Peering into the Urban Future: Blurred Visions, Double Visions and a Little Clear Thinking

Anthony M. Orum

Great Cities Institute
College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs
University of Illinois at Chicago

A Great Cities Institute Working Paper

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Great Cities Institute (MC 107)
College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs
University of Illinois at Chicago
412 S. Peoria Street, Suite 400
Chicago IL 60607-7067
Phone: 312-996-8700
FAX: 312-996-8933
ã Anthony M. Orum

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Abstract

Over the past 25 years, there have been massive political and economic changes across the world. Capital moves freely, seeking its most profitable investments. Some people grow wealthy from such investments, but many people do not. The changes have altered the face of urban places, creating in many older industries cities such as Manchester, Birmingham, Detroit or Milwaukee a destitute “underclass.” At the same time, there appears to be a growing polarity between the rich and the poor of many cities. These problems are compounded by political disputes, particularly in the United States, between central cities and their fringe areas. This essay reviews four major books on these and related changes, and looks for common threads as well as critical solutions. Among other things, the essay reminds social scientists that the changes are not uniform across the world, and that not every city will be fated to die the death of an old industrial empire. Some older cities have remade themselves, such as Barcelona; newer industrializing cities like Shanghai face other challenges and offer new hope for the future. The solutions for cities will depend on the rich and varied resources history has made available to their residents, and how residents are able to make use f them. In the United States, the capacity of metropolitan places to solve their problems will depend very much on the ability of mainly white suburban residents to view themselves as part of the same moral community as their black and brown brethren living in the inner city.

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Across the globe events over the last 25 years have remade the nature of cities, particularly the industrialized cities of the Northern hemisphere. The most critical of these events has been the mobility of capital around the world, invested by its owners in the most profitable business or venture of the moment. Industrial and financial capital now move almost at will, and the ease of movement, some believe, threatens the integrity of nation-states. In the United States the search of capital for its most profitable investments has meant the elimination of hundreds of thousands of industrial jobs in major urban centers, especially those in the Northeast and the Midwest. With such a loss, many people, particularly African-Americans, have been left a destitute "underclass" in the inner cities of major metropolitan areas like Chicago and New York.[1] At the same time, many major metropolitan areas have witnessed an ironic increase in new jobs, most of which are located in the fringe areas, in minor cities at the periphery, or what Joel Garreau has called "edge cities," those aggregations of people set alongside major expressways that bypass the central cities.[2]

Some groups have profited greatly from these events, especially those who own capital and can invest it wherever they please. Saskia Sassen has written a provocative book detailing the concentration of capital in the new global financial centers -- London, New York and Tokyo --and suggested that these cities are more attuned to the workings of one another than to cities and places within their own national boundaries.[3] What is abundantly clear is that along with the concentration of capital, there also has been a growing inequality in the resources of the rich and the poor. The "underclass" lives virtually alongside the preposterously rich; Sassen, in fact, argues that the international political economy has contributed to growing inequalities in the three global cities. But inequalities abound everywhere. The jobs that now locate in the suburbs of major American cities, and drive up the incomes of the upper-middle class, are often professional and technical jobs with handsome paychecks. By contrast, those of the underclass who line the streets of the inner cities make do with little -- and as a result of the 94th Congress, will ultimately make do with a lot less than before, especially the million or so more of children of poverty now cut adrift.

The story is not simply one of the political economy, but also of race. It is especially painful to many observers that the urban underclass essentially is African-American, while those who profit and live in the wealthy suburbs are primarily white Americans. What makes the problem doubly worse, in the view of William Julius Wilson, is that most middle-class blacks have also escaped to the suburbs.[4]

Finally, certain distinctive political issues continue to plague cities of the United States. Suburbs and cities remain divided against one another. Owing to the way in which cities as corporate entities have developed their powers in the United States, cities and suburbs have little incentive to join together to share resources and solve metropolitan problems. These conflicts only make the issues of social and racial inequalities as well as the loss of major industries worse. What suburban resident, much less suburban official, wants to relinquish property taxes in his jurisdiction so that the poor children of the inner city can have a better education? Despite what socio-biologists say, altruism seems in short supply these days.

These events provide the historical context as well as the contemporary challenges for many cities across the world. The four works under review represent attempts to understand these conditions, to document them in detail, and to wrestle with their ramifications for the future of cities. While *Urban Future* takes a broad and global focus, the others concentrate on the United States. Three of the books are collections of articles, two of which -- *Urban Future* and *Breaking Away* -- are very uneven; the other -- *Intertwined Destinies* -- is essential reading for anyone who wishes to understand the position of American cities today. The fourth work by Anthony Downs wrestles with understanding the urban future, and does so in a very deliberate and thoughtful fashion, offering some of the best remedies for the future. There is considerable overlap in their arguments and recommendations for proposed changes. A number of authors, in particular, focus on the growing poverty of residents of the inner cities over the past couple of decades, while others rail at the continuing conflicts and divisions that exist in so many American cities. Recommendations abound; some of them are actually very sound and plausible, while others seem, to me at least, so general as to be useless. Indeed, I question the wisdom of any intellectual effort to foresee in the global changes consequences with uniform ramifications for all cities. Unlike historians, who sometimes pay excessive attention to social and cultural detail, the social scientists who author a number of the works on the urban future in a global context often underestimate the importance of the singular histories and circumstances of cities in different regions and areas of the world. Perhaps it is time to reverse the slogan, and ask scholars to act globally and think locally.

The work with the broadest ambitions is *Urban Future: Global Pressures and Local Forces*. It was commissioned by the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington in preparation for the United Nations Habitat II Conference on the Urban Future that met in Istanbul in 1996 and its aim, among other things, was to assess the impact of the recommendations of Habitat I with an eye to developing recommendations for Habitat II. A number of the contributors argue that the ideas that grew out of Habitat I emphasized changes that could best be implemented by governments. The world is a far different place now, they insist. Hence, efforts to improve conditions for urban residents, particularly the poor, should turn today to market forces and private firms. Some authors subscribe to this position wholeheartedly, while others remain committed to getting governments to play a major role in urban improvements.

The collection stresses global changes and their impact on urban areas around the world. The editors hoped to provide a view of the diversity of cities, while at the same time showing how global forces uniformly influence all cities. While their plans were ambitious, the contributions of the various writers are exceedingly uneven. Some authors, such as Weiping Wu, furnish superb contributions. Others have cooked up potboilers of opinion, description and half-digested theories. The effect, of course, is to make the collection considerably less than the sum of its individual contributions. Nevertheless, a few excellent articles make the book worth its price.

Weiping Wu, a professor of Urban Studies and Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University, has

written about comparative urban policy as well export processing zones in developing countries such as the People's Republic of China. Her article is a wonderful blend of broad synthesis about the changes taking place in the world, and studies of individual cases of cities that seek to cope with these changes, each influenced by its own circumstances. She accepts the arguments of scholars like Sassen that major economic changes have overtaken the world in the last twenty years, and notes that these changes have made some cities which house chief financial institutions, including London, Tokyo, and New York, the key urban players in shaping the world economy. A new hierarchy has emerged among cities, she argues, with these global cities at the top, and other, more specialized and former industrial centers, competing for positions below them. She also adopts the view that cities and their leaders must become more competitive in order to create new economic foundations for themselves, and how they do so will depend on their own histories.

To document her arguments, she refers to four very different urban cases -- New York, Barcelona, Santiago and Shanghai. Her choice of such different sites gives her a way of comparing how very different cities approach the new challenges of the changing economic environment. She notes the major transformations in New York City, specifically the loss of thousands of manufacturing jobs and their replacement with service employment. She echoes the analysis of Sassen by observing that the city is now divided into two very different sectors: a large group of affluent and active professionals, many of whom run the financial institutions, and a growing service sector, mainly of new immigrants. While the city has a healthy vitality, owing to its diverse cultural resources, she also notes that the inequalities between the rich and the poor could prove potentially very harmful to the city's health down the road. Barcelona, in contrast, is a city that once was built on a diverse manufacturing foundation but which, like so many other cities, has had to face the major loss of industries. Unlike a number of cities, such as Liverpool or Detroit, Barcelona successfully overcame its challenges because it promoted "competitive economic development by establishing visions for the city, building public consensus, and encouraging public-private cooperation"(p. 134). Unlike many cities throughout the industrialized world, Barcelona's public officials took the lead in promoting its fortunes, and created municipal funds to develop new economic ventures. (Another excellent article in this collection, by Jordi Borja, helps to flesh out Wu's analysis. Borja was trained as a sociologist and urban planner, and helped in the development and implementation of the strategic plans for the city of Barcelona).

Santiago and Shanghai represent different stories altogether. Like so many Latin American cities, Santiago houses thousands of impoverished residents who have been without work for years. In addition, it faces serious problems of pollution, tremendous traffic congestion, and physical decay. Nevertheless, Santiago has managed to confront its problems with a good deal of resolve and energy. The Chilean government gave the city greater freedom in its control of local finances; its resources increased sixfold between 1976 and 1988, enabling it to tackle major infrastructure problems. In addition, Santiago managed to become a major center for new industries in Chile, and provides the location for the headquarters of many new industries. Historically Shanghai was one of the great Imperial cities of China, but under the Communist regime it was limited in its ability to control and invest its own resources. While it houses major manufacturing industries and educational institutions in China, it also is beset by major environmental and infrastructure problems. Pollution, traffic congestion, inadequate housing, crowded public transportation, these and other concerns of Third World nations, are all in evidence in Shanghai. Nevertheless, with the blessings of the central government, municipal officials have tackled the huge infra structural problems in recent years. Moreover, the city is a site for major partnerships between foreign

investors and the Communist regime, thereby increasing the monies within the city and enhancing its trade and political connections to other nations.

Wu's article provides a benchmark for understanding the broad global changes and how they have a varying impact depending on the specific circumstances of individual countries and urban centers. Clearly the stories of New York, Barcelona, Santiago and Shanghai are all stories of great recent success. But how the cities reached their success very much depended on the particular ways in which central and municipal governments reached agreements, and on the relative availability of public and private funds to make changes. Moreover, the individual stories also illustrate how each of these remains a site of considerable poverty, and great, if not growing, economic inequalities. Each city has faced these issues. But each one faces them with a different agenda and a different set of available resources.

Other articles in this collection are largely elaborations of points made by Wu. Hank Savitch, for instance, agrees with her on the basic global trends, and notes that they have made the world much more competitive for individual cities. He provides a list of recommendations about how cities can face these challenges, noting that individual cities must draw upon their own strengths and advantages to make themselves successful in the new world economy. He also argues that cities must develop their "social capital" -- a growing refrain among many social scientists nowadays -- arguing that human resources and the development of people's skills are as important to saving urban centers as any other strategies. Yet Savitch's recommendations, because they are so broad, lack the kind of specificity of setting and circumstance that would give them real substance. His search for general claims illustrates the inherent weakness in a book that has set out such an ambitious agenda in the first place.

Other authors make even a greater stretch for generality than Savitch, however. Michael Cohen, in one of the most provocative (and also weakest) pieces in the book, argues that cities of the northern and southern hemispheres are becoming alike -- or, heaven forbid, converging! -- "in their most important characteristics: growing unemployment, declining infrastructure, deteriorating environment, collapsing social compact, and institutional weakness,"(p. 25) and proceeds to briefly document each of these features. He observes that while the causes of these tendencies differ between the two hemispheres, the problems manifest in the urban centers are basically similar. I find his argument something of a stretch, and not very useful. It cannot help but remind us of the old convergence argument made by Western social scientists who gleefully spoke about the "end of ideology" and remarked that all differences in the future would be essentially technocratic ones. I suspect that there may be a number of global enthusiasts in the world who are apt to endorse Cohen's argument. I do not, however. The thesis ignores the diversity of special circumstances acknowledged in Wu's examination of several different urban centers. Perhaps in the long run, capitalism will indeed run roughshod over historical and cultural differences. But in the long run, as John Maynard Keynes pointed out, we all will be dead.

A number of articles discuss the cities of different regions, including Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, France and Latin America. By and large, these articles are a hodgepodge of data and opinion, in part because the authors never agreed on a common and clear analytical framework with which to discuss the different cities. Furthermore, most never address what it is that constitutes a city, and whether the nature of cities might differ between Third World countries and those of the industrialized West. Martha Schteingart's article is the best - incisive, biting and hard-headed. She notes that Latin American cities historically were sites of considerable inequality, centers of economic vitality ringed by shanty towns and thousands of people imbedded in poverty. She notes further that the changes in the global economy increased the inequalities,

making poverty even more of a problem than in the past. She also is very suspicious of the new agenda for Habitat II, an agenda that places more faith in markets and the private sector for improving conditions than in the public sphere. Her suspicions, I believe, are justified; indeed, the case studies of Wu suggest just how creative cities can be in using their municipal or national resources to help generate greater economic vitality without relying exclusively on markets to do so.

Two articles that conclude the book are rather interesting and useful. One by Robert Bruegemann on the American city claims that cities defy the simple deterministic frameworks that social scientists invent for them. He also doubts the novelty of the globalism argument. Cities, he maintains, are constantly changing and reinventing themselves, and they are unique in ways that the writings of social scientists fail to appreciate. Moreover, Bruegemann, as an architectural historian, is especially intrigued by the features of the built environment. He offers several panoramic and detailed photographs of different cities to illustrate the diversity of their construction. He also raises questions about the claims of connections between our economic transformation and the exact nature of our buildings and landscapes. "Silicon Valley," he observes, "supposedly a prime example of a high-tech or postindustrial landscape, hardly looks different from any other recently developed industrial area in the country," while "the notion that globalization has brought any significant changes to a given American city is hard to support" (p. 347). His voice is an important one in the collection, if only as a challenge to those who embrace the globalization arguments to make clear what they believe has changed, and how those changes have influenced the shape and character of cities.

The last article by Richard Stren, a political scientist and urbanist at the University of Toronto, undertakes the task of reviewing and evaluating primarily social scientific perspectives on cities from the past several decades. It is a useful review, highlighting the important works of Manuel Castells and David Harvey, among others. It also suggests a number of readings that will be useful for non-urbanists, particularly the work of Sassen, and John Logan and Harvey Molotch's *Urban Fortunes*, a wonderfully synthetic review of writings on the city. Perhaps the main lesson we are left with from Stren's article is the diversity of points of view that exist among social scientists interested in the city.

Of the remaining two collected editions, the one under the editorship of Henry Cisneros is far and away the best. The collection of readings grows out of a conference sponsored by the American Assembly in 1993. Cisneros was the organizer of the program, and provides an introduction to the collection of readings. For those who wonder about the wisdom of federal officeholders nowadays, Cisneros' article provides comfort. It is a thoughtful analysis of the major problems that face cities in modern America, noting the need for suburbs and cities to join together in a collective effort to help the lives of their residents, particularly the very poor. Cisneros, as is to be expected, takes the view that the federal government must act to help solve urban problems -- though he articulated this point of view before he became the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Two interesting pieces then provide a general context for understanding urban problems in present-day America, and cover the general trends I noted at the outset of this review. Eli Ginzberg furnishes a general review of major trends affecting cities. This prolific author of dozens of books does a good job on the cities, though there is nothing special about his synthesis nor his conclusions.

In contrast, Elliot Sclar and Walter Hook furnish an excellent analysis of cities and their role in the national economy. They approach the matter of urban growth as one of developing the correct national industrial policies. One of the most important points they raise is to question why federal and local policies have encouraged industries to locate outside central cities when central locations are so important to industry and production. They argue that central locations make production more efficient and ease matters of communication. They also observe that central locations minimize production costs, and facilitate the development of economic specialization. Given the importance of centrality, they complain that "job relocation from central cities to suburbs has been encouraged by outmoded public policies," and that this "pattern now poses a problem for U.S. economic vitality"(p. 52). They suggest new policies must be invented, ones that foster the growth of cities and that provide more federal resources for metropolitan areas. Noting the divisiveness that historically has characterized American metropolitan areas, they conclude by arguing on behalf of strong regional planning organizations and effort. Because localities prize their autonomy -- i.e. their tax base -- so much, Sclar and Hook argue that both the federal and state governments must furnish incentives for different local governments to work in concert. They also note that there are special areas where such coordination will be especially useful, particularly when it comes to land use planning and the development of efficient transportation systems. Their recommendations, which are well-crafted, are echoed in the work of Anthony Downs.

If city-suburban divisions represent the political challenges facing American metropolises, then poverty represents one of the most important economic challenges. John Kasarda, drawing on 1990 census data, explores the growing impoverishment in the heart of so many American cities. Poverty increased in many American cities between 1970 and 1990. The areas hardest hit by the growth in poverty, and all which that entails, including high school dropouts, crime and poor health, are the cities of the Northeast and Midwest. Those in which the growth of poverty seems more limited are the areas of the Southeast and Southwest, or the "Sunbelt." Kasarda, author of the highly influential work on the nature of spatial mismatches between jobs and people in American cities, assembles a wealth of data, providing new insight into the growth of the "underclass" and urban distress. Kasarda, however, does not tell us very much about why there is more poverty in the older regions of America than in the newer Sunbelt cities. My own work has addressed this issue, and suggests that individual cities have their own distinctive histories and futures, much influenced by the timing of when they developed. Not all American cities have deindustrialized, only those, which were industrial empires in the first place. Kasarda could have made an even greater contribution had he attended to the likely future of those newer, post-industrial cities of the Sunbelt.

Kneeland Youngblood, a physician, writes about the city from the point of view of someone who sees urban residents come regularly in the emergency room at Parkland Memorial Hospital. The crisis of the human spirit, the growing reliance on drugs, the widespread growth of crime and disease, bother Youngblood, symbolizing to him the problems now facing American cities. Peter Salins, chair of the Urban Affairs and Planning Department at Hunter College, echoes the theme of so many writers, noting that cities and suburbs cannot go it alone in modern America. The division, he suggests, harms not only the future of many urban residents, but also that of America. He argues that to overcome the divisions -- the unwillingness of that suburban resident to give more to help those in need -- new experiments in the servicing people must be introduced. Programs to help the poor must be administered at the state or federal level exclusively to avoid interlocal conflicts; and states must create organizations and help rational planning take place for metropolitan regions. Again, these are calls and cries heard in the past; one would hope that

officials and citizens today will be more receptive to them.

Several authors consider some of the more specific ways in which cities can go about the process of rebuilding and reinvigorating themselves. The notable thing about these articles is that they search out cases where efforts have been made to improve education and school systems, or to invigorate community programs that will help urban residents. Paul Brophy, who held key positions in Pittsburgh between 1977 and 1986, discusses community development efforts in Pittsburgh and Atlanta. He notes that Pittsburgh proved to be one of the exceptions to the deindustrialization and decay rule of older cities because of the ability of various groups of figures, including bankers, corporate leaders, civic leaders and neighborhood groups, to work in concert. This broad-scale alliance not only helped to redevelop downtown Pittsburgh, and restored some vitality to the private sector, but it also ensured that neighborhood development projects were not overlooked. Other cities that have been successful in this regard include Atlanta and Boston. Brophy's approach identifies those places that were able to create real progress, in the form of new industries and jobs, and neighborhood redevelopment. More often than not, their success came about because of their ability to create a strong consensus among often competing sectors -- businessmen, political officials, leaders of minority organizations, and neighborhood figures.

Robert McNulty emphasizes the amenities associated with cities. Theatre and opera, civic events such as parades - the things that can make a city unique - are qualities that McNulty believes individual cities must emphasize. Often economists tend to overlook such amenities. Yet, if one looks at a city like New Orleans, for example, one finds wonderful restaurants, a great riverwalk, and continuing sources of entertainment, inside and outside the French Quarter. The city thrives on its cultural heritage, celebrates it routinely through its regular festivities at Audubon Park and Zoo, holds parades and creates, if you will forgive the expression, an urban persona that makes it very special. It also manages, by the way, to attract 10 million visitors a year who pump a lot of money into its economy. Not every city can become a New Orleans, but surely more cities can restore and develop their unique heritage, and use them in a way to make themselves attractive, if not to new businesses, then surely to a public always looking for a good parade -- or perhaps just a good bratwurst.

Nathan Glazer considers the issue of human capital and what cities can do to improve the skills and abilities of their residents. Glazer refers to experiments in Boston that sought to improve the skills of students by getting businesses involved with the school system. Clearly the educational system in America is in need of an overhaul, a reinvigoration of its ideas and directions. Chicago has experimented with local school councils, and now has a tremendously energetic new president of the school board, Paul Vallas. The challenge that academics and city leaders now recognize is not simply one of getting people to jobs, but providing them the skills and purposes they will need to compete in an ever competitive world economy. The question here is whether cities can do this job, alone, or whether greater direction must now be taken by the federal government to create the policies and the incentives to make the school system work better. The United States, owing to its history of local autonomy, cannot have a French system; and yet maybe it can have something that is closer to a strong national policy than it presently has.

The last major article in the collection is by Ernesto Cortes, Jr., who is the Southwest regional director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, begun by Saul Alinsky. He provides a refreshing view of America's problems, tapping into unexpected sources of wisdom and insight. What I found most refreshing about his approach was his emphasis on the moral and human side of correcting and

improving cities. He argues, like James Coleman, that social relationships and social support of networks of people for students is absolutely essential to improving the abilities and work of America's youth. Social capital does not find its way into many of these articles, and yet, I believe, it is a phenomenon and element of our lives today that needs more work, thought and emphasis.

The other collection of articles, *Breaking Away: The Future of Cities*, was published in honor of Robert Wagner, Jr., the former Deputy Mayor of New York City. Edited by Julia Vitullo-Martin, the collection covers a range of urban issues from health to neighborhoods to housing. The articles are written by people who knew Wagner well, and honor him through their insights and analyses. But most of the articles are light and fluffy, offering little in the way of new insights or useful ideas about how to improve cities, though they provide sometimes touching reminiscences of the affections people held for Wagner. There are rare exceptions. Diane Ravitch, an expert on public education and schools, argues that New York City schools suffer from, among other things, a lack of control over their own resources and purposes. She argues that the New York City school system needs to be reinvented, based upon three principles: autonomy that would reduce the school bureaucracy and give individual schools control over their own budgets; choices in which teachers can choose where to teach and parents where to send their children to school; and an improvement in the quality of education that would involve the establishment of citywide standards for education, and regular reports to parents about the effectiveness of teaching and instruction. She further argues that New York City schools must engage in some real experiments to achieve these goals, experiments that might involve contracting out the management of individual schools. Ravitch, like others, believes that the school system needs to be completely overhauled by eliminating the many levels of bureaucracy and increasing the enthusiasm of both teachers and students.

The article by Vitullo-Martin on housing and neighborhoods also is excellent. In a short space she covers the history of public housing in America. At its outset, public housing was intended to provide temporary shelter for poor people who, once they got on their feet, could then move on to private housing elsewhere. But, she argues, through a combination of missteps and lack of foresight, public housing became housing of last resort. Federal requirements for public housing projects eventually eliminated working families that originally provided a diverse mix of tenants. Thus, it contributed, she notes, to the economic isolation of impoverished families in the projects observed and decried by William Julius Wilson. She argues that public housing is good and vital, but only if the federal government permits local control over how projects are developed: "Cities don't all have the same needs, and they should not be required to run cookie-cutter programs just because those programs look like good ideas in Washington" (p. 118).

Anthony Downs has been writing books about cities for years. And he has become very good at it. The current work is no exception. He provides a careful and succinct synthesis about many of the trends discussed here. While he, like other authors, is much concerned about inner-city poverty, he is more exercised by the fragmentation and divisions in America's metropolitan areas. He observes that localities have little, if any, incentive to work with one another. While big city Mayors may plead for more funds for education and for repairing infrastructure, officials of affluent suburbs on their outskirts find no reason for relinquishing their millions of dollars in property taxes. Rarely, if ever, do the officials of metropolitan regions work in concert. They are divided over land use, public funds for education, funds for highway improvements, and the wisdom and costs for public transportation.

But Downs recognizes that the days of living with internecine battles in America's cities must come to an end. He also is sufficiently keen to realize that there are no incentives, at least material ones

that can bring conflicting municipalities together. Thus, he suggests a range of new visions for creating the urban future. Some of them are designed for large cities and require the investment of federal resources to help cities. Others, he suggests, must focus on a narrow range of concerns, such as land-use. He lays out an array of such visions and, in a very careful and comprehensive manner, lists the advantages and disadvantages of each. No collection, much less author, of any of the works here does a better job of doing so. If anyone is to be listened to about the urban future, if anyone's vision is to be projected across the screen of our telecommunications world, it should be that of Downs.

Yet he is not terribly optimistic about our ability to create new urban centers, to replace poverty and division with something that will work. The very virtues that have made America a thriving and vital nation in the past -- the emphasis on individuality, flourishing entrepreneurship, competitive will, an unwillingness to develop comprehensive public solutions to the private miseries of many people -- are the same virtues that inhibit success under changing global social and economic conditions. Something must awaken us, Downs suggests; but he is not clear about what it will be.

Nevertheless, while having emphasized the costs and benefits of varying visions of new cities, his work concludes by stressing the need for community and moral incentives. "In the long run," he writes, "America must strengthen the bases for its continued unity as a society by placing much more emphasis on social solidarity and less on individualistic values (p.205)." Moral incentives must be invoked to supplement, if not replace, economic ones. Suburban white residents, in particular, must become persuaded that their destinies are linked inextricably to the fates of the black and brown residents living nearby in the heart of the inner city.

But what will persuade them? And are they even willing to listen to the moral appeals? The answers to these questions -- among the most daunting for any urban analyst in America today -- await another book, perhaps by Anthony Downs, perhaps by some other insightful student of cities.

Notes

1. William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged* (Chicago, 1987).
2. Joel Garreau, *Edge Cities* (New York, 1991).
3 Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, 1991).
4. Wilson, op. cit.

Books Reviewed

Henry G. Cisneros, ed., Interwoven Destinies: Cities and the Nation. New York: W.W. Norton, 1993. Pp. 367, tables, notes, bibliography, index, $ 25.00 cloth.

Anthony Downs, New Visions for Metropolitan America. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994. Pp. xiii, 256, tables, figures, appendixes, notes, index.

Michael A. Cohen, Blair A. Ruble, Joseph S. Tulchin, Allison M. Garland, Preparing for the urban Future: Global Pressures and Local Forces. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996. Pp. xvi, 439, illustrations, maps, tables, graphs, notes, index, $ 55.00 cloth, $ 19.95 paper.

Julia Vitullo-Martin, ed., Breaking Away: The Future of Cities. New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1996. Pp. xv., 255, tables, index, notes, $ 21.95 cloth.


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