Mr. Widnall. Would you agree with the statement that Mr. Weaver made when he testified here that urban renewal has not lived up to its entire or initial goal? Where do you think it has really failed?

Mr. Davidoff. I think I have made it very clear that it has failed to meet its first goals, that it is, I believe, aimed and has been aimed primarily at aiding middle-income and upper-income families, that only a very small proportion has gone for low-income families. In Philadelphia recently I saw the report of the Philadelphia Housing Association which said that something like 19 percent of the units of renewal have been for low-income families. But I think this is where the great need is. I think too often in the past urban renewal has been aimed at physical details, and it has not been aimed at the families in need. And one thought that by clearing the physical decay there was a possibility for success. But I think this has been a view that is in part based upon the history of city planning movement, which was based upon only looking at the physical aspects of the city. And it is only recently that the city planning movement is beginning to see that city development must account for social development, economic development, and physical development. And they are all part of the same planned program, but they cannot be viewed separately. And the old view which was popular in the 1950's that by making the centers of cities more attractive and stimulating the economy of the center of the city could be helpful for city development was a mistake, because I think it went off from the tack of helping the people who were in greatest need. And I think the renewal program in its history has failed to focus upon the low-income families and has failed to build a decent environment for them.

Mr. Widnall. I agree with you, it would be the beginning of a healthy change in attitude on the part of the people within the community, and on the part of the local official as well as the Federal Government. It is about time this took place. And I hope that we can redirect the effort so that we can make some progress and

take care of the low-income families. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Barrett. Mr. St Germain?

Mr. St Germain. On page 6 of your testimony, your suggested amendment No. 10, I think it is, to the Demonstration Cities Act, and you refer to the fact that the cities should be required to take over the property of slum landlords who fail to obey the housing code. I wonder if you have an opportunity—I had the privilege of hearing Mayor Daley testify on Friday when he described the method used in the city of Chicago. They go into equity court. Are you familiar with that?

Mr. Davidoff. New York has a receivership law quite similar.
Mr. St Germain. And do you feel that this perhaps might be the type of mechanism that should be used if legislation were to be suggested? It seems to me, however, that we face the problem here in the implementation on the Federal level, because each and every State—in quite a few States it is based upon different systems of law. But would you say that in theory this is what you feel should be done, this type of a procedure, whereby the city can go into equity?

Mr. Davidoff. Yes, something along that line.