

Volumen IV
Número 2
Invierno 1997

Urbana

A N Á L I S I S Y M É T O D O S

México • Estados Unidos • Canadá

\$40.00



La metrópolis desbordada. La dispersión de la ciudad americana y la búsqueda de alternativas

Robert Geddes



Futuro del Área Metropolitana de Monterrey
Comentarios en base a *La Metrópolis Desbordada* de Robert Geddes

Jesús A. Treviño



An ethical organization

Salvatore Belardo and Anthony W. Belardo

El silbato

Benjamín Franklin

A master class in musical performance

Donald A. Schön

Social capital and technological change in the information age
Conversation with Francis Fukuyama

Jesús A. Treviño

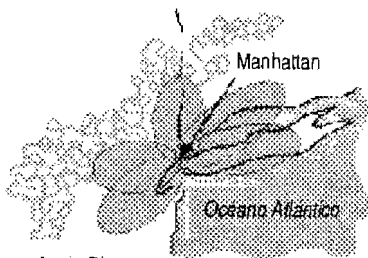
GEDDES, ROBERT. 1997. La metrópolis desbordada: La dispersión de la ciudad americana y la búsqueda de alternativas. *Urbana* IV (2): 3-11.

La metrópolis desbordada: La dispersión de la ciudad americana y la búsqueda de alternativas*

Robert Geddes

Una forma nueva de asentamientos humanos ha emergido en el siglo veinte, radicalmente diferente de la forma de las ciudades del pasado. La ciudad se ha convertido en una ciudad-región. El crecimiento demográfico de las ciudades-región norteamericanas es rebasado dramáticamente por su crecimiento geográfico. En las dos décadas comprendidas entre 1970 y 1990, la región de Nueva York tuvo un modesto crecimiento poblacional de 8 por ciento, pero tuvo un crecimiento explosivo de 65 por ciento en su área construida. Mientras Chicago creció 4 por ciento en población, su área urbanizada se incrementó en 46 por ciento. Aún los lugares que declinaban en población expandían simultáneamente su área urbana; Cleveland, por ejemplo, tuvo una disminución de su población en 8 por ciento, al tiempo que se expandía geográficamente en un 33 por ciento. Este ciclo de crecimiento urbano es similar en todo el país. Las ciudades-región se desbordan a su alrededor a tasas de crecimiento que son de ocho a diez veces superiores a sus incrementos de población.

Lo nuevo no es el tamaño de las ciudades, sino el cambio en su forma. La Ciudad de Nueva York, por ejemplo, solía tener una forma concéntrica que rodeaba a Manhattan de manera parecida a los anillos de crecimiento de un árbol. Así parecía cuando la Asociación del Plan Regional de Nueva York, una asociación civil, publicó su primer plan hace 60 años. El Tercer Plan Regional publicado en 1996, sin embargo, describe una ciudad-región con una población de 20 millones de gente, que se extiende 150 millas (aproximadamente 241 kms.) y cubre 13,000 millas cuadradas (aproximadamente 33, 670 kms²); ahora su forma se parece a una flor con pétalos radiales en cinco subregiones pertenecientes a tres estados.



Mapa por Annie Bisset en base a trazos del autor

Con el título alarmante de *Una Región en Riesgo (A Region at Risk)*, el plan regional advierte sobre los daños de la gran dispersión para la economía, el ambiente, la actividad social, y la calidad de la vida cotidiana de Nueva York. “Más rápido de que la gente se da cuenta,” escriben los autores, Robert Yaro y Tony Hiss, “las super-regiones metropolitanas de gran tamaño —áreas de cientos de millas de ancho congestionadas con una densa mezcla de ciudades viejas, suburbios en expansión, corredores de nuevas

* Traducción libre de Jesús A. Treviño. Impreso con permiso de *The American Prospect* 35, November/December. Copyright 1997 por *The American Prospect*, P.O. Box 383080, MA 02138. Derechos reservados. Publicado en *Urbana* también con el consentimiento del autor.

ciudades, y antiguas tierras de cultivo y de monte— están emergiendo no sólo como un lugar ya familiar sino como un nuevo hogar para la humanidad.”

Las consecuencias cotidianas para el suburbio y la ciudad son muy conocidas: congestión de tráfico y transporte ineficiente, vivienda escasa y cara, contaminación del aire y agua, segregación social y ausencia de convivencia comunitaria. En las décadas posteriores a la Segunda Guerra, millones de americanos dejaron las ciudades para radicar en los suburbios, pero de alguna manera, la ciudad va tras ellos. Sin embargo, la persistencia de las antiguas fronteras políticas impide que los problemas que enfrenta sean endosados en conjunto o discutidos coherentemente. La atención de la política pública se ha dispersado entre los problemas de transporte, vivienda, empleo, ambiente, y equidad social, pero difícilmente considera la dinámica urbana que subyace en ellos: la nueva forma que han tomado las ciudades americanas. Tampoco se habla mucho sobre las vías alternativas de desarrollo de algunas ciudades-región en Norteamérica que podrían ser la base de un nuevo paradigma para las ciudades-región y barrios en el próximo siglo.

Evolución de la ciudad

El surgimiento de una forma nueva de asentamiento humano es relativamente raro en la historia humana. Durante miles de años, los asentamientos humanos crecieron lenta y predeciblemente. Generalmente, se expandieron en anillos concéntricos, siendo cada expansión mayor pero conservando su antigua forma. Por ejemplo, mientras la ciudad europea de Bruges crecía en un periodo de 500 años, sus murallas eran desplazadas periódicamente hacia afuera, pero conservó el mismo tipo de forma. Como ciudad pre-industrial, Bruges enfrentó límites tecnológicos y económicos a su tamaño, tales como las distancias que a diario debían recorrerse a pie.

Las relaciones entre cómo crecen las cosas y las formas que toman fascinaron al biólogo D'Arcy Thompson. En su libro de 1917, *Sobre el Crecimiento y la Forma*, Thompson analizó tanto objetos naturales como fabricados, desde conchas marinas, dientes, pulgas, y dinosaurios hasta burbujas de jabón y puentes, observando cómo y cuándo su forma se ajustaba y cambiaba durante el crecimiento.

Si este patrón, como argüía Thompson, se aplica a construcciones metálicas como calentadores (boilers) y construcciones biológicas como la concha marina Forminifera, también se aplica a las construcciones sociales como las ciudades. Antes de la revolución industrial, el tamaño de los pueblos y ciudades se restringía a sus límites naturales, tales como la capacidad del campo aldeaño para surtir alimento y la capacidad de la gente para desplazarse a pie en animales sin vehículos mecanizados. Los ferrocarriles cambiaron la forma de la ciudad de dos maneras. Los largos tendidos de líneas férreas conectando otras ciudades y áreas agrícolas distantes liberaron al tamaño de población de una ciudad de la dependencia de los alimentos de los campos adyacentes. Los tendidos férreos más cortos hacia el campo significaron que el tamaño geográfico de la ciudad ya no estuviera limitada por la distancia que se puede cubrir a pie. La ciudad evolucionó “en forma de estrella,” con nuevos asentamientos —suburbios sobre las vías— concentrados en las inmediaciones de las estaciones de tren, distantes a unas cuantas millas. La herencia de la dependencia de los EE.UU. de las líneas férreas y la estación queda con nosotros: La Región de

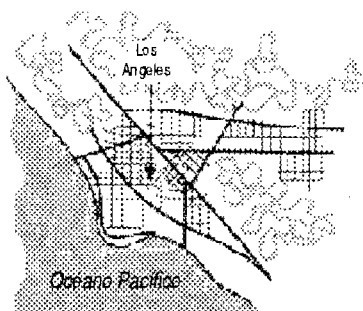
Nueva York, por ejemplo, tiene una red férrea envejecida y algo desconectada pero aún incluye 900 estaciones de ferrocarril.

El suburbio de ferrocarril fue una invención del siglo XIX, pero también es un modelo espacial alternativo para el siglo veintiuno que retiene algunas ventajas notables comparadas con la dispersión de los suburbios más recientes de la edad del automóvil. Las ventajas del patrón en estrella radica en su compactación física y social, en su preservación de los alrededores, y en su economía y eficiencia de transporte.

El automóvil cambió radicalmente la forma de la ciudad. El carro particular dio extraordinaria flexibilidad, adaptabilidad, y alternativas. El espacio y el tiempo se reconfiguraron. Los ejes de la ciudad —tan claros en la ciudad pre-industrial y aún evidentes en los corredores en forma de dedos de la ciudad industrial— se desvanecieron. Los centros urbanos lucharon por acomodar sus nuevos habitantes —siempre moviendo y estacionando vehículos. Los centros conservaron su apariencia —centros comerciales, de investigación, de deportes, de salud, por mencionar algunos— pero cada uno se convirtió en un centro separado. La ciudad se convirtió en una ciudad región de centros desunidos. Hoy, en el mejor de los casos, es una galaxia; en el peor, es un caos.

El Paradigma de Los Angeles

Históricamente, dos movimientos masivos de población han formado las ciudades americanas. El movimiento del campo-a-la-ciudad después de la Guerra Civil se compara con el movimiento masivo ciudad-a-suburbio después de la Segunda Guerra. Hoy más de la mitad de la población de la nación vive en suburbios. Aunque aún son jurisdicciones legales separadas, ya no tiene sentido hablar de suburbios y ciudades como si fueran entidades separadas; están económica y ecológicamente unidas en un nuevo tipo de asentamiento, la ciudad región.



Mapa por Annie Bisset en base a trazos del autor

Periódicamente, una ciudad parece ser la personificación e imagen de lo nuevo. Los historiadores le llaman la “conmoción urbana”. Los Angeles ha representado la “conmoción urbana” de nuestro tiempo, como Manchester, Inglaterra, lo fue en el siglo diecinueve y Nueva York en la primera mitad del siglo actual. Los Angeles es vista como la primer ciudad americana en deshacerse de los modelos europeos de crecimiento y forma. El arquitecto y urbanista Richard Weinstein argumenta que “la estructura del ambiente construido como existe en Los Angeles representa ahora un paradigma de crecimiento que domina a

más de la mitad de la población de los EE.UU. y es, con variaciones, el patrón de crecimiento de la mayoría de los nuevos asentamientos del mundo desarrollado.”

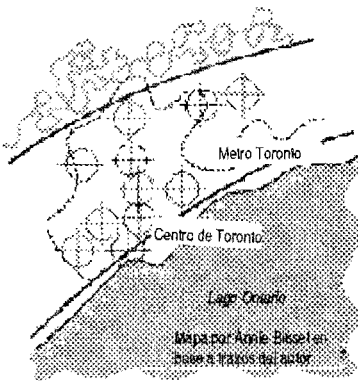
El paradigma de Los Angeles es una matriz desbordada, extendida, abierta, entrelazada con corredores lineales, desde boulevards a franjas comerciales, y cubierta de autopistas. Las palabras básicas para describirla son *fragmentada*, *incompleta*, *ad hoc*, *dispersa*. En relación al ambiente de Los Angeles, Weinstein argumenta que la matriz extendida y abierta, con todos sus espacios

interiores, es mejor para la salud ambiental que las estructuras urbanas más densas y continuas. Hay más áreas verdes intermedias.

Pero la forma urbana de Los Angeles ha tendido consecuencias para la desigualdad social. Las colonias étnicas se han aislado, fragmentado. Si la meta es balancear la economía, el ambiente y la equidad social, ¿es la matriz abierta y extendida de Los Angeles el modelo inevitable para las ciudades americanas?

Luces del norte

En el continente norteamericano, Toronto representa un modelo alternativo de crecimiento y forma urbana. En contraste a Los Angeles, Toronto genera vitalidad en sus centros. El centro de Toronto es vibrante y amigable para el peatón, y sus barrios conservan la fuerza como lugares de sociabilidad. Gracias al desarrollo de un tránsito colectivo o de masas, Toronto tuvo éxito, al menos para mediados de los setenta, en unir sus centros y retardar la dependencia del automóvil, consumidora de tierra y productora de smog. Un elemento clave en este logro fue que Toronto guió su auge de postguerra con su sistema de gobierno denominado Metro-Toronto que integró la toma de decisiones urbanas y suburbanas. Metro-Toronto no sólo tuvo jurisdicción sobre la planificación de las cinco municipalidades del centro metropolitano, sino también sobre las comunidades adyacentes. Entre sus logros estuvo una red de trenes ligeros financiada por la ciudad central.

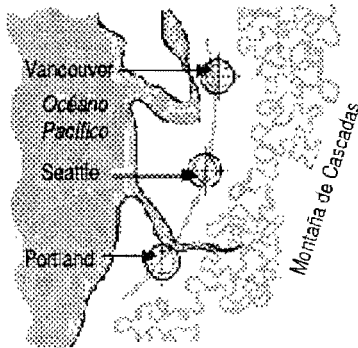


Toronto se ha convertido así en una ciudad con más equidad que Los Angeles no sólo por la generosidad de los programas sociales de Canadá, sino gracias a que la ciudad no ha aislado a sus residentes menos ricos. Las minorías étnicas, los pobres, y los viejos —gracias a la política pública— están menos segregados en Toronto que en otras ciudades-región de Norteamérica. Toronto no sólo construyó las conexiones de transporte; también creó la mayor cantidad de vivienda dispersa de ingresos mixtos del continente.

En décadas recientes, sin embargo, el patrón de desarrollo de Toronto ha dejado esa dirección. En 1972, el gobierno de la provincia de Ontario reagrupó las comunidades aledañas en cuatro mini-gobiernos metropolitanos (Halton, Peel, York, y Durham), cada uno con gran poder sobre su propia región. Según Gardner Church, un experto en ciencia política de la Universidad de York, la provincia fracasó en crear cualquier autoridad de planeación comprensiva o en sostener sus compromisos anteriores para frenar el crecimiento y coordinar el transporte. La dispersión establecida y la región estuvieron en riesgo de ser, como alguna vez lo dijieran los observadores, “Viena rodeada de Phoenix.” Pero recientemente, en un esfuerzo por corregir este traspié, la provincia ha convertido a Metro-Toronto en el gobierno unificado del centro metropolitano y creado una nueva autoridad super-regional, denominada Gran-Toronto, para el transporte, servicios sociales, y desarrollo económico. Las áreas aledañas compartirán los

costos de los servicios sociales con Toronto. Church cree que este nuevo sistema “ofrece el potencial para volver a una planificación comprensiva y progresiva.”

Otro modelo para el futuro viene del noroeste del Pacífico, donde una cadena de ciudades — incluyendo Portland, Seattle, y Vancouver— forman una ciudad-región generalmente llamada “Cascadia” (debido a las caídas de agua de las Montañas “Cascada” que corren paralelas a la costa del Pacífico). Aunque esta nueva ciudad-región atraviesa el estado y las fronteras internacionales, la idea emergente de Cascadia provee una visión económica integrada de los asentamientos a lo largo de un corredor regional, una “Avenida Principal” o *Main Street* llamada Autopista Interestatal 5. Lo que es especialmente notable es que incluye una visión ecológica integrada de la geología, vegetación, especies naturales, clima, y movimiento del agua a través de la región.



Mapa por Annie Bisset en base a trazos del autor

Cascadia muestra que un equilibrio en la naturaleza, sociedad, y cultura todavía puede ser la base para la construcción de la ciudad. Hay que pensar en Cascadia como un candidato para la próxima “conmoción urbana” de los historiadores. Todos sus predecesores, Manchester, Nueva York, y Los Angeles, tomaron su imagen del medio construido. Cascadia finca su poder en su medio natural como un nuevo paradigma.

Portland, Seattle, y Vancouver individualmente han sido pioneros en la planeación para la protección ambiental y la provisión de áreas verdes (parques, riveras, hábitats naturales) como partes de la actividad urbana. Hoy, sin embargo, las áreas verdes están en riesgo. El mayor reto está en el rápido crecimiento de la población y en un patrón de asentamientos humanos que, como en otras ciudades-región, ocupa tierra a una tasa aún mayor. El desarrollo disperso tiene como consecuencia el uso ineficiente de la tierra, la energía, y otros recursos y ha tenido profundos impactos en la calidad del aire, la hidrología de las vertientes, y la salud ambiental de los habitantes. La cuestión es si Cascadia seguirá el mismo camino que Los Angeles. O como los urbanistas de Cascadia Ethan Seltzer, Ann Vernez Moudon, y Alan Artibise lo pusieron, “¿Será el legado de nuestros tiempos al sostén del ambiente, o el consumo destructivo de uno de los paisajes más extraordinarios y abundantes del continente?”

Cascadia también ha intentado atender las necesidades sociales de los diversos residentes regulando la forma del desarrollo urbano. A diferencia de la mayoría de otras las ciudades-región, ha tratado de definir “los límites del crecimiento urbano” para promover el desarrollo compacto y las “villas urbanas” con una mezcla de actividades de vida, trabajo, y ocio. Portland, por ejemplo, ha puesto un límite al crecimiento, que es el compromiso más concreto de Norteamérica para invertir las tendencias de la segregación racial y de clase y el abandono de los cascos urbanos (asentamiento original). Pero Portland nunca habría sido capaz de desarrollar este proceso de no haber sido por la acción estatal.

Liderazgo en los estados

En el sistema político americano, las ciudades tienen poca autonomía. La autoridad descansa en los gobiernos estatales para decretar políticas y programas efectivos que den forma al desarrollo de las ciudades. Dos estados, Oregon y Nueva Jersey, destacan como líderes.

Desde 1973, Oregon ha exigido a cada ciudad trazar un límite de crecimiento en base a la magnitud de su desarrollo económico y a las necesidades de la comunidad en los 20 años siguientes. A su vez, la ciudad desarrolla un plan comprensivo, incluyendo los pasos que seguirá para crear la infraestructura de agua y drenaje necesaria, vías y tránsito, y otros servicios públicos dentro de la frontera de crecimiento. La frontera de crecimiento también influencia los gastos estatales en autopistas y otras vías. Para 1986, para cumplir con los estándares estatales, todas las comunidades en Oregon, disponían de los planes de crecimiento que limitan su expansión.

Ethan Seltzer, que dirige el Instituto de Estudios Metropolitanos de Portland (*Institute of Portland Metropolitan Studies*) en la Universidad Estatal de Portland, explica que el estado espera que la tierra dentro de los límites de crecimiento urbano sea desarrollada atendiendo a las densidades urbanas y, de hecho, permite a los desarrolladores solicitar a la corte la aprobación inmediata si la jurisdicción local no tramita las solicitudes de permiso en un plazo de 120 días. “Esto significa que el desarrollo multifamiliar ocurre por derecho y siguiendo un plan aún en los suburbios!” Dice Seltzer. Pero fuera de los límites, continúa, “no puedes desarrollar tierra a densidades urbanas, no puedes tener servicios urbanos, y enfrentas restricciones estrictas sobre lo que puede ser construido en las zonas agrícolas y de bosque. Aún la ampliación de caminos para usos no agrícolas es fuertemente regulado fuera de los límites de crecimiento urbano.”

Seltzer destaca,

La creatividad interviene porque, especialmente en años recientes, el estado se compromete a acomodar el crecimiento a través de la ocupación de los espacios internos existentes (viviendas y baldíos) y proyectos de redesarrollo, y no sólo extendiéndose hacia la tierra vacante de las orillas. Hoy, el mercado está respondiendo. En los últimos seis meses, 30 por ciento de nuestro crecimiento residencial ha sido desarrollo interior a la región, 15 por ciento ha sido adición de vivienda/*townhouses*. . . . Hay desarrollo activo de vivienda en el centro de Portland, y probablemente veremos una nueva escuela primaria en el centro dentro de muy poco.

El programa de Oregon obliga a las ciudades e inversionistas a ocupar tierra señalada para uso urbano de una forma similar a la que un agricultor atiende sus campos. Más que provocar desinversión, buscamos reinversión. Tiene un costo. Actualmente luchamos entre nuestra popularidad y lo que significa vivir en una región no barata pero deseable, con valor.

Creo que hemos probado que buscar un fin en la extensión urbana es posible y deseable, pero por sí mismo no resolverá los problemas de pobreza ni proveerá de vivienda económica.

Agrega que mientras los límites urbanos no son una “bala de plata,” ellos “son eficaces para el fin que se proponen: paran la dispersión sobre tierra agrícola, dirigen la atención hacia tierras ya señaladas para uso urbano, y en la región metropolitana, sugieren a los funcionarios locales elegidos que su futuro es compartido y mejor si cuentan con el apoyo de las jurisdicciones hermanas viviendo en la misma economía.”

El crecimiento y la forma de las ciudades son asuntos críticos para Nueva Jersey, el único estado que es ocupado completamente por “áreas metropolitanas,” de acuerdo con el Censo de los EE.UU. En 1992, Nueva Jersey elaboró su primer plan estatal para “coordinar las acciones públicas y privadas para guiar el crecimiento futuro en formas compactas de desarrollo y redesarrollo, el crecimiento económico en localidades que están bien situadas con respecto a los servicios públicos y facilidades actuales y anticipadas; y desincentivar el desarrollo donde pueda dañar o destruir recursos naturales o la calidad del ambiente.”

En la búsqueda de Nueva Jersey de un nuevo modelo de crecimiento urbano y forma, la palabra clave es *compacto*. Comparando las tendencias tradicionales con las nuevas políticas propuestas por el plan estatal, James Hughes y sus colegas en la Universidad de Rutgers encontraron que el desarrollo compacto generaría mas empleos en centros accesibles dentro de la región, reduciendo, por lo tanto, las tasas de desempleo en las asentamientos más viejos (*inner cities*). También habría menos destrucción del ambiente natural porque se preservarían los bosques, vertientes y tierras agrícolas. Los gobiernos locales y estatales ahorrarían dinero porque también habría menos necesidad de infraestructura. Por ejemplo, para acomodar el crecimiento hasta el año 2010, el patrón tradicional necesitaría 5,500 millas lineales (8, 851 kms.) de nuevas vías locales. Para la misma población y economía, el plan estatal sólo requeriría 1,600 nuevas millas lineales (2, 575 kms.). Pero el mayor beneficio estaría en la revitalización de los barrios.

Aquí aparece el barrio

Para la revitalización de nuestras ciudades, el “barrio” casi siempre es citado como la unidad construida básica. Hoy, en los EE.UU., hay dos conceptos diferentes. La primera es la idea de “barrio” con un centro y una frontera. Espacial y socialmente, este barrio se centra en su núcleo: tiendas locales, una escuela de barrio, quizá una biblioteca y otras servicios comunitarios de educación, salud, y recreación. El tamaño y la densidad de la población del barrio dependen de su núcleo. En su frontera, los límites del barrio están marcados por señalamientos —generalmente, vías o andadores, o en las ciudades, calles arteriales. Los barrios, en este concepto, son nombres dados y generan lealtad; también son reservados e intencionalmente estáticos.

Las implicaciones de este concepto de barrio sobre el medio construido son claras: Los grupos de barrios pueden crear un distrito, y los grupos de distritos crean una ciudad. Este concepto de “grupo” de barrio, distrito, y ciudad es típicamente americano. Impregna los planes comprensivos

de postguerra de restructuración de ciudades viejas como Filadelfia y de construcción de ciudades nuevas como Columbia, Maryland. Se manifiesta en el poder de los "consejeros ciudadanos" de las grandes ciudades. Y es alabado (sin que necesariamente lo hagan efectivo) por los desarrolladores y sus agencias de publicidad para áreas suburbanas.

El segundo concepto, el "barrio-calle," es radicalmente diferente. No tiene la claridad espacial y social del "barrio con centro y periferia." En su lugar, idealiza la cohesión natural que proviene de la "vecindad" de calle y banqueta. Este sentido de barrio es consecuencia del contacto cara a cara, casual e informal en la vida cotidiana de la ciudad. Para la traducción espacial de este concepto de barrio, es especialmente útil el plan de trazo de calles de ciudades tales como Manhattan. Paradójicamente, la forma pública estructural, estática y predecible, puede mantener y estimular la vida espontánea de cada uno —de residentes y visitantes, trabajadores y paseantes, propios y extraños— de manera dinámica, en pequeña escala y *ad-hoc*.

La clave en este concepto de barrio es la calle y la banqueta. La calle es la armadura, el esqueleto, la estructura de la calle-barrio. Las instituciones sociales están adscritas a las calles que las caracterizan como barrio: las escuelas, las tiendas de alimentos, cafeterías, librerías y bibliotecas, cines, tiendas de servicio local, asociaciones de salud, parques y campos de juego, y por supuesto, los lugares de trabajo y las viviendas de los vecinos. El barrio-calle es inmensamente popular. En todo los EE.UU., por ejemplo, los distritos viejos son usados como lugares nuevos de vida-trabajo; los centros comerciales tratan de estimular la vida de la calle y la acera; y las ciudades empiezan a reconocer que la clave del barrio es la calle y su calidad de vida.

Perspectivas urbanas

¿Cómo pueden servir estos conceptos de barrio a una nueva sociedad profundamente afectada por los cambios en las tecnologías de comunicación e información? Ofrecen posibilidades positivas y negativas.

El barrio con un centro y límites puede crear una comunidad a escala humana y un sentido de lugar dentro de una gran ciudad-región. Por ser una unidad de desarrollo con límites propios, el barrio puede ayudar a establecer una frontera al crecimiento urbano. Pero del barrio de centro y límites puede convertirse en patológico si la frontera territorial es estrictamente definida, que excluye a los extraños de una comunidad segregada.

El barrio-calle tiene la ventaja que no crea intencionalmente fronteras físicas que excluyan gente. En mucho, es abierto, acogedor y definido. Diversos lugares de calle y banqueta serían parte de los barrios convencionales de centro y límite, o más aún, en la constitución de la dispersión suburbana. Pero el barrio-calle también tiene posibilidades patológicas: Las calles pueden ser asentamiento territorial de intimidación y crimen y, en el peor de los casos, estas amenazas pueden destruir nuestras ciudades.

Cada vez más, la "Calle Principal" recobra importancia como centro vivo de las inmediaciones de un barrio. En Toronto, por ejemplo, la diversidad étnica de una ciudad-región se expresa por su

variedad de barrios —barrio griego, chino, portugués— cada uno con su propia calle principal. Lo que ha sido St. Claire Avenue es hoy Corso Italia. De manera similar, al norte de Manhattan, los barrios de Harlem son definidos por sus calles que los cruzan de punta a punta. El más famoso es el de la 125ava Calle, pero otros como los de la 116ava y 135ava calles son franjas de lugares vivos, arterias centrales para la actividad económica y cultural.

Si, como Peter Drucker predice, nuestra futura organización del trabajo se parecerá a la de las ciudades pre-industriales, con una entremezcla, más que separación, de lugares de residencia y lugares de trabajo, entonces el barrio-calle será otra vez el asentamiento vibrante de la vida cotidiana. Más aún, definiremos lugares para encontrarnos, para ver y ser vistos, para beber café juntos, y quizá, para realizar nuestras actividades comunitarias.

Pero esto no pasará automáticamente; la forma de una ciudad es consecuencia de las políticas públicas. Se necesitan cuatro clases de políticas: compactación regional para construir y mantener la infraestructura de transporte, agua y basura; crecimiento de los límites de la comunidad para que contenga la tierra urbana para construcciones; compactación regional para preservar los espacios verdes y los sistemas ecológicos naturales; e iniciativas públicas para mantener los centros de las ciudades y los barrios.

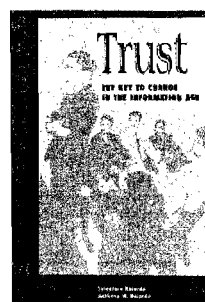
Las calles y aceras, edificios y plazas, jardines y parques afectan profundamente nuestra vida cotidiana y deberían ser materia de debate público. “Por su forma, como por su nacimiento,” escribió el antropólogo francés Claude Levi-Strauss, “la ciudad tiene elementos a la vez de procreación biológica, evolución orgánica y creación estética. Es un objeto natural y una cosa a ser cultivada; algo vivido y algo soñado. Es la invención humana por excelencia.” Necesitamos el coraje de crear nuestras ciudades otra vez.

ROBERT GEDDES. Arquitecto y diseñador urbano. Director emérito de la escuela de Arquitectura de la Universidad de Princeton. Director de la conferencia *Cities in North America* y editor de *Cities in Our Future* (Island Press, 1996).

Correo de publicaciones



Needleman, Jacob. 1998. *Time and the Soul*. USA: Doubleday/Currency



Belardo, S. and A. W. Belardo. 1997. *Trust. The Key to Change in the Information Age*. USA: Sebastian Rose.



eure. Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Urbano Regionales. Vol XXIII/Dic. 1997/No. 70

TREVIÑO, JESÚS A., 1997. Futuro del Área Metropolitana de Monterrey (AMM). Comentarios en base a *La Metrópolis Desbordada* de Robert Geddes. *Urbana IV* (2): 12-16.

Futuro del Área Metropolitana de Monterrey (AMM). Comentarios en base a *La Metrópolis Desbordada* de Robert Geddes

Jesús A. Treviño

Estas líneas presentan algunos comentarios sobre el crecimiento urbano futuro del Área Metropolitana de Monterrey (AMM), basados en el artículo *La Metrópolis Desbordada* de Robert Geddes. Se espera que estas observaciones sean útiles para entender y elaborar propuestas de solución a los problemas que implica la expansión física del AMM y de otras metrópolis "desbordadas." Antes de comentar el caso del AMM, conviene distinguir entre el oficio del planificador y la actividad de la planificación.

I. Oficio del planificador

En general, el oficio es la ocupación habitual que desempeñamos por vocación o por suerte. Con preparación especial o sin ella, aprendemos los "secretos" del oficio sobre la marcha. Unamuno dice lo siguiente a propósito del oficio:

La palabra oficio, *officium*, significa obligación, deber, pero en concreto, y esto debe significar siempre en la práctica. Sin que se deba tratar acaso tanto de buscar aquella vocación que más crea uno le acomoda y cuadra, cuanto de hacer vocación del menester en que la suerte o la Providencia, no nuestra voluntad, nos han puesto.

Miguel de Unamuno
Del Sentimiento Trágico de la Vida

Generalmente llamamos "experto" a quien domina un oficio. Hay tres razgos que ayudan a identificar un experto, incluyendo al que se dedica al ejercicio de la planificación: 1. Frente a un problema, *distingue rápidamente lo importante de lo irrelevante*. No pierde el tiempo buscando respuestas que no ayudan a la solución del problema. Si el coche no enciende, no busca en el radiador sino en los componentes del sistema eléctrico o electrónico; si el planificador-administrador recibe una solicitud de ampliación de una vivienda, no analiza la lógica de los actores sociales que explican el crecimiento de la ciudad, sino que se apoya en los parámetros del sector urbano correspondiente; 2. *Elabora rápidamente mapas mentales* que explican correctamente cómo funcionan las cosas. ¡Cuántos juguetes y aparatos electrodomésticos han parado en la basura por intentar arreglarlos! Un planificador-analista puede explicar rápida y correctamente los efectos de la globalización de la economía sobre el empleo urbano; y 3. *Trabaja con "prototipos"* que ha identificado de casos similares y cuenta con un portafolio suficientemente variado de *casos*

atípicos. Un técnico que arregla videograbadoras, antes de revisar la maraña de circuitos, verifica los problemas más comunes (el fusible de protección de voltaje, las cabezas de reproducción). Si no encuentra la respuesta al problema que busca, recurre a experiencias de casos aislados previos. Si tampoco resuelve el problema, entonces esta nueva experiencia formará parte de su portafolio de casos atípicos. De manera similar, el artículo *La Metrópolis Desbordada* señala un fenómeno urbano que no es exclusivo de norteamérica. Lo mismo ocurre en las principales metrópolis de México y de otros países latinoamericanos. Por esta razón la revisión de experiencias en norteamérica pueden sumarse al portafolio de prototipos (o paradigmas) de los planificadores urbano regionales.

Estas tres características se conjugan en la práctica de tal manera se pueden identificar, al menos, tres tipos básicos de profesionales que tienen que ver con la planificación y que en algún momento pudieran ser llamados “planificadores”: 1) *creadores y retroalimentadores* (generan las ideas o las adaptan de otros campos del conocimiento: planificador-académico-interdisciplinario); 2) *promotores* (promueven las ideas: planificador-gestor o planificador-vendedor); y 3) *adiminstradores* (organizan la puesta en marcha de las propuestas: planificador-administrador).

II. Actividad de la planificación

La actividad de la planificación no es monopolio de los planificadores. Es más, no tiene que ver con un oficio sino con los hechos generados por actores sociales. Los objetivos de un actor social son variados, no todos con principios compatibles entre sí. Por eso las acciones de los actores son razonadas o, al menos, razonables. Son razonadas porque todos planifican para la consecución de un objetivo que se presume racional. Son razonables porque todo actor deberá remontar, negociar o someterse temporalmente a oposiciones con un margen mínimo de conveniencia. El resultado final, cualquiera que sea el actor dominante, siempre es un nuevo punto de confrontación, coalición y negociación.

Es importante distinguir el oficio de la planificación de la actividad de planificación, para no confundir al planificador con su cliente. En el oficio de la planificación es necesario ponderar adecuadamente la fuerza de los actores que respaldarán o se opondrán a las propuestas. Las repercusiones de un proyecto fallido no se limitan al planificador que lo propone y al actor social que lo respalda sino que desacreditan la profesión y crean desconfianza en la actividad de los planificadores.

III. Revisión de paradigmas y comentarios para el caso del AMM

A partir de 1960 el Área Metropolitana de Monterrey (AMM) inicia una etapa de expansión física espectacular. Sólo para ilustrar la expansión física de la ciudad, en el periodo 1960-96, el AMM creció a un ritmo de 1.15 mts. *diarios* en la dirección oriente.¹ La experiencia muestra que el

¹ Los cálculos consideran como límites de la metrópoli la Expo de Guadalupe y el último semáforo de Juárez en dirección a Cadereyta por la carretera a Reynosa para los años 1960 y 1996, respectivamente. El ritmo de expansión diario es variable dependiendo del municipio y la referencia geográfica que se considere en los cálculos.

crecimiento urbano evoluciona en “saltos” como chispas de un incendio que se propaga. De la misma forma que una hoguera inicial despide chispas que generan otros pequeños incendios, de la conurbación original surgen desarrollos inmobiliarios que se agrandan hasta integrarse por completo a la ciudad que avanza día a día. A este avance se suma la población de los asentamientos periféricos y de las cabeceras de los municipios aledaños para crear una gran mancha urbana policéntrica. Los nuevos centros aparecieron de forma separada y desarticulada: centros demográficos (desarrollos inmobiliarios públicos y privados de alta densidad), comerciales (Plazas Mall, Wall Mart, Hypermart), educativos (campus UANL, ITESM y UDEM) y recreativos (multicinas, albercas), entre otros.²

Con la esperanza de encontrar algunos elementos que ayuden a entender la complejidad del AMM, el cuadro siguiente resume los principales paradigmas descritos en *La Metrópolis Desbordada*:

Paradigma	Descripción	Observaciones
Los Angeles	Matriz desbordada, extendida, abierta, entrelazada con corredores lineales, desde boulevards a franjas comerciales, y cubierta de autopistas. <i>Fragmentada, incompleta, ad hoc, dispersa.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Existencia de áreas verdes intermedias. — Fragmentación étnica y social. — Costos altos para dotación de infraestructura urbana y servicios.
Toronto	Centros con vitalidad. El centro de Toronto es vibrante y amigable para el peatón, y sus barrios conservan la fuerza como lugares de sociabilidad. Gracias al desarrollo de un tránsito colectivo o de masas, Toronto tuvo éxito, al menos para mediados de los setenta, en unir sus centros y retardar la dependencia del automóvil.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Fracaso en crear cualquier autoridad de planeación comprensiva o en sostener sus compromisos anteriores para frenar el crecimiento y coordinar el transporte. — La provincia ha convertido a Metro-Toronto en el gobierno unificado del centro metropolitano y creado una nueva autoridad super-regional, denominada Gran-Toronto, para el transporte, servicios sociales, y desarrollo económico.
<i>Cascadia</i> : Portland, Seattle, y Vancouver	Planeación urbana estricta. Pioneros en la planeación para la protección ambiental y la provisión de áreas verdes (parques, riveras, habitats naturales). A diferencia de la mayoría de otras las ciudades-región, ha tratado de definir “los límites del crecimiento urbano” para promover el desarrollo compacto y las “villas urbanas” con una mezcla de actividades de vida, trabajo, y ocio. Nunca hubiera sido posible este proceso de no haber sido por la acción estatal.	<p>El desarrollo disperso tiene como consecuencia el uso ineficiente de la tierra, la energía, y otros recursos y ha tenido profundos impactos en la calidad de la vida.</p> <p>Duda: “¿Será el legado de nuestros tiempos al sostén del ambiente, o el consumo destructivo de uno de los paisajes más extraordinarios y abundantes del continente?”</p>
Nueva Jersey	Único estado cubierto totalmente por áreas metropolitanas. Desarrollo urbano compacto. Revitalización de barrios	Más empleos en centros accesibles dentro de la región, reduciendo, por lo tanto, las tasas de desempleo en las asentamientos más viejos. Menos destrucción del ambiente natural porque se preservarían los bosques, vertientes y tierras agrícolas. Ahorro de dinero porque habría menos necesidad de infraestructura.

² Se omite deliberadamente llamar “subcentros” a los nuevos centros porque su importancia es generalmente mayor a la del “centro viejo.”

El balance de estos paradigmas para el AMM puede resumirse en los comentarios siguientes:

- El crecimiento disperso y policéntrico de Monterrey genera altos costos en la dotación de infraestructura y servicios urbanos. Este es el paradigma de Los Ángeles, pero con las limitaciones adicionales de recursos en México.
- Los cascos urbanos y los barrios del AMM no tienen la vitalidad de Toronto. Los centros no están comunicados. No existe un plan urbano actualizado que considere en un mismo paquete transporte, servicios sociales y desarrollo económico.
- Aunque se ha defendido la posición de trazar un límite definido a la ciudad, no puede decirse que el crecimiento urbano es compacto como en Nueva Jersey o que su control urbano es estricto como en *Cascadia*. El caso de *Cascadia* recuerda la iniciativa de *afirmativa ficta*³ en uno de los borradores de la Ley de Desarrollo Urbano de Nuevo León. En *Cascadia* existe una figura jurídica similar bajo estrictas reglas de uso del suelo y con límites al crecimiento urbano claramente establecidos.⁴ En Nuevo León se proponía re-introducir la *afirmativa ficta* (existía en la Ley de Desarrollo Urbano de 1980) bajo criterios opuestos a los de *Cascadia*: flexibilidad en el uso del suelo y límites al crecimiento urbano determinados por el mercado.⁵ Por otro lado, el único intento de revitalizar el centro del municipio central (el Barrio Antiguo de Monterrey) se tradujo en subsidios a peñas-bar y discotecas.

Para responder a las preguntas sobre la población, área y forma de Monterrey en los próximos años basta extrapolar las tendencias actuales. Ni en la crisis ni en la bonanza ha existido una propuesta académica que haya sido políticamente efectiva para controlar la Ciudad de México que es seis veces mayor que Monterrey. A la fecha no hay bases para suponer que se desviarán esfuerzos y recursos de la problemática urbana más aguda en la capital de México en favor de la problemática *relativamente* menos grave en la capital de Nuevo León. Al considerar a los actores que se han beneficiado, y que se benefician, con el crecimiento del AMM, no hay certeza de que sus intereses favorezcan a la planificación de una metrópoli regional, “ya porque no pueden desviarse a lo que la naturaleza les inclina, ya porque no pueden resignarse a abandonar un camino que siempre les ha sido próspero.” Si estas expectativas fueran erróneas o un evento no previsto facilitara una propuesta de política metropolitano-regional, conviene tener presente algunas tareas básicas:

- Elaborar un marco legislativo claro que facilite la planeación del AMM como ciudad-región.
- Delimitación clara de la ciudad-región que permita la planificación de la infraestructura de transporte, agua y basura, así como la preservación de los espacios verdes y los sistemas ecológicos naturales.

³ Figura jurídica que considera que una resolución es positiva si no hay respuesta en un plazo acordado.

⁴ Geddes señala que fuera de los límites urbanos, “no puedes desarrollar tierra a densidades urbanas, no puedes tener servicios urbanos, y enfrentas restricciones estrictas sobre lo que puede ser construido en las zonas agrícolas y de bosque. Aún la ampliación de caminos para usos no agrícolas es fuertemente regulado fuera de los límites de crecimiento urbano.”

⁵ Bajo las tendencias actuales, esto equivale a proponer un área urbana sin límites preestablecidos.

- Expansión gradual de los límites de la mancha urbana actual. Esto significa que hay que desplazar de manera selectiva en tiempo y dirección, según la disponibilidad de infraestructura, servicios y equipamiento urbano, los bordes del AMM. Esta tarea supone un diseño de corredores de alta densidad que apoyen el actual patrón policéntrico para descargar el crecimiento de la mancha urbana principal. Como la escasez de recursos no permite pensar en un metro intraurbano, sólo queda apoyar esta política con un sistema de autobuses rápidos de carro doble que circulen por carriles exclusivos, con paradas programadas.⁶ Esta propuesta también requiere de recursos y de una gran labor de planificación, gestión y coordinación urbana que todavía no existen en Nuevo León.
- Desincentivar la especulación inmobiliaria dentro y fuera de la mancha urbana principal.
- Integración vial de los centros urbanos dentro y fuera de la mancha urbana principal.
- Diseño de programas para revitalizar los cascos urbanos y barrios de los municipios actualmente conurbados.

No hay que olvidar que hay eventos macroeconómicos externos que repercuten en la planeación urbano regional tales como los altibajos en los precios del petróleo que afectan las participaciones federales, y por tanto, las inversiones en infraestructura y servicios urbanos.

Los recursos para el “Combate a la pobreza” son un flujo importante para la inversión en infraestructura y servicios urbanos. Al respecto, conviene recordar que ni el gasto social ni la planificación del uso del suelo resuelven los problemas sociales. La respuesta efectiva a los conflictos sociales debe buscarse en sus causas y no en el espacio donde se expresa.

JESÚS A. TREVIÑO es coordinador del Centro AREA, UDEM. Tiene una sólida formación académica internacional en economía, geografía y planificación —cursos de postgrado en México (El Colegio de México), Japón (Agencia Nacional de Tierras), Alemania (ONUDI) y los EE. UU. (Universidad de Cincinnati)—. Complementa esta formación con una práctica profesional de 16 años en análisis urbano-regional. Sus publicaciones más relevantes versan sobre distribución del ingreso, localización industrial y proceso de urbanización.

⁶ Esta opción quizá no sería tan eficiente en tiempos de recorrido como la del metro eléctrico pero puede compararse a él en la exactitud de llegada y salida de autobuses.

An ethical organization*

Salvatore Belardo
Anthony W. Belardo

The terms ethics and morality are often used interchangeably. For our purposes, we will define ethics as the study of human actions and the attempt to differentiate between right and wrong actions. We will define morals as the actual rules of action and the active patterns of conduct.

In Judaism, one can discern a distinction between ethics and morality. In Judaism, the ethical system is monotheistic, and is based upon the concept of a just God. This ethical system issues "rules of moral action," such as the Ten Commandments. The manner in which society interprets these rules constitutes the active pattern of conduct or morals (Collins 1987).

Ethical systems have been developed by such moral philosophers as Aristotle, St. Augustine, Rene Descartes, Immanuel Kant, Baruch Spinoza, David Hume, and John Stuart Mill. Typically, these have been intimately associated either with the world's great religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) or with humanistic thought. Some can be roughly classified as deontological (e.g. approaches that seek universal truths), based upon the notion that acts have inherent significance, regardless of the outcome. Others can be described as teleological and are based, in part, on the utilitarian precept that the significance of an action is determined by its consequences (Guy 1990).

While the term ethics comes from the Greek word *ethos*, meaning habit or custom, one of the earliest discussions of ethical systems can be found in the Aristotle's 4th century BC work entitled the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Ross 1992). Aristotle's system of ethics was based on the belief that all men seek happiness (eudaemonia); consequently, he posited, the goal of any ethical system should be to facilitate happiness. Most moral philosophers and ethical systems emphasize happiness in one form or another (e.g., pleasure, knowledge, friendship, moral maturity), and recognize that wrongful acts jeopardize happiness. Trust, it has been argued, is one of the essential conditions necessary for happiness (Beauchamp & Bowie 1979). Establishing a climate of trust within an organization is difficult since trust can be influenced by so many factors.

Bayles (1989) identified seven factors that he felt were necessary to ensure trust : honesty, candor, competence, diligence, loyalty, fairness, and discipline. Others, in describing values essential to interpersonal relationships, add factors such as caring and pursuit of excellence (Barry 1979). Factors such as loyalty and candor are difficult to quantify and, therefore, present problems when we attempt to measure them. As noted in the previous chapter, these individual obligations are important. However, modern organizations characterized by constantly changing relationships

* Reprinted from Salvatore Belardo and Anthony W. Belardo, *Trust. The key to change in the information age* (Sebastian Rose—a subsidiary of Belardo Consulting, 1997), by permission of the authors.

require a culture of trust that is less dependent on individual relationships. We believe that such a culture can be achieved by establishing an ethical organization, and further believe that the ethics literature provides clues as to ways to identify, measure, and operationalize the factors necessary to establish such a culture.

The following section presents several values of an ethical organization which implicitly incorporate the individual factors identified above. A simple framework used to identify these values is shown in Figure 1. The framework, adapted from the work of Ashley and O'Rourke (1982), represents a continuum of ethical decision making systems. At one extreme we have positioned egoism, a teleological decision-making system which emphasizes pleasure and concerns primarily the good of the individual. At the other extreme we have positioned what some refer to as the Kantian deontological decision making perspective, a form of ethical reasoning which emphasizes duty and the application of consistent universal rules to ensure moral action.

Reengineering, for example, emphasizes outcomes rather than tasks. As such it can be viewed as predominantly teleological in orientation. The stated objectives of most reengineering efforts (i.e., process timeliness, reduced cost, sales) would confirm this. Reengineering, in most cases, is employed reactively; stressing such goals as the need to cut costs, it often precludes the interest of key stakeholder groups, such as employees. We propose that if organizations are to create a climate of trust, whereby reengineering and other New Age management approaches to change will be used proactively, they must establish an organizational climate that is more deontological. A deontological perspective is essential to the success of New Age management approaches to change which require cooperation among team members, sharing of information and knowledge, and a willingness to learn, experiment, and change. Such a perspective is characterized by a more inclusive decision making process which seeks to establish a constancy purpose. In addition, the deontological perspective, in its emphasis on duty, implicitly stresses discipline in organizational and individual action. Finally, in deference to Kant's categorical imperative, we regard as indispensable unconditional truth-telling in all organizational and personal actions (Paton 1947).

From the complex of obligations enumerated by the aforementioned moral philosophers, we may distill four values necessary to an ethical organization; these are *consistency*, *truth-telling*, *inclusiveness*, and *discipline*. These values can be operationalized in an effort to ensure a climate of trust. In order to further develop these values, it is necessary to revisit the works of some of the great moral philosophers, and to present some anecdotal accounts of business decisions related to these four values.

Consistency

Descartes, considered by many to be the father of not only modern philosophy but of modern mathematics, physics, optics, meteorology and science in general, provides a clue to one value of an ethical organization, *consistency*. Like the ethical systems of other moral philosophers, Descartes' system emphasized trust and proposed that trust could be established through rigorous reasoning and systematic inquiry. In one of his best-known works, *Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting the Reason and Seeking for Truth in the Sciences*, Descartes argued that any

approach to problem solving or decision making must employ a rigorous, systematic reasoning process; he posited that it is only through the consistent application of well-formulated procedures, that trust in one's conclusions can be assured. In this work, Descartes described four rules that governed his approach to reasoning and inquiry.

The first rule was never to accept anything as true unless I recognized it to be evidently such: that is carefully avoid all precipitation and pre-judgment and to include nothing in my conclusions unless it presented itself so clearly and distinctly in my mind that there was no reason to doubt it.

The second was to divide each of the difficulties which I encountered into as many parts as possible, and as might be required for easier solution.

The third was to think in an orderly fashion when concerned with the search for truth, beginning with the things which were simplest and easiest to understand and gradually by degrees reaching toward more complex knowledge even treating as though ordered materials which were not necessarily so.

The last was both in the process of searching and in reviewing when in difficulties, always to make enumerations so complete and reviews so general that I would be certain that nothing was omitted. (Lafleur 1960)

Descartes made a firm and unalterable resolution never to violate, in any instance, these four rules. By consistently applying these rules, Descartes felt that he could deduce any proposition with certainty. Rules or standards are essential for successfully arriving at correct answers; however, as most moral philosophers would insist, it is the consistent application of these rules, that ensures trust (Windt, et. al. 1989). An example serves to illustrate how inconsistency causes problems and affects trust.

When we think of NASA, we think of an organization that was responsible for putting a man on the moon and safely returning him to earth—truly a miraculous engineering feat that could only have been accomplished by the strictest, most consistent attention to, and enforcement of, the highest engineering principles and standards. The astronauts who landed on the moon must have had a great deal of trust in the systems and procedures employed by NASA. Recent events, however, have caused Americans to question NASA's trustworthiness. The Hubble space telescope debacle provides an example in which inconsistent enforcement of standards caused serious problems with the mission. The Hubble space telescope, a \$1.6 billion effort designed to photograph the heavens from beyond earth's obscuring atmosphere when initially launched was basically blind, the result of inconsistently applied quality control measures (Wilford 1993).

The shuttle Endeavor recently completed a spectacular mission, involving five space walks, in an attempt to place a corrective lens on Hubble's optical system to improve its ability to focus. Had NASA rigorously enforced those standards and procedures that made previous programs, such as the lunar missions, so successful (e.g., consistent cross-checking of vital measurements), there is no question the defect would have been detected before the space telescope was launched (Lerner 1991). While US taxpayers would have incurred an additional cost of less than \$50 million up front, (the additional cost necessary to built and calibrate a back-up mirror required for cross-

checking) they would have saved an amount much greater (the cost of a dedicated space mission and corrective lens) that eventually had to be spent to correct the problem (Lerner 1991).

In these examples, we see that, unfortunately, NASA has changed. Whereas in the past they focused on quality, today they have become fixated with cost and schedules. They have violated the rules that served them so well in the past, and America has begun to question whether NASA is deserving of its trust and support. The NASA case illustrates that when standards are poorly designed or arbitrarily enforced, trust diminishes.

Truth-telling

Immanuel Kant, in his lectures on ethics, stressed the importance of another value necessary to create the trust and built an ethical organization, namely, truth-telling. Kant stated that lying for whatever reason, is objectionable and contemptible.

If a man spreads false news though he does no wrong to anyone in particular he offends against mankind because if such practices were universal man's desire for knowledge would be frustrated. For apart from speculation there are only two ways I can increase my fund of knowledge, by experience and by what others tell me. (Infield 1963)

Kant argued, since we learn primarily from what others tell us, to withhold information constitutes an infringement on humanity and, as such, is unethical.

This example of the unconditional universal obligation, known as the "categorical imperative," demands that people act in such a way that if everyone else did, everyone would benefit (Paton 1947, Guy 1990). In practice, it provides for a beneficial utilitarian outcome to the standard religious precept of treating one's neighbor as oneself.

We interpret Kant's argument to mean that only when people trust one another will they feel confident to share information and only then will an increase in knowledge (individual and organizational) occur. In a teleological system such as egoism, two people vying for the same job, for example, would do or say whatever was necessary to achieve an advantage; as a result, they would not feel that they could trust one another. The free and open exchange of information is essential to the success of participative management; participative management, in turn, is essential to the ethical health of an organization. Since reengineering, TQM, and most New Age management techniques depend upon cross functional teams and participative management, members must trust one another enough to share critical information. The following case illustrates what happens when the organization causes people to be less than truthful with one another.

Team Partnership (TP) was a major company-wide program designed by IBM in 1990. The stated goal of the program was to empower employees, to encourage them to bypass traditional company channels in order to implement new ideas and to better serve customer employees, however, were

reluctant to participate in this new program in spite of the efforts IBM made in marketing it. TP encouraged employees to work in teams, bypass management for approvals, cut red tape, or do whatever was necessary to serve customers. An employee who was deemed successful in this regard was nominated by his peers and rewarded with a TP pin to wear on his or her lapel. Unfortunately, the achievements recognized by the TP pins were not reflected in employees' appraisals. Not surprisingly, employees perceived that managers continued to manage in the old way, in spite of the TP program. They felt that managers wanted to control their teams, rather than lead them. In addition, they continued to employ evaluation procedures tied to the old way of thinking and doing business.

As a final blow to the TP program, IBM implemented another program called Ranking. A manager literally ranked every employee in his or her department from best to worst in terms of total contribution to the business. Penalties were assessed for those employees near the bottom. Employees viewed Ranking as a method of pushing non-performers out of the company. Since many feared ending up near the bottom, they started to keep information to themselves. The prevailing attitude was that if an employee shared information with a peer, it would give the latter an advantage. The TP program was seen by two managers at IBM as a major disappointment; both cited lack of trust as the major factor contributing to the failure of the program.

Inclusiveness

Kant's contributions to the philosophical examination of ethical theory and behavior remain unsurpassed. Kant himself was instrumental in delineating the ethical validity of the value *inclusiveness*.

He suggests that adherence to other's opinions is an ethical imperative when he writes:

In matters of morality we are not judges about others but nature has given us the right to form opinions about others. She has ordained that we should judge ourselves in accordance with judgments that others form about us. The man who turns a deaf ear to others people's opinions of him is base and reprehensible.
(Infield 1963)

Most organizations today recognize the need to engage in a more *inclusive* decision-making process. In all too many cases, however, individuals are asked to implement programs of change in which they have had little or no input (Sashkin 1984).

Kant's insistence on honesty and the duty to always tell the truth, by analogy, would suggest that the ethical organization must identify and include key stakeholders in the decision making process. Many who subscribe to this arguably extreme view, further contend that such behavior is not only ethically sound but also makes perfectly good business sense. President Kennedy learned the importance of eliciting the views of others from ill-fated Bay of Pigs fiasco; so too did the developers of the Tennessee Valley Authority dam who did not consider it important to include an

environmentalist in their deliberations prior to construction (Allison 1971, Mason & Mitroff 1981).

Ford Motor Company and Union Carbide provide additional examples of the consequences of not including stakeholders, other than investors, in the decision-making process. Some argue that Ford could have prevented the over fifty fiery crashes that resulted from rear-end collisions of Pintos built between 1971 and 1977 with a \$6.65 part and should therefore have been held legally and morally responsible. Others note that Ford was within its rights to market the Pinto given that relevant Federal Safety standards for gas tanks were not enacted until 1977 (Hoffman 1986, DeGeorge 1981). Most would agree that the problem could likely have been avoided had Ford listened to stakeholders (e.g., customers, consumer rights groups) and not just to its own accountants. While Ford accountants were able to demonstrate that the cost of correcting the problem was greater than what they would have had to pay out in damages, they failed to reorganize the impact of the decision on consumer trust. Customers interpreted Ford's reluctance to correct the problem to mean that Ford would rather endanger the lives of customers than spend a trifling \$6.65 to correct the problem; Ford's market share suffered as a result.

There are those, too, who would argue that Union Carbide was within its rights to operate its facility in Bophal, India, and that the fault for the disaster in which 2,100 people were killed and over 86,000 injured rests primarily with India and the poor inspection and monitoring programs employed by Indian officials (Cavanagh & McGovern 1988). Others contend, however, that Union Carbide was not wrong in violating safety regulations but in transgressing the individual rights of workers and residents who lived near the plant. *Inclusiveness*, therefore, is the *sine qua non* of ethically sound organizational behavior; by expanding its reference group, the organization gains important insights into how business practices affect stakeholders other than stockholders.

Johnson and Johnson has demonstrated that success can result from the operationalization of a credo that includes stakeholders other than stockholders. Their credo reads:

We believed our first responsibility is to doctors, nurses and patients, to mothers, and all others who use our products and services.

We are responsible to our employees, the men and women who work with us throughout the world.

We are responsible to the communities in which we live, and work, and to the world community as well. Our final responsibility is to our stockholders. (Bowie 1987)

The decision by Johnson and Johnson to remove 31 million bottles of Tylenol at a cost of \$100 million was tangible evidence of their commitment to serve and maintain accountability to stakeholders other than stockholders, to put people before profits, and to act in an ethical fashion. Periodically, their employees meet to discuss what the credo means and how it should influence their business decision. Johnson and Johnson, it should be noted, is not only a highly regarded company but is also a highly profitable one.

Key stakeholders included employees as well as customers. Among the primary responsibilities, enumerated by Cavanagh and McGovern, in their model of Corporate Responsibilities, are those duties which the corporation owes to its employees, customers, and investors (Cavanagh & McGovern 1988). Trust between employees and the organization can be established by including employees in the entire decision making process. Some companies, when establishing codes of ethics for the organization and its employees, fail to include in the formulation process those whose responsibility it will be to implement the rules (Townley 1992).

We would argue that listening to employees, valuing their opinions and their work, and empowering them is ethical and will ensure trust. Raising the knowledge content of work performed by employees, and encouraging them to use their minds, will result in happy workers, willing to contribute to the organization's goals and the public good. The proponents of participative management, TQM, and organizational learning recognize that seeking and valuing the advice to employees, including them in the entire decision making process, and providing for continuing educational opportunities is critical to the success of the organization. By including employees in the decision-making process and by promoting creativity and originality, not only does an organization create a climate of trust but also fosters the sort of innovatory ferment that results from multiformity of perspective.

Discipline

Edmond Burke, while not a moral philosopher, identified a fourth necessary value of an ethical organization, *discipline*. He argued:

Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites; in proportion as their love of justice is above rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere and the less there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free, their passions forge their fetters. (Burke 1791)

Professions create trust by *disciplining* and regulating themselves. In medicine, Law, Engineering, and Accounting, professional standards, codes of ethics and procedures for discipline help engender trust.

From the time when physicians swore an oath to Apollo to treat patients in an honest, ethical and caring way, professionals have attempted to establish standards, or codes, in an effort to ensure public trust. There are those who call for a similar approach in business, arguing for the development of a business code of ethics. Bayles (1989) noted that professional codes of ethics are an attempt to address trustworthiness. Codes of ethics are designed to help people make

ethical decisions and to avoid conflicts which result from situations in which individuals are asked to satisfy two or more mutually exclusive obligations (Guy 1990).

In business, as in law, a given practice's pedigree is often considered to be its validity. The Hippocratic Oath has provided medicine with perhaps the most distinguished historical pedigree of any professional code of ethics. The oath reads as follows.

I swear by Apollo Physician, by Asclepius, by Health, by Panacea, and by all the gods and goddesses, making them my witnesses that I will carry out, according to my ability and judgment, this oath and this indenture. To hold my teacher in this art equal to my own parents; to make him partner in my livelihood; when he is in need of money to share mine with him; to consider his family as my own brother, and to teach them this art, if they want to learn it, without fee or indenture; to impart precept, oral instruction, and all other instruction to my own sons, the sons of my teacher, and to indentured pupils who have taken the physicians' oath, but to nobody else, I will use treatment to help the sick according to my ability and judgment, but never with a view to injury or wrong-doing. Neither will I administer a poison to anybody when asked to do so nor will I suggest such a course. Similarly I will not give to a woman a pessary to cause abortion. But I will keep pure and holy both my life and my art. I will not use the knife, not even verily, on sufferers from stone but will give place to such as are craftsmen therein. Into whatsoever houses I enter, I will enter to help the sick, and I will abstain from all intentional wrong-doing and harm, especially from abusing the bodies of man or woman, bound or free. And whatever I shall see or hear in the course of my profession, as well as outside of my profession in my intercourse with men, if it be what should not be published abroad I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets. Now if I carry out this oath, and break it not may I gain for ever reputation among all men for my life and for my art; but if I transgress it and forswear myself, may the opposite befall me.

We see in this oath an emphasis on duty or discipline concerning one's profession; for 2000 years these basic principles have maintained their validity. The American Medical Association has articulated standards of conduct based upon this original ethic. These standards include respect for the law, recognition of the physician's responsibility to participate in activities that contribute to the public good and a commitment to excellence. Two standards that are particularly germane to business are:

A physician shall deal honestly with patients and colleagues and strive to expose those physicians deficient in character or competence or who engage in fraud or deception.

and

A physician shall continue to study, apply and advance scientific knowledge, make relevant information available to patients colleagues, and the

public, obtain consultation, and use the talents of other health professionals when indicated. (Callahan 1988)

Just as discipline, evidenced in the above standards of conduct has established trust between physicians and other stakeholders, a business code of ethics should be developed in order to help that profession discipline itself. The two standards mentioned above can be directly applied to business. The first would suggest that individuals within an organization should not engage in any form of discrimination, dishonesty or shoddy workmanship and that it is the responsibility of individuals to expose those who do, or do not correct their behavior when provided with counseling and opportunity to change. The second standard would require that organizations provide opportunities for continuous growth and education and that employees be encouraged to act on this new knowledge, incorporating it into their work and practice, improving their performance and the effectiveness and quality of their efforts.

Businesses, no doubt, will be concerned with developing a written code of ethics and determining whether or not it will have an impact on their performance. We have seen the results of unethical behavior on the part of organizations. Simply review the last several years of the *Wall Street Journal* and read about the problems and the staggering financial losses experienced by the savings and loan industry, the big six accounting firms, Eastman Kodak, TEXACO and others. While Milton Friedman (1962) would argue that profit, and not public good, should be the primary concern of business, others disagree. It is refreshing to see companies with good ethical practices such as Merck and Johnson and Johnson consistently make the Fortune 300 most admired companies list; once again, they also happen to be top financial performers. A study by the Ethics Resource Center in Washington, D.C. which examined 21 companies with written codes stating serving the public is central to their being, confirmed that short-term profit designed primarily to satisfy stockholders is not always a good strategy. The Center found that if one invested \$30,000 in a composite of the Dow Jones 30 years ago, the investment would be worth \$134,000 today. A similar investment in the 21 companies referred to above, would be worth over \$1 million today, almost nine times as much (Dillon 1992).

At present, society expects companies to be concerned with the public good; where consumer confidence is at issue, it is sensible to demonstrate ethically responsible behavior. Several ethics researchers provide a vision of the future when they state:

“Ethical commitments may encounter economic pressures, and narrow professional self interest. Today’s moral aspirations may become tomorrow’s expectations, and society’s demands.” (Jenning Callahan & Wolf 1987)

What we learn from the works of the researchers and scholars referenced above is that all ethical systems are based on trust, and the trust can be operationalized in an organization that stresses at least the four values: *truthtelling*, *inclusiveness*, *discipline*, and *consistency*. The above discussion not only makes the case for an ethical organization, but also raises several questions. The first query relates to how an organization should go about determining its ethical status. The second deals with the implications for businesses and businesses schools. The first question shall be

addressed in this article, and the second in a concluding chapter in *Trust. The key to change in the information age*.

Determining an Organization's Ethical Status: The Ethical Organizational Quotient

Figure 2 presents an abbreviated list of questions designed to help an organization evaluate its ethical status by calculating its ethical organizational quotient (EOQ). The questions correspond to the four values of the ethical organization discussed in this article. Each question is scored using a scale of 1 to 5. The higher the average the more closely the organization corresponds to our version of an ethical organization. Those organizations with averages below 3 should seek ways to improve the culture of trust within the organization, primarily by focusing on the offending components. Subsequent chapters in *Trust. The key to change in the information age* provide detailed prescriptions or guides to help organizations achieve each value.

Under the value heading *Inclusiveness*, are questions designed to assess the extent to which the organization solicits the views of key stakeholders and, in particular, the extent to which they elicit and value employee input.

Salary differentials provide evidence of the value that the organization places on the contributions of key, value-adding personnel. Plato believed that no one in an organization should earn more than five times the lowest paid worker (Buchanan 1948). We have seen a dramatic increase in the difference in income between CEO's and the average worker in recent years. In 1990, the average large company CEO made 150 times more than the average worker (Akst 1991). In all too many cases, CEO's salaries continue to rise at the expense of the workers'. Comparisons of the 72 largest companies in the U.S., between 1989 and 1994, show that CEO's salaries have increased while the number of employees has decreased. Fortunately, not all companies have followed this madness. Companies such as Ben & Jerry's Homemade, Herman Miller, and Springfield Remanufacturing, have limited chief executive officers' salaries to much lower multiples (seven times, twenty times and six times respectively) and have been rewarded for doing so (Levering & Moskowitz 1993). Clearly, the exceptionally high salaries paid to executives could be more effectively employed in continuous education and other efforts designed to facilitate learning and encourage innovation; this effort will, in the long run, lead to greater benefits and productivity than would simply rewarding CEOs with excessive salaries.

Also under the *Inclusiveness* heading are questions that evaluate the extent to which employees participate in the entire decision-making process. Rensis Likert (1967) and Marshall Sashkin (1984) suggest that participative management is an ethical issue and that the degree of meaningful participation can be measured by such factors as the extent to which employees are involved in setting goals and in making changes. Participative management, when properly applied, has resulted in significant improvements in employee productivity, job satisfaction and overall commitment to the organization and its success.

An indication of the importance an organization places on the value inclusiveness can be discerned by the way the organization views its Human Resources Department. The Human Resources Department is all too often seen as an embodiment of the expression, "Big Hat, No Cattle." A measure of the extent to which an organization practices inclusiveness stems from the resources it commits to learning and team building and other investments in personnel.

Consistency is essential in building trust between the organization and key stakeholding, including customers and employees. One question under this heading is designed to determine whether the organization has a company credo and, if so, the extent to which it is followed. Additional questions under the heading *Consistency* attempt to determine whether the organization has settled on a standard, or set of standards, by which the organization can ensure consistent products, processes (manufacturing and business) and services and whether standards are consistently enforced. Still other questions deal with rewards and ask whether they are tied to well-articulated objectives. As noted above, any standard designed to ensure quality of products, processes or services must be tied to the evaluation mechanism. If standards and evaluation are decoupled, as in the IBM case cited earlier, or if they are arbitrarily enforced, trust will not ensue. Other questions deal with the number of law suits and complaints lodged against the organization. These are tangible evidence of whether a firm's actual behavior is consistent with the image which it attempts to communicate to its constituents.

The questions under the value heading *Discipline* are designed to determine the extent to which the organization promotes learning, independence, and responsible behavior on the part of its employees. Participative management, a crucial element in an ethical organization, requires that senior managers change their approach to managing. They must be able to tell employees why they are requested to perform certain activities, not just command them to do so; they must also empower employees. In an ethical organization, employees also have a responsibility to become more professional in performing their jobs. Questions under the heading *Discipline* include several that are found in the professional ethics literature.

The first question, quite simply, asks whether the organization has established an Ethics Committee. An organizational commitment to ethical practices as evidenced by the establishment of an ethics committee sends a very strong message to employees concerning the value the organization places on ethical behavior. The second question is designed to determine whether the organization will thoroughly investigate unethical behavior. Other questions deal with the emphasis the organization places in continuous learning and ways to assess and deal with discipline in a positive, trustworthy fashion.

The last category, *Truth-telling*, is designed to assess the extent to which there exists a culture of truth-telling in the organization. As noted above, truth-telling can be measured not only by the degree of honesty between corporations and customers but also by the relationships between employers and employees.

Organizations, when advertising, tend to bend the truth; they would have us believe that automobiles, clothing, and toothpaste will make unattractive individuals suddenly attractive. While the problems surrounding corporate truth-telling may appear to do little damage and, in some

instances, may actually produce short term benefits, these benefits may be offset by long-term social and organizational costs. Plastics manufactures have attempted to convince the public recently that grocery and garbage bags can be made from biodegradable plastics that will decompose in a few weeks. Studies, however, show that the rates at which they degrade are much lower and, consequently, the demands on landfills much greater (Denison 1993). Amitai Etzioni (1992) states that business requires public acceptance; if the public does not view business as acting in its best interest, then the public will force government controls in order to encourage moral behavior.

Today, we see movements in the health care industry (requiring health care delivery entities to publish quality and performance standards) and in banking (truth in lending) which resulted from public concern over the products and services delivered by each of these business sectors. Several questions under the general heading, *Truthtelling*, attempt to measure the degree of honesty that exists between organizations and consumers, as well as between employers and employees. The first question under this general category is designed to measure the extent to which an organization allows or promotes "convenient" truthtelling. The second is designed to determine whether an organization promotes a proactive approach to truthtelling, such as Johnson and Johnson, or a reactive one similar to that employed by Ford Motor Company (during the period 1971-7).

Andrews (1989) argues that policy is implicit in behavior; the executive who suppresses information about a product's actual or potential ill effects of, knowingly or not, condones questionable behavior, sends a strong message to employees. Such behavior dramatically affects trust not only between individuals within the organization but also between the organization and other stakeholder groups.

Vernon Loucks, president and CEO of Baxter Travenol Laboratories, cogently noted in an article on ethics in *Business Horizons*, that "ethics isn't a matter of law or public relations or religion. It's a matter of Trust." In the words of Loucks, Baxter Travenol sold its operations in South Africa because, "as to apartheid, we have nothing to debate" (Loucks 1987). However in March 1993, Baxter agreed to pay fines and to accept a two-year ban on exports to certain countries, as punishment for its cooperation with Arab countries in their economic boycott of Israel (Feder 1993).

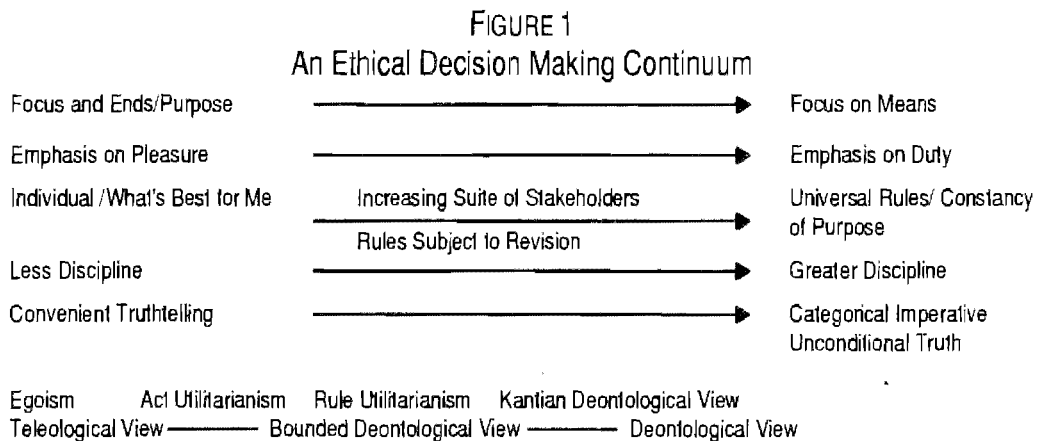
Kant would argue, when we make concessions concerning truthtelling, not only are we behaving in an unethical fashion, but we are jeopardizing the trust necessary for collaboration between employees and successful participation in organization efforts.

While the above describes what we believe constitutes an Ethical Organization, ensuring that the organization possesses the four values necessary to create trust, a more prescriptive framework is needed. In the chapters in *Trust. The key to change in the information age* we present several stories as a way of helping identify what we describe as valued principles. There are four chapters that contain several stories told in their entirety as well as references to others. The stories are presented as a way of helping the reader determine prescriptions of achieving the four values identified in this article, values which we believe are essential to the necessary establishment of an

ethical organization. They are presented in their entirety so as to minimize any bias that might result from our interpretation or selection of passages. The power of stories and parables is well known as a means of conveying lessons and value principles. Boje (1991) states that, in organizations, storytelling is the preferred sense making currency of human relationships among internal and external stakeholders. Jesus used parables very effectively to communicate values. From these stories we have divined what we describe as value principles which can help organizations begin the process of building trust. While several value principles are posited in each chapter, others remain to be uncovered by the interested reader.

We are certain that some of the principles presented in each of the chapters in *Trust. The key to change in the information age* will be controversial. Just as other stories will evoke additional principles, these stories will be interpreted differently by individual readers. Our intent is not to provide a definitive set of principles, but to provide a mechanism for students and managers to surface and make explicit what they get out of each story. Once this is done, they can then share their ideas with others and test and evaluate them. Furthermore, we do not provide questions to guide the reader, rather it is our hope that an uninhibited set of principles will emerge.

There are many more stories from every language and culture, all worthy of being included in *Trust. The key to change in the information age*. For those who, upon completion of this book, believe in the power of stories to help change cultures, recommend Native American tales such as *Myths and Legends* by Eroles and Ortiz, *Indian Tales*, and the wonderful Sufi tales from the Middle East especially those retold by Ideres Shah.



* Note: Adapted from B.M. Ashley, and K.D. O'Rourke, *Health Care Ethics, A Theological Analysis*, 2nd Edition, (St. Louis, MO: The Catholic Health Association, 1992).

FIGURE 2
The Ethical Organizational Quotient (EOQ)

INCLUSIVENESS

What is the salary differential in your organization between the CEO and the most senior engineer or scientist?

- | | | | | |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| >30:1 | 30:1 | 20:1 | 10:1 | <10:1 |

How many of the following stakeholders are identified in your company credo?
 Stockholders, Managers, Suppliers, Customers, Employees, Others.

1	2	3	4	5
0-1	2-3	3-4	4-5	>5

In how many of the broad areas of participation are employees allowed to participate?
 Setting Goals, Making Decision, Solving Problems, Making Changes

1	2	3	4	5
None at All	1	2	3	All 4

Check the Level of Agreement that you believe your organization holds regarding the Human Resources Department.
 "Big Hat, No Cattle"

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

Does your organization invest in programs such as laboratory learning or other team building programs?

1	3	5
None at All	Moderately	Extensively

CONSISTENCY

Does your company have a company credo and how well is it understood and practiced by employees?

1	2	3	4	5
No Credo		We have a Credo and it is periodically reviewed		Our credo is continuously employed and rigorously enforced

Are Performance Evaluations and Rewards Tied Directly to Objectives?

1	2	3	4	5
Never		Sometimes		Always

How would describe your company's to standards?

1	2	3	4	5
Non-Existent	Poorly Defined and Poorly Implemented	Well Defined but Poorly Implemented	Well Defined and Occasionally Well Implemented	Well Defined and Rigorously Implemented

How would you describe the number of law suits and or complaints lodged against your organization in the last several years?

1	2	3
Significant Decrease	No Change	Significant Increase

How would your organization view the following statement: "A Loaded customer is a loyal customer"

1	5
Good Practice	Poor Practice

Does your organization fully and unconditionally support those who call attention to unethical practices (e.g., an individual sometimes referred to as a whistleblower)?

1	5
No	Yes

If it was determined that a product your company produces does not live up to its expectations, as advertised, would your organization

1	3	5
Do nothing until asked to	withdraw the product with no explanation	withdraw the product with a well orchestrated explanation

References

- Collins, D. (1987): Aristotle and Business, *Journal of Business Ethics*, p. 567-572.
- Guy, M.E. (1990): *Ethical Decision Making in Everyday Works Situations*, New York: Quorum Books.
- Ross, David, Trans. (1992): Aristotle; *The Nicomachean Ethics*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Windt, R.Y., P.C. Appleby, M.P. Baatin, L.P. Francis, & B.M. Landesman, (1989): *Ethical Issues in the Professions*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Beauchamp, T.L., & N.E. Bowie, eds. (1979): *Ethical Theory and Business*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall
- Bayles, M.D. (1989): *Professional Ethics: Second Edition*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Barry, V. (1979): *Moral Issues in Business*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company
- Ashley, B.M. & K.D. O'Rourke, (1992): *Health Care Ethics; A Theological Analysis*, 2nd Edition. St. Louis: The Catholic Health Association
- Lafleur, L.J. Trans (1960), *Rene Descartes: Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting The Reason and Seeking of Truth in The Sciences*. New York: MacMillan Publishing Company.
- Wilford, J.N. (1993, November 30): Mission to Correct Hubbles's Flawed Vision Faces Many Pitfalls. *New York Times*, p. 1.
- Lerner, E.J. (1991, February): What happened? *Aerospace America*, p. 18-24.
- Infield, L. Trans. (1963) *Immanuel Kant: Lectures on Ethics*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Paton, H.J. (1947): *The Categorical Imperative*. London: Hutchinson & Company.

- Sashkin, M. (1984, Spring): Participative Management Is An Ethical Imperative. *Organizational Dynamics*, p. 5-22.
- Allison, G.T. (1971): *The Essence of Decision: Explaining The Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston Little Brown.
- Mason, R.D. & I.I. Mitroff (1981): *Challenging Strategic Planning Assumptions*. New York: John Wiley.
- Hoffman, W.M. (1986, June): What is Necessary for Corporate Moral Excellence? *Journal of Business Ethics*, p. 233-242.
- DeGeorge, R.T. (1981): Ethical Responsibilities of Engineers in Large Organizations: The Pinto Case, *Business and Professional Ethics Journal*, p. 1-14.
- Cavanagh, G.F. & A.F. McGovern (1988): *Ethical Dilemmas in the Modern Corporation*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bowie, N. (1987, February): *Corporate Management: Doing Good and Doing Well*. Hasting Center Report, p. 17-18
- Townley, P. (1992, January 15): Business Ethics: Commitment to Tough Decisions. *Vital Speeches of the Day*, p. 208-211.
- Burke, Edmund: In a Letter From Mr. Burke to a Member of the National Assembly in Answer to Some Objections to His Book on French Affairs, 1791.
- Callahan, J.C. Ed. (1988): *Ethical Issues in Professional Life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, M. (1962): *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dillion, G.C. (1992, January 15): The Prospect of Competitive Ethics: Good Ethics is Good Business. *Vital Speeches of the Day*, p. 526-529.
- Jenning, B., D. Callahan & S.M. Wolf (1987, February): *The Professions: Public Interest and Common Good*. Hastings Center Report, p. 3-10.
- Buchanan, S. Trans. (1948): *The Portable Plato*. New York: Viking Press.
- Akst, D. (1991, Summer): The Crusader Against Executive Greed. *Business and Society Review*, p. 52-53.
- Levering, R. & M. Muskowitz (1993, Spring): The Ten Best Companies to Work for in America. *Business and Society Review*, p. 26-38.
- Likert, R. (1967): *The Human Organization*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Denison, R.A. (1993, Spring): Are Plastic Makers Bending the Truth? *Business and Society Review*, p. 36-38.
- Etzioni, Amitai (1992, Spring): Corporate Behavior: Fewer Flaws Mean Fewer Laws. *Business and Society Review*, p. 13-17.
- Andrews, K.R. (1989, September-October): Ethics In Practice. *Harvard Business Review*, p. 99-104.
- Loucks, V.R. Jr. (1987, March-April): A CEO Looks at Ethics. *Business Horizons*, p. 2-6.
- Feder, B.J. (1993, March 26): Guilty Plea by Baxter on Boycott. *New York Times*, p. 1.
- Boje, D.M.: The Storytelling Organization: A study of Story Performance in an Office Supply Firm," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, March 1991, pp. 106-126.

El Silbato A Madame Brillon

Benjamín Franklin

Recibí dos cartas de mi querida amiga, una para el miércoles y otra para el sábado. Hoy es miércoles de nuevo. No merezco otra hoy porque no he contestado todavía la primera. Pero aunque soy indolente y remiso para escribir, el temor de no volver a recibir ya más sus amables epístolas, si no contribuyo a la correspondencia, me obliga a tomar ahora la pluma; y como el señor B. me ha enviado amablemente un recado diciéndome que irá mañana a verla a usted en lugar de pasar la noche de este miércoles como las de otros miércoles en su deliciosa compañía, me siento a pensar en usted, a escribirla y leer y reeler sus cartas.

Estoy encantado con la descripción del Paraíso y con su plan de vivir allí; y apruebo su conclusión de que entre tanto, debemos aprovecharnos todo lo que podamos de este mundo. En mi opinión, nosotros deberíamos aprovecharnos más de él y sufrir menos, si pusiésemos más cuidado en no dar demasiado dinero por los silbatos. Creo que la mayor parte de las gentes desdichadas que conozco lo son por olvidarse de este cuidado.

¿Qué quiero decir con esto? A usted le gustan los cuentos y me perdonará que le refiera uno de mi propia cosecha.

Cuando yo tenía siete años mis amigos me llenaron los bolsillos de monedas de cobre un día de fiesta. Me fui corriendo a una tienda donde vendían juguetes infantiles; en el camino me encapriché con el sonido de un silbato que llevaba en las manos otro muchacho e inmediatamente le dí por él todo el dinero que llevaba. Luego me fui a mi casa y anduve silbando por todas partes encantado con mi juguete, pero molestando a la familia. Mis hermanos, mis hermanas y mis primos al conocer mi compra me dijeron que había pagado por el silbato cuatro veces más de lo que valía y me indicaron la infinidad de cosas que hubiera podido comprar con el resto del dinero. Se rieron tanto de mi simplicidad que yo me puse a llorar avergonzado; y la consideración de esto me dio más pena que el silbato alegría.

Sin embargo, fue de gran enseñanza más tarde para mí porque se me quedó muy grabado en la mente. Y cuando he estado tentado de comprar alguna cosa innecesaria me he dicho siempre: *no pagues demasiado por el silbato*, y he economizado mi dinero.

Cuando ya mayor, entré por el mundo y observé las acciones de los hombres, creo que me encontré con muchos, muchos que *habían pagado demasiado por el silbato*.

Cuando he visto a una persona, ambiciosa del favor de la corte, malgastar el tiempo en besamanos, y sacrificar su reposo, su libertad, su virtud y tal vez sus amigos para obtenerlo, he dicho para mí capote: *esta persona paga muy caro su silbato.*

Cuando he visto a otro, amigo de la popularidad, metido de continuo en la bulla de la política, abandonando sus propios negocios y arruinándose con su negligencia, he dicho también: *éste paga muy caro su silbato.*

Cuando vi algún avaro que abandonando sus propios negocios de la vida, el placer de hacer el bien a los demás, la estimación de sus compatriotas y las alegrías de la amistad benévola, por el afán de acumular riquezas: *¡Pobre hombre!, me decía, pagas muy caro tu silbato.*

Cuando me encuentro con un hombre sensual que sacrifica todos los adelantos laudables del pensamiento y de su fortuna, a la simple sensación corporal con la cual arruina su salud, digo también: *Hombre extraviado, has acumulado penas en lugar de placeres. Pagas muy caro tu silbato.*

Si veo una persona ganada por las apariencias y amiga de los vestidos suntuosos, de los palacios, de los muebles y los hermosos ornamentos que están más allá de su fortuna y que le han llenado de deudas y le han conducido a la cárcel, digo también: *Oh, has pagado muy caro tu silbato.*

Cuando veo una hermosa y simpática muchacha casada con un hombre bruto y grosero, digo también: *¡Qué lástima que haya pagado tan caro su silbato!*

En conclusión, yo creo que una gran parte de las miserias de la humanidad ocurren por la falsa estimación que le han dado a las cosas, *pagando demasiado caro su silbato.*

Sin embargo, debo tener un poco de caridad para estas infortunadas personas, al considerar que a pesar de esta sabiduría mía de que tanto alardeo, hay algunos casos en el mundo, tan tentadores como las manzanas del Rey Juan por ejemplo, que afortunadamente no pueden comprarse, y que si se pusiesen en subasta yo probablemente me arruinaría por comprarlas, aunque me diese cuenta después que otra vez había *pagado muy caro mi silbato.*

Adiós, mi querida amiga, y créame siempre de usted con sincero e inalterable afecto.

B. Franklin

Passy, 10 de Noviembre de 1779

A master class in musical performance*

Donald A. Schön**

Musical performance is a kind of designing. It is true that the performer has access to a score that gives the pitches and durations to be played, along with indications of fingerings, legato and staccato playing, dynamics, tempo, and such expressive descriptions as “furioso” or “andante cantabile.” But the performer also has a great deal of discretion. He is free to decide on the groupings of the pitches and their accent patterns, tone quality and “color,” and, within broad limits permitted by the score, dynamics, tempo, and rubato. All such decisions are realized by physical manipulation of the instrument: on the piano, fingering, tone production, and pedal; on stringed instruments, fingering and bowing; on wind instruments, fingering, tonguing, and breathing.

These are the physical means by which the performer makes and communicates the sense of a piece in performance. He must discover the meaning of the piece given to him as a score, frame it by the decisions he makes, and realize it by physical manipulation of his instrument. His enacted decisions are moves that he may hear as faithful realizations of his intentions, errors to be corrected, or back talk that reveals surprising meaning to be adopted, together with their implications, in further moves. So the performer makes his ephemeral, temporally unfolding artifact.

In a master class in musical performance, a master teacher works with an advanced student who has prepared a piece from the repertoire of his instrument. The teacher tries to communicate something about sense making and sense realizing in the piece at hand but may also communicate understandings applicable to the performance of other pieces—indeed, to performance in general.

Here, as in a design studio, the teacher confronts a threefold coaching task.

First, he must deal with the substantive problems of performance, drawing for the purpose on many domains of understanding—for example, technical properties of the instrument, acoustic of the physical setting, features of musical structure, style of composition, and details of a

* Reprinted from *Educating the Reflective Practitioner* (Jossey-Bass Inc., 1987), by permission of the editor. There is a Spanish translation: *La formación de profesionales reflexivos: hacia un nuevo diseño de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje en las profesiones* (Paidós: 1992).

** Donald A. Schön was a philosopher of the professions (medicine, law, art, architecture, engineering, education, politics, management, music). The *Boston Globe*, September 16, 1997, announced his death at the age of 66. On December 28, 1997, David Warsh, *Globe* Staff, wrote “In Boston, a city famous for its brains, he operated for almost 30 years near the pinnacle.” Donald A. Schön gave one of his last interviews to *Urbana* (Vol. III, No. 2, 1996).

composer's life that may hold clues for interpretation. All such issues, together with their implications for the performer's decisions, a coach may communicate not by academic analysis but by a kind of analysis-in-action.

Second, the coach must tailor his understandings to the needs and potentials of a particular student at a particular stage of development. He must give priority to some things and not to others. He must decide what to talk about and when and how to talk about it, deploying for his purpose the full repertoire of media and language at his disposal. He may give verbal advice or criticism, tell stories, raise questions, conduct demonstrations, or mark up the student's score.

Third, he must do all these things within the framework of a role he chooses to play and a kind of relationship he wishes to establish with the student, taking account of the ever-present dangers of vulnerability and defensiveness.

Three Brief Examples

Consider the following description of a master class in cello. This is how Bernard Greenhouse, cellist of the Beaux Arts Trio, describes his early lessons with Pablo Casals:

We spent at least three hours a lesson. The first hour was a performance; the next hour entailed discussion of musical techniques; and the third hour he reminisced about his own career. During the first hour, he sat about a yard away. He would play a phrase and have me repeat it. And if the bowing and the fingering weren't exactly the same as his, and the emphasis on the top of the phrase was not the same, he would stop me and say, "No, no. Do it this way." And this went on for quite a few lessons. I was studying the Bach D-Minor suite and he demanded that I become an absolute copy. At one point, I did very gingerly suggest that I would only turn out to be a poor copy of Pablo Casals, and he said to me, "Don't worry about that. Because I'm seventy years old and I will be gone soon, and people won't remember my playing but they will hear yours." It turned out, of course, that he lived till the ripe old year age of ninety-seven. But that was his way of teaching. . . . He was extremely meticulous about my following all the details of his performance. And after several weeks of working on that one suite of Bach's, finally, the two of us could sit down and perform and play all the same fingerings and bowings and all the phrasings alike. And I really had become a copy of the Master. It was as if that room has stereophonic sound—two cellos producing at once (Delbanco, 1985, p.50).

Once this high degree of mimicry had been achieved, however, Casals did something surprising:

And at that point, when I had been able to accomplish this, he said to me: "Fine. Now just sit. Put your cello down and listen to the D-Minor Suite." And he played through the piece and changed *every* bowing and *every* fingering and *every* phrasing and all the emphasis within the phrase. I sat there, absolutely with my mouth open, listening to a performance which was heavenly, absolutely beautiful.

And when he finished, he turned to me with a broad grin on his face, and he said, "Now you've learned how to improvise in Bach. From now on, you study Bach this way" (Delbanco, 1985, p.51).

The task of letter-perfect imitation had been, then, in Casals's mind, a preparation for "improvisation in Bach."

Throughout the lessons, as far as Greenhouse describes them, Casals relied on demonstration. (Greenhouse does not tell us how Casals's reminiscences or discussions of musical technique may have related to the first hour's work of performance.) Sitting a yard from the master, the student was made to reproduce every detail of performance, achieving exact copies of the master's sounds by mimicking his every procedure and gesture. Then, once Greenhouse had learned in perfect detail how to construct *one* performance, with its bowings, fingerings, phrasings, and emphases, Casals presented him with a completely different but "absolutely beautiful" performance.

Here again, Casals gave a demonstration. This time, however, he did not expect Greenhouse to reproduce it. The second performance was to be taken, in juxtaposition with the first, as an object lesson in improvisation. And Casals's broad grin suggested that he had played a good joke on his student, as though to say, "You thought you were learning to play just like me, eh? But you have actually learned something quite different!"

Lest there be any doubt about the matter, Casals tells Greenhouse what he has learned—"Now you've learned how to improvise Bach!"—and adds, indeed, that improvisation of this kind is a preferred way of practicing: "From now on," he commands, "you study Bach this way."

We may wonder, and neither Casals nor Greenhouse tells us, how the painstaking mimicry of one performance and the sudden demonstration of an entirely different one communicate the lesson of improvisation. We might imagine the following explanation.

The "lesson" has two parts. In the first, Greenhouse discovers by mimicry how Casals's performance is constructed in each phrase through the precise details of bowing, fingering, and emphasis. In the second part, Greenhouse sees and hears how an entirely different but equally precise configuration of bowing, fingering, phrasing, and emphasis within the phrase produces an equally beautiful alternative to the first performance. The lesson is not that there are *two* right ways to perform the piece but that there are as many as the performer can invent and produce—each to be realized, phrase by phrase, through a precise coordination of technical means and musical effects, each to be achieved through painstaking experimentation. Casals has opened us possibilities he intends Greenhouse to explore from now on through his own reflection-in-action.

In a deeper sense, the entire lesson consists of demonstration and imitation. In this sense, however, the imitation Casals expects from his student is of a different order, for Greenhouse can appropriately reproduce the larger demonstration only by creating new performances of his own. And, with some sense of paradox—this is perhaps the deeper meaning of the joke—Casals *commands* him to do so. All this reminds me of a story about Hassidic rabbi whose followers

reproached him because he had not followed the example of his illustrious father. "I am *exactly* like my father," he replied. "He did not imitate, and I do not imitate."

Let us turn now a very different kind of coaching and learning. Several summers ago, I had the opportunity to watch a famous teacher of violin work with a group of gifted young performers. Each student performed the piece that he or she had prepared, while the teacher —whom I shall call Rosemary— sat impassively, listening. After each student had played, sometimes for as long as twenty minutes, Rosemary would begin by saying something like "That was wonderful, sugar." Thereafter, however, her responses were aimed at the particular student before her. Sometimes she talked about intonation (she kept an electronic tuning fork for such cases). Sometimes she focused on details of fingering or bowing. Once, in the case of a German student who listed precariously to one side, she talked about posture. The only time she talked about specifically musical issues was to a young Chilean woman who had chosen not a virtuoso exercise but the first movement of a Brahms sonata, which she had played with great musicality. Rosemary asked her to identify its principal themes. The student obliged by playing first one, then another, then third. The third one seemed to Rosemary to be a variation of the first. She asked the student whether there wasn't something "transitional." The student found it, played it, and agreed that it was, indeed, a third theme.

Rosemary asked her how she would describe the qualities of these themes. The student thought for a moment. Then she offered the opinion that the first was lively; the second, stormy; the third, reflective. Rosemary said,

Suppose we wanted to accentuate the liveliness of the first. How would we do it?

Rosemary put her head in her hand, thinking about the problem. Then,

There's an upbeat that goes to a resting place. Perhaps you could really *spring* off of it and land on the next —*ta-dum!*

The student tried it, produced the effect, liked it. Then,

How about the third, how would you make it really reflective?

The student seemed puzzled. After a while she tried a fingering and bowing that gave a very gentle performance of the figure. Rosemary said, "Yes, you could do that. Or you could also *restrict* the bowing," and she mimed what she meant. The student tried it. Yes, that would work, too.

Which do you think you'll use?

The student seemed puzzled again:

I'm not sure, I'll have to think about it.

Rosemary sat back, obviously pleased.

Like the architectural studio master Dani, who asked his student Michal, “What do you want the field school to be like?” Rosemary asked her student, “How do you want these themes to sound?” In both cases, the coaches made it legitimate for the student to like or dislike something, and in both, they invited the student to reflect on the qualities liked or disliked. Then these descriptions were taken as the materials of a problem: how to produce what was liked? Coach and student stood side by side before the same problem. The coach suggested ways of producing the intended qualities, inviting the student to join in the process of experimentation, teaching by demonstration the idea of practice as experiment. And the relationship constructed was not of performer and critic but of partners in inquiry.

A composer and teacher of piano told me about an exercise he sometimes asks his students to do, a kind of experimentation similar to Rosemary’s in some ways but different from it in others:

It’s a small, sensible thing. . . . I show them the score of a Chopin étude. Then I ask them to note the intensity of each of a set of high G’s. I say, “Rank them from 1 to 5. Don’t ask me whether intensity refers to loudness, texture, or the pivotal function of the pitch. Just do it!” They do it. Some assign different intensities to each G; others, the same for all. Then I ask them to play the piece and listen to the intensities they actually give to those pitches. Of course, the intensities they play are almost never the same as those they have written down. I want them to confront their notations with the descriptions actually built into their playing. I want them to hear “what they already know.” Then I asked them, “How did you like what you did?” Of course, the exercise only works when two conditions are met—they actually do know a great deal, as revealed by their playing, and they can only partly, or incorrectly, describe what they already know. I want to help them make a description that enables them to get hold of what they already know and then to criticize it, to contrast it with other possible descriptions.

Like Rosemary, the composer invites his students to consider what they like. But here the judgment of “liking” is made in a different context. The students are asked to say how they liked what they *did* and compare it with the understandings implicit in their prior notations. They are asked to reflect on their descriptions as well as on their performance and to compare one with the other. In the “small, sensible” exercise, the students are helped—as in the examples of Casals and Rosemary—to become aware of new possibilities but, at the same time, to become aware of the choices implicit in what they already know how to do.

In each of these three examples, a coach helps a student become aware of differences in musical effects and methods of production that provide a framework for experimentation. There is *this* way of performing the Bach cello suite, with all of its coordinated fingerings, bowings, and emphases, and then there is this *other* way. There is this way of intensifying the quality you want this theme to have, and there is also this other way. There is this pattern of intensities built into your described ranking of the high G’s in the Chopin étude, and then there is this other pattern of intensities produced in your performance, and there is, finally, the pattern you like once you have

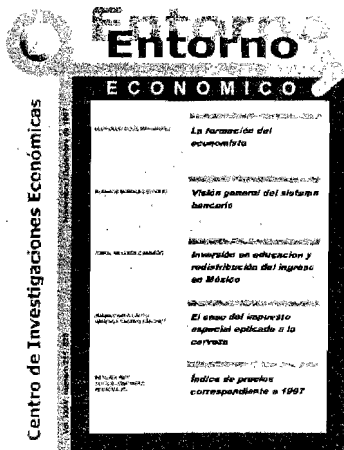
become aware of the possibilities. In each instance, the student learns to expand attention to include different musical effects achievable by different technical means and learns to consider, evaluate, and choose from alternative possibilities for action. He or she experiences practice in the mode of examination, where each run of an experiment reveals a new connection between technical means and musical outcome. The student is invited, sooner or later, to attend to his own preferences and to take these, rather than external authority, as criteria by which to regulate his actions. And in each of the three examples —though in very different ways— the coach opens up possible methods and materials for experimentation.

These examples represent variations on a way of dealing with the threefold coaching task: setting and solving the substantive problems of performance, tailoring demonstration or description to a student’s particular needs, and creating a relationship conducive to learning.

References

Delbanco, N. 1985. *The Beaux Arts Trio*. New York: William Morrow.

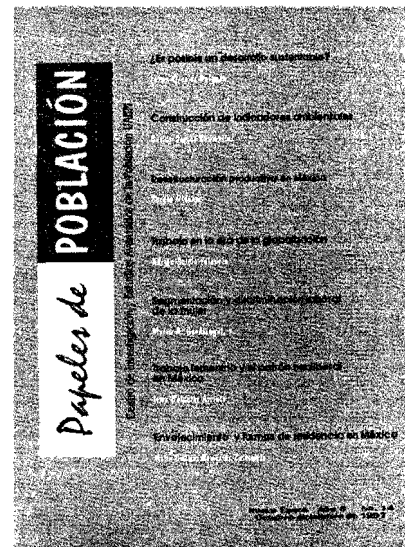
Correo de publicaciones



Entorno Económico, Vol. XXXV, No. 211. México: UANL-CIE, (noviembre-diciembre: 1997).



Carta Económica Regional, No. 54, México: UdeG-INESER, (mayo-junio: 1997)



Papeles de Población, Año 3, No. 14, México: UAEM-CIEAP, (octubre-diciembre: 1997)

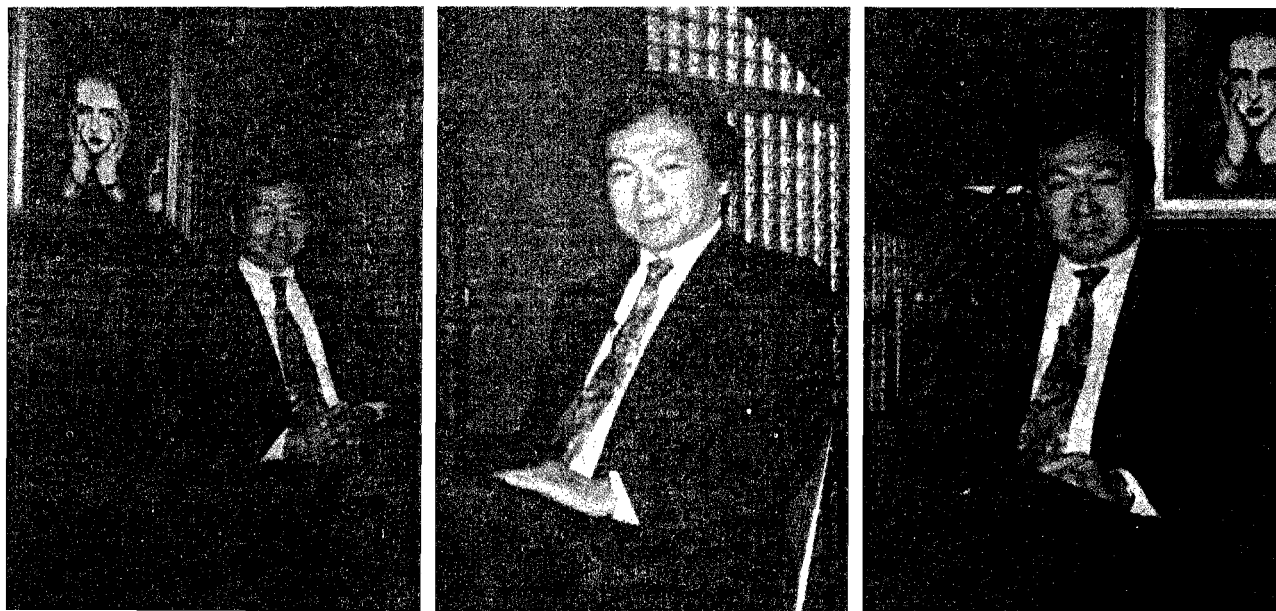
TREVIÑO, JESÚS A. 1997. Social capital and technological change in the information age. Conversation with Francis Fukuyama. *Urbana IV* (2): 42-46.

Social capital and technological change in the information age Conversation with Francis Fukuyama

Jesús A. Treviño

Francis Fukuyama is Omer and Nancy L. Hirst Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University. Fukuyama is a political philosopher and foreign policy expert widely known for his books *The End of History and the Last Man* and *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. Francis Fukuyama was Deputy Director for European Political-Military Affairs of the US Department of State. He received his B. A. from Cornell University in Classics, and his Ph.D. from Harvard in Political Science.

In this conversation, Fukuyama tells us that a low trust society may have the right macroeconomic policies, but if it does not have institutions in which people have confidence, the public policies will fail. He also provides some guidelines to cope with distrust in government. Fukuyama answers different questions related to the social actors that create trust, the “transaction cost” in low trust societies and the primary forces of social change and globalization. In a final question, Fukuyama expresses optimism about the balance of globalization. He is confident that the unexpected forces of social order can manage negative effects of globalization such as environmental damage, AIDS and crime.



Q. What is social capital and what patterns have you recently identified?

a. Social capital is the capacity of individuals to work together in groups and organizations in order to reach common goals. This collective work is based on both economic rationality and the trust embedded in the habits of the community. Social capital is declining almost everywhere in the developed world, certainly in USA, but also in Europe. I am writing a book called *The Great Disruption*. It is about social disruption of social norms that has occurred since the 1960s almost everywhere in the industrialized world. For example, I have been following the crime rates. Crime began to increase in the USA very dramatically in the 1960s, but then turned out to increase almost everywhere in the developed world in the same time period. You have the same decline in the nuclear family that has occurred in the USA and in many other societies as well. I think we are dealing with a broader phenomenon.

Social capital is the capacity of individuals to work together in groups and organizations in order to reach common goals. It is declining almost everywhere in the developed world

Q. How does technological change modify social relationships and labor markets?

a. The thesis in my new book is about the big change. You have to explain the timing, why it happens in different degrees in different countries; it really has to do with gender relations. I think the biggest social revolution has occurred: women are moving into the work force, being able to control their own reproductive cycles, and so forth. Certainly in the USA it is directly related with to the decline of the nuclear family, as a result, and a lot of social problems come about. I am supposed not to be misunderstood. Women might think that I argue against female equality, which I do not; I am thinking about the consequences of living in that kind of society. Labor markets change a great deal. In the information age, women do some tasks in the labor market better than men do. This has a tremendous impact on everything.

Q. Is the lack of social capital an obstacle to economic development? Is there any future for low trust countries?

a. I never really argue that the lack of social capital is an obstacle to economic development. This is a big misunderstanding of my book *Trust*. The central issue is the one most economists talk about: you have the right set of macroeconomic policies, monetary policies, institutions that work effectively, that is, the really socioeconomic development. Social capital contributes to a certain degree, but it is not the central issue. On the other hand, the problem right now in a country like Mexico is a problem of trust and confidence; you have the right policies, but you do not have institutions in which people have confidence, particularly in terms of enforcing property rights and a judicial system that maintains a kind of impersonal rule of law. In a sense that is the biggest obstacle now to Mexico's development. It is not figuring out what the right policy does; I think

people understand that. It is more fixing the institutional mechanism so that people have confidence. This is not possible if people think that when the government does something it is really doing something else as a result of corruption or conspiracy.

The problem right now in a country like Mexico is a problem of trust and confidence; you have the right policies, but you do not have institutions in which people have confidence

Q. Although we do not have reliable institutions, could we partially solve that problem at the microeconomic level? I am thinking of certain corporations that make commitments within themselves

a. I do not think governments have the capacity to create trust on a national basis. On the other hand, individual organizations may create a certain degree of corporate culture. In a firm, you have CEOs who create certain norms and values that are shared by employees in the company; that is to create social capital.

Q. What is the cost of a low trust society?

a. In a low trust society, the “transaction cost” you have to pay is higher. Let’s consider the *Mafia* as a trust providing organization. You have to pay to a *Mafioso* 15%, or whatever the transaction cost is, to guarantee the trust the transaction does not have. It is the cost you presumably have to pay if you live in an unsafe society.

Q. The title of your book is *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (1995). On the other hand, the title of Bernard Mandeville’s book is *The Fable of the Bees: or Private Vices, Public Benefits* (1729). It seems that you and Mandeville have opposed ideas about the role of virtues and vices creating public prosperity

a. That was a classic paradox. It is a problem that people still have in capitalism. Theories of capitalism all along argue that “pursuing the public good by simply pursuing your own self interest” is sufficient to make the markets work and to make them efficient. This argument is not true in many respects. Actual firms do not operate in a purely self interested way in capitalist economies. They are social organisms, people have relationships within the work place and between companies; all of those shape the economic relations in very important ways.

Q. Everyone controls his vices, like envy or greed, within the implicit “rules of the social game.” Could we create a “functional” morality to move the gears of economic development and reach prosperity?

a. That is very necessary. I think most countries, as they develop economically, tend to develop institutions. Once an economy has really opened up to global competition, in some sense, corruption becomes a little bit harder. For example, Mexico, fifteen or twenty years ago, had a huge state sector, which was an invitation for political corruption. The more you privatize, the less

opportunity you have to sell certain kind of political favors. Nowadays, you have to compete against other companies in the global market place. If a company simply prospers because it can bribe a politician to get a license of some kind, it will have problems if it has to compete with a Korean or European company that is more efficient. It puts more pressure on the organization to get rid of social inefficiencies.

The global market puts more pressure on the organization to get rid of social inefficiencies

Q. In February 1997, *The Atlantic Monthly* published an article by George Soros that says that "not everything successful in capitalism is moral." What do you think about it?¹

a. Everybody knows that at some point markets need to be regulated because there are certain dangers, such as excess of speculation, problems in wealth and income distribution, and so forth. I do not really see he says anything particularly new that any observer of markets would not have known about theories. He made a lot of money doing exactly the kind of things he was criticizing.

Q. Do you think Soros is "an hypocritical capitalist"?

a. This year (1997), Soros gave a presentation at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Every year, all the world bankers, CEOs and politicians have this meeting. Everyone was very mad. They said "now that you have made your money, you want to make it impossible for the rest of us to make our money."

Q. What can be done to cope with distrust in government?

a. I do not have a magical answer, but there are three starting points: privatization of public non strategic assets, democracy, and global openness. First, a government which is too big creates opportunities for corruption; second, political competition among different parties reduces possibilities of absolute power and controls corruption; and third, openness to the outside world makes it impossible to protect inefficiencies.

Q. So, in a sense, do you say that competition enforces the "reality principle"?

a. Yes, I think so. If you look at the American corporations, there is a certain degree of corruption, but it always comes in instances where the company has an opportunity to bribe a

¹ George Soros, a billionaire financier, is an investor and a philanthropist, and the chairman of the Open Society Institute, an international charitable foundation based in New York. In February 1997, Soros wrote "The Capitalist Threat" in *The Atlantic Monthly*. A year later, he returns to the discussion in a recent article "Toward a global open society" in *The Atlantic Monthly* (January: 1998).

public official to get a subsidy or something of that sort. In a way, the market itself promotes, to a degree, honesty; you cannot hide from the stockholders that you are not honest internally.

There are three starting points to cope with distrust in government: privatization of public non strategic assets, democracy, and global openness. First, a government which is too big creates opportunities for corruption; second, political competition among different parties reduces possibilities of absolute power and controls corruption; and third, openness to the outside world makes it impossible to protect inefficiencies

Q. What parameters should a political philosopher like you consider to understand social change?

a. I think that the primary drive of social change is technology, the human attempt to master nature. Technology really does not have an end point of development. Right now, in the middle of the big revolution in biology where we are going to be able to deliberately manipulate human nature, the genetic structure of people, it is very difficult to foresee what is going to be in the future.

Q. And what about social values?

a. Changes in social values are very often driven by changes in technology. Again, to go back to the question of gender relations, the reason women started moving into the work place is not that they just decided it for ideological reasons; it has to do with the nature of labor markets, changes in the nature of work brought about by changes in technology. If you look at most jobs a hundred years ago, agriculture and industrial labor took a great deal of physical strength. It did not require educational skill; it is a little different today. Even the fundamental social relation between parents and children is pretty much disrupted by technological change.

I think that the primary drive of social change is technology, the human attempt to master nature

Q. Today we have the globalization of capital and markets. But we also have the globalization of environmental damage, AIDS, and crime. Do you think the final balance of globalization is more positive than negative, or do you see a *Blade Runner* future for us?

a. I am not quite pessimistic. In a way, this is what my new book is about. There are a lot of unexpected forces of social order that societies can manage to deal with their problems. For example, crime in the USA is going down very dramatically. In New York City, crime has fallen 40 %; it has not been so since the 1960s. I think it is possible for a society to get control over

some of these phenomena. It is true that globalization is also spreading a lot of bad things, as well as good things. It is also moving people to resources to deal with the problems they have. Certainly, globalization has benefited much of the world that is participating domestically. In the end I am not sure. There is a constant struggle between forces of order and forces of disorder.

UNIVERSIDAD DE MONTERREY

Centro de Análisis Regional y Estudios Aplicados (Centro AREA)

I. Objetivo

Formar recursos, asistir a la toma de decisiones, y generar líneas de opinión en base a una sólida formación académica e investigación aplicada en el ámbito urbano-regional.

II. Campo

El Centro AREA está dirigido a cinco grupos fundamentales:

1. *Inversionistas y consultores* (urbanizadores y su cuerpo de planificadores, economistas, ingenieros, arquitectos, administradores de finanzas).
2. *Sector público* (legisladores, funcionarios públicos, comisiones y oficinas de planificación).
3. *Líderes y administradores en los sectores económicos* (todos los que toman decisiones sobre el diseño de manufactura, facilidades de distribución de productos y localización de productores).
4. *Organismos intermedios* (cámaras de actividad económica y sindicatos).
5. *La ciudadanía* (grupos de ciudadanos que se organizan y preocupan por el ambiente y la problemática económica y social de la comunidad).

III. Coordinación, equipos y apoyos

El Centro AREA ofrece servicios de investigación y extensión con ayuda de los distintos departamentos y unidades de apoyo de la UDEM. Esta característica organizacional le permite ser interdisciplinario y disponer de la sofisticada red de computación y soporte técnico para elaborar programas computacionales o aplicar paquetes gráficos y estadísticos a las distintas áreas del conocimiento. En México, el Centro AREA cuenta con la asesoría y apoyo directo de la compañía **Berumen y Asociados, S. C.** En los EE. UU., tiene un acuerdo de cooperación con el **Bruton Center** que preside el destacado geógrafo Brian J. L. Berry en la Universidad de Texas en Dallas.