ULI Land Use Policy Forum Report

The Future of Cities

Prepared by Michael Pawlukiewicz and Deborah L. Myerson

The ULI/Robert C. Larson Forum on Land Use Policy Washington, D.C. November 16, 2001



Urban Land Institute

About ULI

ULI-the Urban Land Institute is a nonprofit education and research institute that is supported by its members. Its mission is to provide responsible leadership in the use of land in order to enhance the total environment.

ULI sponsors education programs and forums to encourage an open, international exchange of ideas and sharing of experiences; initiates research that anticipates emerging land use trends and issues and proposes creative solutions based on that research; provides advisory services; and publishes a wide variety of materials to disseminate information on land use and development. Established in 1936, the Institute today has more that 16,500 members and associates from more than 60 countries representing the entire spectrum of land use and development disciplines.

Richard M. Rosan President

ULI Land Use Policy Forum Reports. ULI is in the forefront of national discussion and debate on the leading land use policy issues of the day. To encourage and enrich that dialogue, ULI holds land use policy forums at which leading experts gather to discuss topics of interest to the land use and real estate community. The findings of these forums serve to guide and enhance ULI's program of work. ULI produces summaries of these forums in its Land Use Policy Forum Reports series, available on the ULI Web site. By holding these forums and publishing summaries of the discussion, the Institute hopes to increase the body of knowledge that contributes to the quality of land use policy and real estate development practice throughout the country.

Acknowledgments

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Introduction

The ULI/Robert C. Larson Forum on Land Use Policy was created as an annual forum to gain a more detailed understanding of current land use and real estate trends and to identify the key land use policy issues on which ULI should focus its research and education programs. On November 16, 2001, a small group of leaders from the land use and real estate community met in Washington, D.C., for a one-day forum to share their vision and expertise in examining the future of the world's leading cities in light of the September 11 terrorist attacks and recent market trends.

The September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon drew Americans together and provided a sense of unity that had not been experienced in decades. At the same time, the attacks caused many to be concerned about the safety and viability of cities. As a focus of the forum, participants discussed the perceptions, the dangers, the opportunities, and the constraints that will shape the future of cities as places where people will want to live, work, and play. Speakers presented an analysis of the attacks' consequences for cities and their longand short-term effects.

At the conclusion of the forum, participants discussed topics that ULI might want to address to respond to the repercussions of the September 11 terrorist attacks. These topics included the following:

- The emerging economic, demographic, social, and market trends that will affect major cities;
- The public and private investment strategies cities need to pursue to assure their continued viability;
- The key factors office and retail tenants may consider when deciding where to locate;
- The factors that influence decisions on whether to live in or to visit cities;
- The ways in which architecture and site design can accommodate heightened security needs, and the ways developers can use these features to attract tenants; and
- The ways policy makers should reassess standards and design for transportation and other infrastructure systems.
- Following up on the findings and recommendations of the forum, the ULI Board of Trustees at its January 2002 meeting in New York City considered how the Institute could address the issues identified in November. The

2002 edition of ULI on the Future will feature papers by leading experts on these topics, and the ULI district councils may sponsor programs to examine these themes in their own communities.

Policy Forum Summary

To consider the future of leading cities in light of the September 11 terrorist attacks and recent market trends, participants at the ULI/Larson Forum listened to a series of presentations and discussed the issues that they raised. Speakers addressed the impact of the attacks on the future of cities and where people will live, work, and play in the 21st century, and how to restore confidence in cities. Forum participants then gathered at roundtables to identify themes and discuss topics pertaining to residential and commercial development, culture, entertainment and tourism, and public policy to help guide ULI's future research and education programs.

September 11, 2001: Has the Future of Cities Changed?

While the September 11 attacks drew Americans together, they also caused many to be concerned about the safety and viability of cities. In their remarks, speakers Neal Peirce and Lynne Sagalyn presented a perspective on the consequences of the attacks for cities, discussed their long- and short-term effects, and considered whether these concerns are simply a short-term setback to the historic strength and vitality of cities, or if they herald a long-term change in the popularity of urban places.

Opening Remarks—Neal Peirce

Neal Peirce, a syndicated columnist and chairman of the Citistates Group, opened the forum by addressing both the negative and positive impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks for Americans and for their cities.

"Looking at the dark side of the post–September 11 situation, terrorists have shattered the cocoon of safety in which Americans have lived," he noted. "9/11 delivered a terrible jolt. From now on, we will live with an element of uncertainty. Americans must accept the terrorist reality of our times, just as the Europeans have."

He also acknowledged that cities face some tough times in the near future. "There may be some very cruel months ahead, and low-paid workers are the first hit. It will be hard for cities to maintain the level of service that keeps them competitive." However, Peirce also recognized positive responses to the attacks that will contribute to American life in the long term. "There has been a strong affirmation that place matters. It might have been logical to expect New Yorkers to retreat; instead they came out into public spaces to share both grief and the strength of community. This has served as a reminder of our need to share public places and to build and hold on to community."

Offering a broad perspective, Peirce remarked, "American cities have survived natural cataclysms and have been overcoming the effects of 50 years of bad planning and sprawl. Cities can look forward with a special optimism to a big city presence among the institutions emerging in the new economy."

He offered several recommendations for the future of cities in the post–September 11 world: "We should renew emphases on civic issues and on citizenship. Cities great and small should establish and protect shared public spaces where citizens are welcomed—where people can gather, interact, and trade." Peirce added that the importance of community was demonstrated in the immediate aftermath of the attacks.

In closing, Peirce suggested, "The role of cities as the bulwarks of civilization must be preserved and honored. They provide a sense of permanence and of belonging somewhere in place and time. We should nurture great cities and a great civilization, not run for cover in the aftermath of September 11."

During a discussion and question-and-answer period following Peirce's comments, Bob Larson wondered how the United States compares with other countries on issues relating to urbanization. "We in the United States have always come more slowly to urbanization than other countries," Peirce said. "We have had the tradition of the open frontier. Although we have less inclination to be urban than others, we are beginning to be more like Europeans concerning urban values."

Michael Schill observed, "New York will provide a good laboratory for examining if there are reasons why people want to live closely together. We need to separate what we want to happen from what is likely to happen."

Daryl Carter recommended that participants look beyond the impact of the terrorist attacks when considering the future of cities. "Quality of life is just as important an issue in urban areas as it was before 9/11. The day-to-day issues of life in the city—crime and schools—have not changed. People are more concerned about a drive-by shooting than a hijacked plane."

Gene Kohn agreed: "Cities do not need to be on the front lines of fighting terrorism, and not every city must be on the defensive. We should concentrate on the urban problems beyond terrorism. There is danger that we are going to overreact to the terrorist threat."

Remarks by Lynne Sagalyn

Speaking next was Lynne Sagalyn, director of the MBA Real Estate Program at the Columbia University Graduate School of Business and coauthor of *Downtown*, *Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities*. She acknowledged that no one and no place can feel truly safe in the climate of increased sensitivity to terrorism and noted that cities are seen as particularly vulnerable. "We must look at how resources are allocated, how allocations might change—analyze what these changes mean for cities," she said.

"What competitive advantages do cities have?" Sagalyn asked. Foremost, she observed, is the proximity of people and places, including suppliers and consumers. This proximity facilitates the transfer of knowledge and augments the face-to-face value in business services.

Adding that the density of cities encourages economies of scale and agglomeration economies, she forecast, "If there are sound, compelling, economic reasons to favor cities, they will recover within 15 years."

Asked by Maureen McAvey about the future of inner-ring suburbs, Sagalyn responded, "Large cities have advantages that are so compelling that close-in suburbs will also benefit." However, she added, the infrastructure needs for metropolitan areas are also an important consideration to ensure the economic health of the region.

Casey Jones wondered how the immediate reactions to the attacks would affect long-term decisions by businesses. Sagalyn said the answer depends on the size of the business, because larger companies typically have less flexibility in their choices than do smaller ones. "Leases make choices—for the big firms. Little players are the quickresponse people that support the infrastructure of cities." She added that the problem in New York City is not just a question of rebuilding space, but of rebuilding the Class A space to support the Class B space needed by smaller companies.

John McIlwain commented, "If firms move to Far Rockaway, that's not an issue for New York City, because Far Rockaway is part of the city. But when they move to Jersey City, they have moved to a different city and stateeven though they are still benefiting from proximity to the markets and business environment of New York City. This is a political problem for the city."

"This is a compelling argument for regionalism," Sagalyn said, expanding on McIlwain's remarks. "The form of the city has changed. What used to be called 'edge cities' aren't on the edge anymore; they are part of the urban fabric and can be seen as nodes in a new multinodal form of city." If one accepts this new metropolitan form, she said, then almost everyone lives in the city, making the traditional downtown just one more live/work node.

Rick Rosan added, "A new definition of city is needed: A city is an interconnected system of dense nodes. The terms 'urban' and 'suburban' no longer mean what they used to; rather, the whole urban/suburban fabric is the city. Companies want to benefit by being within an urban region, but not necessarily downtown."

Gene Kohn noted, "9/11 did accelerate the concept of deconcentration; companies need less space."

"Is there a silver lining?" Neisen Kasdin asked. "The United States is still a better place to live for foreigners." Sagalyn agreed that immigration has been a savior for cities over the past several decades. "American cities are still seen by many foreigners as a better place to live than many cities in other places in the world. Many of these foreigners are migrating to U.S. cities like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. They bring with them creative energy and economic vitality."

"Why are Austin, Las Vegas, Phoenix growing?" Ian Thomas wondered. Susan Hudson-Wilson responded from a demographic perspective: "People vote with their feet, and they prefer warm, suburban, attractive places."

Al Ratner commented on the role of new security concerns with regard to people's choices about where to live, and whether to live in cities. "9/11 is only 10 percent of the problem. We've lived through the atom bomb and World War II. The only place we ever had any safety was the airports—and they already had guards. It would be a horrible mistake to think that the problems and the opportunities of the cities were caused by 9/11. If fear takes over, there's no place to hide. The fear we have is so much greater than the reality."

Roger Lewis remarked, "After the Oklahoma City bombing, security people in Washington focused on one threat—truck bombs. But people who work in Washington, D.C., are not worried about truck bombs. They are concerned about muggings, adequate lighting in the streets, and other real threats to their safety. We have so far failed to communicate what the real risks are." In the meantime, he warned, the current tension about security will abate, and people will continue to ignore and neglect the real problems that urban America faces.

Joe O'Connor emphasized that central-city issues should not be forgotten. "A big issue will be resource allocation," he pointed out. As cities are obliged to dedicate a greater portion of their budgets to security concerns, other budget items for housing, transit, capital improvements, or arts and culture are likely to feel the squeeze.

Bob Larson concluded the discussion. "This is the fundamental reason we are here: to try to understand the issues that merit ULI's attention in the coming year," he said. "We should keep in mind shaping the ULI policy and practice agenda and consider areas for programmatic focus to keep ULI relevant as it moves forward."

Panel Discussion: Where Will We Live, Work, and Play?

The panelists led off a discussion of how cities will fare as places to live, work, and play, addressing market and development trends before the September 11 attacks and offering their views of whether and how these trends will change. The panelists were:

■ Susan Hudson-Wilson, founder, Property & Portfolio Research;

- Joseph E. Brown, president, EDAW, Inc.;
- William H. Hudnut III, senior resident fellow, ULI; and
- John B. Coppedge III, executive managing director, Cushman & Wakefield.

Susan Hudson-Wilson

Susan Hudson-Wilson presented an analysis of population trends in 54 U.S. metropolitan areas with a population greater than 1 million. She said that whereas in the past people followed jobs and employers dominated the movement of the population, today, with workers in demand, jobs follow people. Also, since the 1980s, the growth rate of the working-age population has been falling, and by 2015, the growth rate will be 0.035% statistically equivalent to zero.

A city's demographic composition is also important, according to Hudson-Wilson, and can overwhelm other factors. For example, a younger population will give a city higher natural population growth, while an older population, with fewer births and more deaths, will lead to a lower rate of population growth. She noted that Los Angeles ranks tenth in terms of natural population growth and also is a younger city. By comparison, she said, Tampa, Palm Beach, and Fort Lauderdale, Florida, have an older population and are low in natural growth.

Hudson-Wilson also discussed the effects of migration. "Domestic migration comes about from people making decisions to move. Recent trends indicate that people make choices to move based largely on climate and lifestyle. This means there are winners and losers." She listed Las Vegas, Phoenix, Dallas–Fort Worth, and Austin as metropolitan areas that are gaining population through high net domestic migration.

In contrast, "everything flips around again" with net international migration, she said, and Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago are at the top of the heap. Immigrants have been the driving force behind the population growth in these cities, surpassing the steady rate of domestic outmigration.

Hudson-Wilson noted a rule of thumb in demographics and economics: more young people means faster growth. Also, younger people with no children and no spouse are the most migratory of all and provide a good indication of the most desirable places to live. Examples of cities with younger populations are San Francisco—which has a good share of people 20 to 34 years old, although generally the population is older—as well as Austin and Salt Lake City.

"What are the key demographic trends for the next 10 years?" asked moderator Harry Frampton.

Migration would be an important consideration, Hudson-Wilson said. "It is important to distinguish between domestic migration and international migration. Foreign migrants are making a choice of 'America.' When they land, they find that they have links to their ethnic community, and they tend to stay there." By comparison, she noted, domestic migration involves where people choose to live within America. "People are making choices based on climate, desirable lifestyle, good transportation linkages, and education. And when they move to a major metropolitan area, they do not choose the traditional urban center."

Joe Brown

Joe Brown suggested that the indecision and uncertainty generated by the September 11 attacks will dissipate over the next 18 months. While it is difficult to predict precisely what the ultimate impact of September 11 will be, "the Larson Forum can set in motion the assembly of facts to help ULI find a practical basis for its work."

Brown commented on the urban trends in the past decade. "The 1990s were a decade of discovery for downtowns and cities. Reversing a 30-year trend, first-tier and conventional downtowns are coming back."

Ecology, community amenities, and open space have become important issues, particularly in the suburbs, he said. Now, suburbs need to be reinvented—particularly inner-ring suburbs that, in many cases, are in a state of decline. "This first decade of the 21st century could be a time of discovery of the positive qualities of the urban environment in the suburbs and in other new settings and sites. ULI should be supporting many kinds of urbanism, not just the old downtowns."

Brown added, "Recycle, reduce, renew, restore, and recreate add up to sustainability. Sustainability must come to downtown." Also, he emphasized the need for investment in infrastructure, noting that Boston's "Big Dig"—the \$14 billion Central Artery/Tunnel Project—has begun a remarkable economic revitalization in that city.

Bill Hudnut

Bill Hudnut commented on the effects of September 11 from the perspective of mayors around the country. Many mayors have common concerns about implementing security measures, while recognizing a more urgent need for regional cooperation.

"The mayor of Las Vegas canceled his appearance at the ULI meeting in Boston [in October] because 250 conventions canceled in Las Vegas after 9/11," he said. "It will be interesting to look back a year from now to see if conventions are coming back." He noted that mayors everywhere are concerned about making people feel safe.

A new spirit of regional cooperation is being driven by people's need for security and by increased understanding of the need for communication and coordination among emergency response crews throughout a region, Hudnut said.

"Cities serve a need for people to get together," Hudnut said. "Priority attention should be given to public places and establishing a sense of place. The city should determine what urban design considerations to implement or retrofit to make people feel safe. Young people are going to places where they can experience a high quality of life. They are deciding that quality of life comes first and the job second." Hudnut suggested that businesses want to locate in a places where people can enjoy life and have a good time, citing a businessman who described the central business district (CBD) of Chicago as becoming the CSD, the "central social district." "The challenge," Hudnut said, "is to build a place that is not only good to visit, but to live in."

There is a new niche market of people who want a return to urbanism, Hudnut observed. Demographically, he said, they can be described as: "singles, mingles, and jingles." Singles are, of course, unattached adults; "mingles" are young couples who like the urban lifestyle and have no school-age children; and "jingles" are high-income empty nesters moving downtown for the urban amenities, culture, restaurants, and shopping.

"The new city is a metropolitan mosaic," he said. "It is an interconnected network of nodal urban centers. This new pattern can be enhanced by a commitment to mass transit and to transit-oriented development."

Hudnut concluded, "This new metropolitan model can be an opportunity for inner-ring suburbs that may have already begun a process of decline. Redevelopment and revitalization can strengthen the fabric of the metropolitan network. Inner-ring suburbs are ideally located for this."

John McIlwain wondered, "Where and how we are going to house people? Housing is important as we think about the city moving forward." He noted that people moving into cities now have plenty of discretionary income and can afford the housing costs. However, he argued, there are three important needs for housing in the cities: subsidized housing, for those with low incomes; market-rate housing, for those who can pay the going rate; and workforce housing, for the fastest growing income group with affordability issues-police officers, firefighters, teachers, and others with moderate incomes. Housing costs for this group are often more than 30 to 50 percent of their income. McIlwain asked how cities can respond to the need for workforce housing. "Currently, the workforce housing is found at the fringes of the urban area; this is not a sustainable urban form," he said.

Rand Wentworth noted that people are now finding in the suburbs what they fled the cities to avoid. "Historically, cities were built for fortification. Then, they prospered as social, economic centers. Now, in a really ironic twist, people who moved to the suburbs for peace and quiet have more traffic and more stress. Cities can provide the quality of life people want—parks, commons, and playgrounds. Mayors are seeing these amenities as strategic investments."

John Coppedge

John Coppedge provided an overview of the development climate since September 11. "No one is making decisions about office space right now," he said. "Everything that can be put on hold is being put on hold." He said that from his position in international operations, which gives him a good perspective on what people overseas are thinking, he has observed that more U.S. companies are backing out of projects overseas than international companies are backing out of U.S. projects.

"Security is on everyone's mind," Coppedge said. "The fear that something will happen is tremendous."

Turning to the issue of the World Trade Center site, Coppedge suggested that the area be redeveloped for office space. However, he said all the office space should not all be rebuilt, nor should it be rebuilt all at once, but rather, in phases.

Marta Goldsmith asked, "Are there buildings in Europe and Asia that are already designed differently in terms of security that might be brought to this country? What models are out there?"

Coppedge responded that while the design of buildings can improve security, the operations of buildings is often more important. "Americans do operations better," he said. Another important consideration, he noted, is what the cost of added security is going to be to the tenant.

Al Ratner wondered if downtown office space is cheaper than suburban office space. Coppedge noted that downtowns have Class A, B, and C office space, while suburban office space is not as diverse. "If you need the cheapest space, you're probably going to wind up downtown," he said. He added that more office space is on the market now than before September 11 because more space has been released from reserves and demand has fallen sharply.

Restoring Confidence in Cities

Kathleen J. Tierney, director of the Disaster Research Center with the University of Delaware Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice, spoke on "Business and Community Resilience to Disasters: Social Science Research."

Tierney said there are different research traditions in the study of hazards and disasters. They are:

- Social psychology;
- Geography;
- Urban planning;

- Political science;
- Economic/regional science; and

■ Sociology, including group, organizational, and community factors affecting preparedness, response, and recovery.

Economic and organizational impacts of disasters have been studied in the United States since the 1950s, she said, with research primarily focused on natural disasters such as earthquakes. This research has shown that disasters, even major ones, cause only relatively small and transient downturns in regional economies, although local impacts can be more severe. The U.S. economy and other large economies have proven to be extremely resilient in the face of disasters.

"Communities in the U.S. do recover—even from the most devastating disasters," she said.

The desirability of particular locations generally is not affected by natural hazards or disasters. Also, most businesses return to their previous levels of productivity and profitability. However, some businesses do have problems, and studies have begun to identify risk factors for businesses in disaster-stricken areas. Tierney identified some of those business risk factors, including:

- Small size;
- Marginal success before the disaster;

■ Location in crowded, competitive niches (e.g., small retail);

■ Location in a high-damage area, even if the business itself is not directly damaged;

Dependence on a local customer base, rather than a regional or national one; and

• Extensive disaster-induced problems with operations or with the effort to return to normal.

Other findings determined that disasters can stimulate economies and can create winners as well as losers, she said. The strategies for mitigation, response, and recovery that communities and societies employ affect both economic impacts and business outcomes, and the strategies that communities choose make a difference. For example, communities best prepared for disasters do the following:

■ Protect the infrastructure from damage;

■ Respond rapidly and appropriately when disaster strikes by quickly containing secondary hazards, restoring services, cleaning up, and getting life back to normal; ■ Successfully channel aid to those who need it; and

Base decisions on sound planning principles.

She concluded by listing some lessons learned in disaster recovery:

■ It is better to prevent disaster damage than to have to respond to it or contain it;

■ When a disaster happens, make the investments needed to recover; and

Make decisions based on reliable data and available expertise.

Michael Schill asked what Tierney would recommend to the New York panel examining the World Trade Center site. Tierney responded, "The first response was, 'Put everything back the way it was.' Now, people are looking at the big picture and how to make it sustainable in the long run." She urged the city to bring many key actors and community stakeholders into the process, noting that while that approach may take longer, it will pay off in the long run. She also recommended that the city target small businesses in the recovery process because not only are they vulnerable, they also are the engine that drives a large part of the economy.

Daryl Carter raised the issue of the impact of the attacks on real estate financing. "What has been the nature of the movement of capital post-disaster?" he asked, adding, "After an experience like this, it is often difficult to get capital for real estate projects. The reflexive reaction in real estate financing is to hold back." Tierney responded: "The risk averse are going to hold back—and those who can do nothing are going do nothing."

Neisen Kasdin noted that after Hurricane Andrew hit Florida in 1992, there was \$25 billion in insurance proceeds in Miami, which meant a big economic boost for the county. However, the disaster also accelerated white flight from southern Miami-Dade County.

Roundtable Discussions: How Does ULI Respond?

The forum participants were divided into four interdisciplinary groups to discuss topics that ULI might address to respond to the repercussions of the September 11 attacks. The groups each responded to a set of questions and discussed residential development; commercial development; culture, entertainment and tourism; and public policy. They discussed the following questions:

■ What economic, demographic, social, and market trends will most affect the health of major cities in the next ten years?

• What issues will most influence office and retail tenants when they consider whether to locate in cities? How should private developers and public officials address these issues?

■ What factors influence people's decisions about living in and visiting cities? How can public officials and developers affect these decisions?

• What are the most important public investment strategies that cities need to pursue to ensure their continued viability?

■ How can architecture and site design accommodate today's heightened sensitivity to security issues? What do developers and owners need to do to attract and retain tenants?

■ In the post–September 11 world, how should policy makers reassess standards and design for transportation and other infrastructure systems?

Shaping ULI's Agenda

After the group discussions, the forum participants synthesized the ideas that emerged in the roundtables and considered topics that ULI should focus on in the coming year. The participants identified the following trends, priorities, and questions for ULI to consider:

Global Cities

The importance of the large "global cities" has grown substantially over the past 50 years. Global cities have also become inextricably linked, making each of their economic futures vital to world economic stability. What will be the effect of September 11 on the global cities of the world? Will there be a diminishing role for the larger cities around the world?

• Are major central cities worldwide still appealing as places to live, work, and play?

■ What can U.S. cities learn about balancing security and accessibility from cities in other countries that have been dealing with security issues for much longer?

■ What will be the long-term impacts of September 11 on travel and tourism, and what are the implications of this for cities?

■ How can ULI advance the notion of the "global city" and build on the premise that in today's environment, urban areas have more issues in common to unite them than differences to divide them?

Immigration and Its Significance for Urban Areas

Immigration into the United States has been a major factor in the dynamics and success of the country and of local economies. What role does immigration play in the health of cities, particularly in terms of housing, retail, education, and employment opportunities?

■ What are the patterns of immigration into and migration within the United States, and what are the implications of these patterns?

• What are the advantages for cities of immigration and what are the disadvantages?

• Will there be a backlash against immigration that will hurt cities?

■ Twenty years from now, there will be 63 million more people in the United States, with most of the increase coming from immigration. Where will these people live and work, and what changes will this growth bring about in the nation's metropolitan areas?

Employment Deconcentration

Will large corporate employers decide to disperse their workforces to multiple locations as a result of the terrorist actions?

■ Was deconcentration of employees a trend before September 11? Will the dispersal of corporate employment within metropolitan areas accelerate as a result of September 11 and other factors, and, if so, by how much? What will be the effect on cities and their real estate should this trend accelerate?

■ Will deconcentration have a major impact on centercity employment, or is most center-city employment in smaller firms that will not disperse their employees?

■ Can cities influence job location patterns through improvement of regulatory processes, land assembly, or other initiatives?

■ Can traditional urban centers attract and retain jobs by addressing city problems such as crime, the quality of schools, affordable housing, and tax differentials?

Regionalism

A new metropolitan form has emerged in which the region has multiple urban concentrations, surrounded by less dense areas. This new form requires a different regional perspective than the traditional form of government to address problems and provide services.

■ Will regional cooperation among local jurisdictions flourish in the post–September 11 environment?

■ Can regional homeland security be the proving ground for future regional action to address other economic, environmental, health, and safety issues?

■ What have been the limitations of regional decision making and resource allocation in the past?

■ Does the need to address problems that now frequently transcend local boundaries—congestion, pollution, security, job creation, and affordable housing—offer new, more compelling reasons for regionalism to succeed?

■ What are the prospects for connecting these urban concentrations with multimodal forms of transportation?

Public Resource Allocation

The prospect of further terrorist attacks in the United States is causing a rethinking of the allocation of limited public resources at the federal, state, and local levels. Security, emergency response planning, detection of and response to public health threats, and improved communication systems are a few examples of these new demands. However, these new demands are coupled with a decline in tax revenue due to the economic downturn. What economic consequences will these new demands on public resources have for the real estate and land use needs of the metropolitan area?

■ Who will pay for the increased costs of security and insurance at federal, state, and local governments—the private sector?

■ How will these new pressures affect spending on fundamental needs—infrastructure, housing, and schools when public resources are shrinking? • What strategic investments must cities make to ensure their ongoing viability?

■ What strategic public investments are necessary to support the new "multiple urban centers" metropolitan form?

■ What is the best way to establish priorities for investment given limited resources and competing demands?

Civic Pride

The contributions of corporate America to the wellbeing, urban landscape, and economic vitality of American cities are well documented. With the trend toward deconcentration and decentralization of companies, can corporate America, developers, universities, and others work together to forge support for their cities?

■ How can public/private/nonprofit collaborations build support for urban centers among employers, the government, and the public?

• Can the ULI district councils play a role in reinvigorating this corporate civic spirit?

■ What are the unique attributes of urban areas and what role do they play in the national persona? How can the importance of this role be communicated to the greater public?

■ What role does the traditional downtown play in the new economy, and how can the center city be enhanced as an important option as a place to live, work, and play?

■ How can housing diversity be ensured in urban areas?

■ How can urban centers be made to feel safe to users and visitors and be accessible at the same time?

Policy Forum Agenda

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2001

8:30 a.m.	Welcome and Introductions
	Harry H. Frampton III, President, East West Partners, Western Division, Forum Chair
9:00 a.m.	September 11, 2001: Has the Future of Cities Changed?
	Speakers: Neal Peirce, Chairman, The Citistates Group, Washington, D.C.
	Lynne Sagalyn, Director, MBA Real Estate Program, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, New York, New York
	Discussion
10:30 a.m.	Break
10:45 a.m.	Panel Discussion: Where Will We Live, Work, and Play?
	Panel:
	Joseph E. Brown, president, EDAW, Inc., San Francisco, California John B. Coppedge III, executive managing director, Cushman & Wakefield, New York, New York William H. Hudnut III, senior resident fellow, Urban Land Institute, Washington, D.C. Susan Hudson-Wilson, founder, Property & Portfolio Research, Boston, Massachusetts
	Discussion
12:15 p.m.	Lunch: Restoring Confidence in Cities
	Speaker:
	Kathleen J. Tierney, Director, Disaster Research Center, Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware
1:30 p.m.	Roundtable Discussions: How Does ULI Respond?
2:30 p.m.	Shaping ULI's Agenda
3:30 p.m.	Adjourn

Policy Forum Participants

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