



BOOK REVIEWS

Brent Ryan, *Design After Decline: How America Rebuilds Shrinking Cities* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

George Galster, *Driving Detroit: The Quest for Respect in the Motor City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

These two books, from different urban series published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, offer contrasting perspectives on the deindustrialization of America's twentieth-century manufacturing centers. In *Design After Decline*, Brent Ryan focuses on the efforts of Philadelphia and Detroit to rebuild after decades of population loss and economic decline. He places both cities in the broader context of urban decline of twentieth-century industrial centers. While the collapse of Detroit is better known, Ryan documents the parallels between that city and Philadelphia, including the loss of jobs in a dominant industry (textiles in Philadelphia, automobiles in Detroit), population decline, housing abandonment, and racial change. Although Philadelphia's overall decline is less dramatic than Detroit's, the two cities are well matched.

Ryan traces Philadelphia's and Detroit's largely ineffectual rebuilding efforts from the urban renewal era to the present day. Although both cities have had some successful projects, these have been limited and insufficient to revitalize rapidly declining areas such as the Near North End in Philadelphia or Detroit's East Side. As Ryan notes, the extensive demolition programs in both cities were effective in producing vacant lots, which, in the absence of viable development markets, have generally remained vacant. Overall, Philadelphia has fared better than Detroit, largely because of residential growth in the city center and the retention of a substantial middle-class population. (There is surprisingly little mention, however, of the contributions of the University of Pennsylvania to inner city redevelopment. *Fixing Broken Cities* by John Kromer [2010] helps to close this gap.)

Ryan contrasts the role of the city governments, and their local planning and development agencies, in the two cities. While critical of the Philadelphia planners' urban design standards, which are seen as too suburban, Ryan finds a more cohesive and comprehensive redevelopment model than he does in Detroit. The Philadelphia City Planning Department ensured that redevelopment investments were concentrated and that both the architecture and urban design of the new development was not incompatible with the existing context. Changing street patterns to better integrate the new and old developments was also a factor. These efforts were effective, to a great extent because much of the new development consisted of assisted housing. Ryan sees Detroit's rebuilding efforts as having been considerably less successful because of a lack of adequate design controls and an over-reliance on the private market to decide where and what to build. Detroit was willing to provide deep subsidies to market-rate housing developments that ignored market realities. The strategy has been largely ineffective; abandonment continues to outpace redevelopment.

Design After Decline also describes other approaches to rebuilding shrinking cities, including landscape urbanism and new urbanism. Each of these options can be expected to have only limited effect, however. As a better approach, Ryan offers social urbanism, modeled after revitalization efforts in Medellín, Colombia. To be effective, social urbanism would require acceptance of a different future for a smaller city, better political leadership, a more democratic process and a great deal of patience. If these elements can be assembled and sustained, in 50 years America's shrinking cities could become new "semi-topias"—not the places that they once were but better than they are today. Ryan assumes that the private market will complement public efforts to redevelop low- and

moderate-income neighborhoods. This assumption has been validated in center city Philadelphia, but not in Detroit.

Ryan's book should be of interest to a broad academic and professional readership. It is well researched and carefully documented. The references are extensive and the graphics are helpful.

In *Driving Detroit*, George Galster (my colleague for a dozen years in Wayne State University's Urban Planning Program), explores the reasons for Detroit's dramatic decline over the last 50 years. *Driving Detroit* is an interpretation of Detroit through psychological, sociological, and historical perspectives. It presents Detroit's history (at least the part in which Europeans play a role) replete with examples of capitalist greed and racial conflict. Racist attitudes and policies in Detroit have been documented by other scholars such as June Manning Thomas, Reynolds Farley, and Olivier Zunz. *Driving Detroit* focuses on the deep divisions in Detroit's metropolitan fabric that are the result of ubiquitous racism and unremitting capitalist exploitation.

The frame of *Driving Detroit* is the "dual dialectic" of conflict—between capital and labor, black and white—responsible for Detroit's decline and current distress. But this is not a Hegelian dialectic that is resolved at a higher level; rather, there are only temporary ascendancies by one side or the other. Currently, capital and blacks are ahead in these struggles.

Galster defines the respect that all Detroiters are seeking in a truncated version of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The omission of the two highest levels, esteem and self-actualization, perhaps explains why he sees Detroit as "a metropolis that fundamentally disrespects its residents by systematically frustrating their quest for respect" (p. 273). The deep divisions in Detroit limit the value of belonging to a group when that group is widely disrespected. Detroit may not offer a glimpse of "the end of the world" (Binelli, 2012), but rather a view of the demise of the blue-collar middle class.

Galster set himself a difficult task—to write an accessible, entertaining book about a difficult subject. Tables, formulas, footnotes and citations are kept to a minimum to increase the book's appeal to a general audience. The book is interspersed with poetry and song lyrics (from Eminem to Mendelssohn), historical anecdotes, examples of the quirks and foibles that make Detroit unique (from how words are pronounced to how left turns are made), and personal history. The result is an easy read. This is achieved at the cost of a lack of analytical rigor. Nevertheless, the discussion of Detroit's housing market collapse is perhaps the best chapter in the book.

Design After Decline offers a broad perspective on shrinking cities, and its overlap of subject matter with *Driving Detroit* provides interesting comparisons. Ryan and Galster agree on a number of important points: (1) the physical geography of Detroit allowed the uninhibited expansion of urban development, (2) the automobile industry has played a major role in both the ascendancy as well as the decline of Detroit, (3) race relations have been important, (4) local government's attempts to deal with the problems of decline have generally been ineffective and often counterproductive, (5) Detroit has sought to redevelop declining areas with a suburban model, and (6) Detroit has lacked effective political leadership and a vision for the future. (Several of the latter points apply to Philadelphia as well.)

Despite these points of agreement, the two books portray a very different Detroit. For Ryan, Detroit is an extreme example of urban decline, one that can provide a precautionary model for rebuilding other urban areas that are experiencing a similar downward cycle. Despite a history of mistakes and misplaced hopes, Detroit, and other shrinking industrial cities, may realize an improved, if different, future. Ryan expresses the traditional optimism of city planners. *Design After Decline* concludes with a description of how shrinking cities can be rebuilt over the next 50 years into "semi-topias."

Ultimately, neither book is completely satisfying. *Design After Decline* does not tell us how America actually rebuilds shrinking cities; Ryan only draws lessons from the attempts that have been made by these two cities. What about cities in the South and West? Ryan's design-based strategy is oversimplified; neither Philadelphia nor Detroit is where it is today solely, or even primarily, because of inadequate urban design. Rather, there are a host of problems—racial, political and economic—that impede their recovery. The piecemeal and incremental changes of recent decades have had little effect on Detroit's East Side or Philadelphia's Near North End. Ryan acknowledges that the rebuilding process will be long, and the result will be very different cities.

Galster, on the other hand, maintains the dismal prospect of the economist. *Driving Detroit* outlines the many things wrong with the “Mortopolis” of Detroit, and, implicitly, why its residents’ quest for respect has failed. In Galster’s view, Detroit wagered its fortune on the wrong horse (corporate capitalism that fostered racial conflicts) and now the city must suffer the consequences (poverty, insecurity, and dysfunctionality). Ironically, *Driving Detroit* includes a quote attributed to Henry Ford: “Don’t find fault—find a remedy. Anybody can complain” (p. 278). Yet there seems to be no remedy and little hope.

For Galster, Detroit is a mess and improvement seems unlikely. The rampant racism and capitalist exploitation that define the city simply cannot be overcome. Ryan concludes that Detroit and Philadelphia (along with other deindustrializing cities) are a mess but, with patience and better urban design, these cities may recover. Although appealing, Ryan’s formula for rebuilding may not be adequate for Galster’s Detroit.

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Peter L. Beilenson and Patrick A. McGuire, *Tapping into the Wire: The Real Urban Crisis* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

Beilenson and McGuire attempt to illustrate various public policy issues, and the challenges to implementing effective solutions to urban problems, through the fictionalized Baltimore represented in the popular HBO series, *The Wire*. Given that cities are where public policy rubber hits the road of reality, it’s an enticing conceit, and Baltimore is replete with public policy choices gone bad. It’s a city in its own self-named county but not of it, with many of the social services, usually handled through county programs, covered by a city with a declining population and tax base. A hint of the isolation and uniqueness of Baltimore can be seen on a map—a gaping, Baltimore-City-shaped divot creates a void in the bottom of the county.

The Wire’s executive producer, erstwhile police reporter David Simon, wanted “to start an argument about undoing the drug war . . . [and demonstrate] the futility of any attempt to reform the school system” (p. xii), among other social issues. The authors of this book—the city’s health commissioner serving two mayors during the series’ first three seasons, and a *Baltimore Sun* reporter—take up the narrative thread with the real Baltimore: “*The Wire* can be a road map for exploring the real-life connections between inner-city poverty and drug-related violence. With a firm grip on the hard truths one can then take part in a serious dialogue that will lead to solutions” (p. 15). This book could serve as an adjunct textbook for university courses focused on public health and drug policy. That said, educators relying on “the hard truths” discussed therein should be advised that the series will compete favorably for their students’ attention.

The authors highlight plot twists in *The Wire* which tell the stories behind truisms—and half-truisms—in public safety and health policies applied to one of the country’s worst case urban scenarios, Baltimore. The episodes featuring “Hamsterdam,” a short-lived experiment in decriminalization by frustrated police Major Bunny Colvin, provide an insider’s vista into the politics of an urban police department, the bureaucracy of a local drug cartel, and the high hopes of harm reduction practitioners. No mere fleet of “needle vans” that roam the streets of many American cities,

Hamsterdam is the series' mondegreen for an area in Baltimore that the police declare as an "arrest-free zone," hoping to draw the drug dealers and users "away from the taxpayers." (A "mondegreen" is a word or phrase misheard and restated with a twist on the original meaning—the Major hopes the dealers he's speaking with will understand that the Amsterdam model of decriminalization is in everybody's best interest; the dealers hear "Hamsterdam" and take it to mean they'll continue to be treated like caged hamsters.) Social services staff and researchers salivate at the potential for surveying concentrated populations of addicts, HIV carriers, and the tenuously housed poor—and at times appear to outnumber the addicts. Narcotics officers reluctantly agree to participate out of loyalty to their brass—they've already determined in the opening episode that "the war on drugs isn't a war. Wars end."

Beilenson provides the hard truths behind the less dramatic and fleetingly successful programs of harm reduction among drug users during his work under two city administrations. Exploring the fringes of decriminalization with Mayor Kurt Schmoke, Beilenson launched a program centered around "medicalization" of the heroin problem:

1. Provide drug treatment on demand.
2. Reserve a portion of criminal justice funding for incarceration of violent offenders and kingpins but redirect the remainder of criminal justice funding from punishment to the treatment of nonviolent offenders.
3. Implement harm reduction measures such as needle exchanges. (p. 52)

This policy trajectory continued under O'Malley, with the "narcans initiative" in which public health professionals trained addicts in CPR and in administering naran in the event of an overdose. "We found that more people in Baltimore were dying each year from drug overdoses than from homicide" (p. 55). This harm reduction extended to the reduction in the transmission of HIV, hepatitis-C, and tuberculosis. This path to success in the real world can't be summarized in an hour of television. The authors detail the challenges of finding nonprofit partners among dozens of well-meaning but competing and underfunded organizations, researchers requiring unserved control groups to compare with those enrolled in treatment, and "small-minded politicians and bureaucrats who can't or won't become visionary leaders" (p. 91).

The hazard for educators in using the series as companion material—apart from the star powers outshining the text—is the potential for oversimplification of the issues in favor of dramatic effect. City council, county board, and legislature hearings rarely make it into, let alone out of, the studio editing booth, yet often that's where the most eloquent citizens testify, experts get heard (though perhaps as often, ignored), and where the most influential policy changes are made. And if all analogies limp, then serialized dramas are a veritable parade of the lame, the halt, and the blind. Dramatic license can also lead to some unfortunate historical revisionism. Toward the end of the series the Mayor decries the shortcomings of Schmoke and O'Malley, his factual predecessors, but in the real world O'Malley established perhaps the closest thing to a truly transparent system for municipal government accountability: Baltimore's CitiStat was configured by O'Malley after a ride-along with the New York Police Department's Jack Maple, the architect of New York's crime reduction model, Compstat.

On taking on the mayor's job in 2000, O'Malley faced the worst of worst case scenarios:

The city faces a glut of urban challenges that are among the country's nastiest: one in ten residents is addicted to drugs and in the 1990s the middle-class fled for the suburbs at a rate of 1,000 emigrés a month. Some 40,000 homes were left behind, vacant and decaying in some of the nation's poorest and most violent neighborhoods. . . . Baltimore is the sort of place where work rules have long gone unenforced and the payroll is bloated with the fat of political patronage. (Swope, 2001)

With CitiStat, accountability rubrics were established for each city department—transparently posting their performance reports on Baltimore's public website. Maps illustrated everything from the successes of public works tow trucks removing abandoned vehicles, to reductions in graffiti and restaurant license violations. Exhaustive financial tables drilled down to fine management details

such as the amount of unauthorized overtime accrued by public servants. CitiStat gets short shrift in the series, and the authors sympathize with O'Malley in his frustration with the series' portrayal of his home town:

The crime, poverty, and social chaos [*The Wire*] depicts in Baltimore haven't gone away. In fact, many in Baltimore regard *The Wire* the way the city's mayor angrily responded during a cabinet meeting I attended in 2003. Martin O'Malley believed *The Wire* was a terrible program because, he said, as he was trying to make changes and improvements in the city, all that people anywhere knew about Baltimore was its drug problem. (p. 14)

Beilenson credits the CitiStat offshoot "DrugStat" with establishing the credibility that numbers and charts can lend to public services:

An example: at one of our early DrugStat meetings of residential treatment programs, one of them was doing far better than the other seven at getting actual jobs for their clients at discharge. In our discussion, it was explained by this program's director that they didn't just provide job readiness training . . . but they also had employers lined up. (p. 89)

Comprehensive and demonstrably successful programs are rewarded at CitiStat meetings; inefficient and poorly managed programs are weeded out.

Regrettably, O'Malley's successor did not finish her first term before resigning in disgrace. By that time the CitiStat web site was a ghost of its former self, though the authors celebrate that the needle vans continue to troll the city.

The authors leave *The Wire*'s Hamsterdam in the early chapters to examine "The MIA Parent" and tour "a school system that seems to do everything in its power to *not* provide its students with what they need" (pp. 93–95). The city's youth are inventoried during the daylight hours, only to return to the Hamsterdam gauntlet at night. Heroic kids survive the neglect of addicted parents only to be held as academic hostages—if they choose to attend classes. Teachers tame unruly children by turning up the heat "and keep the windows closed . . . so the kids will be drowsy and less trouble" (p. 95). Absenteeism is viewed as an offense to be punished rather than a symptom of family disintegration and the lure of gangs.

Beilenson's account of his oversight of the schools' health centers details the difficulty in detecting and treating everything from sexually transmitted diseases to post-traumatic stress disorder, not to mention preventing teen pregnancies. A public health commissioner and mayor can't be too proud to compare the school system's state of affairs with third-world countries: "Mayor Schmoke confronted the superintendent of schools with an awkward fact. 'Kenya does this way better than we do,' he said." (p. 104)

Beilenson saves the most timely analyses for Chapter 9. Newtown, Connecticut may have little in common with "Body-More, Murderland," but here the authors make the case for restricted access to guns as a public health prerogative: "Using the authority of my office—and in conjunction with the Baltimore Police Department and the Johns Hopkins University—I declared the illegal sale of ammunition to minors in the city a public health threat, and we launched our Youth Ammunition Initiative" (p. 130). Raiding stores that sold bullets to youths, and later limiting gun and ammunition sales near parks and schools, created the opportunity to "highlight our innovative approach to defining gun violence as a public health issue" (p. 133).

The final four chapters thin out in comparison with the first nine. Chapter 10 discusses the need for renewed investment in the inner cities: "If I learned one truth in my years as health commissioner in Baltimore, one of the poorest communities in the country, and now in nearby Howard County, one of the wealthiest, it is this: almost to the exclusion of everything else, place matters" (p. 136). Families stuck in poverty are stuck in places denuded of opportunity. Chapter 11 speculates that lead paint—still present in most homes in any inner city, and contaminating the blood streams of thousands of urban youths—brought about the death of Omar Little, the series' antihero.

Chapter 12 focuses on the rise in obesity; Chapter 13 and the Epilogue bring in the politicians, the necessary evil in the grand scheme of things. But

what is the alternative? To be an effective policy advocate one cannot deal with issues in an academic vacuum. Simply debating policy implications with colleagues doesn't get the job done, no matter how promising or useful the idea may be. Without political support, nothing will happen. . . . To succeed, you still have to convince [the politicians] that your mission is both feasible and worthwhile. (p. 171)

In the series the wildest political players are rewarded, no matter how corrupt, inebriated, or incompetent in their field. But in the real world, according to the authors, public servants can and will change the world with the right smarts, statistics, and politician-advocates. This is a message obscured by the flash of star power and camera work in the television series, but expressed with hope and confidence in this book.

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Timothy Beatley (Ed.), *Green Cities of Europe: Global Lessons on Green Urbanism* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2012).

Why study European cities? The answer to the book's opening question lies in the worldwide influence of European city planning since the seventeenth century. European cities continue to advance innovative concepts and inspire practices. They serve as exemplars of sustainable urbanization and livable environments.

Green Cities of Europe is a comprehensive volume of 234 pages about contemporary urban green and sustainable development. Editor Timothy Beatley, professor of urban and environmental planning at the University of Virginia, selected experienced local practitioners to write case studies of their cities. The authors rely largely on local documents and sources, supplemented by maps and photographs.

The book showcases seven cities that have advanced the concepts of urban green and sustainable development. Of the four capitals covered in the book—Paris, London, Copenhagen, and Helsinki—the latter two (typifying Scandinavia) rank high on the list of the world's most livable cities. Of the other three cities—Freiburg, Germany; Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain; and Venice, Italy, each averaging 250,000 residents—the first two are known for their sustainability programs, whereas the celebrated Italian city is known for balancing historic preservation and sustainability. While the seven cases are not representative of European cities in general, they stand for state-of-the-art design and planning for urban green development and sustainability.

Each chapter begins with a description of its particular city's geographic, demographic, social, and economic characteristics, and then analyzes the regulatory planning system at both local and regional levels. There are many compelling examples of innovations in green and livable urban environments, including their strategic integration and implementation. The authors describe the most exemplary and cutting-edge innovations in detail.

The book's broader objectives are met through the editor's introductory and concluding chapters. Drawing on the seven city cases, Beatley, who has studied and published extensively on European green planning for two decades, identifies general green trends and concludes with key policy lessons. He finds that European green planning strategies fall into four categories: sustainable mobility, including bicycle paths, public transit (local trams and trains), and high-speed rail between cities; "walkability," including pedestrian-friendly streets and shared space for human interactions; a broad "biophilic" category covering trees, parks, waterfronts, nature areas, open spaces, greenbelts, ecological networks, "green" buildings, vertical gardens, and rooftop plantings; and responses to climate change, including renewable energy applications and "positive-energy" buildings.

Key lessons begin with the green city's physical layout and architecture, that is, the need for compact, mixed-use, and transit-oriented places. Beatley advocates the construction and maintenance of transportation and other public facilities, high-speed rail networks, and green infrastructure, including urban parks and agriculture. He also recommends setting green standards and benchmarks for regulation of environmental and energy planning.

Speculating on the forces behind successful green city initiatives, Beatley finds that social and cultural attitudes help to account for the stronger public support for green policies in Europe than in the United States. However, social and environmental justice is not a central focus of the book; the contributors do not pay much attention to the relations among residents' socioeconomic characteristics and access to housing and employment, awareness of environmental and ecological issues, and the success or failure of green policies. The only two exceptions are brief discussions of planning for equity in Helsinki and the role of public participation in Copenhagen.

I was disappointed by the book's inattention to the political factors that might explain successful versus unsuccessful green city initiatives. There is little here about the mobilization of government, business, and civic actors. With the exception of the Paris and London chapters, the analysis stops short of explaining the coordination and implementation of local and regional efforts on the national, European, and global levels. Such analysis would have been helpful in the other case studies, particularly because local and regional green economies are greatly affected by current national and global recessions. This lack of information on implementation is an important limitation of the book's aim in seeking to draw lessons from European city planning for the United States. Historically, such a policy transfer has been constrained by the traditional resistance of U.S. governments to centralized planning. Despite its subtitle, *Global Lessons on Green Urbanism*, the Europe–U.S. comparative analysis remains limited to the sociocultural dimension. Only the London chapter offers direct implications for the United States.

Nonetheless, *Green Cities of Europe* provides valuable information and insight about regulatory planning, urban design, and environmental and ecological initiatives. The detailed descriptions, summaries of contemporary trends, and policy lessons can certainly stimulate experiments and influence local practices worldwide. The book will appeal especially to architects and urban planners, and will also be useful to academics and researchers working at the interdisciplinary intersection of urban design, sustainable development, and environmental policy.

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Eva Kassens-Noor, *Planning Olympic Legacies: Transport Dreams and Urban Realities* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

The sustained interest in cities hosting mega-events such as the Olympic games demands careful analysis. From the body of work that is emerging, important policy recommendations and bargaining strategies for the public sector are being produced. Kassens-Noor's *Planning Olympic Legacies:*

Transport Dreams and Urban Realities (case studies of Barcelona, Atlanta, Sydney, and Athens) follows the compendium edited by Maennig and Zimbalist (also published in 2012) and preceded Judith Grant Long's more recent work. Professor Kassens-Noor's focus is somewhat different from the broader economic issues that are the focus of the contributors to the Maennig and Zimbalist volume and the more general planning and reuse issues that are at the heart of Professor Long's work.

Kassens-Noor's focus on transportation issues and legacies is desirable given the extraordinary demands placed on urban networks when the Olympics descend on a region. Transportation issues range from the need for improved airport facilities to the flexibility required to move athletes, officials, and tourists among numerous venues while residents and businesses struggle to perform their daily tasks. In that sense Professor Kassens-Noor's book constitutes a welcome addition to the literature, providing students in urban policy classes with a resource to consider a wide ranging set of institutional and organization issues. The book also looks at the ways in which the public sector engages with political forces and capital as represented by exogenous actors. How and why local actors respond to Olympic and similar type initiatives constitutes an important learning opportunity for students.

Professor Kassens-Noor succeeds in providing undergraduate students new to the study of mega-events, sports, and urban policy with valuable insights and examples that can help instructors lead useful discussions. More would have been possible had Professor Kassens-Noor taken a different tack and taken into account issues and approaches put forward by numerous other scholars.

The missed opportunities emerge in the initial pages, when Professor Kassens-Noor notes that among the important stories to tell from her work is "the potential power that the IOC (International Olympic Committee) can exercise on host cities thereby influencing the creation of legacies" (p. 2). Accepting responsibility for ensuring that every city that hosts the Olympic games build such a legacy would indeed be a noble gesture by the IOC. There is, however, a rich and diverse literature that suggests the IOC has never accepted that responsibility. To be fair, there are requirements that every applicant to host the games describe its provisions for achieving some sort of permanent legacy. Professor Kassens-Noor is careful to explain those requirements. What is not discussed, unfortunately, is that the IOC makes no financial commitments to ensure that any sort of legacy is actually achieved. Indeed, the IOC makes it clear that the host countries are responsible for all financial elements related to the staging of the games and renovations required to establish some sort of legacy. Past work referenced by Professor Kassens-Noor highlights the extent to which the IOC has introduced policies or requirements to ensure that activities or practices used by Los Angeles and Atlanta to minimize their financial exposure (or secure a direct financial return on their investment) are no longer available to host cities. The declared intention of the IOC is to minimize its investments and capture all direct revenue streams; this best underscores the organization's real interest in a commitment to legacy plans.

Imposing costs on a city and country may well be the real commitment to legacy by the IOC that Professor Kassens-Noor documents through her work. Indeed, in latter chapters of her book she details the costs incurred by cities and countries for transportation systems as a result of hosting the games, but she does not carefully align those analyses with the precepts in the first chapter.

What are those precepts that are at the heart of the first chapter of *Planning Olympic Legacies* that are not properly aligned with the findings from case studies? First, Kassens-Noor notes the IOC has the potential power to influence legacies, but then never returns to the fact that revenues are not shared with host cities to ensure that future development plans can be realized. Second, she notes that the IOC exerts even more pressure on cities if the committee is concerned that its demands or needs are not being properly met. Of course that means even more costs for the host city, and, while those are addressed in the case studies, the implications of those additional costs legacies are not addressed. Lastly, she notes that cities sometimes ignore their own planning goals to secure a bid, which is another example of the IOC imposing costs on legacies, because those goals are often compromised

in order to secure the bid. Aligning the book's central observations with the case studies would have made this volume a stronger teaching tool and contribution to the literature.

Whether one uses an economic or organizational theory perspective, there are too few (if any) incentives for the IOC and its governing board to care about legacy issues. The IOC should be expected to care about the success of the games and to protect its own financial interests. The IOC was not created to build urban legacies. The interests of its board members do not lie in urban policy or the creation of legacies related to a region's infrastructure. That is the responsibility of citizens and their elected officials. A useful addition to *Planning Olympic Legacies* might well have been a chapter on effective bargaining strategies that could be pursued to ensure a real legacy is built in the aftermath of the games that is the shared responsibility of the IOC and a city. While I remain pessimistic about the prospects for the IOC taking on that mantle of responsibility, Professor Kassens-Noor's insights into negotiation and mediation, based on her three case studies, would have been an important legacy from this book.

Professor Kassens-Noor also directs readers to consider some points that at first blush seem intuitive. For example, she notes that the more concerns the IOC had with a city's transport plans and infrastructure "the more the pressure it exerted to comply with their requirements" (p. 3). That pressure would seem to be both prudent and part of the IOC's mission relative to the staging of successful games. The IOC's financial stability rests on successful games. Successful games also encourage other applicant cities to bid for future games. One can imagine any growth coalition noting "if Athens could stage a successful Olympics so can we." That sort of a statement becomes a strong selling point and one the IOC itself could advance to encourage even more cities to bid for the games. Further, I found Kassens-Noor's assertion that "if cities are not very careful to create and protect their goals, then the Olympic legacy will actually be quite minimal" (p. 3) to be obvious even to an undergraduate student. If an organization (or individual) does not protect its goals, no one else will.

These shortcomings should not detract from the rich trove of information to be found in *Olympic Planning Legacies*. The individual case studies illustrate for students and practitioners the challenges each city faced and overcame.

However, Kassens-Noor could perhaps have elaborated on these lessons. For example, I am curious why Australia chose Sydney as opposed to Melbourne for the bid for the 2000 games. On the surface, of course, it might seem logical to select a city other than Melbourne, which had already hosted the Olympics. Yet, as Professor Kassens-Noor notes, the site chosen by Sydney for the games was hardly conducive for legacy planning and today remains a largely underdeveloped part of the metropolitan area. There were to be sure some positive outcomes in the harbor area, but the Olympic Stadium and the area around it are really moribund and a bit difficult to reach. In contrast, the sports venues in Melbourne are more visually integrated into that city's urban fabric and if legacy was a concern then Melbourne could well have been a more desirable location.

Barcelona and its games, and the interests of the post-Franco regime in Spain, suggest that there should have been additional analyses and discussion regarding legacy issues. Spain's decision to support Barcelona's bid in light of the ongoing separatist elements would have also been a fruitful area to explore.

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