REVITALIZING AMERICA'S CITIES

Michael Schill and Richard P. Nathan
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Revitalizing America's Cities, by Michael Schill and Richard Nathan, is a sociological study which attempts to identify and assess the measureable costs and benefits of urban neighborhood revitalization. The study provides an analysis of the reinvestment and redevelopment process within various neighborhoods of Boston, Cincinnati, Denver, Richmond, and Seattle. Neighborhoods within these cities were selected on the basis of perceived changes in real estate sales, property values and demographic trends. The primary data for the analysis included census material, survey research findings and statements from local public officials.

Schill and Nathan are primarily concerned with a comparison of reinvestment impacts on rates of urban displacement. This comparison develops from four policy questions which frame the book's central discussion:

1. What is the magnitude of displacement in revitalizing neighborhoods?
2. Are some socio-economic or racial groups more prone to displacement?
3. Do displaced households encounter significant hardships which are attributed to displacement?
4. Are there any identifiable subgroups of displaced population in need of special help due to especially severe hardships?

Answers to these concerns were derived from a series of phone questionnaires, closed-ended surveys and personal interviews. The sample involved 1439 potential outmovers from the mentioned neighborhoods. Of these households, 507 responded to the survey (35 percent). The survey results are outlined in tables throughout the text discussion.

The findings pertinent to the reinvestment policy questions support previous conclusions of the displacement/gentrification literature (Goodman, Black, James, Spain). Notably, displaced households included greater proportions of single-person, Hispanic, and low-income family composition than non-displaced households. In the sample, only 23 percent of all responding households could be characterized as "displaced". Female-headed households and unemployed-headed households were the only statistically significant groups associated with high displacement incidence.

Questions of hardship received broad, though unconvincing, attention throughout the text. According to Schill and Nathan, over 70 percent of the displaced households moved to homes in adjacent neighborhoods (or within the same zip code). Conditions of crowding and unit suitability were described as generally unchanged for displaced households. Though median rents increased for displaced households, the rent-per-room ratio remained constant and crowding was slightly decreased. Ratings of home and neighborhood quality revealed similar satisfaction: 61 percent rated their new homes as good or excellent; 67 percent liked their current homes and neighborhoods better than their previous ones. In the period between displacement and new home location, the authors found that displaced households took only slightly longer than non-displaced households to find a suitable location: 18 percent of the displaced households took six months or longer as opposed to 13 percent of the non-displaced households. A probit analysis was employed to test hardship responses. Again, the model showed only slight levels of significance for subgroups likely to be displaced by reinvestment. The only significant variable associated with hardship was a very low household income level.

In contrast to the findings of Herbert Gans and Cybrwsky, Schill and Nathan conclude that homogeneous and culturally unified neighborhood areas are an exception to reinvestment targeted areas. Instead, the authors suggest that a more common revitalization area includes, "high concentrations of very low income people, deterior-
ating housing and people frightened by rampant crime...Low income persons continue to live in these areas not only because of the low-income housing they contain, but also because many lack the skills and resources to seek out more suitable neighborhoods" (p.119). This appraisal of community structure and household instability is not supported by the research. Schill and Nathan step far beyond reasonable analytic speculation to suggest that the neighborhoods generally targeted for revitalization are comprised of "fearful", disadvantaged and ignorant persons. This rather insensitive perspective is perhaps more reflective of the authors ethnocentricity than a description of actual neighborhood conditions. In contrast to Gans' work, Schill and Nathan do not supplement their research with open-ended survey instruments or participant observation collection techniques. The restricted structure of the research methodology, therefore, may have seriously underestimated the hardship impact.

Clearly, reinvestment promises a significant contribution to the renaissance of American urban areas. The impact of reinvestment on low-income and disadvantaged households within the central city, however, cannot be discounted. As a vehicle for improved urban development, reinvestment must work in conjunction with the demands of less advantaged households. More developed and encompassing research strategies, therefore, will be required for a more complete and convincing analysis of revitalization consequences.

Carol Shaw

ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATION OF INDUSTRIAL PLANT SITING

Christopher J. Duerksen
The Conservation Foundation, 1983

In late 1969, Kelly Springfield Tire Company, a subsidiary of Goodyear, began searching for a site on which to build a new factory. The company chose Fayetteville, North Carolina, and thirteen months later produced its first tire. Just six years later, in 1975, Standard Oil of Ohio (SOHIO) announced plans to build a major crude oil terminal and pipeline at the port of Long Beach, California. Before the project could be started, it needed 60 environmental permits, and over three years later, SOHIO scrapped the terminal, citing environmental regulation as the problem. Clearly, the rules for siting industrial facilities had changed drastically by the mid-seventies, when serious environmental problems throughout the country caused all levels of government to enact many new environmental regulations. Corporate planners could no longer choose industrial sites by doing market analyses; they had to depend on qualifying for a series of environmental permits.

Changing the rules of the industrial siting game has caused industry to claim that environmental regulations are blocking much needed economic growth. In Environmental Regulation of Industrial Plant Siting, Christopher J. Duerksen explains these concerns of industry by considering what he calls the myths of the impact of environmental regulation. The four myths that the book explores are:

1. Environmental quality regulations cause industry to flee to other countries
2. Environmental lures lead to interstate industrial flight
3. Red tape is strangling industrial development
4. Other countries are better at reconciling environmental regulation with industrial development

In all four cases, Duerksen finds that industry's claims are actually myths that cannot be supported.

Even though Environmental Regulation of Industrial Plant Siting supports the idea that environmental regulation has little effect on the economy, the book does recognize the cost of environmental protection and its indirect impacts on productivity, innovation, and inflation. The environmental regulatory system is not without problems, and Duerksen points them out quite clearly. An example of weaknesses he perceives is the confusing and uncertain structure of the permitting process which does not always produce environmentally sound decisions.

After exposing the myths and problems of industrial siting and environmental regulation, Environmental Regulation of Industrial Plant Siting offers solutions for making the regulatory process better. Duerksen considers some of the proposed cure-all reforms such as one-stop permitting or restricting citizen participation, but he rejects these solutions and proposes what he calls "quiet" reforms that focus on procedural and institutional changes. The "quiet" reforms suggested would improve communication between industry and regulators by encouraging both government and business to consider each others needs.

Since most state and local governments are interested in encouraging industrial development without compromising environmental concerns, En-
environmental Regulation of Industrial Plant Siting is an excellent primer for economic development and environmental planners who must reconcile industrial and environmental needs of their communities. If all the players in the industrial siting game read this book, planners and industry may be able to cooperate in the future.

Kathleen Leyden

GETTING TO YES

Roger Fisher and William Ury


Getting to Yes by Fisher and Ury, is a practical guide to successful negotiation techniques and strategies. The book's concise and highly readable format have contributed to its best-seller status. The authors direct the Harvard Negotiation Project at Harvard University.

For planners, the process of negotiation offers an appropriate new role for the profession. Fisher and Ury's techniques can assist the development of this role and mitigate the frustration and/or lack of agreement that often results when different constituents enter into a decision-making process. Negotiation efforts in inter/intra-office conflicts, public/private ventures, investment strategies, and participatory processes are a few examples of the usefulness of a refined negotiation skill.

Fisher and Ury begin their analysis with a description of traditional negotiation forums and styles. Negotiation is defined as a means of "getting what you want from others". Ideally, it involves a two-way communication where two (or more) parties reach agreement from their common interests and differences. The authors regard traditional negotiation style as "positional bargaining". It involves a situation

"NEGOTIATION IS DEFINED AS A MEANS OF 'GETTING WHAT YOU WANT FROM OTHERS.'"

where two or more interests enter negotiation forum convinced of their position, unprepared to make concessions. The objective of "positional bargaining" is the maximization of personal welfare. As planners well know, the likelihood of success from negotiations of a positional bargaining type are inversely related to the number of participants involved.

In an effort to rectify the liabilities of traditional negotiation methods, Fisher and Ury outline a process of "principled negotiation"

-- a set of techniques which provide an all-purpose model for multi-party negotiations, collective bargaining, and single or multi-issue decisions. The four rules associated with the practice of principled negotiation involve:

1. separate the people from the problem
2. focus on interests, not positions
3. generate a variety of possibilities before deciding what to do
4. insist that the result be based on some objective criteria
5. the agreement must reflect a fair standard that is independent of personal will

In Section 2, "The Method", the authors offer more detailed instructions for the game of principled negotiation. Useful "how to" chapters include how to deal with "the people problem", instructions for identifying the multiple interests of negotiating partners, rules for brainstorming to elicit creative options of mutual gain; suggestions for easing the decision-making process; and guidelines for developing objective criteria for decision-making are thoroughly explored.

The final section of Getting to Yes describes common problems which limit effective negotiations. These include: what to do when your opponent is more powerful, how to act if the other side refuses to play according to the rules of principled negotiation, and how to handle a situation where your opponent uses underhanded bargaining techniques.

Getting to Yes is not offered as a panacea for dispute resolution. Fisher and Ury do not claim to have invented anything particularly new. On the contrary, the authors contribution to negotiation science is valuable as a compilation of common sense behavior-modification techniques. When reasonably developed, principled negotiation offers a simple means of deriving mutually satisfying and efficient decisions. Unlike traditional adversarial decision-making approaches, the authors suggest that principled negotiation may become easier as more actors become familiar with its methods. More importantly, the thoughtful practice of Fisher and Ury's negotiation techniques will improve the communication skills of planners and other professionals. As a concise and informative manual for interpersonal decision-making, Getting To Yes should be a "yes" for all planner's personal libraries.

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