

Conclusion: Urban Futures

JOEL KOTKIN

Human prosperity never abides long in the same place.

—Herodotus¹

Over five millennia, through pestilence, war, economic dislocation, and mass migrations, cities have demonstrated their essential resiliency. Yet at the same time, they have many times been transformed—becoming bigger, denser, and then less dense; shifting from having a walking- to a transit-based culture; and then moving on to be auto-dependent and, now, having a new pattern based increasingly on digital commuting.

At each stage of urban transformation, cities have changed their function, look, and appeal. Today we see this in the rapid shifts of population, first from the countryside to the city, then from the city to the suburb, and now, in the wake of the great transformation toward remote work, from the suburb toward a more dispersed archipelago of urban communities.

But even if the urban future, or futures, change, the challenges to their prosperity and sustainability will remain much the same. Cities remain shaped by three challenges: social stability, economic functionality, and political means to achieve these ends—or undermine them. As in Herodotus's day, some cities, or parts of metropolitan areas, might face a bright future, while for others, the prospects might be bleaker.

Cities' Social Crisis

By their very nature, cities are profoundly social institutions. For millennia, living conditions were often unsanitary, and death rates were higher than in the countryside. Yet whether in the case of Italian peasants coming

to Rome or rural refugees headed to the 1840s Manchester portrayed in Friedrich Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, people came primarily not for lifestyle reasons but to escape even more crushing poverty in the countryside.²

Overall, cities have remained magnetic through most of history, first for their temples and marketplaces, then for their factories, and finally as high-rise business service centers. This transformation has extended to the developing world, where the vast majority of the world's largest megacities are located.³ Yet even in some countries—such as India and China—the flow of people to cities appears to have slowed, as urban life loses some of its appeal to both migrants and government officials.⁴

Starting in the 1920s, and certainly after 1950, US population trends began shifting toward the periphery. In 1950, the core cities accounted for nearly 24 percent of the US population; today the share is under 15 percent. In contrast, the suburbs and exurbs grew from housing 13 percent of the metropolitan population in 1940 to 86 percent in 2017—a gradual increase of 2 percent a year. Despite all the talk of moving “back to the city” that has been common for at least a generation, suburbs have accounted for about 90 percent of all US metropolitan growth since 2010. Between 2010 and 2020, suburbs and exurbs of the major metropolitan areas gained two million net domestic migrants, while the urban core counties lost 2.7 million.⁵

Yet even as they have lost their overall share of population, many cities appear to have recovered some allure in the past two decades, particularly among the affluent and well educated. Former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg described his city as “a luxury product,” built around wealthy elites.⁶ Many of the world's most affluent own properties in great cities such as London, New York, and Paris, even if they live there only intermittently.⁷ Yet overall, as scholars Edward Glaeser and Jesse Shapiro note, there has not been a significant reversal of the previous demographic trend toward the Sunbelt cities and their periphery.⁸

Crucially, the concept of the luxury city boosted property prices but failed to create a new stable urban middle class. The Jane Jacobs conception of a city that does not “lure the middle class” but “creates one” has slowly faded from existence, as industrial and middle management positions have eroded.⁹ In 1970, half of Chicago was middle class; today, according to a 2019 University of Illinois study, that number is down to

16 percent. Meanwhile, the percentage of poor people in the Windy City has risen from 42 in 1970 and, after a slight decline in the early 2000s, now stands at 62 percent.¹⁰ Despite the movement of well-educated, young, childless people, the most attractive blue cities—led by Boston, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, and San Jose—now suffer, according to Pew Research, the largest gaps between the bottom and top quintiles of all US cities.¹¹

Yet even as the elites have moved in, poverty has remained stubbornly high. Philadelphia's central core, for example, rebounded between 2000 and 2014, but for every one district that gained in income, two suffered income declines.¹² Since 2000, the number of people living in extremely poor neighborhoods nationwide has doubled, notes one study from a prominent urbanist; neighborhoods of concentrated poverty are still disproportionately located in the densest urban places, even if they are not always in the historic core.¹³ Most large cities have also become more racially segregated by geography, with New York topping that list.¹⁴

The process of an increasing wealth disparity is particularly marked in San Francisco, the urban center that gained most from the technological revolution while gradually becoming the country's costliest city. San Francisco anchors a region with the smallest middle class among the 52 metropolitan statistical areas, with just over one million people in that category.¹⁵ Inequality grew most rapidly there over the past decade, reports the Brookings Institution, as techies moved into tough urban areas, such as the Tenderloin.¹⁶ San Francisco boasts enormous aggregate wealth but is plagued by mass homelessness and petty crime, and the middle-class family there is heading toward extinction. The city lost 31,000 home-owning families over the past decade—a trend that has continued to accelerate during the pandemic.¹⁷

The bifurcated luxury city no longer can house much of the middle or working class. Overall, according to a recent Massachusetts Institute of Technology study, roughly 80 percent of the nation's metropolitan population lives in auto-dependent suburbs and exurbs, while barely 8 percent live in the urban core and another 13 percent in traditional transit-oriented suburbs.¹⁸

This is a global phenomenon. Since 1921, the central city of Paris lost over 700,000 residents, while its suburbs gained nearly eight million,

according to data from the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies and the United Nations. After peaking in 1901 at 4.5 million residents, Inner London lost 1.3 million people over the next 90 years, while Outer London added 8.8 million.¹⁹ From 1990 to 2020, the central city of Seoul lost one million residents,²⁰ while the suburbs added eight million. The core city of Buenos Aires lost a bit fewer than 100,000 residents between 1950 and 2011, while the suburbs have added about 10.5 million.²¹

The core cities have lost their population share in part because they are also increasingly childless, whether in East Asia, Europe, or North America. The number of babies born in Manhattan this decade dropped nearly 15 percent; already home to a majority of single households, the nation's premier urban center could see its infant population cut in half in 30 years.²² Demographer Wendell Cox estimates that the percentage of households with children between the age of 5 and 17 was close to three times higher in suburbs or exurbs than in or near the urban core. Urban school districts are imploding as the number of young people growing up in core cities has declined.²³ San Francisco, for example, is home to more dogs than children under age 18, and Seattle boasts more households with cats than two-legged offspring.²⁴

Millennials seem likely to bolster this geographic shift, as two-thirds prefer suburban locations.²⁵ Los Angeles County, by far America's largest urban county, has lost three-quarters of a million residents under age 25 over the past two decades.²⁶ Other urban counties also lost youth population. To be sure, young and talented people will continue to flock to big cities, but once they hit the family formation period in their 30s, they still largely depart for the suburbs.²⁷

This is not a repeat of white flight, as some 96 percent of all suburban growth was among racial minorities.²⁸ In the 50 largest US metro areas, 44 percent of residents live in racially and ethnically diverse suburbs in which non-whites make up between 20 percent and 60 percent of the population.²⁹ Scholars such as Chicago's Pete Saunders have pointed out that much of the movement of African Americans has been from the city's long-entrenched black middle class, with many entrepreneurs and professionals moving out of the core. Left behind are the poorest parts of the black and Latino communities. Black political and economic power in

the city has declined markedly, as had previously occurred in many other once-magnetic northern and western cities.³⁰

These changes have left cities more vulnerable to disorder and rising crime, including a jump in homicides.³¹ Crime has always been a part of the urban story, but even the worst gangsters of the 1930s generally left “civilians” alone. Today’s crime, by contrast, reflects what one Chicago resident described as “sociopathic idiocy.”³² Other great urban centers—Los Angeles, New York, Portland, San Francisco, and Seattle—have become centers for homelessness, open drug markets, and incubators for all sorts of diseases, some of them distinctly medieval and arguably far more dangerous than coronavirus.³³ Unless cities can restore some sense of social cohesion, we can expect more of our urban centers to present the worst aspects of medievalism—with vast poor populations, endemic disease, and massive social and geographic separation between the classes.

The Shifting Urban Economy

Whether in Mesopotamia or Mesoamerica, cities have lured people to trade goods but also to settle, as they were places with great economic opportunity. In the Industrial Revolution era, millions of people left the farms and headed to the cities for work, leading people to places such as Beijing, Berlin, Liverpool, London, Paris, Seoul, Singapore, and Tokyo. Conditions in these cities were, and often still are, difficult, but they are far better than life in the economically stagnant countryside.

Yet in the West, and increasingly in parts of Asia, the industrial economy has shifted to ever less expensive regions. New York, which had one million manufacturing jobs in 1950, now has fewer than 100,000. Los Angeles has seen industrial employment drop from a million in 1990 to barely 300,000 now.³⁴ Today, even amid a modest re-shoring of manufacturing, virtually all the industrial growth is taking place in smaller cities—and rarely along the great coastal megapolitan regions.³⁵ The biggest gainers of industrial jobs over the past five years have been such boomtowns as Austin, Texas; Jacksonville and Orlando, Florida; Tucson, Arizona; and Virginia Beach, Virginia, while the biggest losses took place in Los Angeles and New York.³⁶

In the 1960s, cities with strong central business districts—Chicago, New York, San Francisco, and Tokyo—jettisoned the factory-centered economy to evolve into what Jean Gottman defined as “the transactional city,” dominated by business services.³⁷ From high-rise towers, these urban centers were widely seen as occupying “the commanding heights” of the world economy, with all other places relegated to subordinate roles.³⁸ Even in smaller cities, such as Milwaukee, Wisconsin, districts near the historic core experienced rapid income growth while declining in the largely black, once heavily industrial areas.³⁹

Yet even as the transactional city arose, most economic growth, particularly the tech industry, clustered mostly in the suburbs, whether in Boston, coastal California, Raleigh, or the suburbs of Seattle.⁴⁰ The tech industry, notes Stanford University’s Margaret Pugh O’Mara, created a new reality, changing “bedroom” suburbs into an economic role closer to the “classic definitions” of cities “in terms of their economic diversity and self-sufficiency.” These communities may be defined by strip malls, housing tracts, and automobile access, but they were no longer “amorphous extensions of the core.” Rather, they were “cities of knowledge.”⁴¹

Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, the shift of wealthy and educated people to the periphery was significant, notes a recent Harvard study.⁴² From 2010 to 2017, over 80 percent of all job growth was in the suburbs and exurbs. The 50 highest-growth counties had an employment increase of more than 2.5 times that of other counties in 2019.⁴³ Even key sectors, such as finance and business services, have shifted increasingly to highly suburbanized places, such as Phoenix, Raleigh, and Salt Lake City, where costs and taxes are lower.⁴⁴

The pandemic exposed urban centers’ reliance on high-end business service work. Even San Francisco, with one of the nation’s strongest central business districts, has suffered rising office vacancies—three times pre-pandemic levels, which is enough to fill the Salesforce Tower, the city’s tallest building, 17 times. Things should improve, but most companies there, according to a Bay Area Council survey, expect employees to come to the office three days a week or less, with barely one in five companies seeing a return to “normal.”⁴⁵

Studies from the National Bureau of Economic Research and the University of Chicago suggest that remote work could become the norm for

one-third of the workforce—and as high as 50 percent of it in Silicon Valley.⁴⁶ Leading tech firms, including Facebook, Salesforce, and Twitter, now expect a large proportion of their workforce to continue to work remotely after the pandemic. Some three-quarters of venture capitalists and tech firm founders, notes one recent survey, expect their ventures to operate totally or mostly online.⁴⁷

Of course, the weakening of the pandemic will occasion a substantial return to the office.⁴⁸ But Stanford economist Nicholas Bloom suggests that remote workers will constitute at least 20 percent of the workforce—more than three times the pre-pandemic share.⁴⁹ In a recent survey of over 5,000 employed adults, four in 10 American workers expected some level of post-pandemic remote-work flexibility. McKinsey & Company reports that more than one-half of surveyed employees would like their employers to adopt more flexible hybrid-working models. More than one-quarter of employees indicated that “they would consider switching employers if their organization returned to fully on-site work.”⁵⁰

The work-at-home shift addresses issues especially important to millennials, according to a Conference Board survey, such as enhanced “life-work balance.” The majority of workers with children favor continuing work mostly or entirely at home. For those who choose to work in an office, a market for remote suburban offices offers a potential alternative.⁵¹

A Partnership for New York survey of its members revealed the expectation that roughly three in four employers will allow either a hybrid model that requires two to three days at the office or no office days at all.⁵² Even before the pandemic, working at home had raced ahead of transit as a commute option in the United States. In 2018, working at home led transit in 44 of the 53 metropolitan areas with more than one million in population.⁵³ The dream of America becoming a nation of straphangers seems painfully remote now.

This is not only an American phenomenon. Natarajan Chandrasekaran, the CEO of India’s Tata conglomerate, predicts that most of the 450,000 Tata Consulting Services employees will continue to work from home after the pandemic. “The digital disruption is so significant that most of us cannot imagine the degree,” Chandrasekaran said. “The pandemic has accelerated digital trends that will stick after it has gone.”⁵⁴

Urban Politics

Ultimately, cities will need to address these issues head-on. But some city officials appear to tolerate or even embrace disorder; many, and even some in the planning community, favored defunding the police.⁵⁵ This call has accompanied rising crime in places such as Chicago, Minneapolis, New York, and Los Angeles.⁵⁶ However advantageous to activists, unrest typically assaults black-owned and immigrant-owned businesses and impoverished small property owners. After initial pledges by big businesses and nonprofits to aid the inner city, the longer-term trend has been to reduce investment in poor inner-city areas.⁵⁷

South Central Los Angeles, the site of two of America's worst riots, has suffered a growing gap with its surrounding area in terms of homeownership, income, and educational attainment.⁵⁸ There have also been signs of rising disorder in major European cities. Arguably the biggest force undermining urbanity is the combined effects of inequality, racial tension, and rising crime in cities across the United States and around the world, including London, which now has a crime rate five times the rest of the United Kingdom.⁵⁹

In tech-rich San Francisco, decades of tolerance for even extreme deviant behavior have helped create a city with more drug addicts than high school students and so much feces on the street that one website has created a "poop map." In Southern California's far more proletarian city of Los Angeles, a UN official last year compared conditions on LA's Skid Row to those of Syrian refugee camps.⁶⁰

In the past, great mayors, such as Fiorello La Guardia in New York, steered their cities through multiple crises, including the Great Depression, crime waves, and wartime disruptions. In the 1990s, cities elected successful, pragmatic mayors from both parties—Bob Lanier and Bill White in Houston, Rudy Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg in New York, and Richard Riordan in Los Angeles—who focused on reducing crime, encouraging enterprise, and improving basic city services. Although larger cities have long trended Democratic, not that long ago, there were far more Republicans and independents among their leadership than there are now.⁶¹

This reflects the reality that core cities have become ever less politically diverse. In 1984, for example, Ronald Reagan won 31 percent of the vote in

San Francisco and 27.4 percent in Manhattan. In 2016, Donald Trump won only 10 percent of the vote in these urban bastions.⁶² With the decline of the urban middle class and the loss of conservative and centrist voters, political conditions have increasingly favored the far left. Rep. Alexandria Ocasio Cortez’s (D-NY) initial primary victory rested on 16,000 votes of almost 215,000 Democratic registrations. She won not by sweeping the proletariat or minority masses but by marshaling the votes of white, young, educated “hipsters.”⁶³

These voters are driving the rise of far-left socialists in other cities, but there are signs that some liberal Democrats are moving toward a more traditionalist position.⁶⁴ African American mayors, such as Houston’s Sylvester Turner or New York’s Eric Adams, have rejected anti-police movements.⁶⁵ The voters of Austin—Texas’s blue capital—in 2021 rescinded tolerant urban camping provisions backed by their progressive leaders by a large vote.⁶⁶ Even in San Francisco, a hotbed of far-left progressive agitation, progressive school board members were overwhelmingly defeated in February 2022. And just a few months earlier, similarly left-leaning Seattle removed its ultra-progressive district attorney, and Buffalo voters defeated a socialist-backed Democrat in favor of a moderate African American.⁶⁷

Future Prospects

Cities have survived at least five millennia, largely by changing themselves. Today, cities must adjust to a broad “networked” urbanity—the “city of bits” first proposed by the futurist William Mitchell in 1999. In the emergence of an “electronically augmented environment,” Mitchell prophetically foresaw that this high-tech metropolis would intensify the concentration of wealth in a few places.⁶⁸ Talent, money, and power will have new ability to shift to whatever locale attracts them.

The “smart city” being proposed by tech firms such as Google might make cities more efficient, but this would be at the cost of much of their human essence. It also would give the state and large companies more opportunity to monitor our lives—and sell more advertising. The “smart city” could replace organic urban growth with a regime running on

algorithms designed to rationalize our activities and control our way of life, as is increasingly the case in Chinese cities.⁶⁹

This new urban world could produce a society like that described in Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, where people live alone in amenity-rich dormitories and enjoy pleasurable pharmaceuticals and unconstrained sex without commitment or consequences. This family-free life is oddly resonant with how Mark Zuckerberg, now creating a metaverse for a fuller escape from reality, described his ideal Facebook employees: "We may not own a car. We may not have a family. Simplicity in life is what allows you to focus on what's important."⁷⁰

To survive and thrive in the city-of-bits era, urban areas will have to compete for residents and businesses, not for economic necessity but as a choice. The conveniences of urban living—such as broadband, arts, ethnic culture, and entertainment—are becoming available across more locales, sometimes even in largely rural areas.⁷¹ New urban residents will have to be persuaded that urban centers offer these amenities not only in greater depth but also under secure conditions.

Having lost the battle for residents, some city planners and academics and many in government may evoke climate change to force people into "living smaller, living closer"—whether they like it or not.⁷² This is the case even in developing countries, such as South Africa. Yet these accounts have often ignored changes in car exhausts and the rise of remote work and have discounted urban phenomena such as "heat islands" caused by too many buildings packed together in one place.⁷³

Preserving the environment is crucial, but ultimately, cities cannot be constructed around compulsion. Fifteen years ago, it was common for the mainstream media to suggest that "America's suburban dream" was "collapsing into a nightmare."⁷⁴ The *New York Times* suggested ways to carve up the suburban carcass, with some envisioning that suburban three-car garages would be "subdivided into rental units with streetfront cafés, shops and other local businesses" while abandoned pools would become skateboard parks. Arguments against homeownership, the key to exurbia, surfaced, bolstered by what turned out to be a short-lived drop in prices spurred by the proliferation of unsustainable subprime mortgages.⁷⁵

That their predictions turned out wrong should be fairly obvious. People continue to vote with their feet, moving to these same peripheral places.

Despite all the statistical evidence, anti-suburban zealots still cling to this notion. They cannot see the appeal of new exurban communities that provide residents large open-space preserves, extensive parks, clubhouses, Main Streets, and cultural amenities.⁷⁶ These may not be cities of the old type, but they provide some aspects of the urban culture that many see as more amenable to family life.

Of course, the shift to newer, dispersed communities does not make the historic core irrelevant. But it changes its function as the undisputed economic center of society. In the future, the central business district and the core city will, as H. G. Wells predicted over a century ago, play the role of “places of rendezvous and concourse.”⁷⁷ Some of the youngest workers may still want to rent temporarily in big gateway cities, where they can mix with each other and be noticed by their bosses. But in the future, central business districts are unlikely to retain their lofty status.

To maintain themselves and construct a better future, cities need to focus on safety, quality of life, good schools, and social order. “A great city,” noted Aristotle, is not confounded with a “populous one.”⁷⁸ Successful future cities should focus more on neighborhood life—and less on grandiosity. They can only compete, as cities have in the past, by providing a more dynamic, vital alternative to the periphery or small towns.

Rather than the luxury city, they need to focus on becoming a more inclusive human city; the urban advantage will not rest with “bits” but in attracting those who seek the things unique to the urban experience. Technology may drive future dispersion, but it also could create a new, more people-friendly metropolis, even allowing core cities to fulfill the promise that has defined and spurred their development since ancient times.

Notes

1. Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt (London: Penguin Books, 1954), 5.

2. Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968), 57–61.

3. George Bugliarello, “Megacities and the Developing World,” *Bridge* 29, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 19–26, <https://www.nae.edu/File.aspx?id=7369&v=fo2cbb8o>.

4. Shefali Anand and Vibhuti Agarwal, “India’s Economy Hinges on the Return of Workers Who Fled to Their Villages,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 13, 2022, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/indias-economy-hinges-on-the-return-of-workers-who-fled-to-their-villages-11644777177>; and Javier C. Hernández, “Xi Jinping Vows No Poverty in China by 2020. That Could Be Hard.,” *New York Times*, October 31, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/31/world/asia/xi-jinping-poverty-china.html>.

5. Becky Nicolaidis and Andrew Wiese, “Suburbanization in the United States After 1945,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*, April 26, 2017, <https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-64>; Wendell Cox, “America’s Dispersing Metros: The 2020 Population Estimates,” *NewGeography.com*, May 6, 2021, <https://www.newgeography.com/content/007037-americas-dispersing-metros-the-2020-population-estimates>; Tom Hancock, “China Drive to Relocate Millions of Rural Poor Runs into Trouble,” *Financial Times*, June 14, 2017, <https://www.ft.com/content/eac3c59e-41e5-11e7-9d56-25f963e998b2>; and *Multinational Monitor*, “The Political Economy of Sprawl in the Developing World: An Interview with Anna Tibaijuka,” October 2003, <https://www.multinationalmonitor.org/mm2003/102003/interview-tibaijuka.html>.

6. Diane Cardwell, “Mayor Says New York Is Worth the Cost,” *New York Times*, January 8, 2003, <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/08/nyregion/mayor-says-new-york-is-worth-the-cost.html>.

7. Maya Imberg et al., *Spotlight on the World’s Leading Markets for the Wealthy: Residential Real Estate 2021*, Wealth-X, February 18, 2021, https://www.wealthx.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Wealth-X_REALM_Residential-Real-Estate_2021.pdf.

8. Edward L. Glaeser and Jesse Shapiro, “Is There a New Urbanism? The Growth of U.S. Cities in the 1990s” (working paper, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA, July 2001), 1–43, <https://www.nber.org/papers/w8357>.

9. Howard Husock, “Urban Iconoclast: Jane Jacobs Revisited,” *City Journal*, 1994, <https://www.city-journal.org/html/urban-iconoclast-jane-jacobs-revisited-12576.html>; and Peter Dizikes, “Q&A: Why Cities Aren’t Working for the Working Class,” *MIT News*, February 20, 2019, <https://news.mit.edu/2019/why-cities-aren%E2%80%99t-working-working-class-0220>.

10. Linda Lutton, “The Middle Class Is Shrinking Everywhere—in Chicago It’s Almost Gone,” *WBEZ Chicago*, February 18, 2019, <https://www.wbez.org/stories/the-middle-class-is-shrinking-everywhere-in-chicago-its-almost-gone/e63cb407-5d1e-41b1-9124-a717d4fb1bob>.

11. Rakesh Kochhar, “The American Middle Class Is Stable in Size, but Losing Ground Financially to Upper-Income Families,” *Pew Research Center*, September 6, 2018, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/09/06/the-american-middle-class-is-stable-in-size-but-losing-ground-financially-to-upper-income-families>.

12. Scott Calvert, “For More U.S. Cities, Downtown Is a Center of Economic Strength,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 5, 2016, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/for-more-cities-downtown-is-a-center-of-economic-strength-1470389405>.

13. Joe Cortright, “More Evidence of the Growth of Concentrated Poverty,” *City Commentary*, June 20, 2017, <https://cityobservatory.org/more-evidence-of-the-growth-of-concentrated-poverty>.

14. Stephen Menendian, Samir Gambhir, and Arthur Gales, “The Roots of Structural Racism Project: Twenty-First Century Racial Residential Segregation in the United States,” University of California, Berkeley, Othering and Belonging Institute, June 30, 2021, <https://belonging.berkeley.edu/roots-structural-racism>.

15. Andrew Chamings, “Report Shows San Franciscans on Minimum Wage Need to Work 4.9 Jobs to Make Rent,” SFGate, July 14, 2021, <https://www.sfgate.com/local/article/san-francisco-most-expensive-city-in-america-16314661.php>; Alan Berube, “Where Does the American Middle Class Live?,” Brookings Institution, October 2, 2018, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/where-does-the-american-middle-class-live>; and Ryan Streeter and Kawit Promrat, “Middle Class Urbanism Is the New Heartland Chic,” RealClearPolicy, March 25, 2021, <https://www.aei.org/articles/middle-class-urbanism-is-the-new-heartland-chic>.

16. Amy Graff, “\$303K Is the Annual Income Now Needed to Buy a Median Priced Home in San Francisco,” SFGate, February 14, 2018, <https://www.sfgate.com/realestate/article/income-needed-buy-home-San-Francisco-real-estate-12614111.php>; Alan Berube, “All Cities Are Not Created Unequal,” Brookings Institution, February 20, 2014, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/all-cities-are-not-created-unequal>; Frederick Kuo, “San Francisco Has Become One Huge Metaphor for Economic Inequality in America,” Quartz, July 20, 2022, <https://qz.com/711854/the-inequality-happening-now-in-san-francisco-will-impact-america-for-generations-to-come>; and Quentin Hardy, “Blending Tech Workers and Locals in San Francisco’s Troubled Mid-Market,” *New York Times*, August 17, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/17/technology/blending-tech-workers-and-locals-in-san-franciscos-troubled-mid-market.html>.

17. Amy Graff, “San Francisco Metro Area Has Lost 31,000 Home-Owning Families in 10 Years,” SFGate, July 12, 2018, <https://www.sfgate.com/mommyfiles/article/San-Francisco-low-percentage-families-homeowners-13069287.php>; Megan Cassidy and Sarah Ravani, “The Scanner: San Francisco Ranks No. 1 in US in Property Crime,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 2, 2018, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/crime/article/The-Scanner-San-Francisco-ranks-No-1-in-13267113.php>; Aria Bendix, “San Francisco’s Homelessness Crisis Is So Bad, People Appear to Be Using Poop to Graffiti the Sidewalks,” Insider, November 20, 2018, <https://www.businessinsider.com/san-francisco-homelessness-poop-graffiti-2018-11>; and Charles Clifford, “New Report Shows Homeowners Continue to Leave the Bay Area,” KRON4, January 26, 2022, <https://www.kron4.com/news/real-estate/new-report-shows-homeowners-continue-to-leave-the-bay-area>.

18. Alan M. Berger, David Gordon, and Mario Giampieri, “The American Suburbs Project,” Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Norman B. Leventhal Center for Advanced Urbanism, 2021, <https://lcau.mit.edu/project/american-suburbs-project>; Erika Janik, “Greendale, A Depression-Era Experiment in Utopia,” Wisconsin Public Radio, April 25, 2017, <https://www.wpr.org/greendale-depression-era-experiment-utopia>; and Andrea Riquier and William Davis, “Here’s Where You’ll Live When Self-Driving Cars Rule the Roads,” MarketWatch, October 25, 2017, <https://www.marketwatch.com/story/heres-where-youll-live-when-cars-drive-themselves-2017-10-24>.

19. Demographia, "Southeast England Population by Area from 1891," <http://demographia.com/db-seuk1891.pdf>.

20. Statistics Korea, Population Census, <http://kostat.go.kr/portal/eng/pressReleases/8/7/index.board>; and Wendell Cox, "The Evolving Urban Form: Seoul," NewGeography.com, February 17, 2011, <https://www.newgeography.com/content/002060-the-evolving-urban-form-seoul>.

21. World Population Review, "Buenos Aires Population 2022," <https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/buenos-aires-population>.

22. Derek Thompson, "The Future of the City Is Childless," *Atlantic*, July 18, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/07/where-have-all-the-children-gone/594133>.

23. Lane McBride et al., *Adapting to Enrollment Declines in Urban School Systems: Managing Costs While Improving Educational Quality*, Boston Consulting Group, January 16, 2013, https://web-assets.bcg.com/img-src/BCG_Adapting_%20to_Enrollment_Declines_in_Urban_School_Systems_Jan2013_tcm9-99383.pdf.

24. Michael Hendrix, "Are Cities Going to the Dogs?," *City Journal*, October 8, 2019, <https://www.city-journal.org/pet-ownership-over-children-cities>.

25. Kris Hudson, "Generation Y Prefers Suburban Home over City Condo," *Wall Street Journal*, January 21, 2015, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/millennials-prefer-single-family-homes-in-the-suburbs-1421896797>; and Les Shaver, "Millennials Are Driving Home Sales amid the Rise in Remote Work," *GlobeSt*, August 23, 2021, <https://www.globest.com/2021/08/23/millennials-are-driving-home-sales-amid-the-rise-in-remote-work>.

26. Emsi Burning Glass, "The Decline of Young People in America: LA County Alone Lost Three-Quarters of a Million People Ages 0–24," Emsi, May 25, 2021, <https://www.economicmodeling.com/2021/05/25/the-decline-of-young-people-in-america>.

27. Wendell Cox, "Pervasive Suburbanization: The 2017 Data," NewGeography.com, May 22, 2018, <http://www.newgeography.com/content/005981-pervasive-suburbanization-the-2017-data>.

28. Wendell Cox, "Minorities Dominate Suburban Growth," NewGeography.com, August 4, 2021, <https://www.newgeography.com/content/007132-minorities-dominate-suburban-growth>.

29. Myron Orfield, "How the Suburbs Gave Birth to America's Most Diverse Neighborhoods," Bloomberg, July 20, 2012, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2012-07-20/how-the-suburbs-gave-birth-to-america-s-most-diverse-neighborhoods>.

30. Urban Reform Institute, *Beyond Gentrification: Towards More Equitable Urban Growth*, January 2019, <https://urbanreforminstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Toward-More-Equitable-Urban-Growth.pdf>; Lee Bey, "The Demise of America's One-time Capital of Black Wealth," *Politico*, December 8, 2021, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/12/07/chicago-black-owned-businesses-history-523622>; and Shia Kapos et al., "Black People Are Leaving Chicago En Masse. It's Changing the City's Power Politics," *Politico*, December 7, 2021, <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/12/07/chicago-black-population-decline-523563>.

31. Bill Hutchinson, "'It's Just Crazy': 12 Major Cities Hit All-Time Homicide Records," ABC News, December 8, 2021, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/12-major-us-cities->

top-annual-homicide-records/story?id=81466453; Sabrina Siddiqui and Sadie Gurman, “Biden Meets with Eric Adams in New York as U.S. Cities Grapple with Rising Crime,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 3, 2022, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/biden-to-meet-eric-adams-in-new-york-as-u-s-cities-cope-with-rising-crime-11643897427>; and *Wall Street Journal*, “The 2020 Murder Spike,” September 28, 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-2020-murder-spike-fbi-crime-data-police-cities-11632866943>.

32. Bob Greene, “Chicago’s Bloody Past Is Very Present,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 7, 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chicago-bloody-shootings-mob-crime-11631043899>.

33. Nate Hochman, “The Tragedy of Portland: ‘It’s a Ghost Town, Except for Zombies,’” *National Review*, December 17, 2021, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2021/12/the-tragedy-of-portland-its-a-ghost-town-except-for-zombies>; Ingrid Schmidt, “High-Profile L.A. Crimes Spark Rush for Bullet-Proof Cars, Rolex Replicas and Safe Rooms,” *Hollywood Reporter*, December 22, 2021, <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/local-news/crimes-los-angeles-rush-for-bullet-proof-cars-rolex-replicas-safe-rooms-1235062227>; and Anna Gorman and Kaiser Health News, “Medieval Diseases Are Infecting California’s Homeless,” *Atlantic*, March 8, 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2019/03/typhus-tuberculosis-medieval-diseases-spreading-homeless/584380>.

34. Christine Cooper and Shannon M. Sedgwick, *Los Angeles: People, Industry and Jobs*, Institute for Applied Economics, May 2016, https://laedc.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/People-Industry-and-Jobs_20160515.pdf; and Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Fred Economic Data, All Employees: Manufacturing in Los Angeles–Long Beach–Anaheim, CA (MSA), July 23, 2022, <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/SMU06310803000000001SA>.

35. Joel Kotkin, Michael Lind, and Dave Shideler, *Reshoring America: Can the Heartland Lead the Way?*, Heartland Forward, February 3, 2021, <https://heartlandforward.org/case-study/336>.

36. Emsi, 10 Year Total Job Growth—All Regions, <https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoiYjAxYmU5MDUtZmJmZiooNTJkLWl1ODEtMzU4NWY0ZjJhNDEoIiwidCI6ImY2OGI2ZDZjLWlyMjltNGQwYS1hZjc0LTVlNGEwMGFkMzVkJZCIsImMiOjN9&pageName=ReportSection7b892fa25070855e7910>.

37. Jean Gottmann, *The Coming of the Transactional City* (College Park, MD: University of Maryland Institute for Urban Studies, 1983), 13, 28, 34, 37.

38. David A. Smith, “The World Urban Hierarchy: Implications for Cities, Top to Bottom,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 11, no. 2 (Winter/Spring 2005): 45–55, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24590545>.

39. Shibani Mahtani and Scott Calvert, “Milwaukee Neighborhoods Slid After Factory Jobs Vanished,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 15, 2016, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/milwaukee-neighborhoods-slid-after-factory-jobs-vanished-1471304446>.

40. Todd Bishop, “Amazon to Expand Further in Seattle Region with Big New Redmond Office Lease, Filing Reveals,” *GeekWire*, January 6, 2022, <https://www.geekwire.com/2022/amazon-to-expand-further-in-seattle-region-with-big-new-redmond-office-lease-filing-reveals>.

41. Margaret Pugh O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 4.

42. Richard Florida, "The Persistent Economic Advantage of America's Suburbs," Bloomberg, March 7, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-03-07/the-decline-of-the-suburbs-is-at-odds-with-the-data>.

43. Elizabeth Kneebone, "Job Sprawl Revisited: The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Employment," Brookings Institution, April 6, 2009, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/job-sprawl-revisited-the-changing-geography-of-metropolitan-employment>; Florida, "The Persistent Economic Advantage of America's Suburbs"; and Wendell Cox, "Employment by City Sector, Challenges Ahead for Downtowns," NewGeography.com, June 19, 2020, <https://www.newgeography.com/content/006688-employment-city-sector-challenges-ahead-downtowns>.

44. Emsi, 10-Year Total Job Growth—All Regions.

45. Emily Badger and Quoc Trung Bui, "The Downtown Office District Was Vulnerable. Even Before COVID.," *New York Times*, July 7, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/07/07/upshot/downtown-office-vulnerable-even-before-covid.html>; SocketSite, "Visualizing All the Vacant Office Space in San Francisco," July 16, 2021, <https://socketsite.com/archives/2021/07/visualizing-all-the-vacant-office-space-in-san-francisco-2.html>; and Bill Lucia, "In One City, 3 Days a Week in the Office May Be a New Norm," Route Fifty, August 10, 2021, <https://www.route-fifty.com/management/2021/08/bay-area-employers-expect-3-days-week-office-become-norm/184418>.

46. Jonathan I. Dingel and Brent Neiman, "How Many Jobs Can Be Done at Home?" (working paper, National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA, April 2020), 1–14, https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w26948/w26948.pdf; University of Chicago News, "With Much of U.S. Staying at Home, How Many Jobs Can Be Done Remotely?," March 30, 2020, <https://news.uchicago.edu/story/much-us-staying-home-how-many-jobs-can-be-done-remotely>; California Center for Jobs and the Economy and California Business Roundtable, *California Workers: Modernized Telecommuting Policies to Build Equity and Reduce Costs*, October 2020, <https://centerforjobs.org/ca/special-reports/california-workers-modernized-telecommuting-policies-to-build-equity-and-reduce-costs>; Bruce Haring, "Facebook Extends Work-from-Home Until 2021, but Still Leases New Manhattan Office Space," Deadline, August 6, 2020, <https://www.yahoo.com/entertainment/facebook-workers-bid-goodbye-menlo-233504305.html>; Paayal Zaveri, "Salesforce Will Let Employees Work from Home for the Rest of the Year, Even After Offices Have Reopened," Insider, May 14, 2020, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/salesforce-let-employees-home-rest-011356822.html>; Wolf Richter, "Salesforce, San Francisco's Largest Employer, Switches to Hybrid 'Work from Anywhere,' Won't Need All That Space in Salesforce Tower. Uber, Old Navy, Yelp, Oracle, Dropbox . . . Dump Office Space," Wolf Street, February 9, 2021, <https://wolfstreet.com/2021/02/09/salesforce-largest-employer-in-san-francisco-switches-to-hybrid-work-from-anywhere-wont-need-all-that-space-in-the-salesforce-tower-uber-old-navy-yelp-oracle-dropbox>; Harriet Torry, "As Coronavirus Lockdown Rules Ease, Some Want to Keep Working from Home," *Wall Street Journal*, May 27, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/as-coronavirus-lockdown-rules-ease-some-want-to-keep-working-from-home>

11590584400; and NFX, “Results from the VC & Founder COVID-19 Sentiment Survey, Part II,” June 2020, <https://www.nfx.com/post/vc-founder-sentiment-survey-part-2>.

47. Cameron McWhirter and Paul Overberg, “New Life and Work Choices Revitalize Exurbs, Bringing New Strains,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 29, 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/new-life-and-work-choices-turn-sleepy-southeastern-towns-into-booming-exurbs-11630256769>; J. K. Dineen, “People Are Leaving S.F., but Not for Austin or Miami. USPS Data Shows Where They Went,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 16, 2021, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/People-are-leaving-S-F-but-not-for-Austin-or-15955527.php>; J. K. Dineen, “The Bay Area Migration Has Turned the Central Valley into a Suddenly Hot Housing Market,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 7, 2021, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/local/article/Work-from-home-means-the-Bay-Area-s-hot-new-16007519.php>; and David Streitfeld, “White-Collar Companies Race to Be Last to Return to the Office,” *New York Times*, May 8, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/08/technology/coronavirus-work-from-home.html>.

48. Theo Wayt, “Google Rolls Out ‘Pay Calculator’ Explaining Work-from-Home Salary Cuts,” *New York Post*, August 10, 2021, <https://nypost.com/2021/08/10/google-slashing-pay-for-work-from-home-employees-by-up-to-25>; Mimi Nguyen, “Research Shows Working from Home Doesn’t Work. Here’s How Employers Should Tackle the Problem,” *Time*, August 13, 2021, <https://time.com/6088110/remote-work-structured-hybrid-research>; and Chip Cutter, “Companies Start to Think Remote Work Isn’t So Great After All,” *Wall Street Journal*, July 24, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/companies-start-to-think-remote-work-isnt-so-great-after-all-11595603397>.

49. May Wong, “Stanford Research Provides a Snapshot of a New Working-from-Home Economy,” *Stanford News*, June 29, 2020, <https://news.stanford.edu/2020/06/29/snapshot-new-working-home-economy>.

50. Andrea Alexander et al., “What Employees Are Saying About the Future of Remote Work,” McKinsey & Company, April 1, 2021, <https://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/organization/our-insights/what-employees-are-saying-about-the-future-of-remote-work>; and Chris Salviati, “How Will Remote Work Impact Housing Location Preferences?,” *Apartment List*, May 3, 2021, <https://www.apartmentlist.com/research/remote-work-moving-prefs-survey>.

51. Rachel Feintzeig, “What the Numbers Tell Us About Work Right Now,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 13, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/what-the-numbers-tell-us-about-work-right-now-11607907601>; Wendy Wang and Jenet Erickson, “Homeward Bound: The Work-Family Reset in Post-COVID America,” *Institute for Family Studies*, August 2021, <https://ifstudies.org/ifs-admin/resources/final-ifsparentsreport.pdf>; and Konrad Putzier, “Suburban Homes and Retail Are the Budding New Office Hotspot,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 4, 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/suburban-homes-and-retail-are-the-budding-new-office-hotspot-11620129603>.

52. Katy Feinberg, “Return to Office Survey Results Released—March 2021,” *Partnership for New York City*, March 11, 2021, <https://pfnyc.org/news/return-to-office-survey-results-released-march-2021>; Peter Warren, “Manhattan Office Suites Emptier Than Other Major Metros,” *Empire Center*, August 27, 2021, <https://www.empirecenter.org/publications/manhattan-office-suites-emptier-than-other-major-metros>; and Erica Pandey, “Why New York Isn’t Going Back to Work,” *Axios*, October 6,

2020, <https://www.axios.com/new-york-city-return-to-work-48a03677-7584-49f9-8a9f-2d49c9e9e5e9.html>.

53. Wendell Cox, “Dispersion in US Metros Increases Even Before COVID-19: New Census Estimates,” *NewGeography.com*, May 5, 2020, <https://www.newgeography.com/content/006634-dispersion-us-metros-increases-even-before-covid-19-new-census-estimates>.

54. Nicholas Christakis, “The Long Shadow of the Pandemic: 2024 and Beyond,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 16, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-long-shadow-of-the-pandemic-2024-and-beyond-11602860214>.

55. Steven Malanga, “Why Shoplifting Is Soaring Across the US—and Will Only Get Worse,” *New York Post*, January 22, 2022, <https://nypost.com/2022/01/22/why-shoplifting-is-soaring-in-the-us-and-will-get-worse>; Brendan O’Neill, “The Deadly Consequences of Defund the Police,” *Spiked*, February 12, 2022, <https://www.spiked-online.com/2022/02/12/the-deadly-consequences-of-defund-the-police>; Brentin Mock, “The City Planners’ Case for Defunding the Police,” *Bloomberg*, August 6, 2020, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-08-06/the-city-planners-case-to-defund-the-police>; and Jason Rantz, “Rantz: Seattle Councilmember Dangerously Endorses Looting and Riots,” *770KTTH*, June 1, 2020, <https://mynorthwest.com/1908812/rantz-seattle-council-endorse-looting-riot>.

56. Peter Kiefer, “How Bad Is Crime in L.A.?” *Los Angeles Magazine*, January 27, 2022, <https://www.lamag.com/citythinkblog/how-bad-is-crime-in-la>; Frank Main, “Violence Soars in Minneapolis After Floyd Killing, but One Chicago Police District Is Even Worse,” *Chicago Sun Times*, November 29, 2020, <https://chicago.suntimes.com/crime/2020/11/29/21612872/chicago-crime-violence-harrison-district-minneapolis-george-floyd-killing>; and Keith Griffith, “Murders in New York City Increased by 76% in September Compared to Last Year and Shootings Skyrocketed by 127%, New Crime Statistics Reveal,” *Daily Mail*, October 2, 2020, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8799811/Murders-New-York-City-increased-76-September-new-crime-statistics-reveal.html>.

57. Tyler J. Davis, “Their Stores Were Burned, Ransacked and Looted. What’s Next for Minneapolis-Area Small Business Owners?,” *USA Today*, June 1, 2020, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2020/06/01/george-floyd-protests-riots-minneapolis-small-businesses/5300736002>; William J. Collins and Robert A. Margo, “The Economic Aftermath of the 1960s Riots in American Cities: Evidence from Property Values,” *Journal of Economic History* 67, no. 4 (December 2007): 849–83, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40056402>; and John Phelan, “The Economic Damage of Rioting Lingers for a Long Time,” *Center of the American Experiment*, August 18, 2020, <https://www.americanexperiment.org/the-economic-damage-of-rioting-lingers-for-a-long-time>.

58. University of California, Los Angeles, Luskin School of Public Affairs, “New Study Documents Lack of Economic Progress in South L.A. over the Past 50 Years,” February 28, 2018, <https://luskin.ucla.edu/new-study-documents-lack-economic-progress-south-l-past-50-years>.

59. D. Clark, “Crime in London—Statistics & Facts,” *Statista*, September 22, 2021, <https://www.statista.com/topics/4627/crime-in-london>; Jean-Marc Leclerc, “Paris

s'enfoncé dangereusement dans la spirale des vols et des violences" [Paris Sinks Dangerously into a Spiral of Theft and Violence], *Le Figaro*, October 29, 2019, <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/paris-s-enfonce-dangereusement-dans-la-spirale-des-vols-et-des-violences-20191028>; and Anthony France, "London Crime Rising Five Times Faster Than Rest of England, Report Reveals," *Evening Standard*, July 17, 2020, <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/london-crime-five-times-higher-rest-of-uk-a4501526.html>.

60. Erica Sandberg, "Harm Production in San Francisco," *City Journal*, February 14, 2019, <https://www.city-journal.org/san-francisco-drugs-harm-reduction>; Nathan Robinson, "Why Is San Francisco . . . Covered in Human Feces?," *Guardian*, August 18, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/18/san-francisco-poop-problem-inequality-homelessness>; PBS, "UN Rapporteur Compares LA's Skid Row to a Refugee Camp," November 2, 2018, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/chasing-the-dream/stories/un-rapporteur-compares-las-skid-row-to-a-refugee-camp>; and Lee Ohanian, "Why Drug Addicts Outnumber High School Students in San Francisco," Hoover Institution, October 1, 2019, <https://www.hoover.org/research/why-drug-addicts-outnumber-high-school-students-san-francisco>.

61. Ryan Streeter, "The Progressive Mismanagement of America's Cities," *Dispatch*, September 14, 2020, <https://www.aei.org/articles/the-progressive-mismanagement-of-america-cities>.

62. Dave Leip's Atlas of US Presidential Elections, "1984 Presidential General Election Data Graphs—California by County," <https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/datagraph.php?year=1984&fips=6&f=1&off=0&elect=0>; Dave Leip's Atlas of US Presidential Elections, "1984 Presidential General Election Data Graphs—New York," <https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/datagraph.php?year=1984&fips=36&f=0&off=0&elect=0>; and Rose Garrett, "Trump Takes Home Nearly 10% of San Francisco Vote," *Hoodline*, November 9, 2016, <https://hoodline.com/2016/11/trump-takes-home-nearly-10-of-sf-vote>.

63. David Freddoso, "Don't Blame Black and Latino Voters—It's the White Hipsters Who Are Pulling the Democrats Leftward," November 1, 2018, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/dont-blame-black-and-latino-voters-its-the-white-hipsters-who-are-pulling-the-democrats-leftward>.

64. Jon Jackson, "Some of U.S.' Most Liberal Mayors Are Turning on Their Progressive Allies," *Newsweek*, February 16, 2022, <https://www.newsweek.com/some-us-most-liberal-mayors-are-turning-their-progressive-allies-1679906>; Vivian Wang, "House Democrats Prepare for Civil War as Challengers Plot Primary Battles," *New York Times*, July 19, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/19/nyregion/ny-democrat-house-challengers.html>; and Christopher F. Rufo, "The Rise of the New Left Urbanists," *City Journal*, Summer 2019, <https://www.city-journal.org/rise-of-new-left-urbanists>.

65. Carl Campanile and Bruce Golding, "'Running Against a Movement': Eric Adams Declares War on AOC's Socialists," *New York Post*, July 27, 2021, <https://nypost.com/2021/07/27/eric-adams-declares-war-on-aocs-socialists>.

66. Bryan Preston, "Change: Austin Voters Strongly Reject Unfettered Homeless Camping, Weakening Radicals Adler and Casar," *PJ Media*, May 2, 2021, <https://pjmedia.com/news-and-politics/bryan-preston/2021/05/02/change-austin-voters-strongly>

reject-unfettered-homeless-camping-weakening-radicals-adler-and-casar-n1444132.

67. Zachary Evans, “Seattle Officials Drafted Legislation to Hand Over Police Building to BLM Rioters in June 2020,” *National Review*, January 31, 2022, <https://www.nationalreview.com/news/seattle-officials-drafted-legislation-to-hand-over-police-building-to-blm-rioters-in-june-2020>; *San Francisco Chronicle*, “2022 SFUSD Election Results Recall,” February 23, 2022, <https://www.sfchronicle.com/projects/2022/election-results-sfusd-recall>; Charles Blain, “Reform, Not Defunding,” August 28, 2020, *City Journal*, <https://www.city-journal.org/defunding-police-would-harm-minority-communities>; Tommy Gallagher, “Brown Wins Unprecedented 5th Term as Buffalo Mayor, Defeats Walton,” WGRZ, November 19, 2021, <https://www.wgrz.com/article/news/politics/elections/buffalo-mayor-byron-brown-wins-5th-term-india-walton-election/71-856c5d4a-3b38-4cba-ae51-a8d8b3cec79e>; and Mike Carter, “Republican Ann Davison, Talking Law and Order, Wins Seattle City Attorney Race,” *Seattle Times*, November 8, 2021, <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/republican-ann-davison-defeats-nicole-thomas-kennedy-to-become-seattles-first-woman-city-attorney>.

68. William Mitchell, *City of Bits: Space, Place, and the Infobahn* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 50.

69. Henry Grabar, “Building Googletown,” *Slate*, October 25, 2017, <https://slate.com/technology/2017/10/sidewalk-labs-quayside-development-in-toronto-is-googles-first-shot-at-building-a-city.html>; Sophie Davies, “Wi-Fi but No Water: Can Smart Tech Help a City’s Poor?,” *Reuters*, January 5, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-global-cities-tech-inequality/wi-fi-but-no-water-can-smart-tech-help-a-citys-poor-idUSKBN1EU0JF>; and Matthew Keegan, “Big Brother Is Watching: Chinese City with 2.6m Cameras Is World’s Most Heavily Surveilled,” *Guardian*, December 2, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/dec/02/big-brother-is-watching-chinese-city-with-26m-cameras-is-worlds-most-heavily-surveilled>.

70. Andrew S. Ross, “In Silicon Valley, Age Can Be a Curse,” *SFGate*, August 20, 2013, <https://www.sfgate.com/business/bottomline/article/In-Silicon-Valley-age-can-be-a-curse-4742365.php>.

71. See, for example, Paul Webster, “‘Crazy Good’: Rural Canadians Are Raving over Elon Musk’s Starlink Satellite-Based Internet Service. Should Canada’s Big Telcos Be Worried?,” *Toronto Star*, January 8, 2022, <https://www.thestar.com/business/2022/01/08/crazy-good-rural-canadians-are-raving-over-elon-musks-starlink-satellite-based-internet-service-should-canadas-big-telcos-be-worried.html>.

72. David Owen, *Green Metropolis: Why Living Smaller, Living Closer, and Driving Less Are the Keys to Sustainability* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2010).

73. Oscar Holland, “Plans for \$400-Billion New City in the American Desert Unveiled,” *CNN*, September 6, 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/telosa-marclore-blake-ingels-new-city/index.html>; Steven Liaros, “Planning for a Network of Circular Economy Villages,” *Fifth Estate*, September 13, 2021, <https://thefifthestate.com.au/urbanism/planning/planning-for-a-network-of-circular-economy-villages>; Reid Erwing et al., *Growing Cooler: The Evidence on Urban Development and Climate Change*, Urban Land Institute, October 2007, https://www.nrdc.org/sites/default/files/cit_07092401a.pdf; Ali Modarres, “Hot Times in the City,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 9, 2007, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2007-sep-09-op-modarres9-story.html>; Jonathan

Yardley, "Book Review: 'Green Metropolis' by David Owen," *Washington Post*, September 20, 2009, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/09/18/AR2009091801306.html>; and Ivo Vegter, "The Compact City Died of Covid," *Daily Friend*, August 3, 2021, <https://dailyfriend.co.za/2021/08/03/the-compact-city-died-of-covid>.

74. Christopher B. Leinberger, "The Next Slum?," *Atlantic*, March 2008, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2008/03/the-next-slum/306653>; John Timpane, "Driving Us Back to the Way We Were," *Mercury News*, September 25, 2005, <https://www.resilience.org/stories/2005-09-25/driving-us-back-way-we-were>; Christopher B. Leinberger, "The Death of the Fringe Suburb," *New York Times*, November 25, 2011, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/26/opinion/the-death-of-the-fringe-suburb.html>; Lara Farrar, "Is America's Suburban Dream Collapsing into a Nightmare?," *CNN*, June 16, 2008, <https://www.cnn.com/2008/TECH/06/16/suburb.city/index.html>; and James Howard Kunstler, "Housing Crunch Points to Massive Market Meltdown," *American Spectator*, July 13, 2021, <https://spectator.org/housing-crisis-american-spectator-print-summer-2021>.

75. Allison Arieff, "What Will Save the Suburbs?," *New York Times*, January 11, 2009, <https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/01/11/what-will-save-the-suburbs>; and Barbara Kiviat, "The Case Against Homeownership," *Time*, September 11, 2010, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2013850,00.html>.

76. Pew Research Center, "Suburbs Not Most Popular, but Suburbanites Most Content," February 26, 2009, <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2009/02/26/suburbs-not-most-popular-but-suburbanites-most-content>; and Jan K. Brueckner and Ann G. Largey, "Social Interaction and Urban Sprawl," *Journal of Urban Economics* 64, no. 1 (July 2008): 18–34, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0094119007000939>.

77. H. G. Wells, *Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life and Thought* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1999), 144; and Jerusalem Demsas, "Remote Work Is Overrated. America's Supercities Are Coming Back.," *Vox*, April 1, 2021, <https://www.vox.com/22352360/remote-work-cities-housing-prices-work-from-home>.

78. Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Benjamin Jowett (Digireads.com Publishing, 2017), 214.

