RENOVATION IN THE UNITED STATES:

POSITIVE ASPECTS AND APPLICABILITY TO SOUTHERN EUROPE

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While the process of deterioration of centers of United States cities that occurred between 1955-1975 was the product of complex causes in the housing market (middle class flight then replacement by racially differentiated lower class groups, etc.) in Europe it was more a product of a process of decline (aging of population, loss of competitive capacity, or in many cases excessive increase in the tertiary sector, along with environmental deterioration (noise, pollution, etc.)

In Europe the equivalent of urban renewal was carried out in the peripheries of the cities and a central redevelopment. Since this occurred in areas that had no symbolic or architectural importance, the operation was neatly carried out by private developers with the tacit support of the public sector, with a kind of "out of sight, out of mind" approach.

In the United States the operations have been dirty because everyone is watching, with the particularity that the land is sold to private promoters (for 30% of their value) to build luxury apartments and office buildings, with all kinds of tax benefits. It is difficult for us to imagine our harried local governments investing in such operations. Besides, this is being done in areas that have something of interest, be it, its centrality, the quality of the buildings or their symbolic value. This kind of intervention, generally redevelopment, along with large highways-usually characterized as "bulldozing" - destroys any kind of local character that might have existed, reinforces zoning, expelling the minority groups who lived there with only minimal indemnification. Next to these black neighborhoods there are usually some old middle class areas, generally well situated with some architectural interest, and inhabited by middle class minority groups. In these areas the process of expulsion is called revitalization or conservation, and as Friedman (1964) notes, without a strong center of reference there is no hope for renovation. The other side of that hope is well expressed in the title of an article by D. Lenwood "The City Removed: White Dream - Black Nightmare".

Given the few black neighborhoods that exist in European cities, talk of redevelopment is more a developer's dream than an objective necessity. When we refer to urban renewal, we tend to think of
revitalization or conservation, and we try to refer to the experience of the second part of renovation in United States cities that we have just mentioned. Since there are no hard and fast rules for renovation, in each case the focus should be different, given the large number of factors that must be taken into account. What follows seeks to be an (uncertain) summary of the positive aspects of the American experience that can be useful within the framework of renovation in southern Europe.

The "charisma" and the magnitude of American slums and ghettos can appear at first to be the best or the first useful approximation for understanding urban renewal since we may presume that by knowing the genesis of their formation and current structure we might approach possible solutions in a more effective way. Nevertheless, I do not think that is quite right. The literature produced during the 60's and even before (Kenneth Clarke, Wirth, W. White, Liebow, and especially Herbert J. Gangs) are works of high quality, but they provide knowledge about urban sociology in general since these sectors have the peculiarity of involving social groups that are isolated because of race, ethnicity, etc., and can easily be used for studies of primary segregated communities (family, poverty etc.), group behavior with more limited physical and social limits than is the case for more integrated and complex communities. More than about problems of housing destruction and renovation. It is in the more political area, or, in academic terms, in the area of "social planning" where I think a theoretical field has been worked out, based on the initial work of Webber, Reim, Frieden, Dyckmann, or Gangs and the current contributions of Dye, Gray, Rinkin, etc.

In the former, besides developing their empirical studies, they dedicate a great deal of their energy to defining fields, objectives, semantic clarifications and a large number of the recommendations for planning that, although well known today, are nonetheless unfortunately less current.

Nevertheless, this group created a basis for discussion and principles that, without dealing with the establishment in general, developed premisses that allowed the field of "social planning" to be surprisingly developed 20 years later, covering one of the most difficult fields currently existing in sociology e.g. the evaluation of social phenomena and whether or not urban renewal is useful, as we shall see.
The phenomenon of housing abandonment in the inner cities should be approached from the perspective of various disciplines, but especially in terms of economics and ecology, more than sociology. Especially if we begin with the fact that in sociology there invasion-succession, with its higher explanatory level, is similar to the "filtering" theory which explains housing mobility in terms of fear which results from the pressure generated by low income groups and the pathology that goes with them. Middle class groups also see the depreciation of the value of their homes that are near poor neighborhoods. In general there is a physical and social pressure that goes through the housing market from bottom up and is ameliorated according to the political power of each group.

Understood broadly, this theory, versus purely ecological theories has the advantage of a general theory of city planning and that this lack is often felt, we have to go back to the model established by Ernest W. Burgess of concentric circles of growth that was further developed with the introduction of the notion of "gradients" to and reached Wasson theory of the succession cycle, that is, low income groups occupying higher income areas, thus "expelling" the latter toward better areas.

Since it is better adapted to American rather than European cities, the first part of Burgess' socio-ecological model is thought better of in the U.S. than abroad where it is considered to be naive and superficial, given its low explanatory level. Nevertheless the theory of socio-economic and political factors which exist in practice to be considered. The ecological model has been built on the premiss of spontaneous process and on the non-monopoly of the land market, which is what in fact occurs.

For example, in European cities low income groups only managed to gain small areas of the city centers, and they had to build shacks on the outskirt and later move to "bedroom" neighborhoods. But even in 1925 Walter Frey analyzed a case in Boston in which groups of high standing resisted the entrance of lower income groups. Also, Wallace Smith (1966) discovered that in Los Angeles it is middle income groups that change their residence rather than high income group, just as usually occurs in Europe.
Economic growth and the mobility of supply in the housing market are factors that condition the efficiency of the process like others. It should be clear that it is the economically more powerful groups that elect the localities.

Thus, while this theory explains how revitalization and "private urban renewal" responds to the interest of middle class groups with some particular characteristics who wish to return to take over the centers of the cities, as a socially and economically preponderant group that "chooses" its place of residence, breaking with the classical theory of Burgess or with the invasion succession cycle which is generally supported by operations of a strong intervention or redevelopment in those areas of lower quality in the outskirts. I no not believe that it explains the formation of slums and the abandoned zones within the city which are based on a variety phenomena be they of the market, economic, regional, social, political such that the urban framework frequently is no more than a simple reflex of much more complex phenomena. According to Harvey "Problems of the built city and those of urbanism as a way of life must be considered separately since in reality they are separate."

This means that we have in front of us two different roads for controlling the deterioration and the decline of urban areas. In principle the most effective one is being able to predict and control the decay before it is produced; this is based on the perspective which comes out of economic considerations, the housing market, planning, zoning, etc. Another possibility is that once this process is begun or is in an advanced state a wide gamut of possible solutions can be used: creation of more jobs, commercial reactivation, credits, social work, etc. These means are to be complemented by other measures of the former type which are more structural and would favor the renovation of the area. Housing destruction and its pathologies are habitually explained from different and frequently controversial points of view. Previously established political positions usually influence the decision of choosing which is the determinant or crucial element in the process.
It would be necessary to study the process in each individual, real case, since it is possible that various factors may enter into play at the same time. But let's look rapidly at the most interesting hypothesis in this field.

1. The poverty hypothesis. This is a typically liberal explanation. According to it, neighborhood deterioration is the consequence of a permanent poverty which needs to incapacitate to keep up the buildings, and is made more acute by the inevitable problems of delinquency. The way of combatting it would be the elimination of poverty. Although there exists a real correlation between one process and the other, this does not mean that they are based on the same thing. In other countries or in other parts of the United States, poor neighborhoods have not produced the same effects.

2. The rent gap theory. This argues that the rent permitted by rent regulations or constrained by the income of the tenants are lower than the rental income needed to maintain much of the stock. However, housing destruction has been increasing in the U.S. precisely during the period when the rent gap has been significantly reduced through the relaxation of rent regulations. Nevertheless, this theory is a factor to be taken into account frequently. In Spain, as we will see, it was a factor that had a strong impact in the deterioration of buildings, but at the same time and because of a lack of supply it saved those buildings from being destroyed.

3. The surplus housing hypothesis. The decline of demand in the housing market causes a number of buildings to become unusable. Since there are two separate markets in the U.S.A., one white and another for minorities, in this theory we can take into account the problems created by white flight into the suburbs and the incapacity of minorities to take over the abandoned stock; besides this would create a surplus demand. However, the housing destruction syndrome itself is responsible for some of the population's exodus needing to lower demands; that is, the buildings and units being destroyed are not the worst ones, and the extent and pace of destruction far exceeds the surplus of housing supply over demand.
4. The public sector assumption. This hypothesis assumes that the private housing market does not work in poor neighborhoods and, using a line of argument similar to that of the rent gap theory, the private market cannot maintain poor neighborhoods. The policy to follow is a massive intervention of the public sector, in the construction of low income housing for the poor.

Obviously, public housing is more apt to fall in the hands of the housing destruction syndrome, and it is also probably inevitable that public housing shows signs of decay. Nevertheless, it is a possible short term solution provided that public funds are capable of undertaking it.

5. Redlining, c oblivious, etc. The noninvestment in areas which border on slums, a boycott of bank loans in these areas, or the exploitative behavior of the owners of many apartment buildings. I think that this is more an effect than a cause of the process. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to the effect that those buildings which have obtained loans have had better luck in the medium term than the rest.

6. Public intervention: The massive construction of subsidized housing, rent control, and rent subsidies which allow lower classes to compete with middle classes in the housing market, thus provoking an excessive white immigration to the suburbs, an excess demand in the suburbs, and they drop in demand in the housing for the poor given the strong competition of the state. Rent subsidy also gives to the poor the option of competing in the housing market with middle income groups. Obviously this is only applicable in a specific moment in New York, or in another brief interventionist moment in another developed country when the situation has been very serious. But it can be a costly joke in the majority of cases.

My opinion is that in large number of the mentioned hypotheses can function at the same time and that in fact to a large extent they are interrelated. In southern European countries obviously the surplus housing hypothesis or the massive state intervention are not a "threat" in the short run. But it seems important to control such state intervention, as Salina notes in his interesting book, because of the kinds of unforeseen repercussions that it can cause. In the case of New York I think it is a conjunctural exception and it does not allow us in any way to condemn globally state intervention in favor of an economic liberalism - political conservatism whose effects are more than doubtful.
We should make it clear that rehabilitation is still a minority phenomenon in the United States. The majority of U.S. cities continue to lose population to the suburbs, except in a few cases where population is maintained by substantial investment and great effort.

According to the Urban Land Institute, between 1967 and 1975, 50,000 houses were renovated in the entire United States. Obviously this cannot yet be considered to be an established tendency, which is what E. Cose (1978) claims: "Some neighborhoods are already undergoing revitalization as those who are relatively young, relatively well to do, and childless discover that cities can be chic. In many cases such neighborhoods are becoming islands for the fortunate - and the poor and the elderly, and others on low and fixed incomes are driven elsewhere. Such shifts do not necessarily signify an urban renaissance. They do highlight an irony: that cities, or at least parts of cities, can be built up without the poor in those cities becoming any better off.

This a process which is far from being a tendency that might become consolidated, normally in the shadow of the major redevelopment businesses, and it also has social and ideological repercussions that go beyond what was expected. Almost all the studies of revitalization - which one assumes would be a more benevolent process that classical urban renewal - indicate major problems. The expulsion of the original residents blockbusting, even the expulsion of the first white middle class "pioneers" who had started the process but who are now overtaken by it.

The new residents of renovated neighborhoods are white middle class professionals who seem to be lively and dedicated neighbors; in more moderate areas what is needed are groups prepared to undertake that community leadership that is so necessary for the survival of any large metropolis. They are well educated, have substantial income, are mature, and are not overwhelmed by the cost, both in time and money, of raising children. Those people, therefore, enjoys the freedom necessary to dedicate a considerable part of their time to supporting the arts and various other community activities (quoted by Goodman 1971). This opinion is not unanimous - almost the opposite - but it is obvious that renovation presupposes investment, economic reactivation, rent and value
increases, and, therefore, the expulsion of those who are "not able" to adapt themselves to the increases.

The European housing market is more elastic and the value of a neighborhood does not go down 30% because there are 10 black families, probably because there is not such a great social problem. We still find it surprising to talk of a "tipping point" in terms of black visibility, although in Paris and London there is talk of a 6% tolerance point of immigrant residents.
Although important parts of areas in decline in Europe have been partially invaded by low income groups, they have not lost the traditional character and in part these groups have integrated themselves in these neighborhoods to the extent of their possibilities, and frequently have enriched them with a large gamut of activities.

What must be done, then, is to develop mechanisms which with a minimal demographic and environmental effect can neutralize their decline and conserve their original characteristics. This project is aimed more at revitalization than at a takeover. As is said in Bologna "conservation signifies the social reappropriation of the city" versus the market mechanisms, versus changes in use, etc.

Although southern European cities are obviously very different from American cities, it's not of interest here to develop the theme of why they should be conserved nor to deal with the ideological polemic about this issue. Nevertheless, methodologically we have many basic points in common. We know very little about the internal mechanisms of the life of a city. We know that it is much easier to destroy them than to build them. We know that the new professionals who return to these cities are more consumers than generators of the internal life of the city. We know that almost all the problems that are reflected in urban areas have an exterior cause, be it economic, social, energy suspension points and that they are difficult to resolve in terms of "urbanistic" solutions. We also know that many of the urban solutions that were precipitously adopted in the last two decades of rapid urbanization have not given satisfactory results in terms of a "way of life." Both in the United States and in southern Europe there is a significant and generalized interest in urban revitalization that is held by certain groups.

Many investigations done by American urbanists have to begin almost at zero. Therefore, they've had to place much more emphasis on a wider variety of questions. If adapted conscientiously, some of the conclusions to which they have arrived can be very useful in Europe, and with better prospects for success. Since in Europe there is a greater cultural homogeneity and an urban tradition that is more or less established, whose objectives would be principally promoting and encouraging aspects of that which already exists in urban reality.
The first aspect to consider is the prediction and the evaluation of decline before population changes begin. They do not spontaneously enter or leave areas. There are some changes that precede population shifts. In all the bibliography on this question in which we can include locating theories (muth, etc.) ecological or economic theories, there are others which can be quite useful because they are easily applicable. According to Zeitz: "An examination utilizing two variables, sales activity and property price, shows that a finite number of possible patterns can emerge. Sales activity is measured by the actual number of residential transactions occurring in a given area over fixed periods of time; sales price is actual price paid. As shown in figure 7-1, utilizing these two variables we can discern four possible patterns. These two variables must be used with a degree of caution and measured against a norm. For example, sales price is closely connected to general economic trends. Thus, in inflationary periods it is anticipated that prices will rise. They should rise in accordance with inflation and can be adjusted to take inflation into account. They should rise in proportion to the "normal" sales prices in a given area. Sales activity must be measured by local activity patterns. National mobility patterns indicate that half of all American households move every five years. Obviously, cities vary in terms of mobility patterns. The District of Columbia, for example, is both the seat of the federal government and a university city. As such, it has a high rate of population mobility. Other cities may have for less population turnover than the District. What is presented as a measure of sales activity is the "normal" rate of turnover of residential housing in a particular urban area, with the recognition that local conditions will vary.

Utilizing these two variables has unique advantages: First, most cities have these data readily available. Second, this approach can be used on a census tract level, but it is not limited to that level of analysis. It can easily be reduced to a block level of analysis as well. These two variables can, by no means, explain what is changing or why change is taking place beyond the dimensions of their own definitions. However, they can be utilized to signal where change is taking place, and they can be applied at continuous intervals. For example, if sales activity is down or stable and prices are
high and static, no change is going on in the area. This is based on the assumption that sales activity in the area approximates the citywide activity pattern, and that prices are adjusted for inflation. The same holds for the three other patterns; that is, activity down and price down may be the signal that an area is in the process of deterioration. Activity up and price static or down may be indicative of an area about to improve. Increased sales activity without price change may show that speculative buying is occurring in anticipation of area change. When activity is up and sales price is up as well, the area may be rapidly improving.

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Figure 7-1. Urban Residential Change Indicators

A second theory that is quite interesting is the hypothesis developed by Baumol (1963) according to which the drop in incomes in inner cities tends to become cumulative in a process of decline. Utilizing first degree differential equations he relates a first hypothesis, that decay affects the income level per capita, with a second equation that decay increases the rate of income discrimination.

We can identify a stable case and an unstable case. In diagram 2 they are represented by the curves Fs Y+ and Fu Y+ respectively. In the unstable case (fu Y+), and if the per capita income falls below the critical level Yk, let's say to Yj, the cumulative deterioration becomes irreversible, unless the municipal authorities intervene (Yk > Yj). The economic conditions of the decaying inner city becomes worse, the per capita income declines (Y1, Y2), and the income declines along the line ABC... In the stable case (Fs Y), below Yo per capita income declines, but within fixed limits, Y+ approaches asymptotically the lower limit Yk but it never falls below this level.
This theory, which is more related to systems analysis, appears to be more appropriate for detecting and preventing decay, or as a focus to use within a general strategy of planning than are cost benefit techniques. Nevertheless, I would not discard it, as Richardson recommends, since that as a project it is difficult to evaluate it with systems analysis. A.N. Schaaf (1969) presents some examples of cost analysis which are very complicated to use, but he limits them to a comparison of different interventions: redevelopment, rehabilitation, etc., but without introducing environmental element or market elements. Obviously this is the weak point of cost benefit analysis: the difficulty of separating the effects of transfer payments from any possible gain in real income; the difficulty of evaluating anything beyond the area dealt with and especially measuring social and environmental improvements that are difficult to calculate.
J. Rothenberg (1967) makes a serious attempt at such an evaluation, but he recognizes the difficulty of evaluating the contagion effect or the decline of social cost (+ or -).

As I have said before, on this point there is a whole field developed, "social planning," which has perfected a technique for social evaluation which may possibly be adapted to other disciplines, perhaps by means of path analysis (as in the case of the studies of Lewis-Beck, e.g.) although this is still in a developing phase, especially in sociology. In conclusion, then, I would choose two first techniques which are useful for the evaluation and prevention of decline in a specific area. In the third as an evaluation of different interventions to be developed in a specifically detected area. Naturally, the latter is a hypothesis which must be proved and practiced.

At the level of concrete intervention the objectives and goals tend to be very optimistic: it is the moment to speak about the recreated and replenished life of the citizens. We need to note, as Herbert J. Gans observed in 1964, that changes in planning are not going to resolve the problems of the residents of an area. Conditions of life which at first glance appear to be the effects of urbanization frequently turn out to be the effects of industrialization. In recent years many researchers have tried to discover physical patterns, but these are really difficult to establish because their reading is almost inseparable from social and cultural models of organization. The physical environment has an important meaning, but its influence is modified according to external causes. In this matter we are in agreement with writers from Castells, in his question urbaine, to Jane Jacob, who has written on the subject with greater intuition than, for example, manuals such as the one by S. Weller, and Lynch, or even Robert Venture, in spite of his culturalist approach to the theme.

On the other hand, as we have said in Europe the urban traditions are different: plazas, street, the center, cafes as places of exchange, not simply economic exchange but also of an exchange of information and of other relations of various sorts. There is a deterioration of this kind of culture
that is not a product of an urban deterioration, although at times this is suggested. Because of the survival of a tradition that is both economic and based in the population, certain aspects of culture from the beginnings of this century continue to survive. Urban rehabilitation will not be able to be a substitute for television as the most important means of communication. Older ways of life, whether we like it or not are finally dying out. It is true that in certain areas if allowed a contagion phenomena prevails. This is what gives a personality to cities; this is what revitalization can begin to achieve, but the new people that revitalization may attract will belong, even when they are the children of the current residents, primarily to a new culture and they will have new values. Careful control of these two aspects is important for carrying out a realistic approach to urban revitalization.

In this perspective, what would be the most interesting lessons that the American experience could contribute? For the moment I think it is difficult to evaluate, but we can speak of four interesting aspects to be analyzed and a generalized absence. This absence is what I have found in the studies on the level of intervention in neighborhoods; Smith and others deal with the theme tangentially. But in spite of the abundance of discussion of the need to graduate the economic and demographic degree of intervention so as not to alter abruptly the rhythms of these areas, I have not found any study that deals in depth or develops a methodology for the subject: employment, compatible groups, volume, redistribution, and frequency suspension points on the type of businesses and industries there exists the well known surveys, but these are general studies rather than studies specifically aimed at renovation. I think that there is a big vacuum in this area and not just in the United States but rather in general. In spite of speaking about the importance of the theme in the white book of England, Schaefer in Denmark, the study by Appleyard, and the Italians especially in Bologna and Venice, I have not found any developed study of the subject. The most interesting aspects of the subject are: in a first group rent control, credits and tax policies; in a second group commercial revitalization employment and economic activity; in a third group environmental impact and design, and finally social policies.

1. With respect to the first aspect, the magnitude of possibilities and of
credits that can be used can be found in any HUD manual, and they include everything from the generous 70% subsidy for urban renewal to the loans for slum repairs. Since legislation cannot simply be invented, the pertinent legislation in Spain practically does not exist, while in Italy where there is a much longer tradition such legislation has been developed since the left parties have taken control of municipal governments, we must refer to what exists in each case. Jan Schaefer, Alderman of Amsterdam, suggested obtaining credits at the expense of future old age pensions, probably because that's all there is left. The Italians on the other hand try to get all the money from public funds.

Harold K. Bell, who has extensive experience in New York, has developed some not too complicated models based on tax increment financing, organizing some community operations that he calls the neighborhood trust. The neighborhood trust is a mechanism to apply this financial level to the redemption and preservation of neighborhoods and their residents. He proposes that for each dollar of increased tax revenues to the city, brought about by middle class acquisition and improvement, half of these dollar sums be made available to a neighborhood trust, a non-profit entity formed within the neighborhood and operated by and for the people of that neighborhood. The trust can borrow against those dollars now, by pledging known and collectible future revenues, the Y factor.

The trust would be able to capitalize its cash flow by means of a tax exempt bond issue whose proceeds would be directed primarily to the maintenance of the current population. This capital, upfront, makes possible capital grants to assist in purchases, enables the neighborhood to supply necessary support systems and plant desirable social and technical infrastructures.

This kind of solution is more interesting than others cause it allows for the activities of groups which have considerable possibilities in cities where property is very divided in apartments or perhaps between owners and renters, in a case where the renters might take a genuine interest in the operation if it were in fact a real renovation, or it even might give them the opportunity to become owners. The economic calculations of the increase in value of buildings done by Mr. Bell are difficult to accept for a market which is not as rigid as in the United States. Tax increment financing has also been used in the establishment of commercial centers, or at least in the financing of parallel or complimentary works. The tax support system or the
middle class are also interesting, but they must be integrated into a much more complex legislation that is also difficult to obtain.

It needs to be noted that the municipal benefits and taxes that can be obtained in the United States or in northern European countries are much greater than those that are available in southern Europe where fiscal pressure is much more centralized and municipal governments have less autonomy. The effort then should be aimed at achieving variants of these forms, even using the private banking system which is much less reluctant to grant private credits in cities that is the case in the United States or in England. An additional obstacle is the frequent difficulty of limiting homogenous neighborhoods and a number of different interests that enter into play since zoning, redlining, etc. are radically different in Europe from the marked and homogenous zones in American cities which may easily assume community programs such as Southeast Development Inc. in Baltimore with aspirations of extensive planning in which the residents would control a large part of the activities and the neighborhood is a good example of such a community.

Rent control is frequently a double edged sword. In Spain the various forms that it has taken have managed to remove a large number of houses from circulation since their profitability is very low. On the other hand it has managed to have an important preserving effect, not just of population but also of buildings. If we wish to control the invasion of new elements in any area, rent control can be a good means of keeping the present residents from being expelled. On the other hand without having flexible rents it is difficult to encourage owners to invest and to rent. A liberalized policy for frozen stock together with the obligation of maintaining buildings and former renters may be a compromised solution with rapid results given the strong demand for housing.

In conclusion, the negative effects of rent control with respect to low demand may as we have seen lead to housing destruction, to critical situations in these areas which would require a strong state intervention and with other following effects that are difficult to foresee.

2. Employment, commercial revitalization. One of the most evident constants in renovation is that the unemployment rate is much higher than in other areas. This is obvious given that in these areas the least favored social groups have come to live. To speak of a policy of job creating, is generally a commonplace that hides the plans for expulsion. To speak of unemployment, is a
political question that is based on problems that are broader than those of urbanism. It is difficult to imagine employing only those persons who live in slums. In the first place because as soon as they can achieve a better economic situation they normally leave and the story begins again. There are intermediate solutions, generally resolved by relocation or indemnization of these groups that who in any case will be expelled by rent increases. It is difficult to organize a local employment policy, at least it would be in the case of Spain with its 15% rate of unemployment and an almost inverse relation employment-housing. The second place the kind of worker who is unemployed in these areas tends to be unskilled versus the kind of service jobs that are being created and of city centers. Moreover if we take account of the fact that 75% of the jobs in the United States in the last five years have been created by firms with less than 20 workers, we see that the situation in Europe must be similar. I think that the policy of neighborhood employment is unreal, and that it is based more on objectives from political economy or from a global planning perspective for the city when as an attempt to resolve unemployment in a given area because it is very evident and ugly.

With respect to commercial development policy it should be noted that the massive creation of new businesses, of large firms, laws, huge supermarkets, would destroy the precarious commercial equilibrium of an area that in many cases may have an important cultural and environmental interest. Neighborhood solutions such as those which Baltimore uses to promote small businesses around markets may be much more useful than, for example, Harborplace, which is perfect for areas of redevelopment. Even while renovation is taking place, I think it is very important that the commercial typology of the area be preserved. I find the HUD template on commercial neighborhood revitalization to be a useful manual for development in various stages while equalizing risks. In any case there is a full and detailed bibliography, but it tends to consider primarily revitalization as a function of consumption. Although this is important, revitalization should be aimed at the population, its necessities, and the use of the environment for the population. It is only too normal to see an artificial renovation that ends when the shops are closed.
3. Design, internal migration. From my point of view the most interesting research on design and environment are those which are studied by W. Michelson that aims at a methodology, in stages, with very complete social diagrams, and that can provide a very interesting occupational scheme. It would be useful to develop Michelson's diagrams with European data since the majority of jobs in Washington, Boston or Toronto, perhaps with the exception of Boston, hardly have anything in common or anything that is useful.

32

ENVIRONMENTAL CHOICE

[Diagram of a flowchart showing the relationship between aspirations, expectations, physical setting, perception, culture, aspatial, social and psychological factors, behavior in new setting, primary needs, reactions, evaluation, and action.]

Figure 4.3: The Social Implications of Housing: a paradigm.
The scheme developed by E. Zeitz could be useful in the case of an area whose perspectives for revitalization and change are more radical, rapid, and directed than what is normally the case in Europe; but it is useful in any case.

A. Solid housing stock
B. City with capacity to employ professional and/or managerial population
C. Absentee ownership with vacant housing and/or tenant population
D. "Tight" housing market
E. "Pioneers"
F. Realtors
G. Speculators
H. Contractors & builders
I. Lending institutions
J. "City conscious" population
K. Local control of zoning
L. Affluent population

Figure 7-2. Private Urban Renewal Model
Problems of the environment and of internal migration should be considered in terms of the extensive possibilities that they offer rather than as a determining factor. The studies of Ross or Peter Rossi deal with intra-city mobility from the point of view of status, the location of services, taxes. At this point we know that the children's school has a greater influence in where a middle class family locates then does the energy crisis or other variables which are apparently more important. The kind of person who returns to the cities is an educated, consumerist professional (the liberal and intellectual minorities that are tied to the city) and that have economic means at their disposal. These groups share similar characteristics with respect to the economic aspect. Nevertheless, these studies only make subtle analyses of changes and availability in the housing market (filtration theory, etc.) rather than really finding the causes of movement.

The diversity of the investigations that have been done in the United States and in Canada are quite useful for getting to know the urban reality. The weak point is that although the "technology" is very developed, there exists an important conceptual and systemological weakness, a theoretical weakness that allows few possibilities for the conclusions that are arrived at, and an even greater weakness in the face of change.

4. Social repercussions. I am more and more convinced that to speak of social problems and their "cures" that urbanism offers for them is a fallacy. Unemployment and social pathologies correspond to political and economic problems with a balanced regional development their effects can be ameliorated: the promotion of public works in certain areas, funds for housing conservation, or even public housing; these are all small partial solutions. I agree with Richardson when he says that relocation is frequently not very important. When houses are in ruins it is more important to get a new house than it is to wait ten years for the benefits of renovation. This is frequently the case in redevelopment, but it is also the case even in conservation; I have found entire neighborhoods wishing to flee to more desirable areas and where the planner was almost stopping the flight in favor of an architectural solution. Ignoring these exceptional situations, I think that population conservation is fundamental for maintaining the personality of an area. Programs which encourage renters to buy their houses and therefore not be subject to displacement because of rent increases, or policies to protect
Renters who have been in their dwellings for a certain time may be perhaps the most useful, among those many possibilities offered by American renovation programs. In the case in which relocation is inevitable, it is important to maintain homogeneity and to try to split up the population as little as possible. Nevertheless, in this area, as in many others, the situation is not well studied and little is known about what happens with these groups after having been expelled, except that they do not tend to gain much from the change.
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