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## 1. A TRAVELLER'S QUEST

Tourism was once a kind of scholarship -- a search for the roots of other societies while one savored life in their midst, partaking of their cuisine, using their conveyances, and living in their hostelries. A person on tour sought out those images and artifacts that were valuable enough to be preserved -- cathedrals, castles, museums, restorations of antiquities, paintings, sculpture, tapestries, rituals, parks, lakes, vineyards, small harbors, and the like. Because so many of the leisured class took the challenge seriously the Baedeker and the Guide Bleu were created and the Cook's tour was organized.

Soon thereafter railroads and shipping lines began to produce tourism opportunities for the middle classes while later the tour bus encapsulated some of this experience for the masses. A private automobile brought much more of the countryside -- even the wilderness -- into the itinerary. The jet age has been superimposed upon these other modes of movement, so the whole world has been brought within the orbit of the tour. Honolulu, Kyoto, Den Pasar (Bali), Bangkok, Kathmandu, Delhi, Tehran, Jerusalem, and Nairobi are doing their best to fit into the concepts of tourism evolved between 1760 and 1929, while Tokyo, Hong Kong, Taipei, Singapore, Penang, Colombo, Bombay, and Beirut have added a fillip here and there. Each has been forced to emphasize the exotic, the unfathomable, and the splendorous. The attractions that represent a great tradition sweep the curious along paths already beaten down by pilgrims.

Emergence of many new nations has set up barriers to travel, but the need for hard currency and the impatient demand for quick processing at the airport have somewhat smoothed the entry process in the Third World. A tourist is now commonly defined as a person who pays his bills with dollar equivalents and is allowed up to fifteen days in the country before he must register at the police station (there are, however, many variations and month-to-month adjustments in procedures). Each country has started to regularize the hassle for cabs or other transport from the international airport to the metropolis, set grades or quality standards for hotels, and supervise the services provided for tourists.

Once deposited in a hotel, the traveller is offered guided tours of the city, night clubs, restaurants, and a listing of sights recommended for visitors. Most likely he has been enticed to stop there by the images of the society as abstracted by color photography and presented with vibrant language in glossy brochures at the travel agencies or in the Sunday supplements. Video and film travelogues are less connected to the retailing of air tickets, but are not unimportant. Those that have come on business cannot afford to ignore the scenic attractions; they could hardly face their social set back home and admit that they had not taken in the sights. It is a traveller's duty to go out and consume the local product.

Professionals on tour recognize the artificiality of the sight-seeing experience, so they bring along a list of names of persons to look up. Very often these people are their opposite numbers in the metropolis. These contacts should enable them to engage in gossip, talk shop, and perhaps get an insider's view.

At this point a curious barrier intervenes. Most of the people on the list studied overseas (only a few of the Third World cities have many long term resident expatriates anymore -- they were a casualty of nationalism). They have found it necessary to standardize their intermediary role after meeting a few visitors. For example, they have come to accept fully all the traditional European and American goals of tourism, so they will recommend the same trips and destinations as the commercial tours, or take a distinguished visitor there themselves. Moreover the explanations of what one sees are transmitted with the same cliches as those that are provided in the literature stocked in the hotel. When challenged the local host may express his personal distaste for the oversimplifications inspired by the Chamber of Commerce, and can offer a few cynical observations upon conditions in his immediate vicinity; but if he is honest with himself, he recognizes that he cannot generalize. The facts and the data, even in the mother tongue, are too sparse to permit persuasive contradiction of the myth or to put together reliable assessments of the total situation. As a result the information obtained in the course of meeting friends or acquaintances while moving about the city and its environs is the product of mere happenstance; it offers few rationales for present and past events, explaining little about the current situation not already in the newspaper.

The few travelling professionals who have institutional connections with resident staffs can get glibly formulated appraisals of current trends, political background analysis, and forecasts of likely changes. It sounds as if they have a head start, and in many ways they do, but not infrequently in the wrong direction. Old hands in government, international organizations, and the multinational corporations know that they are extremely vulnerable to carefully staged "snow jobs" in any society they have not previously studied carefully. Many a politician, executive, and engineer have complained of being "brainwashed" by the resident staff after decisions made upon the basis of the briefing led to disaster. Experienced professionals recognized the need for some kind of independent and quite personal appraisal to place in perspective staff studies.

Students, dropouts, and recent graduates have found alternate paths leading away from the airport in developing countries. By wearing either blue jeans or loose-fitting Oriental garments they are set apart from the standard tourists, even without their pack sacks. Although they avoid the touristic put-on's and the Intercontinental Hotel milieu by regrouping at guest houses, pensions, camps, YMCA-YWCA hostels, and innumerable "crash pads" they still depend upon the "straight" tourist institutions for backup support. Therefore, many will be found in the American Express check-cashing queue. Young people also arrive with names and addresses, but they depend very heavily upon shared information rather than organizational affiliations. Any family that has been generous with a handful of strangers of this ilk may find itself swamped a season later, because their grapevine works with only a little less speed than the telex. Anyone over forty can also move in these circles if he sheds all pretenses and can tolerate occasional discomfort, but he does not pick up as much information as his juniors, since the latter are more trusted by their counterparts within the society.

Following this alternate path through the metropolis and into its environs, the visitor acquires an unromanticized view of the underside of a city. His sources of information -- the younger bilingual "culture brokers" -- are insecure, often rejected and bitter. Young adults are not infrequently affected by idealism, and so are strongly inclined to compare current conditions with the desired state of affairs. Then the present, and by extrapolation the future, are seen to be hopelessly deficient, regardless of the overall indications of economic and social

development. If visitors contact young people actively involved in the Establishment in Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Iran, Nigeria, and similar rapidly developing countries, they are likely to find them working overtime, so they are not available for long discussions; perspectives based upon personal experience usually extend very little beyond the responsibilities of their post. Any youth that do have time to talk are likely to have marginal personalities, unimportant jobs, and no capacity to quantify, so they usually pile up a poor track record as prophets. Thus the travelling untourist (assigning a term that will be used routinely hereafter) is caught up in an interplay of circumstances and interests that prevent him from obtaining the kind of perspective that results in unbiased forecasts. Knowledge relevant for understanding the future course of the society is as elusive for him as for the conforming tourist.

I was first struck with the need for a better way of getting information while travelling on an occasion when views were exchanged with the first behavioral scientists to tour the Soviet Union during the earliest thaws of the Cold War. They speculated about how various propositions regarding the evolution of the Russian society could be tested even though their movements were controlled by In-Tourist. They were allowed a guarded look at several major cities and a few communities besides, such as a well-organized collective farm, a cluster of dacha, a model city next to a dam. The first question raised was the extent to which the conditions they saw were representative; then, if bias was detected, did it represent the goals of the society towards which effort was being mobilized, or was it a special sort of "Potemkin" effect created to satisfy the curiosity of the carefully programmed Westerners? One discordant note in all the theorizing was the frequency with which English-speaking Russians had broken through to the visiting contingents with requests for clothes, printed matter, watches, and other items in limited supply. Were they really indicative of the sense of deprivation in the population? Or were they the special set of small entrepreneurs and marginal types that appear at the fringes of all societies, and are the special bane of anthropologists seeking to get a representative cross-section of their community? An experiment was therefore designed. One of the Russian-speaking members of the group undertook to enter a restaurant, choose a seat at random (he carried a table of random numbers with him), and engage the people at the table in conversation according to a preset



schedule of topics. A similar procedure was used in the park. This rigorous technique for making contact yielded no startling findings, but it did serve to resolve the fears of those who held to the conspiracy theory of Russian behavior in dealing with guests.

Suddenly I understood that touring a strange city is, more than anything else, an immensely challenging game. It is as complex as an engagement at chess, but involves many adversaries. A good move is one that reveals a hidden truth; obtaining a checkmate in the tourney is a positive confirmation of a significant situation against an opposing point of view. As often as not the contrary version was held up as truth at home, and in other instances by authorities in the host city, so one can be playing against very dissimilar competitors.

Game-like qualities of the urban ecosystem also emerge. The metropolis is indeed a jungle, so there are hunters and prey, and also those who maintain fixed positions -- thus melting into the scenery. A touring professional is marked as prey to those who strip him of his cash (as gently as a leech sucks blood) while he is exposing his color film to the originals for the images in the travel posters. But he is also a hunter, interested not in blood, but in capturing in camera or tape recorder the snapshots that reveal the truth. When sitting back to reflect, he also sees himself as an urban naturalist seeking an economical way by which Nature will reveal itself. Because the stay is short, he expects to employ techniques of reconnaissance rather than undertake studies in depth, so his strategy must be chosen accordingly.

How does a short-term observer develop expectations, even anticipations, regarding conditions that will not be reached for as much as a decade or more? He will need an extensive practical knowledge of social systems, but that is what he has already acquired from his work as a professional. He will also have acquired a greater grasp of urban systems than he realized, since the advanced practice of any profession is carried out in a metropolitan milieu. At home he knows the urban system well enough to appreciate differential rates of change, often betting on some facet of its future when choosing a location or investing funds. It is quite natural, therefore, that the first attempt to "understand" -- that is, to fit the new experience into some category of organized knowledge -- is to compare the Third World city with those that were known previously. The initial task of the enquiring traveller is one of generating surprises

(mostly unexpected misfits) as fast as the memory can record them. Quite soon the flow of surprises slows; by that time, however, some intuitive generalizations have been formulated.

The basic strategy for obtaining an appropriate scale for the instrument needed for city-watching is to use the city's own methods for observing itself -- one does this by tuning in on the urban communications system at wave lengths used by people engaged in big operations and promoting large projects, because such people are forced to think in macroterms as well. For example, the airport itself is one of these major operations, bringing together many strands of metropolitan life, so it can be used as an early indicator. When the airport contains no shop for the distribution of reading matter, as in Karachi, it reveals a characteristic of this society (unawareness of external opportunity, associated perhaps with close central supervision) that requires careful assessment of the bias in the communications system. (It should be recognized also that the cause may well be trivial, attributable to a petty feud or a bankruptcy.) Some places, such as Indian airports, contain publications presenting content directed at national issues, but pay much less attention to international or metropolitan affairs, while in Kathmandu, to choose another extreme, the whole world is reported upon as if it were a part of the city itself. Normally one has little time upon arrival to make such observations, but if the occasion arises, the airport can provide first impressions.

On a first trip to a Third World metropolis any carefully considered and planned approach to a study of its future is exceedingly likely to fail. The necessary arrangements and preconceptions break down at one point or another. Thereupon individuals must be opportunistic; usually they start from specialities that are best known to them. An automobile executive might begin with used car sales and then expand to the local competitors and the substitutes for automobiles. The result may be definite impressions of the directions in which the transport and communications systems could go. These initial observations are supported by daily reports on such events as a bus and truck drivers' strike occurring during the visit, illuminating quite convincingly the relationships and potentials between transport and other activities within the metropolis.

In the descriptions of procedure that follow this introduction some guidance is provided for three classes of personal interest: (1) ways of making a living that are conditioned by a need to compete with other cities, (2) advances in capability of public and private institutions, and (3) acceptance of new designs, images, forms, and living arrangements.

## 2. EARLY EXPLORATIONS

The first task is to discriminate among the indigenous ethnic species. Sometimes the differentiation can begin on the plane before arrival, but it starts in earnest when going through customs. Citizens returning may be observed as they unpack their personal belongings and display their loot to customs officials. Crowds waiting to welcome home the missing members of their intimate groups offer much diversity for observation. (In the Third World and Japan the urge to visit the airport on leave taking or welcoming occasions is so great many airports report ten unit trips per passenger.) The ethnic communities, and many of the religious ones also, take care to distinguish themselves by at least one prominent cue, although at the airport many have compromised traditional dress with international fashions.

The tourists and untourist almost always share the same transport in the transition from airport to metropolitan center. Both are faced with a complex strangeness. An extra bit of shock is induced in those countries where the signs cannot be read, and many of the commodities offered for sale are unknown by name or use. The first problem is to avoid becoming lost. Maps are useful, even if they are printed in an unfamiliar script and laid out according to strange conventions. They offer an orientation to bodies of water and mountains, if any, and from that alone much of the topography can be deduced. Also green patches are used to represent park or forest in all societies, so the relative locations of open public spaces can be judged. Even gentle slopes and small bridges can be depended upon for finding ones way.

Guides can be obtained in every city; often they are aggressive enough to seek out the stranger. They have at least a smattering of the common languages of tourists. If the visitor should look Japanese and

does not wear a black suit, a man is likely to appear who knows a bit of Japanese (his Chinese might be even better); those that wear black suits get the same treatment as Europeans. If one feels utterly strange, it might be worthwhile to invest up to a half day in a short organized city tour or with the least sleazy of these intermediaries. Note especially the business places to which the visitor is steered. What appear to be the standard means for fleecing the unsophisticated tourist (many officially appointed guides will identify and emphasize the simple booby traps so as to snare prizes with the more elaborate ones)? How does this city display itself through spoken messages, as compared to the brochures used as lures? How are the typical deprecating value judgments of the naive tourist treated -- with proud statements of unique national values, apologies for local ignorance, historical explanations, or some other "party line" response?

In an organized tour one can mingle with fellow strangers who speak an approximation of one's own tongue and will share experiences, particularly in handling interpersonal contacts, decoding signs, and obtaining simple services. Guides will point out a few landmarks, pronounce their names, and sometimes translate their signs. These give a visitor confidence that he could not become completely lost; by taking advantage of the natural courtesy of the residents, he could find his way back to his temporary home.

Strangeness wears off quickly; within a single day in a totally alien city with an impossible language one can point out hundreds of sights and sounds which have become familiar, and hundreds more of borrowed Western items for which there are names in one's own repertory of terms and images. Such a beginning provides the mental security that is needed for further exploration.

All during the exploration of the physical surroundings, preparations are made for the days that follow. Bookshops and newstands are sought out. Offices for the airlines will usually be found clustered together in the high rent district. Branches of international banks will hang out their plaques nearby. Restaurants with familiar cuisine will make themselves evident in all but the very poorest metropolises. Consulates will discreetly advertise themselves.

Most of the explorations of the structure of a city in the Third World must be taken during daylight. This is not because of the danger involved, since fears of personal harm are in almost all instances quite misplaced (although the presence of unaccompanied women in the streets after dark may be misinterpreted in some societies, much as it would be in the West). The principal reason is that the lighting is too poor to see much; since the energy crisis of 1973-74 the level of public illumination has been reduced, even in the lobbies and rooms of hotels. Thus the visitor may be prevented from perusing reading material in the evening unless he was forehanded enough to check the lighting and purchase a stronger bulb to replace the one provided by the hotel or guesthouse. Then it will be possible to use the time after dinner to analyze the reading materials that came to hand during the day.

Many indicators of the future reside in the English language press. Every metropolis relatively open to travellers, and even some (as in Burma) that are not, maintains an English language newspaper, almost always on a daily basis. A few also produce French, German, and Chinese editions. The coverage of the dailies is heavily directed to world news, but they do allocate a third to two thirds of their attention to internal affairs. A stack of recent newspapers will allow a reader to assemble quickly a longer list of the principal actors on the local scene than he would get from the international press dispatches, a clearer idea of the respective arenas for action, and an identification of the local issues of immediate public concern. Always remember that some issues are too sensitive to allow open public discussion -- these may be identified by the visitor who was forehanded enough to prepare in advance a checklist based upon foreign dispatches which can be compared with the list assembled on the scene. If restraints upon the press are serious, as have sometimes been in effect for Karachi, Jakarta, Manila, and Seoul, a street market will exist in foreign English language periodicals somewhere in the vicinity of the first class hotels. Recent issues are picked up by the hotel workers from among the discards of tourists. Thus, without too much trouble, a fairly balanced (even though incomplete) appraisal of the newsworthy changes in the metropolis can be achieved.

The local press that serves the residents of the metropolis in their own idiom will pay attention to the full range of tolerated opinions

and occasionally introduce a few extra issues that are screened from the view of strangers in the manner that families keep some matters to themselves. Quite often the English language press will publish summaries of news stories and editorials from the vernacular press and itemize some other stories attracting attention. In general it is not helpful to query a long term resident about topics that incur censorship (unless he is a correspondent); old hands almost always exaggerate, while a few ideologically committed individuals will understate. However, once the pattern for discriminating news that is acceptable to the current regime from what is probably unacceptable is fitted together through ones own judgment, the expatriate residents and other bilinguals will be able to cite the cases that force corrections, thus enabling the line to be drawn more finely.

The importance of English as a medium of communication cannot be overemphasized. International traders, whether Japanese, German, or Arab, are forced to employ English when conducting business, advertising new products, and when preparing technical manuals for operating new equipment. Virtually all the modern medical treatment is carried on in English, or by means of direct translations. To an even greater extent, scientific teaching and research, modern technology, architecture and engineering design, and most of the youth culture are dominated by the language of their American and English origins. Anyone with ambitions in a developing country -- even on the other side of the Iron Curtain -- must now master English. In fact, English teaching has become a major industry in all the large cities.

Written English is better comprehended than the spoken language in all areas except those dependent upon military personnel. A note written in capital letters is much more likely to penetrate the normal layer of politeness and bashfulness in the presence of obviously illustrious (or unexpectedly unconventional, in the case of the untourist) strangers than any spoken inquiry or sentence taken from a phrasebook. Language specialists, who like the missionaries of old, were once engaged in translating English language classics and tracts into increasingly minor languages and dialects, are now being taught to teach English according to the Michigan, Cambridge, or other standard approach. Preselytizers for the Communist ideology, both the Russian and the Chinese versions, must

henceforth resort to English as readily as the Christian missionaries -- if they are to gain converts. Virtually all foreign assistance, whether channelled directly from the nations, or through the United Nations agencies and the voluntary services, must work through that linguistic medium. The law is one profession that sometimes provides an exception to this generalization -- for the minority of societies that historically had never been colonies of either the United Kingdom or the United States.

Every new project (of the kind intended to improve production efficiency) has a requirement for imported capital and technology that necessitates copious translation into English, although very often the original conception and the detailed justification required presentation in the vernacular from an English version. The first drafts of Five Year Plans are almost universally prepared in English, because the technical components of plan formulation and advanced economic analysis are taught in that language. Therefore, rumors about Plan-changing and target-shifting filter through circles bilingual in English. Popular values, social goals, and slogans are expressed in the mother tongue, but analytical structures, precision of statement, and sources of hard currency are contributed through English.

Quick comprehension of future potentials can be achieved by tracking down the full complement of literate English culture in the best library in the city. If the material is voluminous, the library will also have a modern cataloging and indexing system. A catalog allows a partially informed person to ask questions of the stock of recorded knowledge and step-by-step reduce the degree of his ignorance. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the creative thinking and the radical innovations for reorganizing the society seem to be carried out in whatever language is used for instruction in early elementary school; the translation of such novel thoughts into another language is often repressed for months or years, usually only after the concepts have gained a considerable following. Direct translations of these ideas into English make them seem primitive, naive, sloganeering, ungrammatical, meandering, inconclusive, and even incoherent, yet in the original they are capable of kindling a flame.

People heavily dependent upon the stream of English language reports can, as a consequence, make huge mistakes in judging the prospects of the society; usually it is the resident correspondents, expatriate

agents, technical assistance experts, and diplomats on the scene for a period much longer than fifteen days who will be vulnerable to this form of blindness. Local elites quite often have reason to employ a deceptive strategy in their dealings with the outside world, and any outsider who forgets that he can be a pawn in the struggle for power and status deserves to lose those exchanges.

Different professions have their own techniques for picking out items in the output of printed materials as being indicators of fundamental change. Each traveller draws from those techniques when constructing a personal set of expectations. Representatives of some organizations are required to put their impressions into writing as a report, while others are merely preparing themselves for the searching questions they expect from colleagues and friends after they return home. The most common varieties of professionals on tour in the Third World include those interested in industrialization, public services (including public health, education, transport, power, telecommunications), political development, and architecture. Not very long hence, perhaps, women's rights will have a future worth investigating. Each of these areas of expertise, except the last, will be taken up separately, assuming about three days of general orientation acquired by means already described.

### 3. TECHNOLOGY: THE NEW WAYS TO MAKE A LIVING

A city comes into being because a few specialities were developed in that locale; it became so skilled in their production that other communities bought from it rather than produce for themselves. A metropolis distinguishes itself by developing a much larger number of specialities which are backed by a broad spectrum of standard services. The richest source of new specialities is from overseas, so the metropolis accumulates many international exchange relationships.

Most modern technology advertises its appearance in some way (up-to-date weaponry is the principal exception). It must do so because modern goods and services are produced in bulk lots. Therefore, one need only discover the respective media for advertisement to put together a relatively complete compilation of newly established technologies. However, an economical strategy for search is required.



One of the most economical procedures in the search for new projects involves hiring a car for a half day or so with a bilingual driver. Set out for the periphery of the metropolis and look for recently finished structures and the new construction sites. Most metropolises in the earlier stages of development will have improved only a few roads at the growing edge, and these will support the new factories and warehouses. The medium to large construction sites are likely to display their source of expertise and funds in English as well as the official local language. (The locals are not stupid; they know how to set up the fat cats as well as anyone.)

The territory in the vicinity of the international airport is particularly interesting. It will capture exporting firms with high value per unit weight, such as stylish knitted goods, electronic components and local assembly, and perishables such as seafood, flowers, and news-worthy printed materials. The land behind the harbor will attract transport machinery assembly, food processing, and some plants dependent upon heavy imported goods. The blocks at the edge of the central business district will be taken up by warehouses and expansion of the back-of-the-bazaar industries, as well as new offices. A few extra construction sites will also be detected in odd places while cruising; these examples of micro-wave relay towers, television transmission, telephone exchanges, new government office buildings, townships for government workers, and transport terminals of various kinds will attract future industry.

Every visiting professional in the ranks of the technologists, whether engineer, manager, consultant, or investigator, possesses an irresistible urge to seek out his opposite number in a foreign metropolis, even if he does not have an introduction. This itch should be repressed for at least several days if the objective is to construct a dependable set of expectations for the industrial future of the metropolis. As noted earlier, if the visitor succumbed to the urge immediately, he would be told the hoary cliches about the society as if they were everlasting verities. When he is properly prepared, the host can be diverted into more rewarding channels by being urged to explain some of the specific developments that do not fit into any pattern as yet. Without such detailed preparation the meeting is likely to dissolve in bonhomie without any fundamental meeting of minds or transfer of basic information.

Any host that is asked to explain the presence of some specific facility, or the probable reasons for the choice of site, is enabled to display his full professional capabilities. He will draw upon little known data and experience, the latest gossip, and the full extent of the local knowledge of the technology or business to offer a plausible explanation. He does this because the visitor changed his role from tourist (or untourist) to that of colleague-professional. One consequence is to be served with a curious "acronym soup" often delivered in a strangely accented English. The proper response on the part of the visiting professional is to feign some misunderstanding in order to get organizational relationships straightened out and sponsorships decoded.

Within three to four days at this pace the flood of images, nouns, acronyms, public personalities, contexts, and special relationships would overwhelm the best of human memories. To prevent confusion the proper strategy is to employ off moments for noting down stream-of-consciousness impressions and quick on-the-spot appraisals. Each of them is a knot of associations that enables one to make some sense of the multitude of impressions. Some time must also be set aside for writing a moderately organized sub-assembly of ideas, a few pages at a time. Out of these attempts at organization come interesting hypotheses for explaining the apparent path of development. (For example, can reasons be discovered for the apparent success of some capital-intensive activities in an urban economy where labor-intensive formulas would appear to be preferred?)

Already at this stage the style of writing becomes important. Most visitors are strongly tempted to employ a colorful, idiomatic presentation of findings -- a recapitulation of the impact all these surprises had upon himself as a potentially typical observer, followed by a more sober assessment of the findings. An easy formulation is to contrast the guidebook cliches with the reality that was perceived, lampooning them in many ways. However, egos among intellectuals are no more secure in the Third World than elsewhere so that kind of treatment when read by residents for checking of details causes deep resentment and invites an angry backlash. It is better to identify a readership back home of one or a few people who are already quite knowledgeable and ask oneself what they might want to know about the near future of productive activity in a given metropolis. Then the expectations arrived at can be justified

by marshalling the relevant facts, while most of the interesting asides should be saved for informal verbal exchange with friends and colleagues elsewhere. Not only would the readers find the work more understandable, the tourist is saved the embarrassment of having his report cause his contacts and sources of information to lose face as a consequence of the flip, informal quality of the comment. His interpretation of the metropolis, which could be extremely valuable to all parties involved, might well be rendered impotent. The untourist is more likely to succumb to the temptation to engage in colorful comparisons because his organizational and professional ties are less strictly defined, yet the attempts at gauging the future by such persons are at least as important as those of established professionals because the youth of the untourists makes it likely that they will live through the future they see coming and on into its sequels, perhaps using the expectations as a basis for making decisions while in responsible posts at some later date.

In a standard two week visit that is calculated not to end on a national holiday or a religious fast, the last few days are most likely to be filled with appointments. Previous concerns with background and structural relationships give way to inquiry about the other person's role, experience, and the best means for getting deeper than pleasant formalities in a short time. Usually it is possible to identify some development in technology elsewhere in the world that should be of interest to the person concerned. The visitor is then in control of information relating to the technology while the local man serves as an expert on its equivalents in and around the metropolis. The visitor is likely to have seen the latest trade journals from America before leaving so he will have a number of possibilities to draw upon for matching wits in discourse on a subject which may be very new in the Third World, where trade journals so often arrive by surface mail. The local man is able to point up the obstacles that such a technology would encounter in his own metropolitan environment, some of which may be important revelations of latent forces that affect the future. Once the conversation gets onto this level of interprofessional exchange, it can be directed anywhere that promises to yield insights. Very few hesitations remain in communicating about the local realities.

In the last few hours, after packing, it is useful to recapture in the form of quick notes the flavor of these conversations. The best of them might be spelled out on the plane trip before fatigue sets in. They add human interest to what is otherwise desiccated analysis of technology and trade. They can liven up the final report without offending anyone.

#### 4. THE NON-MARKET SECTOR -- PUBLIC SERVICES

What might be the strategy of search for future change in the public sector? The principal clue is found in sampling the talk regarding the setting up of new organizations. Old organizations have their course set for them, and the participants are fixed in their ways, but new agencies, cooperatives, voluntary groups, associations, clubs, political parties, social movements make up for the deficiencies of existing organizations. Each of them serves a minor fraction of the population in a way it had not been served before. For example, tribalists coming to the city to work in the construction industry find that their animistic religion is not supportive in the new environment, so they look for a missionary who seems to have power and a message that injects some security into their situation. When one walks around a city, he should pay especial attention to orators that can hold crowds and fill halls; they are figures of joint interest about whom one can safely start inquiries when meeting bilingual contacts. An example will illustrate.

During the 1970s the environmentalist movement escaped from its colonial taint in the Third World, often taking on characteristics of a religious movement. Environmental pollution became a sin, and the malefactors were corporations, insensitive public agencies, special communities, and nameable individuals. Ecology of a very superficial sort became a doctrine. Calls for environmental action fill the halls and gain excellent publicity. The consequences of its acceptance by the educated classes are quite predictable. Visible evidence of decay and the sources of stench will be attacked, usually with marked success. The maintenance of parks will be improved and landscaping extended to many other public facilities. The prevalence of litter in public places

will appear to be unchanged, however, because the environmentalists comprise a tiny, scolding minority whereas the public places are used by the masses who have not yet acquired the concept of litter. At the same time they are encountering goods in paper and plastic packages that were formerly prepared at home or sold in bulk, so the uneatable or unusable portion is scattered to the wind, as are the speakers' handbills, along with cigarette boxes and stubs, and banana and pandanus leaves. Solid waste will remain a continuous challenge to the environmentalist, because as underemployment diminishes, the elaborately evolved traditional reclamation and reuse techniques based upon pariahs, untouchables, and unfortunates, begin to break down and leave mounds of refuse in prominent places.

For a stranger the composition of the litter of a city always provides a rewarding source of information about trends in consumption. How much is modern, represented by printed polyvinyl and poly-ethylene films, thin pastel-colored papers, grease-proof white paper, and unrecycled newspaper? What are their apparent origins in the city, according to product, user, occasion, and distributing establishment? Does the activity seem to be booming? The answer is strongly positive most of the time. Nevertheless these components of the litter are more like the dandruff released by preening, since much more of the litter in public places is the detritus and excrement from urban metabolism. Addicts of tobacco, alcohol, betel, pan and other common drugs will leave evidence of their habits in the most congested places, since high human densities attract their purveyors. In this instance the urban ecology will have provided a full set of salvage and reclamation specialists. Functions such as that of cigarette butt collector exist (in Jakarta studies showed that an active person could find enough butts to support oneself with greater security than as a field laborer in the overpopulated countryside, but the returns were too thin to allow the support of dependents; the reclaimed tobacco is extracted for nicotine use in insecticide). Old newspapers are cut and folded into paper bags for shops or hawkers, waste-paper is reprocessed into low-grade cardboard packaging and cinema tickets, bottles are redistributed as household containers to such an extent that the cooking oil is quoted in the market by the beer-bottle-full quantity, since that container is so frequently used. Larger tin cans are cut and flattened to be used as roof patches, the smaller ones disappearing to places I have often not

detected, but some are dissolved in acid in small industries behind the bazaar to manufacture hydrogen and carry out other chemical reductions. Vegetative wastes go to cows or goats kept in and around the tenements to provide milk for the babies. Fragments of unglazed pottery, brick, concrete, asphalt aggregate, and shattered glass are carted away for landfill. The litter that remains is too thin or worthless to keep a person who does the collecting alive -- unless he is subsidized by the public as a sweeper or sanitation worker. Techniques for analyzing dustbin contents and artisans' wastes waiting to be conveyed to the city dump were long ago developed by archeologists to establish the level of development of a civilization -- versions applicable to contemporary cities change little.

The reason so much emphasis has been placed upon the analysis of the urban environment is that, though complex, it is simpler than the more precise methods of detecting change which lie within the language itself, and more open to view than any investigation of summaries and evaluations of recent official actions.

A revealing procedure, more available to the untourist than to others, is to interview students and start up a discussion about prestigious organizations to join after they have finished at the local university, hopefully with a first class degree. Almost always students identify a public service which is handed the most challenging tasks in the society at that time. Forecasting is not for students -- they merely distill what is being discussed in the homes of the elite. Any agency retaining this prestige has the opportunity to choose from among the best of candidates. As long as the bright minds keep coming, it is assured of remaining among the pacemakers, and could continue for an extra ten to fifteen years beyond.

Probing further yields added surprises. For example, among the recent graduates high on the list for the elite Indian Administrative service, some break away and opt for other jobs. Where do they go? For some years in the 1960s the multinational firms were attractive, after that it was the banks, later the public corporations such as airlines, shipping companies, petroleum production, etc. Why? A strong motivation was to get outside of India, if only on business trips, without being smothered in the protocol of diplomacy, but it was bolstered by the urge

for power. The ambition to get out remains very strong among the English-speaking strata of South Asia, from Iran to the Philippines, but what are the more realistic options?

Those who are independent of family decision-making, which is a way of saying that they have the freedom to choose, are likely to have acquired quite knowledgeable views about the relative prospects of public agencies. Advanced students in capital cities where governments have been overturned, or nearly so, by demonstrations originating in the universities (Seoul, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Khatmandu) will be more knowledgeable about shifts in power and influence among the ministries and special agencies than other bilinguals, including the journalists. Students also talk more freely. One should not believe what they say, but weight carefully the estimates of potency and the coalitions for special ends. Americans will translate into pressure group theory, while Europeans and Latin Americans will draw upon their experience with elite-directed societies, in order to reach quite similar specific conclusions.

It is important to understand the kind of future that can be forecast in the public sector. An outsider is aware of a multitude of possibilities that fit present and future states of development of this metropolis and are theoretically available. What the visitor will discover repeatedly is that the pathway of some of the most promising of these is blocked. Therefore, the forecast becomes strongly negative -- of a hundred possible advances, only a score or so appear to be permitted by current circumstances, and of these only half will succeed. Also, political changes which the visitor finds too complex to analyze will strongly change the odds for success. A set of expectations arrived at for the public sector is made up primarily of transitions that one expects will not happen, at least within a restricted time period.

##### 5. SEEKING THE FUTURES OF DESIGN

A number of professions are interested in discovering the directions in which design is moving. Architects are particularly concerned with the acceptability of new ideas, such as abound in the studio and in the journals. Marketing specialists need to know what kinds of images are

associated favorably with what kinds of products. Industrial designers and advertisers will want to know about the changing values of color, filigree, hand (of cloth), and plasticity, to mention only a few of the variables. Trends in the various metropolises move in utterly different directions in the Third World; apparently they depend heavily upon the kind of education obtained by the cohorts and social groupings now entering the market place. The new customers make judgments based more upon the image presented than upon past experience.

Arguing from the principle that the prestige attributed to an image causes it to be reproduced and imitated, thereby becoming more common, diffused, and diluted, but also much more widely accepted, we have one theory that allows us to forecast a future. Prestige may be legitimized through acceptance by royalty, by some kind of specialized academy of critics handing out prizes or awards, by respected establishments, or it may merely be adopted as the fashion by the elite. Almost always a prestigious image is given pride of place in the high rent areas of the downtown center and the luxury hotels. This means that the attention of the investigator should be directed first to the clusters of high rise buildings, wherever they may be, and the goods and trademarks they display.

Look first at the buildings themselves. Are they modést variations upon what may be seen in London, Paris, New York, or Los Angeles? The glitter of the intended highlights has now been subdued in most Third World cities by the "browning out" brought on by the energy crisis, so the appraising eye can no longer depend upon illumination as a principal clue, or cue, as to relative importance of their features. Whom do the new buildings represent? Banks are common virtually everywhere, multinational corporations are very important in free ports and other commerce-based cities, and prestige government corporations (oil, airlines, fertilizer, export promotion, and shipping are typical) recently have been crowding into the center. A few private entrepreneurial groups are usually also represented. What gesture does the building make to accommodate itself to the local culture? Is it by name alone, or are such elements as gateway or entrance, window outline, murals, internal decoration, furnishing, or, most complete of all, dedication to the local script, also employed? To what extent are these buildings defended against hawkers, beggars, and street sleepers? Are the brand names displayed in the windows mainly international, mixed, or determinedly national?



This inspection of the high rise, high rent blocks of the city yields some first impressions that are likely to remain uncontradicted over the whole visit. The openness of the society to external imagery, the sensitivities of the local versions of nationalism, the dependence upon strict policing of public areas, the capacity to maintain images and property at levels of definition approaching the original standard, and the uses for color combinations are all characteristic of those higher strata of the society which determine long run attitudes toward design. Thus Manila reveals itself to be determinedly contemporary American (mostly Southwest) in its choices of architecture and manufactured products, although Latinized in clothing and heavily Tagalog in local inscriptions, street discipline is still at a low level, so that fronts tend to decay rapidly, unless they are all sterile marble and glass. Kuala Lumpur, on the other hand, despite a similar basic culture and an equivalent period of political independence, spends much more effort keeping up face; it has an architectural range that goes from spare, bland, intercontinental to gaudy, golden excrescences -- evidence that the British taste is being displaced by cosmopolitan Chinese. Bombay sprouts several new urban centers which try hard to use their fronts to capture the essences of India, and are determined to maintain the presentability of the entrances themselves; at the same time these centers seem incapable of preventing hundreds of mud huts and shanty huts from rising next door, or keeping the beggars from dominating the promenades. Taipei puts up concrete boxes that maximize the cubage allowed by obsolete zoning provisions and provide for shop houses on as much of the lower three floors as possible, or else it presents bulky recapitulations of old Peking. Another half dozen examples would be equally diverse.

An architect will examine closely the new construction in these central areas. The announcements on the hoardings that list the responsible firms are almost always in English. Are these turnkey jobs, with designs put out of offices in Rome, Athens, Singapore, or San Francisco, and prime contractors pulled in from the big international firms? Or are they joint enterprises with an overseas trained local man delegated to handle the internal relationships, especially the payoffs to local politicians? Or has the capability become wholly indigenous, as in Korea or India? He can immediately understand the kinds of design proposals offered in the first two instances, but would have to study closely the

options that are made available in the last, since much will depend, for example, upon such peculiar organizational features as whether the local design offices have been able to install their own air conditioning specialists. The architect will also identify what equipment is imported, and what kinds of building materials are allowed to be brought into the country, because these items very much determine the quality of the detail.

Landscaping is equally significant. If some tradition (i.e., Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Mogul, Arab, English, Dutch) has been established, how is it used to best effect? What imported traditions are preferred? How is the landscaping respected by people? Do the poor regard it merely as a substitute for public toilets? What are the multiple purposes that the parks are designed to serve, and at what hours of the day, and days of the week? Levels of park and open space policing are also worth noting.

Differences between cities can be astonishing. The formal park with zoo, serpentine pond, rock garden, and small amphitheatre with tea house is intensely used by whole families in Caracas, but the equivalents in Bangalore, Tehran, or Bangkok attract less than 10 percent of those crowds, even though still viewed as successful. Maidans and parks in many Indian cities are grazed by milk cattle, buffalo, sheep, and goats, thus providing milk for the infants and the elderly, but in Delhi they are now trimmed by hand sickle and scissors, with the grass being fed to animals in stalls in the nearby jaggies; in Manila and most Latin societies the trimming is done by unlucky prisoners and the grass is composted. Special children's parks that draw upon Mother Goose lore and mythic beasts of the Paleozoic era, as well as the heroes of the Ramayana, are found in most Indian and some Indonesian cities, while others in Southeast Asia build huge relief maps of the nation so as to acquaint school children with an image of the vastness of their heritage. Heroes of the retreat of imperialism are also memorialized with statues and monuments, and parks are dedicated to the founders of the nation and the ideals for which they struggled. Historic cities will fit together ruins, restorations, palaces, museums, and grassy plots into a fenced in and carefully preserved installation that makes a token charge at the gate.

The next stage is to look at residential styles being installed at the growing fringes of the metropolis (which sometimes includes the

redevelopment of central slum or squatter areas). The city could be aggressively committed to high rise apartments in the best international style, as in Singapore, or in a less impressive, but more livable, block, as in Hong Kong, or to a mixture of high density walkup apartments with tiny plots for free standing tile-roofed houses, as in Seoul, or compromises, as in most of Latin America. The vast majority of urban residents everywhere prefer one to three story buildings on separate plots of land but only the rich and lucky (in much of the Third World major lottery prizes are set at a size which allows the winner to obtain the most popular middle income housing combined independent transport to work -- either a motor scooter or a second-hand car) can afford it. What are the images presented to the public in the newest tracts being developed -- a blank wall, as in Muslim countries from Morocco to Iran, a low stone wall with iron fixtures, as in the Eastern Mediterranean, a privet hedge, as in some former British colonies, a barbed wire fence, as in some military dictatorships, a brief lawn, as in some former French colonies, or potted flowers, shrubs, and mini-trees, which could be arranged according to styles set by the Chinese, Japanese, Arabs, or Dutch. There are quite a few other possibilities, but usually only a restricted set is popular with the occupiers of new homes in any particular metropolis.

The organization of peripheral shopping centers tells a great deal about the stage of development the city is reaching. To what extent are they made up of branches of chain stores, each unit with a presentation of stock virtually identical to the others and possessing predictable fronts? Why have economies which have evolved highly organized sectors, such as found in Japan, Brazil, and the Philippines, been the only ones to have organized a variety of chains? Wherever independent Chinese traders are dominant in the marketplace, the shophouse arrangement will be chosen although where the land rent is high, it may have to adapt to the lower floors of an apartment block.

Elsewhere one looks for controls, or lack of them, that are imposed by the land developer (public or private) who recognizes that a large share of the returns will be extracted from sale or rental of shops. For example, land developers must take into account the known measures for coping with the hawkers who creep in and use the public areas free of rent. Can these peddlers be restricted to the periphery, catering to servants and low paid staff, as in Jakarta, or do they use carts to

encroach upon the parking lots and roadsides, as in Malaysia, or are they able to keep makeshift stands permanently on the broader pedestrian ways with the backing of local politicians, as in South Calcutta? What attempts are made to keep the premises clean and attractive? Generally the Indians have the lowest standards (this is true even for the rich Indian colony in Hong Kong), but there are vast differences even among Indians.

What shops have an order or arrangement that would be understood and trusted by people arriving via the airlines? In virtually all metropolitan areas, for example, the pharmacies and shoe stores are designed to be comprehensible to strangers, while groceries and dry goods are seldom so accessible. The Japanese, Koreans, Iranians, and Filipinos put a lot of emphasis upon barber shops, while other societies take for granted the itinerant barber who plies his trade under a tree on the avenue, or on the pavements of a quieter sidestreet. Supermarkets, superbazaars, and superettes are rare in Asia and Africa (common in South America), but they show up earliest in any society in the newer upper middle class shopping areas. What sales are they promoting: exotic package goods, perishables, or scarce luxuries? What is perhaps most significant is the way that light is used after dark, since the most valuable portions of the shopping area are more carefully illuminated. Are the best lit areas cosmopolitan, national, or something else? Much of the time the images cannot be classified because the underlying mode of social organization (smuggling is one example) is not known to the observer, but quite a large number of them can be registered and typical clusters become apparent. Later the partial "explanations" will emerge, so that it becomes possible to talk to fellow countrymen about what was seen.

Equal in significance are the schools. Are they turned out according to some standard design, as in Korean cities, or to prescriptions set by holy orders of the Church and Protestant sects, as in Latin America, or fitted to the status and subculture of the community, as in most former British colonies? How important are the playing fields in these new growth areas, as judged by their level of maintenance? In what way do the girls participate? What seem to be the rules about uniforms? The value of education itself is not at issue, but only its style and exclusiveness. Cosmopolitan education shows up in the display of children's art and in the bilingual readers sold in the shops that carry stationery and textbooks.

Thus far attention has been concentrated upon the designs already in place where the context or field can be perceived as well as the core image. These items only set the stage for what is to be proposed for the future. One of the places that explores future design is the school of architecture, where for the first time one is likely to talk to colleagues. There in the models and the renderings are found the conceptions of the upcoming professionals. Are they wishful dreams of Western luxury, as in Saigon where all male graduates are destined to become military officers, or romanticized borrowings from books published by the great men of this century with a trifling accommodation to the local culture? The cosmopolitan schools reveal by their work that students and faculty have been studying the most recent journals to arrive; their students will join the aggressive local firms that compete with those from the West that bring with them international reputations. Occasionally one finds a fiercely nationalistic idiom, as in Bangkok, but even there each major public building on the drawing boards assembles in its forcefulness and bulk the Boston City Hall. (Students freely admit that since they obtained new professors with degrees from Harvard and M.I.T., they noted their mentors referring quite often to that standout structure, so very likely there will be several Thai equivalents over the next decade or so.) The work in the private offices of the professors makes up the best single indicator of the permissible range of design over the next five years, unless as in Bombay and Hong Kong the department has had declining prestige in the eyes of the leading practitioners. Usually it is the teaching staff, rather than the current producers of designs, who are trying to stretch the limits of acceptability for that culture.

Starting from the images that people use to present themselves to others in a crowd, how does one get a leg up on the future? The first clue comes from the differences between old and young. What styles are affected by the young, and from what part of the world have they diffused? What has been the lag? (It is most interesting to note the acceptance of denim, blue jeans, and Levis through the respective marketplaces, and the subsequent styles based upon copper rivets, bell bottoms, washed-out fading, patches, etc.) In some societies footwear is as sensitive an indicator as clothing; it would take some time to trace the significance of shoe style choices in Manila, for example, but the result would be revealing because shoes are obviously important.

Another basis for prediction stems from the special capacity of the metropolis to produce education and accumulate educated immigrants. The future metropolis will have fewer illiterates and a much higher proportion with credentials that admit them to the administrative, technical, and professional classes. What shifts can be noted as one moves from fish and vegetable markets, itinerant shoemakers, and poorly capitilized hawkers (activities which contain the highest proportion of illiterates) to areas with meat sellers, packaged groceries, plastic wear, mechanical goods (spare parts supply), cloth, and electrical appliances? (The foregoing list suggests a likely ordering according to increasing level of education of both agents and customers that can be found within easy walking distance of each other.) Book stores and prestige shops exhibiting latest styles are not included because they fit into very different niches in the respective metropolises, so that Bombay is not like New Delhi, nor Osaka like Kyoto. There is a strong tendency for those who have been educated through secondary school and non-selective universities to become deeply involved in "catching up" with the world, but completion of the more elitist universities and professional schools sets up ideological compulsions (mostly nationalistic) in the youth that will for a while control their choices of style. As this leading class grows older, clothing styles become ideosyncratic, as in the West, where people choose their attire to fit their mood and the occasion.

One of the most fascinating exercises is to prowl around in the industries behind the bazaar working with miscellaneous machinery in flimsy sheds or in odd rooms of poorly maintained buildings producing relatively traditional products for daily sale. What accommodations are made to the modern taste? Cleanliness, quality control; printed paper wrappings instead of old newspaper; waxed paper for dividers; labels in color; printed containers; trademark displays? The greatest disparities between traditional and modern styles in these craft-originated enterprises are found in Japan, but off the beaten track in Khatmandu and Jogjakarta one will see surprising combinations that suggest many questions to ask about the dyeing of fabrics, metalworking, printing, and painting techniques that are most likely to evolve novel forms (as in batik or rug patterns). The industrial estates almost always produce less interesting products, but they will have a high concentration of

bilinguals engaged in the local production of Western (or Japanese) designs. Many of these people are bored enough to abandon secrecy and talk freely about the trends they perceive.

In general Third World design of artifacts is impoverished as compared to the West; their great minds have been at work on other subtleties. Therefore, the outsider is most rewarded by concentrating upon the few things with variable patterns that are locally valued, but also produced for export, such as the batik in Jakarta and Bangkok, rugs and carpets in Teheran and Karachi, and Bengali sweets in Calcutta.

## 6. AFTERMATH

Now the visit is finished. Either the futures-seeking investigator has bounced to another strange metropolis, where the exercise can be repeated, or he has returned home to work back into familiar grooves. The drafts prepared in haste are typed, clarified at some points, edited in others, and perhaps illustrated. It becomes a coherent essay that picks up on present phenomena which portend the future, and therefore will put forward a fresh point of view. It will avoid both journalistic cliches and academic abstruseness. The writer is readily persuaded that it is original enough to be worth publishing. Friends who read the complete draft sound very enthusiastic.

The shock comes a month to three months after submission. If the publication is a professional one, it will be sent to two or more reviewers who have previously published either on that culture or on futurology. They will find that the proposed article is replete with minor errors (spelling of names and terms were not regularized according to an acceptable system for transliteration; the interpretations of an incident do not fit their knowledge about its context; mentions of key events which have a bearing on observed trends were not included, etc.). Although the essay is lively reading, the substance is not trustworthy. If the piece was sent to a journal of political and social comment or to a literary organ, the explanations for rejection are more curt, and therefore difficult to interpret. Editors of these journals note that this kind of article fits none of the paradigms or journalistic formulas for presenting

comment upon exotic places. A futurist can honestly stike an optimistic note when the mood of the New York Times stories is gloomy, but few editors will understand this well enough to be willing to counter public pre-conceptions. On the other hand, the future-oriented overview may well have identified a new hazard before local people (the experts at home) have stumbled onto it, so naturally it is judged to be wrong and too misleading to print.

Quite often one does not get outright rejection of the article, but merely a mention that they would be interested in a short piece, say 3,000 words -- when the original, full article was perhaps 10,000 words. Mutilation of the manuscript to that extent could hardly be undertaken by the author, because he sees the chain of logic in an important argument chopped into misleading points.

Eventually the tourist-futurist comes to recognize that he has been a bumbling amateur. If he is also an innovator in portraying images of the future, others may regard him as a bit of a crackpot. He may have arrived at a better set of expectations concerning future changes in that metropolis, but prophets are recognized belatedly -- if they are heard at all. To help overcome their frustrations, the urban futurists will often undertake the writing of longish letters-to-the-editor.

On the other hand, his story can be a welcome contribution as a luncheon talk. It would keep fellow professionals awake because it is not run-of-the-mill programming and might even raise enough interest to cause one or two of them to consider trying the techniques themselves on their next trip abroad. Another place that an audience is assured is in a foreign affairs symposium where again, as compared to complex political forces or alien art forms, a discussion of possible urban futures in an exotic locale can generate a lively interest.

At cocktail parties one can draw upon this material for months. Anyone who has been to Lusaka, Pnom Penh, or some such place will be alert to all news items appearing from that locale after he left, and will have an interpretation of most of those events that goes deeper than the summaries of press releases. It should be possible to hold forth in a corner for some time. On such occasions one is likely to encounter someone who has "been to" the same metropolis. It is then that superiority of the future-oriented approach to seeing a city becomes apparent to all,



because the standard tourist can only underline one or another feature that had already been described in the travel section of the Sunday newspapers or relate some personal experiences, while an investigator of possible futures usually gets the last word with comments of "added significance." For example, he is likely to be able to describe how a touristic attraction fits into the present national development strategy and some alternatives that would have made a similar contribution.

If he is to produce a decent publication out of the effort, the returned professional must get to a good library near home and immerse himself in newspapers, current journals, and recent books concerning his "area" of interest. In that way he becomes better acquainted with the full roster of institutions and principals involved in analyzing public affairs and social change in the Third World metropolis. He must introduce himself to the nearby specialists in order to discover what features of his "futures" might interest them. Then he must rewrite, usually two or three times, with specific publications, audiences, and identified cities kept in mind. In other words, the instant expert is transformed through hard slogging work into a mature, though somewhat specialized, investigator; his piece then has a good chance of getting past the referees. It should show up in print one to three years after the visit, still relevant because only a portion of the future will have been experienced.

Three courses of action then remain open. One is never to try it again, because the exercise is too demanding. It is not a vacation at all. The second is to continue to dig deeper into the culture by learning the language and starting up friendships with representatives from that metropolitan area. Then it becomes feasible to move freely back and forth between the two societies, serving as a link between two social networks. It may even be possible to be assigned by government or by a firm to help make some constructive contribution to the future envisaged. The third choice is to keep on exploring, assessing futures of other cities and regions, discovering ways in which the cities interact with each other and produce an interdependent system. A remarkable amount of indirect cooperation exists between the metropolises of the world which promotes the spread of innovations; at the same time there is increasing competition among them for world-serving industries and offices. As already emphasized, the future development of a metropolis

is increasingly dependent upon its capacity to utilize these ties to the system of cities, and is less determined by its relationship with its hinterland.