural politics in their struggle for better work conditions, showing that the two cannot be separated. This enabled the workers to ground their struggle in a history of labor activism and economic struggle in the region. Moreover, the workers were able to represent themselves as complex political subjects with multiple identity formations—as workers, immigrants and Latino/as. Such representations enacted by the workers allowed them to creatively and critically intervene in USC's attempt to abstract their labor and reroute the struggle for fair wages and conditions around the economic “bottom line.”

Ultimately, USC Local 11 workers were successful in securing a better contract. Soon after in 2000, Justice for Janitors, in a dramatic strike, won a regionwide contract that offered improved wages and working conditions. We end this paper on this note in order to make two points. First, we need to appreciate the extent to which the success of Local 11 workers was partly a function of the larger, regional political culture. The struggle they waged would have been impossible if organized labor had not invested significant resources into organizing workers and promoting worker leadership. The whole issue of regional political cultures is something that we feel is often neglected in more esoteric studies of performance, bodies, and resistance. These events do not occur just anywhere, they are located in particular geographies that can make all the difference in the world. Second, the urgency and importance of the workers' victories and losses stand in stark contrast to many of the concerns raised by geographers and others (the present authors included) interested in questions of resistance and politics. We wish to point out such contradictions because this chasm can be seen as both an opportunity and a challenge to make our work and ourselves more relevant. This is not to suggest that there is not room for abstract theorizing about the body, space, performance and resistance, but rather to urge all of us to consider how we can actively contribute to such struggles, and if our theories and research are, in fact, truly liberating.

NOTES

The authors would like to thank Richa Nagar and two anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful comments; Christine Lam for creating the map; and HERE Local 11 for their support. The authors remain responsible for all shortcomings. Versions of this chapter have been presented by Donna Houston at the Annual Meetings of the Association of American Geographers in Pittsburgh and New York.



1. For a detailed discussion of Butler's use of Derrida and Foucault in her work on performativity and her theoretical impact on human geography more generally, see Nelson (1999).
2. Felicity Callard (1998) in her essay on "The Body in Theory" provides an excellent discussion of theoretical perspectives on the body and the tensions between discursive and material approaches to transgression and resistance.
3. It should be noted that in addition to HERE Local 11, there was a second, simultaneous labor conflict at USC, involving Justice for Janitors, which is beyond the purview of this paper. In the spring of 1996, USC summarily contracted out its janitorial workforce. Most workers were rehired by the subcontractor Service Master, but at lower wages, with decreased benefits and without the privileges associated with being a USC employee, including tuition remission. The janitors responded by organizing themselves and voted to join SEIU, Local 1877, Justice for Janitors (Chuang 1996). As members of Justice for Janitors, USC janitors are now covered under the master contracts that SEIU negotiates on behalf of all janitors in the area.
4. There are, nevertheless, some serious contradictions with the university's practices. Consider the following quote from a USC student: "I first became disgusted with my educational institution's treatment of its workers two years ago, when I learned that Habitat for Humanity, which helps the impoverished build new homes, was helping a university employee" (Trendowski 1997, 6).
5. The Strategic Plan, first developed in 1994, is a university document that identifies the following four initiatives as areas of focus and development: undergraduate education, interdisciplinary activities, Southern California, and internationalization. Proposed projects and policy initiatives are routinely scrutinized in light of the Strategic Plan. Available at www.usc.edu/admin/provost/strategicplan.
6. Witness the recent Ken Loach film *Bread and Roses*, which depicts the struggle of Los Angeles janitors.

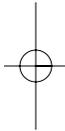
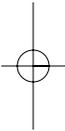
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