

## Chapter 2

# Urban Models

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Not all urban phenomena have something in common; they may differ by type or economic and social function. This is the reason why a type-grouping of the type of replacement and redesign of the economic and social functions is necessary: this implication describes and defines the different phenomena of urban revision. We have to privilege the homogeneities of the events, and around this formalize an urban description and consistent terms.

The current projects of urban transformation are often described with different terms but, as a matter of fact, these terms are synonymous (*Renewal, Redevelopment, Regeneration, etc.*).

Starting from the main references used while debating the urban policies or implementing the processes and the projects for the “city redevelopment,” a first effort has been made to distinguish the different terms and to verify both the sustainability and the utility of a taxonomy among the different interventions.

Whenever we debate issues concerning changes inside the city and the territory, we face a series of initiatives whose defining terms always start with the prefix “re.” Generally speaking, this means that the creation of a policy for the city fundamentally implies new thinking, different interpretation and new assumptions, i.e., a new process of (re)designing which refers to something that already exists (or which used to exist in the past).

The differences pertain to: the (implicit or explicit) indication of “what causes the problem,” the materials used in the construction of the answer (the “types” of policies adopted), the purposes and, in some cases, the range of intervention and the application field.

An additional element, which is typical of all interventions, is the obsolescence of economic, social and physical urban functions or of a combination of them all. As a first step, the intervention consists in redesigning the obsolete functions and changing them into new functions; but sometimes it is a “tout court” replacement

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which requires the new functions to be consistent with new needs. The expansion of the markets and the growing competitiveness among the various territories requires either the elimination of the obsolescence or the replacement of the old with the new.

However, specific terminology needs to be identified to both describe the different urban phenomena (models) and carry out a first check on the original culture of the term. Eight different terms (models) have therefore been listed:

- (1) *Renewal*
- (2) *Redevelopment*
- (3) *Regeneration*
- (4) *Recovery*
- (5) *Revitalization*
- (6) *Framework*
- (7) *Gentrification*
- (8) *Restructuring*<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, some overlapping occurs between two terms, e.g., between (1) *Renewal* and (2) *Redevelopment*, or (2) *Redevelopment*, and (3) *Regeneration*; in some other cases the model represents a specification of another (e.g., “(6) *Framework*” compared with (1) *Renewal* and the separation partially helps the exposition and seems partially suitable for the culture of business administration). The terms and “models” used have a direct reference to the culture to which they have been employed but, at the same time, are somehow independent as to allow an understanding and systematization of the various urban phenomena and therefore make the debate more complete. This is not an easy process because in literature also, authors sometimes interchange terms; however, some “philology” may be reconstructed and may serve as a correct interpretation. Also, these terms come from a community trade language used in financing and trade regulations fields, in addition to being improved and perfected using North American terminology. European cities and built-up urban areas are also quite different. English cities are morphologically different from Italian cities; the term urban (1) *Renewal* for example is different whether applied to the London Docks or to similar Italian models, if only because of the different influences that the land owners exert. In the whole of London, about a dozen freehold estates – English aristocracy – control a large portion of the urban territory (Burdett 2006) and affect area developers significantly, as shown in the Canary Wharf area, which cannot take place in Turin except in Fiat areas or, as occurred in Milan, within Bicocca-Pirelli areas (Dalla Longa 2010). The French suburbs (banlieus) are different from the Italian suburbs and are somehow more dramatically related to the very allocation of emigrants from former colonies. The urban integration of immigrants is also different. These phenomena often define the contents of specific programs and contribute to standardizing terms which, in turn, become universal because of community acceleration.

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<sup>1</sup>In the following text (Chap. 2) the model’s name will be anticipated by a number. This will permit making a comparison more easier.

## 2.1 General Idea of Urban Models

In literature, “Urban Models” have their own specific position. They refer to rudimentary theories of a rationalist type; one of their main objectives consisted of being vehicles of policy development (Batty 1981). Some simplified theories were extrapolated from the phenomena; through mathematics and computer models, they were validated and simulated. A large gap, however, does always exist between the simplified theoretical representation and the real phenomena. Nearly 30 years ago, Foot (1981) pointed out that some books explain the models with simple hypothetical examples, whereas others use advanced mathematics. Neither case emphasizes the realistic application of the models themselves.

Theory simplification and simulation have concerned urban contexts such as (a) population; (b) employment; (c) housing; (d) land use; (e) transport; (f) travel; (g) industrial and services logistics (Alberti 2008). Different policies have been implemented around these models and have concerned transport, wide territorial planning, zoning, new towns, industrial and housing settlements.

The models and policies of the 1960s and 1970s are taken as references but in the 1980s and 1990s these models entered a state of crisis; the setting and dealing with the “Urban Models” (Albeverio et al. 2007) entered a state of crisis; also, tools such as cost and benefits analysis and investment evaluation were revised. The widely shared opinion is that these models are based on simple space interactions and do not cope systematically with urban and environmental processes (Alberti 2008). We therefore face a “crisis” of linear regression models (Lowry 1964), because by their very nature, the urban systems contain countless and differentiated variables, even if some hierarchy and some evolution of interconnected variables may somehow exist. This is also the axiom contained in this book (urban models) and in another related book (Dalla Longa 2010).

The principles of diversified variables are difficult to codify and collocate contributions of different nature. Deakin et al. (2007) deal with the development of “Urban Models” as focused on nonlinear dynamics: this marks the introduction of the “catastrophes’ theory” and “chaos.” In other words, the city need not be seen in a balanced shape, as it occurred instead in urban models of the 1960s and 1970s (Mitchell 2007). According to the updated reassessment of the models, a number of authors predict that urban models of the 1960s and 1970s will be revived (Rabino 2007; Herold et al. 2007). Equally clear, other urban systems and technologies theorists emphasize the role played by technology in the transformation of urban models as undisputable and incontrovertible (Castells and Susser 2003); ultimately, this leaves a void in all the theoretical evolution of urban models.

A separate discussion can be carried out on urban models related to the land use in the city. There has been an evolution since the studies of the Chicago School on human ecology. We are referring to the sociological development of Park and Burgess (1925) who conceptualized the city into concentric zones through empirical works in Chicago. It is most evident that there is a concentrate of sociological elements (ethnic groups, social and racial categories, social aspects, conditions of housing and settlements). The aspects of interest regarding these studies are the

following: the empirical research on a city that determines the mapping of the urban model; the study of a city within a defined timeframe (1920); the creation of an “ideal and typical” model, where no one expects each city to be a perfect example of the theory; the nonpresumption that this can be a true representation of reality. For the first time, the city has been divided into mapped categories. There are different developmental stages that refer to the School of Chicago. Kearsley (1983) enriches and completes the categories with the introduction of already tested functions (or sectors), such as the CBD (Central Business District), which is broken down into different nodes of activity. Other areas are also introduced, such as the area of gentrification, the manufacturing district and the industrial site. Other more function-related breakdowns of the city areas are referred to by Harris and Ullman (1945): the multiple-nuclei of urban.<sup>2</sup> There are other city subdivisions such as “zones” (a typical one is that of a medium-size British city; Mann 1965); social classes and ethnic groups (White 1987). The functions within the city are reassigned to land use, where they are further split into subcategories (Dunning and Morgan 2003).

The CoUrbIT model, to which the discussion that follows relates to originates from the assumption of a structural change due to the phenomenon of globalization, even if it differentiates from the economic and social functions of the city (Dalla Longa 2010). Not only are the urban models affected by such a situation, but also it has implications for new forms of PPP, and eventually the tools and drivers. The differentiation occurring from the impact of globalization and, subsequently, the obsolescence depends on the size of the city, the urban structure and the collocation within the network system.

Different contributions have been provided in regard to the theory of the global-city function as well as the representation and consideration of the urban models. In the analysis performed on different cities and specifically in London, Hutton (2008) points out that a new form of reproduction of commercial business space linked to “global city functions” is under way; in this regard, there is a reference made to the “*Canary Wharf*.” Robinson (2006) calls the theory that all cities are undergoing a radical reassessment or a discontinuation of past “structures” into question. King’s theory (1990) is brought into question when he affirmed that all cities today are world cities (or globalized cities): a theory that, according to Robinson, has not yet been proven and there is no evidence for poorer, marginal and structurally irrelevant cities. They received very little attention in this approach. Buck (2002) made a list of the new global-city functions of London.

A real evolution of discontinuity in respect to the “urban model” is characterized by the “global city model.” Mainly, it is Sassen (2001, 2002, 2009) who systemizes the new theoretical reference. The principle is that there is a reinterpretation of what has been processed and developed for the “Urban Models” over time; there is an acknowledgement of the difference between types of cities (e.g., between international – Florence and Venice – and global cities). The global city is determined through a variety of functions, related mainly to finance, complex services, and

<sup>2</sup>(a) Central business district; (b) Wholesale, light manufacturing; (c) Low-class residential; (d) Medium-class residential; (e) High-class residential; (f) Heavy manufacturing; (g) Outlying business district; (h) Residential suburb; (i) Industrial suburb.

“global market places.” The main concept is strongly underlined that the global city model belongs to a special and new historic phase and represents a clean break from the past. This is something different from the “world city” (Friedmann and Goetz 1982), which does not involve such discontinuing elements. There is also a difference with other settings of globalization as applied to the urban systems, especially with what was stated by a theorist of urban systems and globalization, such as Castells (2000). In one of his publications, which did not strictly focus on cities, Castells emphasized that the new phenomenon caused by globalization and information technology “is a new space of flows” or, as defined by Taylor (2004), a “new spatial logic.” These statements determine the discontinuity of the “Global City Model” in respect to “Urban Models” as defined in Sassen’s exposition. Castells maintains that the global city is not a “place” but rather a network, whereas Sassen believes that the global city represents tangible functions of a network which materializes as a “place” and significantly affects the urban models and policies. The new functions that affect the “place” are complex services, such as: accounting and legal services, public relations, programming, ITC and information and other related services. According to Castells (2000) and Taylor (2004), the “place” does not disappear but becomes defined by its position within “flows.”

With CoUrbIT, priority has been given to the “place” and the replacement of old obsolete functions with new globalization-related functions: therefore the “place” has been privileged on the “space.”

## 2.2 First Impact with the Terminology Used

The terms used for urban models include some contradictions, the most significant of which refer to: (a) the evolution of the terms themselves over time, which causes them to mean different things; (b) the confused use of the terms occasionally due to some standard theories. The two above mentioned points are further debated in different essays.

There is a substantial difference between European and North American cities and the applied terms themselves sometimes result in different connotations and evolutions.

The very concept of city is therefore called into question because the very composition of the city is rooted into different matrixes. “Globalization,” the most recent element, has been added but cannot negate or dominate the other elements (historical sedimentation, institutions and policy, economics). In regard to English cities, Levis Munford (1961) did state that their identity and composition had originated from the steel, coal, and cotton industries of the first industrial revolution, which is extremely different from Italian or American cities. The enterprises (corporate or company) that were competing with each other, which have a similar company profile and refer to the globalized market, experience fewer contradictions and irregularities than the cities. They quite often end up in having their strategies affected by the various jurisdictions of the United States, Japan, and Europe (Kraakman et al. 2004). This becomes much more evident, occasionally

soaring to exponential levels in the cities, although the competition amongst cities within a global context pushes towards the standardization of techniques, languages and forms. Some of the terms used within the definition of Urban Models precede the globalization phenomenon and therefore are even more heavily focused on the specific and unique nature of the individual cities, where there was little global competition. Bender (2007), however, tends to reduce the “gap” between past and present. Bender specifically and rhetorically questions whether the peculiarity of the city space has been dissolved by globalization: “[I]s not the city and the particularity of the place (and thus urban citizenship and politics) being dissolved by the process of globalization and virtual worlds?” (p 248). His answer is “negative.” In 1890,<sup>3</sup> globalization was already present in New York and today it is more widespread and abundant, as shown in the technological and economic evolution of the last two decades. However, the question remains open in regard to terms that draw on different periods of time as well as on cities whose composition and layering have taken place in different ways.

In North American cities, there is a very little difference between the terms (1) *Renewal* and (2) *Redevelopment*. In some cases, the term (2) *Redevelopment* anticipates the term (1) *Renewal* (Gotham 2001) and the reference is initially made to housing. Initially, the term “redevelopment” takes on the hue of racial interventions versus the slum of African Americans or other ethnicities; actions were carried out by dismantling large areas (Schill et al. 1983),<sup>4</sup> “ad hoc” programs were created and “ad hoc” bodies were established before or immediately after the Second World War. The Urban (1) *Renewal-Act* goes back to 1949 and in 1952 the State of California adopted Community (2) *Redevelopment Law*; (Dardia 1998) and those who mostly benefit from such actions are especially companies related to real estate (Gotham 2001). The interventions do not often take place in suburban areas but rather close to business districts and business areas (Scott 1980), so much so that some North American authors (Monti 1990) stated that “redeveloping” serves mainly to remove obstacles of capital development and also to make use of economic bodies who are supported by the local government. These phenomena are

<sup>3</sup>New York passed from 79,000 inhabitants in 1800 to 3,000,000 in 1890 with a strong increase in the second half of that century. London in that century passed from 1,000,000 inhabitants to 6,700,000. The increase of N.Y. is 38 times its inhabitants when considering the time, the increase is more concentrated after 1850. Chicago, the third largest city of the USA, increased by 270 times in the 1850s (Gkaeser 2009).

<sup>4</sup>During the 1950s the South End’s housing stock began to deteriorate, and a significant number of structures were abandoned. In the early 1960s, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) began a massive urban redevelopment program that demolished one-fifth of the neighborhood’s housing stock and displaced 2,000 households. During the mid-1960s, private developers began to invest large sums in areas immediately bordering the South End. The Prudential Center complex of stores, offices, and hotels was built on the neighborhood’s northwest border. At the same time Boston University began to expand vigorously. By the early 1970s the area surrounding the South End had undergone considerable office expansion, culminating in the completion of prestigious buildings (Schill et al. 1983, p. 74).

interconnected with the urbanization and the rapid development of the American economy, which requires its components of the city to be reshaped, with spaces often subdivided by functional components; as far as housing settlements are concerned, quite often of racial or ethnic type, it is no coincidence that the historical ethnic minorities (Afro-Americans) or the very first immigrants (Irish, Italians, etc.) are those who were the most opposed to the (2) *Redevelopment* policies (Wilson 1963). Above all, this refers to the chaos within a context of settlement, which needs to be rationalized after the rapid development that occurred and which, within other contexts, may be compared to the urbanization phenomenon. This is, however, the stage in which the very first forms of PPP that have been experienced in American cities and will later evolve (Finkle and Munkacy 1985).

The other terms [urban: (3) *Regeneration*, (4) *Recovery*, (5) *Revitalization* etc.] are influenced by the city type also. By analyzing urban (3) *Regeneration* in the USA, England, and Europe, Shutt (2000) and Drewe (2000) ascertained the following: (a) very few texts and material can provide a source of information and standardization; (b) in England and the USA, there is a similarity in the use of terms and often have the same organizational formulas (Enterprise zone, born in England and exported to USA), but also different urban references that change according to the applications; (c) the term urban (3) *Regeneration* is not very controversial but rather vague and confusing, because it includes a mixture of public (and private) actions. Based on this, the agencies that are set up in the cities to propose interventions and then measure their efficiency often use empty rhetoric in advertising results and in using indicators to quantify assumed successes (Smith 2007).

When applying the term (3) *Regeneration* to London, Imrie et al. (2009) use and mention minimal categories: this happens when applying the (3) *Regeneration* concept to political categories and to strategies which have been designed to remove urban decline and decay due to social and economic transformation. The term *urban* (3) *Regeneration* therefore implies an integrated perspective of both the problems and the potentialities of the city. Also, other authors do not move away from this approach, according to which “urban (3) *Regeneration*” is the long-lasting resolution of the urban problems caused by the change of (readjustment of functions) the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area (Roberts 2000); or based on another approach, (3) *Regeneration* is the answer to the determining pathologies caused by economic growth: they also affect social functions and inclusions as well as environmental quality where there were exclusions, inefficiencies and loss of quality (Couch 2003). (3) *Regeneration* is therefore highlighted as the interdisciplinary intervention aimed at removing urban pathologies due to urban “economic” dynamics, which is now soaring as a result of the globalization phenomenon.

In regard to a number of terms (e.g., urban: (3) *Regeneration*, (5) *Revitalization*, (8) *Restructuring*, etc.), a number of application differences occur not only between the USA and Europe, but also among the European nations themselves or even North American cities [in the USA, the urban (3) *Regeneration* is quite different whether applied to Washington, Los Angeles, or New Orleans, i.e., three federal states whose cities have different problems to be resolved and regenerated (Shutt 2000)].

In Europe, Drewe (2000) identified differences in regard to city's morphology as well as political, institutional, regulative and other variables and, finally, in regard to the way urban (3) *Regeneration* has been designed and developed. Especially since the 1990s, Europe has endeavored to standardize the different types of intervention within the various Member States. Many of the terms used, whose origin is of a different type, have therefore become specific community programs (Christiaens et al. 2007) with the issue of dedicated funds. By using the central city areas and Manchester in particular, both as references, Williams (2003) pointed out that "the successful urban (3) *Regeneration* is predominantly dependent on the establishment of appropriate institutional and organizational structures to deliver the necessary vision": general programs, but also a lot of "peculiarity and proactivity."

In Europe and North America, three large classifications are to be considered, inside which the terms referring to urban models are applied differently. The first previously mentioned classification refers to European and North American cities. Within Europe itself, another important classification in application concerns the difference between Western and Eastern European cities (the term (8) *Restructuring* analyzed in this book is a typical example of it). The last classification of the applied terms refers to Western European cities, scattered on the axis connecting Milan and London (Drewe 2000).

An investigation on the very first origin of the terms becomes, in any case, useful.

The term urban (1) *Renewal* is used in Europe to explain the city's transformation after the second World War (Smith 2002), or, in the 1950s, in North American cities, to tackle the housing problems (Couch 2003): the reference was to a segment of the renewal ("slum clearance to urban (1) *Renewal*").

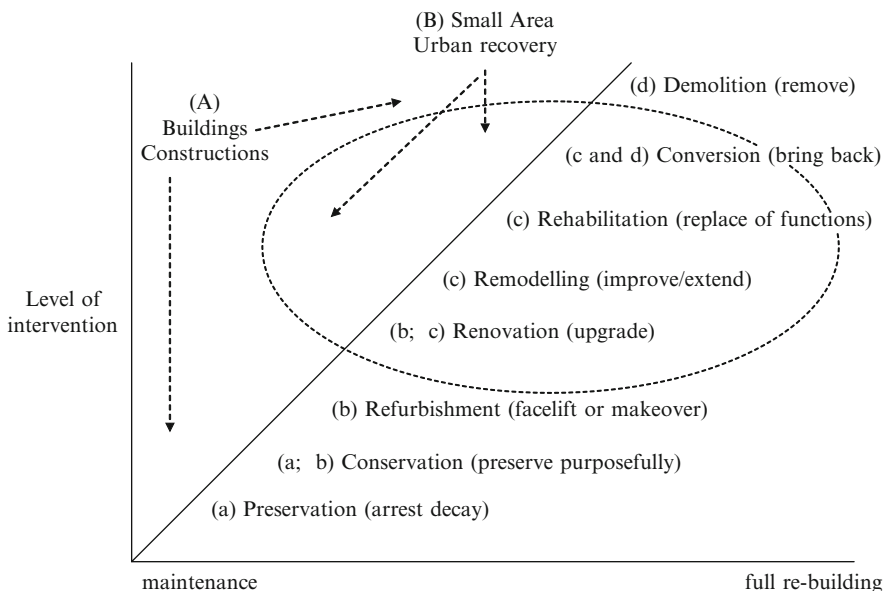
The term urban (2) *Redevelopment* has already been discussed with the only addition here that, according to Vranken et al. (2003), it can only be proposed with private investments or PPP.

The term urban (3) *Regeneration* originates from the postwar city, which comprised crimes and unemployment (Smith 2007); the term marks a discontinuity as well as some forms of evolution (Berry et al. 1993) with a prevalence on physical (3) *Regeneration*, even if it were a mistake to confer such a strong and leading identity to this component (Bartley and Treadwell Shine 2003), which is instead typical of (1) *Renewal*. It was in Britain, between the 1980s and the 1990s, that a strong evolution of the urban regulation took place with the establishment of "ad hoc" agencies and the extension of the intervention to the economy, environment, social and cultural contexts and, in more general terms, to politics (Bianchini and Parkinson 1994; Avery 2007). This is what made Robert and Sykes (2000) state that the most important peculiarity of urban (3) *Regeneration* consists of crossing the borders that often divide different objectives: economical and environmental objectives, the social and cultural measures, complex strategies and the related variables.

The term urban (4) *Recovery* can only be partially used and decoded and must be combined with other terms, such as urban conservation or urban rehabilitation; it refers to the physical aspect of immovable property, infrastructure or a specific part of it. Some overlapping may occur with the term urban (8) *Restructuring*. Urban



(4) *Recovery* (or urban rehabilitation) was especially developed in the second half of the 1980s and 1990s by some community member states. Small interventions are taken into account here; otherwise we may be in the presence of (2) *Redevelopment* or (8) *Restructuring*, which is often carried out in the urban centers (inner cities) through physical rehabilitation (van den Berg et al. 2007), and sometimes financed by the community with special funds and (Mondini and Valle 2007) through the conservation and improvement of the quality of the local environment. These funds are included in the sustainable development programs for the urban context, where the protection of immovable urban property becomes the safeguard of cultural heritage (Camagni et al. 1995). The concept of urban sustainability stems from the consideration that the territory and the urban structure are a poor resource (Curwell et al. 2007). Therefore, whenever a decision needs to be taken for replacing a container which does not fulfill its functions (contents) any more, the market cannot decide what and whether to demolish and rebuild, because the incorporated cultural aspect needs to be also taken into account. It is the result, the map and the memory of complex social interactions, which therefore requires new tools to be used also. On the basis of the all-purpose and multifunctional nature of the territory, Nijkamp and others (Rodenburg and Nijkamp 2007; Nijkamp 1990) have worked out some “ad hoc” tools centered on the value of use and exchange (Harvey 2000) of urban (4) *Recovery*, where the “market” variable is one of the variables which deserves to be considered. From here, the term “sustainable” is applicable to what is being built. The (4) *Recovery* is, in any case, an exclusive physical aspect of the built property and has a consequence on the components of the urban structure dealing with maintenance and conversion (Douglas 2006) (Fig. 2.1).



**Fig. 2.1** Scale of intervention on real estate asset: Urban (4) *Recovery* and relationship with other physical interventions. Source: reworking by Douglas

The same terms significantly changed their meaning recently.

The term (7) *Gentrification* was used for the first time by Glass in the 1960s to describe a residential replacement that occurred in London: it was a phenomenon whose content was not so perceivable.

According to some authors (Le Galès 2002; Jones and Ward 2002; Weber 2002), the term (2) *Redevelopment* has to be connected with the development of a new elite (Le Galès 2002), the implementation of a new decision-taking network and the creation of new urban business committees (which, in many European cities, look at the Chambers of Commerce as subjects which can redesign the city through the “defeat of the participation”); or (2) *Redevelopment* which as a process leads to new forms of neoliberalism (Jones and Ward 2002). In all the cases, the term (2) *Redevelopment* is the entry which leads to the recent phenomenon of Public–Private–Partnership (PPP).

According to Smith, the term (3) *Regeneration* identifies the action and the policy supporting the full legitimization (acceptance) of “gentrification.” Still, according to Smith and strictly related to the peculiar morphology of English cities, the Tony Blair administration may best advocate the reinvesting in gentrification as urban regeneration. The term (3) *Regeneration* is also the answer of the state to the concept of (1) *Renewal* (Couch 2003). In other words, the form is the (1) *Renewal*, (3) *Regeneration* identifies the policies that attempt to return derelict and vacant land and buildings to beneficial use, i.e., bring abandoned buildings and land back to life.

In international literature, urban (5) *Revitalization* somehow overlaps with urban (3) *Regeneration* and there is no strong distinction between the two terms, if only on the side of “involvement and participation” which are unavoidable aspects of urban (3) *Regeneration*.

Relatively, much was written on urban (5) *Revitalization* in the 1970s and 1980s, even if the term goes back to one a decade earlier (Fessler Vaz and Berenstein Jacques 2006; Shutt 2000). Based on a debate on urban (5) *Revitalization* in Great Britain and the United States (Parkinson and Judd 1998), (5) *Revitalization* has been connected with the welfare state concerning the urban area, i.e., with education, housing, health and general welfare programs. The large difference between American and English cities lies within both welfare and the fiscal and financial autonomy of the city. In the absence of welfare and (5) *Revitalization* programs in the most prosperous American cities, they have extreme levels of wealth and poverty. The widespread poverty confuses urban (5) *Revitalization* with other urban models of ((3) *Regeneration*, (2) *Redevelopment* and (1) *Renewal*). The difference related to fiscal autonomy, as stated above, allows American cities to be more independent in the application of urban (5) *Revitalization* and enables them to work more specifically on individual cases (Pacione 2009), rather than on national programs and subsequently, European Community programs (e.g., urban) as in the English cities, with resource homogenization and the transfer of resources.

Urban (5) *Revitalization* is highly interdisciplinary; it evolves with time and therefore requires a specific method of intervention. Unlike urban (3) *Regeneration* and urban (1) *Renewal* especially, urban (5) *Revitalization* is not of a “long-lasting”

type (Roberts 2000): often, the efficiency of the intervention is deferred to the successful integration of diverse organizations (nonprofit, private and public), which are called upon to operate in a convergent way (Jacobs 2000; Evers 2008). In the 1980s, in the “mature economy” featured in the United States, urban (5) *Revitalization* was dominated by physical (1) *Renewal* and therefore by (1) *Renewal* (Roberts 2000; Couch 1990). Then, it underwent significant evolutions towards other applications, even if some researchers in the United States (Hee and Bae 2007; Downs 1999) tend to demonstrate that the causes leading to devitalization are not strongly connected with (5) *Revitalization* interventions. This is also the reason why the theorists of neoliberalism have their theory supported and confirmed by the globalization–neoliberalism equation when looking at the changes that have occurred in objects around which urban (5) *Revitalization* develops (Gotham and Haubert 2007).

Atkinson and Bridge (2005) use the term (7) *Gentrification* to explain the new colonization of competing global cities. It is the globalization of the cities which reshapes the terms: a sign of strong transformations within the urban structure (Dalla Longa 2010).

(7) *Gentrification* in Europe identifies the phenomenon of private action, even if some “disguised” actions can often be carried out indirectly by public administrations through agencies which are partially public and partially private. “Inclusion,” which is a component of “urban (3) *Regeneration*,” (Couch 2003), can be antithetical to “(7) *Gentrification*,” which is often excluded. In New York, and in other US cities where the decentralized fiscal autonomy is quite strong, exclusion and gentrification may be clearly exerted by the local government. Some social groups are intentionally displaced (replaced): the central part becomes wider and wider and replaces the state of decay. It is about the sought after replacement of social groups that, on one hand, pay low taxes and local duties and, on the other hand, ask for higher welfare expenditure as well as social programs and services. These social groups are replaced with middle-class consumers, capable of strengthening the local economy and increasing taxable income.

The actions carried out by local administrations can be very much direct, such as (a) advertise districts marked by high “gentrification” potentialities; (b) provide tax abatement in some areas to make rehabilitation possible; (c) use community funds to improve public services in selected districts; (d) reduce public services intentionally in some districts to foster decay first and encourage reinvestment afterwards; (e) establish real estate agencies to support displacement actions; and (f) make the connection with central city areas easier through public transport (central business district) (Pacione 2009). These very evident policies spread the concept of liberalism, as applied to big cities and globalization as well, with a direct impact on Europe also (Goodchild 2008). As stated and reported by Wyly and Hammel (2005) in an empirical research, this occurs even if the policies of “neoliberalism” and “gentrification” are quite different for American cities because the cities themselves are very different in terms of morphology, economic and political functions, deindustrialization, coordination of global production, and centers of regional activity. In some models of “urban gentrification,” a close enough relationship

with the intervention of “urban (3) *Regeneration*” has been assumed; this is due to the deindustrialization which globalization has accelerated in some countries, and especially some urban areas. “(3) *Regeneration*” also ends up indirectly removing those social classes that have extensively lost their job in industries (Goodchild 2008). In many cases, this is not a direct but an indirect action which, through the price increase of areas and houses, causes a selectiveness of the inhabitants and risk rendering a rhetorical policy of social inclusion and exclusion, typical of urban (3) *Regeneration* (Jones and Evans 2008).

Also, the term urban (8) *Restructuring* has evolved in literature and has been used to depict a widespread and rooted intervention of urban structure and configuration. After World War II, it was utilized to indicate the drastic reconstruction of both cities and a capitalism focused on production and consumption (Montserrat Degen 2008); Harvey (1990) utilized this to explain the restructuring of the 1980s, when the first phenomena of modern globalization and restructuring of production sectors (heavy industry) started, exerting a strong influence on urban spaces. It is later (but not so clearly) used by some authors as a synonym of other terms (e.g., Pacione 1997); or it is used to explain an “articulated” restructuring of housing (van Beekhoven and van Kempen 2003). It is, however, with Brenner (2004) and others (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Brenner and Keil, 2006; Roberts 2000) that the term urban (8) *Restructuring* is directly linked to the phenomenon of neoliberalism. Through “globalization” indeed, neoliberal policies start in connection with new forms of global competition and displacement of production activities; with urban (8) *Restructuring*, the metropolitan areas and the cities represent the core of this phenomenon: the restructuring of the capital space and new forms of social exclusion and integration.

The term urban (8) *Restructuring* herein refers to a drastic revision of the city due to the transfer from a “nonmarket” situation to a condition of quick entry into the global market, featured by the microredesigning of either the economic and social relationships and urban structure. The reference is made to postsocialist cities of Eastern Europe. Other authors use urban (8) *Restructuring* when referring to this type of city (Bernt 2009; Schwegler 2008), or to Chinese cities (Ma and Wu 2005).

### 2.3 Relationship Between the Terms Used with the Original Model

The organization of the book starts with the identification of existing urban models, some of which originate from ongoing urban complexity, whereas others date back to recent times and have since then evolved. The national and community policies have often supported their consolidation and proposed their standardization, even when the city’s morphological variables required different solutions.

Globalization is a new phenomenon of standardization. The competitive advantage among global cities has been introduced and has accelerated the standardization of concepts and application of urban models.

An additional aspect is the life cycle of urban change, which has narrowed temporarily and to which cities have been called upon to conform to.

Urban transformations, through different models, have become a significant aspect of competitive advantage. There is a sort of “dynamic” which ensures that urban models are an important factor of change.

Globalization ensures that urban functions will become obsolete faster than in the past. The idleness of the decision-taker causes a fall in competitive advantage on an average, even if many authors (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Le Galès 2002) think that proactivity can justify new forms of economic and social exclusion of the city. The boost towards the replacement of obsolete urban functions with new ones is the key aspect. This is the reason why the identification of the different types of urban models, their implementation and the subsequent change become a key and significant aspect of urban evolution.

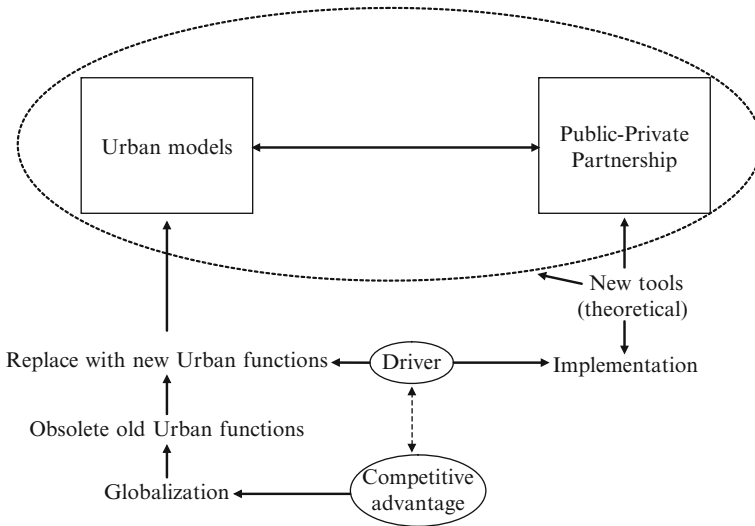
The characteristic derived from the boost given to urban evolution by globalization (Kaufmann et al. 2005)<sup>5</sup> ensures that the implementation passes towards new forms of relationships between state and market, and through the strict “channel” of Public–Private–Partnership: the application of the models, the rapid obsolescence and the replacement of functions could not otherwise be implemented, also in view of the high costs and the high volume of financial resources required. Today, cities are already a concentrate of public goods which have been gradually supplied over time (Brenner 2004; Scott and Storper 2003) and an addition of other public goods offered at short notice, in response to “strong” obsolescence that would not be supported by the state efficiently. It is not only a question of public expenditure but also of a mixture of interests and objectives that cannot require public intervention only (Dalla Longa 2010). Urban models and PPP are therefore two significant components of the city evolution today and are also key references for the book (Fig. 2.2).

The new tools and the new forms of drivers are very important elements but they are in hierarchical order with the two other central themes of the book, i.e., the combination of urban models, sometimes the global city, with PPP.

The Public–Private–Partnership applied to urban structure, global cities and competitive advantage will make up for the new design of the state in this century, as the “welfare state” had been the reference in the previous century. Profound crises have been foreseen in the state models; new policies, a decline in “ethics” and values, as well as corruption, are all expected. A better understanding of the following shall therefore be required: new evolution “logics,” new forms of interdisciplinary management, new professionals who are ethical and capable of stating the risk in a non short-sighted way, traceability of public resources, implementation

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<sup>5</sup>Amin and Thrift (2002) question whether companies rather than cities are globally competitive, unless we consider cities to have their own nearly “organic” life. Scott (1988) and Castells and Himanen (2002) downsize the statement when they say that it is production that moves into the city in opposition to the decentralization policies. Considering this book on its wholeness, it is not relevant to know which element leads to the global city and makes competition a boosting factor for replacement and innovation.



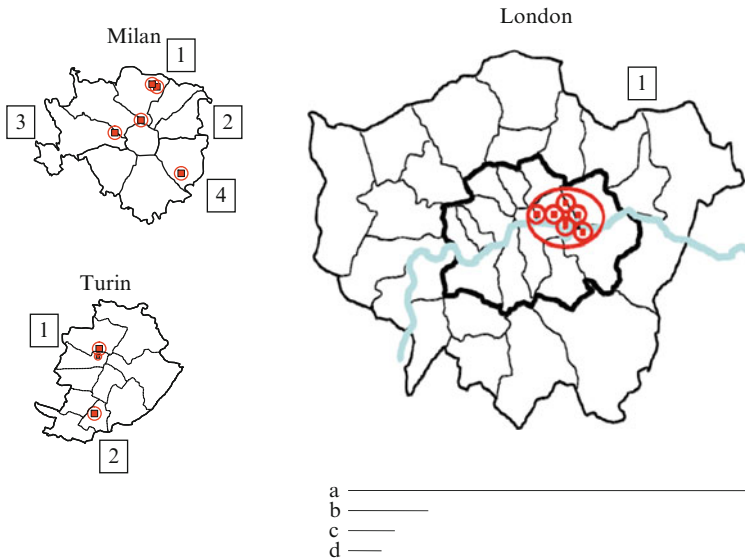
**Fig. 2.2** Focus on some elements of the CoUrbIT model (Urban models and Public-Private-Partnership) as developed in this book

of new monitoring and control tools. PPP, applied to urban models and global cities, will therefore undoubtedly be one of the key subjects of the coming future.

From here forth, an attempt to organize the meaning of the terms related to urban models is made, using a nonoverlapping method. The medium and large-sized European cities are mainly referred to, with robust reference made to Italian cities.

The term (1) *Renewal*, used hereafter, is utilized extensively and deeply impacts on the degeneration (obsolescence) of important urban functions that significantly characterize the city or a significant part of the metropolitan area so as to characterize its image. For this reason, the term directly refers to abandoned industrial areas which were as wide and articulated as the metropolitan area was a strategic and mature industrial center; in other cases, it refers to port cities where these functions, in a historical period, were important, or in particular, to central areas to be reconverted. Thanks to its entity, the “(1) *Renewal*” is able to give a new image to the city or at least to a significant part of it; often, this results in the demolition of abandoned industrial buildings or constructions which do not comply with the new functions any longer and involves the *ex novo* construction of new-function fulfilling buildings. The process of demolition can also be partial. It is generally confined to central areas and not suburbs, even if this principle is not an axiom.

If we look at Milan, we currently see no more than three or four large developments which can be classified as (1) *Renewal* models, such as Pirelli-Bicocca, the reutilization of the area of the old exhibition center, Milan Santa Giulia-Montecity and the “city of fashion”: Garibaldi-Repubblica. Two of the previously mentioned areas are not very close to the city center because they are located in abandoned industrial areas in the northern and southern parts of Milan (Fig. 2.3).



**Fig. 2.3** Examples of (1) *Renewal* in Milan, Turin and London

*Milan*– 1: Pirelli Bicocca (Dalla Longa 2010); 2: the “city of fashion”: Garibaldi-Repubblica (Stanghellini and Copiello, see Sect. 3.2.2 in this book); 3: the reutilization of the area of the old exhibition center; 4: Santa Giulia-Montecity (Stanghellini and Copiello, see Sect. 3.2.2).

*Turin*– 1: Spina 3 (Dalla Longa 2010); 2: Il “Lingotto” FIAT of Turin.

*London*– 1: Docklands area (Royal Docks; Katharine Docks; Tobacco Dock, Isle of Dogs, East India Docks, Millennium Dome and Greenwich, Lower Lea Valley and Thames Barrier).

The minuscule letters and the lines show the proportional extension of each city–municipality.

(a) The surface area of Greater London (11 times larger than Turin; 1,579 km<sup>2</sup>); (b) Surface area of only the most central London Districts (inner ring) (2.6 times larger than Turin; 337 km<sup>2</sup>);<sup>6</sup> (c) surface area of the Milan municipality (184 km<sup>2</sup>) and (d) surface of Turin municipality (130 km<sup>2</sup>). Surface area of the London Docklands 22.5 km<sup>2</sup> (1/6 of Turin’s surface area).

However, they are not the outskirts if we consider the metropolitan area as a whole (Dalla Longa 2010). The following are key elements of the (1) *Renewal* (a) the extension of the (1) *Renewal* area; (b) the relevance that this area has for the city; (c) the demolition and massive reconstruction of existing parts; (d) the total financial investment.

Some of these points can also be found in the (4) *Recovery* (for example, the (4) *Recovery* of “Lingotto of Turin”), the only difference consists in the demolition and reconstruction phases. There are several other national and international examples such as; Turin (Fiat area), London (Docks), Paris (Bercy Park), Amsterdam (Eastern Docklands) and Barcelona (Villa Olimpica) – each with its own peculiarities.

<sup>6</sup>The 14 most central districts of Greater London, out of 33 Districts: City, Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, Hammersmith and Fulham, Wandsworth, Lambeth, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Hackney, Islington, Camden, Lewisham, Greenwich, Newham.



The case regarding the London Docklands was exemplary for the following aspects involved: time it occurred, size, location and metropolitan area.

It is a very large area, of approximately 2,250 ha, in comparison to 115 ha of Santa Giulia (Milan), 100 ha of Bicocca (Milan), 1,300 of Bagnoli ha (Naples) (Cento-Bull and Jones 2006; see Sect. 3.2.2 in Chap. 3) and 134 ha of Ravenna.

The area is located on the eastern side of Tower Bridge, and includes the Royal Docks and North Woolwich. The most important area is made up of the area close to Tower Bridge and on the border with the City (Katharine Dock, Tobacco Dock) and of Isle of Dogs, the peninsula in front of Greenwich.

It is an area that was structured in the nineteenth century and despite some crisis, it had kept its functions active till 1969 (Katharine Docks); warehouses were converted into offices and were occupied until 1986 by News International, who are responsible for the publication of the Times and Sunday Times. In the 1980s, there were other closures due to a conversion of the seaport transportation (Royal Docks).

Since 1971, several different projects were implemented to make use of these areas:

- The Conservatives, who were running the relative Districts and Greater London, created the London Docklands Study Team. The projects had a difficult time: they were accused of simplifying the process of transformation (construction of housing with high quality standards, two-thirds of which was assigned to private use, a great development of the service industry, and a high speed railway). During this stage the key aspect of the (1) *Renewal* was the preassembly of the intervention and many problems were underestimated.
- In 1976, the London Docklands Strategic Plan was approved. The new approach was based on the idea of combining luxury buildings with the inclusion of the existing population, most of whom had work problems due to the loss of the original functions of the Docks. A new process had started. The aim was to create a mix of housing modules (housing for high incomes and social housing) and the creation of 30,000 new jobs within 15 years.
- In 1981, the London Docklands Development Corporation was created. This is an Agency of Development of these areas. Before the commercial settlements, the railway and the Underground were enhanced and modernized, so that they could act as push factors of the entire development process.
- In 1991, in the Isle of Dogs (Canary Wharf area), the first seven skyscrapers were built thanks to the more lenient regulations in urban planning for the Docks' area: one of which is the tallest skyscraper not only in London but also in Europe. In 2000, in a brownfields area east of Greenwich, near the East India Docks and on the other side of the Isle of Dogs, the Millennium Dome was built. This was an abandoned industrial area, occupied by gas and coal plants and then later reclaimed.
- A development agency (English Partnership), after acquiring a relevant quote for the Isle of Dogs peninsula, launched a tender for the planning and design of the Millennium Village in 1998, where a settlement of nearly 1,400 housing units would have been provided and characterized by the peculiar social and cultural stratification of the dwellers. The village was supposed to be subdivided into four areas, inclusive of a big eco-friendly and "educational" park. The first two areas have already been completed (north-east and south-west) and for the other two areas, the designing stage came to an end and works are in progress. The profitability of the intervention has allowed the compliance of the expected build quota of 20% of social housing.

In the abandoned industrial areas (brownfields) in the region of the Docks (around 270 ha in the North), they have started to build housing, commercial stores and infrastructure in preparation for the London 2012 Olympic games. These investments are valued at approximately €3–6 billion. All these actions in turn, will have a significant impact on the development of the wide extension of brownfields and the wetland territories close to the Docks that extend beyond the movable flood barrier (Thames Barrier) which was built



between 1974 and 1982 to tackle flooding. Investments in public transport infrastructures are only required to complete this intervention. The same sequence of actions were taken for the Isle of Dogs.

After an expansion (like wildfire) that occurred around the inner city, London is now expanding from within its central area.

The outlined intervention comprises impressive articulated stages that refer to a unique area of (1) *Renewal*; this should be later divided into different (6) *Frameworks*.

In short, the (1) *Renewal* comprises several elements which are described briefly hereafter. These are interventions that take place in areas which individually and, at the same time, extensively identify and outline a general situation of decay: usually large industrial abandoned areas, ports, warehousing and trading areas (sometimes inclusive of residential districts which were historically associated with disused productive and commercial areas as well) identified as empty urban spaces.

These are profound and radical initiatives, with the aim to reconstruct significant parts of the city in which (re)infrastructural developments of primary and secondary networks, land reclamation, new division of spaces into lots and rethinking of the urban spaces are relevant. “Public” expenditure is usually elevated.

Through “emptying and refilling” operations, the goal is to introduce functions and activities that are able to trace new paths of development, including economic ones: Cities are looking for push factors which play an important role in urban global competitiveness. The new functions are created on the basis of the “trend” – functions which represent appealing elements capable of playing an important role in global urban competition.

The (1) *Renewal* projects therefore represent a large opportunity for rethinking the city and its role, up to the extent to which their success is strictly related to the impact that these actions have on an urban and metropolitan level. From this point of view, attention to the formal aspects (leading firms “archistar”) and environmental aspects (service facilities and standard equipment) is crucial because they are important for promotion and marketing.

On one hand, in different situations, the concentration of significant amounts of capital (public but especially private) creates processes of replacement, sometimes social processes, and exclusion of people who often live in these areas of the city and who for many years have waited for the relaunch of developments. On the other hand, an inclusion policy can be developed.

To summarize:

- Interventions in large and very much extensive areas, and with major economic functions is in decline
- The most direct reference is to derelict industrial areas (brownfield areas), port areas, disused commercial and productive areas, with possible residential areas included
- The (1) *Renewal* needs radical action where there is an important redesign of part of the city
- Generally, the redesigning of territorial infrastructures is high; the redesigning of urban areas; industrial decontamination and more generally, the use of the city

- Public expenditure is generally high
- The (1) *Renewal* project is presented as an important aspect of rethinking new expressions, forms and development of a new role of the city
- The concentration of high level of capital (public but above all, private) often creates social exclusions from the city

The term “(2) *Redevelopment*” is the most used by urban specialists because it is an expression of specific rules and partly because it overlaps with other terms. It refers to different forms of decay (of buildings, urban, environmental, economic, social, and functional). The profile does not operate on closed places (“bewitched” and potentially disruptive to the urban community) but rather with open places integrated with the urban system.

Urban (2) *Redevelopment* is linked to the situation of suburbs,<sup>7</sup> to urban security and environmental quality, even if all these aspects need to be related to more general factors. The reference is made up of economic and social problems combined with obsolete functions, where the line of obsolescence, however, is less clear than with the term “(1) *Renewal*.” It is justifiable to point out that the term (2) *Redevelopment* is used in the context of old industrial cities (mining and port cities) in the last century that are converting and radically changing their functions and economic base. Part of this interpretation has been channeled in the “(1) *Renewal*.” Therefore, the term (2) *Redevelopment* does not refer to social policies *tout-court* but rather to physical policies. If we consider the French program based on the demolition and reconstruction of 40,000 housing units per year, spread throughout 750 districts, we realize that it is not the reinforced concrete that will solve the problems of the people living in the “banlieus,” because employment, education, and security are priority. “(2) *Redevelopment*,” dealing primarily with the physical aspect, focuses on the acquisition of the contents rather than on the building of new containers.

One example among the many of (2) *Redevelopment* is the suburban area of Reggio Emilia<sup>8</sup> Mascagni. The reasons for choosing this example are the following: (a) it is a modest intervention compared to the ones of (1) *Renewal* mentioned above, with a small budget of €3.5 million, plus an extra allowance given by private operators through project financing; (b) it is a suburban area of the city; (c) the reference area is wide enough, approximately 30 ha, but the intervention is localized inside a smaller part (d) private and public actors are involved (also with project financing); (e) there is a reduction of volume (partial demolition

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<sup>7</sup>In France the (2) *Redevelopment* (“renovation urbaine”) is mostly focused on the urban suburbs (banlieus pauvres) where, under the “Project de loi d’orientation et de programmation pour le ville,” in 4 years (2003–2008), demolitions for more than 200,000 buildings were scheduled and following partial rebuilding, even in different form, was planned. In France, more than 50% of the population (about 30 million) live in the outskirts (or suburban areas). In Italy, in the 12 largest cities of the country, 65% live in the outskirts but if we consider the entire national territory this percentage falls below the rate in France. In any case, we are in presence of large areas that are potentially within (2) *Redevelopment*.

<sup>8</sup>Middle Italian city of Northern Italy.

and reconstruction), an intensification of the use of the spaces, the introduction of new construction typologies and new urban functions with even more private interventions. The aim is to save these areas from the social segregation.

The intervention aims to integrate public and private adjacent areas through a reorganization and expansion of commercial and service-assigned spaces, a higher efficiency of the road network, the rational arrangement of green areas, creating pedestrian paths and a new square with underground car parking. Another action is the construction (through project financing) of 32 flats for university students through demolition and reconstruction; characterized by an intervention of different authorities; among them, the region, the municipality, social housing agencies, and Association of Italian Builders. The ultimate aim is to transform the old and poor quarter into a more integrated, liveable area, with a higher quality of urban life and buildings, without borders between public and private.

To summarize, (2) *Redevelopment* deals with a situation in which function replacement is considered the answer to a process of weakening that makes it impossible for the area (object of the intervention) to show all its potential.

The research for new quality and new value is translated into a process of transformation of the way in which to use the space. (2) *Redevelopment* produces a new method in using a territory (urban fabric), starting from the new functions included (contents) and not necessarily from the realization of new containers.

The field of application is usually represented by areas with weak functions (industrial and productive areas, low quality residential areas), where the preservation, even partial, of preexisting functions depends not only on esthetic and formal decisions, but also on constraints of urban destinations. The (2) *Redevelopment* projects, even if applied to small-sized areas, represent a good level of functional mix (the integration occurs particularly among functions with a high economic impact—e.g., housing, tertiary, trade – and those with a social impact – green, welfare services, and community services).

To summarize:

- There is an involvement of areas where the functions are weak or areas which do not represent their whole potential
- The (2) *Redevelopment* produces a new kind of use of territory
- In some cases, the problem is the content and not the container as in the case of (1) *Renewal*
- The area size may be limited
- Generally, the esthetics of the container is not very high

The term “(3) *Regeneration*” takes on a more social connotation, combined with the economic meaning where the physical component can be more optional. There is a rift between the heart of a city and its surroundings, where there is a divide between richer and poorer classes. The difference between “(2) *Redevelopment*” and “(3) *Regeneration*” is that the former is more oriented towards a better physical aspect whilst the latter is focused on human capital.

In Italy, this intervention is not common: it has been imported and only recently it has been structured as an autonomous action where the physical component of what has been built is the result of a bottom-up rather than top-down process. The culture of French urban sociology is missing, even partially as a cause and effect

aspect of the morphology of the French city itself; the English-participated urban approach (*Urban City Challenge*) is also missing.

A good synthesis of this delay can be found in a testimony (Sclavi 2005).

In Italy, little was debated about the patient work of urban recovery in the Kreuzberg quarter of West Berlin in 1984. The “(3) *Regeneration*” involved the population, the integration among detailed modifications, the qualification of public spaces, education, employment policies and empowerment of the local community. The same happened with the French case of the Mission of Banlieues 1989 by Roland Castro and Michel Cantal Dupart. This is perhaps the most impressive example of intervention ever carried out inside a quarter that underwent a crisis within the context of a contemporary city. This intervention had the merit of centering the complexity of the processes and the diversity of the actors involved. In Italy, the practice consisted of adopting projects with a very “physical” approach to the intervention on the buildings, simply adding with a slightly social approach: this was the end of the intervention and the way the projects were considered ended (Matteo Robiglio). Also in Italy, the failure of the interventions, the negative impact created by the refusal, the lack of integration or communication with the end users, have forced the country to find new paths and new processes of sensibility.

The following are two examples of intervention of (3) *Regeneration*: one in Turin and the other in Münster (Germany).

*Turin* – is a public housing quarter, built up in the 1920s (around 800 council housing units in the inner city). The quarter shows good urban and architectural quality together with significant social problems. The intervention of (3) *Regeneration* is divided into different phases which, from the very beginning, were not planned for a mutual interconnection.

*First phase* – some interviews were conducted about life experiences; an information post was established to listen to the population’s needs. The plan and design of the intervention was based on the connection of different problems and the research of their solution. The phase was closed through the presentation of solutions to the inhabitants and the publishing of a report.

*Second phase* – one year later, a “social conference” was organized on site with the involvement of local organizations concerned, together with another “technical and political conference” where the representatives of the most important attending bodies assessed the feasibility of the proposed intervention. This proposal was then approved by the Ministry for Public Works which financed it with €10 million plus an additional €5 million allocated by other authorities.

*Third phase* – there was a big conflict between the private owners of the housing units and the public agency of housing (ATC), i.e., the agencies were owners of the buildings where the interventions were focalized. In order to manage the conflict, an information desk was opened with the addition of some design laboratories. The social conference which opened during the second phase had therefore been transformed into an agency for the local development of the area.

Different public authorities (the Turin Municipality, with its different Departments), ATC, the Region of Piedmont, the Ministry for Public Works together with about 100 inhabitants (who have continuously attended), and more than 30 local organizations (nonprofit, trade unions, cooperatives) have taken part in the social conference and later established an agency.

Münster is a German city of 266,000 inhabitants and is situated not far from the Holland border. The project belongs to a program that aims to improve the social context of major German cities. The project was born thanks to the cooperation among the Federal Government of the so-called “Länder,” local authorities and citizens connected to Housing Corporation and social organizations. The project concerns the rethinking and the conversion of military barracks into a multifunctional “social housing” complex; the settlement is located in a green area which is connected to the city center efficiently.

The approach and the phases of the intervention were as follows: (a) the project was dedicated to people who were excluded (b) the administration's objective was to deeply involve inhabitants and to create and give wide resonance to implementable projects. A committee was nominated; (c) a workshop was permanently open, to allow constant relationships and encourage the regular exchange of information, marketing focus and motivating forces to support and foster the presentation of projects by the area users (inhabitants), associations, and cooperatives; (d) at the end of the wide "bottom-up" phase, marked by changes and modifications of the original programs, the citizens, together with the "city" council, chose the winning proposal; (e) an association made up of organizations, institutions and cooperatives was established; its goal was to assign half of the built public houses to people with difficulties, i.e., elderly people, long-term unemployed people, young adults without specialization and with different problems, single mothers and disabled people; (f) long-term unemployed and unskilled young people were granted special aid by social pedagogues for the analysis of future possibilities; (g) a working layout was organized in order to foster a permanent workshop; (h) the project also aimed at involving unskilled unemployed people in the construction of their future house, thus helping them not only to contribute to the physical construction but also to acquire the necessary experience to find a potential job in building companies involved in the "(3) *Regeneration*" process.

In the time span of 3 years, approximately 170 housing units were built; approximately half were sold on the market and the other half dedicated to social housing. The previous area became a new crucial area for the cultural life of the quarter, in terms of meetings, seminars, conferences and others. The points (b), (c) and (d) appear as incubators for the points that follow. Different methods and approaches could have been taken however; advertisements were created to promote and emphasize social inclusion and participation in the quarters, i.e., the social elements combined with the knowledge about new jobs and the new use of collective goods.

Porter (2001) connects new economic models of (3) *Regeneration* with competitive advantage and criticizes the combination of regeneration and traditional assistance, as related to an old approach which has to be overtaken. However, the (3) *Regeneration* presented here has to be considered as a method of participation and integration.

In short, in the operation of (3) *Regeneration*, the urban problem that needs to be solved is rarely of a physical nature or related to real estate, and consequently it is not easy to set a precise line between the physical and the social contexts and understand where they start and where they finish. The physical side of the intervention is only a tool to be used for reaching results of another nature (employment, professional qualification, social problems, social exclusion, and crimes). The implementation of works (public or private) supports integrated programs where new spaces are seen as new opportunities to develop "nonmaterial" interventions and to define different combinations of different policies (both in general terms and in more specific terms of organization of the urban policy).

(3) *Regeneration* very often affects the so-called neighborhoods in crisis, abandoned and deteriorated suburbs as well as spaces where multidimensional problems are concentrated. And so, the social functions, and the marginal economic functions, both undergo a crisis and require a regeneration process.

This type of intervention in (3) *Regeneration* has been supported by the European Union and by national governments (with policies structured on a local basis),

particularly in France, the United Kingdom, and Germany. In Italy, the majority of funds delivered by the Government were linked to complex programs that started in the mid 1990s.

To summarize:

- The problem to be solved is not only physical or simply connected with construction; for this reason, it is not very easy to find the limits of these actions
- The physical side of the intervention is only a tool to determine results of a different nature
- The interventions very frequently involve areas which have undergone a crisis, degraded suburbs and problematic areas
- There are social functions that need to be strengthened

The term “(4) *Recovery*” assumes a particular character here onward: unlike urban renewal, it operates inside existing physical structures, it remodels them and changes their use and functions and, in many cases, it transforms them. In other words, “(4) *Recovery*” doesn’t imply any demolition, but rather the completion or revision of its previous functional use.

New elements can be built up next to the existing ones, even if this is of secondary importance compared to the “(4) *Recovery*” or, at any rate, does not represent the core of the intervention.

There are several national and international examples that can be recalled. In Italy, the most immediate reference is to the recovery of the social housing quarters, built and assembled with repetitive and standard housing elements (flats), without any other service and infrastructure nor places of entertainment and aggregation.

“(4) *Recovery*” is often referred to as a physical intervention aimed at redesigning these physical structures and settlements by stopping their “mono-function” pattern and developing other functions (no longer only residential but with the addition of shopping centers and cultural services as well as public services). In other words, the objective is to steer the neighborhood out of the “mono function” pattern and encourage new aggregation and integration places.

The term “(4) *Recovery*” is often associated with (3) *Regeneration* which, in turn, is linked to the involvement of inhabitants with the transformation and modification of the (external/internal) housing environment. In this sense, the term resulted from an international experience (French, German and Danish) and only afterward was the term later applied to Italy.

The meaning of the term “(4) *Recovery*” cannot refer to social housing quarters. Rather, it is used for all of the interventions in which the alteration of a function is connected with the readjustment of the physical component. It does not only refer to a specific unit (e.g., apartment or housing unit) – in which case it would be a simple intervention left to the individual decision and, if necessary, to the potential need for a public license (from the Urban and Building Authorities for transformation and utilization purposes) – but to a significant and complex set of units which has some impact on the urban area.

The most significant case is the experience of Turin Lingotto, one of the largest European buildings (250,000 m<sup>2</sup> of useable area), which was changed from an

automotive production plant into a multifunctional container, whose recovery costs amounted to €500 million (€2,000/m<sup>2</sup>)<sup>9</sup> in the late 1990s/early 2000s. Another example is the Tate Modern in London: a power plant in the past that was shut down in 1981 and then linked to the city by a bridge that was recently constructed (the Millennium Bridge located on the Thames River). Now, it has been converted into an art gallery and has approximately five million visitors each year: this establishment has become one of the most important galleries in the world. Other examples where international interventions of “(4) *Recovery*” took place are: Madrid (Porta Toledo), Lisbon (Chidado) and Paris (Plain Saint-Denise).

Insisting on these examples has resulted in to the removal of the term “(4) *Recovery*” from the pure “technicality” context, where it can be collocated, especially when the only references are technical ones.

The term (4) *Recovery* does not refer to demolition and rebuilding as with (1) *Renewal*, but rather to the recovery of existing constructions. The (4) *Recovery* can also take place in the center of the city and can have a strong impact on the image of the city itself. In response to one of Jacobs’s motivating forces (1961 and 2002), Florida (2002, 2005) connects creativity with (4) *Recovery* and consequently with new forms of competitive advantages, in opposition to (1) *Renewal*: new ideas need old buildings.

Florida’s theory is based on the idea that within the globalization phase it is the creative class that determines the competitive advantage. Thanks to new technologies, the creative class is very “mobile” and finds its utmost creative elements within the city. The new creative class identifies with “contents” and cannot be attracted by standardized “containers” which are produced and “standardized” by (1) *Renewal* within the globalization context, where different places look all the same and decades are needed to complete the work of new constructions inside the quarter (see Bicocca and Spina 3, Dalla Longa 2010). Florida (2005) explains that “old cities are ideal places for the creative economy to expand: open spaces of old firms and abandoned warehouses are full of industrial architecture ready to be revitalized with economic innovation provided that we are able to look at them as opportunities and not as degraded spaces.”

This outlines the importance of (4) *Recovery*. In short, the term “(4) *Recovery*” refers to projects in which physical interventions are prevailing. It deals with the “renovation” and partial reconstruction of structures, spaces and especially

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<sup>9</sup>The new functions included in the Lingotto center after the *Renewal* are the following: a large hotel, 11 movie theaters, training and universities halls, fair and exhibition pavilions, an auditorium, a congress center, a shopping center, underground parking areas. With its length of 700 m and a 1-km-long racing track on the roof, the Lingotto center is ten times larger than the Pompidou Center. In his “Vers une architecture,” Le Corbusier defined the Lingotto as one of the most spectacular and extraordinary examples of industrial building: a city within a city. The Lingotto is run by a Limited Liability Company made up of Fiat (33.3%), Italian State Railways (16.6%), the Turin Municipality, a number of Banks (San Paolo, Ina, Toro, Crt e Popolare di Novara), and others.

buildings, and, in some cases, it has been improved and enhanced by the introduction of activities and functions which are different from the ones that were hosted before.

This occurs when the cause of decay is due to the previously assigned destination. These interventions generally regard monofunctional areas (residential blocks, business centers) and large public structures (hospitals, universities, educational institutions, jails). The proposal of a “(4) *Recovery*” may find its reason in the following (a) the existing function needs new space and new facilities (also of urban planning); or (b) the function tends to last longer than the container does and the capability of the latter no longer fulfills its requirements; or, as it happens more frequently, (c) the functions change quicker than their physical containers and the latter need some transformation, replacement or partial revision.

Finally, in global cities, the case is more and more frequent where the process of obsolescence is pushed by the pressure of strong interests that tend to create new opportunities of improvement and development, therefore generating the quick obsolescence of specific functions and physical structures that need to be quickly replaced.

To summarize:

- In this type of intervention, the physical component prevails
- The intervention proposal is often linked to the recovery of the building and, in some cases, to the space surrounding the building(s)
- Occasionally, new functions (the creation of new functions) are included in the recovery
- This takes place when there are mono-functional areas (residential blocks, shopping centers) and significant public structures (hospitals, universities)
- In some cases, the existing functions need different and larger spaces to expand

The term “(5) *Revitalization*” is used in certain circumstances as contents of strategic plans and refers to the identification of often limited poor/weak places which need to be revitalized.

It does not necessarily refer to the outskirts; in regard to Glasgow for example, it refers to prevention and restorative strategies for the urban economy.

In Wien, the main objective of this strategic plan is the revitalization of the cities’ commercial streets by maintaining a polycentric commercial structure.

On the other hand, for many years, the term “(5) *Revitalization*” has been used to explain the phenomenon of England’s inner cities, whose huge growth surrounds “monofunction” elements (iron, carbon, cotton) in a very short time and the rapid phenomenon of economic and disintegration linked to the loss of the productive social class and its replacement with immigrants (especially from Pakistan and Asia) had created a “craterization” of the central part of the city.

In the first part of the 1980s, the English districts therefore faced the problem of having to establish some multidisciplinary task forces (social, economic, urban-environmental, and architectonic) to revitalize these centers. While all this occurred, in Italy, the model of local government was at the top of its functional and bureaucratic organization. The Italian local authorities were organized with



tasks and duties that were in total and unequivocal opposition to the necessary “interdisciplinary” approach required by “(5) *Revitalization*.”

It could be interesting to submit the contents of the revitalization, as defined in the strategic plans, to better understand the specificity of the term.

*Wien* – in Wien, the number of workers in the industry halved (from 40 to 20%) in 25 years, even if they were able to maintain higher positions than other big cities such as Barcelona and Glasgow. However, in the 1990s, the city was in a crisis and an overhaul took place (Wien and Austria were seeking repositioning in a wider Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall). In the 1990s, strategic lines of intervention were put into action and then formalized in the strategic Plan adopted in 2000. These lines included spare time and culture (Prater, Donauinsel, Museumsquartier), traffic (public transportation and railways), recovering measures of different residential neighborhoods (Leopoldstradt, Spittelberg, Erberg) and revitalization interventions of the cities’ commercial roads. Within the Local Administration, different Departments and Offices of Vienna’s municipality were involved in implementing the revitalization project of the commercial roads: infrastructures and urban renewal (general coordination); city planning (dealing with the strategic planning of the urban development projects); public works and transport (for the economic planning); communication and press (information and marketing); Urban planning and development. A management committee was also established, which was composed of other institutions as well as public and private partners. The intervention concerned the following: preservation and improvement of the construction quality of the commercial buildings and not only the fronts of the stores; creation of appealing public spaces to improve the neighborhood identity, with possible further enhancement by store owners; development of a strong marketing strategy; expansion of pedestrian areas; empowerment of both compactness and timing.

*Glasgow* – in 40 years the number of workers in the industry decreased from 40% to 6%; in the last decade, the decrease has doubled. In the 1990s, the industrial areas were therefore completely eliminated, consequently radically changing the backbone of the early twentieth century which had previously built-up in the Glasgow area: the old industry (naval, steel and metallurgy) collapsed. The third and fourth strategic plans of Glasgow (1985–1990 and 1992–1998) based their core action on the revitalization of the urban economy. One of the commonly used instruments for this type of intervention was marketing, whilst new functions in need of development were tourism and culture. The point was to get rid of the image of an industrial city marked by crime and poverty and move towards a post-industrial city under the peculiar slogan “Glasgow’s miles better.” Among the various points of strengths are the important cultural institutions hosted by Glasgow and able to attract the public even with media. Special events (the National Garden Festival attracted 4.3 million visitors in 1990) and various architectural and art exhibitions were organized. The peak of strategy was reached in 1990 when Glasgow became the European capital of culture. The event attracted nine million visitors to the city and made an important revitalization of the city possible through interventions on historical building facades, which contributed at making the city center a real shop window for the entire urban area.

An important contribution to the use of the term comes from the European Union initiative “Urban”: first edition “Urban I” (1994–1999) and, more importantly, second edition Urban II (2000–2006). The second edition has been given the definition of “the economic and social revitalization of the city to promote the sustainable urban development.” The first edition referred to urban decay, whilst the second edition was more concerned with the “(5) *Revitalization*” issue. A later analysis on the 165 projects, involving nearly as many European cities belonging to

15 countries, points out that the first Urban edition mainly focused on the recovery of decayed buildings, works, infrastructures and monuments, whereas their use as function integrated containers for service supply was considered a minor aspect. In Urban I, the interventions on the constructions had a particular importance. Specific objectives were often connected with the interventions (like a container with contents) on an interdisciplinary basis: the recovery of the historical center for repopulation; or the recovery of a building for a social use and so on.

Based also on the concept of (5) Revitalization as defined for the achievement of the financial support, Urban II was more linked to nonphysical aspects,<sup>10</sup> even if in some cases the cities' physical structure "had been" affected. The analysis on the 70 "revitalization" projects involved in Urban II, underlined the following (a) priority was given to the settlement of start ups, especially those operating in high technology fields; (b) more than in Urban I, more interventions were carried out on buildings and containers which were functional to the development of their contents; (c) interventions concerning socially weak segments of the cities were predominant (women, young and old people, problematic users); (d) focus was also given to the integration of immigrants; (e) finally, the central role of nature and environment. Those elements were very often linked altogether within the same programs and interventions.

Throughout Europe, Urban projects therefore assume different characteristics: in Germany and Austria the revitalization of Urban II is more connected to the start up of technology companies; in Italy and Spain to buildings and infrastructures; in Netherlands and Belgium to the integration of immigrants. Considering the location of the 70 "Urban" Revitalization projects in Europe, referred to nearly as many different cities, we realized that 31 were located in the city center, 27 in the outskirts, four in mixed areas and eight across the whole city. In Urban II, "(5) Revitalization" is an interdisciplinary issue; it mainly deals with the economic and productive and social elements (employment) of the city and has an important impact on the physical structure of the city.

In short, (5) *Revitalization* refers to interventions for relaunching urban appeal with the project as the instrument of communication, marketing, territorial

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<sup>10</sup>The following general criteria need to be complied with: adequate quantity of population and of supporting structures and plans of urban development; strong local partnership; integrated territorial approach; proper connection between Strategic Plan and intervention; correct consideration of the economic, social, safety, environmental and transport-related issues, even in regard to access to work and training for people living in areas strongly affected by social outcasting.

*Approval is given to areas which comply with at least three of the following criteria:* high unemployment rate; poor economic activity; high poverty and social outcasting; need for restructuring due to local economic and social problems; high presence of immigrants; low educational profile; high crime rate; strongly decayed environment.

Strategies need to be developed that strongly affect the selected areas and make them extremely visible; new urbanization processes and physical interventions; entrepreneurial activity and employment agreements; strategies for fighting exclusion and discrimination (equal opportunities, women, immigrants and refugees); identification of integrated and environmentally-friendly public transport (cycle and pedestrian tracks); waste reduction (at the original source); pollution reduction; development of technological potentialities of a Information and Communication Technologies (ICT).

animation and promotion. The objective is to give more dynamism and vivacity to a field which is risking a deep “crisis” and is undergoing economic stagnation.

Physical intervention becomes a tool that allows a part of the city in question to become visible and recognizable where (5) *Revitalization* is accomplishing its territorial targeting.

The attraction of new interests, new population and, more generally, of a new urban demand is what is being looked for by projects of (5) *Revitalization*. Many of these initiatives are locally limited and self contained (in order to obtain a higher impact on communication) and in the last few years have focused on the cultural industry, in order to find a place where either a high level of knowledge and technological development could be produced and some cultural and touristic opportunities could be developed according to an area of reinforcement activity based on the implementation of new attractive functions.

Under the Revitalization process, different typologies of intervention can be considered: some can be added to those listed above and are depicted as subcategories thereof, others can be quite new and distinctive.

To summarize:

- Instruments must be used to improve urban appeal
- The project is used as an instrument of communication, marketing, and territorial animation and promotion
- The objective consists in utilizing an area which is risking a crisis more dynamically
- In some cases, physical intervention is necessary to initiate growth
- It is necessary to find new elements to attract people and develop a new urban demand
- A number of these initiatives are limited to some prompt and specific elements which are used as marketing factors

The term “(6) *Framework*” means the setting up of an intervention of urban (1) *Renewal*. A time gap generally occurs between the beginning phase of the “(1) *Renewal*” in wide areas and the setting up of individual interventions inside those areas. The “(6) *Framework*” starts when the setting up is under way. The “(6) *Framework*” mainly refers to the (1) *Renewal*, but might be an application for even the “(2) *Redevelopment*” and the “(4) *Recovery*.” A distinction could be made between “*taxi away*” and “*take off*”: when the last phase starts (the take off or setting up of the project), the (6) *Framework*” is established and can be considered as the activation of a production process where no returns or interruptions are expected, otherwise causing serious diseconomy as well as economic and financial problems. This is the reason why “*taxi away*” and “*take off*” are kept separate, even if it is known that the intervention phase is generally long and may last for several years; this is why it is necessary to divide and separately analyze the setting up process from the production/implementation process.

Because the “(6) *Framework*” deals with the setting up of the intervention, its focus is also on the intervening subjects. The developer can be represented either by

different subjects depending on the different situations, as in the London case (e.g., London Docklands) or by the buyer of the area (especially when the entire area is involved) as in some cases in Italy (e.g., Milan-Santa Giulia). In the Docks case, the Canary Wharf skyscrapers had a sole developer – the Canadian family Reichmann with their company Canary Wharf Ltd. In the Bicocca and Santa Giulia cases, the landowners were Pirelli and Zunino (Risanamento). In Milan, a negotiation phase starts with the Public Administration with them (local government) that leads to the setting up of the “(6) *Framework*.” This was not the case for “Spina 3” in Turin (Dalla Longa 2010).

In short, the “(6) *Framework*” is marked by both exact times of construction and specific functions which are connected with new economic and sometimes social needs. The intervention is organized with the identification of a perimeter and its profitability and efficiency is strictly related to its good management; the decaying functions are identified (the clearest example is represented by the abandoned areas) and the new functions are clearly designed to obtain a consensus.

“(6) *Framework*” also considers the yield of the intervention, the effectiveness of the intervention; the consensus raised by the substitution and the choice of new functions.

In the process of (1) *Renewal* different variables must be organized. In the “(6) *Framework*,” the financial and economic variables are more important than others. Within the “(6) *Framework*,” stockholders and stakeholders are identified by various interests. Besides organizing them, it is necessary to propose a function replanning to them. The “(6) *Framework*” can be compared to the realization of a particular production process, where private output, if private, can be sold on the market, and if public, can benefit from a redistribution of profit that reduces the costs. The “(6) *Framework*” can also be meant as a particular phase of the urban (1) *Renewal*, a more operational phase, where the production start up is activated and coming back without a loss of profit becomes impossible.

To summarize:

- The “(6) *Framework*” must be principally considered inside urban (1) *Renewal*
- It is the result of a sum of actions where a precise production process takes place and the time is well planned
- A precise perimeter needs to be identified, inside which the “(6) *Framework*” is built up
- There are new specific functions which replace other obsolete economic functions; in some cases, there are also new social functions that replace the old ones
- “(6) *Framework*” produces profitability; stockholders and stakeholders are organized within the “(6) *Framework*”
- The “(6) *Framework*,” even if quite special, can be compared with the production process of any firm and often coincides with the creation of SPVs (Special Purpose Vehicles)

The concept of “(7) *Gentrification*” can sometimes oppose inclusion (gentrification vs. inclusion): the population that enters causes another population to

leave. Again, it is about an exclusion that does not allow the recovery of any inclusion. In the inner city, the incoming population with high income sometimes inexorably causes the outgoing population with low income. It happens in an unreasonable way and may involve some areas rather than others, unless we consider “gentrification” of large global cities as the rapid change of their own nature. The model for its explosive nature, innovation and expansion needs an in-depth examination.

Some experts (Smith 1996, 2002) point out the cyclical role of income (financial profits) that might involve some Eastern German cities that have rapidly entered the capitalist system. The low cost of the suburban areas had caused inhabitants to move out of the city into these areas (in some cases) with private buildings and living standards that were considered “modern” at that time. This contributed to the cause of abandonment of the population on the one hand and, on the other, the decrease of the housing costs in the central part of the city and especially in the poorest parts (the ones with lowest values). This is the phenomenon that led England to the so-called “cratering” of some areas in the inner city, especially when such a situation encountered the phenomenon of the loss of the production identity of the city. The increase of land costs in the suburban areas and the decrease of land costs in the central areas often turn the speculative interests upside down by causing a return to the investment on recovery of some central areas.

When this happens, the gentrification process also starts in a neighborhood and very quickly grows to the complete abandonment of that area by the working class, thus causing the social tissue of neighborhood to transform completely.

The phenomenon is contradictory from various points of view: “gentrification” does not involve all the cities and central areas of the city; there is a fine line between the deep decay of the neighborhood and the gentrification; the gentrification is barely plannable and often requires the expulsion of the poorest social classes.

There is a sharp divide in the roots of the historical traditions (old bookstores, and old neighborhood traditional pubs and clubs) and the consumption standards change; the “nonintervention” is cynically seen as the resolution of levels of decay and value destruction, but at the same time, even as a reward to speculation. Within (7) *Gentrification*, the levels of exclusion are very high; insisting too much on an inclusion may block the phenomenon.

It is important to understand the role played by property income, speculation and governance. In cities like Newcastle upon Tyne and Liverpool, the Regional Development Agencies (RDA), created in the 1990s by the central government and monitored by the Secretary of State through the check on corporate and business plans,<sup>11</sup> tried, together with the private speculators, to artificially foster the process of gentrification, therefore revealing the fine line between (5) *Revitalization* and (7) *Gentrification*, because RDAs were entrusted with the task of addressing local actors to the local urban development, with the purpose of

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<sup>11</sup>RDAs’ boards of directors are made up of companies, local government authorities, institutions and associations, universities.

fostering area revitalization as well as investment and competitiveness in these areas. Real estate firms used to strategically purchase well-located properties and offer them to artists at very low costs, for some years using this strategy as a push factor for “(7) *Gentrification*” policies.

Within the “governance” of gentrification, different policies and instruments were developed, especially in Britain. These policies mainly referred to the implementation of negotiating instruments of urban planning, where different forms of inclusion/exclusion actions (inclusionary zoning) were negotiated once the process started. Other instruments consisted of controlling the property income, or again, in creating agencies such as the Community Land Trusts (CTL) which dealt with the issue concerning the separation between real estate (or parts of it) and land property where the building is located.

In other words, the land is taken off the market to reduce the speculation. These voluntary bodies are in some cases supported by the Public Administration; they aim at both preventing speculation and imposing minimum standards of maintenance of the buildings. If it is still difficult to control speculation, a supplementary intervention is performed by CLT with the purchase of the land and its subsequent exclusion from the market.

In short, (7) *Gentrification* may be based on two different theories. The first is technical/minimalist (Tonkiss 2005). It refers to the use of parts of the city by creative professionals (artists, people working in the fashion industry, architects, and musicians). Very often they are young people, with low income, who take on the partial remodeling of the buildings (lofts) and of other places (e.g., with social meetings). This revitalization process, fostered by profitability and market logics, creates a new phenomenon of attraction to these areas which are subsequently enhanced as follows: new buildings are constructed and young artists are gradually replaced by higher income owners who are attracted by the more appealing image of the area. The basic idea is that localized urban creativity can transform areas with generally decaying functions into areas which look attractive to higher income entities. These phenomena are all expressions of yield, income and market. These areas are often located on “front water,” “docks,” at historical places or near academies, fashion, cultural and artistic buildings, and institutions. This is about the simplified and revisited “bohemian” version of (7) *Gentrification* and deals with a more cultural interpretation of gentrification as a cultural movement of people who, for different reasons (e.g., based on a “neourban” culture), take possession of some central areas of the city (Ley 1994, 1996). The idea of (7) *Gentrification* as a movement of people is also shared by Florida with his “Creative Class” (Florida 2002, 2005; Florida and Mellander 2007).

This minimalist theory has always been countered with a more complex one: it is the “capital” in its different forms that takes up the center of the city (Smith 1996). As explained in other research, this action, for different aspects, is new (Coombes et al. 1989). This thesis is based on the effects of globalization and deindustrialization, according to which working classes, organized under the “Ford” models, are replaced (as the neo-liberalism theorists would say) by middle-high classes

(employed in the sectors of globally-focused strategic services) in the very central areas of big cities.

The distinction between the two theories (the former related to the movement of people and the latter to the capital) goes through aspects of consumption and production, culture and capital, demand and supply, therefore showing how many special and detailed references and investigations need to be taken into account (Atkinson and Bridge 2005).

Different authors try to bring the two positions together (the flow of people and capital): Lees (2003) says that both the positions can only partially explain the problem. Another theory is based on a sequence of a flow of people in/out of the city; another refers to a “new-build gentrification” (Davidson and Lees 2005) which coincides with the rise and growth of new professions connected with the global cities. According to Zukin (1995), gentrification appears first as a flow of people and later as a flow of capital. According to Hamnett (2004), whether a flow of people driven by “cultural” issues is involved or a different organization of the capital is comprised, in both cases an expansion of the professional sector and consequently of gentrification is required.

In regard to gentrification in Manchester (a weaker phenomenon, still related to the movement of people) and in London (more structured), Hall (2009) states that it definitely represents an extremely interesting phenomenon for the future and a key for the right understanding of urban models. The gentrification is seen as the result of contrasting old and new forces; the old ones are partially connected with the old production and still resist despite the destruction caused by globalization (but they live poorly on high-value land); the new forces are related to the pressure exercised by the new professions to enter the central areas of the big city. The phenomenon, as a whole, is the new fascinating and explosive phenomenon which needs to be observed in years to come, even if (according to Hall) the result will in any case lead to the growth of gentrification.

Gotham (2001) gives a pragmatic explanation to gentrification, which partially removes the dichotomy between the flow of people and new uses of the city (capital form). Gotham asserts that “the process is nothing less and nothing more than the reconstruction of urban space to serve those of a “higher” social class than those currently using a particular part of the built environment.” At the very end of the last century, different scientific disciplines started wondering about the methodology, the theoretical significance and the epistemology of gentrification, this supporting the idea of a growing phenomenon. Based on empirical analyzes performed on different American cities, Gotham (2001) still asserts that gentrification is the expression of unequal and polarized forces that inevitably keep on growing.

Globalization undoubtedly represents a cause–effect phenomenon that strongly identifies the global city and represents a key point as much for future research and assessment. Also, in regard to postsocialist cities (Golubchikov and Badyna 2006) (see Chap. 4), gentrification is often combined with (8) *Restructuring*, even if as an effect of it.

To summarize:

- (7) *Gentrification* identifies the use of some parts of the city by some art-oriented or emergent social classes at the expense of other economically and socially declining classes.
- These areas (where gentrification flourishes) could be linked to front water spaces, docks, fashion-related and city-icon places, where main functions collapse and no other future perspective seems to be available.
- Within a “mature” area of gentrification, when income and attraction grow, the creative and art-oriented components themselves may start taking an action to create new gentrification areas.
- These “bohemian” forms (“primary” forms) of (7) *Gentrification* have been replaced by the effects of globalization: the growth of globalization-related professions is a new component of (7) *Gentrification*, which seems structured and on the rise.
- The Public Administration often does not inhibit these phenomena; in some cases they are managed “ex post,” in some others (not many in Europe), they are encouraged “ex ante.” In some postsocialist cities “ex-ante” and “ex post” are getting mixed and confused.
- (7) *Gentrification* often represents a push factor for a new attraction. The previously decaying area becomes a point of attraction for income and thus results in the production of new forms of development within the area itself.

The term (8) *Restructuring* is important and is applied to Eastern European cities and urban areas, which have rapidly entered the market. With their high consumption and production levels, the city and the urban areas require their needs and market impact to be fully revised. The market value and rules will undoubtedly filter any production component, such as the physical character of the city, but it is a matter of fact that registered phenomenon are quite particular. They are able to draw elements from other terms used, but it is adequate to consider the full phenomenon on its own and examine it in depth. It may be necessary to start “(8) *Restructuring*” by finding any connection with the above described phenomena.

In short, “(8) *Restructuring*” is placed in between “(2) *Redevelopment*” and (4) *Recovery*; it refers to the modernization of parts of the city and does not always refer to the existence of either weak functions, as typical of “(2) *Redevelopment*,” or functions which need new spaces inside mono-function areas, as typical of (4) *Recovery*. It especially refers to those urban realities where both social and economic changes as well as their relevant needs have been quite rapid.

The most typical aspect is the use of the city and its significant parts, where the physical standards of consumption and fruition cannot be accepted any longer.

Outside the city, a new urban dimension has been constructed. The problem consists of how to recover significant parts of the city, where restructuring is seen as both a widespread intervention on existing buildings (those which can be recovered) and a redesigning of spaces, accessories, and in some cases assigned to microfunctions, economic and social, which are also necessary to fulfill the change



of needs and the new city design. Therefore, (8) *Restructuring* may involve micro physical interventions on an existing property, a distribution of interventions and a mobilization of significant financial resources. In many cases, this comes on top of a revision of urban spaces with demolitions and reconstructions. Public and private resources are often to be found in new forms, but the distribution and the large volume of interventions inhibit the action of interventions itself.

To summarize:

- The urban (8) *Restructuring* model mainly refers to Eastern European cities, where rapid social and economic changes (more rapidly than in other Western European countries) have occurred.
- Physical standards of use and consumption of urban systems cannot be accepted for the new needs any longer.
- Some contrasting standards between the city center and the outskirts do exist in favor of the latter.
- The new emerging problems deal with the use of old traditional urban spaces and the way that they can be restructured and reused.
- “(8) *Restructuring*” requires a “combination” of social, economic, and physical interventions.

## 2.4 Conclusions

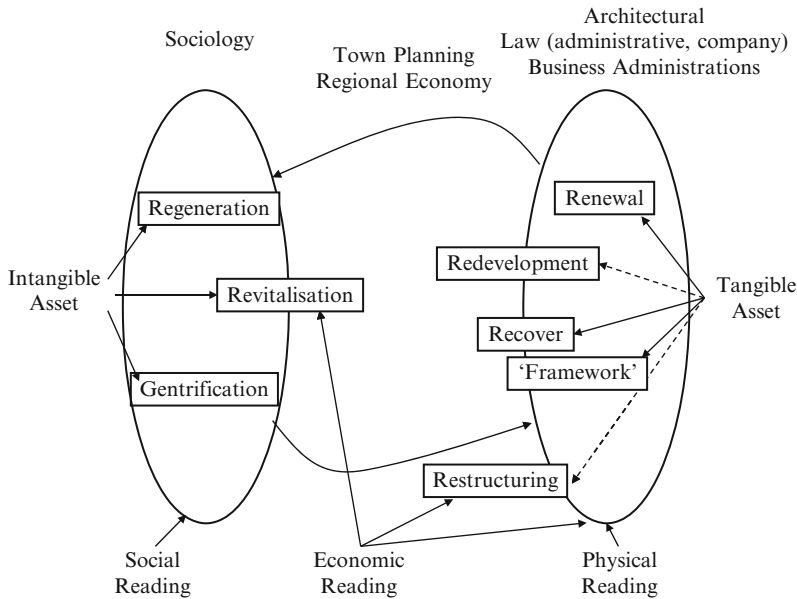
Based on the very confusing and contrasting interests involved, private operators are not able to start complex and decisive actions on their own: this gives new importance to the role played by the public administration, whose knowledge profile needs to be higher than in other historical phases of urban development.

The different urban models point out different features as to (a) tangible or intangible assets (because they strongly affect the physical appearance of cities); (b) the scientific disciplinary profile which is mainly concerned with the analysis of the phenomenon and the organization of the interpreting discipline to be applied (Fig. 2.4).

This book attempts to deal with the differences among the various urban typologies based on the different phenomena and events that have occurred. In this regard, international literature shows some significant overlapping of issues and subjects, partly due to the lack of awareness of terminology. Instead, the urban policies do not have the instruments for either a correct use of the terms or a consistent execution of the interventions: the phenomenon of “gentrification” is an example of this.

The correct definition of urban models may represent a reliable basis for developing consistent PPP relationships, reinforcing tools and consistently identifying “drivers.”

In Italy and Europe, as well as in other countries worldwide, some overlapping of models and behavior occur, which are due to the urban policies and to the rules that follow.



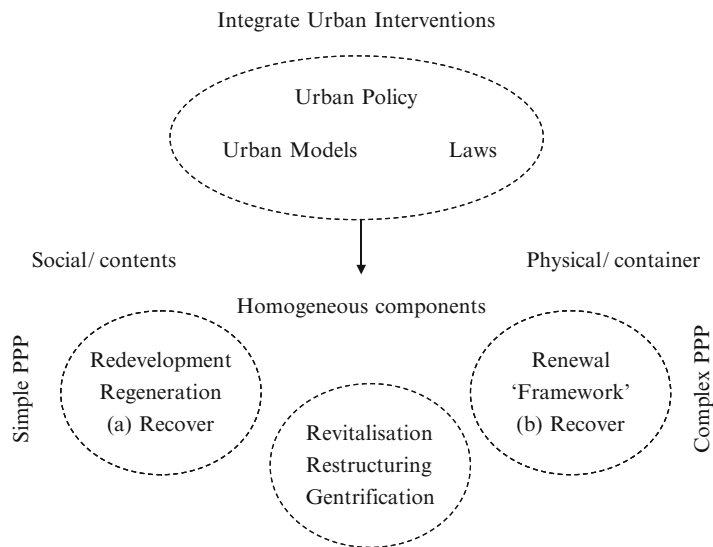
**Fig. 2.4** Classification of the different terms used in Chap. 2 and other chapters of the book

We keep facing both a constant evolution of overlapping urban models and the contamination of cultures of intervention. It may not even be correct to maintain the identified models stable, because urban phenomena are constantly evolving. Urban policies quite often carry out their own specific research in this direction and within a constant boost towards interdisciplinary views, as constantly demonstrated by international literature.

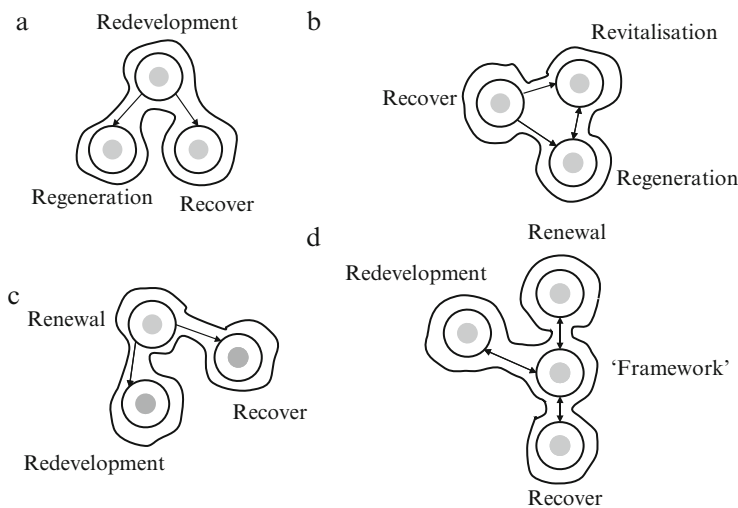
An accurate reading of national financing programs, regional and state laws, European Union funds, programs, and directives leads us to the same interdisciplinary view and the implementation of different cultures of intervention.

As far as Italy is concerned, a sort of overlapping occurs among “(2) *Redevelopment*,” “(3) *Regeneration*,” and “(4) *Recovery*,” because “(2) *Redevelopment*” involves the rehabilitation of the outskirts together with the obligatory interventions in the areas where public social housing is located: and often the intervention is not only needed in terms of physical aspects, i.e., the containers, but also on the social and economic contents. In other words, interventions do not only refer to new constructions through demolition but rather through recovery and rehabilitation of the existing decayed buildings (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6).

In support of our discussion, “(1) *Renewal*,” “(2) *Redevelopment*,” and “(4) *Recovery*” refer to other forms of overlapping. Classifying the term “(1) *Renewal*” seems easy when urban areas are involved and the intervention significantly affects the image of the city. The classification of “(1) *Renewal*” becomes more difficult when a medium-sized city is involved and the intervention looks less significant and would be identified as (2) *Redevelopment*, were it performed inside the urban area.



**Fig. 2.5** Homogenization of the different terms used in the Chap. 2 and other chapters of the book



**Fig. 2.6** Different aggregation of terms used in Chap. 2 and other chapters of the book

By its very nature or importance, (4) *Recovery* might be included in (1) *Renewal*, or (2) *Redevelopment*.

Another form of overlapping in support of our discussion pertains to “(6) *Framework*” versus “(1) *Renewal*,” “(2) *Redevelopment*,” and “(4) *Recovery*.” “(6) *Framework*” identifies the setting-up of the intervention and as such, may

therefore be related to three urban models, especially when a complex intervention is involved.

These short examples aim at highlighting future situations, which will be marked by both an ever growing overlapping of urban models and an ever growing number of integrated answers. The breakdown and reconstruction of logical matrixes of intervention can be useful for systematizing the urban phenomenon and steer the action to deal with the problem, as the CoUrbIT model has partially tried to do (Dalla Longa 2010).

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