The Prospect of Cities (Introduction + Chapters 1 & 2)

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY:
John Friedmann has been appointed an Honorary Professor in the School and continues as Professor Emeritus of Planning at UCLA. He was founding professor of Program for Urban Planning in the Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, and served as its head for a total of 14 years between 1969 and 1996. In 1988, he was given the American Collegiate Schools of Planning Distinguished Planning Educator Award. His publication record includes 14 individually authored books, 11 co-edited books, and 150 chapters, articles, and reviews covering the subjects of regional development and planning, urbanization, and planning theory. *Life Space and Economic Space: Essays in Third World Planning* (1988); *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (1992); *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action* (1987); co-editor, *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age* (1998).

THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF THE BOOK:
Urbanization forms the general theoretical context of Friedman’s book. Each chapter “starts with analytical questions and then moves forward to proposals that, in various ways, run counter to the dominant paradigm”(p.xxi). Friedmann’s book critiques and responds to recent neo-liberal economic accounts of urbanization and urban development.

ISSUE/PROBLEM/RESEARCH QUESTION/HYPOTHESIS ADDRESSED:
The major issues that Friedmann addresses concern urbanization...
What is “urbanization”; what are the characteristics of this phenomenon and issues particular to it; and approaches to urban policies?

SUMMARY OF CONTENT (Introduction + Chapters 1 & 2):
INTRODUCTION – URBAN FUTURES AS IDEOLOGY
The Great Vanishing Act
- “The city is dead” (p.xi) – historical cities stood out from the countryside owing to their relative density and physical form, thriving chiefly through trade and manufactures.
- Cities differed across lines of architecture and built form, political-administrative structure, social relations, cultural meanings, and economy.
- The “historic” city gradually faded away – the “urban” rose in its place. Economic discourse on the city has become dominant – while cities can be enormous in size and population, they are primarily seen from the exclusive standpoint of capital accumulation and people making a living.
Perspective on the “urban” has gone global – differences other than those of the economy have been ignored – though various academics approached various urban problematics, most all topics came under a master narrative – the intense share competition among all urban centers for a share in global markets.

**Turn of the Century: What Urban Futures?**
- Conferences at end of 20th Century (eg: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat II)) asked whether the cities of the new century would break abruptly with known patterns or continue along a more familiar evolutionary trajectory.
- “It was a set of questions suspended between fear and hope” (p.xiii).

**A German Ideology**
- The Berlin conference reveals the ideological character of the hegemonic economic neoliberal paradigm being promoted as a basis for urban policies.
- Friedmann’s comments are prefaced by point that the report failed to take into account distinctive history, political capacities, cultural practices, and regional and national settings, and thus, cannot be treated alike – the report collapsed urban varieties into three categories poor cities of hypergrowth, middle-income cities undergoing rapid urban development, and mature aging cities. – the typology was biased primarily on economic criteria.
- Summary of report in seven propositions (again these are important b/c Friedmann takes these to be representative of hegemonic economic neoliberal paradigm)...

1. **Almost the whole world will coexist in a single global urban network, driven by worldwide competition.** – the “urban” is reduced to this one dimension, which subsumes all other forms of diversity under the logic of free markets.

2. **All the people in all the cities of the world will share common objectives.** – middle class values are a homogenized image of aspirations – fails to take into account diversity of priorities – follows an economic model of stages of growth where self-sustaining economic growth will lead to final stage of high mass consumption

3. **Good governance has to be the instrument for promoting the common goal of sustainable development.** – the central goal of “sustainability” here is said to be a communal goal, requiring no commitments from global capital, but shifting major responsibility to local governments – assumes that ensuring “environmentally sustainable growth” is good governance while ignoring that there are massive trade-offs in involved with urban policy – need clear priority of political goals

4. **What is needed to achieve sustainable urban development is decisive local political action in cooperation with civil society.** – civil society is difficult to define, not present everywhere in the world, sometimes just as destructive as cooperative, cooperative on the basis of whose agenda?

5. **Urban economies will move from goods production to service delivery. This shift will allow cities to emancipate themselves from their traditional resource base and take their economic destiny into their own hands.** – where then will manufacturing go? Would a shift to services really

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* Note: The proposition is in italics, Friedman’s response follows in normal type.
emancipate cities from traditional resource base? – there is no evidence that this is happening. – no grounds for statement that cities will be masters of their own economic destiny once their economies are freed of manufacturing

6. **Twenty-first century cities can draw on the experience fo those that have successfully managed their development in the late twentieth century.** - All cities are different – management techniques are not easily transported.

7. **To be truly successful, cities of the twenty-first century will need greater autonomy.** After a long era in which centralized government was the norm, a new balance of power has to be established. -- There are no across the board solutions to urban governance arrangements and the territorial division of powers, owing to major political differences among them.

*The Essays*
- the chapters in his book address issue that have a bearing on urban futures
- three assumptions about cities guide his explorations
  1. global integration of markets will continue
  2. urban transition will draw nearly to completion by mid-20\textsuperscript{th} century
  3. city-mediated relations will become increasingly prominent and transnational
- new forms of urbanization will decrease subsistence agriculture, and create cities that are structured as regions
- there are many “world peripheries” that remain on the margins of these global centers

**CHAPTER 1 - THE PROSPECT OF CITIES**

*Fundamental Urbanization*
- world is becoming more urban – 61% of world’s population is projected to be urban by 2025
- even though localities are globally produced, each locality has its own particular history, geographical setting, and its trajectory path-dependent – even so, local response to global challenges are decisive for the future of cities

*Three Meanings of Urbanization*
- concept of urbanization has three distinct, if interrelated meanings:
  1. **demographic** – refers to the increasing concentration of people (relative to a base population) in urban-style settlements that are higher than in the areas surrounding them – boundary distinctions make this definition problematic – thus Friedmann prefers the term “city-region” – requires both the density configuration of settlements in an urban core + the complementary concept of the the functional region that is less developed but contributes significantly to sustain the urban complex as a whole
  2. **economic** – refers to economic activities that are normally associates with cities (eg: manufacturing, construction, trades, and services), an dshould be broadened to include the economic organization and capitalization of the primary sector (eg: agriculture, ficherires, livestock, forestry) – primary production is becoming big business – more and more residual
rural activities are disappearing from the world, as redundant surplus of labor moves from countryside to city in search of work

3. *socio-cultural* - refers to participation in urban ways of life. Some categories of socio-cultural urban are universal – literacy, being knit into communicative intensive industries, a repository for special spaces (ie: coffee houses, public squares, pubs, restaurants, etc.) – being informed of multiple worlds through communications network and expanded consciousness of what is possible in terms of human rights and citizenships

**The Skein of the Urban**
- as world becomes more urban, the characteristics of urban-ness do not necessarily coincide in space
- the places that have the highest measure of urbanization in all senses of the term, are also typically the major nodes of the transnational system are clearly conjoined to an existing global system of economic power (p.6) **this has yet to be mapped because the data is lacking to determine what counts as these nodes**

**World City Hierarchies...**
- a hierarchy of cities – every city occupies a position that reflects its relative importance in the articulation of the global “space of flows” or its relative economic power
  - global financial centers (London, Tokyo, New York)
  - multi-national financial centers (Miami, Frankfurt, Singapore)
  - centers that dominate large national economies (Sao Paulo, Paris, Sydney, Seoul)
  - important sub-national or regional centers (Osaka-Kobe, Hong Kong, Vancouver, Chicago)
- the reordering of the world-city hierarchy is a gradual process -- it is a hierarchy of power largely embedded in the place-based social and and cultural relations that are stressed by current regional theory
- each world-city node articulates a subsystem of the global economy that is subordinate to it – its space of accumulation (p.9) –

...**And World Peripheries**
- “peripheral regions are by definition poor and powerless” – bypassed by capital perceived as largely redundant to the processes of accumulation – rough typology...
  - living correctly in the world – revolutionary societies that assert and seek to impose one way of living in the world (eg: pre-revolutionary Shiite Iran, Taliban controlled Afghanistan)
  - naked struggles for power – contending groups, ethnic or class based, seeking to seize the state apparatus
  - closed military dictatorships –
  - secessionist struggles
  - destroying the other
  - pariah states
- characterized by an “inward gaze,” often violent
- generate migration internal and external to region

**Entropy/Negentropy**
- entropy = steady deterioration in social organization, the built environment, and natural resource wealth.
- Self-organized societies need to continually energize around complex forms of organization and greater predictability or entropy will lead to self-destruction.
- Main point here is inter-connectedness of core and peripheral regions

The Language of Time
- need heightened willingness to listen to a multiplicity of voices – need to understand problems from diversity of perspectives
- localities must be empowered to work on their own behalf
- more decentralized things are, the more we need central powers to balance and coordinate system-wide changes

CHAPTER 2 – CITY MARKETING AND QUASI CITY-STATES: TWO MODELS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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On the Governance of City-Regions
- city-region = functionally integrated area consisting of both core and contiguous region that serves this city’s needs and provides space for expansion
- traditional distinction between urban and rural becomes meaningless
- governmental and administrative boundaries overlap – concerted action is difficult
- spectrum of cooperation - American cities represent extreme fragmentation whereas Australian cities several state governments (Local Councils) that hold sway over urban matters

Can City-Regions be Collective Actors?
- cities and regions can indeed be viewed as collective actors to the extent that their form of governance is plurivocal and inclusive

Sustainable Development and the Creation of Regional Wealth
- export-led theory suggests that exports are at the base of a regions’ economy
- Friedmann suggests that instead, there are seven resource complexes, or forms of capital essential to sustaining a city-region’s ability to maintain a trade surplus
  - Human capital
  - Social capital
  - Cultural capital
  - Intellectual capital
- City-regions cannot hope to procure development from outside themselves
  - development of city-regions must be based on their own resource complexes
  - development is always localized and in a political sense is territorially bounded
  - capital from outside the region will always be needed, but more is needed to sustain development as a territorily based process supported by its citizenry in both political discourse and practice
  - linkages among city-states give rise to inter-city networks – example of EuroCities Commission
    - competition through collaboration
    - cities are a basis of European integration
    - principle of self-governement
    - principle of subsidiary or proximity
    - cities are partners in European policies
    - European citizenship
    - Challenge of social exclusion
  - Intercity networks and endogenous development go hand in hand