

FOREWORD

One of the curious by-products of the environmental movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s was to give a new lease on life to zoning and other devices for controlling land use and local development. Under sharp attack during the 1950s and 1960s as instruments of exclusion that restricted opportunities in order to shield communities from perceived social and economic degradation, these devices came into their own during the 1960s and 1970s through the efforts of politically potent environmental advocates who promoted them as necessary devices to shield communities from potential environmental degradation. The upshot was a "new mood" in land use and related growth management control, and a subsequent vigorous debate over the extent to which public authority should be used to restrict private decisions on land use and development.

The purpose of *Growth Policy in the Eighties* is to clarify some of the key issues in this debate. Because the issues go beyond narrow legal matters, however, the focus is necessarily broad. Our aim has been to bring together a variety of perspectives that bear on the growth management question, to explore not just the legal constraints and dilemmas but also the political roots and economic implications of growth management, thereby sketching the broader context within which this set of policies must ultimately be judged.

The structure of the volume reflects this approach. The first article, a *Prolegomenon* by James Blumstein, identifies the key legal dilemmas posed by growth management efforts and the important constraints that flow from them. In particular, Blumstein examines how courts in selected states and at the federal level have coped with two key legal issues in the growth management process: first, the conflicting interests between outsiders, who seek entry into a community, and current residents who wish to maintain their community's social and environmental character and its low levels of public expenditure; and second, the problem of political accountability that stems from the limited political constituencies of local units of government, whose land use control policies affect those beyond its borders.

The next two articles examine the political origins and dynamics of the recent growth management movement, the political constraints that confront this movement, and the tactics that have been used to cope with these constraints. The first of these articles, by John DeGrove, provides a broad, comparative overview of the gestation, adoption, and implementation of growth management policies in three of the more active states—Florida, Oregon, and California. DeGrove emphasizes the increasing involvement of state government in land use decision making caused by efforts to use growth controls for

environmental purposes, and explores the efforts that have been made to reconcile this expanded state role with the tradition of local control in this area. Susskind and Perry elaborate on this point in a detailed examination of the innovative approach taken to growth management by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The heart of the Massachusetts strategy was an elaborate, bottoms-up, consensus-building process through which the state sought to mold its own growth policies around the expressed preferences of local communities. Unlike DeGrove, who is more sanguine about the continuing political base of environmentally-inspired growth management, Susskind and Perry view this more indirect, inductive approach as essential to the creation of a political coalition supportive of growth management.

The final set of articles evaluate the underlying theoretical rationale for growth management efforts and explore some of the central economic implications that flow from such efforts. Getz asks whether there is such a thing as an optimum city size that can provide a clear goal for growth management and whether the market, acting alone, is likely to generate such optimum size cities. Tolley, Graves and Gardner consider the underlying question of whether it is appropriate to develop a governmental policy toward population distribution. The existence of externalities from locational decisions suggests that a governmental role is called for and Tolley, Graves and Gardner suggest an approach toward developing such a policy. Keyes' article deals with the impact of different growth strategies on scarce resources such as energy and public investment and suggests that careful estimation of these effects of growth is crucial in formulating a rational approach towards managing future development.

Although the work on this volume began in the mid-1970s, when environmental concerns were more in the ascendance than at present, the issues raised here have, if anything, become even more pressing as a consequence of the nation's growing energy problems and the heightened sensitivity to the costs of regulation. Indeed, much of the current national debate over energy centers squarely on the trade-offs analyzed here between development and conservation and between the promotion of change and the allocation of the costs and benefits of that change. While some of the terms of the debate have changed in recent years most of the underlying issues remain the same. If this volume helps to elucidate some of these issues it will have served its purpose well.

LESTER M. SALAMON
JAMES F. BLUMSTEIN