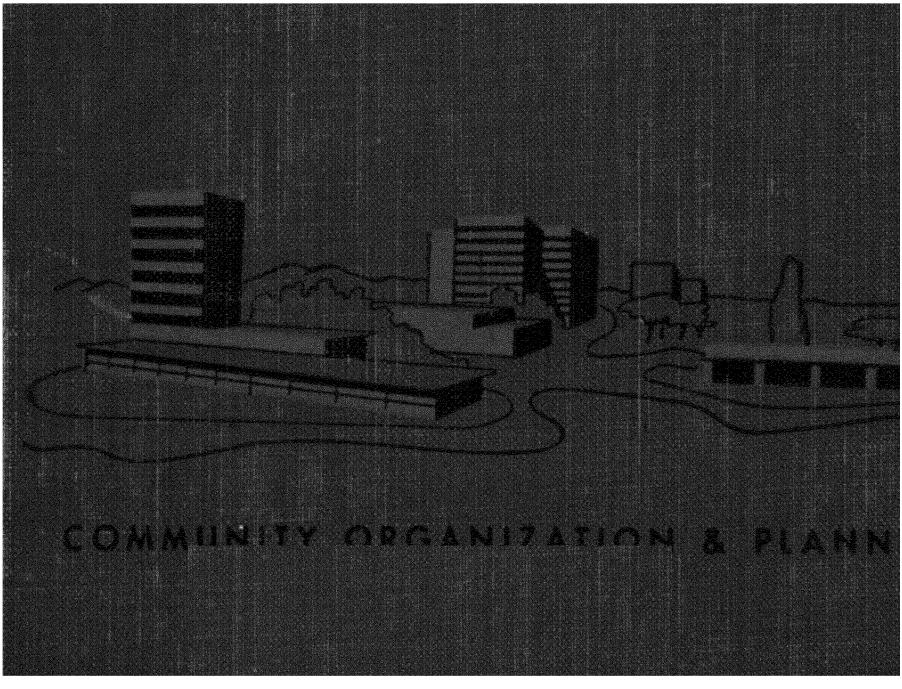

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Community organization is found wherever people have learned to live together. In simple societies it rests upon customs or traditional ways of regulating social relationships. These customs have come to be called folkways and mores, after the classic exposition of William Graham Sumner.[1] Mores change slowly, perhaps imperceptibly. The preoccupation with this facet of life in stationary societies has sometimes led to the assumption that mores display such resistance to change that they must be accepted, without thought of their alteration.

The inertia of habit and custom is a conservative force in modern society, which must be taken into account in any analysis of social changes. However, in industrial, urban society, which is characteristic of contemporary life, many evidences of conscious social reconstruction are found. Such methods of effecting change are deviations from the traditional organization of community life. The methods by which communities deliberately change their structure and way of life is the theme of this book.

Community organization is a necessary condition of conscious cooperation for local planning and for other forms of common action. This concept of community organization is used inclusively to indicate not only social structures within which cooperative activities take place but also the various processes of social interaction which indicate that the forms have functional meaning for the people involved. This aspect of life in contemporary communities can be better understood if placed in relation to other changes that have taken place, and by contrast with the organization of simple local societies, as the first two chapters will indicate.

The concepts of community organization and planning are interlocked. Planning may be broader in scope than the community, but its essentials can be illustrated by organized local action. Planning

[1] Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1906.

in its local aspects is an activity of organized and representative community bodies that can act on behalf of the whole community or major segments of it. It is essentially a matter of deliberately selecting goals and systematically implementing them. Since we are concerned here with American communities, we proceed on the assumption that the efforts at community organization and planning are to be directed toward democratic ends and are to be accomplished by democratic means. Democracy as a value means that community organization and planning are carried on in the interests of the people of the community and are based upon the participation of the people generally in the making of the decisions.

The enlarging interest in community organization and planning, which is demonstrated by the marked attention it is getting in many quarters, stems basically from certain broad developments in national life. Among these is the experience gained in the last war which can be applied to peacetime problems of community cooperation. During the war many American communities met emergency problems with boldness and vigor. There was then a special concern about the internal health of democratic society, and more specifically a need to plan community services to meet war time demands. Some community leaders now seem to recognize that what was defensive community action can become an offensive against the unresolved problems of democracy in peace.

The centralization of government activities has increased during the last few decades at the expense of traditionally local functions. Much as conservatives may wish to reverse the trend toward enlarged federal control, this does not seem likely to occur in the face of the complex and large scale organization of our economic life. The tremendous potentials of electrical power and atomic energy developments also point to unmistakable trends toward national and regional political and economic organization. However, the role of local communities can be reevaluated in relation to the common interests and the meeting of needs that arise locally. Even with assistance from federal and state governments or other agencies, there are many urgent problems that require understanding and action within the community.

The diversity and specialization of organized groups and community agencies, especially in large cities, often create in their leaders and professional workers a sense of fragmentation of efforts. This is frequently the immediate impetus to undertaking programs of community organization and joint planning in order that the specialized activities may become integrated in a coordinated program. School officials, recreation workers, public administrators generally, ministers and other professional people have tended to become more conscious of the community setting of their programs and the need for public interpretation and support. In the social work field, where the term community organization has a somewhat specialized meaning, interest has also developed in broader citizen participation and in more comprehensive social planning.

These converging interests in the integration of communities have often been expressed in independent but parallel forms. This book not only is prepared in response to the developing interests indicated, but also to bring together in a systematic form valuable materials that would otherwise be scattered and relatively inaccessible. It is intended for community leaders and professional workers in various fields as much as for students in classes in sociology and related disciplines who are seeking a general understanding of community life. It is hoped that the active community participant as well as the student who is preparing for professional and civic responsibilities will find some measure of perspective and stimulation through study of the concepts, principles and examples that are presented.

The first two chapters, constituting Part One, enlarge on the definition of community organization which has been briefly stated and offer a theoretical framework for what follows. The planning of communities is presented as broadly including the problems of rebuilding cities physically and of attention to the economic bases of urban and rural life, as well as the provision for community services and the amenities of living. The economic, physical, and social aspects of community life are regarded as interrelated and there is an emphasis on balance and comprehensiveness in local planning. The planning process is presented in broad scope in Part II with

more emphasis on the physical building and rebuilding of communities, whereas Part IV is devoted to several areas of community services. In the latter, relatively more attention is focused on new problems which are still on the frontiers of community attention rather than on commonly accepted services. Part III deals with community centers as focal points of cooperative activity, community councils as common means for achieving coordination and consensus, and the pervasive problems of developing leadership and of stimulating participation. In Part V, procedures are discussed with an emphasis on methods which make for democracy and efficient use of available resources. This includes consideration of the interrelations between national and local activities in the promotion of community welfare.

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ARTHUR HILLMAN

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The record of man's efforts to live with his fellows has been searched many times for clues that might teach the human race to live more peacefully and more happily together. The attempt cannot be made too often, for in their quest for a tenable basis of association with one another men today face incomparably greater complexities and possibilities than at any previous period in history.

The justification for adding this volume to the many that have preceeded it lies in its careful sifting and appraisal of the most recent experiences and experiments in the improved organization of social life on the scale of the local community. By viewing the processes and problems of human collaboration as they become evident within this relatively limited scope we may hope to arrive not merely at a better understanding of the factors accounting for the success or failure of organized efforts to build more wholesome local communities, towns and cities, but also a better nation and a more integrated world.

We have learned that many of the measures that operate effectively on the local level are also applicable to the organization of the larger society. Moreover, successful programs on a national and international scale are dependent upon effective instrumentation at the "grass roots." In the long run a nation will not be much more enlightened than the local communities that comprise it. A national policy which aims at the extension of democratic participation in the making of common decisions, or at the improvement of health, education and welfare will remain an empty gesture unless it is actually lived by every component part of the nation that professes to embrace such a policy.

Social life on the local scale does, of course, manifest certain distinctive characteristics. It rests upon a greater degree of homogeneity and compactness and more intimate and informal associa-

tion among the members than does the collective life of larger aggregates. Despite these differences, however, an examination of the problems encountered in local community living should prove instructive for undertakings on a larger scale. Even if the experiences with local community organization had no wider applicability they would demand a thorough study in their own right, for few communities in our nation can now claim that they have exhausted the possibilities for self-improvement.

The expression "community organization" has gained wide currency in the United States to refer to a variety of organized efforts to improve local life. It has been used particularly in relation to the attempts to coordinate and integrate the social services of local communities by means of such devices as Councils of Social Agencies and Community Funds. Important as these aspects of the local community are, they constitute only a relatively small segment of community organization as conceived by the author of this volume. The obvious need for minimizing the costly rivalries between competing social agencies and for enhancing the effectiveness with which community needs are met by an appropriate array of community institutions and services has obscured many other and more important phases of what is properly a part of community organization.

Communities have organization quite apart from and more fundamental than the structures that find expression in their formal institutions. The characteristics, the habits, attitudes and interests of the people who make up the community, the situations in which they interact, and the "rules of the game" in accordance with which their behavior is regulated, the conceptions which people have of themselves and their fellows and of the community in which they live, are vital factors in community life. These variables, the precise nature of which must be ascertained for each community, underlie the formal structure that may eventually crystallize and condition the success or failure of whatever preconceived scheme community organizers may seek to impose upon the community. The sociological studies that have accumulated during the last few decades should have taught us that communities, like personalities, are liv-

ing individualities and hence resist the attempts that are so often made to squeeze them into arbitrary moulds. A formal community organization which fails to take account of these unique characteristics is likely to prove of doubtful benefit. Perhaps the most distinctive contribution which this volume makes is to view the organizational devices that have been invented in recent years in the light of their relevance and adaptability to the significant realities of living communities.

The community organization movement in the United States received substantial impetus from the recognition of the need for strengthening the "home front" during the World War I. It broadened its scope in response to the acute problems of the depression of the nineteen-thirties when new sources of public aid for dealing with problems of welfare, health, education, recreation and general community deficiency were first made available on a large scale to the paralyzed communities throughout the nation. The emergency organizations that were improvised during World War II to operate in local communities in connection with selective service, rent control, price control, rationing, bond sales, civil defense, blood banks and a variety of other activities incident to the effective conduct of the war enlisted citizen participation in organized community efforts on an unprecedented scale. To many students of community organization this large-scale manifestation of citizen participation in organized local life seemed to offer a golden opportunity for turning emergency organizations into permanent structures for the strengthening of local life in all its aspects. Unfortunately with the end of the war these promising structures were scrapped without regard to their long-range potentialities.

Meanwhile, however, the community organization movement gave evidence of converging with another, more recent tendency in American life, namely the increasing recognition of the need for and possibility of local and regional planning. The planning movement, unlike the community organization movement, represented from its very beginning a close union of governmental and citizen effort and a corresponding sharing of responsibility by public and private bodies. As local, regional and national planning programs

began to enlarge their scope from the initial, virtually exclusive interest in physical development to an interest in all of the major problems of the common affairs of men living under conditions of interdependence, it became increasingly evident that community organization and community planning were two aspects of the same thing. Just as the line demarcating public from private responsibility for the common welfare is constantly shifting and frequently fades out altogether, so the distinction between community organization and planning is gradually being erased. The two movements are rapidly merging into a single integrated set of objectives and techniques.

This book represents the first comprehensive endeavor that I know to treat the two together as in theory and practice they have already come to be inseparable. Effective community organization and planning, as this volume so convincingly shows, involves both the trained expert and the sympathetic and informed layman. This book is designed to be a guide to the training of the former as well as the education of the latter.

LOUIS WIRTH

PART ONE

THE COMMUNITY

CHAPTER I

The Community and Community Organization

THE IDEA OF COMMUNITY

For many Americans the imaginary bird's-eye view has become a real experience. There is a new dimension to observation from the window of an airliner. The contours of land of the American countryside and the variegated shadings of green and brown are seen to be interspersed with evidences of human settlement. There are the small trading centers surrounded by miles of farms radiating in every direction. Logging camps in timber land may be noticed from the air only by the columns of smoke that mark the scene of operation. Close scrutiny of the landscape may be needed, too, to detect mines and the towns where workers live in isolated places. Factories and mills may be apparent in concentrations which at a glance account for the presence of rows of homes with schools and churches and stores scattered among them. The gridiron street patterns impress the aerial observer, especially in larger places.

These are the superficial evidences of community life. The "hills of home," the buildings and thoroughfares are part of every-day, down-to-earth experience. The topside view from the air adds perspective and range to ordinary observation. The physical contours of human settlement are the most obvious but not all of what constitutes a community. A community, like any human group, consists basically of relationships between people, with all that that implies as to diversity of individual reactions and of forms of social interaction. A definition of community must be inclusive enough to take account of the variety of both physical and social forms which communities take.

4 *The Community*

The word "community" is common property and is used in various senses. For some people it will always have a halo surrounding it. This is in part the effect of idealizing the stable community life of the past with the nostalgia of selective recollections. Those who see only the harsher and disintegrating factors of city life are inclined to wish for the simpler ways of small villages. For others the halo effect is the result of linking the idea of community with fraternity or with the spiritual bases of identification with others. These overtones may be present in any use of the term, but the definition for scientific purposes, rather than exhortation, must be more definite and demonstrable.

An expression of the idea of community as necessary to living and to the good life is contained in the following words by Arthur E. Morgan, who combines a marked appreciation of the small community with a recognition of its shortcomings:

> Men are not normal without community life. They crave intimate companionship, understanding support, sharing of life and experience. Persons denied community have difficulty in keeping normal. City people seek community in church, club, and neighborhood. . . .
>
> Along with the fine qualities necessary to good society, old communities had other characteristics which have hindered or blighted social progress. Primitive men were not greatly creative, yet to survive they had to have arts and customs. As these could be kept alive only by tradition it became a virtue and duty to do just as other generations had done. This old habit blocks free inquiry and adjustment necessary to modern life.
>
> In ancient communities the need for hanging together sacrificed freedom to increase group safety. As communities were isolated, narrowness of outlook was general. A world view scarcely existed.
>
> We should not just reproduce the past. While recapturing neighborliness, good-will, and integrity, we should free the community from those shortcomings which marred its past.[1]

[1] Morgan, Arthur E., *The Community,* Personal Growth Leaflet Number 80, National Education Association. Pp. 4–6. For a full statement of Morgan's philosophy and analysis of community organization, see his *The Small Community: Foundation of Democratic Life.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942.

A LOCALIZED GROUP

Another partial but suggestive view is that which stresses the analogy between human interdependence and the similar relations found between plants and animals. Ecologists, who study the relations between plant and animal organisms and their physical surroundings, describe the intricate patterns in nature as a "web of life" or simply as "live and let live" arrangements. In the adaptation to the physical environment, both competition and unconscious "cooperation" take place between various organisms. The relation of a parasite to its "host" is an example. More apt, because it suggests mutual benefit and interdependence, is the relation between ferns and trees. The ferns thrive in shade and protect the roots of the trees.[2]

This suggests at least that an elementary basis of mutual interests for human beings exists at the subsistence level, that no community can survive without an economic basis and that competition is a factor in determining location of people. The analogy between the location of plants and animals and the patterns of human settlement, however, is incomplete. Human communities depend on symbolic communication with conscious controls, and while the effectiveness of collaboration among animals cannot be questioned, there is evidently a low level of awareness among them.[3] Robert E. Park who greatly influenced the study of "human ecology" by sociologists stated a relation between spatial concepts and the idea of social interaction:

> . . . Geographical barriers and physical distances are significant for sociology only when and where they define the conditions under which communication and social life are actually maintained. . . . Society exists in and through communication. By means of com-

[2] Thomson, J. A., *Darwinism and Modern Life.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909. Mukerjee, Radhakamal, *Regional Sociology.* New York: Century Company, 1926; and Wells, H. G., Huxley, Julian S., and Wells, G. P., *The Science of Life.* Book VI. Garden City, N.Y.: Country Life Press, 1929, contain many examples of the web of life idea or symbiosis—the living together of two or more dissimilar organisms.

[3] Wirth, Louis, "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology,* L: 483–488, May, 1945.

munication individuals share in a common experience and maintain a common life. It is because communication is fundamental to the existence of society that geography and all other factors that limit or facilitate communication may be said to enter into its structure and organization at all. Under these circumstances the concept of position, of distance, and of mobility have come to have a new significance. Mobility is important as a sociological concept only in so far as it insures new social contact, and physical distance is significant for social relations only when it is possible to interpret it in terms of social distance. . . . [4]

A community is a *localized grouping* of people. Its area has limits but they are as large as the actual local interdependence of people, economically and socially. The boundaries of a community are not necessarily the formal limits of a municipality or any political entity as various studies which will be cited have demonstrated. The functional economic and social unity within an area may transcend the commonly recognized political boundary lines. The economic basis for maintaining human settlement is indicated negatively when shifts in the mode of transportation or depletion of land and other resources cause a decline in the population that can be supported at a particular place.

COMMUNICATION AND COMMON INTERESTS

Within relatively limited areas the *common interests* that are acted upon by the people mark the extent of community life. These human relationships depend upon common symbols and values. Similar interests of people may be accidental and superficial, such as hurrying to get out of a rain storm. Interests and expectations which people hold in common, however, are built up through communication, as the classic statement of John Dewey, which follows, points out:

Society not only continues to exist *by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may fairly be said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication. There is more than a verbal tie between the words

[4] Park, Robert E., "The Urban Community as a Spacial Pattern and a Moral Order," in E. W. Burgess, editor, *The Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926. Pp. 14–15.

common, community, and communication. Men live in a community by virtue of the things which they have in common. What they must have in common in order to form a community or society are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge,—a common understanding—like-mindedness as the sociologists say. Such things cannot be passed physically from one to another, like bricks; they cannot be shared as persons would share a pie by dividing it into physical pieces. The communication which insures participation in a common understanding is one which secures similar emotional and intellectual dispositions—like ways of responding to expectations and requirements.[5]

Common interests may be found at a level of hand-to-mouth survival, with only such rules for give and take as make existence possible. They may be so routinized that they seem to be expressed by action only in emergencies. People living in stable communities are likely to take this sort of habitual community of purpose for granted. The latent kind of organization is evident when self-defense requires mutual aid, when there is a fire or a flood, for example. Under urban conditions it is given dramatic expression through "drives" and campaigns for special purposes. By contrast, what is common may consist of goals and objectives chosen in some deliberate fashion, with planning undertaken to implement them.

The common interests of people differ in degree, both as to permanence and with reference to their strength in forming the bonds of community. There is no clear line between what is private and what is of public or community interest, and the twilight zone is becoming greater in modern times. Because of such unsettled questions, the role of government as arbiter in the arena of undefined and conflicting interests becomes greater. The central government is called upon to assume functions where local communities are unable to cope with their problems. The enlarging role of government, both federal and state in the United States, is evidently in part a stopgap, but the trend seems to be toward a more active role especially of the central government. This formalizing and centralizing of controls, however, does not eliminate the possibility of action

[5] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916. P. 5.

by local communities. However active government becomes, community life is carried on through other forms as well.

FORMAL CONTROLS AND INFORMAL ACTIVITIES

Community in the sense of a minimum of common interests and mutual expectations is basic to government and other institutions. Government, or the state, is "an agency of the community."[6] This is the idea expressed by Charles E. Merriam when he speaks of the "understandings" which underlie the laws and the structure of government:

> At the root of all authority, however primitive, lie basic customs which authority cannot successfully contest. The political "conventions" are part of the social conventions upon which the whole society rests. In early forms of government these political understandings are not written or very explicit. They are in the nature of traditions handed down from one generation to another as a part of the wisdom of the elders. The details of these understandings may not be generally known or clearly understood; they may be veiled in secrecy and ritual, religious or secular. What is important is the general understanding that there are such fundamentals of political behavior and there is someone to interpret them and apply them as occasion requires. . . .
>
> The problem of "understandings" is not at bottom merely that of a legalistic formula but a psychological problem. What are the command, obedience, cooperation, and consent attitudes of the persons in the particular society under consideration? . . .
>
> The unwritten constitution is full of meaning for the student of political behavior. These basic understandings are rooted deep not only in the political life of the people but also in its economic and social life; they are the attitudes, expectancies, and reactions which characterize the mass of the community, or of the politically conscious and alert in the community, and will determine its course of action from year to year.
>
> To misunderstand the understandings is the greatest fault a political leader may have and will destroy him if he persists. This is not to say that general understandings may not be changed or modified but that adaptation must be in the general tone of the com-

[6] MacIver, R. M., *Society: A Textbook of Sociology.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937. P. 284.

munity, unless, indeed, the movement is a revolutionary one. Even so, revolutions are usually directed against a limited series of abuses and evils, assuming that these abuses and evils violate a pattern upon which there has been agreement. . . .

The whole problem is enormously complicated when, in addition to bringing about more narrowly political understandings, there is added the load of ethnic differences, religious differences, and economic class differences. . . . When we consider the tangled skein of allegiances and loyalties in any political community, the marvel is that general agreement may be found on any large body of central directives generally accepted by the bulk of the community. . . .[7]

The community includes both the formal patterns of recurring relationship in government and other institutions as well as the transitory and more spontaneous activities.[8] Carl Taylor presents an inclusive and "operational" definition of community in terms of a complex of attitudes and behavior of people with special reference to rural areas:

The operational and realistic concept of a rural community as a societal or cultural object concerns itself with man's habits and traits and with those ideas and attitudes which he holds more or less in common with others. The "others" may be a clique of friends, members of a mutual aid neighborhood, members or participants in institutional activities, a group of persons who hold common viewpoints about world affairs or about truth itself. The groups are not communities, but all of them exist in a geographically identifiable area which for purpose of analysis is a useful object of research. This area is, for the overwhelming majority of farmers, the so-called trade area community which includes within its boundaries all the patterns of association in which rural people meet face to face and all the instruments of communication through which they know and participate in the Great Society.[9]

[7] Merriam, Charles E., *Systematic Politics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. 213–215.

[8] Tate, Leland B., "The Role of Informal Activities in Community Life," *American Sociological Review*, 10: 158–160, April, 1945, describes such informal activities in a Virginia town.

[9] Taylor, Carl C., "Techniques of Community Study and Analysis as Applied to Modern Civilized Societies," in Ralph Linton, editor, *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. 435–436.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY

The organization of a community, like any system of social relationships, has a locus of authority somewhere. There is a monopoly of power in an autocratic organization. It becomes diffused in a democratic society, where leaders are responsive and responsible, and popular participation in making decisions on questions of policy is expected and encouraged.[10] In large communities the division of functions, which is found in any social organization, is marked by greater specialization. The inter-weaving of such functions is the life of society. This process, as already indicated, depends on communication:

> Social beings express their nature by creating and recreating an organization which guides and controls their behavior in myriad ways, which liberates and limits their activities, which sets up standards for them to follow and maintain, which in fact, in spite of all the imperfections and tyrannies it has exhibited in human history, is a necessary condition of every fulfillment of life. It is a system of usages and procedures, of authority and of mutual aid, of groupings and divisions, of controls and liberties. That whole organization we call society. Society is the web of social relationships. . . .[11]

MacIver goes on to distinguish between physical and social relationships, the latter existing only where there is "mutual awareness." Community is a group of people living together and sharing a broad range of common interests. "The mark of a community is that one's life *may* be lived wholly within it, that all one's social relationships *may* be found within it."[12] Cooley's emphasis on communication and on society as a growth have become classic:

> Visible society is, indeed, literally, a work of art, slow and mostly subconscious in its production—as great art often is—full of grotesque and wayward traits, but yet of inexhaustible beauty and fascination. It is this we find in the history of old civilizations, getting from it the completed work of the artist without that strain and confusion of production which defaces the present. We get it, especially, not from the history of the theorist or the statistician,

[10] See Chapters IX and X. [11] MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 6. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

but from the actual, naive human record to be found in memoirs, in popular literature, in architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, in the industrial arts, in every unforced product of the mind. Social organization is nothing less than this variegation of life, taken in its widest sense possible. . . .[13]

. . . If we take a larger view and consider the life of a social group, we see that communication, including its organization into literature, art, and institutions, is truly the outside or visible structure of thought, as much cause as effect of the inside or conscious life of men. All is one growth: the symbols, the traditions, the institutions are projected from the mind, to be sure, but in the very instant of their projection, and thereafter, they react upon it, and in a sense control it, stimulating, developing and fixing certain thoughts at the expense of others to which no awakening suggestion comes. By the aid of this structure the individual is a member not only of a family, a class, and a state, but of a larger whole reaching back to pre-historic men whose thought has gone to build it up. In this whole he lives as in an element, drawing from it the materials of his growth and adding to it whatever constructive thought he may express.[14]

Specialization in a community results not only in divergent interests, but also in the development of technical vocabularies that act as barriers to association. Getting people to talk the same language is the problem of consensus which is peculiar to modern society. Cities abound in the shop talk of specialists, vocabularies peculiar to various cultures, the nuances of meaning which reveal themselves even in "small talk." The problem, however, is not merely one of misunderstandings due to inadequate communication, which can be corrected with patience. There may also be genuine conflicts of interests between racial and ethnic groups, and along lines of social status or income, which are beginning to be better understood as a result of recent studies.

A notable study in this connection is that made by Elin L. Anderson of Burlington, Vermont.[15] She found a cleavage running

[13] Cooley, Charles Horton, *Social Organization.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909. Pp. 21–22.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[15] Anderson, Elin L., *We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937.

through all major parts of community life between the "old Americans" and the new ethnic groups, principally French Canadians. Other recent analyses of modern communities have been made with an emphasis on differences in social status which divide the community into sub-cultures.[16] The question remains whether a community of important interests can be achieved in the face of what seems to be an increasing differentiation and stratification of society.

Class differences in American communities, according to the studies just cited, tend to be expressed in behavior—in preferences for association with some people and of avoidance of others—as well as in the evaluation of the actions of others.[17] That is, what people do implies class distinctions, despite the tendency for people to tell themselves that there are no classes, or the evidence that most people identify themselves with the middle class.[18] However, differences in actual status may be acceptable, within the framework of the community, provided that there are opportunities for upward movement in position, especially in American society where freedom of participation is a prominent social value.[19] In European societies, class differences are more definitely marked and given formal recognition. The tendency there to accept differences in status, shattered in places by the war and social upheavals, is also not necessarily a threat to a sense of community. If generally accepted, class differences of an implicit or explicit sort may be part of the organization of community life. The existence of status differences as such does not determine whether there is community cohesion, as MacIver points out:

[16] Lynd, Robert S., and Helen Merrell, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929. Drake, St. Clair and Cayton, Horace R., *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945. Warner, W. Lloyd, and Srole, Leo, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. Warner, W. Lloyd, and Lunt, Paul S., *The Status System of a Modern Community.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. West, James, *Plainville, U.S.A.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

[17] Drake and Cayton, *op. cit.*, pp. 788–789.

[18] In a *Fortune* survey nearly 80% of the respondents reported themselves as belonging to the middle class. *Fortune,* XXI: 20, February, 1940.

[19] See Chapter IX for quotation from Myrdal, commenting on American generosity with respect to persons of achievement.

The solidarity of a community depends not on the absence of differences within it but rather on the absence of certain barriers to the liberation and the consequent modification or adjustment of these differences. In this respect the chief barriers to solidarity would seem to be: (1) the coercion of group by group within the community—this need not be physical coercion but may be social and economic pressure or discrimination directed against politically disfranchised groups, economic classes, racial or religious minorities; and (2) the lack of those free contacts which mitigate both cultural and physical aloofness—cultural aloofness as expressed in the contempt of group for group, a feeling which often means the failure of one to comprehend the life of another, and physical aloofness which prevents the expansion of any community sentiment. . . .[20]

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AS A PROCESS

Consensus within communities is never complete, but some measure of working agreement is necessary, if only for survival. A concise definition of community organization as a process marked by the effort to achieve consensus is given by Sanderson and Polson.

Social organization implies that the various groups and institutions are so integrated that they form part of a functioning system directed toward a common end. Thus the coordination of group activities is the heart of a social organization in so far as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of community organization in the everyday life of its people is apparent. But the process of community organization is never completed. Were it assumed to be perfect, a static condition would result which would not provide for adaptation of community life to changes in the social environment. . . . Community organization is a technique for obtaining a consensus concerning both the values that are most important for the common welfare and the best means of obtaining them. The most fundamental of these values have become so much a part of the culture that they are assumed as desirable; they belong to the established mores. It is the new values which arise out of the changing social environment and about which there are diverse attitudes that test the strength of community organization and give rise to the need for integration. . . .[21]

[20] MacIver, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–165.

[21] Reprinted by permission from "Rural Community Organization" by D. Sanderson and R. Polson, published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1939. Pp. 5–6.

Community organization as a process includes not only the elements of authority, division of labor, and channels of communication as essentials of common action which are generally found in communities. Attention is also directed in the succeeding chapters to the growing interest in problems of developing leadership and stimulating participation; the relation of community structures to each other, functionally and geographically; and the possibility of agreement on means and ends. The last is important because consensus may have been reached on a level of stagnation, and communities face the problem of how to raise their sights and get new visions of the potential improvement in the common life. The rational relation of means and ends stands in contrast with the acceptance of traditional and magical customs of a simple society. "Let's figure this out" replaces "It has been so: it must always be so." The theme, then, is that while communities have always been organized informally, more definite and conscious methods of establishing patterns of cooperation are necessary and possible under modern conditions.

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A "spirit of individualistic self-reliance" and a "spirit of localism" are among the national traits mentioned as basic to the functioning of democracy in the United States. (Vol. II, p. 7.) Chapter LXVI on "The Relation of Central to Local Government" is also relevant to the understanding of community organization. The functioning of political democracy is the special concern of the writer, who was a distinguished foreign observer.

DETOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS, *Democracy in America*. Translated by Henry Reeve. Cambridge: Sever and Francis, 1864, 2 volumes. (New edition, Henry Reeve text as revised by Francis Bowen, Edited by Phillips Bradley. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945.)

A classic work with many insights into and observations on government and other forms of democracy and community life in the United States in the middle of the last century.

COOK, LLOYD ALLEN, "Meaning of Community," *Educational Method*, 18: 259–262, March, 1939.

"In technical usage a community is (1) a population aggregate, (2) inhabiting a contiguous territory, (3) integrated through past experiences, (4) possessing a number of basic service institutions, (5) conscious of its unity, and (6) able to act in a corporate capacity in meeting recurring life crises."

DANHOF, RALPH H., "The Accommodation and Integration of Conflicting Cultures In a Newly Established Community," *American Journal of Sociology,* XLIX: 14–23, July, 1943.

GETTYS, WARNER E., "The Field and Problems of Community Study," in L. L. Bernard, editor, *The Fields and Methods of Sociology.* New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, 1934. Pp. 67–82. In the same volume: STEINER, JESSE F., "The Sources and Methods of Community Study." Pp. 303–312.

HILLER, E. T., "The Community as a Social Group," *American Sociological Review,* 6: 189–202, April, 1941.

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LINDEMAN, EDUARD C., *The Community: An Introduction to the Study of Community Leadership and Organization.* New York: Association Press, 1921.

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PARK, ROBERT E., "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment," *American Journal of Sociology,* XX: 577–612, 1915.

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RAPPORT, VICTOR A., "Conflict in a New England College Town," *Social Forces,* 17: 527–532, May, 1939.

A description of the difficulties in town and gown relationships, when even after several years of residence a college faculty member is looked upon as an intruder.

SANDERS, IRWIN T., "The School Discovers the Community," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 13: 397–402, March 1940.

STEINER, JESSE F., "Changes in Community Organization," *American Journal of Sociology,* XL: 788–795, May, 1935.

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ZIMMERMAN, CARLE C., *The Changing Community.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938.

CHAPTER II

The Changing Forms of the Community

The major contrasts in the form of the community may be best understood if considered in broad historical perspective. These changing forms are variations within the definition of a community as a localized grouping of people with at least enough common interests and capacity for organized action to make survival possible. Changes have occurred most obviously in the course of time in the physical size of the community, not only through increase in the actual concentration of people living near each other, but also in the emerging dominance of a central place over an enlarging surrounding area. The latter, as will be noted, is a measure of the expansion of the functions of a community.

More subtle but more important from the point of view developed here are the qualitative changes correlated with physical growth. New patterns of behavior of people have developed with the enlargement of community life. With the increase in the numbers and diversity of people living together have come problems of achieving consensus. The quality of relations characteristic of the "primary" group, where contacts between people are sustained rather than casual, and are personal or intimate and relatively unspecialized,[1] can be maintained between as many as perhaps twenty-five or thirty people but usually with less. The difficulties people encounter in knowing and understanding each other as the size of the community increases can be understood by reference to familiar experience in primary groups such as the family, gangs or cliques,

[1] Cooley, Charles Horton, *Social Organization.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909. Chapter III.

and small neighborhoods. By contrast, secondary groups tend to be more formal and to depend for their existence on conscious machinery for effecting cooperation. The increase in the formality of organization, with the associated problem of achieving consensus, is a major change in modern community life.

VILLAGE, TOWN, AND METROPOLIS

Where men live is closely related to how they make their living. This is most markedly true in simple economies, where people live in direct relationship with nature, either as roving "collectors," or as settled tillers of the soil and herders. Storage of food for future use which reduced the dependence on the immediate location was one of the highest achievements of the "collectional economy" where man "walked with nature" and "accepted her gifts."[2] "In the winter, or whenever the hunting was not good, the people in this stage lived in fairly large village groups, the basis of the unity of which was kinship."[3] From this simple economy developed the cultural nomadic system, a combination of roaming and collecting with herding and gardening.

Gradually and reluctantly the cultural nomads settled upon the soil. The process of settlement was usually long drawn out. At first they settled in one place for a period of from five to ten years, and then moved on to another place after having exhausted the fertility of the soil. These we may regard as at least half settled. It is only when residence in one spot is continuous from season to season, and is ostensibly permanent from year to year, when no change is contemplated, or is part of the regular order of events, that a people may be thought of as really settled, as having the stage of "settled village economy."

In the collectional and cultural nomadic stages, men lived in small groups, generally clans, for purposes of economic production, and in larger groups, ordinarily tribes or nations, for purposes of warfare. Sometimes the clan settled down in one village. A large clan, however, might occupy several villages, while many clans ravaged by famine or disease might unite to form a single village.

[2] Gras, N. S. B., *An Introduction to Economic History*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922. Pp. 4, 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

Probably there was no uniformity. This, however, can safely be said that the village was primarily—that is originally, a kinship group.

It is very difficult for one who has in mind the American or Canadian "village," to understand the early villages that were formed when men first settled down in permanent abodes. The village group of earliest times was not merely a collection of houses. It was a group of people, a social unit, primarily for economic production but also for government, religion, and social intercourse. It was not a place with a general store, an inn, and a post office. All of these were, in fact, lacking. Its economic function was neither trade nor traffic, but animal and plant cultivation. If the American and Canadian farmers had settled down in villages, rather than in scattered homesteads, the difficulty of inducing them to cooperate would not have been so great. Indeed, some of our modern co-operative rural societies originate in the village groups of the Old World, which in spite of centuries of individualism round about them, have maintained a co-operative spirit.

The village, however, was more than a group of persons; it gradually became a territorial area. In the two preceding stages (the collectional and the cultural nomadic) there had often been unoccupied zones between the groups, and in the course of time, a group would change its general location. The village center, however, was definitely settled on some piece of land.[4]

The particular form of the village was determined by several factors. The need for defense from marauders favored the development of the nucleated village, a compact settlement which was associated with the cultivation of animals. The non-nucleated type, with houses spread out among land holdings, was found with plant cultivation and peaceful outside relationships. "Whenever considerable public works had to be undertaken before a village could be established, such as the burning of jungle land to clear a large healthful area fit for human habitation" or an irrigation system, such as in Egypt or Babylonia had to be developed and maintained, "the tendency was toward a nucleated type of village. . . . When living near together men could best arrange public duties."[5] Another factor in determining the form of the village is the nature of the soil, richness being conducive to the nucleated type. The typical early vil-

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50. Footnotes omitted. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

lages were nucleated because they were usually settlements on the best lands, with animal cultivation, and with warfare and defense needs common.[6]

Town economy is another distinct stage characterized by a growing dominance over nearby villages. Specialized traders, or middlemen, who stored up wares and worked at trading continuously in towns, offered a new economic service which tended to supplant the direct exchange of goods and the occasional market days of village life. "In concentrating on the town we must not forget the district dominated by it. The town was the nucleus; the surrounding territory, with a radius of ten or twenty miles in which were located a score or more of villages constituted the rest of the economic cell. From the standpoint of the town, the villages were its customers and sources of supply."[7]

The small town, or agricultural "village" as it may be known in the United States, is dependent on its trade area, which includes settlements of the village type in Gras' classification. The central place and its trade area as a unit was identified and described by C. J. Galpin in a pioneer work in rural sociology.[8] To designate this interrelationship, Galpin coined the word "rurban." The boundaries of the town trade area are irregular and not always clear cut. People living on the edge of an area may trade in either of two towns.[9]

The early towns were largely commercial, but some added manufactures and were able to support a larger population. Towns were sometimes known for some special product, but medieval towns usually produced a variety of goods for local use, such as cloth, caps, and stockings, fur, leather, shoes, saddles and harness; nails, pewter vessels, copper utensils, cutlery, swords, wooden boxes, barrels, gold and silver plate and jewelry. The organization of

[6] *Ibid.* Gras also distinguishes the free village and the dependent village. The former was free from a single lord, but included slaves. The feudal manor, typical of the dependent village, was the result of conquest or of compacts for defense.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

[8] Galpin, C. J., *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community.* Madison: University of Wisconsin. 1915. See also Chapter III.

[9] Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

handicraftsmen into guilds was characteristic of medieval towns which were beginning to function as industrial centers.[10]

"Outwardly the difference between the metropolis and the town was chiefly a matter of size."[11] The new function was that of organizing business over a large area. This included facilities for shipping and accessibility to a hinterland as well as to other centers for extended trade. The special development of the wholesaling and storage function is characteristic of the metropolis. Further industrial development made possible growth in population and large scale trade. The final phase of metropolitan organization, according to Gras, is the development of banking and financial dominance over an extended area.

The concentration of money and financial functions in New York City is an extreme example of metropolitan organization. In a sense the entire country is dominated by New York City and tributary to its financial institutions. Chicago is a grain trading center for a vast region. The more immediate influence of a large city economically and socially has been measured by the distribution zones of newspapers, radio-listening areas, the trade areas of wholesale houses and other commercial services, and the daily movements of commuters. These zones are not identical for any city, but jointly they indicate the interdependence, primarily economic, of an area with the metropolitan center.[12] As noted with respect to smaller trading centers and their hinterlands, the metropolitan region also does not have regular boundaries. The town and especially the metropolis lack any political organization to correspond to their functional economic unity.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CONCENTRATION OF PEOPLE

An agricultural surplus is a precondition of the growth of cities.[13] If agricultural people live from hand to mouth, from year to year,

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 133 ff. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[12] McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.

[13] *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy,* Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee, June, 1937. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. P. 29.

they have nothing to trade for manufactured products, nor can the labors of any substantial numbers be spared from the struggle for bare existence. In cities are produced the extra things, the luxury items, a concept with varying content. The demand for the products of cities with modern conditions of transportation and trade is of course not dependent on the immediate hinterland.

Large cities of the ancient world were limited in size, and probably none exceeded a million in population. Even if the food supply had been available, before the development of steam transportation it would not have been possible to supply large cities with the requirements for existence.[14] More directly the cause of the growth of cities was the development of power-driven machinery in industrial production. "Not until the great economic and social changes that we identify as the Industrial Revolution had been set in motion did the modern great city become possible."[15]

The outstanding factor in the urbanization of the United States is the speed with which it has progressed. In addition, the urbanization of the United States has continued apace even after the major western industrial countries have already reached an approximately stable rural-urban equilibrium. This may be attributed to our enormous reserves of unexploited resources which stimulated domestic population growth and attracted immigrants from the economically hard-pressed countries of Europe. Within a single generation, 1900 to 1930, the urban population of the United States grew from 30 million to nearly 69 million, or by about 130 percent. . . .[16]

In the first census of the United States (1790) only 200,000 Americans or 5 per cent of the population were recorded as living in urban places. (In accordance with current Census usage, places having 2,500 or more inhabitants.) By 1940, the 16th Decennial Census reported that 74 million people or almost 57 per cent of the population were residents of cities. In 1790, of the 24 urban places in the country only two, New York and Philadelphia, had a population of 25,000 or more. In 1940 there were 3,464 cities in the United States, 5 with over 1,000,000 and 92 with over 100,000 inhabitants. The 140 metropolitan areas reported in the 1940 Cen-

[14] Thompson, Warren S., *Population Problems.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1935. P. 300.

[15] *Our Cities, loc. cit.* [16] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

sus contained almost 63,000,000 persons or almost half of the total population of the nation. Over 12 per cent of our people resided in cities of 1,000,000 and more; about 29 per cent in places of 100,000 and more, and almost half (about 48 per cent) in places of 10,000 or more.[17]

Will these trends continue? As long as mechanization in agriculture continues to increase the productivity of workers, and the demand for food and the products of the soil is somewhat stable, it is almost inevitable that urban areas will absorb an increasing proportion of the population of the United States. However, the long-run trend in total population in the country is a marked slowing up of growth, and an important implication of this prediction is the expectation of a slower growth of cities.[18] The probability that cities cannot anticipate, in the balance of the twentieth century, a continuation of rapid growth refers to the total population of urban areas. There is the further factor, already experienced, of more rapid growth within suburban or outlying sections at the expense of the central cities of metropolitan areas.

There are also regional differentials to consider in looking ahead. "The growth of metropolitan districts will probably continue to be somewhat more rapid in the South and the West than in the Northeastern and North Central States."[19] While metropolitan communities as a whole are not likely in the next several decades to continue to grow as they have in the past, there are indications that in the immediate future the nation's urban communities will see a continuation of previous growth.[20]

ECONOMIC BASES OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

The growth of cities in the United States can best be understood if viewed in relation to the economic history and geography of the

[17] Hauser, Philip M., *The Social and Political Influences of American Urbanization.* Unpublished paper.

[18] Whelpton, P. K., *Forecasts of the Population of the United States 1945–1975.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947. P. 66.

[19] Thompson, Warren S., *Population: The Growth of Metropolitan Districts in the United States: 1900–1949.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948. P. 25.

[20] *Ibid.*

country. The economic support of cities and the main types of services which cities render has been described as follows:

The support of a city depends on the services it performs not for itself but for a tributary area. Many activities serve merely the population of the city itself. Barbers, dry cleaners, shoe repairers, grocerymen, bakers, and movie operators serve others who are engaged in the principal activity of the city, which may be mining, manufacturing, trade, or some other activity.

The service by which the city earns its livelihood depends on the nature of the economy and of the hinterland. Cities are small or rare in areas either of primitive, self-sufficient economy or of meager resources. As Adam Smith stated, the land must produce a surplus in order to support cities. This does not mean that all cities must be surrounded by productive land, since strategic location with reference to cheap ocean highways may enable a city to support itself on the specialized surplus of distant lands. Nor does it mean that cities are parasites living off the land. Modern mechanization, transport, and a complex interdependent economy enable much of the economic activity of mankind to be centered in cities. Many of the people engaged even in food production are actually in cities in the manufacture of agricultural machinery.

The support of cities as suppliers of urban services for the earth can be summarized in three categories, each of which presents a factor of urban causation.

1. Cities as central places performing comprehensive services for a surrounding area. Such cities tend to be evenly spaced throughout productive territory. For the moment this may be considered the "norm" subject to variation primarily in response to the ensuing factors.

2. Transport cities performing break-of-bulk and allied services along transport routes, supported by areas which may be remote in distance but close in connection because of the city's strategic location on transport channels. Such cities tend to be arranged in linear patterns along rail lines or at coasts.

3. Specialized-function cities performing one service such as mining, manufacturing, or recreation for large areas, including the general tributary areas of hosts of other cities. Since the principal localizing factor is often a particular resource such as coal, water power, or a beach, such cities may occur singly or in clusters.

Most cities represent a combination of the three factors, the relative importance of each varying from city to city.[21]

[21] Harris, Chauncy D., and Ullman, Edward L., "The Nature of Cities,"

A statistical summary of an economic classification of cities in the United States is taken from the Municipal Year Book of 1945.

One-fourth of the cities over 10,000 population in the United States are manufacturing cities; a little more than one-fifth are either industrial cities or diversified cities in which manufacturing predominates; one-eighth are diversified cities in which retailing predominates; one-sixth are residential cities; and the remainder have single functions such as mining, transportation, education, or government.[22]

FROM FOLK SOCIETIES TO URBAN LIVING

The economic and physical growth of cities has its counterpart in the changing modes of interaction between people. The contrast between small, simple, close-knit societies and the larger concentrations of people with more freedom, individualization, and rationality has been variously expressed. One of the classic statements is that of Henry S. Maine who described the relationship between persons as changing from one of *status* to one of *contract.*

The movement of progressive societies has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place. . . . The Individual is steadily substituted for the Family, as the unit of which civil laws take account. The advance has been accomplished at varying rates of celerity, and there are societies not absolutely stationary in which the collapse

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The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 242. November, 1945. Pp. 7–9. The article goes on to discuss and give examples of each of these types of support of cities, as well as to describe typical patterns of internal structure of cities.

[22] Kneedler, Grace M., "Economic Classification of Cities," *The Municipal Year Book 1945.* Chicago: International City Manager's Association. 1945. P. 30. In the same source, municipalities of over 10,000 population are also classified as to metropolitan status, rent level of suburbs in relation to the metropolitan regions of which they are a part, the number of people employed in manufacturing in relation to the total number in manufactures, trade and service, and the relation between the number of people who work in the city and the number who live there. Suggestions are also given for the use of these data in relation to problems of local government. In this connection, see also Chatters, Carl H., "The Economic Classification of Cities and Its Fiscal Implications," *National Tax Journal,* I: 111–117, June, 1948.

of the ancient organization can only be perceived by careful study of the phenomena they present. But, whatever its pace, the change has not been subject to reaction or recoil, and apparent retardations will be found to have been occasioned through the absorption of archaic ideas and customs from some entirely foreign source. Nor is it difficult to see what is the tie between man and man which replaces by degrees those forms of reciprocity in rights and duties which have their origin in the Family. It is Contract. . . . The status of the Slave has disappeared—it has been superseded by the contractual relation of the servant to his master. The status of the Female under Tutelage, if the tutelage be understood of persons other than her husband, has also ceased to exist; from her coming of age to her marriage all the relations she may form are relations of contract. So too the status of the Son under Power has no true place in the law of modern European societies . . .

The word Status may be usefully employed to construct a formula expressing the law of progress thus indicated, which, whatever be its value, seems to me to be sufficiently ascertained. All the forms of Status taken notice of in the Law of Persons were derived from, and to some extent are still colored by, the powers and privileges anciently residing in the Family. If then we employ Status, agreebly with the usage of the best writers, to signify these personal conditions only, and avoid applying the term to such conditions as are the immediate or remote result of agreement, we may say that the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from Status to Contract.[23]

A similar contrast conception was formulated by Ferdinand Tönnies. "Gemeinschaft," where the bond between people based on kinship is one which individuals grow into and which encompasses them, is translated as community. "Gesellschaft," or "society" is made up of voluntary, more specialized relationships between people. The difference is typically between life in a simple agricultural village and living in cities. The distinction is essentially the same as Émile Durkheim made between "mechanical solidarity"—referring to the status, "gemeinschaft" type of relationship based on

[23] Maine, Henry S., *Ancient Law.* London: J. Murray, 1861. Pp. 163–165. See also by the same author, *Village Communities in the East and West.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1889, for a comparison of the villages of India and the ancient Teutonic "townships." In both the kinship ties between people predominated. Cf. Gras, *op. cit.* on the "status" basis of social relationships in slavery, under feudalism, and in guilds.

conformity and similarity within the group—and "organic solidarity," characterized by "regulated interdependence" and a "progressive division of labor."[24] Societies which are marked by resistance to change and by tradition and ceremony have been called "sacred" in a non-religious sense. Against this stands the "secular" society or the process of secularization.[25]

The "folk society" as a type of social organization is described by Robert Redfield, with reference to his and other observations among primitive peoples, and is contrasted with modern, urbanized society.

[A folk society is] . . . small, isolated, nonliterate, and homogeneous, with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalized into that coherent system which we call "a culture." Behavior is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical, and personal; there is no legislation or habit of experiment and reflection for intellectual ends. Kinship, its relationships and institutions, are the type categories of experience and the familial group is the unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular; the economy is one of status rather than of the market. These and related characterizations may be restated in terms of "folk mentality." In studying societies comparatively, or one society in the course of change, with the aid of these conceptions, problems arise and are, in part, solved as to the necessary or probable interrelations of some of the elements of the ideal folk society with others. One such relationship is that between disorganization of culture and secularization.[26]

Since communication is a central element in the idea of community, folk societies may be compared with urban in this respect. Communication in folk societies is by word of mouth, which limits community to those who are in direct contact with each other.[27]

[24] House, Floyd N., *The Development of Sociology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936. Pp. 195–196; 206.

[25] Becker, Howard, "Interpreting Family Life in Context" in Becker, Howard, and Hill, Reuben, *Family, Marriage and Parenthood*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1948. Pp. 1–49.

[26] Redfield, Robert, Abstract of "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII: 293–302, January, 1947. Redfield points out, p. 295, that an ideal type, such as the concept of the folk society, is an "imagined entity" created for its usefulness in studying actual conditions.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

Without books and written records, the sense of a historical process cannot develop and systematic thought cannot become cumulative. Cities by contrast are the seedbeds of culture in an elaborate sense. City people have a sense of current history, nourished by newspapers and radios. Even though their attitudes as readers or listeners may resemble spectators in an arena, these may be the only means of identification with the ongoing life in the total city.

In spite of possible pockets of neighborliness in a primary group sense, the city depends on secondary or mass media of communication. In an overall sense the metropolitan newspaper and radio are important agents of community organization. Information may be spotty and opinion biased, but what the newspaper purveys becomes part of the common possession of city dwellers and often the basis of action. Newspapers and the radio try to make up for the superficiality and impersonality of urban experience by the simulated intimacy of the gossip column, the man-on-the-street chatty interview, not to mention the vicarious small talk of the soap opera. Going through the motions of a folk society, however, does not create one.

The changes in communication reflect and are a principal factor in the shift to larger forms of community life. The whole quality of living is changed, as evident not only in interpersonal relationships but also in the organization of institutions of the community. The changes are subtle and qualitative as well as specific and concrete. For example, the city fire department has replaced primitive precautions of volunteer companies. Special provisions are developed in cities for recreation space, facilities, and service. Social work in organized form has supplanted neighborly mutual aid. Greater formality of organization in all aspects of social life is characteristically urban.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE CITY

Urbanism refers not only to a large number of heterogeneous people densely concentrated. It represents a new "way of life," as Louis Wirth has indicated in a definitive statement.

Urban life has many facets. For one thing, the city everywhere has been the center of freedom and toleration, the home of progress, of invention, of science, of rationality, and of whatever leaven and new stimulation has come into the life of man and led him to new levels of achievement. The city has assured to each individual an opportunity to compete with many others for a place in the world. Hence, it is in the city that we find more special and varied types of men than in any other form of human association. Here the unusual, the exotic, and the queer can find a place and be recognized. Here every man can be a prophet because he can find some others to support him in his strange beliefs. Out of all this variety and confusion, this intense individualistic struggle and energy, has come a great deal of ferment and disorder, but a great deal of progress as well. The problems of disease, crime, vice, and family disruption are more severe in the city than they are in the country, but we are willing to endure them as part of the price we pay for living together in large numbers with unequaled facilities for the comfort and enjoyment of life.

Socially, the city represents a new form of human association. The city, sociologically speaking, is a relatively large, densely concentrated aggregation of heterogeneous individuals living under conditions of anonymity, impersonal relations, and indirect control. Physical nearness and social distance, which characterize urban living, make it necessary for human beings to cultivate reserve. Among the highest human virtues in the city are sophistication, the ability not to be "taken in" by others, and wholesome skepticism. And yet, in order that each may achieve his own individual ends, urbanites must associate themselves with others. Hence, in the city voluntary associations flourish. They are not, as in the country, based on kinship and common tradition, but upon highly specialized interests. It is through these organizations that the urban dweller finds his expression and gains his power. Since the city offers the most striking contrasts between riches and poverty, education and ignorance, cultivation and crudity, the range of corresponding interest groups is enormous. There are as many groups as there are human interests. Effective collective action by the city as a whole is possible only through collaboration between substantial numbers of these voluntary associations. Those who manipulate the leaders and the symbols of these groups are the effective governors of the city.[28]

[28] Wirth, Louis, "Life in the City" in Carnovsky, Leon, and Martin, Lowell. *The Library in the Community*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. 12–13. See also Simmel, Georg, "The Metropolis and Mental

The large number of contacts between people in cities and their fleeting character is conducive to impersonality. Casual contacts are necessarily superficial. Moreover, the specialization of functions and interests which develops in city life means that most people fail to develop a strong sense of the whole community and of participation in it. People do not have roots in the community, as the *New Yorker*, in its blithe way suggests:

All sorts of arguments have been trotted out by the residents of Greenwich Village who oppose the erection of a skyscraper apartment building on Washington Square. They say it would be against the public interest because it would cut off light. They say it would bring more people to the district than the schools and busses could take care of. They say it would ruin the looks of one of the city's distinguished blocks. And one resident added, "And above six stories, people don't have roots." This last was the argument that won us over to the anti-skyscraper faction. Above six stories, people don't have roots. We had never thought of it in quite those terms before, but now, whenever we go around town, our eye roves to the upper chambers of the high apartment buildings, the camp sites of the cloud-weather people who wander restlessly from duplex to triplex, nomads of the upper decks, reproducing their kind fitfully, hardly recognizing their own children, never staying long in one place, never feeding sugar to horses or leaning their elbows on the window sill or shouting down to flower-cart drivers—a remote, detached bunch, connected with earth only through an elevator shaft. We think Mr. Siegel, the skyscraper builder, is licked on this score alone. Nobody should put a lot of money into a home for the rootless.[29]

The family has changed under urban conditions. Kinship ties are stronger in folk societies. Dwelling units in cities are often restricted in size, which in itself limits association with relatives and in-laws. The mobility of people makes for separation from kinspeople. The

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Life," translated by Edward A. Shils from *Die Grosstadt und das Geistesleben*, Article #XII *Second-Year Course in the Study of Contemporary Society*, Social Science II, Selected Readings, Eighth Edition, September, 1939, The University of Chicago. Woolston, Howard B., "The Urban Habit of Mind." *American Journal of Sociology*, XVII: 602–614, 1912.

[29] *Permission The New Yorker. Copyright 1945 The F-R Publishing Corporation.* XXI: 23, March 24, 1945.

average size of the family in cities is smaller. These changes are related to the shift in functions from the family to other institutions and agencies of the community. The farm family is a center for economic production, and more of the activities of the members as consumers are also centered there. In the cities educational, protective, and recreational functions also tend to be performed for families by specialized community agencies.[30]

Another general change in typical behavior as we move from rural to urban ways of life is the greater sophistication and skepticism, as indicated by Wirth in the selection cited. This often becomes cynicism and shrewdness which affects not only commercial relations but also political participation and social life generally. Apathy and a sense of defeatism with reference to community betterment programs is common. The awareness of exploitation leads many to suspect the reformer as perpetrating another racket, or to conclude in "wise-guy" fashion that if it is not one kind of graft in the city, it will be another.

The reluctance of people in cities to participate in organized activities, the outgrowth of the factors suggested, is basic in the consideration of community organization and planning. Just as there is inertia among urban masses, however, so also the multiplying of specialized, voluntary associations, and the new means for the effective coordination of effort toward common goals are also typical of city life. The development of community planning as a rational process and a conscious art is in keeping with and a response to other social changes.

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GIST, NOEL P., and HALBERT, L. A., *Urban Society*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1933.

[30] Hill, Reuben, Chapter XXVI in Becker and Hill, *op. cit.* The changes in family functions are related to the planning of community services, as discussed in Part IV of the present volume.

JAFFE, ABRAM J., "Population Trends and City Growth," *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 242: 18–24, November, 1945.

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One of six communities studied contemporaneously in 1939. The communities were selected "as samples of, or points on, a continuum from high community stability to great instability." Other communities studied were Sublette, Kansas: Irwin, Iowa; Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Landaff, New Hampshire; and Harmony, Georgia. "Community stability or instability with reference to what pervasive process? In the reviewer's view it is the attempt of any one of the six communities to maintain its socio-economic integrity in the process of being more completely drawn into the Great Society. In this 'drawing-in' the market is the prime mover." Quoted from Earl S. Johnson in "Review of Six Studies with the General Title; Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community" in the *American Journal of Sociology,* LI: 82–83, July, 1945.

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PART TWO

THE PLANNING OF COMMUNITIES

Planning as a Process

Planning is a new name for an old activity. Men have taken thought of tomorrow wherever individuals or groups have exercised prudence or common sense. They have done so largely as a matter of course. Such looking ahead can also be done systematically. It is the new needs and opportunities for planning which justify the special attention which is being given to it. The enlarging scope and newer methods of community planning are described in the following chapters.

Without some express purposes there can be no planning. "Planning aims at the optimum use of resources and the rational integration of community life."[1] Within the framework of this broad objective, there may be planning for specialized purposes, as will be indicated further in Part IV. However specific or inclusive the scope, the definition of goals is a basic part of planning. "The planner does not set these goals. Rather he discovers them and aids the community to define them."[2]

Planning is not something apart from other community activities. It is related to and inherent in the operation of various agencies and the actions of voluntary associations. Much but not all of community planning is under governmental auspices. Community planning may cover areas of varying size, and one of the problems noted in connection with planning in rural areas as well as in metropolitan regions is that no single governmental unit usually corresponds to the range of economic and social interdependence of the area.

[1] Wirth, Louis, "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, L: 487.
[2] Wirth, Louis, "Planning Means Freedom," *Planning 1947*. Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1947. P. 11.

This suggests some obvious limits in planning. Financial resources may be lacking, or governmental powers may not be adequate to cope with the problems. Even more basic is the citizen support and understanding which is essential in defining goals and in implementing planning decisions. Special emphasis is therefore given to citizen participation especially in policy formation.

The problems of people in communities are interrelated. This is brought out in the discussion of the broad relations of rural land use planning on the one hand and the scope of city planning on the other. The ramifications of a problem may come to be understood progressively. This is noted, in later sections, in the interrelations between community services, and between the social aspects of planning and the physical and economic problems of a community.

Planning is a progressive, step-by-step process, not a visionary master blueprint of Utopia. Planning is never completed. It can be and, in democratic societies, it must be a democratic process where the technician and the layman each have distinctive and necessary roles to play. "Not merely can we have democratic planning but planning in our age is indispensable to the preservation of democracy."[3] This conception of planning is developed further in the following statements by Neva R. Deardorff and David E. Lilienthal, which reflect their experience in the field:

> When we start to talk of planning we often get into the Jehovah frame of mind and begin by saying, in effect, "Let there be" whatever it is that we think we want at the moment. But, obviously, planning for, by and with mortals is somewhat more laborious than that. Planning no less than other purposeful human activities falls under the necessity of proceeding by the sweat of the brow. . . .
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> Here in America we tend to talk a lot about democracy in planning. What we mean by that is not always clear, but it somehow connotes that anyone who has a contribution to make has an opportunity to make it; that all genuinely good ideas are cordially welcomed and their sources acknowledged. On the other hand, democracy gains nothing from efforts to get participation where there is no basis of interest or competence.
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> The elements of democracy seem to me to consist of hospitality to all positive and creative ideas as plans are taking shape, and

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

careful consideration of them after they are in form to be considered. Widespread participation in the decisions to put them into effect is essential. . . .[4]

The reason the TVA Plan is not available is that there is no such document. Nor is there one separate department set off by itself, where planners exercise their brains. This does not constitute our idea of planning.

Planning ideas are widely discussed these days. To some the content of the word "planning" has been pared down until it means merely ordinary foresight, and thereby the term has lost any broad significance. Others have gone to the other extreme; they approve or violently condemn "planning" because to them it means a complete reconstitution of our social system, comprehensive state socialism, and the like. . . .

The term "planning," however, is here to stay; but since it has apparently come to mean all things to all men, I have avoided using the term until I had set out specifically. . . what I have in mind in using the word, and what planning means to us in this valley. "Unified development" as I have described the idea in action, is, in substance, the valley's synonym for planning. . . .

Here is the life principle of democratic planning—an awakening in the whole people of a sense of this common moral purpose . . . Not one goal, but a direction. Not one plan, once and for all, but the conscious selection by the people of successive plans.[5]

[4] Deardorff, Neva R., "Planning for Youth," *Survey Midmonthly*, 80:124, April, 1944.

[5] Lilienthal, David E., *TVA—Democracy on the March*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944. Pocket Book Edition, February, 1945. Pp. 207–208; 212.

CHAPTER III

Community Planning in Rural Areas and Small Towns

LOCATING THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Any community is a localized group with some degree of social interaction and common interests. To locate the extent of the rural community is a special problem because where farms are scattered there is no obvious concentration of people to mark the boundaries of possible relations between them. In the United States this dispersed pattern of settlement is common, as compared with the European practice of farmers living in village groups and going out to their lands for the day's work. For various economic services and social give and take, the farmer and his family must leave their farmstead. The extent of such movement out from homes has been the basis for delineating the rural area within which there exists a high degree of interdependence.

One of the earliest definitions of the boundaries of the rural community was in pre-automobile terms. The "team haul" idea, while largely dated, is basic to the understanding of rural social life.

> The country community is defined by the team haul. People in the country think of community as that territory, with its people, which lies within the team haul of a given center. Very often at this center is a church, a school and a store, though not always, but always the country community has a character of its own. Social customs do not proceed farther than the team haul. Imitation, which is an accepted mode of social organization, does not go any

farther in the country than the customary drive with a horse and wagon. The influence of leading rural personalities does not extend indefinitely in the country, but disappears at the boundary of the next community. Intimate knowledge of personalities is confined to the community and does not pass beyond the team haul radius. Within this radius all the affairs of any individual are known in minute detail; nobody hopes to live a life apart from the knowledge of his neighbors; but beyond the community, so defined, this knowledge quickly disappears. Men's lives are housed and their reputations are enriched by the boundary of the team haul.

The reason for this is economic and social. The life of the country man is lived within the round of barter and of marketing his products. The team haul which defines the community is the radius within which men buy and sell. It is also the radius within which a young man becomes acquainted with the woman he is to marry.[1]

C. J. Galpin in defining the limits of the rural community relied on maps of trade areas and the service areas of other institutions.[2] A farmstead may be related to a crossroads or hamlet type of center for some economic services, such as are supplied by a country store or a creamery. The social life on this immediate neighborhood basis is often organized around the open-country church, the elementary school district, or informal mutual aid customs. However, for major marketing of products, purchasing of supplies, and some of his social life, the farmer depends on a small town. With the use of the automobile for trucking and personal transportation, there is a strengthening of small towns at the expense of the hamlet or neighborhood type of center. For example, rural free delivery, as Galpin pointed out, did away with the crossroads postoffice and served to relate the farmer more closely to the larger nearby town. The economic interrelationship between the town and its rural periphery[3] which Galpin visualized by means of maps did not necessarily ex-

[1] Wilson, Warren H., *The Evolution of the Country Community.* Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1912. Pp. 91–92.

[2] Galpin, C. J., *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community.* Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1915. His analysis was carried further in later works, including his *Rural Life.* New York: The Century Company, 1922.

[3] See Chapter II.

tend into the realm of social relationships. The small town merchant must please the farmer to get his trade but does not always incorporate him into the community life in a more general sense.[4]

The relations of a farmer both to his immediate neighborhood and to the town trading center have been recognized in a recently developed method of defining the rural community, as the following quotation indicates:

> A community may be resolved usually into its constituent neighborhoods, or conversely, the extent of a community may be known by studying the "clustering" of neighborhoods.* Farm people often go from their home neighborhoods to adjacent areas or to a community center for school, church, trading, and other institutional activities, especially if such services are lacking in the home neighborhood. Usually, though not always, a village trade center serves surrounding neighborhoods. Here people from the neighborhoods meet each other and visit, although the main purpose bringing them to the center may be the purchasing of supplies, the paying of taxes, or a Saturday evening "go to town" tradition. It is in such centers that people throughout the community are likely to be willing to assemble for gatherings of community-wide concern.[5]

This method of locating the rural community suggests an enlarging area of social interaction with the town as a center for diverse activities.

RURAL COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION

The basic change in rural communities with modern transportation is toward a larger unit in which trade relations are supplemented by social contacts and activities. Not only does the farmer have more contacts within a wider area but he also is increasingly likely

* This approach, in contrast to the service area method of community delineation, was developed by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and cooperating agencies. It has been called the "neighborhood cluster" method by I. T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger in *Alabama Rural Communities.* Alabama College (Montevallo, Alabama) Bulletin 33. No. 1A, 1940.

[4] Galpin, *Rural Life.* New York: The Century Company, 1922.

[5] Beers, Howard W., and others. *Community Land-Use Planning Committees: Organization, Leadership, and Attitudes, Garrard County, Kentucky, 1939.* Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 417, June, 1941. P. 154.

to be affected by urban ways of living. That rural communities are in the state of transition is borne out by recent studies. The following are conclusions from a Wisconsin report:

The country-village or small-town community has become more important than it was twenty years or more ago, and will become so. This does not imply that all group functions, primary or otherwise, are leaving the open-country and hamlet centers or that neighborhoods can not and do not persist; they can and do, as the analysis has amply shown. It does mean that farmers and villagers are participating more freely, more frequently, and more personally in the larger community unit than ever before. Their children are together in the high school in increasing numbers, and by virtue of this these educational institutions have a unique opportunity for leadership.[6]

The transition in rural communities is not complete, for as Kolb and Marshall point out, the "legal and formal institutional arrangements are lagging far behind the actual social practice."[7] The fact that less than thirteen per cent of the area of Wisconsin at the time of their study was included in any high school district means that many farmers send their children to high schools and pay tuition for them but do not have a voice in educational policy-making. With reference to high schools, as well as to hospitals and other institutions, the extent of the service area of each will vary with the population density and the minimum volume of services that can be provided by one unit. For example, assuming that a high school should have a minimum enrollment of 100 pupils, its area in some cases will need to be larger than a single rural community. It follows that "not every community can hope to have within its boundaries every function or service needed by its families, including education, economic, recreation, religious, health, welfare."[8] Each rural community cannot expect to be self-sufficient if its members are to have the benefit of a range of modern institutional services.

[6] Kolb, John H., and Marshall, Douglas G., *Neighborhood-Community Relationships in Rural Society*. Research Bulletin 154, published by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, November, 1944. P. 32.

[7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

A trend of major significance is away from operation of farms by independent owners. The increase in tenancy and in the number of migrant laborers is certain to have effects on the organization of rural communities.

There seems to be little doubt that increased social stratification is one of the fundamental trends now remolding the community. . . . O. E. Baker and others stress the fact that farmers are gradually losing control of the land, with a result that farm society is becoming more and more constituted of landless tenants and laborers. Paul S. Taylor* reveals startling facts concerning the large rural proletariat at the bottom of the social pyramid who follow migratory labor as a mode of life, who never succeed in gaining acceptance as part of any established community, who can never attach themselves to established institutions, who live for the most part in poverty, and who have a large share in the seemingly efficient production in some areas of large-scale agriculture. . . .[9]

Rural communities in the United States are pictured by Jean and Jess Ogden as having been peopled first largely by individualists, some with utopian visions and others who craved mainly a new start, a chance to "go-it-alone." Now the pioneering spirit has subsided. "In our turn we have become tradition bound."[10] They cite a wealth of experience which they have had as staff members of the Extension Division of the University of Virginia. They have found that planning is possible in rural communities, but not without its peculiar difficulties, since many farmers persist in individualistic efforts despite the difficulties they experience in making a living. Among other conclusions is the recognition that rural-urban differences are decreasing and that ruralites live where they do increasingly as a matter of choice.

Migration continues. But now it is primarily from rural to urban

* "Migratory Farm Labor in the United States, "*Monthly Labor Review*, XLIV. March 1937. Pp. 9–11.

[9] Smith, T. Lynn, "Trends in Community Organization and Life," *American Sociological Review*, 5: 332–333, June, 1940. The entire article, pp. 325–334, deals particularly with the rural community. See also Goldschmidt, Walter, *As You Sow*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947.

[10] Ogden, Jean and Jess, *Small Communities in Action*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. P. 229.

areas, with a thin stream flowing back in the opposite direction. In this migration, as in the earlier European and westward migration, there is a selective trend. Those who go to cities are, in general, those who choose the gregarious life. Those who stay in rural areas or go back to them are, for the most part, individualists who choose to "go it alone" or traditionalists who oppose or fear change. They still prefer elbow room to cash money, laborsaving devices, commercialized entertainment, and enforced association with others. Yet they are discovering that the two are no longer mutually exclusive. The conveniences of the city are more and more available on the farm. . . . Many rural dwellers have visions of being able to plan together in such a way as to have more of the good things of life without sacrificing their way of living. Rural electrification with all that it means for increased efficiency on the farm and in the home; telephone service; health and sanitation; good roads; good schools; recreation programs; libraries-on-wheels; community canneries and freezer plants; cooperative marketing—are among the tangible achievements of community effort that have enriched without fundamentally changing rural life.

Differences between rural and urban people (we except the large metropolitan centers) are decreasing. City dwellers of this generation are, for the most part, country dwellers of the last—or perhaps they even grew up on the farm. There is a mutual understanding and kinship. . . .

Urban areas have been quicker to get services because the common welfare has demanded that attention be given to such things as health and sanitation, to housing and recreation. Private utilites have developed services because enough people have been gathered together in one place to assure a profit. But public agencies have provided only the minimum necessary to protect society from disease and crime; and private enterprise has been able to make no provisions for those too poor to pay or too benighted to care. Hence people in urban communities, like those in rural, are asking themselves, "What can we get by planning and working together that each could not have for himself?"

The need for and the problems of planning and organization are basically the same whether the community be rural or urban or a mixture of both. The blockage offered in the rural areas by strong individualism is balanced in the urban by the inertia that has resulted from having had things done for rather than by the people.[11]

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 230–231.

The main recent changes indicated in rural communities are consequences of their enlarging size and their being influenced by the general urbanization of the country. The trend seems to be toward a "social structure in which the horizon of the individual family is greatly extended and its relations with locality groupings are much wider and more complex than in the past. . . . Group cohesion seems likely to be based even more on conscious recognition of mutual interdependence . . . mutual aid is likely to give way still more to cooperation of the contractual type."[12] Some of the kinds of planning activities which have developed in response to these changes remain to be discussed, particularly those that have arisen from the decreasing self-sufficiency of the rural community and the need for help from outside.

COUNTY LAND USE PLANNING

Cooperative agricultural planning in recent years was fostered by the United States Department of Agriculture in a special program known as county land use planning. It developed out of the need for coordinating the depression agricultural aid programs, and the interest in securing local participation in planning. County committees were representative of community committees and also included agricultural specialists. The program was launched in the summer of 1935, but it was developed mainly after 1938. By June 30, 1941, when the program was halted, some organization for planning had been established in 1891 counties. More than ten thousand communities had been organized. Some 140,000 individuals had participated, seven eighths of them being laymen.[13]

Land use problems, as that experience showed, involve more than soil conservation. This planning effort was also concerned

[12] Smith, T. Lynn, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

[13] Works, George A., and Lesser, Simon O., *Rural America Today: Its Schools and Community Life.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. 372 ff. The county planning program was abolished under pressure from politicians and farm organizations, who first tried to control local planning and feared the development of a new political machine. Loomis, Charles P., *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany.* East Lansing, Michigan: State College Book Store, 1945. P. 150.

with the human problems related to the productiveness of the soil. While participation of the farmers was stressed, there was also a reliance on technical specialists where appropriate. Action that might be taken within the county, or the state, or by the Federal government was thought of as interrelated and to be guided by considerations of the local committees.

The same era that brought to many farms the benefits of automobiles, motor-trucks, tractors, electricity, radio, and good roads also brought the end of free lands and a declining foreign demand for the produce of new acres. It brought the farmer face to face with problems of low income and of soil depletion and erosion. It brought the Nation face to face with the fact that land resources, wrongly managed, are exhaustible. . . .

Congress, in a series of enactments, directed the establishment of national programs to help people on the land conserve the soil, to help farmers own their own lands, to help needy farmers make a better living, to help farmers with programs of adjustment and conservation. State legislatures acted to supplement these programs.

Agriculture had come to a point where the efforts of each individual farmer struggling to improve his own income did not add up to the greatest good for farmers as a group, nor for the Nation. As a result, farmers realized that they had to act together, in many new ways, if they were to help themselves. . . .

Briefly, present agricultural planning activity—county land use planning—is a cooperative effort of all interested agencies, and especially of the farmers themselves, to do in a thoroughly democratic way the planning that is needed.

More specifically, this is a joint effort by representative farmers in each locality and State, the agencies of the Department of Agriculture, the Land-Grant Colleges, and related State and local agencies. Its purpose is to provide a democratic means for developing and continuously improving agricultural plans and policies within the framework authorized by Congress. . . .

By the term land use planning it is not meant that such planning restricts itself to planning in a narrow sphere of effort. To begin with, the "human side" of agricultural problems is definitely within such planning. Land is used by people, and land use cannot be planned without taking the people into account. Similarly, there are many points at which this type of planning touches upon industrial, urban, and other fields of interest, such as those with

which other than agricultural agencies of State and Federal Governments are concerned. In these instances, provision is made for working as closely as possible with planners in the other fields, but meanwhile agriculture has its own job to do. Therefore, the Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant Colleges have accepted responsibility for helping farmers to plan. . . .[14]

In this program it was recognized that tax delinquency, wasteful land use, and soil erosion were major problems that called for cooperative area-wide planning. Studies of land use, including map making, were undertaken by community and county committees, and their analysis led to recommendations as to changes in "the kinds of farming and sizes of farms in each land use area; what land should be reserved for forestry, for wildlife, or for recreation; and in what areas settlement should be encouraged or discouraged."[15] Recommendations worked out locally were passed on to state committees so that agricultural programs could be coordinated in a larger area.

The success of the committee's work, in some cases, will depend on action within the county. For instance, if after sufficient deliberation, a committee believes rural land should be zoned to stop new people from settling in a district where they couldn't make a living, and where settlement creates high cost for schools, roads, and other services, zoning is plainly something for the county and community committees to work on in those States that have acts authorizing county zoning ordinances.

On the other hand, the State committee is concerned when it comes to choosing the most logical area within a State for the Government to buy land, perhaps extending into several counties, so that submarginal cropland can be restored to grass or forests and better use of land can be encouraged. . . . Finally, the formation of important national farm policies will be influenced greatly by the conclusions of farmers who participate in county planning work.

[14] *County Land Use Planning*, pamphlet prepared by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in cooperation with the Extension Service, the Farm Security Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, United States Department of Agriculture. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, County Planning Series No. 1, March, 1940. Pp. 1–2.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Facilities are available through land use planning whereby farmer opinion can be brought to bear more effectively in the formulation of agricultural policies.[16]

The community areas within which land use planning committees were organized were determined by a mapping procedure which took account of where people traded and with what center they identified themselves socially. This provided a realistic basis for representation on county committees.

When the boundaries of communities and smaller neighborhoods are mapped carefully and when committee members are chosen from the areas outlined, a much more representative planning organization is possible within the county than would be the case through hit-or-miss organization. Each smaller neighborhood can then be represented by membership on its community planning committee. Each community can have its own committee to represent it and can send real representatives to participate in meetings of the county planning committee. In this way the farm people in every part of the county can have a better opportunity to make their views and ideas felt in sessions of the community and county planning committee.[17]

A Kentucky report not only illustrates the use of the rural community as the unit but it also suggests some of the content of discussions by planning committees. In Garrard County, Kentucky, only three of the nine community areas have village centers.

In Garrard county the "rural community" appeared to be the most suitable existing social unit with which to begin land-use planning. Such administrative areas as school districts or school attendance areas, voting precincts, magisterial districts (townships), agricultural conservation "communities," and rural free delivery routes were not considered adequate units for organization.* This

* Could small areas where land-use problems are similar be taken as suitable units for organization? A negative answer is implied by the above discussion of functions in relation to organization. People whose farms include portions of the same bog, or more fortunately lie within the same rich loam area, do not necessarily belong to the same neighborhood or community.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

[17] *Communities And Neighborhoods in Land Use Planning*, pamphlet prepared by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in cooperation with the Extension Service; United States Department of Agriculture, Washington: Government Printing Office, County Planning Series, No. 6, p. 7, 1940.

beginning was in keeping with the concept of purpose commonly accepted in land-use planning, that the planning should contribute to an integrated program for rural life in each area, and that such special committees as might be established for the consideration of specific problems (credit needs, rural recreation, relief problems, and so on) would be merely parts of the planning organization comprised of representatives of all important groups in the area. Without this widespread representation, the possibilities of education, of cooperative effort, and of the coordination of programs and activities would be less. What is proposed in land-use planning is as broad as country life itself, and organization should therefore presumably begin with the most general functional organization that can be discovered in an area.[18]

RURAL AND SMALL TOWN COUNCILS

Planning in rural communities has taken other forms.[19] Leadership for local programs has been provided by State agencies as in the work of the Ogdens in Virginia, previously mentioned, and in Tennessee by the State Planning Commission.[20] Recently the Committee for Kentucky, with headquarters in Louisville, has stimulated local planning. Its Department of Community Service is assisting local communities in developing community councils.

A planning program in a rural area which has attracted national interest is in Carroll County, Georgia, in the west central part of the state. The Carroll Service Council, chartered in 1943, operates on a county-wide basis, although most of its local support comes from Carrolton, the largest city with about 7,000 population. It is

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Specific soil type is not a social fact, and should not be used as a criterion for social organization.

[18] Beers, Howard W., and others, *op. cit.*, p. 150–152. See also Chapter X for a selection from the bulletin which summarizes a study of social characteristics associated with participation of members of land-use committeee members. Examples of cooperative planning in Teton County, Montana and Caswell County, North Carolina, are given by Works and Lesser, op. cit. who summarize in some detail "Some typical accomplishments of planning." Pp. 384–389.

[19] Included in the bibliography are references to the planning of welfare services.

[20] In 1942 and 1943 the Commission issued a series of "planning leaflets" describing outstanding examples of community planning and cooperation.

notable for the broad scope of its program, developed by panels and staff members working in the fields of religion, industry, agriculture, education and recreation, and welfare. Membership in the Council is both individual and organizational. A board of nine directors has overall policy-making responsibility. Local community committees are also being organized.

In addition to surveys and specific services in various fields organized by the panels, the Carroll Service Council can claim credit for certain outstanding achievements. A well-rounded recreation program has attracted an increasing number of participants. A county health nurse, employed by the Council, works under the supervision of the County Board of Health. The Council assisted school authorities in the organization of a regional library, which is serving people throughout the county. The first county united fund raising campaign for social agencies was organized by the Council. The broad program of the Council integrates functions which might otherwise be provided by a Chamber of Commerce, a community chest, a recreation department, a general welfare agency and a council of churches.[21]

An unusual example of cooperation between people of a small town and its surrounding area is provided by the Rural-Urban Coordinating Council of the City of Bellevue and Surrounding Townships in Ohio. C. S. Hunsinger, "the rural coordinator" has been one of the most active leaders. Rural areas surrounding Bellevue were first organized into a council, and then the shopping-center city was brought into the organization. Many specific projects are cited which have benefited the rural residents and have given them a new sense of the "rurban" unity. For example, Bellevue playgrounds and recreational agencies have made facilities available to country children. The Bellevue Fire Department agreed to re-charge fire extinguishers for farmers at actual cost of materials.

The farm people living in the out-lying sections of each trade-center are really the "forgotten people of the rural communities"

[21] By-laws, annual reports of Carroll Service Council, reprints of newspaper articles, and other documents supplied by the executive director, George Syme, Jr.

and are most in need of the public services that are available. This Rural-Urban Council idea reaches these folks because they live in the competitive trade territory—a fact that the urban business and professional men will instantly recognize. This also makes the city civic leaders conscious of their duty and opportunity to their rural customers.

A Rural Community Map and Rural Address System . . . makes a splendid initial public project for a Rural-Urban Council as it not only provides a picture of the community but gives a definite address for every farmer, who is usually so hard to locate. It also gives an opportunity for a Council to raise a fund of several hundred dollars for some public project. The business and professional men will welcome such an Address System as it will enable them to locate their customers for the sales and service calls, also for physicians, police, fire departments and other public utilities.

The printed stationery of such a Council gets attention and results from city, county, state and national organizations and it is surprising how much help there is available for the asking. Public-spirit in rural communities is not dead but it is apparently dormant in most of them. These Councils awaken this spirit which can transform the community to new life, enthusiasm and ambition. It is a permanent organization. Once started the membership is always available. Like a fire department it is always ready for emergencies of all kinds.

Just one public-spirited man in each rural community can readily start such a progressive movement which will transform the community life. It will also prove to be an unusual opportunity for such a man to gain a position of prestige and influence, as a Rural Coordinator, in his community.[22]

Another interesting Ohio example is from Alexandria, which has a community council, representative of various organizations. Other local planning bodies attempt to secure individual membership and direct participation of all adults. The council type of organization based on indirect representation is better adapted to those communities with a large number of organized groups and agencies.[23]

[22] Hunsinger, C. S., *Rural-Urban Coordination,* Flat Rock, Ohio: Rural-Urban Coordinating Council, 1945, pages not numbered; and Hunsinger, C. S., "Rural-Urban Council Sets Successful Pattern," *National Municipal Review,* 31: 40–41, January, 1942.

[23] Works and Lesser, *op. cit.,* p. 39. See Chapter VIII for further description and discussion of community councils.

Alexandria, an agricultural community of about thirty square miles located in the heart of Ohio, was encouraged to organize a community council by the success of a three-day centennial celebration. Although the village of Alexandria contains only about four hundred and fifty people and the entire community about two thousand, four thousand people attended one or another of the centennial events. Alexandria thereupon organized a permanent community council "to further through cooperative enterprise any plan for community betterment." The council is composed of two groups, the first consisting of representatives of designated agencies, such as the schools, churches, the Grange and the P.-T.A., and specified individuals such as the mayor of Alexandria Village and the president of the town's board of trustees, the county agent, and the home-demonstration agent. The second group includes "any other persons interested in community welfare, who may care to participate."

The Alexandria Community Council analyzes community needs and decides what action is necessary to meet those needs. So far as possible, however, the council asks its constituent organizations to assume responsibility for implementing its program, although it undertakes certain activities which are not in the province of any individual organization. The council has set up a certain number of long-term objectives but emphasizes one major project each year. During the first decade of its existence it has achieved progress in coordinating the efforts of the churches of the community, in extending the benefits of electricity to more farm homes, and in improving public buildings and parks. The school library has been made into a community library, making it eligible for certain county funds. A number of important educational and recreational programs have been launched, including a community school for adults and a Halloween play day which has minimized children's inclination toward destructive pranks. In general, the social life of the community has been greatly enriched. In 1941 the president of the Alexandria Council wrote: "We have so many activities in our community that we had to have a community calendar to avoid conflicts. There is not an evening in the week that our high school is not in use."[24]

The examples cited represent promising possibilities in rural planning, but difficulties and failures must also be recognized in appraising recent developments. Many rural planning programs

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 389–390.

have depended on outside assistance, such as was given by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in the county land use program, and have not continued when this aid or sponsorship was withdrawn. Other planning bodies have found themselves confined to fairly trivial projects because of opposition from groups whose economic interests were affected in larger programs. Agricultural planning has tended to emphasize the needs of the farm population while other councils have been village-centered with inadequate representation from the open country. It is evident too that many basic social and economic problems cannot be dealt with by local efforts alone, despite the values ascribed to local participation as in the short-lived county land use planning program. On the whole, however, the reports from many places indicate that progress is being made toward comprehensive planning by representative organizations.[25]

RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMS IN RURAL AREAS

The kind of rural planning efforts that have been reviewed have started among people already settled on farms, often with individualistic outlooks and fixed habits. In contrast, there have also been new communities established in rural areas, many of which have been dominated by a religious ideology or some form of utopian social organization. Such motivations for establishing communities have led to inclusive social and economic planning of a sort which is not ordinarily possible. Henrik F. Infield has reviewed the experience of these new communities, which he calls "co-operative."

In the United States, 262 cooperative communities are known to have been established—some of them merely branches of larger settlements. Similar groups, though fewer in number, have been organized in Europe. Both in America and elsewhere, for the most part, these experiments have been short-lived. According to statistics compiled by Lee Emerson Deets on 130 settlements, 91 lasted less than a decade, 59 less than five years, 50 only two years, and 32 only one year. The life of some of the more intellectual experiments, like New Harmony, Indiana, Brook Farm, Massachusetts, the

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 399–402.

Oneida Colony, New York State, was so brief that they belong definitely to the 19th century past.[26]

Rural resettlement of people and comprehensive agricultural planning has also been made possible by recent government programs in this country and abroad. The goals of government action have been the rehabilitation of low-income farmers through a fresh start under favorable conditions,[27] as well as large area or regional conservation of land and other resources. The larger area focus of attention, on a river valley, for example, does not preclude local planning efforts but may instead provide a framework and stimulus for such action. The experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority is cited in Chapter V to affirm the possibilities of enhanced citizen participation as a result of the regional planning program and its policy of decentralized administration.

A major rural resettlement program, The Columbia Basin Irrigation Project, is under way in eastern Washington. The physical basis has been laid for reclamation of arid but fertile soil through the building of the Grand Coulee Dam. The area included in the project consists of two and a half million acres, about a half of which are suitable for farming. The population of the area is now some 11,000, of whom 4,000 are farmers mainly in dry land wheat farming.[28]

It is estimated that the population of the area when it is completely settled will be well over 300,000, somewhere from 50,000 to 75,000 located on farms, the remainder in towns and cities. Not less than 10,000 new farms will be created. A number of new towns will appear and one or two moderately large cities will develop. Churches, schools, and recreation centers as well as trade centers and commercial agencies will be established to serve the new settlers. This development will take place whether or not there is any further economic and social planning than that required to

[26] Infield, Henrik F., *Cooperative Communities at Work*, New York: The Dryden Press, 1945. Pp. 13–14.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[28] The Central Valley Project in California is similar in purpose but different in that it includes or borders well-developed farming lands. Local residents have discussed the Project and it has been the center of considerable controversy. Large land owners feel threatened by the policy of the Bureau of Re-

bring irrigation water from the Grand Coulee Dam to the land. . . .[29]

The United States Department of Agriculture has recognized more than a score of specific problems that can be analyzed as part of advance planning for the future population of the area. Some of these were assigned to sociologists, particularly those having to do with settlement patterns, sites of service centers, and levels of living.

Sociologists were at first asked "to prescribe what level of living settlers should have." This, they said, could not be done, but that they would be willing to attempt to discover what levels of living settlers will probably demand; what levels, without the attainment of which, the turnover of settlers would probably be great and the morale among settlers would probably be bad. In attacking this problem it was assumed that settler families would want, and probably demand, levels of living equal to and similar to those which had prevailed in the areas from which they came; furthermore, that their standards of living would tend to be the highest levels prevailing among other farm families among whom they had lived.[30]

Data relevant to these planning problems were obtained from previous studies of family expenditures in selected areas as well as by interviewing families in ten recently settled areas. It was evident that families in new settlements "insisted on retaining in their level of living those goods, services and consumption habits to which they had long been accustomed. They complained about being supplied goods or services different from those to which they had become accustomed or which were not regarded as necessities by the average family in their new place of residence even though such

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clamation that individual holdings of reclaimed land must be limited to 160 acres. Some groups of small farmers are lined up in favor of this policy. Utility companies are also affected by the potential power developments. Eiselen, Elizabeth, "The Central Valley Project: 1947" *Economic Geography*, 23: 22–31, January, 1947. Clawson, Marion, "Discussion of "The Sociologists' Part in Planning The Columbia Basin" by Carl G. Taylor, *American Sociological Review*, 11: 330–332, June, 1946. Goldschmidt, Walter, *As You Sow, op. cit.*, is a study of two towns in the Central Valley.

[29] Taylor, Carl C. "The Sociologists' Part in Planning The Columbia Basin," *American Sociological Review*, 11: 321, June, 1946.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

goods and services were superior to those which they had previously enjoyed."[31]

Another study in relation to the Columbia Basin Project had to do with the pattern of settlement, the main question being whether advantages would outweigh disadvantages if settlers were located in small communities or "nuclear hamlets," as compared with isolated farmsteads. It was assumed that family residences should be located conveniently to farm work but also "by criteria of convenience to community service, trade centers, public utilities and settler desires."[32] Another assumption was that roads and utility lines could be built to accommodate whatever settlement pattern was recommended, although irrigation canals would have to conform to topography. Detailed recommendations were made as to the pattern of settlement which would fit the conditions and serve the needs of settlers in the Columbia Basin. Another problem was the planning of sites for rural schools, churches, community halls, market centers and athletic fields.[33]

The recommendations in planning operations, as described briefly, are based not only on the new data obtained for the specific problems at hand but also on decades of research on the area and social organization of rural communities. Experience in various rural resettlement programs suggests the possibilities in a new beginning, sometimes in soil that has not been farmed before and with physical layout conducive to the development of community life. It also indicates limitations in the inertia and persistence of habits of settlers, which may be changed but not easily. These positive and negative factors in community life of resettlement projects are paralleled in the development of other planned communities which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 324–325. [32] *Ibid.*, p. 326. [33] *Ibid.*, pp. 326–330.

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CHAPTER IV

The Scope of City Planning

REHABILITATION OF CITIES

Any one who lives in a large city is likely to be annoyed daily by the congestion he experiences in getting around, the noise that disturbs his rest or the soot and grime that add to his discomfort. He may have accommodated himself unconsciously to these and other costs of urban living or he may have decided that these disadvantages are more than offset by the gains from the stimulation and broader opportunities afforded by cities. Whatever his reaction to these obvious problems of congestion, noise and dirt, he may wonder on occasion whether these nuisances are inevitable and irremediable. When one sees near the center of large cities the signs of rotting cores marked by buildings that are obsolete if not actually unfit for human use, even the seasoned urbanite may raise questions about the possibility of reconstruction. The most apparent physical problems of cities are the congestion at the center and the areas of blight nearby, but it is evident that the task of urban rehabilitation involves thinking of the city and its surrounding area as a whole.

The growth of American cities has been described as taking the form of pulsations emanating from the vital centers of urban life. The expansion outward, according to a widely accepted theory, results in a pattern of concentric zones. The central business district is surrounded by the zone of transition. What originally was residential becomes "invaded" by warehouses and light manufacturing. The former residences are allowed to deteriorate because the land has higher potential value for business purposes. The combination

of high values based on anticipated city expansion and old shabby buildings results in the typical slum areas of large cities. Ringing the central and transition zones are the zone of workingmen's homes, the zone of "better residences," including both single family homes and high-rent apartment buildings, and finally the commuters' zone.

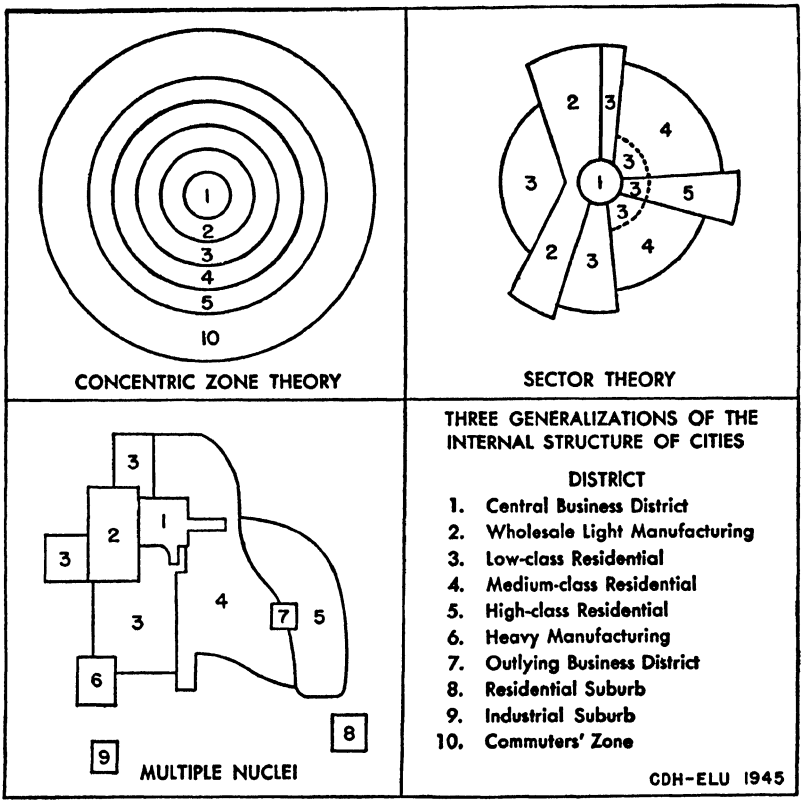
This theory has been challenged, particularly in the light of evidence that the distribution of high-rent sections of many cities, as well as certain low-rent areas, followed a pattern of sectors. The sector theory emphasizes a radial development of land uses with a pushing out from the central area along lines of transportation or of water courses. The result is a star-shaped city, with axes of growth from the points to the center, or what has also been described as "an octopus with tentacles extending along transportation lines."[1] There is also a description of city land-use patterns in terms of multiple nuclei, emphasizing the tendency toward specialization and the economic advantages of similar functions being located together. "Most cities exhibit . . . aspects of the three generalizations of the land-use pattern."[2]

Planners concerned with urban rehabilitation must take account of these patterns of physical growth and structure as well as other trends affecting cities. The slowing up of the growth of cities was noted in Chapter II. The central cities have grown less rapidly than the outlying areas in recent decades.[3] In large cities the metropolitan region should be thought of as a unit if planning is to proceed rationally in the light of population trends as well as the further development of rapid transportation which will make continued decentralization of residence more likely. During World War II, there were large factories built on the edge of many large cities. Wherever they continue in use in the post-war period there will be demand for new housing nearby, or a reversed direction for com-

[1] Hoyt, Homer, "The Structure of American Cities in the Post-War Era," *American Journal of Sociology,* XLVIII: 477. January, 1943. See also Harris, Chauncy D., and Ullman, Edward L., "The Nature of Cities," *The Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science,* 242: 12–17, November, 1945.

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GENERALIZATION OF INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF CITIES.
From Harris and Ullman, *Annals*. November, 1945, p. 13.

muting as a continuing pattern, certainly additional reasons for regarding the metropolitan area as an entity. The growth on the fringes of cities serves to highlight the blight near the center.[4]

The post-war housing shortage which is general but particularly acute in large cities is the result of an accumulated deficit in building dwelling units, aggravated by the sudden expansion in demand from ex-service men with new families. It has been estimated that "for many years at least 1,500,000 houses should be built annually

[4] Hoyt, *op. cit;* Wirth, Louis, "Life in the City" in Carnovsky, Leon, and Martin, Lowell, *The Library in the Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. 21–22.

in the United States."[5] This would necessitate building at more than twice the average annual rate in the last post-war boom in home construction.[6] While the need is pressing, the sense of emergency need not blot out the long-run aspects of the problem and the value of considering the orderly development of cities in locating new construction. Obviously the job is big enough to enlist the full efforts of private enterprise and of government. The advocates of public housing point especially to the chronic problem of low-income groups unable to pay high rents or the costs of commuting.

The post-war shortage of housing and the growing awareness of slums and blighted areas as costly eyesores give special impetus to the interest in the rehabilitation of cities, especially with new possibilities in design, building materials and methods, as the following excerpts emphasize:

> The necessary physical reconstruction of large areas of our cities will require major surgery. If the cities, and especially their decaying centers, are to be brought up even to a tolerable standard of life, they must be reconstructed by the square mile instead of by the individual house or the individual city block. . . . Despite the blight which has crept outward from the heart of cities, there are in the blighted areas billions of wealth in the form of physical utilities to be salvaged by making these centers habitable and attractive for human living. . . . We have the beginnings of a new house-building industry, and we can develop further the prefabrication of houses, the assembling of land, and the financing of community building, all of which are still in embryo. We do not start with a clean slate. We shall not have the opportunity to build new cities as we did a century ago, but we shall have an unprecedented opportunity to reconstruct with new materials and new methods the old cities which were created in response to conditions which have ceased to exist.[7]

[5] Final Majority Report of the Joint Committee in Housing, *Housing Study and Investigations*, Washington: Government Printing Office, March, 1948. See also Abrams, Charles, *The Future of Housing*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946, and Lasch, Robert, *Breaking the Building Blockade*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946.

[6] Lasch, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[7] Wirth, Louis, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT

There is clearly an overall problem of planning for the rebuilding of cities and the orderly development of metropolitan areas. Within the framework of large objectives, however, there is practical wisdom in the approach by way of smaller units. Planners and architects are thinking of the "neighborhood" as the unit for effective design of residential areas. The single home, whether newly constructed or remodeled, loses value if it is located in a deteriorated area. Moreover, there are the limitations in achieving unity of design if homes are built as separate units, and, in the absence of community planning, the possible lack of provision for community space and services to supplement the individual dwelling unit. The *Architectural Forum,* in an editorial advocating the smaller scale approach to city planning, recognized also that rebuilding by units must be coordinated with a general city plan:

> Planners have agreed, at long last, that a unit of manageable size must be the cell from which the city grows. Within such a unit, whether residential neighborhood or a commercial center, man's two feet again become a pleasant and efficient means of getting around. At the same time in the process of restoring to the pedestrian the domain which is rightfully his the motor vehicle almost automatically obtains the channel it must have for safe, fast movement. . . . Replanning the city on a neighborhood or sub-community level is not only realistic: it is the only scheme yet advanced which holds out any hope of regaining a human scale without losing the manifold virtues of the urban environment.[8]

The conception is expressed in neighborhood planning that the grouping and design of buildings should serve the purposes of the users, that they should facilitate rather than restrict activities. This functional idea is the guiding principle in the layout of streets, designed to meet essential vehicular and pedestrian needs, as well as in the location of schools and other community facilities. Many city areas have more space in streets for through traffic than is actually needed for regular use,[9] and the saving by planning can result in

[8] "Planned Neighborhoods for 194X," *Architectural Forum,* 80: 72, April, 1944. The issue for October, 1943, has the same title.

[9] Chicago Plan Commission, *Building New Neighborhoods,* June, 1943.

more park and play space as well as in greater safety. A basic consideration in planning the neighborhood unit is access from homes to the elementary school, which should approximate a walking distance from the farthest dwelling of one-fourth to a maximum of one-half a mile.[10] The possibility of use of the school buildings for other purposes than elementary education gives special point to its being considered a center of the neighborhood unit.[11]

How large should a "neighborhood" unit be? Augur points out that a group of less than 500 dwelling units is not large enough to resist outside pressures on an area.[12] From the point of view of school size, each neighborhood, according to Englehardt, should range in population from 1,000 to 3,000 families.[13] A common approximation of size is 5,000 people.[14] The number of people in a planned neighborhood unit may be somewhat more or less than 5,000, depending on the density or the number of people living in multi-family dwellings.[15]

The neighborhood unit idea has been used in planning because of its possibilities in sealing off an area of sufficient size to resist encroachments of blight. Another advantage claimed is that socializing activities are enhanced because of the access to community facilities. The widely accepted neighborhood approach in planning has been challenged by critics who see the development of relatively self-contained units as unrealistic efforts to create small town conditions in cities. Moreover, it is charged that the neighborhood unit idea harbors the seeds of social exclusiveness and discrimination

[10] American Public Health Association, Committee on Hygiene of Housing, *Planning the Neighborhood,* Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1948. P. 44.

[11] See Chapter VII.

[12] Augur, Tracy B., "Objectives of Neighborhood Planning," *Architectural Forum,* 80: 80, April, 1944.

[13] Englehardt, N. L., Jr., "The School-Neighborhood Nucleus," *Architectural Forum,* 79: 89, October, 1943.

[14] Editors of the *Architectural Forum, Planning with You* reprinted from the *Architectural Forum* of August, 1943. Meyerson, Martin D., and Mitchell, Robert B., "Changing City Patterns," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 242: 156, November, 1945.

[15] American Public Health Association, op. cit., Chapter VI. See chart at end of this chapter "Standards of Neighborhood Density."

and constitutes a device for keeping selected people together.[16] They also point to the need of using existing schools and other community facilities in the rebuilding of cities and of locating new ones economically rather than arbitrarily with walking distance access as the major criterion.[17] These are significant criticisms, but the dangers cited do not seem necessarily to flow from the essential idea of a unit of minimum and manageable size. There needs to be emphasis on the principle that the neighborhood unit approach within cities has possibilities of success only in so far as it is geared into a comprehensive city plan. Socially, too, the advocates of the neighborhood unit do not picture all the people's social life as being confined to such areas. The smaller unit is rather to be a healthy cell within the larger body of the city or region.[18]

Of special interest is a new city, Cidade Dos Motores, being

[16] Isaacs, Reginald R., "The Neighborhood Theory," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners,* XIV: 15–23, Spring, 1948.

[17] The Museum of Modern Art Bulletin, Vol. XIV, No. 3, June, 1947. *Two Cities: Planning in North and South America* describes planning on Chicago's South Side, and notes on p. 13 that the Michael Reese Hospital planners found the neighborhood concept to be inflexible and fallacious. Reginald Isaacs, who is an outstanding critic of the neighborhood unit, is director of planning for the Hospital, which, with the Illinois Institute of Technology has taken the lead in the formation of the South Side Planning Board. While their work encompasses a much larger area, some of the specific redevelopment projects under way are of the general neighborhood unit type. See also "A Hospital Plans," *Architectural Forum,* 85: 87–104, September, 1946.

[18] Clarence A. Perry has been a leading exponent of the neighborhood unit idea. See his part of *Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs,* Vol. VII, Monograph 1, pp. 22–140; and *Housing for the Machine Age,* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939.

Buttenheim, Harold S., "Urban Land Policies," which is Part III of Vol. II, *Urban Planning and Land Policies,* Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. 274–276. Also Comey, Arthur C., and Wehrly, Max S., "Planned Communities," *ibid.,* Part I, pp. 6–7, 152, and passim. This study is referred to extensively in Chapter VI. The neighborhood unit idea is basic to some of the modern planned communities.

"In investigating the possibilities of a reorganization of larger cities into integrated neighborhoods, it would be worth while to confirm or modify the evidence obtained in this study showing that from several points of view community units of from approximately 5,000 to 25,000 inhabitants seem the most desirable." Branch, Melville C., Jr., *Urban Planning and Public Opinion.* Princeton: The Bureau of Urban Research, 1942. P. 31. This study is quoted more fully in Chapter V.

built in Brazil. The first stage of construction will be a complete neighborhood of 6,200 people. The plan for the city, while flexible, provides for growth to accommodate 25,000 people living in four neighborhood units. Traffic will be by foot within the residential areas. A striking feature of the layout of the city is that the average walking distance from residences to the civic center will be under one-fourth of a mile. This is in accord with the modern principle of architecture that physical arrangements should be planned so as to provide for typical people being able to carry out daily activities with the greatest economy of time. Specifically, short walking distances are planned in Cidade Dos Motores because it is located on a tropical plateau, and the heat of the sun would preclude long walks.[19]

The parts of a large city tend to have a local character and the neighborhood unit may be an appropriate adaptation to the prior existence of local communities and sub-communities. A local area may have some homogeneity of population in nationality composition or income level, for example, and its history and situation in the city may be such that its course of physical change is fairly uniform. What can be done in a "blighted area" is indicated in the Federal Home Loan Bank report on the Waverly district in Baltimore, Maryland. Planning for the area of thirty-eight square blocks as a unit included recommendations on the physical restoration of depreciated housing and the adjustment of zoning regulations and street patterns to prevent further deterioration. The remedies suggested and the methods of planning were intended as a model for other cities with similar problems.[20] Considerable reliance for effecting the plan was placed on the Waverly Conservation League, a citizens' organization in the area. The League has become inactive, and apparently too much was expected in the way of voluntary participation of property owners within the area. However, Waverly

[19] "Brasil Builds a New City," *Progressive Architecture*, 27: 52–74, September, 1946. See especially statement on p. 74 by the town planners, Paul Lester Wiener and José L. Sert.

[20] Federal Home Loan Bank Board, *Waverly, A Study in Neighborhood Conservation*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940.

remains the "most nearly successful" neighborhood conservation project so far attempted.[21]

Large scale housing projects, either under public or private auspices, may be neighborhood units of new construction. Private corporations for land assembly and redevelopment of urban areas have been authorized in some states. Such authorization is a definite recognition of the limitations of individual building as the unit in reconstruction. States may provide for tax exemption as inducements but also impose special controls for these semi-public corporations. Little building has been done, however, under the authority granted.[22]

Urban redevelopment programs based on a combination of public and private efforts are being undertaken in certain large cities. The assembly of land in units of sufficient size is made possible by the use of public powers and financial subsidy. The actual building and operation of housing in redeveloped slum areas is a responsibility of private owners. This has appealed to insurance companies particularly who look for opportunities to invest large sums prudently. The public aid with private investment formula will be used more extensively as a result of the Federal housing and slum clearance legislation enacted in 1949. In Chapter XVII there is further reference to Federal aid to cities in this field.

PROBLEMS ARE INTERRELATED

In recognizing the possibilities of urban redevelopment with local areas as units, it has been noted that this approach can only succeed

[21] Berman, Ruth A., "Neighborhood Conservation," *Federal Home Loan Bank Review*, 12: 171–175, March, 1946.

[22] Buttenheim, Harold S., *op. cit.*, pp. 276 ff. Greer, Guy, *Your City Tomorrow*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Chapter VI. "Urban Redevelopment," *Yearbook*, American Society of Planning Officials, 1945. Part I, pp. 43–64. Bauer, Catherine, "Is Urban Redevelopment Possible Under Existing Legislation?" *Yearbook*, American Society of Planning Officials, 1946. Pp. 62–74. Blucher, W. H., "Planning and Zoning," *Municipal Year Book*, 1947. Pp. 234–235.

The American Society of Planning Officials has prepared a model statute on urban redevelopment, including the private redevelopment corporation's rights and responsibilities.

within the framework of a larger city planning program. There are inescapable problems which affect the city as a whole:

In neighborhood deterioration many of the factors like traffic, smoke and industry trends, are city-wide and cannot be controlled piecemeal; others are state and even nationwide in character. No one civic group or governmental unit can make much headway against such a complex task as neighborhood conservation. Each must assume its full responsibility, and the leadership should come from the unit best equipped to furnish it. It seems unrealistic for a city government to wait for an appeal from each of its "neighborhoods" for help in solving problems common to all. It must be recognized that saving residential neighborhoods from ultimate blight is of importance to the city as a whole, and that the most valiant efforts of isolated little neighborhood groups cannot do the entire job.[23]

Urban problems are interrelated, as will be indicated by reference to land use and transportation as major examples. The view is therefore developing among city planners that only a broad scale attack can be effective. The inadequacy from this standpoint of what has passed for planning is stated by Thomas Adams:

Merits or defects in towns have not been owing to the presence or absence of planning but to the way in which planning has been done. The chief defects in modern cities are because of piecemeal planning, mainly by real estate developers in the private interests and without adequate consideration for the community as a whole. The result is a hodge-podge of unrelated plans, based largely on existing highway routes and rural divisions of land, with no greater amount of coordination than is secured by uniform building and street regulations.[24]

City planning, with major emphasis on the physical structure of cities, has been a function of municipal government since early in the present century. A study by Robert Walker of planning practices reveals that:

Two factors have combined to limit severely the work of local planning agencies: (1) the planning commissions have been set

[23] Berman, Ruth A., *op. cit.*, pp. 173–174.

[24] Adams, Thomas, *Outline of Town and City Planning*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1935. P. 21.

up as independent unpaid boards at the periphery of the urban administrative structure, frequently for the sole purpose of producing a zoning[25] ordinance or a "city plan" and (2) planning has been too narrowly restricted to elements of the physical pattern of the community. The first has caused many officials to look upon the planning commission as something outside the sphere of day-to-day administration, or as a group of laymen whose job is finished when a plan or zoning ordinance has been presented. The second factor is a result of the standardization of plans and planning to include only the six elements of zoning, streets, parks, transit, transportation and civic art. Of these, zoning has been the predominant concern of most city planning commissions. These considerations have meant lack of interest and of financial support from busy officials, who tend to look upon the planning agency as a zoning body or, at best, as an agency concerned with public works. Hence they ordinarily think it of little value in dealing with the social and financial problems which now occupy much of their attention.[26]

City planning agencies have tended to be on the sidelines of municipal government. To counteract their being relegated to minor roles, some planners have urged that they be given stronger, independent powers within city government. The more prevalent view among leading city planners, however, is that the powers of planning agencies may be advisory only, and yet they can win respect by the exercise of technical competence and can make themselves indispensable within the framework of city government. By having dependable data available and a large view of complex city problems, they will serve as aids to various departments of government. This implies the newer conception of planning as encompassing the social as well as the physical problems of the city.

The past few years have seen an important extension of planning in some cities to include an interest in the social and economic as well as in the physical development of the community, notably

[25] Zoning designates a municipal action regulating the use of property including restrictions on the types of construction, such as residential, business, or manufacturing, as well as the size of building in relation to areas of their sites. See also, Bassett, Edward M., *Zoning: The Laws, Administration and Court Decisions during the First Twenty Years.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940.

[26] Walker, Robert A., *The Planning Function in Urban Government.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. P. 330.

through plans based upon real property inventories, housing surveys, and the tax-delinquency studies carried on with the aid of workers from relief rolls. The permanent influence of this work on the future program of the commissions cannot yet be determined, but it will no doubt be considerable. For the most part it represents a significant advance on the part of planning agencies into fields which they had not studied systematically prior to 1930, but which have become matters of greater public concern since the depths of the depression. It has been shown that acceptance of the view that planning should be a staff function attached to the executive office involves a potential extension of the concept to include all aspects of local government activity. The planning agency should take a truly comprehensive view of the future of the community and should aid directly in integrating the necessary planning work of all departments, including those concerned with public health, welfare, and finance. This does not, however, imply that land planning and public works planning should be abandoned. What is important is that plans for physical development should be closely related to plans for the industrial, social and financial future of the urban community.[27]

Transportation is an example of a problem with many ramifications. As already suggested, rapid transportation will make further decentralization possible and thus make more acute the problem of metropolitan regional planning. The transportation system is the key to the work life of city people and also the means to recreational and educational pursuits. The arteries of traffic make communication between people possible and if convenient and economical may be conducive to the building of community life. The transportation system, moreover, is a large investment in any city, and questions concerning it are likely to be controversial and tied in with city politics.[28]

Congestion of traffic has been estimated to cost a half a million dollars per day on Manhattan Island, and as much as $100,000 in the city of Cincinnati.[29] City officials are being forced to regulate downtown parking drastically or to provide new off-street parking

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 331.
[28] Greer, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–85, 172.
[29] Buttenheim, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

facilities. The whole problem of the use of automobiles versus busses and street cars is high on the agenda for planners if cities are not to be paralyzed by congestion.[30]

The most important single factor in urban transportation in the average community is the use of its downtown streets. If they exist largely as storage facilities for parked automobiles, neither bus nor streetcar can supply truly rapid and convenient transportation. If, on the other hand, the downtown streets are generally cleared of all but moving vehicles, the problem of urban mass transportation is well on its way to solution. Certainly any consideration of the greatest good for the greatest number points toward elimination of downtown parking, which would lead to provision for parking facilities on the outskirts of congested districts. Failing substantial progress along these lines, it is by no means inconceivable that private automobiles may be denied access to certain areas, at least at certain times of day. It seems unlikely that people who ride 40 or 50 in a bus, or 75 to 100 in a streetcar, will permanently suffer the delays and inconveniences occasioned by private motorcars occupying equivalent spaces in the streets.[31]

Along with transportation, the control of land use is among the major problems of urban communities. Many cities have attempted some control through zoning, which has been noted as one of the most common tools of city planning. However, zoning has generally been too limited or attempted too late to control the growth of cities. A historical review of urban land policies shows that:

Both physically and socially the cities of the United States bear the imprint of private ownership of land and the absence of a sound long-term land policy. Our traditional procedure of settling communities by alloting homesteads to those that wanted them, and our time-sanctioned method of allowing their subdivision into uniform small lots which were sold to private owners to use, by and large, as their means, their tastes and their needs dictated, have produced the characteristic features of the typical American city with its stereotyped, monotonous gridiron block pattern . .

[30] Dewhurst, J. Frederic and Associates, *America's Need and Resources.* New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1947. Pp. 229 ff.

[31] *Technological Trends and National Policy.* Report of the Subcommittee on Technology to the National Resources Committee, June, 1937. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. P. 206.

For the greater part of their history cities cared little how much of his land area the owner would occupy by buildings, the type of structures he would erect, the materials of which he would build them, or the uses to which he would put them. Building lines and street widths varied widely and arbitrarily. Order, safety, and beauty were of little consequence. Even where the original buildings were acceptable for the purpose for which they had been built, the expansion of the city soon produced the incentive to convert them to other and generally more intensive uses.

As the city grew and as new technological factors were introduced, it became increasingly difficult and costly to readapt the fundamental urban street and building pattern to changed needs. As a consequence, there has emerged a public attitude of placid resignation which too generally accepts what is as inevitable and irremediable. Even when disasters such as fires or earthquakes reduced the major part of the city to ruins, as in Chicago and San Francisco, respectively, the rebuilding on the same site has usually been guided by little more than intensified speculative fervor.

While during the colonial period there was evidence of building restrictions and some indication of an interest in community design, the subsequent irresistible expansion and the undaunted spirit of private enterprise swept most of these away. Laws designed to curb the greed and heedlessness of the individual owner and speculator in the interests of order, health, safety, and public welfare were allowed to lapse and were resuscitated only when it was too late to repair most of the damage that had been done through generations of neglect.

As cities have grown big, they have also, in general, grown more sordid and uninhabitable. Building regulations and their enforcement came into use only after the evils of the tenements in the large cities had become glaringly manifest and had been exposed through arduous campaigns of urban social reform.[32]

It is evident that the control of land use, far from being an isolated problem touches the most vital questions of municipal government and of public welfare:

The nonexistence or nonenforcement of rational land policies, combined with an over emphasis on individualistic enterprise and

[32] *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy.* Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee, June, 1937. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. Pp. 43–46. See also Buttenheim, National Resources Committee. *op. cit.* Section 3 and Appendix A, "Bringing Zoning Up to Date" by Herbert S. Swan.

speculation, in the face of unparalleled opportunities for private gain because of enormous growth and expansion, are the underlying factors in some of the most acute problems of urban life. Such problems include congestion of traffic, the herding of the low-income groups into dark, poorly ventilated dwellings, the contagion of blight near the heart of the city, the uneconomical, unsafe, and disorderly distribution of structures, a deficiency of public open spaces combined with a surplus of unused private space, undue concentration of land values, inequitable apportionment of local tax burdens, and inadequate public services. In varying degrees these are to be found in practically every city.[33]

POWERS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Cities are limited by their charters or state laws in what they can do with respect to normal services, not to mention new developments, in large measure because their revenues are derived chiefly from the general property tax. Much of modern wealth is not in the form of real estate and personal property.[34] Moreover, people who live in suburbs earn their living in cities but are not touched by the usual municipal taxes. The decay near the center of the cities also reduces the potential municipal income. The result is that taxable property bears a disproportionate share of the costs of city government. Greer describes the "vicious spiral common to nearly all United States cities":

> high assessed valuations and taxes on the blighted property; more and more people and business and industry driven away, partly by high taxes and partly by unpleasant conditions generally; falling real estate values; increasing difficulties in raising enough municipal revenues, and the necessity of maintaining or raising the assessed valuations and taxes, thus helping to drive away more people and business and industry.[35]

A study was recently made of the economic cost to the city of a slum area in Camden, New Jersey. In the Kaighnton area of Camden some houses still stand which were old when the city was incorporated in 1828, the balance being more than sixty years old. The

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 46–47.
[34] Buttenheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 ff.
[35] Greer, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

findings of the study as it relates to the tax problems particularly are summarized by Clarence E. Moullette, Executive Director, Camden City Plan Commission.

These are some of the costs, human and economic, which the City of Camden is paying for the blight in the area described:

In the oldest part of the city it was found that one-eleventh of the population (10,884 out of 121,032) lives on less than one-fiftieth of the total area of the city—and pays less than three one-hundredths of the tax burden.

In this area the average monthly rental is $19.49, the average weekly income, $30.05. Since there are 1.7 wage earners per family unit, the average per annum family income is $2,656.42. Yet the assessed valuation in this area is $13,000 more per acre than for the rest of the city.

In this area the population is crowded 94 to the acre, living in 22 family groups per acre—as compared with 20 persons (in five family groups) to the acre for the rest of the city. There are 464 square feet of space per person, as compared with 2,200 square feet for those living in the rest of the city (including parks, industrial areas, and marginal lands). The family areas are respectively 1,950 square feet and 9,250 square feet.

In this area the citizens pay in taxes per capita $16.97 compared with the per capita payment of $56.82 for the rest of the city.[36]

It is understandable that cities with problems of this kind are turning to state and federal governments for help in financing urban redevelopment, including the cost of land acquisition and of rehousing.[37] Cities are also trying out new forms of taxes especially designed to reach the suburban dweller, such as an occupational tax in Philadelphia. They also have sought state financial aid, particularly seeking to recover revenues collected by states from city people through income or sales taxes.[38] The fiscal problems of cities,

[36] Moulette, Clarence E., "Slums or Subsidies?" *Tomorrow's Town*, A Publication of the National Committee on Housing, Inc., One Madison Avenue, New York 10, N.Y., 5: 2 February, 1947.

[37] Greer, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff.

[38] Part III, Municipal Finance; *The Municipal Year Book 1947*. Chicago: International City Manager's Association, 1947. *State–Local Relations*, Report of the Committee on State-Local Relations, Council of State Governments, 1946.

and their need for State help or state legislation which authorizes them to impose new kinds of taxes points up the problem of municipalities as creatures of the state. The powers of cities are generally limited by state law, and this reduces their effectiveness in planning activities.

In practice the city must contend with all sorts of meddlesome State statutory details or conversely with statutory gaps which prove judicially fatal when the city embarks upon new programs. All ranges of urban activity, from petty questions of administrative procedure to general questions of urban policy, are determined by State law. Between 1896 and 1936 the number of Supreme Court cases, State and Federal, involving the exercise of municipal powers, has increased fourfold, and one-third of these cases have been decided against the city. Even constitutional home rule over municipal affairs, though it has been adopted in 18 States, has become a waning movement, and where it has been adopted, courts have, on the whole, tended to construe the grant of municipal powers more narrowly than was expected.[39]

A related problem is the lack of governmental authority to correspond with the metropolitan regional unity in an economic and social sense. In the major metropolitan areas, the number of governmental authorities runs into the hundreds, including municipalities, townships, school districts, sanitary districts, sewer districts, park and forest preserve districts and even separate mosquito abatement districts—each with legal powers and in many cases with overlapping functions. "Frequently these districts are too small in area or have insufficient tax resources to support essential public services."[40] To remedy this gap between municipal power and municipal responsibility, it has been suggested that:

One obvious basic step is the extension of the administrative jurisdiction of the city to the entire metropolitan area which in fact comprises the modern city. Our urban problems cannot be properly dealt with if we are forced to stop at the present arbitrary municipal boundaries. Such problems as crime and disease are no respecters of political boundaries, and, if they are to be treated properly, our policing and our judicial machinery and our public

[39] *Our Cities, op. cit.*, pp. 64–65. [40] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

health institutions and services must be so reorganized that the areas over which these problems extend will be adequately covered by the agencies designed to control the problems. In addition, the cities require some measure of independence to cope with their special problems free from the interference of the agricultural interests which are predominant in many of our state legislatures. In brief, what is needed is a city government commensurate in powers and in territorial scope with the responsibilities with which it has to deal.[41]

The reorganization of government in metropolitan areas has been achieved in part by piecemeal measures. These have included annexation, consolidation and federation of metropolitan and suburban units of government. In recent years there has been more frequent resort to the devices of special metropolitan authorities, contractual relations between municipalities with respect to specific functions and interstate agreements.

On the latter point in particular, the difficulty is not merely in the lack of urban imagination or in the restraints of State law, but again it lies in the fact that the legal pattern of the nation consists of sovereign States and subordinate cities, while the concrete facts of our urban and administrative life defy State lines and State control. Twenty-two metropolitan districts containing 26,000,000 people, more than one-half of our metropolitan inhabitants and over one-fifth of our total population, straddle State lines. Since many of our cities are located along navigable rivers and since such rivers also generally serve as boundaries between States, it is to be expected that as some of these cities grow they will increasingly transcend the political units of which they are a part.[42]

CITIES ARE FOR PEOPLE

The prospect for big cities is discouraging. With a heritage of exploitation of land, worn out buildings and transportation equipment, congestion and general lack of adaptation to modern transit possibilities, the urban officials charged with leadership and responsibility are beset at the same time with shrinking revenues and limited legal powers of municipalities. It is amazing that planners in this maze can catch a vision of the simple fact that cities are for people

[41] Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 20. [42] *Our Cities, op. cit.*, p. 67.

and address themselves to the task of making cities livable. The view of leading planners today is to regard the city as a unity of a place to work and to live. The economic basis of community life, the physical structure of the city, and the community services needed each have a place in an integrated program of city planning.

This functional and comprehensive view of city planning has been applied in some cities. A demonstration project in planning was undertaken in Syracuse.[43] A guide for planning which is influencing current practice has been developed out of the experience of the National Resources Planning Board in three communities particularly: Corpus Christi, Texas, Salt Lake City, Utah, and Tacoma, Washington.[44] It takes into account population trends, geography and land use and transportation as basic to questions of how the community makes its living as well as provisions for health, education, welfare, and other community services. Suggestions are given for procedures, recognizing also that adaptations will have to be made to unique conditions prevailing in each city. The basic question of "Plans for What?" is emphasized:

> Planning starts with and is for the people. How many people is the locality to have . . . 10 or 20 years after the war? Is it likely to become larger or smaller than it is now? What are and what will be the kinds of people—young or old, rich or poor, skilled or unskilled, people of long residence or new arrivals? Where are the people and their jobs located?
>
> People must make a living. How many and what kinds of jobs will the area be able to provide, in view of resources of men, money, and materials? How much and what kinds of production will be desirable and attainable. Goals must be set and the prospects for reaching them examined. After a grand strategy for the community's economic development has been laid out, a specific program should be prepared in which steps to be taken and facilities to be provided are set forth in detail.
>
> What kind of community do the people look forward to? After

[43] See references in Bibliography to reports on Syracuse, which are partially quoted in Chapter V in connection with citizen participation.

[44] *Action for Cities: A Guide for Community Planning.* Published under the sponsorship of American Municipal Association, American Society of Planning Officials, and International City Managers' Association. Publication No. 86. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1313 East 60th Street, 1943.

goals have been set, specific studies should be made of standards, existing conditions, and programs of action for housing, education and cultural development, recreation, health, public safety, and public welfare. Then a composite plan can be made for progress toward a wholesome environment for all the people.

The physical or growth plan for the community should aim for the most efficient arrangement of land areas, transportation, and other utilities so that costs in time, money, and energy are cut to a minimum. The direction of new development should be determined, and areas should be marked out for rebuilding and conservation. The space requirements and best relative locations for homes, schools, parks and playgrounds, and for industrial and business sections should be provided for.

Adjustments between goals and practical possibilities will determine the plan.[45]

The planning of schools and hospitals and other community facilities involve a knowledge of the number of people and the age groupings in a community, as well as their habits and interests. The planning for human use idea affects all public works in spite of the tendency to think of their construction purely in engineering terms. Public works projects are sometimes planned with the motive of providing a reserve for employment in the event of a depression. While the provisions for expanding employment through public works might well be an incidental or secondary motive in planning, this concern is often the starting point for state and local governments. If there is long-range city planning, however, there can be primary attention to the usefulness of facilities to be constructed.

Some of the relations between provisions for physical facilities and for services are stated by Reginald Isaacs. He points out that planning for administration and staff service in community facilities is as necessary as the provision of buildings.

In order to promote better psychological outlook and increased social values, participation in community life must be encouraged by the provision of well-organized educational, cultural, and recreational activities. An effort to instill a discriminating appreciation of music, art, and literature into community living, to promulgate educational programs and participation in recreation, and to pro-

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

vide background for the religious life of the individual, must be assisted by an adequate program of services and the physical facilities necessary for their implementation, such as community buildings, schools, churches, libraries, museums, and recreation space. It is now realized that greater participation in desirable activities results from their properly planned relationships to the people. A comprehensive analysis of the needs must precede the planning of projects in order to determine the effects of population and economic trends the kinds of people who live within each residential area, and their desires and requirements in these fields, along with the facilities and programs already existent.

National and local population surveys indicate the trend toward an older population. That is, and will continue to be, reflected in the increasing need for facilities, services, and activities for adults. In the provision of facilities for younger groups, consideration must be given to their flexibility for possible future conversion to uses for older persons. Although the rate of population growth is slowly diminishing, greater numbers of families are being formed. After comprehensive demobilization it is expected that new but temporary peaks of increased birth rates will be experienced. As a result, neighborhoods and housing groups should be planned for cyclical use with various-sized units and flexible education and recreation features.[46]

Plans must be made for the full utilization of all existing facilities to avoid needless and wasteful duplication. In order to determine the adequacy of the services offered in a community, it is necessary to classify the facilities according to the services customarily rendered and additional services that may be offered. For example, although the primary purpose of public school buildings is the education of children, other services might include recreation, branch library, counseling and guidance, classes for health, religion, Americanization, and vocations, and training for the handicapped.

The wide scope of services that can be offered by ordinary facilities is apparent; even those communities having but one or two of such facilities can encompass a wide range of desired activities and services by judicious survey and scheduling. In the planning for new residential areas, similar consideration will do away with superfluous and uneconomical structures. Basic to all educational, cultural, and recreational planning, therefore, will be careful co-

[46] Isaacs, Reginald R., "Educational, Cultural, and Recreational Services," *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 242: 129, November, 1945.

ordination of the activities programming of both public and private organizations.[47]

In summary, the main trend in city planning theory and practice seems to be a broadening of its scope to include more than problems of physical structure. The balanced development of cities, and the welfare of people as the test of their efficiency, are guiding concepts of modern planners. A recognition of difficulties, especially fiscal and legal, is born out of hard experience of city officials. There is a realistic awareness of the metropolitan region as a unit for large cities, if they are to cope with their problems, and also a recurrent appreciation of the neighborhood unit within the larger framework.

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[47] *Ibid.,* p. 138.

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PLANNING THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES OF NEIGHBORHOODS

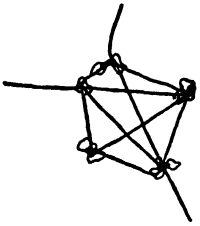
Architects and city planners conceive of neighborhoods as units in urban building and redevelopment. The goal is to create units of "manageable size, each equipped with the spaces in which social activities can be carried on without danger from traffic." The creation of "social spaces" is illustrated by self-explanatory sketches of traffic networks (see pp. 88, 89). From an article, "An Organic Theory of City Planning," by Hermann Herrey, Constantin Pertzoff, Erna M. J. Herrey, in the *Architectural Fôrum*, April, 1944, p. 135. Used by permission of the publishers and Hermann Herrey.



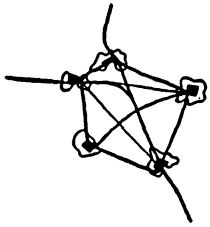
Nucleus of a neighborhood. This might be the beginning of a crossroads town, or a village not yet incorporated into the body of a nearby metropolis.



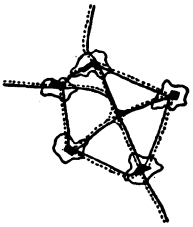
Several neighborhoods developing independently. Each has rudimentary educational, shopping and social facilities. These are nucleii of a future city.



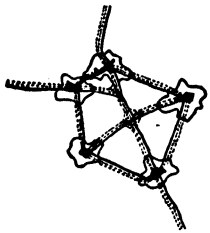
Walkways and roads are established to link the several neighborhoods as directly as possible. Traffic is not a problem or danger at this stage.



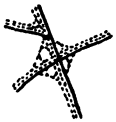
A traffic network develops, with the beginning of a classification of streets and roads. The streets still serve a predominantly social function.



As the neighborhoods grow, vehicular traffic starts to compete for space with walking. The street begins to become exclusively a traffic artery.



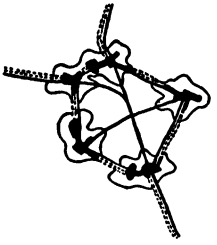
As the network fills with two-way traffic, complications develop—at intersections, and where vehicles go through purely residential neighborhoods.



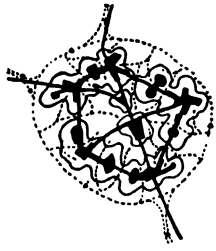
Attempts to solve the problems of intersections through grade separations are too costly, and take too much space for the average town.



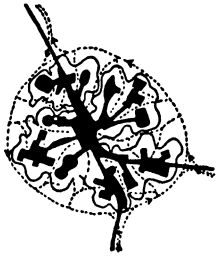
Moreover, these solve only the problem at the crossroads and do not provide a replacement of the social functions once served by the street itself.



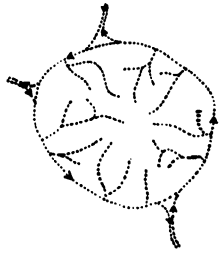
The beginning of circumferential two-way traffic, but with through roads still running through the centers of the residential neighborhoods.



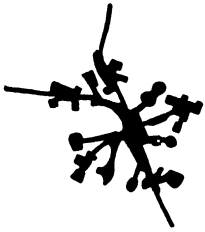
System of one-way circumferential traffic, with feeders to neighborhoods. These create minor points of interference where they cross links between neighborhoods.



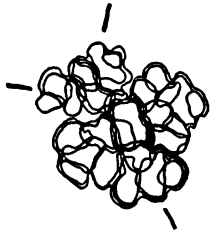
Completion of the process of development: two separate systems, one for traffic, the other for the social spaces. They meet only at the individual dwelling.



A diagram showing the complete traffic system in isolation. A complete community would contain several such units. Note use of culs-de-sac inside.



The social spaces, shown in isolation. Taken as a whole they form a continuous space, linked only by pedestrian ways. No roads cross the space.



The boundaries of the neighborhoods which make up a community are fluid and overlap, reflecting the changing social relations of the people who live in them.

STANDARDS OF NEIGHBORHOOD DENSITY

The accompanying chart (p. 91) is based on recommendations appearing in *Planning the Neighborhood,* by the American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, 1948. It is not assumed that all neighborhood units will have a single type of dwelling. The report points out, for example, that the following combinations are possible for a neighborhood of approximately 1375 families and 5000 population, which is large enough to support an elementary school:

A. 1300 units in 1-family row houses and 75 units in 3-story multi-family dwellings.

B. 175 units in 1-family detached houses; 600 units in 1-family row houses; 600 units in 3-story multi-family buildings.

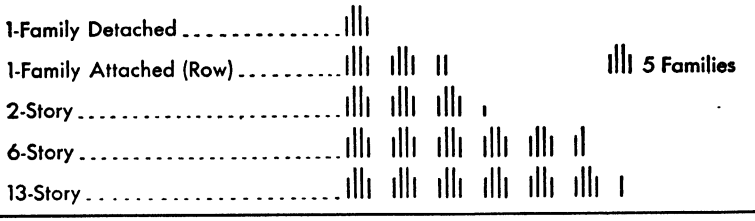
C. 375 units in 1-family detached houses; 200 units in 1-family row houses; 800 units in 13-story multifamily buildings.

PROTOTYPE FOR THE REDEVELOPMENT OF AN EXISTING COMMUNITY OF MEDIUM DENSITY

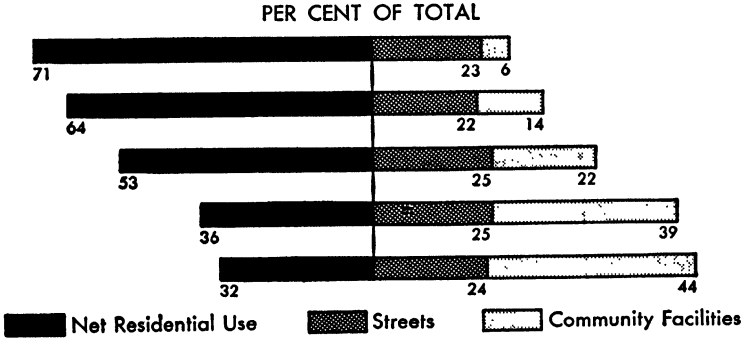
Prepared by Louis Wirth, Ernest A. Grunsfeld, Jr., and associates, the accompanying plan (see pp. 92, 93) makes use of existing streets but provides for their rearrangement and for movement of traffic to meet modern planning standards. Twelve elementary schools and one high school, as well as other community facilities, are included. This will serve a population of 50,000 to 60,000.

STANDARDS OF NEIGHBORHOOD DENSITY*

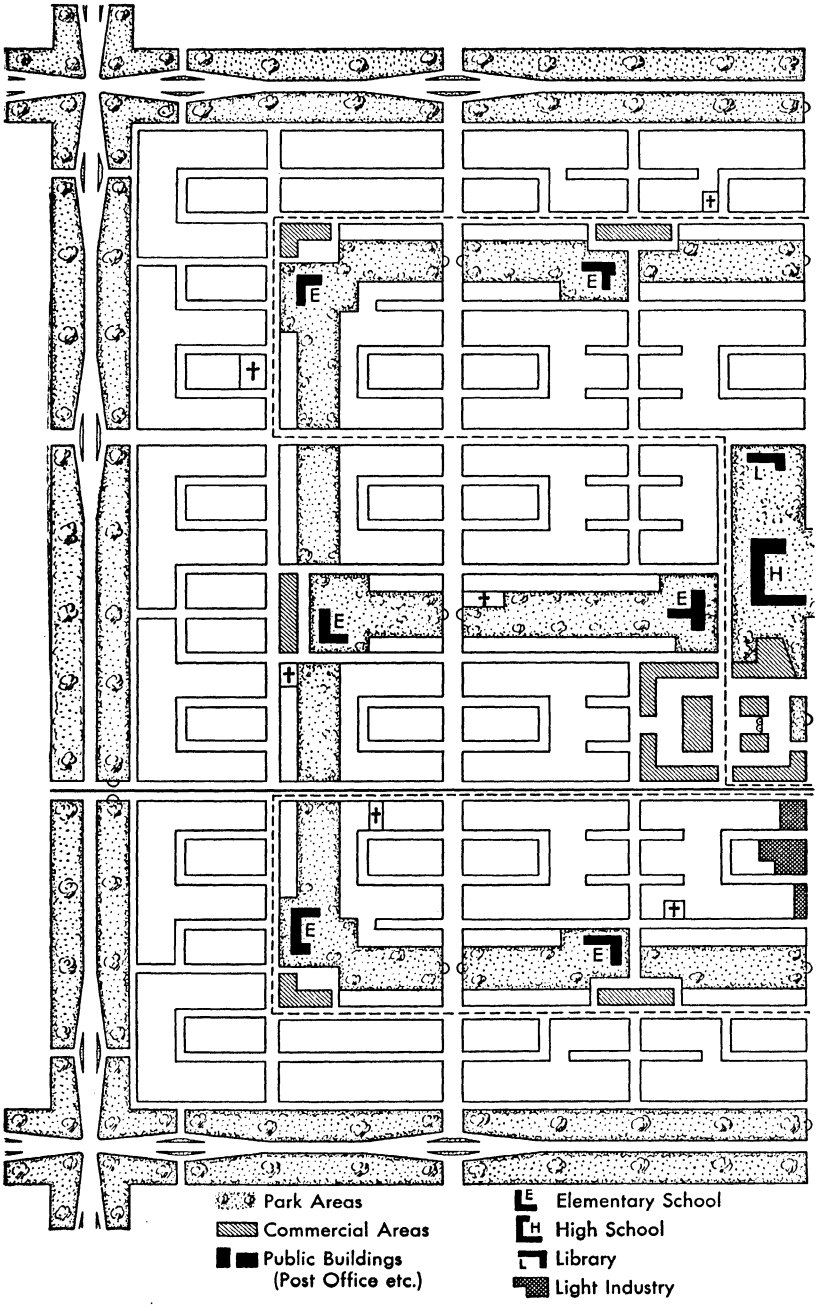
(Based on Neighborhood of 5,000 Population, 1,375 Families)

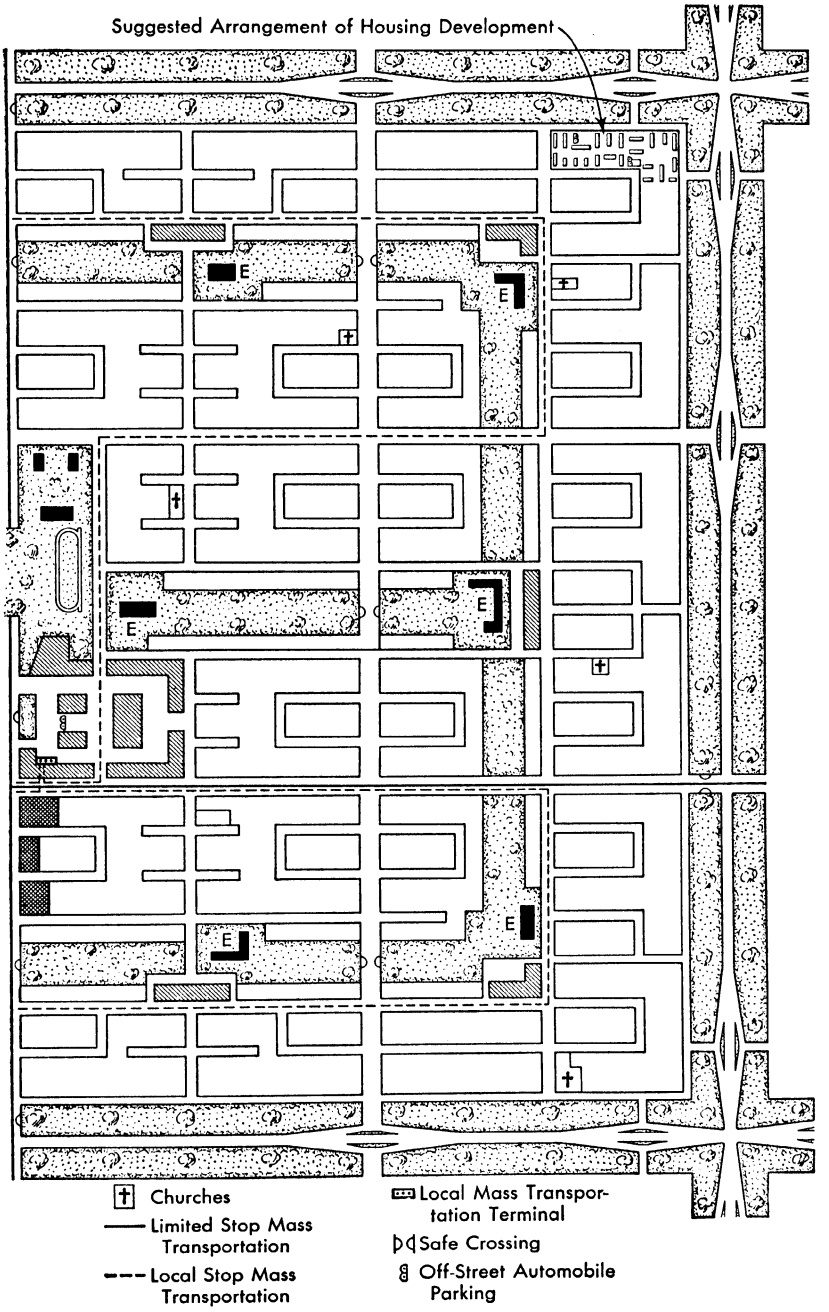


DWELLING TYPE	ACRES IN ALL NEIGHBORHOOD USES	LAND AREA IN SQUARE FEET PER FAMILY
1-Family Detached	265	6000
1-Family Attached (Row)	116	2400
2-Story	88	1465
6-Story	50	570
13-Story	44	450



*From PLANNING THE NEIGHBORHOOD, by the American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1948) Based on Tables 12 and 17


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Park Areas
Commercial Areas
Public Buildings
(Post Office etc.)
Elementary School
High School
Library
Light Industry


Suggested Arrangement of Housing Development
E
E
E
E
E
E
Churches
Limited Stop Mass Transportation
Local Stop Mass Transportation
Local Mass Transportation Terminal
Safe Crossing
Off-Street Automobile Parking

CHAPTER V

The Role of the Expert and the Citizen in City Planning

If we may compare the building of a city to the wearing of a shoe, we can suggest some aspects of citizen participation in planning. The shoe is most likely to fit if the wearer's measurements are taken. This might indicate that the city planner does well to *consult* the people for whom he is planning. Moreover, the wearer of the shoe knows where it pinches or when the soles are worn through. He is therefore in the best position to exercise *initiative*. This element of city planning is largely undeveloped. On the other hand, the wearer may like his old shoes because even his callouses fit them. This suggests certain *limits* to the popular appeal of new housing and community facilities, but also the need for public education as to the possibilities of re-building. Just as the individual has preferences in clothing, in a large sense the community has standards of living which are expressed in the kinds of physical structures, transportation and services which are either acceptable or which came to be demanded as improvements.

APATHY OF URBAN PEOPLE

Apathy and complacency on the part of urban residents are revealed by recent public opinion studies. It is an understandable response to the bigness and impersonality of city life. The sense of futility that may overwhelm city people was noted in the conclusion of Chapter II. One should not, however, assume that all urban people are critical about their living conditions and feel ineffective as individuals in changing them. There may be complacency which is the result of habit and adjustment of a sort.

In Great Britain, an organization called Mass-Observation has conducted public opinion studies since 1937. They make continuous studies of many questions of general interest, some with the help of volunteer field workers. There is quantitative sampling of opinion, but considerable reliance is also placed on subjective, more intimate expressions which volunteers can obtain in informal ways.[1] A striking conclusion with reference to community participation is taken from an article by the director of Mass Observation:

> If "Mass-Observation" has achieved anything in five years of hard work, it is that we have analyzed and documented the marked shrinkage in citizen interest at the mass level . . . degree of community feeling in massive urban populations is much lower than has been supposed.[2]

In the United States a pioneer opinion study with questions on urban planning was made by the Bureau of Urban Research of Princeton University. The report pointed up the value of surveys in stimulating citizen support of planning as well as in recording public opinion data which might be used by planners.

> The public opinion survey on which this research is based is believed to be the first national survey oriented toward the general field of Planning and more specifically toward the field of Urban Planning. . . .
>
> One intention of this study is to provide a more conclusive illustration of the importance of public opinion surveys in Urban Planning, since this mechanism permits a democratic determination of the attitudes, desires and resistances of those who live in cities toward planning problems and proposed solutions.[3]
>
> Despite the official existence of city planning or zoning bodies in many localities, comparatively few municipal actions are influenced by the planning process. Planning for cities remains more

[1] Willcock, H. D., "Mass Observation," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII: 445–456. January, 1943.

[2] Harrisson, Tom, "Human Planning," *The New Statesman and Nation*, XXII: 301–302. September 27, 1941.

[3] Branch, Melville C., Jr., *Urban Planning and Public Opinion*. National Survey, Research Investigation, Princeton, N.J.: The Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, 1942. P 1. This survey was preceded by a smaller one published by the Bureau in February, 1942: *Urban Planning and Public Opinion—A Pilot Study*.

an idea than an actively operative municipal service, for it reflects neither public understanding nor support. Until this backing is engendered, city planning must remain limited in scope and effectiveness—unless it is to be imposed autocratically. Public opinion surveys offer an excellent means of stimulating the idea of planning among the citizenry of a town or city, for those who answer the questionnaire and those who review published results must automatically reflect on the issues and proposed solutions involved. Furthermore, asking a representative group of individuals what they think about planning matters can assist materially in creating that feeling of participation and support in the citizen body so essential to practical success. Urban planning can become more of a community interest and concern, and less of a nebulous and misunderstood scheme proposed by a few individuals.[4]

Some of the major questions included in the opinion study are the following:

Do Americans who live in cities want to own their homes, or has the traditional desire for home ownership been modified in more recent years? Do the thirty-five million persons who reside in urban rental quarters prefer renting, or do they too look forward to an opportunity to acquire their own "fireside"? What improvements do city dwellers think will make their neighborhood a better place in which to live? Are they satisfied with the municipal services and facilities now available in their locality? How frequently, by and large, do these people move within and between cities; is there a migrational momentum which awaits individual opportunity for fulfillment? To what extent do those who dwell in our cities travel long distances from their places of residence to their places of employment; would they like to live nearer work? How many take enough interest and concern in their community to vote in local municipal elections?

. . . Adequate answers to fundamental considerations of this nature are of vital importance to urban planning and research, because the opinion and factual information involved exert a profound influence on all phases of city life. Plans for urban development, which are to be more than mildly palliative and which are to provide a solid foundation for cumulative improvement throughout the years, will require scientific measurement of this type of fundamental consideration.[5]

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

In the opinion of their inhabitants, the outstanding problem facing cities throughout the Nation today (1942) is Housing; next in order of importance are: transportation difficulties, problems relating to municipal and civilian defense, lack of employment and wage opportunities, poor or dishonest city governments, problems of industry, and local dislocations resulting from the nation-wide war effort. Approximately one of every five urbanites either feels that his home town has no outstanding problem or does not know what it is. Men and women do not differ appreciably in their choice of a "most important problem." The full list of what people believe is their community's foremost difficulty includes a wide variety of municipal problems:

Housing—not enough good, adequate, reasonably or low-price houses	16%
Transportation, traffic congestion or insufficient parking space	8
City defense (protection against air raids, air raid warden difficulties, etc.) or local problems resulting directly from the war effort (entertainment of soldiers, social conditions resulting from military services, local morals, cooperation, etc.)	7
Lack of employment and wage opportunity	7
Inadequate, poor or dishonest government or high government officials	6
Need of new industries, industrial dislocation, partial production or partial conversion	5
General or nation-wide war problems affecting the community (priorities, dislocation of business, etc.)	5
No outstanding or important problem	3
Repair, improvement or provision of new streets, street lights, sidewalks or other street facilities	3
High taxes	3
Vice, crime and delinquency	2
Inadequate utilities or utility service (water supply, sewage disposal, electricity, etc.)	2
Slum Clearance, poor housing and sanitary conditions, rehabilitation or housing projects	2
Municipal uncleanliness (poor garbage or trash collection, or street cleaning)	2
Segregation or control of special racial group	2
City debt and municipal financial condition	2
Improvement of city departmental services (police, fire, health)	1
High prices	1
Inadequate schools or school facilities	1

Migration of people from city	1
Care of needy, old and sick	1
Shortage of workers	1
City-wide dirt and smoke	1
Post-war problems	1
Miscellaneous Problems	10
Don't Know	20
No answer	3
	116[6]

Eight questions were asked, such as: "Is there enough sunlight and fresh air in and between buildings?" and "Is the neighborhood as quiet as you would like?" Men and women were found not to differ markedly in opinions expressed. Residents of small American cities were found to be most completely satisfied, and those living in the largest places the least content. A surprisingly high percentage of satisfactions is generally evident, however. These findings as to complacency are reinforced by the evidence given above that one out of five urban people report that there are no city problems or that they do not know of any.

The apathy of urban people indicates some realistic limits in urban planning as well as some concrete dissatisfactions which might serve as starting points in the planning process. This is stated in the conclusion of the report from which data have been adduced:

If Urban Planning is to become a generally accepted and meaningful service directed toward the gradual improvement of American municipalities, public education concerning this process is needed. In terms of the standards of judgment to which they are accustomed, most American city dwellers are reasonably satisfied with their environment as it is today. For them to recognize the planning problems which do exist in their vicinity and the community improvement which can be achieved, some form of education or demonstration will be required. Certainly, no democratic support for urban planning will be forthcoming until the municipal Public is cognizant of the advantages of organized forethought in the development of cities.

For their part, the People themselves do not show that community interest and concern which guarantees progressive urban

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.

improvement. Only about one-half of those living in cities vote in municipal elections, and urbanites are surprisingly uniformed concerning the governmental machinery which directs the development of their city and which to a considerable extent shapes their very existence. Undoubtedly, the social disunity and complexity of urban places discourages any feeling of personal responsibility or individual effectiveness in municipal affairs.

In the opinions of city folk can be found guides for the most meaningful orientation of an educational effort designed to develop a greater understanding of city planning and more active citizen participation. This effort, like Urban Planning itself, will be most successful if it proceeds from the people up and not from the top down. Those desires for neighborhood improvement which do exist —new or improved streets, home repairs and modernization, greater community cleanliness, more effective zoning, additional recreational facilities—can serve as a cornerstone on which to build a more adequate comprehension and acceptance of planning.[7]

PLANNERS AND THE PUBLIC

Evidence of the kind which has been presented leads Robert S. Lynd to a strong conviction that the planner must play an active role in guiding people's choices and stimulating wants. He points to the effect of modern cultural complexity and urban living on people, leaving them "insecure, defensive, harrassed" and unable to make their wants known.

The planner must brake the tendency within himself to rely over much on the mass of people's ability to help themselves in our complex world. Most common people in our society are not "free" enough institutionally or emotionally to let themselves go and discover what they want.[8]

Lynd therefore urges an "ultra-active role" for the planner. Catherine Bauer would include education at the neighborhood level among the tasks of the planner:

. . . The property-minded consultant of the twenties has been largely superseded by the objective efficiency-minded public administration viewpoint. But what we need now is some bona fide

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[8] Lynd, Robert S., "Cities are for Human Beings," *New Pencil Points*, 24: 75, March, 1943.

liberal political leaders who know that in a restless democracy it is far more important to have strong friends than not to have enemies. If the party politicians can organize a neighborhood for voting purposes, and if the realtors can frighten a neighborhood into fascist isolationism, the progressive planners and housers had better learn how to do a little organization and education at the neighborhood level themselves.[9]

The professional planners are beginning to develop effective two-way relations with the people by whose mandate and for whose benefit they are planning. This is done through the use of advisory committees, through issuing attractive and readable reports which invite study by citizens and through discussion groups or local town meetings, which act as a sounding board for public opinion. Public opinion polls, as already indicated, can be used to stimulate discussion and citizen initiative. In order to be successful servants of a democratic society, planners and public administrators, whether local or state or regional, are trying to develop techniques appropriate to their situations which reflect a sensitiveness to local opinion.

The administrative experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority is an outstanding example of a practical policy of planners taking local people into partnership in their work. With reference to TVA experience Miriam Strong makes the point that the citizen has the right to decide on the goals, and has the last word even when there is a guidance from the planner, but that the layman should rely on the planner not only for general leadership but for specific technical services.[10] Herman Finer has summarized the TVA philosophy and practice of administration in the following words:

Thus the Authority cannot and does not abdicate its own elementary responsibilities as defined and controlled by Congress. But as has been seen, it has most deliberately and painstakingly devised its administrative arrangements so as to share in the making

[9] Bauer, Catherine, "Good Neighborhoods," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 252: 114. November, 1945.

[10] Strong, Miriam, "Citizen's Organization for Planning in Small Cities," *Planning and Civic Comment*, 12: 1–10. July, 1946. Strong, Miriam, "Bringing Citizens Into Community Planning Programs," *The Tennessee Planner*, VIII: 67–73, December, 1947.

and execution of policies with the States, the municipalities, the land grant colleges, rural electricity cooperatives and farmers clubs, local commissions of public-spirited citizens and those in business. By a series of contractual and cooperative agreements it has stimulated farm demonstrations, the application of electricity to rural productive activities, the raising of the level of education and school accommodation, the improvement of public health, the physical planning of the area, the extension of libraries, the development of recreational facilities, and many other aspects of social existence in the Valley. "For in the scene of general bigness," says the Chairman, "men continue to come about the same size. There is still a limit to the energy and wisdom of the best, and so that many men may share in carrying out the vision of a few, we must learn how to decentralize administration."[10]

CITIZEN SUPPORT FOR CITY PLANNING

The composition of city planning boards reflects and influences the usual narrow scope of interests of these bodies, which was noted in the preceding chapter. The limited conception of city planning and general inactivity suggests that these agencies have been largely unrelated to the major processes of city government and community action. The fact that planning boards exist on paper is of some interest, but their limited activity may suggest to the public at large that planning is a relatively insignificant activity. This notion obviously lags behind the broad concept being developed by planners and others.

The great majority of city planning agencies are now inactive. Even in the larger cities many of the commissions confine their interest to zoning and public works. Planning technicians are pushing forward to a broader range of activities in some places, but with a few exceptions commission-members have not played an im-

[11] Finer, Herman, *The TVA: Lessons for International Application*, Montreal: International Labour Office, 1944, Studies and Reports, Series B, No. 37, p. 117. The definition of planning by David Lilienthal, the former chairman of TVA, quoted in the introduction to Part II is an expression of the TVA philosophy of administration. TVA represents an unusual balance and combination of local participation in planning with power and resources centered in the Authority. See also Pritchett, Herman, *The TVA: A Study in Public Administration*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943. Pp. 121–131.

portant part in recent developments. Planning commissioners are drawn primarily from business executives and from those professions closely identified with construction—realtors, architects, and engineers. The influence of zoning has also drawn a fairly high proportion of lawyers to the boards. Persons identified with labor, social welfare, education, etc., are rarely found. In general commission-members have a limited social outlook and a wholly inadequate grasp of planning. Many of the original pioneers in the field have passed on, and later appointees frequently lack the basic interest and enthusiasm of those leaders.[12]

The situation described may be changing in the post-war period, and an enlarged scope of activity has resulted in as well as from participation by active leaders of the community in several places. Recent developments are summarized by Martin D. Myerson. These cases are evidently exceptional, but they indicate the newer emphasis in practice which has been emerging in recent years.

Strong citizen support and participation is essential to successful comprehensive local planning. In some cases citizen groups are the prime movers in initiating planning programs while in others the planning agencies take the lead in getting public support. One result of active citizen interest in several cities has been the extension of planning from the purely physical aspect to the inclusion of all community problems in the area. The work of agencies set up in Louisville, Cleveland, Syracuse, and High Point (North Carolina) indicates what can be done.

The Post-War Planning Council of Greater Cleveland was the result of a meeting of about 200 community leaders representing government, business, labor, professional, and other special interest agencies. The 17-member executive committee includes the president of the city council, chairman of the county board, chairman of the Cleveland city planning commission, and other public of-

[12] Walker, Robert A., *The Planning Function in Urban Government.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. P. 333. This book was also quoted in Chapter IV. The field work for the study was done in 1937–1938, and the conclusions apply mainly to the situation as of that time. Recently, of 1072 cities over 10,000 population, 608 reported having an official planning agency; 310 did not have one. 148 cities did not report, but at least 16 of these were known to have a city planning agency. There is no general report on the extent of current activity, but outstanding examples are mentioned in the annual summary of trends in planning. *Municipal Year Book, 1947,* Chicago: International City Managers Association, 1947. Pp. 233–236.

ficials as well as representatives from labor, business, and other fields. The Council operates through a small staff assisted by panels of citizens and officials on public works; on transportation, traffic and transit; on the needs of returning servicemen; on housing and blighted areas; on social services; on labor-management relations; on interracial relations; on public finance and taxation; on education and culture; and on private enterprise.

In Louisville, with the encouragement of the mayor, the Area Development Association was established to coordinate all planning work in the area. Funds needed for the first two years of operation were oversubscribed in two weeks. Membership includes representatives from the Louisville Central Labor Union, the Louisville and Jefferson County Planning and Zoning Commission, banks, newspapers, and utility companies. The mayor heads the board of directors of 11 members. As in Cleveland, the Association operates through such special function committees as streets and highways, survey and research, welfare, parks and recreation, transportation, health, public buildings, housing, sewers and drainage, and finance and taxation. The local Committee for Economic Development serves as the Association's business and industry committee. The staff provides the committees with the information they need and each committee is kept informed of the work of the others to prevent piecemeal planning. Members of local government agencies that are concerned with the problems considered by certain committees are ex officio members of such committees.

The Post-War Planning Council of Syracuse and Onondaga County, New York, also covered the metropolitan area and is notable for its extensive activities to determine the view of the people and to keep them informed on the progress of the technical planning program that followed.[13]

Some of the methods used in Syracuse and the point of view with reference to participation are reported as follows:

> Good public participation should start even before the planning process with wide publicity as to why there should be any planning at all.[14]

[13] Meyerson, Martin D., "Citizen Support for Local Planning," *Public Management*, XXVII: 76. March, 1945. See articles on Syracuse noted in Chapter IV.

[14] Greer, Guy, "Syracuse Plans Its Future," *Planning, 1944*, Proceedings of the American Society of Planning Officials, Chicago: 1944, p. 184. Greer also says: "Use leaders. This might be termed the trickle-down theory. It has

Planning participation is the kernel of the whole participation idea. Your plans may sound punk to me and my plans would certainly sound terrible to you—but *our* plans would be wonderful to both of us.[15]

One of the first steps was to ascertain whether people were willing to give time and attention, during wartime, to the future of the community. A surprising answer was obtained from a questionnaire that bore the title "Be the Mayor for a Minute." It contained simply worded explanatory matter, and was circulated in accordance with an approved sampling technique. This cross section revealed not only friendliness to the idea of planning now, but even willingness to be taxed now for postwar spending to carry out the plans.

Local newspapers and radio stations have helped publicize the planning. A magazine of the Planning Council is now published. Pupils in the English and Art departments of the public schools are writing essays on "What's Wrong with My Neighborhood," and drawing posters of various aspects of local conditions. One large public meeting has been held and others will follow.

The planners know that the problem of public participation merges finally into the problem of ways and means. Neither in Syracuse nor anywhere else will really far-reaching plans be carried out unless the people understand them thoroughly and demand their fullfillment. Town dwellers often seem to think that traffic congestion, blighted areas, overcrowding, and the many other evils of city life are in the order of nature. Even when convinced that such evils could be eliminated, many are baffled by the thought of the cost. Already the commonest reaction in Syracuse is: "Where is the money coming from?"

Let us look, therefore, a little more closely into what it is that the peoples of Syracuse and other urban communities will be called upon to understand. They need not, to be sure, become technicians, but they can be expected to apply their common sense to what the technicians are trying to do. Above all they can, if they will, understand the difference between master planning and blue-

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been applied in Syracuse in the large size and representative character of the over-all planning council." The Council consisted of 60–70 members representing official and voluntary agencies, and it had semi-official status, having been created by proclamation of the Mayor of Syracuse and the Board of Supervisors of the County.

[15] Finn, Barney L., "Syracuse Plans Its Future," *Planning, 1944*, Proceedings of the American Society of Planning Officials, Chicago: 1944, p. 194.

printing. When that difference is understood, it becomes evident that large range planning goals can be reached by successive stages without the necessity at any one time of raising impossibly large sums of money.[16]

INITIATIVE FROM CITIZENS' GROUPS

Citizens may not only be consulted by planners and encouraged to participate in the planning process. They may also exert positive initiative, which ordinarily must be expressed through organized groups of which they are members. A civic group which is noted for its thorough and responsible work is the League of Women Voters, a nation-wide organization. A pamphlet of the League suggests the broad scope of potential citizen interest in city planning and at the same time some practical starting points. In keeping with the major interests of the organization, the pamphlet emphasizes activities directed toward governmental action and warns its local units against embarking on a program which would be thin and without effective focus.

In issuing *Know Your Town's Future,* the League of Women voters uses "plan," "to plan," and "planning," in its common-sense meaning. We believe that if our communities can become conscious of their purposes and seek better ways of fulfilling them, local government will be revitalized, and the grass roots will nourish government on all levels.

As you get into this project, you will find that it brings you to grips with the local aspects of efforts to maintain a "high level of employment," "fullest use of resources," "adequate housing," "a coordinated system of taxation," and other items from the League's active list and platform. You will even find that some of the economic plans for your town are dependent upon international cooperation. The economic life of a community must affect its plans in many ways. Economic planning, however, is a vast field and involves cooperation between private enterprise and government. This is an area in which it is difficult for the League of Women Voters to be effective.

The larger the number of people who take part in this study, the better it will be both for the understanding of planning and for the general League purpose of encouraging informed participation

[16] "So You're Going to Plan a City," *Fortune, 29:* 172–174, January, 1944.

in government. You will find some sections will call for a discussion of the arm-chair philosophy type, while others will be of the "go-see" variety. Those who make the visits should also do some preliminary studying. At least two people should be sent on an interview, and they should be reminded not to be critical but simply to get the facts. Some communities have active citizen organizations who are already working on some of these problems. You will want to know what they are doing.

In many cases the questions will apply outside the limits of the political jurisdiction of your town. State law and county government must often be taken into consideration. Rural Leagues will find that some adaptation may be necessary to fit the questions to their local situation. In any case *Know Your Town's Future* gives only a general outline around which your survey can be built. The questions are not exhaustive. As you get into the subject you may think of many more to ask. . . .[17]

Similar ideas are expressed by two architects, Oscar Stonorov and Louis Kahn, in a pamphlet, one of a series which brought to the citizen current ideas of home and community design. The whole series is characterized by the functional view of building and illustrates the new leadership of architects. The appeal of Stonorov and Kahn is to people who are urged to start where they are, with all the problems of reconstructing old community areas. "Remember that the millennium of a mechanized miracle world is not just around the corner. It will take a lot of work and many years to bring it about . . . "[18]

Even as problems such as traffic, housing, and the physical appearance of a community may be the stimulus to citizen action directed toward planning, so also participation in planning of social

[17] *Know Your Town's Future,* published by The National League of Women Voters, October, 1945. Publication No. 35, Washington 6, D.C.: National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., pp. 5–6. The pamphlet includes sections on The Purpose of Planning, Local Government and Planning, Finance, Housing, Health, Education, Recreation. See also *Know Your County,* Publication No. 80, Revised Edition, October, 1946, published by the same organization.

[18] Stonorov, Oscar, and Kahn, Louis, *Why City Planning Is Your Responsibility.* New York: Revere Copper and Brass, Inc. P. 4. A larger and similar pamphlet by the same authors and publishers is *You and Your Neighborhood —A Primer for Neighborhood Planning, 1944.*

work, health, and other community services may bring people to the door of the city planner for answers to some of their problems. Later chapters will indicate some of the interrelations between social planning and physical planning and suggest that there are many possible starting points for comprehensive planning.

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Representatives of local schools, agencies, and organizations formed the South Philadelphia Neighborhood Planning Conference, which after two years' work, presented recommendations to the City Planning Commission in August, 1947. The process of expressing local opinion in an extremely blighted area and making needs known to planning experts is described vividly. The writer is the director of the Philadelphia Neighborhood Centre.

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CHAPTER VI

Community Life in Planned Communities and Housing Projects

CHARACTERISTICS OF OLDER PLANNED COMMUNITIES

Planning has been considered as an ongoing process, largely a matter of rebuilding and rearranging elements, physical and social, which already exist in communities. There are, however, communities, which have been "made to order" in their physical characteristics. Broadly considered, a planned community is one that has been built to serve a predetermined purpose according to some plan for orderly physical development. The purpose of a planned settlement is closely related to its form. The earliest known planned town, Kahun, was built to house the workmen engaged in building the pyramid of Illahun in Egypt in the third millennium B.C. The fortified Roman camps were built for a military purpose and were not readily adapted to the later requirements of commerce.

The first name to be connected with the art of city building was that of Hippodamus, who, according to Aristotle, first "introduced the principle of wide straight streets, and, first of all architects, made provision for the proper grouping of dwelling houses and also paid special heed to the combination of the different parts of a town in a harmonious whole centered round the market place." He is accredited with the layout during the fifth century of the new towns of Piraeus, Thurii, Rhodes, Selinus, and Cyrene.[1]

[1] Comey, Arthur C., and Wehrly, Max S., "Planned Communities," in Volume II, *Urban Planning and Land Policies*, Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee. Washington:

Ancient cities in India showed some evidence of regulated physical development. There was also in some of them a rural belt around the city, which somewhat resembled the modern concept of the greenbelt. Chinese towns and villages reflect their historical development, their walls having been planned as a protection from attack by marauders. "Peiping offers an example of fortified rectangular planning, where scale and relationship of parts were carried to a fine degree of perfection as the capital of Kublai Khan's vast Mongol empire of the thirteenth century A.D."[2]

The medieval period in Europe was not a time of urban development and town planning was neglected, with the possible exception of wall fortifications and streets which formed a ring around the circumference of the town. In the Renaissance period there was considerable rebuilding and extension of existing cities.

In France, the influence of the Middle Ages was deeply rooted, and it was not until the 17th century that the Renaissance emerged from its transitional stage. Aside from the monumental rebuilding which took place in existing cities, several new towns were built, notably Sully's Henrichmont in 1609 and Richelieu. The latter, although built on the site of the small village where Cardinal Richelieu was born, is completely designed. It is interesting in its disposition of the Place des Religieuses at one end of the rectangular plan, and the Place du Marché at the other, connected by a monumental thoroughfare terminating in monumental entrances across the moat. As at the Richelieu, many other new towns, including Berlin, Mannheim, Karlsruhe, and others, were laid out as adjuncts to the palaces of the princes in Germany. St. Petersburg (Leningrad) was laid out by Peter the Great in 1703 and completed according to his plan within the space of a few years. The plan of Karlsruhe, 1715, marks a complete departure from the classical influence of street layout and reflects the effect of garden architecture on town planning, of planting and park areas and tree-lined avenues and boulevards as a recognition of natural elements in civic design. In England, the effect of the grand style of planning was much less felt. . . .

Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. 12–13. The historical background and study of contemporary planned communities is based on this source, unless otherwise indicated.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

In America, the early planning of new towns follows in general the influence of the checkerboard or gridiron system. The original portion of Philadelphia laid out in 1682 by Thomas Holme extended from the Delaware to the Schuylkill River in a regular grid system with two main thoroughfares intersecting on what was planned as an open square. Four other squares were provided, one in each quarter. . . .

Washington is, of course, the outstanding example of a planned city in America. The scale on which it was planned, its spaciousness, and the genius with which the radial street system and round points were applied to the avenues have made it one of the easiest cities in the world to adapt to the automobile traffic were there not other complicating factors. The plan suffers chiefly from two organic defects: (1) the absence of relationship between the checkerboard plan and the superimposed radial thoroughfares has created acute-angled intersections resulting in triangular building sites, which although they do add to the effect of openness of the street, are uneconomical for building, and park areas, costly to maintain and often too small for efficient uses; and (2) the large deep blocks in certain sections, while not bad in themselves, have created the problem of the alley slum.[3]

Other earlier and some nineteenth century examples might be cited. In general, planned towns of the past were built to serve fairly definite purposes, as seats of government, for example, or as military outposts or fortified centers, sites of religious temples, or to facilitate transportation at various crossroads. Continuous planning was not engaged in; there was instead a tendency to think of the plan as a finished product and a failure to provide for changing purposes attendant upon future growth. One major result of this policy was that growth at the periphery of towns was largely unregulated. Some of the older principles of city planning have survived at least in modified form and have influenced current practice. They are probably those based on an original purpose which has continued or recurred, including the idea of a civic center, the concept of building regulations, the "relation of street width to building height, relation of the size of the market place to the population, zoning for use and height," recreation facilities as a public responsibility, and conventional arrangements of streets such

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

as the checkerboard pattern and radial streets leading from centers to the edges of cities.[4]

CONTEMPORARY PLANNED COMMUNITIES

The contemporary period represents a new interest in planning to offset the effects of industrialization and the congestion of cities. The newer conception of city planning, as indicated in Chapter IV, includes the consideration of standards applied to all sections of the community and not for the benefit of special groups only. "The major contributions of the present age which are essentially new include (1) the systematic utilization of the contour street, (2) the Garden City theory, (3) the consideration of the economics of city building, and (4) an increasing consideration for the welfare of the masses."[5] The Garden City idea was first stated by Ebenezer Howard in England in 1898. It is a conception of a city in a garden, that is, surrounded by a belt of rural land. The recent government Greenbelt projects have been specific expressions of the Garden City idea in the United States, while in England, Letchworth and Welwyn are well known examples.[6] Another dominant objective in modern town planning is that through more efficient land use and housing design, there should be economies effected as compared with construction by individual units. This objective arises partly from recognition of the fact that all income groups must be considered in planning.

A study of 144 planned communities was made for the National Resources Committee by Comey and Wehrly, with data for 1936 summarized. Some of these communities were independent and apart from cities, but most were "satellite" or suburban. They were developed under various auspices, by industry in over half of the

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[5] *Ibid.*, Contour streets run parallel to the contours of land.

[6] See Howard, Ebenezer, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, New edition edited by F. J. Osborn with introductory essay by Lewis Mumford. London: Faber and Faber, 1945; and Osborn, F. J., *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber, 1946. The latter is a reevaluation of the Garden City movement with proposals for the further development of Green-Belt cities.

cases, by private real estate developers for urban residents in about one-fourth, for rural and agricultural residential purposes, by government for war housing and other purposes in the balance. While access by transportation routes to nearby cities is important, "a location on one side of a major artery is found best" to avoid having the town intersected.[7] Local business districts have been successfully located centrally or "better on a main highway at the principal entrance into the community."[8]

There has been a tendency in these communities to adopt the gridiron street pattern wherever practicable, but it has also been departed from with effectiveness. "Where the ordinary block pattern has been replaced by culs-de-sac for access to dwellings, the result has usually been highly satisfactory. Unity in appearance has been produced both by formal arrangements with straight lines, particularly on flat or gently rolling topography, the resulting vistas often being effectively terminated by structures, and by curving lines, particularly where adapted to rolling ground."[9] Single family detached dwellings were found to predominate in modern planned communities. "Company towns have usually provided ample lots for each dwelling, the usual housing densities being considerably under the maximum of twelve houses per acre of gross area set as a standard for British Garden Cities. Lots laid out by real estate agencies, which serve a higher income group, average larger yet, with a much lower housing density."[10]

Planned communities have tended to provide more adequate space for play and leisure time pursuits than is possible in congested areas.

Community recreation is fostered in planned communities by effective disposition of substantial park area, averaging in extent one-sixth of their entire planned area, a larger proportion than is

[7] Comey and Wehrly, *op. cit.*, p. 3. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 4. [9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.* By contrast with the Garden City standard, the densities recommended in the plan for Greater London vary from 100 to 200 persons per acre of housing area, the difference being in the percentage of flats to be used. See Forshaw, J. H., and Abercrombie, Patrick, *County of London Plan*, 1943, prepared for the London County Council. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1944. See also F. J. Osborn, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

found in most cities. More parks have been provided in the more recent communities. . . . Community life should be fostered by focussing it on a center containing government and community buildings and some open space for communal use.[11]

Radburn, New Jersey, is an outstanding example of a planned community, inhabited mostly by commuters from New York City. It was planned before the depression by a limited dividend corporation and only two "superblocks" were "partially completed when the depression suspended further development."[12] Original plans were curtailed, but accommodations were provided for a population of some 1450 in 1936. It is an example of the neighborhood unit in size. A statement of its purposes follows:

Radburn is a distinct departure in a planned community. It is being built for families of moderate incomes in the hope of meeting some of the problems confronting such families in a changing age.

The two major departures from precedent were in the physical plan and in the community idea.

The physical plan was based upon the assumption that most families want a home, and that motor vehicles are an integral part of present-day living and are likely to continue to be for many years to come. The plan provided for a house that was reasonable in price, easily paid for, simple in design and so arranged as to prevent rows of ugliness; the street system was designed to facilitate the use of the motor vehicle, at the same time decreasing the dangers incident to its normal operation.

The community plan assumed that all families wanted and

[11] Comey and Wehrly, *op. cit.*, p. 5. See also on density standards and on proportion of space allocated to various uses: American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, *Planning the Neighborhood.* Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1948. Chapter VI.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 97. "The adaptation of the cul-de-sac, the use of the superblock, a system of interior park areas, the designation of independent park and motor entrances to each house, and the separation of pedestrian and motor traffic, are the outstanding features of the plan. Superblock sizes vary between 35 and 40 acres in area, each surrounded by wide traffic streets, giving access to a series of narrow cul-de-sac streets averaging about 275 feet in length, around each of which are from 10 to 18 dwelling units. Linear park areas of from 3 to 7 acres were formed in the interiors of the superblocks. These areas, connected with each other by grade separations at the traffic street rights-of-way, form not only the park system of the town but the facilities for pedestrian circulation as well." p. 98.

needed recreational and cultural activities, provided they were convenient, interesting, and reasonable in price.[13]

During the early part of the Roosevelt Administration, some communities were built as models of the green belt principle. One of these is at Greendale, near Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The considerations in the planning of Greendale are summarized in a report prepared by its manager.

In the planning of Greendale, perhaps the primary objective was to show how better conditions and a full community life could be developed in a suburban town. It was recognized that living conditions and environment greatly influence the attitude of families toward community affairs, and that families living in big cities often lose nearly all contact with community affairs and become indifferent to their responsibilities as citizens. The planners of Greendale wanted to foster a better attitude. They began by providing for pleasant living and a wholesome atmosphere.

They worked out an adaptation of the English "garden city," different from any other American community except Greendale's two companion villages, Greenbelt, near Washington, and Greenhills, near Cincinnati, Ohio. The planning started in 1935. In May, 1938, the new residents began moving into the new community—with its 572 urban housing units, business center, school, utilities, paved streets, parks and playgrounds.

In planning Greendale, there were three other motives: (1) To give its residents some advantages of both city and country life in a community so protected that time would not produce the usual run-down neighborhood; (2) To provide for families of moderate income, good housing at low rents in an environment, conducive to healthful, wholesome living; (3) To ease the severe unemployment that existed in the building trades and allied industries at the time of construction.

The community is laid out in unconventional design, and every acre of ground is set aside for a definite purpose. In its entirety, it covers 3,400 acres, with a "greenbelt" of park land, gardens, and farms encircling the urban area. This greenbelt is the community's protection against encroachment of undesirable developments that might destroy the benefits of the original planning and lead eventually to down-at-heel community conditions.

[13] Hudson, Robert B., *Radburn: A Plan of Living*. New York: American Association for Adult Education. 1934. Pp. v-vi.

In the center of town is the business district: Post office, stores, theater, restaurant-tavern, gas station and garage. At the end of a wide mall is the combination village hall and headquarters of the Federal management. Surrounding this town center are the homes, arranged in an unconventional pattern of short, dead-end streets, protected from hazards of high-speed traffic. There are no unsightly telephone poles—all power and telephone lines are underground.

At the edge of the town center, in a wooded park, stands the Community Building, which houses the school and provides a place for community meetings, dances, dramatics, concerts, gymnasium classes, and juvenile and adult indoor sports. Its daytime schoolrooms for children become night time classrooms for adults who want to take part in discussion or study groups. In this building, too, religious services are conducted, for both Catholic and Protestant families. There is also an excellent library which serves both the school and the community, and a kindergarten which has attracted wide attention by its unusual facilities and program.

Outside, there is a playground for larger children. Small children may play in any of the five playgrounds located in the residential areas, where children can reach them without crossing streets. Adults have three tennis courts and a large athletic field in the village, and they may reach Milwaukee County's Whitnall Park in a few minutes for golf or swimming.

Important to the general plan of Greendale, although somewhat overshadowed in public attention by the village, is the greenbelt—the rural area. In the long-range plan, it was contemplated that the greenbelt farms would help to supply food for the village, which in turn would furnish a stable market for the farms' produce. Production of the farms is being organized towards this goal. In this area are 53 living units with an acre to several acres each for industrially employed families who want to raise poultry and produce their own vegetables, berries and fruits. There are 13 full time dairy farms, of 75 to 240 acres, whose tenants have assistance from an experienced adviser from the management staff in planning for best use of the soil where the urban residents can garden on a larger scale than is possible in the plots connected with their homes.

Greendale provides homes for families of an income level that usually precludes living in a suburban environment. Requirements for residents include an income within the restricted range, a housing need, reliability in financial matters, cleanliness in living habits, and suitable size of family for available accommodations.

Evidences of community-mindedness and of desire to cooperate with other families are also considered in selecting residents.[14]

This type of planned community development has been subject to criticism, not only on the grounds of general opposition to the extension of government functions but specifically with reference to the costs of reconstruction and maintenance. It has been alleged that the high costs per unit of construction and of operation of the Greenbelt project results in a substantial rent subsidy, and the provision of undue special privileges for occupants at the expense of the general taxpayer. This criticism is twofold: technical inefficiency, on the one hand, and political philosophy, or judgments about the proper role of government on the other.[15] Defenders of the projects in question must answer both types of critical attack, and they may well point to the fact that communities built by private enterprise, with the notable exception of Radburn, have not included major provisions for community facilities. They may also note that these communities were meant to be frankly experimental demonstrations of "rural-industrial" additions to existing cities. Furthermore, they were built as projects to provide work for the unemployed. In an experimental effort to provide work relief and training, costs did not receive first attention.

PEOPLE AND PLANS

Communities that are newly built may be designed, as has been suggested, to have the advantages of a fresh start, particularly the freedom from obstructions of a physical sort that impede the de-

[14] *The Story of Greendale: A Government Demonstration in Community Planning and Public Housing.* Mimeographed material, revised, April, 1944. A review and analysis of "government attempts to create communities" may be found in Loomis, Charles P., "Rebuilding American Community Life," *American Sociological Review,* 5: 311–324. June, 1940. Loomis includes subsistence homesteads as well as housing projects in his consideration. The former were programs designed to enable low-income industrial workers to produce part of their food in a combination of urban and rural life. See also Loomis, Charles P., *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany.* East Lansing, Michigan: State College Book Store, 1945. Chapter III.

[15] Thornhill, Ed, and DeArmond, Fred, "Another Social Experiment Goes Sour," *Nation's Business,* 28: 23–25; 107–109, October, 1940.

velopment of orderly community life. The idea that "form follows function" can be expressed in the physical layout in general and in the provision of recreation and other facilities for common use. The building of new communities in the physical sense has generally been done without the participation of residents, and it may be reasoned that this is inevitably the case. However, the development of housing projects organized as cooperatives, that is, mutually owned by occupants, although almost embryonic in this country, suggests new possibilities of resident participation in the policy aspects of community planning beginning with site selection. Once new communities are inhabited, though, it seems almost obvious that their functioning depends on people and their ability to work together.

There has accordingly been some interest in the selection of residents. It does not seem possible nor would it necessarily be desirable to select on the basis of some criterion of "fitness" for cooperation.[16] In some communities developed by private capital, the cost of ownership or occupancy may result in a selection of residents on the basis of income and perhaps education which may be conducive to cooperative activity but may also carry with it an exaggerated degree of competition for social status. In the government housing and subsistence homestead projects of the 1930's, selection was based largely on economic need. With reference to such projects Loomis has emphasized the value of taking account of people's backgrounds and of accepting people as they are when they come to live in new communities. In other words, the materials of social life cannot be arranged in neat designs on drawing boards of the "planner." The manager or professional worker in a new community, as Loomis also suggests, can nevertheless play an important role in "nurturing" and organizing cooperation among residents.

Houses, roads, and telephone lines can be built and rebuilt. Communities cannot. Construction engineers, efficiency experts, classical economists, and others who are accustomed to orienting their thinking in terms of logically developed formulas, plans and

[16] Cf. Infield, Henrik F., *Cooperative Communities at Work.* New York: The Dryden Press, 1945. Pp. 172, 192.

specifications have been justly accused of thinking of people in very unrealistic terms. However, engineers, efficiency experts, and economists are not alone in their failure to recognize that human beings cannot be handled like sticks and stones or even as purely rational individuals. Most of us fall all too easily into the error of thinking that communities can be made. Even some sociologists are anxious to be called social engineers, and people who do not claim to be engineers or scientists have the same mental orientation. Our famous American "melting pot" theory is proof of the prevalence of this attitude among our people. We have believed that all our ethnic and racial groups and cultures could be moulded into one great culture just as separate metals are poured into one mould to make an alloy stronger than any of the metals. Or when we don't like something, we say "they ought to pass a law against that."

When I say that communities cannot be built or rebuilt or even legislated into existence, I am not discrediting the importance of the role of ideas. Ideas are as important in cultural change as are materials, but if ideas are to fruit, they must reside in the minds of the people, not merely in the mind of an engineer. They must become a part of the culture of the people and in the process become integrated with the original ideas of the people. They must feel that they themselves are the active party implied in such verbal responses as "we want" or "we do," rather than "they order" or "they do." Nor is this a purely organismic theory of society, for communities are not plants or animals or similar organisms; and neither are they machines.

The fact that communities cannot be built need not mean resignation to the status quo. Social processes and change can be nurtured. The distinction between plans and quick building or construction, on the one hand, and ideas and their slow nurture and unfolding, on the other, is fundamental because experience and history have shown that it is usually lost sight of by impatient people who attempt to change society.[17]

Loomis concludes his review of Federal government experience in building and revitalizing community life, with particular reference to agricultural programs, by offering some tentative generalizations for further testing. His cautions against attempts at remote control of community life are specially pointed to Federal-local relations but are broadly relevant to the process of participation in ongoing community planning.

[17] Loomis, *American Sociological Review, op. cit.*, pp. 311–312.

Bureaucratic or dictatorial control from central offices of far away communities will lose in local cooperation, support and morale, part, if not all, of the advantage such control has over local control. Governmental action and planning agencies should, where possible, make local communities functional units. If communities are disregarded by action agencies dealing with local people, support for these programs will not be on as permanent a basis as if the community were made the center of planning and administration. If communities are not now sufficiently vocal and powerful to demand a place in administration and planning, disregarding them will certainly not strengthen them. To revitalize community life, existing communities should be made functional units in constructive programs.[18]

From the standpoint of the composition of the population, one characteristic frequently found in new communities, especially in housing projects, is the preponderance of young adults and children. This should make for greater flexibility and responsiveness to community programs and opportunities as well as common interests beginning with the educational and recreational needs of children. This seems to be true of Radburn, as will be indicated further in the selection used in Chapter X with reference to participation in community life. In general, planned communities are noted for a high degree of participation and "self-sufficiency of community life."[19] Incidentally, a high proportion of children in the population results in a heavy school load, with a demand for school facilities and greater costs during a cycle when the communities are newly inhabited. This factor has led to an interest on the part of planners of neighborhood or community units in having the constituent population diversified as to age composition.

Economic stability is a basic factor in the success of planned communities, and on the contrary irregularity of employment may frustrate the participation of residents. Some of the new industrial communities have been limited to "key employees" and have been subject to criticism from the standpoint of their failure to provide for all levels of income.[20] A word of caution from a British planner is pertinent in this respect:

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 324. [19] Comey and Wehrly, *op. cit.*, p. 5. [20] *Ibid.*

We mustn't forget, either, as Planners, that strong as the demand for Planning has become, it still takes second place to Economic Security. There are danger points in this, too. A good job, or a better job, or even any job at all, may override the desire for a good family home. That is why we have to watch most carefully the policy to be adopted in the location of industry. The growth of cities and towns is due far more to the opportunity of work than to any social or cultural attractions. Therefore, the location of industry is going to decide where our population goes and the broad arrangements of town and countryside.[21]

The economic base must also be considered in order to have a diversified tax basis of support for essential community services. A suburb or community which is residential only unless extremely wealthy may have serious limitations of income, and provision for industry is therefore regarded as essential in Garden City and similar types of development.

TENANT RELATIONS IN HOUSING PROJECTS

A housing project within a city may be of such magnitude as virtually to constitute a planned community by itself. The large size of some projects from a physical standpoint marks them off as separate or subcommunities. This distinctiveness may contribute to a sense of community among the residents. A "heightened civic interest" was noted by John McDowell in Pittsburgh.[22] This is also the view of Clarence A. Perry who has said, "The mere act of setting up a housing project, giving it a special name, and populating it with a selected group of tenants is going to create the basis for a community consciousness."[23] F. Stuart Chapin reports on the meas-

[21] Osborn, F. J., "Some Administrative Problems of the New Planning," in Bliss, Barbara, Editor, *The New Planning: Redevelopment and Relocation*—Being a Report of the Town and Country Planning Association's National Conference on New Planning, December 8 and 9, 1944. London: Faber and Faber, Limited, 1945. P. 60.

[22] McDowell, John, "A Neighborhood is Born," *The Compass*, September, 1944, XXV: 8–11.

[23] Perry, Clarence A., "Community Organization Within the Housing Estate," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work 1935*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935. P. 665.

urement of the social participation of re-housed tenants which substantiates the impression of these other observers.[24]

Tenant relations in housing projects may be thought of as being (1) within the resident group, (2) with management officials, and (3) with the community at large. Public housing authorities in some cities have engaged staff members whose job is to facilitate the integration of tenant activities with wider community programs, as well as having the basic work of stimulating organization of tenants into councils and committees. Self-government in affairs affecting residents of projects must be organized and skilled professional assistance has been found helpful in this respect. If special staff assistants are not engaged, the work will fall on the manager, which may be more than he is equipped to do if he has worked mainly with the property management.

In general, the relation of residents to managerial or professional staff in new housing communities is unlike other community situations in that the very existence of the project depends on an authority which though public may seem to tenants to be an "outside" influence. Although the local agents or representatives of the government authority try to foster initiative by residents, there are often limits to local planning inherent in the set-up. Policies governing projects in general may not be adapted to each local situation. Conflict between the management officials and tenant leadership has occurred in housing projects. It is sometimes due simply to ineptness in human relations, or to a short-sighted view of immediate operating efficiency. It may also be due to tenant leadership with objectives other than the development of the housing community.

The goal of economical administration may be handicapped by factors of equipment or physical structure over which management has no control once the project has been built. Tenant interest in services such as heating and maintenance or in the use of community space may seem like irritating complaints rather than the initiative which management is trying to foster as part of the social

[24] Chapin, F. Stuart, "An Experiment on the Social Effects of Good Housing," *American Sociological Review*, 5: 868–879, December, 1940. Other aspects of participation as studied by Chapin will be noted in Chapter X.

purpose of housing. The problem of management-tenant relations is aggravated where, because housing serves low-income groups, a perhaps unconscious attitude of superiority is assumed toward tenants who are regarded as clients or wards of management in some sense. On the other hand, housing officials should be credited with imagination and resourcefulness in setting the stage for new patterns of cooperation.[25]

The basic problem of human relations in housing communities has been stated in popular form by Robert L. Sutherland, including these thoughts:

> Why must staff members of a housing project consider these personal attitudes and problems of their residents? Is not housing a business relationship which should be conducted across the counter in a business-like way?
>
> The answer is partly "yes" but mostly "no." Housing is a business, but home life is not. Within the closely-crowded apartments of any project are families who have every conceivable human problem and frailty. While at work they must keep much of their personal affairs to themselves. Not only must they do this; but in turn, many of their jobs bring them little personal satisfaction. When they come home, they have a right to let down, blow off, and in other ways reveal their basic needs.
>
> Their home neighborhood should be a friendly place where people are tolerant of each other's shortcomings and quick to recognize merit in another. It follows that the business office should also be a friendly place. It cannot be operated like the punch clock of a factory. It is a part of a man's home relationship. Therefore, it must be more friendly, more understanding and more personal.[26]

[25] Even without conflict, there may be a dual structure of status in a planned community. There is the administrative hierarchy, on the one hand, and on the other, the formal and informal relations of tenants, which result in some degree of social stratification. Administrators are not directly responsible to tenants or subject to political controls by the residents in the way that a city manager is in a community of perhaps comparable size. These relations are presented as part of a single status or prestige structure by William H. Form, in his analysis of stratification in Greenbelt, Maryland. Form, William H., "Status Stratification in a Planned Community," *American Sociological Review*, 10: 605–613, October, 1945.

[26] Sutherland, Robert L., *People Are Funny*. Mimeographed leaflet prepared for Texas Association of Housing Officials.

The part played by tenant councils in defining relationships and organizing self-government by residents has been summarized by Hilda Smith, who has served as Chief of Project Services of the Federal Public Housing Authority.

But good will alone is not enough. Areas of authority and responsibility for managers and residents alike must be defined and recognized; the place of the outside agency and its functions must be carefully outlined, and the mechanics of organization, in order to get people working together in an efficient way, must be discovered and clearly understood. This sort of analysis and clarification of responsibility should be the first step in any Project Services program, or indeed, in any housing project. And many managers agree that the best channel for cooperation is through some type of resident committee or resident council.[27]

The local public housing authorities under the direction of the Federal Public Housing Authority have followed policies which include the encouragement of self-government of residents in their own affairs and the integration of projects with surrounding communities as far as possible. This means reliance on the total community for professional help and agency services, as well as the use of housing project facilities by residents of the adjacent area, where space permits. The principles established by the Federal Public Housing Authority, since July, 1947, the Public Housing Administration, include:

The following broad principles shall be observed by all organizations in the operation of project facilities and programs.

1. The resources of the community and its agencies and those of the tenant body shall be fully utilized in planning, operating, financing and evaluating programs.
2. The democratic principles of tenant self-government and self-help shall be observed.
3. Minimum professional standards established by FPHA for program operation shall be maintained.
4. To the greatest extent possible, the needs of the tenant body shall be provided for through a well-balanced program.
5. Project activities and services shall be integrated with those of the neighborhood.

[27] Quoted by Ash, Ellis, "Management's Use of Project Services," *The Journal of Housing*, 2: 95–96, June, 1945.

6. Project programs operated by tenants shall be coordinated and integrated with project programs operated by community agencies.[28]

EXAMPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING

Tenant councils within public housing projects vary in the extent and regularity of their activity. Their scope of interests is usually broadly stated, but what happens during any given period depends on the quality and vigor of leadership, the past experience in carrying through successfully on programs, the sense of urgency about grievances or positive goals, and other factors varying in each local situation. Typical activities under tenant council sponsorship are recreational programs, pressures and negotiations with reference to public transportation, publication of project newspapers, as well as campaigns and measures designed to improve the appearance of buildings and grounds. Projects in Sunflower, Kansas, and Manitowoc, Wisconsin, by way of example, have councils whose programs are described in recent reports by local managers:

. . . The purposes of the Council are to foster a civic consciousness among the residents, to act as intermediary between the residents and the F.P.H.A. Management, to establish a body to act, insofar as legally empowered, to secure benefits for the residents, and to coordinate all activity interests of Sunflower Village to best serve all residents.

The Tenant Council, the Civic Association, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and Auxiliary and the Amvets work together in providing leadership, volunteer service and the financial support for all activities for the community, and the project newspaper, sponsored by the Tenant Council, is used extensively for the purpose of informing the residents of management problems and their solutions, and tenant maintenance responsibility.[29]

All tenants are eligible to join the organization and major changes in policy or procedure are discussed between Management

[28] Federal Public Housing Authority, *Manual of Policy and Procedure*, Section 4650: 3, December 6, 1943.

[29] Sunflower Village, Sunflower, Kansas. These and succeeding quotations are used by permission of the Director, Region III, Public Housing Administration.

and the tenant group. In turn, at meetings between the Housing Manager and the Citizens Club, suggestions made by the organization are given careful consideration and resolved on a mutual basis. The tenant organization has had a number of definite achievements:

1. It was primarily instrumental in obtaining a kindergarten to be located in our Community Building and operated by the Manitowoc Public Schools. This eliminated the necessity of four and five-year old children walking a mile across railroad tracks and heavily traveled highways.
2. It provided whooping cough and diphtheria immunization for all children of pre-school age at the project site.
3. It brought pressure to bear which resulted in improvements to the individual dwelling units, such as storm windows, storm doors, additional insulation, etc.
4. It assisted in bringing library facilities, well-baby clinics, and recreational facilities to Custerdale.[30]

The policy of integration of project activities with the surrounding communities may also be illustrated.

In regard to integration with the community, there seems to be no noticeable differentiation between project and city residents. This absorption of the project residents by the city is more complete since most of the tenants are local veterans who feel they are entitled to the community's services and therefore make use of them as any city resident would. The few remaining war workers have resided on the project for such a length of time that they also feel they are a part of the city.[31]

Rather than tenants using off-site services and facilities, the situation is such that non-residents and residents of the project all use the on-site community facilities.[32]

Tenants of Lockefield are serving on committees and with volunteer groups in practically every phase of the community life.

Experience in the tenant groups within the project has helped prepare them for other community work.[33]

John McDowell reports an experience in Pittsburgh illustrating relations between project groups and the community at large, as

[30] Custerdale, Manitowoc, Wisconsin.
[31] Ottawa War Homes, Ottawa, Illinois.
[32] Capt. Frederick Ball Homes, Quincy, Illinois.
[33] Lockefield Gardens, Indianapolis, Indiana.

well as some of the internal problems of community organization, with special attention to the professional skill involved:

Since public housing is a relatively new development in the United States, we are now witnessing an exploration of the needs for professional skills in public housing administration. The position which many housing agencies call "director of community activities" . . . is filled in various ways, sometimes by people of experience in the field of recreation, formal, or informal education; sometimes by people of professional training in group work, case work, or intergroup work. The function of giving supervision to community activities is carried on under a variety of auspices. In some instances it is done by a person or persons on the staff of the housing authority; in others by a worker from the local public recreational agency; in still others by the staff of a private agency. . . . Soho Community House *is* located in the valley below three hills on which stand the dwellings erected by the Pittsburgh Housing Authority called Terrace Village. There are three management offices and community buildings for three sub-divisions, called respectively: Addison Terrace, Allequippa Terrace and Wadsworth Terrace. To each of these neighborhoods the Community House assigns a professionally trained group worker as director of programs for community activities. . . .[34]

McDowell notes that there was an initial period of uncertainty in which a variety of organizations were formed and leaders were tested. Some early leaders were found to be seeking personal advantage primarily and were discredited. Others, who were inexperienced, developed new capacities as time went on. Originally, too, there was fluidity in social relationships, with fewer club groups and more activity on the basis of interests, somewhat temporary in nature:

As the neighborhood became more stabilized and people decided that here was a good place to live with some permanence, more "clubs" came into being and sought meeting space and help from the community activities director.

Moving into new houses didn't work any miraculous changes in people, but it did stimulate a more active community interest. One new resident said: "We are pioneers here. The way we do things now will be a pattern for others to follow later. We had better do

[34] McDowell, John, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

things right." Many people, therefore, displayed much more interest in relationships in their new neighborhood than they ever had in their previous homes. . . . The fact that the community was a new one encouraged a kind of experimental attitude toward communal life. Public housing itself was something of a new venture in this country, and some of the early residents of the public housing community thought of themselves as partners in this venture into a new kind of living. They wanted their new neighborhood to be free from all the unwholesome aspects of the old.[35]

A study made of the beginnings of group life in Wadsworth Terrace during the first six months of occupancy revealed certain facts which may be interesting as an example. Three months after the Community House staff's service became available to the residents we find the following situation. There were twelve natural or "Club" groups. Four of these were interracial, all children's groups. Seven were started after conversations between members and the group worker. The others began without the group worker's help and some without her knowledge. The latter met in homes at first. Five classes were meeting, all initiated by request of residents. Ten interest groups were active, six of them growing out of stimulation by indigenous leaders, four by the group worker. The leadership was furnished by the Education and Recreation Division of the Works Progress Administration, by the Community House staff including students in schools of social work, by the Board of Education's Adult Education Department, by the volunteer service of residents of the neighborhood and by volunteers from the larger community.[36]

Some of the problems of leadership within residents' councils are indicated in the Pittsburgh example:

The Community House took the position from the beginning that the group workers would give help to the councils when asked. The help asked was for a presiding officer for an election meeting in one instance, and for consultation service to the recreation committee in two cases. The Housing Authority's management staff offered cooperation to the residents' councils, but in only one of the three neighborhoods did the representative of management take an active part in steering the organization. One council died very quickly when the residents began to distrust the leadership. Another dwindled to a few representatives of a minority left-wing political

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 9. [36] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

group which held regular meetings for about two years. The third, where management gave leadership, was very active for awhile, but was finally destroyed by factional disputes. These experiences are not necessarily typical of experiences with residents' councils in other public housing communities. . . .

The failure of the three residents' councils and the growing tendency to let the program director "furnish the program" has led the Community House staff to re-think its relation to councils and other representative groups. After two years the very name "residents' council" is enough to doom any representative group to failure in Terrace Village. Therefore, as the agency responsible for providing leadership and supervision to the community's activities program, it seemed appropriate for us to take the leadership in setting up committees or councils that are specifically related to the recreational or community activities program. The staff agreed to encourage representative adult committees for specific purposes, such as pre-school organization and policies, Christmas parties, and summer program in play areas. Out of limited functional committees experience and confidence was gained by residents and group workers together.[37]

This example serves to indicate that professional help is not readily sought by adults, perhaps because it has not been available in the previous experience of residents. The guidance that can be given by skilled professional workers may have to be related to specific interests in order to be accepted by the participants. Despite the negative attitudes toward previous tenant councils, McDowell notes that in one project a community activities advisory council was formed by representatives of adult clubs. This was at the suggestion of the professional worker after there had been successful experience with specific activities that had demonstrated the need for further planning.

Greendale, Wisconsin, whose physical characteristics were described earlier in this chapter, offers an example of new formal organization through the village government combined with the work of an active Citizens' Association. The latter resembles tenant councils in purpose, acting as a liaison between community groups, serving to convey community opinion to the Village Board and plan-

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

ning a variety of activities. Business services are provided to a remarkable degree through a cooperative organization.

These examples of community planning and other activities obviously resemble life in communities not planned as a unit. The favorable aspects of physical structure make planned communities different as well as the greater availability of professional assistance in local organization. The relations between professional and "natural" community leaders is discussed further in Chapters IX and XVI. Community councils described in Chapter VIII, have much in common with housing project resident organization.

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ties to the same extent as in the United States. Arguments are given for the provision of adequate space and leadership for community activities as essential in providing a satisfactory environment for social welfare of individuals, especially youth.

KENDALL, GLENN, "Experience in Developing a Community Program in Education," *Social Forces,* 19: 48–51, October, 1940.

Description of Norris, Tennessee, 1200 population, built from the ground up as a planned community. The school serves as a community center and acts as a working base for most of the activities of the town.

KIDD, KENNETH R., *Four Million Tenants: A Study of English Public Housing Management.* Chicago: Managers' Division, National Association of Housing Officials, Publication No. 114, February, 1940.

The scope of this study is broad including legislation, management personnel, tenant selection and relationships, rents and costs. Chapter VI discusses community activities. "It can be said that for the most part local authorities have regarded their estates merely as an aggregate of houses built to provide shelter for the inhabitants. Not only have they neglected to build facilities and to provide equipment for social and recreational activities, but they have often failed to provide even essential commercial facilities. Many of the existing community centers have been provided by the tenants themselves. Some have also been provided by some organization interested in community activity or social service work."

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The study was conducted by Jay Rumney, Professor of Sociology, University of Newark, and consultant to the Authority, and Sara Shuman, research associate on the staff of the Authority. Through the use of case study data and statistical analysis, comparisons are made between rehoused and control groups of families, with special attention to measures of health. The study shows beneficial effects of public housing to families and the community.

United States Housing Authority, *Community Activities in Public Housing,* Washington: Government Printing Office, May, 1941, revised, December, 1941.

Brief descriptions of activities give outstanding examples from all over the country including programs in pre-school and parent education, health and safety, consumer interests and homemaking, rent security plans and welfare activities, libraries and reading rooms, recreation for all age groups, resident newspapers, resident councils, and tenant associations.

WADSWORTH, HOMER C., "A Simple Question—and a Simple Answer," *Recreation,* 37: 342–343, September, 1943.

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PART THREE

ORGANIZED ACTION IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Coordination and Consensus

The great variety of associations which is characteristic of urban communities especially includes many with interests that are community-wide in character, such as recreation, child welfare, property improvement, or health protection. This is particularly the case with formally organized groups or local institutions; some of the older of these, such as schools and churches and labor unions have come to an active interest in matters that formerly were thought of as outside of their specialized spheres. Other groups or segments of the community which are not formally organized may exert some influence on community programs, although individuals in contemporary communities are largely ineffective unless they function through organizations. In some cases these community interests may seem to each association to be theirs to act on independently or to present needs for action which they should monopolize.

The total picture in communities even of medium size is thus one of complexity, and there is a problem of finding and expressing common interests. People may talk *at* each other, rather than *with* each other; groups with specialized functions may be interested in similar purposes and working in somewhat parallel directions without knowing it. "The various parts and participants of the urban economy are very highly specialized and the urban way of life is often socially disconnected though economically interdependent. Allegiances may become group, class, or sectional rather than community or city-wide. How to prevent these strains of separation from disrupting the whole city or its civic groups or even its families, how to weave these vivid and variegated cultures into a positive

civic program of intercommunication and cooperation is one of the challenging problems of the coming decades."[1]

To speak of "coordination" of community activities may suggest something of military authority and precision in timing and general articulation of plans. Nothing so exact is necessarily implied. A relative degree of efficiency, however, can be attained in community planning. Programs that are related need not be in conflict or interfere with each other. Waste and duplication can be avoided in the use of community resources, priorities agreed upon, and the needs of the total community can be increasingly realized by conscious effort. Some of the effective processes used in coordinating activities will be described in succeeding chapters.

Before coordination of efforts can be achieved to any substantial extent, there must be some agreement on the goals of community planning, at least within functional areas. Such consensus is never perfect, but may be achieved progressively through experiences which yield mutual confidence and understanding. Moreover, agreement within communities may be marked by complacency and smugness. Communities may be served by customs and also be victims of them. This presents the problem of leadership and stimulation to new kinds of community action. Sometimes the association of diverse people in itself yields new vigor and impetus in community life. Community participants may find that they have not assessed their own strength before coming together in new forms of association, such as are experienced in community centers or community councils.

Achieving consensus on goals of community activity is complicated by the development of pressure groups, whose purpose is to press for a partisan point of view rather than yield in the interaction between interest groups. Pressure groups may be non-partisan in the usual political sense, but they work for the special interest of one section of the city perhaps at the expense of others, or they speak in the name of a nationality group, or of property owners, or of a

[1] *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy.* Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. P. ix.

section of business or of organized labor. However, even where the motivation seems to be "selfish," pressure groups should be understood as almost an inevitable part of the wider flourishing of voluntary associations in cities. Pressure groups that act in the open can be countered by other pressures and publicity, and are more subject to control than the more subtle devices of political manipulation.

Moreover, an active concept of coordinated planning includes the possibility and even necessity of exerting pressures from a community point of view. To express and achieve anything like total community goals depends on involving not only the already active groups but also the non-participants—the bystanders. "There are always bystanders as well as principal participants, regardless of the issue. But bystander moderation of conflict does not take place unless the bystanders are politically active. The mere existence of bystander interests does not cause controversialists to keep the peace or to refrain from tyrannical exploits. The bystanders have to do something besides stand by."[2]

Community councils are a typical form of organized response to the problem of chaotic multiplicity of organizations and of conflicting goals and methods in community action. A widespread, although not always steady, interest in councils will be noted. In this section councils with general purposes will be described, while in Part IV, planning by councils in specialized areas will be considered. Community councils, to deserve the name of being representative, must be inclusive of all the major organizations and interest groups in the community. Their effectiveness depends, as will be suggested, on leadership which encourages and responds to broad community participation. The development of strong and representative councils is not easily achieved, but some successful experience can be cited. The experience accumulated is often spotty, tentative in character, and not systematically evaluated, but a review of what has been and is being done is presented with the thought that it will lead to still further exploration and experimentation with possible forms of community action.

[2] Reprinted by permission of Prentice-Hall, Inc., from *Ethics and Social Policy* by Wayne A. R. Leys. Copyright, 1941, by Prentice-Hall, Inc. P. 319.

CHAPTER VII

Community Centers

Community centers in an informal sense are not new or uncommon. They may be found wherever communities are effectively organized through simple, routinized folkways. In the American traditions, the informal counterpart of the town meeting was discussions around the cracker barrel in the general store or in the court house square. To cite odd examples of community centers of a sort, there is the village store described by John Steinbeck in *Cannery Row* as well as Doc's place, a strange laboratory which served as a haven and hangout for an array of local characters. There are various places, for some people a tavern or a drug store, for others a church or a lodge hall, where gossip is collected and mutual interests recognized, even if only by an unquestioned acceptance of the presence of those who belong there. Community centers of this sort are the places people think of when they are away from home, the gathering places which serve physically to identify community life.

CENTERS IN PLANNED COMMUNITIES

Community centers of a more formal sort may have some of these same characteristics, but they are generally the result of conscious efforts. They are part of planned community organization. The newer approaches in neighborhood planning and the general emphasis among architects on consideration of the functions to be served by building, as indicated in Chapters IV and V, result in the recognition that space for community activities is needed to supplement the limitations of individual dwelling units. Incidentally,

thereby the concept of home is extended. The National Committee on Housing states the case for a community center as a necessary part of a planned neighborhood:

All neighborhood planners (and practically no commercial builders) included community space as a desirable item of community development. The split in opinion is twofold. The planner is concerned with social considerations, and with all groups needing shelter. The builder in general is concerned with a tangible profit and relatively high income group. Experience, unfortunately, upholds the contention of both.

Some clarification may be gotten by an examination of the function of the community center. It should serve as (a) a meeting place for group political, civic and social functions, (b) it should provide a place for those activities, social, recreational and quasi-public which cannot take place in the home and which are necessary adjuncts to a full cultural and civic life.

The first of these two functions requires a large hall or auditorium which is available to any organized group, regardless of race, creed, color or political belief. Where the public school system is operated to serve all community needs, the school auditorium is the natural and proper place for such meetings and social functions, and all elementary and high schools should be designed to serve this purpose. Where this is not possible, the fire-house or the church can often be made to serve.

The low-cost house simply cannot provide adequate space for such things as photography, woodworking or study-privacy for the family with several children. Nor is the owner (or tenant) of this type of house able to purchase satisfactory equipment, and even if he could, the duplication involved would be wasteful. The success of camera clubs, hobby clubs, and similar group efforts all over the country stresses the urgent need for the self-expression thus afforded; adolescents must be given a place for group activity, a primary essential of their age. The experience of public housing with such facilities proves the existence of the demand; gratifying this demand brings rich rewards in cooperation with management, and in better citizenship through participation in local affairs.

The developer is rarely in a position to provide these things; the lower the income group he is attempting to reach, the less he is able to do. The part the municipality should, or could, take is equally in doubt. Further exploration is needed, with less closed

minds by the developers, a fresh point of view by the school authorities, and some really basic facts on costs and methods of operation. Data might also be obtained from the extremely few private and limited dividend developments that have ventured into this field.[1]

Space for civic functions and for recreational activities are indicated as reasons for a community center. These needs for space are obviously not confined to planned communities. They exist generally and are far from adequately met by present facilities in most cities. Social settlements, which are located in disorganized urban areas particularly, and schools with broad community programs, often in small towns or suburbs, are demonstrating the possibilities of stimulating civic activity and of providing for leisure time interests of people of all ages. Public recreation facilities may serve the same purposes. The center as a building is a means to a community end, provided that the walls do not act as limiting factors in the conception of the program. The easy flow, in and out, of individuals and groups makes a community center a focal point rather than an island. Community centers at their best can facilitate social interaction and promote a sense of belonging and interdependence within a community.[2]

SCHOOLS AS COMMUNITY CENTERS

The public schools are serving as community centers in many places and educational leaders point out the special justification for this

[1] *Your Stake in Community Planning.* Pamphlet issued by the National Committee on Housing, Inc., New York, October, 1944. Pp. 17–18.

[2] For a review of an earlier period of community center development see Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *American Charities and Social Work.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930. Pp. 462–464; 467–469. A definite movement was begun in 1911 and for a decade centers were established in schools and elsewhere, with high hopes for the strengthening of local democracy. However, there was not generally the response anticipated from nearby residents, and other difficulties developed, such as inflexibility of school administration. The result was a considerable disillusionment, and what current interest exists in community centers is more seasoned and temperate in expectations. It would now be assumed that interest in a program and use of a center must be promoted, and mere recognition of the need for community activity by leaders or professional workers does not insure a ready response.

in that the schools belong to the whole community and because they are located close to the homes of the people. This idea is part of the enlarging concept of education, which is also reflected in the development of community relationships in curriculum construction and in classroom work where projects and activities undertaken include tours and inquiries of various kinds in the community. The aim of many educators is that the schools should be integrated into the life of the community. From this standpoint, for the school to be a community center means much more than providing a meeting place for organized groups and recreation activities outside of school hours. However, the wider use of the school plant is perhaps the most definite expression of the idea of the community-centered school.

Whether the school should be *the* center of community activity or *a* center of community activity depends on local conditions. In a complex urban community a great variety of community agencies will be found, rendering cultural, religious, social, civic, protective, and recreational services which the school should not try to duplicate. The school should be fully aware of these services and should take the initiative . . . in helping make such services more useful to the community.

In many rural areas, where the headquarters of such county or regional agencies as the health department, the welfare department, the library, the extension service, and the planning commission are physically remote from the community, the school may logically be *the* local center of action for nearly all of these services.[3]

Howard Y. McClusky, one of the leaders in developing school-community relationships, expresses the viewpoint of an increasing number of educators:

Consider first the use of the existing school plant. In most cases, school buildings are used from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon, from Monday to Saturday, and from September to the middle of June. During these periods the buildings are employed mainly for formal instruction. This practice is copious proof of the

[3] Brewton, John E., "Relating Elementary Education to Community Life," in *Community Living and the Elementary School. 24th Yearbook*, Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association, 1945. P. 17.

traditional policy to make the school an educational capsule in society. It is no wonder that so many people regard education as a thing apart from the ordinary concerns of life.

Superior practice in the use of the school plant reveals why such a policy of isolation is a gross violation of the organic function of the school in the community. For example, in some towns and cities the recreational facilities of school buildings are open to children in summer, and to out-of-school youth and adults in winter, reducing the risk of street accidents, relieving the pressure of delinquency areas, and enriching the leisure time of all participants. In other instances class rooms, laboratories, and auditoriums are turned over at out-of-class periods to adults continuing their education. And in still other cases pupils remain at home for a few days while their parents go to school. Such wider uses of the school plant enrich the life of the community, vastly increasing the resources available to the school for improving the task which has always been its special function.

Consider next the influence that a full recognition of the community might have on the architecture of school buildings. The school buildings would be planned to meet the educational needs of people from infancy to old age. Convertible rooms for classes, discussion groups, reading, music, crafts, radio and workshops, together with a theatre, auditorium and library, would be incorporated into the structure of the building for the use of the regular school during the day and the community during the evening. If school buildings and grounds could be constructed to serve a complete program of community education, a style of architecture so functional would be created as to make the physical property of the school a living symbol of the higher aspirations of people in the area served.[4]

A note of caution has also been sounded with reference to the total community emphasis in school programs. The community school should not serve to develop ingrown attitudes among its constituents that are inappropriate in contemporary society. The factor of mobility should be considered, particularly in rural communities where only one-third to one-half of the children will be

[4] McClusky, Howard Y., "School in the Community," *North Central Association Quarterly*, 15: 366, April, 1941.

permanent local residents. The rest will go to cities and towns, and the school needs therefore to relate itself to more general patterns of community living rather than to the needs of a particular local community.[5]

A state university offers an example of an educational institution large enough to constitute a community in a special sense. The Wisconsin Student Union is the unusually active social center of the University of Wisconsin campus. A recent annual report of the director indicates simultaneously the philosophy behind the operations of a large community center and an active conception of education as a creative experience including the developing of skills in personal relationships. The director describes how students gain experience through self-government, which he believes is being carried over to community leadership throughout the state.

. . . Mass production industry has built great populations but deprived the people of the communal and creative life which human beings need. The dispersive influence of the automobile, the telephone, and the radio all have hastened the disintegration of community life. People have been separated from responsibilities for the general welfare and left untouched by any community purpose. So, if a community is to play its part in the building of a better world it must first of all be a true community. And as a starting point it needs to be sure there is a focus, a home, for its community life—in short, a community center.

Fortunately this community of some 10,000 students and faculty has such a center. . . . We have brought together in one place dining rooms and meeting rooms, game facilities and social halls, library, art workrooms and galleries, theater and concert hall—all forming a great social-cultural heart out of which, as from the classrooms, flow the currents which inform the life of the campus with dignity and meaning. Here in the Union are joined the learnings of the classrooms, the practice of the arts, and daily social life in an art of living. Here we forge our common will and common purpose.

. . . In 1944, 8,000 to 12,000 people, as many as live in Chippewa Falls or Neenah, entered the Union every day. . . . They were not just marching through, as through a railway station or

[5] Beers, Howard W., "The Community School and the World Community," *Phylon*, Second Quarter, 1946, VII: 161–168.

down State Street. For one thing, all received some personal service from Union employees, which explains why quite a few employees are needed to man the building. The significant thing is that these 8,000 to 12,000 each day were sitting at dining tables hammering out their personal and group views and conclusions; meeting in rooms to lay out courses of common action; listening to good music; reading in the library; seeing the world we live in through motion pictures; feeling the inspiration of common thought proceeding from a speaker or a play; designing and building in the craft shops and stage shop, thus learning the satisfaction of personal creation; looking into the mirror of past cultures and of our own on the art gallery walls; discovering that prejudiced feelings about race and religion dissolve on a ski trip or around a game table or in a committee that does things together; forming appreciations and learning techniques of doing things that can be applied for a lifetime. . . .

Self-government at the Union is not playing at it, in a harmless situation where it does not make much difference how it comes out. Self-government through the Union has to do with the daily dining and recreation of thousands—two items which together account for one-half of the expense of going to college; with the ways and means of making a $2,500,000 building useful; with ways and means of realizing a $750,000 annual budget; with the direction of more than 200 kinds of programs and services involving the efforts of 200 full-time employees, 125 student employees, and 1,100 student volunteers, and involving our 8,000 to 12,000 people a day who depend upon the program and services being good.[6]

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

Settlements have historically emphasized their close identification with the community as their reason for existence and specifically for the act of "settling" in the area by the house residents. Their programs have been marked by flexibility in the interest of adaptation to the needs of the "neighbors." The goal, as expressed variously by Jane Addams of Hull House, Graham Taylor, and Mary McDowell, other pioneers in Chicago, and Lillian Wald of New York, and Robert A. Woods of Boston, has been to make possible a give and take between people of different social backgrounds rather than

[6] Butts, Porter, *The Wisconsin Union In 1944:* Annual Report of the Director.

to provide a fixed program. The fostering of educational or cultural democracy, a common ground for reconciling differences, respect for individuals and their capacities—these are some of the leading ideas that have motivated workers in settlements.

Any observer may readily note gaps between ideals and practice in actual cases, particularly the tendency for programs to become formalized and routinized, shaped by the limits of building and equipment rather than the needs and interest of people. Responsiveness to changes in the lives of people surrounding them, together with leadership in community action, are not uncommon traits of professional workers in settlements. These traits, however, must be carefully nurtured or they may be lost in the maze of detailed demands and day-to-day activities that occupy the time of settlement staff members. The quality of the program in any center definitely varies with the imagination and resourcefulness of its leadership. Therefore some recent statements of purpose of settlements are of special interest as an articulation of current philosophy, not only in relation to settlements, but also with reference to the broader concept of a community center with a professional staff.

Mary K. Simkhovitch, well known for her long record of leadership in New York City, emphasizes the role of the settlement in local planning and in relating the locality to city-wide plans and programs. The theme is that settlements are to "hold activities lightly," and to relinquish them whenever possible to schools and other governmental agencies.

The neighborhood must become more self-conscious and articulate, but at the same time it can never be divorced from the development of city, state, and nation. The first and the lasting concern of the settlement is to make the needs of the neighborhood articulate, whether it be housing or health, living and working conditions, or the broader field of adult education on which depends the fate of our domestic and international future.

If this concept of the settlement be correct it cannot class itself as an agency, but rather as a local planning group related to the city plan. Social engineering rather than social service is its primary field.

Obviously, however, in delving into the neighborhood one discovers the need for this or that change. If this need cannot be met by some other group, the settlement will in the interest of practical concern attempt to meet that need. But the settlement will always hold its activities lightly, ready to give them up if they can be taken over permanently by another public or private agency. This means a constant review of program. The public school, conscious that education and recreation are closely related, is in many parts of the country developing afternoon and evening programs. We may expect that in time nursery schools will have a part to play in the public school program. Art and music and drama must all find their place in the school or after-school program. The schools should be open as community centers for adults as well, and architects should have these things in mind as they plan for new school buildings.

But the development of the local area will continue to be the basic interest of the settlement. The settlement is indeed the microcosm of our life as Americans, with no tie-up with political party, religious or racial group. Members of the settlement may have any alignment they choose, but the group as a whole must confine its attention to the civic, social and cultural needs of the neighborhood. It must bring out in high relief the weak spots of the area. It must bring to bear all the forces within the area, religious, political and cultural, to work in harmony for the best interests of the neighborhood. The settlement is a fertilizing center of social action all along the line. And it must subordinate its activities no matter how useful or fascinating to this end. The cultural program will be needed till the time comes for the school to take it over. As it is at present, the settlement gives the advantages of the best private schools. Many a family goes into a district where a children's theatre, or fine nursery school, or music school, or opportunity for drawing and painting and the crafts exists. Certainly the opportunity for sports and for camp life should be open to all. Doubtless the schools of the future will provide these valuable opportunities. But city budgets, like private budgets, look askance at the increasing expenditures. The settlement will favor the placing of these services on the public payroll. Probably the burden of all these things should fall on the tax payer rather than on voluntary contribution. But that time is not yet.

If we are all agreed as far as we have gone that activities are dependent upon the public's readiness to take them over, we must

revert to our main proposition that the neighborhood is the place where day by day we see clearly how government functions, and where needs still need to be met.[7]

Lucy P. Carner, the staff specialist of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago who works closely with settlements and various other agencies of informal education and recreation, summarizes the major characteristics of the settlement as a background for a balance sheet based on her observations in Chicago:

I. Characteristics of the Settlement.

1. The Settlement is *rooted in a geographical community.* Its purpose is to understand that community, to help develop its potentialities, to provide or to aid it in securing needed services. It is significant that the Settlement classics are primarily interpretations of community life.

To perform this function, settlement workers for the most part have lived in the community. "Living in" may be as distasteful to some young settlement workers as the same phrase is to household employees, and it is entirely possible that the *form* of living together in a settlement house may not always be used. But, if not, some other symbol of identification with the community will need to be found.

This deliberate identification suggests that the settlement philosophy does not view a community as an isolated unit with all the forces for good or for evil shut up inside it. It bases its work on the value of an interchange of experience between communities, and of the need for bringing together resources from inside and outside any given community. All wisdom about a community is *not* shut up within its own railroad yards and streets. Indeed it might be said that one who knows only one community does not have the basis for understanding it—whether that community be the "gold coast" or the "slums." Lillian Wald through the windows of Henry Street saw more than her neighbors did, because she saw Henry Street against the background of the world.

The settlement then frankly believes that community life can be enriched best by a combination of indigenous and outside leadership. And obviously for the purposes of the settlement that

[7] Simkhovitch, Mary K., *Neighborhood and Nation.* Unpublished paper read on the occasion of the 71st Annual Meeting of The Union Settlement of Hartford, Connecticut. April 11, 1944. Pp. 2–3.

outside leadership must have won its right through the discipline of a broad education, through what John Dewey calls a "cultivated imagination for what men have in common," through the ability and skill needed for the services the settlement performs.

The general task of the settlement in the community is a synthesis of education that shall give people some perspective on the problems that press on them and some of the modern tools for getting those problems solved, and of action to better the common lot. "To stir the conscience of the community and to unite its forces," as a great settlement leader put it. The primary function, then, is not *a* program. Programs change as needs change and as other resources are developed. The lasting function is a *relationship* with the community.

The usual tangible evidence of a settlement in a community is a "house." This need not signify a limitation of function to that which can be carried on within the four walls. The house is, rather at its best, a symbol of what life might be like—hospitable, friendly, homelike, unostentatious, gay. This symbol is worth mentioning as distinctive of the settlement idea as contrasted, on the one hand, with an impressive institution, and, on the other hand, with a store front.

2. A natural corollary of the settlement's identification with the life of a community is *its concern with the family as its unit of work.* The settlement carries on activities with girls and boys, but it is more than a children's program. It may house a nursery school but it is more than a nursery school. It has classes, clubs, forums, but it is more than an adult education enterprise. It works with "youth," but it is more than a "youth serving agency." For the settlement sees these persons of all ages not only as groups with interests of their own, but also as members of families with whose opportunity for the good life the settlement is concerned.

3. All that has been said thus far implies that the settlement is *in a peculiar sense inclusive.* It may be very small, but in it there is "room for differences." It crosses the lines of race, religion, nationality, economic status, ideologies.

This characteristic inclusiveness has not kept the settlement in any comfortable area of agreement wherein it is saved the pain of standing up for a human cause upon which opinions differ. Settlement leaders and the residents in settlement neighborhoods have "taken sides" for example, on such issues as social security and health insurance. The right of a person to a job, to a place to live, and to participation in the settlement program on the basis of interest and need has been defended by settlement leaders even at

the cost of misunderstandings by important community groups. But there has always been room for the expression of minority viewpoints and a genuine respect for differences.

4. The *settlement program,* as has been indicated, is *experimental, flexible,* ready to demonstrate a method, to meet a need and then relinquish the particular activity to another organization. Certain methods, however, tend to characterize the settlement program. Group work lends itself particularly well to the settlement approach and found in settlements one of its earliest settings. The cultivation of the arts has long been an important aspect of the settlement program. Varied groupings and various activities from the small group to the community festival have served to give tangible form to the settlement's *respect for the individual* and *its faith in democracy* as a process that can be learned by young and old as they work and play together, its concern that whatever program is undertaken shall have a *quality of excellence,* yes, of beauty.

II. Some Shortcomings in Chicago Settlements Today.

1. Many settlements and neighborhood houses have been weak in interpreting their communities. . . .

2. Even more settlements have not been alert in enlisting the people in the community to understand, criticize and support the settlement's own program, much less to understand their world and to tackle the problems that press upon them or threaten their children. . . .

Allied to this is the widespread failure of many settlements to make connections with organized labor, even in a day when organized labor is going more than half way to meet social work. Some of you are in neighborhoods where workers are not organized, but that is only a partial answer. I don't know why settlement people should feel more at home in seeking out a local Kiwanis Club, or Chamber of Commerce than the local of a workers organization, but most of you do.

3. Allied to this lack of effectiveness in enlisting community effort is the small proportion of men in your activities. . . .

4. There is not enough progression in group experience. . . .

5. Last, but not least, settlements have been weak in developing well informed, representative boards of directors, who have a sense of identification with the settlement. . . .[8]

[8] Carner, Lucy P., *Why New Settlements?* Unpublished paper, an address given at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Houses, April 3, 1945.

Having noted shortcomings, Miss Carner "wins the right" to speak of successes. In describing "some new frontiers," she gives examples of ways in which settlements have enlisted neighborhood groups for participation in city planning. Other examples drawn by Miss Carner from recent developments in Chicago illustrate flexibility in adapting programs to the needs of the aged, of youth, pioneering in day care for young school age children of working mothers, and giving a "welcome to newcomers" of different races and nationalities.

Some of the shortcomings that have been mentioned were noted in an earlier appraisal of the settlement movement.[9] From recent observations, it is evident that settlements are reconsidering their functions today, voluntarily or by necessity, as their areas change and decline in population, as staff shortages develop, as sources of financial support diminish, and as supporters and workers demand satisfying proof of services rendered. Settlements are inclined to justify their continued existence to the extent that they are laboratories or proving grounds for democratic experience, in the spirit of expressions quoted, not trying to provide large scale recreation programs nor hoping to effect any wholesale reconstruction of community life.[10] With reference to Mary Simkhovitch's emphasis on the settlement's role in local planning, the prevalent view among settlement workers now seems to be that their part is primarily one of stimulation within the local community and of interpretation to the larger community. A careful distinction has recently been made

[9] Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 467–479. "A Study of Chicago Settlements and Their Districts," by Clark Tibbitts is cited, *Social Forces*, 6: 430–437, 1928.

[10] If the settlement's role is accepted to be in substantial part that of a center for the demonstration and development of skills in human relationships, there might properly be more attention to the recording, analysis and evaluation of interaction within formal and informal groups. The purpose of learning from cumulative experience and of carrying over insights from one group situation to another would then be enhanced. There is a general interest among group workers in keeping records of activities to make possible analysis of the processes of interaction, but in practice it is in a beginning stage. See Coyle, Grace, *Studies in Group Behavior*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937. See also *Preliminary Report of the First National Training Laboratory on Group Development*, listed in the Bibliography of Chapter XVI.

between the work of a settlement and of a neighborhood council. The broad responsibilities of the former are recognized, but as a single agency it cannot do the work of a local planning council.[11]

OTHER EXAMPLES OF COMMUNITY CENTERS

The United Service Organizations (USO) during World War II was best known for its work in providing recreational centers for military personnel. It also served civilian populations in a smaller number of boom towns, where industrial workers were not otherwise provided with community recreational services. In effect, this phase of the USO program brought a professionally staffed community center to certain places which had been without one.[12] There have been instances of USO centers and similar wartime developments being continued as normal community functions.

In many places urban churches and libraries have broadened their traditional functions and serve as community centers. The consumers cooperative may also provide such a center where it has a meeting place which is used for educational and recreational activities which go beyond the immediate interest of the membership in operating a store.[13] There are other possibilities including farmers' grange halls and trade union halls, as well as club houses maintained by veterans' organizations and the like, which are used by more than the membership.

It is evident that the concept of community center includes the possibility that there may be more than one center within a given local area. This can be pictured as a group of circles with overlapping borders. In so far as their goals are not inconsistent or in conflict with each other, these various centers can function simultaneously in the building of the larger community through creation of

[11] The Cleveland Conference on District and Neighborhood Community Organization. Sponsored by Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and the National Federation of Settlements, Inc., December 7–8, 1947. Mimeographed report.

[12] Helen McCandless, in an article cited in the Bibliography, describes such a USO center in Jeffersonville, Indiana, where there was a concentration of workers because of nearby ordnance plants.

[13] Examples are noted in the Bibliography.

common interest and understandings. Some of the community centers referred to may not serve the whole community as completely as those that are obligated to do so because they are under governmental auspices, such as schools or public recreational centers with broad programs, or the social agency type, such as settlements, which consciously strive for inclusiveness in constituency.

Schools, settlements, and recreation centers are doubtless the most common examples of community centers. Moreover, they are likely to have professional staff workers to give guidance and stimulation to organizations in program planning and to help individuals to find new interests and to express themselves in cooperative activities. The combination of a broad base of support in the community with professional direction, in buildings usable for various age groups and types of activities, is characteristic of community centers. Their development has been uneven throughout the country, but there are enough varied examples available to indicate their potential role in community organization.

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CHAPTER VIII

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Community Councils

LOCAL AREAS AND GENERAL PURPOSES

A community council is a voluntary body, usually representative of organizations within a local area, and possibly providing for participation of individuals as well. It is essentially an intergroup relationship which is organized in a council, with the organizations represented being the channels for broad community participation. A small or medium-sized city may have only one community council, whereas in a large city, there may be several, and potentially each part of a metropolis might be separately organized. The terms "neighborhood," "district," or "area" are sometimes used to designate the coverage of a council within a large city.

Although there is no uniformity in the current usage of the neighborhood designation, there is a distinction being made by workers in this field, whereby neighborhood describes an area of smaller size with a population of perhaps 10,000 or less. A distinguishing characteristic of the neighborhood is that it has an elementary school and other local services.[1] A district or local community within a large city has perhaps 50,000 or 100,000 inhabitants, being large enough to have its own high school and several elementary schools. The boundaries of such an area may be definitely marked by transportation lines, rivers, or other geographic features,

[1] Cf. "neighborhood unit" in city planning discussed in Chapter IV. The distinction in terms stated here is used in Detroit, and is being accepted in other cities. See report of *The Cleveland Conference on District and Neighborhood Community Organization.* Sponsored by Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and The National Federation of Settlements, Inc., December 7–8, 1947.

but in many cases there are no sharp dividing lines.[2] A shopping center, perhaps a local newspaper, a name in common use for the area and possibly some local traditions, along with locally organized churches, clubs, P.T.A.'s and the like, may give at least a semblance of local community consciousness on which planned organization may be based. The school may be the principal focal point and source of identification for both the neighborhood and community. Other local administrative areas for public services, such as health, recreation, police, fire, and the library may reinforce the sense of local community, but often their overlapping boundaries may impede the participation in local planning by such agencies and their official representatives.[3]

Basic to the consideration of the purposes of community councils, in larger cities, particularly, is the question: what interests tend to unite people locally? In areas of residential hotels or rooming houses, where the urban characteristics of anonymous relationships can be observed at an extreme, there seem to be practically no common interests to serve as the basis for community planning. Even in other areas, there is inertia to reckon with, the apathy characteristic of large cities, or the let-well-enough alone attitude more likely to be found in smaller cities. However, as suggested, schools and other locally administered services may provide common interests, coupled with the consideration that people vote in local districts. As will be noted, the interests of children, especially the provision for recreation opportunities, is a common starting point in local community organization. On the other hand, city-wide planning bodies may recognize the limitations in the large scale approach and may consciously promote decentralized participation and local initiative in community planning.

Community councils are organized for general purposes, which may be stated in such form as "to study conditions and to plan for a better community" or "to promote the welfare of Community X."

[2] Hatt, Paul, "The Concept of Natural Area," *American Sociological Review*, 11: 423–427, August, 1946.

[3] Deardorff, Neva R., "Uniform Neighborhood Boundaries," *Architectural Forum*, 80: 125–126, April, 1944.

Within such broad objectives, the attention of a council is usually directed to specific problems or projects. One project may lead to another, or the interrelations of several interests may be recognized, thus giving substance to broad statements of purpose. Sometimes a council has started with the recognition of some specific problem and has subsequently developed breadth of interest. The control of juvenile delinquency within a local community, to take a common example, may seem to be a specific objective, but study and discussion have led community leaders to a recognition of the complexity of community conditions and of remedial programs.

One crucial test of the generality of purpose is whether the council is related in its planning or its watch-dog activities to a range of governmental functions and services. Councils cannot go far in a broad program of interest to citizens at large without getting involved in what governmental authorities are doing or should be encouraged to do. Thus when community councils are genuine expressions of local democracy, they have a foot in the political arena and constitute a threat to whatever machine bosses and partisan pressure group may exist in the community. Councils need not play a critical or opposition role, and they may even be used by public officials as advisory bodies. However, they must have some potential political weight or they will be confined to innocuous busy work in the community.[4]

Councils usually restrict themselves to planning and leave the actual operation of services to existing or new agencies.

Councils function as counseling, coordinating or planning groups, but not as agencies. A council usually discovers that if it takes on an administrative function and acts as an agency it is forced to give so much time to this service that it functions less effectively as a coordinating or planning group. It also runs the risk of encroaching on the territory of a member agency. Since this is

[4] At one time the voteless residents of Washington, D.C., were organized into eighty citizens' associations. In spite of their being without power to control the municipal government through the ballot these associations claimed credit for initiating or supporting many civic improvements. Devine, E. T., and Assistants, "Citizens' Association of a Unique Community," *Sociology and Social Research*, 13: 140–155, November-December, 1928.

true the question may well be asked as to how results are secured. How do councils get action?

The councils work through the many organizations, agencies and departments included in their membership. If a council discovers a serious lack of recreational facilities in a certain area, it takes up the subject with the recreation department, the public schools, or whatever group is in a position to do something about it. A solution to each problem is sought through the agencies or organizations already rendering service in the general field of the problem in question. Through cooperative planning, through the pooling of ideas and resources a way is usually found to meet the needs which all agree are urgent.[5]

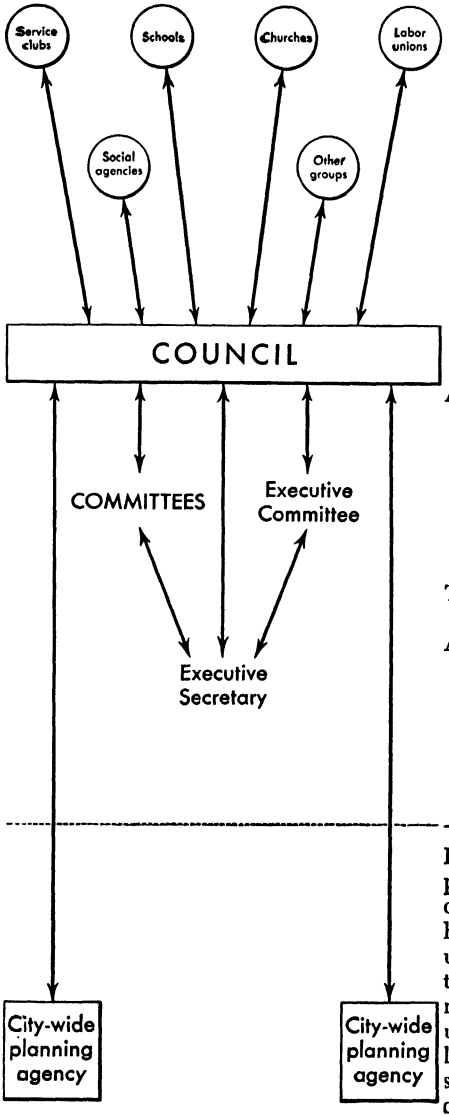
There are somewhat minor exceptions to this principle, where councils directly sponsor community-wide Halloween parties or celebrations, for example, clean-up campaign or forums. Since these activities cut across the interests of existing organizations, the councils' responsibility for them is in keeping with broader purposes. The preparation of a community calendar, to avoid conflicts in the scheduling of events of general interest, is a common undertaking, sometimes even serving as a starting point for a council's existence. In contrast with direct sponsorship of activities, the projects which have been inspired or promoted by councils, following fact-finding and discussion in committees and larger meetings, are as varied as local conditions. Typically, however, they express concern about recreation facilities, youth service organizations, safety and health problems, and property improvement and physical planning. In brief, the functions of community councils can be stated as follows, some of which will be described further:

1. Coordinating existing activities and planning for additional facilities or services to meet recognized needs within a local area. The usual practice is that actual operations are delegated to new or existing agencies.

2. Establishing new patterns of social relationships within an area, brought about by contacts and discussion between individuals and group representatives not otherwise in touch with each other,

[5] *A Guide to Community Coordination.* Los Angeles, California: Coordinating Councils, Inc., 1941. Pp. 9–10.

TYPICAL ORGANIZATION OF A COMMUNITY COUNCIL



Civic groups
Service clubs
Business and Professional associations
Labor unions
Churches
Women's clubs
Health and welfare agencies
Schools, recreation, and other governmental sevices

These and other local organizations choose delegates, who represent them, and report back to them. The delegates, and sometimes citizens at large, constitute:

A COMMUNITY COUNCIL, which has committees related to:
- Local Government and City Planning
- Youth Services
- Recreation
- Health
- Special projects and studies.

There is usually an Executive Committee, and:

An Executive Secretary works with the committees to stimulate their work and to coordinate activities.

LARGE CITIES (100,000 or more approximately) may have more than one local community or neighborhood council. Local councils may unite in a federation to facilitate their relations with city-wide planning bodies. Together or individually, councils in local areas of large cities are likely to find themselves actively interested in the overall work of:

City housing and planning agencies:—official and voluntary. Municipal recreation commission. Welfare planning council—health and welfare agencies. Race or intergroup relations committees. Adult education council.

The arrows indicate two-way relationships in the planning process.

including the possibility of developing social relations between previously hostile groups. This may be incidental to other functions but even as a by-product of other purposes it is worthy of note, given the existence of various conflicts and tensions in communities.

3. Representing local interests within a larger framework of planning within large cities or metropolitan regions. Conversely, planning bodies on a larger area basis may help to establish local units for decentralized participation in planning.

COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE

Councils are usually composed of representatives of agencies and organizations which means that there is a combination of professional people, such as school principals, clergymen, social workers, and public officials, and laymen or citizens. There may also be councils of professional workers, which meet for shop talk and mutual assistance, but such organizations do not deserve to be called community councils even though they serve a purpose in facilitating the work of the members. Unless there is a blending of professional and lay citizen interest it does not seem possible to express general community purposes. If general planning is to be accomplished, the representation must be broad enough to give expression to all points of view and to insure support of recommendations agreed upon. There is a basic problem of providing for representation of the people of a community who are unaffiliated with or inactive in existing organizations.[6] One answer to the general question or representativeness in council participation is that it is important to get started, and the original nucleus can be enlarged in widening circles.

What organizations should be included in a council? There is no uniform pattern but the following list of suggested types of groups

[6] These are the by-standers to whom reference was made in the Introduction to Part III. See also Brown, Muriel, "Some Applications of Sociometric Techniques to Community Organization," *Sociometry*, VI: 94–100, February, 1943.

People may be active in one organization and non-participants with respect to many interests outside of its realm of activity. If that organization through council membership becomes involved in wider concerns, there has been some activating of by-standers, even though they are not totally non-participants in community life.

and agencies which should be considered for council membership is based on broad experience:[7]

Governmental agencies, including
  Health Department
  Juvenile Court
  Library
  Public Schools
  Welfare Departments
  Recreation Departments
Social agencies, including
  Youth serving agencies
  Family welfare societies
  Settlements
Parent-teacher association
Women's clubs
Service clubs
Fraternal organizations
Veterans' groups
Churches and religious organizations
Labor unions
Chamber of Commerce
Business and professional associations

There is some difference between councils, however general their stated purposes, depending on who takes the lead in forming the council. The central core of interest, the priority of problems tackled, and to some extent its composition tends to vary with different initiative and leadership. School administrators have promoted councils and have given a professional quality of leadership in many cases. Welfare agencies, including councils of social agencies, have assisted in the formation of councils for general planning. Among public agencies in the welfare category are the juvenile courts which "have sponsored councils because of their value in checking juvenile delinquency."[8]

[7] *A Guide to Community Coordination, op. cit.,* and *Organizing a Community Council.* Bulletin No. 330, Published by Eugene B. Elliott, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lansing, Michigan, 1944. See Bibliography for other guides to the organization of councils.

[8] *A Guide to Community Coordination, op. cit.,* p. 5.

There are "councils" which resemble town meetings of an unofficial sort in that direct citizen participation is encouraged. Such citizens' councils have been promoted by the National Municipal League, in the interests of continuous and informed public attention to governmental processes.[9] Although membership is open, and the range of interests is as broad as the scope of local government, these organizations do not have the coordinating and planning functions of community councils as considered here. Citizens councils of this sort tend to be separate organizations for civic purposes.

Councils generally have a delegate body representing affiliated organizations.[10] Some provide for individual participation, as members at large or on an associate basis. Councils have also operated on the basis of territorial representation, the basic unit being a city block or small sub-area. The Office of Civilian Defense organization with its block plan in some cities was the most recent example of this form of structure. The territorial basis of representation may be combined with organization of committees for special purposes or of a council based on specialized interest, including the usual organizational affiliations.[11]

The most famous example of a combination of block representation of citizens combined with a functional basis of organization, through an occupational council, was the Cincinnati Social Unit. Designed by outsiders as an experiment in democratic organization, the main program interest was a child health demonstration. To the local people, the health program was of greatest interest with the form of organization being considered incidental.[12]

One of the boldest attempts at community organization ever made in the United States was the Cincinnati Social Unit experi-

[9] *Citizens' Councils,* National Municipal League, 309 East 34th Street, New York City, 1939. Pp. 6–7.

[10] See Chapter XVI for discussion of the role of delegates and council procedure generally.

[11] Roy, Walter, "The Community Defends Itself," pp. 146–164 in Carnovsky, Leon, and Martin, Lowell, *The Library in the Community,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

[12] Lowrie, S. Gale, "The Social Unit—an Experiment in Politics," *National Municipal Review,* 9: 553–66, September, 1920.

ment. The principal objective of the project was to bring about a combination of democratic control and professional services. To this end the 15,000 people who occupied the 31 blocks of the Mohawk-Brighton district were organized along two lines. Each adult residing or working in the district was supposed to participate in groups through which he would be represented, first, as resident and consumer and, second, as producer and practitioner of some special skill. The first part of the organization was based on block councils which were supposed to be elected by all persons over eighteen years of age living in each block. Each council was then to choose a member to represent it on the Citizens' (district) Council. These representatives also had some executive duties and received a small stipend. The second part of the organization was based on occupational councils of teachers, artisans, physicians, merchants, social case workers, and other vocational groups. One member of each of these bodies was its representative in the central Occupational Council. Finally, the Citizens' Council and the Occupational Council meeting together constituted the General Council. Numerous obstacles were encountered, among them the influenza epidemic of 1918, the general excitement of war time, and the opposition of certain politicians at the city hall.

In spite of these handicaps most of the projected organizational machinery was actually set up and made to function. The development of a health service for small children will illustrate its method of operation. Some outsiders first suggested such a program. The matter was discussed in the Citizens' Council. Then each member talked it over with the residents of her block. She reported the results of her conference back to the Citizens' Council which finally decided to undertake the general plan. But for details of procedure they turned to the Occupational Council and particularly to the physicians' and nurses' councils. The latter made very definite proposals which were discussed by the Citizens' Council, referred to the separate blocks, and again considered by the central group before adoption. When the program was completely outlined its actual inauguration was relatively easy: it was a sound plan from the medical standpoint; and it was understood by the whole population.

This "experiment" was continued for three years, 1917–1920, with financial support partly from the local community and partly from a national organization. The period was too short to yield conclusive results, although there were numerous achievements. On

the other hand, its discontinuance when outside support was withdrawn is not convincing evidence of failure . . . [13]

The experiment, as J. F. Steiner points out, should be judged in terms of its philosophy. The structure was a means for providing citizen participation and the contribution of technical specialists in planning. The claims to achievement of local democracy of the Social Unit experiment as worked out in Cincinnati has been questioned because of the active role of non-residents in promoting what seemed to be a preconceived plan. However, there was evidence of genuine local interest and support, particularly in the district of the city selected, and a distinct effort was made to bring about popular control.[14]

COUNCILS IN CITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES

Councils which are relatively unknown may be functioning smoothly and effectively, and others may be known widely as a result of special publicity provided by their leaders or promoters. There is no intention here to locate the most outstanding achievements, but references to current practice are in order to illustrate the structure and functions of councils.[15]

The story of community planning in X-ville contains no magic and no beneficent donor who stepped in to solve all of the problems. It is a story of time and effort of many willing citizens to make their community a better place in which to live. What these

[13] Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B. *American Charities and Social Work.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930. Pp. 464–465.

[14] Steiner, J. F., *Community Organization.* New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1930. Pp. 346–359; Dinwiddie, Courtenay, *Community Responsibility: A Review of the Cincinnati Social Unit Experiment.* New York: New York School of Social Work. 1921; and Phillips, Wilbur, *Adventuring in Democracy.* New York: Social Unit Press, 1940. Pp. 149–362. Phillips was one of the principal professional leaders in the Cincinnati program and has written a biographical account of his work there as well as an appraisal in retrospect.

[15] See Chapter III for discussion of councils in smaller towns. The bibliography of this chapter cites several accounts which illustrate the variety of forms and activities. A directory is available for one state: *Learning for Living: Community Directory Michigan Community Councils.* Published by Community Adult Education, University of Michigan Extension Service, Ann Arbor, Michigan, October, 1946.

citizens of X-ville did, other Michigan communities can also do. X-ville is a prosperous town of over 6,000 people, located in central Michigan. It has several industries, and also serves as the trade center for the area. Perhaps the one outstanding characteristic is the willingness of the school people, business groups, the churches, and townfolk in general, to pull together for the good of the town as a whole.

Community organization in a formal way started some four years ago. At that time a coordinating council was suggested to include representatives of all the groups in the community. After several attempts, a council was finally set up. Although shaky in the first two years of existence, it has grown in effectiveness until it now represents the key group for coordinated community activity.

Among the projects initiated and carried out were the following: an investigation of recreation facilities, the use of the facilities, and plans for supplementation; civic forums on topics of general interest; a summer playground program; a survey of opinion on a proposed curfew law; and a recreation program for service men in the locality. Through these projects people were learning the methods and advantages of working together. The groundwork had been laid. By this time fifty community groups were participating in the council activities.

Two major projects have developed. One is the acquiring of a community center. This entailed long hours spent in planning, the raising of several thousand dollars, and a great deal of back-breaking labor to renovate an old building. The committee is now in a position to hire a full-time director as soon as one can be secured. In the meantime a temporary director is assuming the main responsibility under a board of directors elected by the community council. The recreation center is providing wholesome activity for 150 each night, both youth and adults included.

Another important project is continued economic planning, for the council realizes that no community can develop unless people have jobs. From this sound economic basis stem the other aspects of community life.[16]

The development of community councils in cities of various sizes is being stimulated by the New York State Citizens' Council,

[16] *Organizing a Community Council.* Bulletin No. 330, published by Eugene B. Elliott, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lansing, Michigan, 1944. Pp. 16–17.

formed as a result of a meeting in 1943 called by the New York State War Council and the New York State Education Department. Each local council is autonomous and the state agency acts in an advisory and liaison capacity. The state-wide program is related to the work of national organizations, as well as to the established activities of community chests and councils in urban centers and of the agricultural extension service in rural areas. With reference to this development it is reported:[17]

There are today about 100 community councils, some weak and faltering, some far ahead in vision and achievement. Their programs range from influence on a specific project, such as a community center, to overall city planning; from forums on one specific subject, such as atomic-energy control or intercultural relations, to comprehensive arrangements for public discussion on many vital issues.

The council idea is built around the principle of cooperation with existing agencies and interests. Where a group is already doing a part of the job, the council helps. Where nothing is being done to meet a need the council encourages an appropriate group to undertake it or might even do the job itself. Where planning is limited to the physical aspects of the community the council seeks to broaden it to include educational and cultural planning.[18]

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN LARGE CITIES

In large cities special problems in council organization within local communities are presented by the larger number of specialized interests of people and by the greater overall complexity of urban social organization. People who live near each other in cities may be strangers to each other and have no sense of loyalty to or identification with the local community.[19] Under typically urban conditions the organization of a council is an uphill push against complacency

[17] Eckel, Rhea M., "Foreword" to issue of *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 20: 195–200, December, 1946. "Citizens' Councils and Community Development." The entire issue contains accounts and analyses of the New York program.

[18] Kuser, Edna Howe, "Community Councils: The Key to Making Democracy Work," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 20: 201–203, December, 1946.

[19] Warner, A. G., Queen, S. A., and Harper, E. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 472–473.

or even cynicism. However, some common interests of people within local areas may serve to unite them and cause them to join as citizens or through their organizations in councils, particularly where there is energetic and resourceful leadership. Recreational needs were the starting point in the Perth-Royce district of Toronto, and as has been noted, provision for children and youth in this respect may be the principal or initial concern of people about their local communities.[20]

As an expanding avenue by which community needs are being met, the Perth-Royce Community Council may be regarded as a product of numerous individuals and groups. Its birth, however, can be attributed to a group of high school and employed youth of the Perth-Royce community.

These young people, upon the completion of a recreation survey of their district, were confronted with two inescapable facts. The first was that this Toronto area of 10,000 people was practically destitute of recreation programs and recreation facilities. There was no community hall, library, music center, tennis courts, gymnasium, swimming pool, etc. The second fact, stemming out of the above-mentioned situation, was the realization that the problem of securing adequate recreation facilities was a task which would require the united effort of all individuals and groups of the community. Discussion as to how action might evolve from their recreation study brought forth the idea of the formation of a community committee or council of adults to consider and act on their survey findings. After a series of meetings this youth group laid plans for a house-to-house canvas of the community so that everyone might vote for a representative on the Council.

A Survey Committee was appointed and they set up twelve canvassing committees—a committee for each of the twelve A.R.P. sectors of the district. At a meeting of canvassers, houses and streets to be canvassed were assigned to each committee, the purpose of a Community Council reviewed, and ballots distributed. . . . Each canvasser carried a copy of the newspaper which had been distributed to all homes the previous week. This paper gave boundaries of A.R.P. sectors in the community. The voter was also asked to write briefly on the ballot the greatest unmet needs on the community, and his or her suggestions for improvements. On the bot-

[20] See also Chapter XI.

tom of the ballot was space for name and address of the voter. Attached to the ballot was a brief interpretive statement. . . .

The canvass completed, the men and women receiving the highest number of votes in each sector were notified of the results and a meeting of the representatives arranged. At this initial meeting, the elected representatives reviewed the needs of the community and the suggestions for community improvements which had been taken from the ballots. The most frequently expressed needs were: (1) A Community Centre, (2) New Playgrounds, (3) Swimming Pool, (4) Activities for teen-agers, (5) Gymnasium, (6) Tennis Courts, (7) The use of schools for evening programs, (8) Handicraft programs.

Included in the list of other suggestions were such ideas as: (1) "Turn vacant lots that are eyesores into playlots." (2) "Bring all racial groups together by community-wide programs." (3) "Secure trained supervisors for leisure-time activities." (4) "Cleaner streets." (5) "Secure public and municipal support by education through literature, press and radio. People's interest can be worked up in support of the war—go about this in the same way."

This list of needs was the starting point in community council action. The council, shortly after its formation, requested and secured the part-time services of the Community Secretary of the High Park Y.M.C.A.

What the Council Has Done: The Council's achievements to date are:

(a) A meeting with the aldermen of the Ward and the Commissioner of Parks, for the purpose of securing better community playgrounds. A survey by the City Parks' Department for a suitable playground site has just been completed.

(b) A forum on city planning at the local theatre with Dr. Faludi, Toronto's City Planning Expert, as speaker.

(c) A joint meeting of the Council with educational, recreational, and welfare workers of the district for the purpose of becoming acquainted with each other's work and of finding means of strengthening and coordinating some of the work that is now being carried on.

(d) The sponsoring and promotion of supervised Hallowe'en parties in the schools and churches for 1,500 children in the community.

(e) A request to the Board of Education for the erection of tennis courts on the school grounds. This request was granted.

(f) Through the efforts of the Council, Perth Avenue School

has also been opened in the evenings as a Community Centre, operated by the Board of Education, three nights a week.

(g) The promotion of monthly Family Recreation Nights for the youth and adults of the community.

These are rather tangible evidences of the progress that is being made by this Council. A chapter could be written on each of these projects. . . . The direction in which this Council will move in the future is difficult to envisage. Its relationship with labor and with management has yet to be worked out. While all racial and religious groups are represented on the Council, these people do not officially represent their organization. This may be one of the next steps in the evolution of the Council. To date membership on the Community Council has been confined to residents of this community. Sub-committees will, however, include trained professional people in the field of welfare, recreation, and educational work.[21]

In larger cities, local community or neighborhood councils have been found to work more effectively if they have an active relationship to a city-wide body, such as a city planning agency or a council of social agencies. It is essential at least to know where to turn for help, and for local leaders to recognize the limitations on action within their areas. City-wide planning bodies, from their perspective, may recognize a need for decentralized and broader participation in their planning processes. Councils of social agencies in larger cities have been active in this respect.[22] Staff help is also more necessary for councils within large cities, and this may come from interested city-wide organizations or in the initial stages from persons who have time for the work as part of their jobs, the librarian or the teacher, for instance, or the YMCA secretary, as in the Toronto example.

In Kansas City, Missouri, a city-wide program of local council organization is being sponsored by the municipal Department of Welfare, a long-established agency which is charged with general responsibilities entirely apart from public assistance functions. The community program grew out of discussions during 1942 and 1943 by agency representatives and civic leaders concerned with prob-

[21] Ross, Murray G., *Community Councils.* Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship. February, 1945. Pp. 22–26.

[22] See Chapter XII.

lems of youth under war conditions. It was decided that a Community Service Division be established with workers located in each high school area to assist in meeting local problems particularly through the organization of community councils. In the fall of 1947, there were twelve staff members doing community work and forty-one active community and neighborhood councils.[23]

This development is of special interest because its auspices are governmental. Police, health, and other public departments provide information and technical aid. The cooperation of private social agencies, Parent-Teacher Associations, churches, and various organizations is also reported. Moreover, wealthy as well as poorer areas are included in the program. Two-way channels of expression between citizen and government have been opened up by start-workers and councils in ways that are appropriate to conditions in large cities. The following statement suggests the broad scope of local council interests, the role of the community workers and of youth in the program:

The role of the community worker is to lend assistance to the council by providing factual information. This worker is not a social worker, a health worker, a recreation worker, but a community case worker, acting in much the same way with respect to social problems as a county agent operates with respect to agricultural problems. He attempts to channel problems to be brought to the community group and to suggest means through which individuals and groups may get in touch with either their government or private agencies on community needs. He is a person to whom the whole community may turn for assistance in meeting its special problems and improving living conditions. Special organizations within the community are interested in their own areas of responsibility; the community worker is interested in the over-all picture of the community—the work done by each organization, ways in which these organizations may expand or redirect their activities, areas in which nothing is being done and, in a few cases, the need for the establishment of new organizations. . . .

Interest in community life is more vital for youth than for adults since young people usually enjoy the major portion of their experiences in the community in which they live. The councils have provided a means for an open discussion of the needs of youth

[23] Letter from Mrs. J. J. Butler, Chief Community Worker, Department of Welfare, Kansas City, Missouri, September 2, 1947.

for adequate recreation facilities in which the young people themselves have participated. This has resulted in the acquisition of additional parks and supervised play areas and establishment of teenage clubs and centers. Parents working with children to secure these advantages and to keep them functioning satisfactorily have been drawn closer together in an understanding of the problems and needs of all children and have taken added interest in what church and school are offering them. In brief, the experiment has resulted in bolstering the foundations of family life which have been so badly shaken and undermined during war years.[24]

Some of the special problems of council organization within large cities are illustrated by the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council in Chicago, which has been widely publicized.[25] Organized in the area south and west of the Stock Yards it had initial leadership from the local park supervisor and from Saul Alinsky, now its technical consultant. His work in Chicago is part of the program he has developed in the Industrial Areas Foundation. He emphasizes the interrelation of economic and social problems, the necessity for broad organization to represent the people of an area, and the need for tying in local action with larger scale programs for social reconstruction. Toward these ends, the Back of the Yards Council has been most conspicuous in aligning the CIO union of packinghouse workers and local parishes of the Catholic church along with business men, nationality groups, other churches, and the YWCA. Organized labor and the Catholic church are numerically strong and represent effective power in the area, and it is this broad base of support which constitutes the Council's claim to distinctiveness.

The actual interests and achievements of the Council are not essentially different from similar organizations, as already indicated. Recreation activities, health education, and especially support of federal appropriations for school lunches have been among its leading interests.[26] The intangible by-products of cooperation between

[24] Richardson, Hayes A., "The Children Get A Chance," *The National Municipal Review*, XXXV: 285–286, June, 1946.

[25] Alinsky, Saul D., "Community Analysis and Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI: 797–808, May, 1941.

[26] See references cited by Thrasher, Chapter XI. See also articles by Agnes E. Meyer in *The Washington Post*, June 4–9, 1945, reprinted under the title, "Orderly Revolution." The 1947 annual meeting was reported in the *Chicago Sun*, June 1, 1947.

groups whose interests are otherwise divergent or hostile to each other is sometimes claimed as outranking in importance any specific achievements. There is also stress on the method of action backed by a powerful alignment of people, as compared with the approach of the liberal, the social worker or the "do-gooder" who talks and surveys a situation to death. A rather frank defense of opportunism in tactics is included as part of a "radical" approach to a sick community condition.[27] This emphasis has been criticized as being merely a sophisticated version of the methods of the machine politician or more seriously as a Fascist threat in the disguise of democratic symbolism.[28]

The Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council was begun in 1939. It may be too soon to judge its contribution to the theory and practice of community organization, and a complete judgment would have to be based on a detailed study. The combination of church and labor and other groups is significant, although it is part of the trend of the times as indicated elsewhere for unions and churches to be more active in community life. The Council leadership has used controversy and drama to good advantage in counteracting the apathy of urban residents. It has had generous publicity much of which overrates its accomplishments in the opinion of various responsible observers in Chicago. The wide interest in it may be mainly symptomatic of a general concern with local problems and a groping sense of wanting to do something about them.

LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE

Experience in many communities has been summarized in three pamphlets issued in 1945. One, sponsored by three organizations active in community organization work, was directed toward helping local communities face post-war problems, especially the withdrawal of United Service Organizations.[29] Another was issued by

[27] Alinsky, Saul, *Reveille for Radicals.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

[28] See reviews of *Reveille for Radicals* by William S. Lynch in the *Saturday Review of Literature,* XXIX: 10, January 19, 1946; by Horace R. Cayton in *The New Republic,* 114: 97–98, January 21, 1946; and by Alfred McClung Lee in *American Sociological Review,* 11: 370, June, 1946.

[29] *Planning for the Future in Your Community.* Issued jointly by United

Community Chests and Councils, Inc., as part of its national leadership in broadly conceived welfare planning.[30] The third was based on Office of Civilian Defense experience throughout the country in the civilian war services field.[31] In the following summary of their main points, the pamphlets are referred to as I, II, III, in the order just cited.[32]

1. Broad participation is stressed in community planning. "The planning council should be composed of representatives of all governmental and voluntary health, recreation and welfare agencies and of important civic bodies. Leaders from all the major elements of the community such as education, religion, labor, interracial groups, management and the professions also should be in on the project from the beginning. The group should be composed predominantly of volunteer citizens rather than professional workers." (I, 6.)

The second pamphlet discounts the fear of "domination by nonprofessional groups." "The problem is to *get* participation by groups and individuals outside the professional field of health and welfare rather than to *limit* it." (II, 14.)

The third pamphlet expresses the same thought with an additional emphasis on provision for representation of state and federal representatives who have responsibilities for programs in the local community. (III, 5.)

2. The first principle implies cooperation between governmental and voluntary agencies, a point which is stated in other ways as well. Public services are thought of as basic, and programs developed, financed and administered by voluntary associations are indicated as the way of dealing with special problems and providing services supplementary to those of government. (I, 9.) The C. C. C. pamphlet significantly points out that it is "necessary to give special consideration to the matter of governmental participation in any council." (II, 21.)

3. The possibility of community council operations under gov-

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Service Organizations, Inc., Office of Community War Services, and Community Chests and Councils, Inc., New York, 1945.

[30] *Health and Welfare Planning in the Smaller Community.* New York 17: Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1945.

[31] *The Community Council: A Natural Outgrowth of the Defense Council.* Washington: Office of Civilian Defense, 1945.

[32] See also Chapter XVI for suggestions on method with reference to the Murray Ross pamphlet cited in this chapter.

ernmental auspices is a more controversial point. "Defense council operations have stimulated interest in the possibilities of health and welfare planning through a body established under public auspices, but experience is as yet too limited to permit any definite conclusions." (II, 21.)

The OCD pamphlet defends its record when stating as the first principle of community council operation that "the community council should be part of local government, established by local ordinance and with an administrative budget provided at least in part from public funds." (III, 4.)

The same statement of principles, however, casts some doubt on the general applicability of this suggestion in saying that "the community council should not duplicate or supplant well established community planning or coordinating bodies." (III, 6.) This refers to divisions of councils of social agencies or committees for economic development which it is suggested may be given an official status and be coordinated with the over-all community planning.

4. The interrelation of community planning in the economic and physical sense with social planning is recognized with varying degrees of emphasis. (III, 5; I, 9, reference to buildings; II, 20, reference to playgrounds.)

5. The importance of separating planning from operation of community programs is emphasized. (I, 7; III, 6; II, 19.) Common services, however, may be operated by councils such as volunteer offices (III, 6) or the publication of a directory (II, 19).

6. Trained and specialized workers are needed to staff community councils. (I, 9; III, 7; II, 17.)

7. The method of community organization is presented as "nonauthoritative" (III, 3; II, 18), gradual and down to earth in dealing with specific problems. (II, 19.) "Educate rather than legislate. . . . Many of the most valuable contributions of a council are indirect. . . . A council often cannot 'take credit' for what has been accomplished lest it endanger its future effectiveness." (II, 18–19.) Consistent with these descriptions of method is the suggestion that an early step in any community planning is "to make a fresh study of facts about the community and its needs and resources." (I, 7.)[33]

What has been said about councils should not lead to the conclusion that every community needs one. The formation of a council should be considered as a means to achieve common purposes. A

[33] Hillman, Arthur, "From War to Postwar in Community Planning," *National Municipal Review*, XXXIV: 477–479, October, 1945.

temporary committee to work on a specific problem may be all that is needed, at least as a starting point. A note of caution has been expressed in this respect.

If there is only one problem or need that the committee or people of the area recognize, too much pressure should not be exerted to sell the idea of a general welfare planning council. It may be better simply to consider the setting up of the machinery it believes is needed to deal with the *recognized* community need. It may be simply a planning *committee* to deal with a single problem. After the single interest planning body has been established and is carrying out its purpose and functions, the need for expanding its purpose may be recognized later, and a broader planning body come as a result of natural development. Then again, there may be only one major problem, requiring only a single interest organization. . . .

A council naturally will be interested in going to work on problems or situations of community concern. But don't tackle the biggest, toughest ones first! Start with smaller, simpler ones. Get some things done and be able to point to accomplishment. It will give the organization confidence and pride in accomplishment, and it will be stimulating. Then begin to consider some of the larger things. Even a council must learn to walk before it can run. Big things may be challenging, but they often require time, and if a council cannot rather quickly and consistently point to "things accomplished," interest will wane.[34]

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CHAPTER IX

Leadership in the Community

AMERICAN RELIANCE ON "LEADERS"

An eminent European social scientist, Gunnar Myrdal, was greatly impressed by the American reliance on "community leaders," in his study of the Negro in American society. By contrast with European peoples, Myrdal points to the American trait of worshiping success and of great "personal generosity" with reference to people who have "made good." Along with this he notes that there is "an unmatched capacity for vicarious satisfaction in watching others fight," which suggests the American tendency, noted by others, to personify issues and to think of political trends in terms of personalities.[1] In the words of Myrdal,

> Of course there is personal envy in America, too. But there has been decidedly less of it than in the more static, less "boundless" civilizations of the Old World. Luck, ability and drive in others are more tolerated and less checked in America. Climbing is more generally acclaimed. Leadership is more readily accepted.
>
> So it becomes more natural, and more possible, in America, to associate the dynamic forces of society with individuals instead of with masses. In the Negro problem it is evident to the observer that the "community leaders" are given an astonishingly important role. When the white people want to influence Negro attitudes or behavior in one direction or another—to get the Negro farmers to plant a garden around their shacks, to screen their windows, to keep their children in school, to cure and prevent syphilis, to keep Negroes more respectful to the whites, to prevent them from joining trade

[1] See also Cooley, C. H., *Human Nature and the Social Order.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Chapter VII on "Emulation."

unions, and to frighten them against "outside meddlers" or "red" seducers—the natural device (besides the long-range one of "education") is to appeal to the "community leaders." These leaders are expected to get it over to the Negro masses, who are supposed to be rather passive.

There are, as we shall point out, special reasons in the caste situation for this practice. But more fundamentally this is a common American culture pattern. Caste accentuates it, but in the sphere of the Negro problem both whites and Negroes display a general attitude toward leadership and followership which permeates the entire American nation. It is incorrect to discuss Negro leadership except in this general setting. If we should study Negro leadership as an isolated phenomenon, we should be inclined to ascribe to the Negro people certain cultural characteristics which are simply American. Actually the Negro, in this as in so many other respects, because of the peculiar circumstances in which he lives, is an "exaggerated American."

For in all America it is assumed that every group contains leaders who control the attitudes of the group. Everywhere—not least in idealistic pursuits—the method of reaching a goal is assured to be the indirect one of first reaching the leaders, and through them, influencing the masses. The leaders are organized locally in civic clubs of all sorts, and they are conscious of their role.[2]

"Leaders," people of power and prestige, do not always have an active give-and-take relationship with followers. Theirs is influence and power, yes, but not necessarily a responsiveness to followers. They are, as Myrdal indicates, control figures rather than representative men. The American practice often is to rely on such leaders to manipulate rather than to be channels of communication and sources of stimulation. This stems in part from the factor of "mass passivity" as noted by Myrdal:

The other side of this picture is, of course, the relative inertia and inarticulateness of the masses in America. The remarkable lack of self-generating, self-disciplined, organized people's movements in America is a significant historical fact usually overlooked by American historians and social scientists.[3]

[2] Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. Pp. 711–712.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 712.

The "leaders" on whom Americans are said to rely are often if not usually dominant figures, and despite democratic professions, there is some reluctance to recognize the possibilities of an active interaction between leaders and followers. A statement by Eduard C. Lindeman is relevant:

The practice of democracy, as it has evolved in the United States, is definitely interwoven with individualism. Individualism exalts the leader, the strong personality. Those who criticize group work appear to believe that groups are only useful when operating under the dominance of a powerful personality who can dictate policies and stamp his will upon the group. These critics confuse two processes: They call a dominator a leader; when they use the term "leader" they should substitute the word "dictator." It is true that democracy does need strong leadership at given moments, but if the leadership becomes sufficiently strong to be able to use the group as a means toward the attainment of the leader's ends, then democracy has already gone out of its way. Observation seems to demonstrate that the best groups are those in which a lively difference is sustained, but in which the expression of difference is utilized for purposes of achieving higher levels of consent. A group which is no longer a foil for its leadership, from which no responses flow toward the leaders, has already become, not a true group, but a regimented tool.[4]

In a competitive society, it is to be expected that a hierarchy of community leadership should develop. This is a characteristic of community life which deserves further study, although it has already been analyzed to some extent in the framework of machine politics. The existence of a hierarchy is recognized in practical ways every day. "Get so and so on the committee; he rates." "He carries weight in the community," perhaps literally! The status and power of such "leaders" may sometimes be derived from their representativeness but perhaps more often from their individual qualities to which prestige is ascribed.

The evaluation of leaders, either singly or in comparison with each other, is made difficult under conditions of urban impersonal

[4] Lindeman, Eduard C., "Group Work and Education for Democracy," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1939.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. P. 343.

relations. "In adult society spontaneous social evaluation is impossible for the majority of its members because each institution is so highly specialized and involves only a small segment of the total personality."[5] Leaders, as Pigors indicates, may rely on artificial aids to power, including publicity and the "commanding power of money." Then too, given specialized interests, there is the lack of common denominators for evaluation. The same indirectness of relationships between outstanding persons and the general run of people makes possible the greater degree of domination or manipulation as contrasted with leadership, although in most cases there is a subtle interplay of the two.[6]

TRAITS OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

Leadership is related to specific settings and a leader in one group may not be outstanding in another. Crisis situations may bring out new leaders. Capable people may not ordinarily be motivated to group and community activity, and it does not follow that existing leaders are intellectually or otherwise the best qualified members of the community to play leading roles. However, some suggestions of leadership traits can be indicated, both as generally observed and as considered desirable.

Intelligence is undoubtedly a factor, but as Leta S. Hollingsworth found in a study of interaction among children, the leader is likely to be more intelligent but not too much more so than the average of the group led.[7] It is not that people do not respect an Einstein or defer to superior intellects, brain trusters included, despite cartoons to the contrary. It is rather that a lack of understanding, a breach in communication, may develop if there is too great a disparity in intelligence between leaders and led. Of course, intelligent people may learn to overcome this and develop skills of communication with a wide range of followers. Intelligent people are also more effective when they have capacities of emotional re-

[5] Pigors, Paul, *Leadership or Domination.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935. P. 55.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[7] Hollingsworth, Leta S., *Gifted Children: Their Nature and Nurture.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929. P. 131.

sponsiveness. "The perplexed person in difficulty needs a quick, sympathetic response rather than a profound analysis. He needs cooperation in learning to solve a problem."[8]

Emotional stability and "security" are traits of successful leadership. Without these qualities the leader's career may be meteoric but disastrous to the smooth functioning of the group or of community life. Referring to the group leader, it has been said: "Emotionally he must be able to tolerate superiority in others and have the capacity to accept criticism and opposition from group members without having his own feeling of security threatened."[9] It follows also that emotional maturity means the ability to relinquish positions of authority once held and even to allow less able people to function as leaders.

One of the practical tests of effective leadership is that the leader does not make himself indispensable. "A true leader aims so to organize and develop his particular effort that when he withdraws, those who have been associated with him in it will have acquired a sense of responsibility that will carry the effort along with approximately the same effectiveness without him. This is of course an ideal which is seldom realized in practice, and it should be recognized that no one has ever succeeded in organizing any piece of work so that it operates itself. On the other hand it is useful to state this as an objective . . . ."[10]

Another practical test is that a leader has earned his place by an apprenticeship of a sort. Community leaders, says Karl Zeisler, are "people who start out by volunteering their personal, active participation in something that interests them and that no one else seems to be doing. That is the only way I've ever seen them get started, unless they happen to be born into the community's leading families and have work shoved at them by reason of personal prestige. And

[8] Pigors, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[9] Svendsen, Margaret, "Comments on 'Democratic Leadership in Education' by S. R. Slavson," *The Group In Education, Recreation, Social Work*, 2: 3, December, 1939.

[10] Warren, G. L., "Social Planning and Social Leadership," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1930.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. 449–450.

that doesn't make them leaders."[11] He gives an example of a doctor who, after twenty years of practice, wanted to see a complete public health department organized. He was willing to work for the objective but lacked experience. He had not even been chairman of a medical society committee. His first efforts failed to win any response.

Leaders of community coordinating councils, according to Kenneth S. Beam, must have the respect of diverse groups. Moreover, their leadership should be free from any suspicion of personal advantage. The leader must have skill in promoting cooperation and discovering common ground for action.[12] It is small wonder that community councils have been more successful in smaller cities, since leadership which is sufficiently above the currents of partisan controversy to serve to unite conflicting elements is likely to be rare in a large city. Leaders in councils of various kinds should be willing to give credit to member organizations and have the emotional maturity to be able to derive satisfaction from seeing a project accomplished with a minimum of recognition for themselves or the council.

Some of these and other relevant points have been summed up by Harry A. Overstreet with special reference to the philosophy of democracy:

> There is no greater privilege than to be a leader in a democracy. But there is no type of leadership that requires more of the leaders, for the essence of democratic leadership is that it enlists the voluntary and cordial cooperation of the led. It cannot merely command; it must win consent. The democratic leader knows how to make his followers actually feel power themselves, not merely acknowledge his power.
>
> Democratic leadership, in short, releases leadership. This means that the democratic leader has not only to be an understander of people; he has to care enough about them to try to release the powers that are in them. . . . Leadership is a human relationship. . . . In order to get others to follow, he must

[11] Zeisler, Karl, "Community Organization from an Editor's Desk," *Survey Midmonthly*, LXXXIII: 67–69, March, 1947.

[12] Beam, Kenneth S., "Coordinating Council," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 11: 67–72, October, 1937.

be the kind of person who awakens positive, cooperative response in others.

Psychologically, there can be no genuine discipline unless it is self-imposed—unless it is discipline by consent. Discipline wholly from the outside—by insulting commands, scoldings, vituperations—may make scared robots; it never makes self-respecting followers of respected leaders. . . .

When leadership is genuinely democratic it is always a mutual affair. Leader and led must be equally the object of concern . . . . The individual best equipped for leadership is he who is sensitive to what is going on in others.

A leader must have the kind of mind which is ill at ease in the status quo, the kind which is imaginatively aware of a still-better. To lead means to go somewhere; the genuine leader goes toward something that is more satisfying than the place where average folk are content to stand. . . .

Finally, the leader is one who must turn ideas into accomplishment or he remains only an almost-leader. . . . And so we may say that a leader in any field must have creative courage. He must not only have ideas that go beyond the average and beyond what is accepted—he must be willing and able to put them to a test.[13]

Charles E. Merriam has suggested certain attributes of the political leader which might be applicable to community leadership generally, especially in larger situations:

1. Unusual sensitiveness to the strength and direction of social and industrial tendencies with reference to their party and political bearings.
2. Acute and quick perception of possible courses of community conduct with prompt action accordingly.
3. Facility in group combination and compromise—political diplomacy in ideas, policies and spoils.
4. Facility in personal contacts with widely varying types of men.
5. Facility in dramatic expression of the sentiment or interest of large groups of voters, usually with voice or pen—fusing a logical formula, an economic interest and a social habit or predisposition in a personality.
6. Courage not unlike that of the military commander whose

[13] Overstreet, Harry A., "Leadership In a Democracy," *National Municipal Review*, 31: 192–195, April, 1942.

best laid plans require a dash of luck for their successful completion.[14]

The characteristics of leaders which have been indicated, give credit to the personal attributes and skills involved but emphasize the relation of outstanding individuals to group situations. This is a significant departure from the former tendency to account for leadership in terms of "innate" and static traits of forcefulness. In the newer vein, recent research by Helen Jennings and others[15] has used sociometric techniques to analyze choices of leaders and their roles within groups. Such descriptions of effective leadership assume a democratic rather than an autocratic framework of social interaction. The essential test of effectiveness becomes the extent and voluntary character of group participation induced by leaders. It has been suggested that "central person" be used for the role of catalyst involved in dynamic leadership, as distinguished from the stereotyped notion of decisive inflexible action of the "strong" leader. An important implication of this newer conception of leadership is that persons can be trained to exercise such roles.[16]

LEADERS IN RELATION TO PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

In community councils, as well as other forms of community planning which remain to be discussed, there is a distinctive role to be played both by professional workers—the executive secretary who is employed by the council, for example—and the community leaders. The latter must know the people, their aspirations, and limitations. The professional should know the broader community resources which can be related to local problems. Moreover, the professional person may be specially trained and skilled in developing leadership and in discovering interests in a community that can be developed into programs and projects.

[14] Gosnell, Harold F., *Boss Platt and His New York Machine.* From Introduction by C. E. Merriam, pp. xvi–xix. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924. Quoted in Young, Kimball, *Source Book for Social Psychology.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. P. 596.

[15] See annotated references in Bibliography.

[16] Bell, Daniel, "Screening Leaders in A Democracy," *Commentary,* 5: 368–375, April, 1948.

The difference between the two roles as well as interrelationships is brought out in terms of "direct" and "indirect" leadership:

> Direct leadership requires that the leader stand before the group as the recognized leader. He has face-to-face relationship with its members. His position is obvious and public. He has accepted formal office and all of the glory and acclaim of success or the ignominy and criticism of failure are to be his. Whether his leadership be autocratic or democratic, wise or unwise, skillful or ineffective, his responsibility is fixed and accepted by all.
>
> Indirect leadership lacks the element of recognized responsibility. It works quietly and behind the scenes through others. It is skillful in its choice of direct leaders. It receives neither credit nor blame. It accepts no formal office. Indirect leadership has broad vision and purpose and is more lasting in time. Without the power and prestige which attach to official position the indirect leader provides inspiration, guidance, energy, and frequently coordination to direct leaders in functional groups.[17]

The indirect leader, one can hope, will be professionally disciplined and ethically motivated as this statement unquestionably assumes. It is also possible, of course, for such a person to be a Machiavellian manipulator.

Both leaders and professional workers need a sense of purpose and the ability to help others to state goals and to define values inherent in community planning. This is a basic quality of leadership and a necessary counterbalance to the tendency to get lost in a mass of detail.[18] Both also should have an appreciation of the practical values of enlisting widespread participation in planning. The professional worker is more likely to do so definitely and consciously, while the "natural" leader may have a lively sense of public response in a more inarticulate form.

Both the community leader and the professional worker need broad knowledge of the community, and at least awareness of the interests and areas of planning that border on their main concern. That is, those who are concerned primarily with community services,

[17] Warren, G. L., *op. cit.*, p. 449.

[18] Riemer, Svend, "Social Planning and Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII: 508–516, May, 1947.

for example, may not feel competent to deal with economic and physical problems of the community, or they may feel that they would be spreading themselves too thin if they did so. They need, however, to respect the skills and interests of people working in related planning fields.

The question is sometimes raised as to whether a professional worker can function in a local situation if he is not "indigenous" to it. This is partly answered already by recognizing the distinctive contributions of the local leader and the professional in community planning.

Local leadership and locally felt needs play a vital part in community action. Spontaneous enthusiasm at the "grass roots" for ends to be achieved is not, however, enough on which to build a functioning organization. . . . Whether leaders are resident in or native to a community does not in itself determine the democratic character of the organization. Programs may be artificially created or "put over" on the community whether the responsibility is exercised by local or by outside people. Democratic action is essentially a practical matter, related to the educational principle that people learn what they are prepared to assimilate in accordance with their background of interests and experience.[19]

Community leaders and professional workers, whether in separate organizations or in community-wide bodies, have functions which overlap in part but which are basically complementary to each other. Stated in terms of board-executive relationships there are problems that warrant further study. How can a balance be achieved in the respective types of leadership? Can a strong executive work with a set of equally forceful board members?[20] Is it not a quality of good professional work to develop lay leadership? This suggests the broader problem of the development of leaders, which will be discussed in the next chapter in connection with the problem

[19] George Williams College *Bulletin*, XXXVII: 3–4, March 15, 1943.

[20] Tead, Ordway, *Democratic Administration*. New York: Association Press, 1945. Pp. 24 ff. Further reference to this book is made in Chapter XVI. See also Turner, H. Haines, *Case Studies of Consumers' Cooperatives*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, for comparisons between cooperative organizations and the tendency toward strong board and strong manager types of government.

of participation and of administration as a democratic process, which is considered in Chapter XVI.

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JENNINGS, HELEN H., *Leadership and Isolation: A Study of Personality in Inter-Personal Relations*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1943.

The foreword by Gardner Murphy introduces the sociometric point of view applied in this study. The record of "choices and rejections of the given individual by others" and of "outgoing response" of individuals in a New York state girls' school on two occasions eight months apart reveals patterns of social participation. Qualities of leadership are further analyzed in terms of functions in inter-personal relations. The results are treated statistically with careful notation of refinements in methods used. The conclusions express in different terminology some of the major points made about leadership in the foregoing chapter, such as the statement that "Each leader 'improves' from the point of view of the membership, through one method or another, the social milieu. Each widens the social field for participation of others . . . by ingratiating them into activities, introducing new activities and by fostering tolerance on the part of one member towards another." P. 203. "The universal characteristic of the leaders in this study may be a 'logical' carrying out of their larger insight into the needs of persons generally and at least partially a reflection of greater emotional maturity on their part than appears to characterize the average member." P. 201.

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PLUNKERT, WILLIAM J., AND KIMBLE, G. ELEANOR, "Community Organization on a South Sea Isle," *Survey Midmonthly*, LXXXI: 290–292, November, 1945.

Interesting description of the rebuilding and redevelopment of community life on the island of Angares in the Palaus after the battle of Pelelieu, democratically, which was a new experience for the natives.

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CHAPTER X

Participation

PARTICIPATION AS A VALUE IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Community action in a practical, democratic sense is more than a matter of selling key leaders who in turn will influence the bulk of the people. The use of "leaders" as "status-bearers" of a community may be necessary on occasion, in genuine emergencies for example. The tendency to rely on dominant figures, which has been noted, is also somewhat inevitable under urban conditions. However, the limitations of the "trickle down" theory of community action should be recognized, and the values of participation examined.

By participation is meant a variety of specific forms of activity. Active membership in organized groups, especially where there is an opportunity to participate even indirectly in community wide programs, is obviously included. Participation in forums and discussion groups is another form. Work on special projects or committees, service on social agency boards and committees, volunteer work of various kinds, all represent participation. There are other minor, and more passive and sporadic forms.

It can be stated as a democratic principle that everyone who has a stake in the outcome of a decision on policy questions should have an opportunity to share in the process of making it. This may slow up the process of planning at times, but following this principle can be shown to be essentially practical rather than mere conformity to an ideal. It yields results in spontaneity and enthusiasm of support for a project or program. An illustration is in point:

I have a remarkable story of a Parent-Teachers Association to illustrate this point. This organization was conducted for five years

in a completely routinized manner, with very little participation on the part of membership. Vital issues were carefully avoided and individuals who had complaints about the schools were quickly shifted to committees. Everyone was polite to authority. The organization began with a membership of two hundred and dropped to thirty. When, however, it drifted into the hands of people who were really eager to let the membership function, it began to revive. Every time a question came to the floor they insisted on discussion by the membership. The chairman always asked the members, "What do you think?" and waited for those who hesitated to speak. In a short time the membership of the organization exceeded the original figure.

I have noticed the same factors at work in service clubs, social clubs, women's clubs, church groups and trade unions. The process is particularly surprising in Trade Unions which begin with vital memberships ready and eager to assert their viewpoint. Before long, however, "leadership" develops. Thereafter meetings no longer encourage expression by the membership, almost everything is referred to committees, attendance drops down to five percent of the total membership, or less, with possibly one-tenth of one percent participating in the leadership.[1]

The semblance of participation is not enough. There may be a deceptive form of going through the motions of participation which does not yield the full value. Leaders may exploit the public while seeming to invite comment and criticism. Moreover, members of a small, close-knit community are "in on" whatever happens, but actually they may be doing little but "stew in their own juices." The cozy sense of security and of belonging in such a community may have value for the mental health of the individual, but among other things there may be a lack of participation in action on larger problems which affect the community. This is the basis of the critical questions raised by Robert S. Lynd in reviewing *Small Town* by Granville Hicks:

I like the fact that Mr. Hicks takes himself self-consciously as an intellectual. I sympathize, too, with his life-long quest to "be-

[1] Lieberman, Joshua, "Group Leadership and Democracy," *Proceedings of the Connecticut Conference on Group Work*, New Haven, Connecticut, April 8, 1938. Conference Headquarters, 239 Market Street, Hartford, Connecticut. P. 17. See also Chapter XVI and the introduction to Part II, the quotation from Neva R. Deardorff especially, for its balanced view of participation.

long." Quite a few of us would like to do that. But may it be precisely part of the unavoidable burden of the contemporary intellectual to recognize that there is no comfortable belonging for him within the kind of institutional system that is the United States today? And that the effort to belong as an optimistic all-out collaborator within that system, or any small part of it like Mr. Hick's little town, inevitably exacts the price Mr. Hicks seems to have paid: one's grateful preoccupation with belonging on one's narrow personal sector blots out awareness of and interest in the larger strategy of the total battle?[2]

EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION

The discussion of planned communities in Chapter VI suggested that participation is enhanced under favorable physical conditions. This is evident from the report on Radburn, New Jersey. The record of participation there is extremely high and is accounted for not only by the factor of physical planning of the community but also by the preponderance of young adults with college education. The report from which the following data are taken concludes with the thought that other communities, though less favorably situated, can achieve some of the same results.

With a basic population of 686 adults, it is obvious that the 4,452 participation entries recorded in this study must have been fairly widespread. If all persons in Radburn had participated equally there would be nearly 6½ participation entries per person. However, the activities do not even approach an equity spread. While a few people took part in as many as ten or twelve community activities, on the other hand only 28 persons, or 4.08 per cent of the population, participated in none at all. A closer examination of these 28 cases of non-participation, reveals that in nineteen instances another adult member of the family was engaged in one or

[2] Lynd, Robert S., Review of *Small Town*, by Granville Hicks. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946) *The Saturday Review of Literature* XXX: 14, January 18, 1947. Lynd extends his argument further than the present writer, perhaps naively, can follow him when he says in the same review: "Mr. Hicks is right in recognizing the potential power in the little people of America; but it is sheer moonshine to expect them to find and to exercise this power to build more democracy within the present coercions of monopoly capitalism." To check and control all the power of monopolies is a tremendous order, but to achieve "more democracy" even in an economic sense seems possible.

more activities. Thus, of the 336 families living in Radburn during the period of the study only 11, or 3.27 per cent, were not directly active in one or more community adult activities.[3]

Data are available on the "social participation" of another group composed of young people with more than average education. One thousand engaged couples are being studied over a period of years by Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, whose primary interest is in testing prediction of success in marriage. The study extends through the engagement period into marriage. Most of the young people were between 24 and 30 years of age, and three-fourths of the men and about two-thirds of their fiancées were of college level at the time the original data were obtained. Of the 856 couples reporting, more than half of the men and women "regularly attended" one or two organizations, and 146 men and 160 women reported such activity in three or more organizations. On the other hand, 268 men and 189 women said they did not participate regularly in any organization. This is separate from church membership and attendance.[4]

A recent study by Mirra Komarovsky of organized group affiliations of 2,223 adults living in New York City found that the majority belong to no organizations:

Sixty percent of working class and 53% of white collar men in this study did not have a single organized group affiliation with the exception, perhaps, of a Church. Throughout this study general Church membership was not counted as an organized group affiliation, while membership in any Church society or club was included. The figures for the women are even more striking: 88% of labor and 63% of white collar women were without any affiliations.

Indeed, in all occupational classes, male or female, earning under $3,000 and other than professional, that is in the bulk of the City's population, the unaffiliated persons constituted a majority. Conversely, it is only when we reach the business classes

[3] Hudson, Robert B., *Radburn: A Plan of Living.* New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1934. P. 64.

[4] Burgess, Ernest W., and Wallin, Paul, "Homogamy in Social Characteristics," *American Journal of Sociology,* XLIX: 109–124, September, 1943. Similar data are used in a related study: Burgess, E. W., and Cottrell, L. S., Jr., *Predicting Success or Failures in Marriage.* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. 126–128.

earning $3,000 and the professional classes that the majority is found to be organized.[5]

This study included recreational groups as well as civic, economic and others with community interests and activities.[6]

Chapin has found that the "participation scores of the higher occupational classes are as much as four times the scores of the lower or unskilled classes."[7] A student of Chapin's, Helen F. Christiansen, in a carefully controlled study, found participation to be greater in a group with more schooling. A general conclusion from this and other studies is that "higher degrees of community and personal adjustment are associated with a higher degree of social participation in the groups and institutions of the surrounding community."[8]

PARTICIPANTS AS POTENTIAL LEADERS

These studies of participation measure more than community activity as related to planning in so far as they include recreational pursuits of various kinds. They measure something less in so far as they are limited to organized group activity. Community participation may go on in more informal ways as well. The latter, however, may vary in extent as much as formal group affiliations.

From various perspectives the studies show that more participants come from the upper group in income and occupational level and in educational attainment. More research is needed to account for the differentials in participation.[9] However, in general, participation seems to be a matter of who has the time and money to engage in activities, as well as who has business and professional roles that necessitate affiliations. There is also evidence of carrying over

[5] Komarovsky, Mirra, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11: 687, December, 1946.

[6] These findings are compared in the article cited with those of Herbert Goldhamer in Chicago, and other studies. Goldhamer, Herbert, *Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations*. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1943.

[7] Chapin, F. Stuart, "Social Participation and Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, 4: 161. April, 1939.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[9] Komarovsky, Mirra, *op. cit.*, p. 698.

college habits of activity into a middle class pattern of "joining."[10] There emerges, then, the picture of the more active members of the community as potential and possibly as intermittent leaders.

This conclusion is borne out by a study of farm families, which stresses the finding that participation seems to "run in" families. W. A. Anderson found participation to be affected by the judgments people form of their status and that of their families.

In our studies of social participation in rural areas, we have shown that it is the members of the upper class families who are the participators.* They belong to the organizations, hold the offices, serve on the committees, and are the community leaders. Likewise we have shown that the social participation of the individual is closely associated with the participation of other members of the family. Social participation is to a considerable degree, a family trait. Family members participate in social activities if other family members are participators; they do not if the other family members are non-participators.†

. . . Social participation as expressed in leadership roles is, in part, a status reaction of the community members who are expressing a degree of acceptance on their part of these participators. The community members are acknowledging the higher relative position that these individuals hold in their midst.

On the other hand, participation or non-participation may be an expression by the participators or non-participators of their own feeling of superiority or inferiority in the community.[11]

Data are presented on the self-ratings of 344 New York farm families which lead to the conclusion:

". . . that families accept for themselves a status position and participate in accordance with these self-judgments. Their self-

* Anderson, W. A., and Palmbeck, Hans, *The Social Participation of Farm Families.* Cornell University Agricultural Station, Department of Rural Sociology, Mimeographed Bulletin, No. 8., March, 1943. Other participation studies are those on Farm Women in the Home Bureau, Farmers in Farm Bureau, Farm Families in the Grange, and Farm Youth in the 4-H Club; Mimeographed Bulletin, number 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 13 and 14.

† W. A. Anderson, "The Family and Individual Social Participation." *American Sociological Review,* 8: 420 ff, August, 1943 and 8: 721, December, 1943.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 692.

[11] Anderson, W. A., "Family Social Participation and Social Status Self-Ratings." *American Sociological Review,* 11: 253, June, 1946.

judgments as to their own participation are closely correlated to measures of their actual social participation.

The promotion of wider social participation, therefore, is not simply a matter of getting families to join in activities or to accept leadership responsibilities, but also a problem of overcoming attitudes toward themselves that block such participation. Much of the participation inertia in our society is no doubt related to these self-attitudes.[12]

Another rural study compares participants and non-participants. The former in this case are likely to have qualities of leadership since they were selected as members of the county land-use planning committee to represent their respective communities. In this study of Garrard County, Kentucky, the traits of committee members are summarized as follows:

Members from farm-owner households somewhat the more active. . . .

Previous urban residence associated with active participation. . . .

Little relationship between previous mobility and participation. . . .

Operators of large farms slightly more active in participation. . . .

A smaller percentage of women members attended the meetings. . . .

Younger members participate somewhat more actively than older members. . . .

College training is associated with activity in land-use planning. . . .

Participation in community activity highest among members from households in which there is a moderate amount of office holding in other organizations. . . .

Committee members previously active in extension work most active in land-use planning. . . .[13]

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[13] Beers, Howard W., and others, *Community Land-Use Planning Committees: Organization, Leadership, and Attitudes, Garrard County, Kentucky, 1939.* Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky, Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 417, June, 1941. Pp. 177–182. This study was cited in Chapter III.

Participation is partly a habit and also a matter of skill. It may also be an avenue of self-expression, like a hobby, chosen in preference to other uses of leisure. There are doubtless a vast assortment of reasons in individual cases for community activity as well as aspirations to leadership. Some common motives might be suggested, together with reasons for inactivity, as a background for consideration of the problem of increasing the extent of participation in community life. Reasons or motives for participation may overlap as the following list will indicate.

1. Civic pride, including interest in conservation of property values.
2. Organized expression of good will or "social consciousness."
3. Enjoyment of fellowship and sense of power in getting along with or manipulating other people.
4. Resentments and grievances which may get organized, rational expression.[14]
5. An outlet for energy.
6. Desire for prestige.
7. Keeping pace with one's family or peers.
8. Need for "contacts" in business or professional life.

Why people do not participate is of equal if not greater interest. Some typical reasons would include the following:

1. Lack of time, energy, money, especially on the part of members of the working class.
2. Fear of losing job: reprisals against people who venture into unapproved activities, with reference to white collar workers particularly.
3. Sense of futility because urban problems seem overwhelming.
4. Reluctance of people to "stick their necks out"; to be different or to be considered "reformers."
5. Lack of knowledge of the function of organizations; failure of leaders in interpreting programs.

[14] "Most organizations have a core of hostility." Fisher, Lloyd H., *The Problem of Violence,* Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947. P. 17.

6. Opportunities for participation are not always definite or concrete enough to be grasped by the inexperienced individual.

A statement on motivations of social agency board members might well apply to other community participants. Ralph Uihlein speaks from experience and wide observation.

Most frequently, I think, a layman is conscious of a feeling of responsibility for improving social conditions in his community, and of a desire to be helpful to others. In this he may be selfish or unselfish, and sometimes both. He may be doing no more than following a pattern. His friends have accepted it, and he does the same. Many young people who are about to enter upon a business or professional career welcome an opportunity to see, and to be seen in, the social groups with which they seek to establish contact. Lay groups which are affiliated with social agencies furnish such opportunities. . . .

To some people, board membership is a compensation. There may be this or that in their lives, things done or left undone, which they feel needs balancing. Participation in a worthy cause provides the balance. Occasionally a board member may regret that he cannot support a cause financially as extensively as he should like. If, instead, he has time to give, it serves him as a substitute.

Lastly, there are those who look upon board membership as an opportunity to express their social convictions. While those who belong to this category may be in the minority, there are at least a few in every community. They labor long and hard and do not always get the recognition they deserve. In the past their contribution sometimes lay in the field of their own calling, in law or in finance for example. Their point of view regarding social work was based upon the recommendations of professional associates. Today many of the board members in this category take less for granted. Their convictions are based upon their own understanding of social needs. They have an intellectual curiosity which has led them on to study and analysis, and to an exchange of views with their professional associates. To this there has been added an emotional quality, resulting in a type of conviction which is profounder than it was a few decades ago.[15]

[15] Uihlein, Ralph A., "The Board Member In a Private Agency," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work 1941.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 618–620.

PLANNING FOR PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

Participation must be encouraged; it does not happen automatically in modern communities.[16] In spite of the understandable apathy which has been noted as characteristic of people in the larger forms of community life, there are many latent interests that await organized expression.[17] The stimulating and facilitating of participation is a major responsibility of leadership which deserves the name democratic. In addition to immediate inducements to activity, there must be basic planning for promoting habits of participation.

It is necessary to counteract the tendency to hold back for fear of seeming to be out of line or to be a "reformer" or a "budding politician." Participation must become socially acceptable, not something to apologize or account for, if community life is to be strengthened by many contributions. This happened during World War II when civilian defense work brought many people into activity who had not normally been participants in organized community life.[18] The sense of an emergency and the call to patriotic duty were involved, and there was also the fact that the work was parceled out in small units. In the background was also the important recognition that it was the proper thing to do something to earn approval rather than criticism. Community concern did not have to be explained even though civilian defense workers sometimes had to prove their lack of political aspirations. The organization and motivation of civilian

[16] See Chapter V, especially description of stimulating citizen participation in the Syracuse planning program.

[17] Mannheim, Karl, *Diagnosis of Our Time.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. P. 38.

[18] A similar development in Great Britain has been described as a "revival of primitive democracy," especially noteworthy because it occurred at a time when political authority in the nation was highly centralized. A comparison may be made between these war time activities and the provisions made in the Soviet Union for the participation of the masses in local administration. This is a part of the Soviet challenge to western political institutions, which must be balanced against the lack of political rights valued in other countries. Carr, Edward H., *The Soviet Impact on the Western World.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. 17–19.

defense participation, if carried over into peacetime, could become a "moral equivalent of war."[19]

One answer to the problem of lack of time on the part of masses of workers is the reliance on trade unions as a channel for participation. Labor unions, as part of a broader conception of their functions, are reaching out to new connections and interests in community life. Participation of representatives of organized labor on school boards, community committees of various kinds, and through boards and activities of social agencies is part of the order of the day.[20] Community councils look to labor groups to provide not only special points of view but also representativeness of large segments of the population. Such participation is likely to be more effective wherever labor organizations are consulted about or actually choose their spokesmen, since unions have developed systems of accreditation and authorization of delegates and representatives. On the other hand, union members resent having nominal spokesmen selected for them even by well-meaning community groups. Using unions as avenues toward widespread community activity is a promising development which, of course, depends for its ultimate effectiveness on the participation of members within unions.

Participation, being in part a matter of skill and habit, may be developed through experience beginning early in life. Schools have a definite responsibility in this respect which they are accepting as part of a democratic philosophy of education. A recent statement by a group of leading educators is an expression of this philosophy.

> Man and women must be willing to work at democracy, and to work together, if they are to get and keep their freedom. Politics is an honor, not a disgrace. Indifference to political action is the disgrace, for it allows evil men to dominate the good and so to involve the whole nation.[21]

[19] See Chapter VIII for reference to carry over of defense council organization.

[20] See Chapters XII and XV.

[21] *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan.* Submitted to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Tokyo, March 30, 1946. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946. P. 13.

Democratic attitudes must be learned through the experience of democratic action. Informal pupil-teacher relationships contribute to it. Training for participation in community life in a democracy calls for experience in the process of group deliberation, in the choosing of leaders and the exercise of leadership, and in the toleration of different points of view.[22]

To carry out these objectives, schools must develop close and active relations with other institutions of the community.[23] School materials and methods, teacher and student activity, all have a bearing on the development of participation as a skill. Ingenuity and imagination can be exercised in devising projects, in cooperation with community agencies, where students can both volunteer service and learn by doing.[24] Basic to the enrichment of school-community relationships is the training of teachers to a sensitive understanding of community life. This is the goal of many teacher training institutions at present, the aim being the educating of

student attitudes and developing in them some sense of responsibility for sharing in community life and working on local problems. In other words, it involves the application of both the body of facts and the group techniques in the exercise of active citizenship. . . . Many educators—though definitely not all—would not consider the process complete unless it culminated in some rather specific social action of a democratic nature, and the ability to lead successfully in such action. An example of what might be done along these lines would be participation in local efforts at community improvement such as consumer cooperatives, community councils, civic groups, adult-education projects, and the like. In the last analysis this total concept of community understanding comes down to a thorough appreciation and firsthand knowledge of democracy as a way of life.[25]

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[23] See Chapter VII for a discussion of the school as a community center.

[24] *Youth Serves the Community: A Plan for Student Volunteer Service in Community Agencies for the Volunteer Bureau and Chest-Council-School Committees.* Issued jointly by the Advisory Committee on Volunteer Service and The Public Relations Department School Program of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. Bulletin No. 133. New York: Community Chests and Councils, Inc., November, 1946.

[25] Blackwell, Gordon W., *Toward Community Understanding.* Prepared for the Commission on Teacher Education. Washington: American Council on Education, 1943. P. 5.

Since participants are potential leaders, the encouragement of broader participation will yield new sources of leadership. Leaders develop through competition of participants and by apprenticeship and experience on the part of capable individuals. In addition to the indirect development of leaders through extending participation, there are possibilities of leadership training of a more definite sort. Often this can best be done in specific situations by professional workers or more mature people acting as coaches.

Leadership training can be carried on with special groups, such as union officials, farm leaders, cooperative workers, or youth. Such training is largely a matter of imparting systematic understanding of individual and group behavior processes. Technical and concrete knowledge of the resources and formal organization of communities as well as of discussion methods is also important for leaders if they are to help others define goals and devise effective means in community planning.[26] Conferences lasting a few days or a week have been held under various auspices in recent years for community leadership training.[27] These illustrate the possibilities of the development of leaders for general community service as well as the fostering of common interests on the part of specialists in health, recreation, education, and other community services. Such leadership training is more than comparing notes on experience in similar communities or of imparting "know-how." It includes opening up larger

[26] See reference to the Fisk Rural Life Program in Bibliography. See also Chapter XVI.

[27] Community Service, Inc., has held conferences annually at Yellow Springs, Ohio. This organization emphasizes the possibilities of revitalizing the small community. See Chapter I for reference to writings of Arthur E. Morgan, the leader of this organization.

An Institute of Community Leadership was held in July, 1947 at Manlius School, New York, under the auspices of the New York State Citizens Council. Its theme, the "Town of Tomorrow," was discussed by a broadly representative group, including people from governmental, educational, and social agencies and from local citizens' councils, Chambers of Commerce, labor unions, parent-teacher organizations, and others.

The University of Michigan Extension Service in its program of stimulating local community organization has held conferences, in some cases limiting attendance to representatives of small communities with a twenty-five mile radius. See Chapter VIII for further reference to community councils in New York and Michigan.

vistas of organized community action and efforts to replace apathy with new goals in planning.

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PART FOUR

FUNCTIONAL AREAS OF COMMUNITY PLANNING

The Scope of Community Services

In preceding chapters there have been references to the scope of community planning. Planning for education, welfare, health, recreation, and similar services has been indicated as a complement to planning for the economic and physical development of cities.[1] Community services are an integral part of the agenda of comprehensive planning in communities of any size, and might well be the starting points in local planning. Their scope is so vast in larger cities particularly that relatively specialized organizations or councils have come into being devoted entirely to problems in the several functional areas.

Community services are being planned to strengthen family life. Family functions are changing under mobile, urban conditions.[2] Community services in modern life are a supplement to, or in a sense, an extension of the family. They are more than a replacement, however, of what families formerly provided for their members. There are new services, in social work, in health or family life education, or example, which are designed to help families in general or those with special problems in their adjustments to the demands of contemporary society.

The planning of community services involves taking account of their interrelations. Programs for youth described in Chapter XI illustrate this point particularly. Schools, leisure time agencies,

[1] *Action for Cities:* A Guide for Community Planning, published under the sponsorship of American Municipal Association, American Society of Planning Officials, and International City Managers' Association. Publication No. 86. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1943.

[2] See Chapter II.

health programs, counseling of individuals, and other services are all involved in meeting the needs of youth. The whole gamut of community services must also be considered in taking stock of problems of minority groups and in planning for minimizing tensions arising from discrimination. The goals of balance and comprehensiveness in community planning become evident in the form of practical problems in budget making for the support of services. Basically, the establishing and implementing of goals in this as in planning generally is a matter of public interest and appreciation of the value of the various services.

The great number of voluntary associations and agencies usually found to be interested in planning of community services in this country presents a special problem of coordination of divided and specialized efforts. Planning is not limited, however, to "private" or voluntary groups and agencies. Comprehensive community planning includes the official responsibilities of governmental agencies, as noted in connection with health and welfare services even though it is carried on through voluntary bodies, such as councils of social agencies. Planning in special fields, with the assistance of private citizens and related voluntary associations, may also proceed under governmental auspices, as will be noted in the chapters dealing with recreation or race relations particularly.

CHAPTER XI

Planning for Services to Children and Youth

CHILDREN AND THE GENERAL WELFARE

The extent of infant mortality and of diseases of children is often regarded as a measure of the general level of the health of a community. Likewise the prevalence of juvenile delinquency or the retarded development of children is a reflection of lack of community provisions for general welfare. The economic stability and prosperity of a community or nation makes possible the support of provisions for child health, education, and welfare, and conversely depressions and insecurity leave their toll in the lives of children.

This broad approach to community planning for children and youth is expressed in a statement from the National Commission on Children in Wartime. This statement emphasizes the importance of specialized attention to the needs of children within a framework of comprehensive planning.

1. Community planning, includes physical planning, economic planning, and social planning, each impinging on the others. . . .

2. Planning must be based on adequate study and research. Without this underpinning, it may become planning by opinion and its character may be determined by special interest or pressure groups.

3. In every community there should be a group of people interested in planning to meet the whole range of human needs, the organization for planning varying among larger and smaller communities and rural areas. In urban areas several different organizations may be interested in various aspects of planning. Their

activities should be related in some way to a community-wide and comprehensive planning agency. In rural areas community planning usually is closely related to county agricultural planning activities.[1]

Governmental responsibility is stressed along with the need for collaboration of public and private agencies. The role of voluntary groups and citizens is also indicated.

4. There should also be in every community a group of citizens reviewing what children and youth need, exploring the extent to which those needs are met, and stimulating community agencies and planning groups to develop the services or policies found to be necessary.

5. Public authorization, official appointment, and public support are desirable for county or community planning bodies responsible for physical, economic, and social planning.

6. Planning groups should include the administrators whose programs may be affected, and non-official persons in sufficient numbers so that they will be really vocal in the group. Broad citizenship representation is essential in community planning.

7. Official community planning bodies should have close working relationship with voluntary planning councils and organizations, including among others, councils of social agencies.

8. Public and private agencies should develop effective means by which day-to-day cooperation and coordination of their operating programs can be accomplished. From this experience such agencies can bring to the attention of planning bodies many evidences of need for long-term planning that should be undertaken.

9. In maintaining effective cooperative relationships with agencies operating programs for children and youth the community planning body should draw upon such agencies for information and suggestions.

10. The existence of broad planning bodies in a community will not take the place of the advisory committees needed by operating agencies to help guide the administration of their programs and to point out the directions in which they should be expanded or modified.

11. Whatever the planning structure in a community, there will

[1] Children's Bureau, *State and Community Planning for Children and Youth: Proposals of the National Commission on Children in Wartime.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. 13–14.

be need from time to time for the establishment of special committees to deal with special problems. Through such committees the vitality of new groups and individuals who have not previously been active participants can be brought into community activity and planning.

12. Committees planning for children and youth can stimulate the organization of general community planning bodies, recognizing that the planning body that considers all age groups is needed, as well as the body especially concerned with children.

Every community has its own resources in experience, leadership, and ways of accomplishing common objectives. . . . In some cities the welfare federation or council of social agencies may be sufficiently broad in its representation of community interests to be the natural center for community planning. Perhaps in some instances a body created to deal with a particular problem, such as juvenile delinquency, may be expanded to cover the broad field . . . Whatever the origin, the planning body should be organized in a manner which will assure its acceptance by the community as a center for community-wide planning for children and youth.[2]

What communities can provide for the needs of children and youth depends in large part on the general economic level. Differences between regions in the proportion of children in the population and in the per capita income are significant and striking:

As size of family is important in relation to economic capacity to provide for the wants of its members, so the ratio of children to adults is communities and states has an important bearing upon ability to support the necessary services for health, education, recreation, and social assistance and protection. When a high ratio of children to adults is associated with low per capita income, the result for the community or state may be compared with the effect on the family of association of high fertility with low family income.

. . . For the various geographic regions, the average income per capita as of 1937 and the ratio of the child population (under 20 years) to the population aged 20 to 64 are as follows:

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15. Community councils were discussed in Chapter VIII, and the work of councils of social agencies will be presented in the succeeding chapter.

Region	*Per Capita Income*	*Number of Children Per 1000 Population Aged 20 to 64*
United States	$547	696
Southeast	295	913
Southwest	395	820
Northwest	453	749
Middle	577	637
Northeast	697	630
Far West	766	506

Average income per capita tends to be consistently higher in those regions with smaller proportions of children, and lower in those regions with larger proportions of children. A large proportion of children naturally operates to reduce per capita income. The tax resources available in regions of high child population are proportionately much less than the resources available in regions of low child population.[3]

The same kind of regional contrasts, expressed in a different form and based on 1940 data, are brought out in the following comparison (see p. 215) of the twelve states with the highest per capita income with the twelve having the lowest per capita income.[4]

The data cited have implications for federal policies with reference to financial aid to state and local communities for education and welfare purposes.[4] The established patterns of federal assistance and the proposals for aid in meeting school costs have been justified as appropriate national expenditures in view of the increased mobility of population. A family whose members have untreated diseases may move across several state lines, and the low educational

[3] Lenroot, Katharine F., and Myers, Robert J., "Population Trends and Future Problems of Child Welfare," in *Population Trends and Programs of Social Welfare*, reprinted from *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 1940. Pp. 30–31.

[4] Based on 1940 Census data, and per capita income figures published by U.S. Department of Commerce in SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS, September, 1948. 1947 per capita income figures by states are given in this source. It is noted that "since 1929 there has been a considerable narrowing of the relative, if not the absolute difference among the regions in respect to size of per capita income." In other words, the regions and almost all of the states with per capita incomes below the national average in 1929 by 1947 had shown gains exceeding that for the country as a whole.

levels in some states may handicap migrants in their adjustment to city life in another region. The basis for national concern need not be stated negatively; assuming a largely random distribution of superior mental ability in the population, there is likely to be a disproportionate amount of undeveloped talent in poorer regions and a consequent waste of human resources.[5]

	States with Highest Per Capita Income	*States with Lowest Per Capita Income*
	California	Alabama
	Connecticut	Arkansas
	Delaware	Georgia
	Illinois	Kentucky
	Maryland	Louisiana
	Massachusetts	Mississippi
	Michigan	New Mexico
	Nevada	North Carolina
	New Jersey	North Dakota
	New York	Oklahoma
	Ohio	South Carolina
	Rhode Island	Tennessee
TOTAL POPULATION, 1940	53,544,958	27,196,829
POPULATION under 5 years of age, 1940	3,633,404	2,768,952
POPULATION under 20 years of age, 1940	15,977,586	11,357,315
Per cent of total population under 5 years of age	6.8%	10.2%
Per cent of total population under 20 years of age	29.8%	41.8%

COMMUNITY SERVICES FOR CHILDREN

Some of the reasons for special attention by communities to problems of its youngest members are fairly obvious. Childhood is the time of physical growth. The foundations of health and emotional stability is laid early in life. Modern knowledge of child development has served to underscore the importance of childhood as a

[5] See Myrdal, Alva, *Nation and Family: The Swedish Experiment in Democratic Family and Population Policy.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941, pp. 151–153 especially, for a discussion of national planning in relation to the consumption needs of children. See Chapter XVII for further reference to Federal aid to states and local communities.

formative period. The family and school have major responsibilities in helping the child to develop habits and skills which will serve him throughout life, an unusually difficult task in a time of rapid social changes and confusing cultural contradictions.[6]

Supporting the family and supplementing its contribution to the development of the child are the various community services for health, education, and welfare. In some communities there is a dearth of such provisions, which may be due to inadequate resources or lack of planning machinery. In others, especially in larger cities, the problem is also one of integrating the varied services offered by specialized agencies. It is the problem of seeing the whole child.

> The child and youth have, for very good and often necessary professional and technical reasons, been fractionated into a growing number of highly specialized parts, functions, needs, defects, and targets of service. . . .
>
> In each community there is need for some functioning group to provide the over-all staff work, especially what the army calls intelligence service, of collecting all available information about children and youth, their number, by age groups, present condition and needs, location, and so on, and planning the broad strategy of conservation. . . .[7]

Possibilities of conflict between agency "jurisdictions" as well as gaps in services for children are illustrated by recent experience in many communities. During the war years, women were needed in industry and their employment outside of the home created problems of child care. Services under community auspices for the care of children of working mothers were increased, being provided both under school auspices and by welfare agencies. A satisfactory division of responsibility between schools and social agencies particularly was effected in most communities, and the experience gained

[6] On the contrast between simple and complex cultures in the number of choices required of adolescents, see Mead, Margaret, *Coming of Age in Samoa.* New York: William Morrow and Company, 1928. Howard Becker, *German Youth: Bond or Free.* London: Oxford University Press, 1946, has described the effects on youth of conflicting and competing values in contemporary Germany.

[7] Frank, Lawrence K. "Community Planning for Children and Youth," *Social Forces,* 24: 887, May, 1946.

is reflected in a joint statement of the U.S. Children's Bureau and the Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency. The statement illustrates the possibilities of integrated community responsibility for children's services as well as an emphasis on the developmental needs of children rather than institutional and agency prerogatives.

. . . Many mothers will continue to be employed or will enter employment. In other homes congestion, illness, or other factors will make it imperative that young children have opportunities for outside experiences and companionship of other children for a part of the day. The values of group experiences for young children regardless of home conditions are becoming more fully recognized, as is the principle that for children of all ages schools should provide varied programs adapted to individual needs and complementing home experience.

It is important for States and communities to distinguish clearly between educational services provided through the schools and available to all children and child-care services needed to supplement what the home and school together can make available. Recreation and youth-serving agencies will also have a part in a comprehensive program. . . .[8]

It is suggested that state and local departments of health, education, and welfare act to develop joint policies covering child-care services. Financial assistance from State and the Federal governments may also be needed to expand existing services. Expansions of elementary school services being planned in many communities include nursery schools and kindergartens "to insure continuous educational progress of young children" as well as activities for children of school age "during the hours such services are needed by children and their families."

"Provision of services to supplement home care and educational programs available in the schools is the responsibility of social-welfare agencies and particularly of public-welfare departments. . . . Included in the group for whom other provisions may be required are some of the children whose mothers are employed or who for

[8] "Planning Services for Children to Supplement the Home and School," *The Child,* 10: 145, March, 1946. Also published in *School Life,* May, 1946.

other reasons, such as illness, cannot receive the care and supervision normally available in the home." "To meet the needs of children of all ages and of varying home conditions," the statement further points out that social welfare agencies should provide counseling service for mothers planning care for their children; day nursery care, particularly for mothers whose hours cannot be adjusted to the school program; foster-family day care "for children under the age for group care," and homemaker service.[9]

COMMUNITY COORDINATION FOR YOUTH SERVICE

Widespread concern, some of it genuine and some alarmist, has been expressed about juvenile delinquency. Much of the talk has been negative and has centered attention on some special manifestation of the problem, or proposed some simple expedient, perhaps a repressive measure, as the community's answer.[10] Community leaders who have addressed themselves to the problem seriously have become impressed with its ramifications and the lack of any simple, single answer. A comprehensive and positive statement in terms of youth conservation has been made by Frederic M. Thrasher.[11]

While public and professional interest in community coordination for youth service has many roots, a major source of what has now become a widespread movement in America has been a deep concern on the part of many agencies and individuals for a more effective program aimed at the prevention of juvenile delinquency and crime. Many of the earlier efforts at coordination frankly carried the words "crime prevention" or "delinquency prevention" in their titles or their statements of major purpose. More recently the trend has been to state the basic goals of these programs in terms of youth conservation or youth service, thus placing emphasis upon the development of a wholesome and constructive program for young people which would incidentally build morale for the "vul-

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[10] Recreation programs are often sponsored as specific antidotes to juvenile deliquency. They might rather be thought of as part of a balanced program of community services, available to all people on a voluntary basis. This is the point of view expressed in programs described below as well as in Chapter XIII.

[11] Thrasher, Frederic M., "Some Principles Underlying Community Coordination, *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 18: 387–391, March, 1945.

nerables" or potentially delinquent and which could include special techniques for children and adolescents requiring more than ordinary adjustments, while placing major emphasis upon serving fully the basic recreational and other needs of normal young people.

In attempting to formulate some of the principles underlying coordination for youth service then, it is necessary to have two purposes in mind: First, the community program must be aimed at meeting the needs of normal young people, varying as they do in race, nationality descent, religion, mental level, and economic and cultural backgrounds; and, second, it must be so devised that the special needs of the so-called "vulnerables" and "pre-delinquents" may also be met, preferably by techniques fully integrated and not necessarily apart from constructive programs planned for the average young people.

American communities and the people who live in them usually resent the use of the word "delinquent" as applied to their children or young people, partly because they think it is a reflection upon their homes, schools, churches, and local governmental agencies, but also because there is a growing feeling that it is never the child who is delinquent, but rather the parents, the institutions, the community, or all three. Furthermore, it is difficult in individual cases to draw the line between the delinquent and the nondelinquent. Legally a child is delinquent or an adolescent is a youthful offender when so adjudged by a court. Nevertheless, the child or the adolescent who commits the same act, but whose case is not handled by a court is technically an unofficial delinquent or offender. In such cases his offense may be known only to family, friends, social agencies, the police, or indeed only to the child himself. It is quite likely, moreover, that all children and adolescents have committed acts for which they could be technically designated as delinquents or youthful offenders. These difficulties of definition give even more point to approaching these problems from the standpoint of youth conservation and youth service, rather than from that of the prevention of juvenile delinquency and crime.

The socially disapproved conduct of young people, however, (including such acts as vandalism, stealing, patronizing the black market, rowdyism, drinking, truancy, sexual indiscretions, and many lesser and greater misdeeds) continues to be an acute problem, whatever its causes and its rationalizations, even in communities where the use of opprobrious epithets is most deeply resented. Any program of youth service, therefore, devised in these communities, "overprivileged" or "underprivileged" alike, should be especially

pointed up to serve the needs of this critical group, while at the same time meeting its full obligation to the "normal" young people.

Because of their primary importance, it is desirable to present first the principles underlying an effective program of delinquency prevention in the local community in order to make sure that they are included in and reconciled with the broader principles of an integrated community program for youth service.

Scientifically minded students of these problems are well aware of the basic principles underlying a successful program for the prevention of delinquency, which aims at stopping the development of criminal careers before they get started. These principles have been worked out in such programs as the coordinating councils on the Pacific Coast,* the area projects in Chicago,† the work of the Industrial Areas Foundations,‡ the United States Children's Bureau delinquency prevention program in St. Paul, Minnesota,§ the area

* See Kenyon J. Scudder, "The Coordinating Council at Work," *Yearbook* of the National Probation Association, 1936, pp. 70–71; Kenneth S. Beam, "Coordinating Council Progress," *Yearbook* of the National Probation Association, 1938, pp. 308–326; "Coordinating Council Manual: Mobilizing and Organizing the Community," *Community Coordination* (September-October, 1940, pp. 1–22; *A Guide to Community Coordination* (Los Angeles: Coordinating Councils, Incorporated, 1941); and numerous articles on community coordination for delinquency prevention in *Community Coordination* and *The Coordinator* (periodicals). . . .

† See Ernest W. Burgess, Joseph D. Lohman, and Clifford R. Shaw, "The Chicago Area Project," *Yearbook* of the National Probation Association, 1937, pp. 8–28; Clifford R. Shaw and Jesse A. Jacobs, "The Chicago Area Project" (mimeographed report), about 1939, 15 pages; Fred A. Romano, "Organizing a Community for Delinquency Prevention," *Yearbook* of the National Probation Association, 1940, pp. 1–12; Edward Hayden, "Community Organization and Crime Prevention," *Yearbook* of the National Probation Association, 1942, pp. 23–35; and Clifford R. Shaw, "Memorandum on Juvenile Delinquency," Exhibit 4, pp. 540–547, *Hearings Before U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education,* Juvenile Delinquency 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944).

‡ See testimony of Saul D. Alinsky in *Hearings Before U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education,* Juvenile Delinquency 2, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 1577–1589; Saul D. Alinsky, *Basic Crime Prevention* (mimeographed report, 21 pages); Saul D. Alinsky, "A Departure in Community Organization," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies* (January, 1940), pp. 36–48; and Gretta Palmer, "Back of the Yards, Inc.," *Coronet* (November, 1942), pp. 55–60.

§ Katherine F. Lenroot, "Delinquency Prevention through School and Social Agency Coordination," *Educational Forum* (November, 1943) pp. 11–15.

projects of the Cleveland Group Work Council,* The Manhasset (New York) Youth Council,† and the current experiment taking place in East Harlem‡ (a local area in Manhattan, New York City), as well as other numerous neighborhood and community programs throughout the United States.§

In addition to citing these reports and statements of principle, Thrasher refers to his own Boys Club Study in New York City[12] and the studies of Harry M. Shulman[13] which pointed to the value of a neighborhood approach to delinquency prevention.[14] There is evident a growing recognition that the local community must become the unit of attention if basic factors rather than the symptoms of juvenile misconduct are to be treated. This does not preclude special attention to individual delinquents, which is recommended as part of

* Mildred S. Esgar, "Area Projects in Cleveland," *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (March, 1945) 18: 425–435.

† See Frederic M. Thrasher, "Prevention of Delinquency in an Over Privileged Community," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies* (April 1944), pp. 96–106; Jay Jostyn, "The Manhasset Youth Council," *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (March, 1945), pp. 417–425; and the *Youth Council Year Book: 1944* (mimeographed brochure, which may be obtained at 25 cents from the Manhasset Youth Council, 36 Sound View Crest, Manhasset, N.Y.).

‡ See Ralph B. Spence, "New York State's Program for Preventing Delinquency," *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (March, 1945) pp. 439–443.

§ See Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Preventing Crime* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936); *Yearbooks of the National Probation Association*, 1936–1944; *Hearings Before U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on War-Time Health and Education*, Junvenile Delinquency 1 and 2 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944); publications of the American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.: publications of the National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York, 10, N.Y.: and publications of the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

[12] These studies are summarized in *Crime and the Community: A Study of Trends in Crime Prevention by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime.* Albany, N.Y.: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1930.

[13] The Boys Club Study, financed by the Bureau of Social Hygiene and carried on under the auspices of New York University, was an attempt to measure the delinquency preventive effects of a large boys' club. The organization and methods of the study are set forth in the September, 1932, issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology.* A summary of the findings and recommendations of study is contained in *The American Journal of Sociology* for July, 1936. "The Boys' Club and Juvenile Delinquency," pp. 66–80.

[14] See Chapter VIII for further discussion of local councils for general purposes, and references to some of the organizations mentioned by Thrasher.

a comprehensive community program, but the emphasis on social conditions in the area indicates the limits that are often found in dealing individually with behavior problems of children in an unfavorable setting. The local community is not only the orbit of children and youth in their leisure time pursuits, but it also represents the areas covered by many of the agencies and organizations primarily interested in the problems of youth. An emphasis on local community factors is indicated, the particular geographic limits of which may be somewhat arbitrary.

Certain experiments or demonstrations aimed at delinquency prevention are described by Thrasher, who underscores the importance of integrating such programs with planning of services for all youth:

In the fall of 1943 plans were made for the development of an experiment in delinquency prevention to be carried out in a selected local area of East Harlem (a district located in Manhattan's Upper East Side, New York City) under the joint sponsorship of New York University School of Education and the Twenty-third Precinct Coordinating Council of the New York City Police Department. In preparation for this project, whose official title was "A Workshop in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquncy," the author [Thrasher] made a restatement of some of the principles underlying an effective program of delinquency prevention as follows:

1. The unit for a real crime-prevention program, which "nips the criminal career in the bud," is the local area or local community. The police precinct in New York City is too large for effective work of this type; it must be broken down into smaller natural areas rather than follow large administrative districts.

2. To carry on a successful program of delinquency prevention in one of these local areas, it is necessary that there be a concentration of responsibility for this particular function and no other function. Such a concentration of responsibility may be centered in a special section or subcommittee of a community or a coordinating council, a delinquency prevention division of a council of social agencies, a community recreation committee, the school system, a committee for delinquency prevention, but in any case the main responsibility of the body must be delinquency prevention.

3. The delinquency prevention committee or council, whatever it is called, must perform certain essential functions as follows:

a, It must be able to get the facts together in order to know the nature and extent of delinquency and its causes in the local area.

b. It must be able to coordinate and organize the various preventive forces already existing in the community so that they may work more effectively.

c. It should be in a position to stimulate the development of new agencies where the present agencies are inadequate to deal with the problem of prevention.

d. The work of such an agency may be divided into three parts:

(1) Adjustment of individual delinquents. This is carried on cooperatively by representatives of the schools, the courts, the clinics, and other agencies dealing with maladjusted children and pre-delinquents. Case-work agencies do the case-work.

(2) Stimulation, organization, and coordination of character-building agencies. This function has to do largely with organizing leisure-time activities for children and young people under proper supervision and leadership utilizing all available facilities and creating new facilities where facilities are inadequate. Its major problem is one of coordination and leadership.

(3) Improving the environment. This function deals with such problems as the sale of liquor to minors, demoralizing dance halls and poolrooms, and other influences of that nature which affect children in the local community.

4. An effective local program of delinquency prevention must be carried on by the people who live in the area. They must participate in planning and carrying out the program with the advice of experts who have had experience along these lines. A program that can be made indigenous to the community is better than one superimposed from the outside. The Chicago area projects are an example of this procedure.

5. Constant attention must be given to public relations in order to maintain cordial relations with the community agencies, the citizens, the parents, and the children and young people in the area. Credit for accomplishments should be given to local agencies and persons who will form the backbone of the program. . . .

This statement of underlying principles may be compared with statements made in connection with a few other programs. Limitations of space prevent exhaustive comparisons. About 1939 Clifford R. Shaw pointed out that the Chicago Area Project had seven characteristics distinguishing it from established institutions, not so

much in the content of the program as in the methods used to foster local neighborhood activities:

(1) It emphasizes the development of a program for the neighborhood as a whole. (2) It seeks to stress the autonomy of the local residents in helping to plan, support, and operate constructive programs which they may regard as their own. (3) It attaches special significance to the training and utilization of community leaders. (4) It confines the efforts of its professional staff, in large part, to consultation and planning with responsible neighborhood leaders who assume major roles in the actual development of the program. (5) It seeks to encourage the local residents to utilize to the maximum all churches, societies, clubs, and other existing institutions and agencies, and to coordinate them in a unified neighborhood program. (6) Its activities are regarded primarily as devices for enlisting the active participation of local residents in a constructive community enterprise, for creating and crystallizing neighborhood sentiment on behalf of the welfare of the children and the social and physical improvement of the community as a whole. (7) It places particular emphasis upon the importance of a continuous, objective evaluation of its effectiveness as a device for reducing delinquency, through constructive modification of the pattern of community life.*

In describing the delinquency prevention program which has been embodied in the experimental child-welfare program in St. Paul, Minnesota, carried on under the auspices of the Children's Bureau in cooperation with community agencies, Katherine F. Lenroot states the two basic objectives of the program as follows:

(1) The early identification and treatment of children with personality and behavior problems, including delinquency; and

(2) The development and integration of existing social and welfare facilities directed toward the needs of the children.†

In its *Community Program for Controlling Delinquency,*‡ the Children's Bureau states the goals for a complete program of community action as "1) strengthening of resources needed by all children, 2) protection of groups of children especially vulnerable to

* Mimeographed report on the Chicago Area Project by Clifford R. Shaw and Jesse A. Jacobs, pp. 7, 8.

† "Delinquency Prevention through School and Social Agency Co-ordination," *Educational Forum* (November 1943) p. 11.

‡ United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication 301 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943). p. 4.

delinquency, 3) control of harmful influences in the community, and (4) services for the delinquent child and the child with behavior problems. All these activities depend for their effectiveness on sound organization and procedures."[15]

Participation by young people in local planning of community services is provided in some places through youth representation in community councils. There are also some notable examples of youth councils which provide a high level of initiative on the part of young people combined with adult, professional stimulation and guidance. Thrasher describes the Manhasset, New York, Youth Council.[16] It works to "support and strengthen the work of all youth-serving organizations," and to further the "carry over from school learnings to spare-time activities."

The Council attempts to make the whole community more youth conscious through public discussion of their problems and by presenting their activities through the press, through special publications, and through such activities as those of the Talent and Speaker's Bureaus which enable young people to appear at public functions both as artists and as speakers to explain their activities.[17]

In Madison, Wisconsin, a Youth Council is sponsored by the Madison Recreation Council, a division of the Community Planning Council. It is made up of delegates from young people's organizations. The Council shares in the planning of recreation programs, with the help of an adult advisory group.[18]

A program of youth services has been developed in Los Angeles to meet needs of minority groups which were brought sharply into focus by the "zoot suit" riots in 1943.[19] In areas where Mexicans and

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 393–397. [16] *Ibid.*, pp. 397–400. [17] *Ibid.*, p. 398.

[18] Brown, Dorothy E., "The Madison Youth Council," *Community*, published by Community Chests and Councils, Inc., New York, 23: 8–12, September, 1947. The film *Make Way for Youth*, produced for the National Social Welfare Assembly is based in large part on the work of the Madison Youth Council. See also *Youth United for a Better Home Town: Get, Share, Act on the Facts for Community Progress.* New York: National Social Welfare Assembly, Youth Division, 1947.

[19] See Introduction by Richard Wright to *Black Metropolis* by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1945), p. xxvii for reference to this tragic episode as part of a discussion of underlying factors in race prejudice.

other minorities were concentrated it was found that less than ten per cent of the 95,000 young adults were reached by youth agencies. Ten youth-serving agencies responded to the crisis by banding together to develop recreational and other "activities especially tailored to appeal to and be beneficial to the young people of these areas. These agencies, all members of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, appealed to the War Chest for $234,000. The grant was given and renewed in 1944 . . . ."[20]

The Youth Project is not an agency but a cooperative undertaking of private and public agencies and community groups. A policy-forming board is made up of representatives of youth agencies and of minority groups. Staff members engaged to work in the tension area are attached to cooperating agencies, but the total program is coordinated through the Project, in consultation wherever possible with local community leaders and young people being served. In February, 1947, there were sixty-four workers, including part-time, hired by agencies through Youth Project funds, over forty per cent of whom were Negroes or Mexican-Americans. Some 750 men and women volunteers had served as club leaders during the preceding years. There is said to be a greater volume of group work and recreational services received by minority groups, "a noticeable lessening of tensions" as well as a new willingness on the part of national agencies to adjust their programs to meet special needs.[21]

Several emphases stand out in the various programs for youth conservation which have been described. In various forms and degrees, there is a recognition of:

1. The need for adaptation of programs to local conditions, and especially the participation of local leadership in planning. The young people themselves are being involved in planning group and community programs under various auspices. Planning with and by the people affected is both practical and democratic; it does not, however, minimize the contribution of professional workers.

[20] Waltz, Henry W., "Los Angles Youth Project."

[21] Los Angeles Youth Project, mimeographed statement, April 8, 1947. See also "A Review of the Los Angeles Youth Project as Revealed by Records, August, 1943 to November, 1945." by Harleigh B. Trecker in *Recreation for Everybody.* Los Angeles: Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, 1946.

2. The complexity of the problems of delinquency and maladjustment which require in response a broad program, including health services, vocational guidance, individual counseling and case work. Recreation is thought of as a normal community program not as a panacea to be applied to the tensions and conflicts of youth.

3. The value of coordinating or integrating services to provide the maximum benefits to the community from the interests and efforts of agencies and organizations.

4. The importance of evaluating results, as well as planning programs with consideration of factual evidence. Some programs have grown out of research interests, and others have given a place to evaluation with objective measurements wherever possible.

Implicit in these programs is the stress on the environmental situation and its effects on character or personality integration in the individual, as compared with a major alternative but generally discredited view of behavior, which accounts for traits and tendencies in terms of innate, biological predispositions.

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CHAPTER XII

Planning of Social Work

THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK

Social work is an inclusive concept which defies precise delimitation. There is some inclination to think of social work broadly as equivalent to community services, and even a narrower conception must allow for marginal developments. Ancient forms of mutual aid and historic provisions for relief of the destitute have developed, especially in cities, into a variety of agencies and services concerned with the welfare of individuals, families and other groups. These services include educational, guidance, and counseling functions in addition to economic assistance. The volume of such welfare services is so great that they constitute a major community concern, even though in this chapter the purposes of social work are presented as one among several objects of organized local planning.[1]

Most social welfare services are now paid for from tax funds, and this phase of the work of public or governmental agencies has its main historical line of development centered in provisions for the relief of the poor. Counties and townships in the United States provided such relief in almshouses and poor farms, or to people in their own homes, under legal authority which colonial governments first patterned after English laws dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Specialized institutions came to be developed, starting in the last century usually under state governmental auspices, for the custody and care of people with certain defects, such

[1] Fink, Arthur E., *The Field of Social Work*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942, 1949. The standard reference book in this field is *Social Work Year Book*, published by the Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

as the blind, deaf, and insane. State and local responsibility continued to prevail, with minor exceptions, until the depression of the 1930's and the assumption of federal responsibility on a grand scale for general home relief, work relief, and special programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. With the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, general relief again became a state and local matter, while the Federal government provides funds to assist states under certain conditions in giving financial assistance to three categories of people: the needy aged, the blind, and dependent children. This is in addition to the federal program of old age and survivors' insurance and Federal-State cooperation in vocational rehabilitation, and unemployment insurance. Federal grants for child welfare services authorized by the same Act have expanded state and local programs.

Private or voluntary agencies have had a prolific growth in the United States, especially in cities. Many of these have been under religious or denominational auspices. Some have been specially concerned with the needs of members of specific nationality groups. Many privately supported societies were organized in the last century, when cities were growing, immigrants pouring in, and depressions were recurring. Much of this relief-giving was indiscriminate and uncoordinated. Centralized planning was begun by Charity Organization societies which have developed into the family service societies of today. Since the depression of the 1930's, such family agencies have specialized in problems other than relief which is now accepted as a basic public responsibility. Care of children in institutions, foster home placements, and day nurseries are typical of the work of private agencies in the child welfare field.

Settlements have pioneered in many phases of social work.[2] Health education, medical care for the needy, vocational counseling, and aid to the handicapped are other services which are part of or closely related to social work, and these are being provided under both private and public auspices. Private agencies are often thought of as pioneers, demonstrating the needs for and benefits of certain services, which subsequently come to be accepted as governmental

[2] Settlements are discussed in Chapter VII.

responsibilities, or as setting standards of performance in their smaller scale and more intensive programs. While the relation is not always in one direction, there is a distinct role for private agencies as pace-setters even in the face of vast governmental programs which provide a basic minimum of social security.[3]

SOCIAL WORK METHODS

The methods used in social work are principally threefold: case work, group work, and "community" or social welfare organization. Case work, or individualized services to persons and families with various problems, is the most highly developed and represents the core of professional practice. The family unit is emphasized, not only because case work developed in private agencies serving families in need, but also because of the recognition that child welfare and personality development is largely a reflection of family organization. Child guidance clinics have had to know the family in order to help the problem child. Family life is favored over institutional care in the placement of dependent children.

Group work is usually associated with leisure time activities and especially with programs for young people.[4] The principles involved are not thus limited and are expressed in many phases of informal education, administration, and community organization. The preceding chapters on leadership and participation suggested points that are emphasized in group work philosophy and practice. The essential skill of the group worker is to develop leaders, stimulate participation, ensure a circular response within a group, and throughout to be aware of what the group experience can mean to the individual member.

Social welfare organization (or community organization for social welfare) includes various processes of cooperation between agencies and groups interested in similar objectives. The principal forms of such organization are the councils of social agencies and community chests. Theirs is the task of coordinated planning and federated

[3] McMillen, Wayne, *Community Organization for Social Welfare.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. 95–99.

[4] See Chapters XI and XIII.

financing of social work, bringing together in voluntary consultation or agreements the multiplicity of public and private agencies that are found in medium-sized and larger communities. Most of their work deals with agency problems and experience, but there is a growing interest in related fields of planning and in thinking of the community as a whole rather than the views of it afforded to social agencies.

Social work is increasingly professionalized, as marked by the growth of graduate schools for professional preparation, the corresponding demand of agencies for qualified workers, and the formation of professional associations. Of these, the American Association of Social Workers, formed in 1921 is the most inclusive. The American Association of Group Workers has developed out of the American Association for the Study of Group Work. "At the 1939 National Conference of Social Work community organization workers stood where case workers were in 1923 and group workers in 1935, at the threshold of self-study."[5] In 1946 the Association for the Study of Community Organization was formed with over 400 charter members.

Community organization, in the social work sense, is in a "yeasty" state. The sense of frontiers to develop, of skills to learn, of the need for research is being expressed by leaders in social work, just as in other phases of community organization there is a similar although perhaps less articulate awareness of openness and opportunity for development. Arthur E. Fink has described community organization as follows in a review of developments in education for social work:

> Community organization is an area that is just as important and just as demanding of skill as casework or administration. It is no secret that, despite the deluge of words about community organization, our knowledge and our skills are woefully inadequate. This is all the more surprising when we realize how closely related people's difficulties are to the communities in which they live, and how getting help is so dependent on the resources in those com-

[5] Fink, Arthur E., *op. cit.*, 1942 edition, p. 442. See articles by Lane and Kurtz cited in the Bibliography for some of the beginnings of definition of community organization by social workers.

munities. As workers we have not yet been particularly effective in understanding our communities and in knowing how to discover and make available the countless resources that exist wherever people live in association.

Even in the communities that we so easily call "poor" there is an infinite wealth that we have not yet tapped. As social workers we are going to have to extend ourselves clear beyond what passes for courses on community organization in our colleges and schools of social work, if we are ever going to know much more about communities than we now do. We are going to have to learn that community organization is not synonymous with social work. We're going to have to learn from Chambers of Commerce, from labor unions, from churches, from service clubs, from politicians, rather than restricting ourselves to the conventional council of social agencies, or the annual community chest drive.

It is amazing how applicable all of this is to group work as well. We will need to realize that group work is not limited to social settlements, boys clubs, and playgrounds, but is present wherever people are associated together in pursuit of common avocational interests. Indeed, what we term the group process is exemplified wherever there are people. In both community organization and group work it will be necessary to study and analyze the behavior of people in group living and to develop knowledge and skill as has been possible in social casework. Furthermore, let all of this—casework, administration, community organization, and group work—be related to the sound principles of research. Then and only then could it really be said that social work is in a position to produce workers who understand themselves, other people, and communities, and to use this understanding constructively for themselves and communities.[6]

Community organization and group workers share with their colleagues in case work the philosophy of self-determination. This means that clients are expected to participate in making decisions affecting them, with the case worker assuming a more or less active role of guide.[7] The goal of developing self-confidence and latent

[6] Fink, Arthur E. "Current Developments in Social Work Training," *Public Welfare News*, published quarterly and distributed free by the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, 9: 10–11 March, 1946.

[7] Fink, Arthur E., "The Field of Social Work," *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 51, 287, and passim. Hollis, Florence, *Social Case Work: Six Case Studies*. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1939. P. 5.

resources of the person is paralleled in various degrees in group work and community situations, with the emphasis on the experience of people in making decisions collectively. This aspect of professional practice is expressed by the executive of a council of social agencies:

If the community organization worker's job is to help individuals and groups relate to a social problem in such a way that they understand it and are able to act, then his focus must change from working toward a social end to working with a process. At present a community organization worker is frequently concerned with taking care of particular community needs or establishing certain types of agencies and services instead of helping people work on community problems. Perhaps community organization is in the stage that casework was when a caseworker defined the individual client's problem and offered advice on how to solve it. Too frequently community organization workers define a community problem or decide what needs to be done and then persuade influential individuals and groups to take action. Case workers have learned that individuals must define their own goals and work toward them in their own particular ways although agency services can be offered and clients helped to use them if they are interested. When community organization workers learn to determine what the community's concern is and work with this instead of trying directly to foster programs and services a special community organization skill will develop.[8]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS

Beginnings of coordination in the social work field, according to Steiner, can be found in the charity organization movement, mentioned above; the social service exchange, for the clearance of information about cases known to more than one agency; charities endorsement, or the elimination of fraud, duplication, or inferior programs through investigation of agencies by a responsible community body; and in a special sense in the settlement movement, because of the broad interest of its leaders in studies and action

[8] Stoll, Hester Graham, "Are We Doing Community Organization?" *Community Service*, published by the Council of Social Agencies of the District of Columbia and Vicinity, Washington, D.C., 10: 11–14. October, 1945, p. 12.

directed toward community improvement. Early in the present century, cooperation between agencies and individuals was being fostered on grounds of idealism as well as of practical necessity in the face of the overwhelming problems of the rapid growth of cities.[9]

The effort of the Charity Organization to coordinate the work of relief agencies not only proved to be a convincing demonstration of the value of the federation idea, but directed attention to the need of machinery that would promote cooperation among the agencies in the community. This is seen in the experience of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity which in 1879 organized an "Assembly" comprising ten committees representative of a wide range of charitable, reformatory, and health interests of the city. In other cities a similar purpose was accomplished by the organization of social workers' clubs and city conferences of social workers in which the Charity Organization Society was frequently the guiding spirit. The more formal organization of the social agencies into a central council had its beginning in connection with the establishment of the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh in 1908. Unlike the usual charity organization society, this Associated Charities was in reality a federation of charities in which the leading social agencies held membership and contributed to its support. As a part of this plan of organization, these agencies appointed delegates to a central council which was given the right to appoint ten of the twenty-one trustees of the Associated Charities. Later this arrangement proved unsatisfactory, and it was found necessary to modify the constitution of the Associated Charities so that it could take its place among other agencies as an independent member of the Central Council. This latter organization which had a wide membership in the city gave evidence of its value in promoting educational campaigns in the fields of child welfare and public health, as well as in coordinating the work of the various social agencies.[*]

Among the first cities to establish central councils of social agencies were Milwaukee (1909), St. Louis (1911), Cleveland and Cincinnati (1913), Minneapolis (1916), and Chicago (1917). Since these councils were the only ones in operation at the time of America's entrance into the World War, it is apparent that this new plan

[9] Steiner, J. F., *Community Organization.* New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1930. Chapter VIII.

[*] Watson, F. D., *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. pp. 343, 425–426.

of federation made headway very slowly. The war, however, with its demand for cooperation and unity of action gave extraordinary impetus to this movement. Within a five-year period ending in 1923, twenty councils had been established in large cities besides many others of variant types that had sprung into existence in smaller places.[10]

The parallel and related development of the community chest is also summarized by Steiner:

From one point of view the community chest or the financial federation, as it was formerly called, is simply a central council that includes joint finance among its functions. The early hostility, however, to the financial federation movement and the feeling that its technique and problems could be worked out best by those whose primary concern was social finance led to the development of a separate organization usually closely related to the central council but sometimes rather rigidly separated from it. In the smaller cities especially community chests were frequently organized solely for the joint raising of funds and made little or no attempt to carry out the coordinating functions of the central council.

The first experiment in joint finance in this country was made in Denver in 1887 with the establishment of an Associated Charities and the collection of $20,000 for the support of the twenty-three relief agencies affiliated with this new organization. This plan which was little more than a charity chest did not attract wide attention but was continued with various changes of policy until it developed in 1922 into a more inclusive federation.

The most successful pioneering work in the field of joint finance was carried on by Jewish social agencies. As early as 1895 the Jewish leaders in Boston established a federation which attempted to bring all their philanthropic work under one systematic management. The following year the supporters of the Jewish agencies in Cincinnati adopted a financial plan that included a joint drive for funds. This experiment led to the establishment of the Jewish federation movement in many of the large cities where it demonstrated the value of a joint budget a number of years before the financial federation had attracted the attention of social workers in general. It is very probable that the success of the Jewish financial federation stimulated the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce to undertake the

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 203–204.

study of the problem of financial support of the social agencies in that city. This investigation, which was begun in 1908, finally led to the establishment in 1912 of the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy. The first year fifty-seven agencies joined this organization, and the amount raised for their support was $377,000. The following year the work of this federation was supplemented by the organization of the Cleveland Welfare Council which assumed responsibility for the coordination of the social agencies. Later the Federation and the Council were merged into a comprehensive organization known as the Cleveland Welfare Federation.

In 1915 the Council of Social Agencies in Cincinnati, which had been organized two years earlier, established a Central Budget Committee and conducted a campaign for the financial support of twelve of its member agencies. This Cincinnati experiment in joint finance was continued each year with constantly increasing public support until 1918 when the war chest was established and included the budgets of the local agencies that were being financed by the Council. Following the war the Central Council of Social Agencies was reorganized under the name of the Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies.*

By the end of (World War I,) the financial federation movement was apparently well established. The experience gained through the war chests in several hundred cities was a prominent factor in popularizing the plan of joint finance, and undoubtedly stimulated the further development of financial federations of community chests, which in 1918 already numbered twenty-six. In 1923 one hundred and twenty-three cities had community chests in operation and since that date every year has seen consistent progress in the expansion of this movement for joint finance. In 1929 there were 330 community chests which raised for their constituent agencies approximately $71,500,000.[11]

At the beginning of 1947, there were 878 chests and 346 councils. These chests reported 833 campaigns in that year. 58 of these campaigns raised $500,000 or more. Nearly ten times as many (577) raised amounts under $100,000. The balance of 198 chests were in the $100,000–$499,999 category in amounts raised.[12]

* For a detailed and authoritative statement of the early history of financial federations see W. J. Norton, *The Cooperative Movement in Social Work.* New York: Macmillan, 1927. Chapter 4.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 211–213.

[12] Data from Community Chests and Councils, Inc., New York City. Data are said to be incomplete.

The development of councils for welfare planning, growing out of the desire to transcend agency limitations in an approach to common problems, is exemplified in an account of experience in a city of 50,000 which had a community chest. This "clinical" study of the birth process of a council traces the development of mutual confidence and consensus among community leaders, with guidance by a professional worker, the chest executive. The community chest had functioned for eighteen years, and there was a defunct Social Workers' Club, "often spoken of as a debating society." The first discussions of a new organization among agency representatives were marked by ignorance of council functions and some apprehension as to what would happen to their special interests.

. . . "No super-organization will get by with telling our agency what it shall or shall not do," was the climate of those first meetings. "Power" and "authority" were words around which much of the early discussion seemed to center.

With painstaking description of the organization, program, and activities of other councils, the chest executive attempted to demonstrate the difference between "authority over" and "authority with." He also explained that power, in a council, is simply the power inherent in member agencies which are working together in cooperative activity—power created by agencies accomplishing together things which they cannot accomplish separately, or which they can better accomplish together than singly or alone.

As the committee's conception of the purpose and function of a council began to crystallize, suspicions were allayed and confidence began to develop. Less was said about power, authority, rights, and prerogatives; more and more about community needs and problems.

The group had come together with different points of view and different interests; some with the aim of protecting an agency. Slowly there began to dawn a feeling that something was being created—something important. It was not an idea that first was held in common, but one that was being created in common. Members of the committee began to admit that many problems could be met only by means of cooperative activity. They began to see that a council machinery could enable agencies, sharing their cumulative experience with other related agencies to diagnose welfare and health conditions and cooperatively devise treatment or programs to meet demonstrated needs.

To bring about clearer understanding of the structure and activity of a council, the chest executive presented certain principles that he felt should govern the organization and program of a council. In the somewhat modified version which follows, these principles were included as part of the preamble to the by-laws:

"Inherent in the genius of this organization as it is conceived and hereinafter outlined are six principles held to be fundamental to the work of this organization. They are: (1) a simple and flexible form of organization; (2) participation of public and private agencies; (3) generous amount of lay participation; (4) need for community planning before community financing; (5) use of the democratic process; and (6) community-minded rather than agency-minded attitudes."[13]

Howard Keeler goes on to describe the adoption of by-laws and of a name, Welfare Council being chosen to indicate that participation was not limited to social agencies. As weeks passed, mutual respect developed "even in differences of opinion . . . and committee members looked forward to the meetings." The committee upon drawing up tentative by-laws sought discussion of them and the Council idea. It arranged a community meeting at which the "what—why—who and how" of a Council was presented, questions answered, and the committee was authorized to proceed with drawing up by-laws. Newspaper publicity informed the public of the main points of the discussion at the meeting. "The process of studying, drafting and revising by-laws became a highly educational experience for the committee."

. . . Fifty-four organizations, less than half of them social and health agencies applied before the next meeting which set up the permanent organization.

Soon, representatives were called together to set up the formal organization and get down to work. And work it was! The council cut its eye-teeth on some pretty tough problems: more adequate summer recreation facilities; the study of youth needs and existing programs to meet those needs; consideration of emergency, material aid for those families that seemed to fall "between" the responsibilities of existing agencies; a study of the social, recreational,

[13] Keeler, Howard, "Birth of a Council: An Experience in Community Organization," *Community*, the official bulletin of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. 20: 21–22. October, 1944.

housing and work problems of the Negro community; the possible need for a sheltered workshop; and problems in the areas of juvenile delinquency.

The council immediately instituted the committee method of tackling its problems. For example, the executive of a public agency had long been agitating for establishment of a sheltered workshop. The chairman of the council's family and child care division set up a special committee in which this executive was of course included. Agencies doing work of this nature were represented. With all the facts on the table, the proposal was discussed by all, and the negative and positive factors weighed. The final decision, which happened to be against setting up the agency at that time, was perfectly satisfactory to all, including the original instigator. He had been a party to the deliberations, had helped to examine all factors in the situation and participated in the decision. The illustration is cited not for the significance of the problem, but the method and process: democratic activity, demonstrating "authority with," not "authority over."

At the close of this committee's deliberations a community leader, active in many organizations, testified that she had learned more about the procedure and technique of considering a community situation in that single meeting than in all her previous experience.

POLICIES AND FUNCTIONS OF CHESTS AND COUNCILS

Keeler mentions specific problems which a council worked on in its early stages, as well as suggesting the broad scope of its potential interests. This is a concrete version of the planning process in the social work field. A recent summary of functions of welfare councils is included in a bulletin prepared by the national organization, Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

Councils frequently have been organized as the result of either a spontaneous desire on the part of social workers to solve jointly mutual problems; or, the recognition of the community's fund raisers that an objective planning body is needed to assist in establishing facts basic to an equitable and wise distribution of community contributions. In either case, Council development tends to go through the progressive steps of:

(1) Familiarizing workers with other agency programs and getting them acquainted with each other.

(2) Clearing inter-agency problems through such devices as establishing referral procedures, defining agency functions so as to avoid duplication and confusion, or setting up case committees to review difficult situations involving more than one agency.

(3) Establishing common services, such as the social service exchange, useful to all, or to a group of community agencies, and finally

(4) Reaching a degree of maturity in cooperative community effort which makes it possible through study and planning to coordinate the work of existing services; eliminate duplicating or unnecessary activity; locate unmet needs and see that they are met; stimulate preventive and remedial measures; improve the quality of community services; promote public understanding of needs and resources; develop an increasingly effective program of community services through the most efficient application of community resources to the health and welfare needs of all citizens.

Most of these Councils were organized with a professsional worker and a board member from each agency making up the policy determining body. Although there were in many cases some "citizens at large" serving on boards and committees, deliberations in the early days were dominated by agency representatives, thus causing such Councils to be criticized as appearing to perpetuate the interests of existing organizations. Since there are numerically more private than public agencies in most cities, the result was a private agency dominated planning body. As time went on, however, it has become increasingly apparent that planning for adequate welfare services requires the understanding, backing and active leadership of a broad cross-section of the community. Consequently the more progressive Councils have broadened their membership base to include not only representatives of public and private agencies, but also representatives of civic, business, labor and religious organizations, and some individual lay leaders. Thus has evolved a genuine community welfare Council in contrast to a Council of social workers or social agencies.

The activities and accomplishments of Councils differ from community to community—and depend upon special needs, professional leadership in both the agencies and the Council, the readiness of various groups to use the Council for cooperative efforts, and the willingness of interested groups to accept change. As a result, in some communities greatest progress has been made in public health, in others recreation, and in still others public welfare departments or courts. The Council is an agency through which

community forces act together on a voluntary basis, and consequently has both the strengths and weaknesses of any democratic institution. A Council has no controlling or dictatorial force, and can be only as strong as its membership—the community of citizens, agencies, and organizations—wants it to be. Because of its voluntary nature, it is possible for a Council to speak fearlessly and act forthrightly in situations demanding such action for the welfare of the community.[14]

Community Chest policies and practices have become more standardized than council functions. The following summary by Steiner describes what is typical in chest operations, although the reference to budget reviewing in the interests of business efficiency should be modified to recognize the growing reliance on the review as a tool in social welfare planning. Rather than being concerned mainly with efficiency of administration of agencies, it is a review of services provided in relation to community needs, in which the staff of councils of social agencies frequently acts as technical consultants.

In the brief history of joint financing of social agencies, certain principles or policies have been developed which are now so generally accepted that they may be regarded as fundamental planks in the financial federation movement. One of these principles, the *immunity rule* in soliciting, has made a strong appeal to the public because it does away with the annoyance of continuous appeal for funds by separate agencies. According to this rule, those who contribute to the budget of the federation are guaranteed freedom from further solicitation by its member agencies for their current expenses during the year. This undoubtedly works a hardship upon the social agencies that have adopted the plan of joint finance when the total budget is not entirely secured. Nevertheless this policy is regarded as of fundamental importance, and every effort is made to put it into effect. It should be observed that this applies only to current expenses and not to building funds, and that it does not affect agencies remaining outside the federation.

Continuous educational publicity is another feature of the financial federation which is sometimes lost sight of because of the intensive publicity at the time of the financial campaign. Successful

[14] *Public Agency–Council Relationships:* A Study. Bulletin 290, December, 1946, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., New York, pp. 5–6.

federations have found it necessary to devise ways and means of keeping before the public throughout the year the accomplishments of their member agencies. This publicity, which has tended more and more to be of an educational nature in contrast to the usual emotional appeal made during the financial drive, has proven to be one of the important foundations upon which financial federations have had to build.

Even more radical in its departure from traditional methods is the principle of *budgetary* control, which requires participating agencies to submit their individual budgets for detailed review by a budget committee representative of the federation membership. Budgets agreed upon in this manner cannot later be changed without the consent of the federation and even the methods of financial accounting employed by the member-agencies must be in accord with standards that have been set up by the budget committee. This plank in the federation platform has frequently been objected to at the time of the organization of a federation, but it has been of undoubted value in promoting business efficiency in the administration of social agencies.

The *campaign method of raising money* has been quite generally adopted as the most available means of securing the funds called for by the combined budget approved by the federation. While in some cases, under the leadership of professional campaign managers with little or no interest in social work, this has resulted in a whirlwind campaign of an emotional sort that has been detrimental to the local community, the tendency has been for this financial drive to mean simply the application of modern business methods to this problem of securing financial support. In the cities where joint finance has been carried on most successfully, a permanent financial organization is built up which by means of an intensive campaign is able to enlist the assistance of the best qualified solicitors and at the same time reach the largest possible number of people.[15]

COMMUNITY RELATIONS OF PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES

Governmental agencies responsible for welfare services have problems of coordination with each other and have a part to play in the total planning process. Various units of government have statutory responsibility for programs which are related to each other,

[15] Steiner, J. F., *op. cit.*, pp. 216–218.

and in larger communities especially channels may be needed for clearance and consultation between public agencies. For example:

In one urban center, poor relief was for many years a responsibility of the county government. In that same community the city government supported a very extensive tuberculosis program. Since a great majority of the county taxpayers lived in the city, both services were supported by substantially the same group of citizens. Moreover, it was well known that many relief cases were also currently under the care of the tuberculosis service. Undoubtedly, the treatment of these families would have been much more effective if the two organizations had been in close touch with each other. But, as a matter of fact, there was no orderly provision for exchange of information and experience. One of the two agencies did not even register its cases at the social service exchange. Hence co-ordination of treatment occurred only in cases in which the responsible workers cleared with one another on an informal and unofficial basis. Obviously, the resulting loss to the families and to the community was considerable. The great expansion in the public social services in recent years has multiplied the opportunities for this type of isolation of one program from others. A general recognition of the interrelatedness of the various types of public welfare services would perhaps create a demand for some kind of official means of coordinating them. There is some basis for believing that a development of this character may ultimately occur.[16]

Participation of public agencies in welfare councils has been the subject of a special study which was based on the recognition of the increasing support of welfare services by government agencies, and of the necessity for public and private agency team work in community welfare planning. Major responsibility for the study was carried by Violet M. Sieder of the staff of Community Chests and Councils, Inc.; questionnaires from 113 Councils were supplemented by field investigation in 21 communities and other interviews with officials of federal and national private agencies. The great majority of local or county welfare departments were found to be active in councils, and in well over half of the cities studied the departments of education and health, juvenile courts and recreation authorities also participated. To a lesser, but considerable extent, the police,

[16] McMillen, Wayne, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

public libraries, park departments, institutions, and housing authorities were found to be active.

How public agencies participate is indicated in summary form and by examples in the following excerpt from a section of the report on "Planning Devices:"

IV. Representatives of public agencies should assume a prominent place in the Council's central administrative body and should serve on appropriate committees. In communities where public officials actively participate in making and shaping policies through committee discussion and where they help to decide on project priorities in their field, there is enthusiasm for Council membership. In communities where their inclusion in a Council is on a superficial or "honorary" basis, public officials do not regard the relationship seriously.

When public officials have had an opportunity to voice their opinions on measures affecting them, they are less likely to look upon Council action in relation to public programs in their field as outside pressure to be resisted. For example, in one Council the chairman of the health committee, who was the local health officer, opposed a resolution endorsing a federally supported health program. The majority of the committee favored the resolution, which was passed and sent over the signature of the chairman.

In contrast, in another Council a worth-while health education program was initiated with the knowledge of the health officer, but without his active participation in planning. He recognized inherent weaknesses about which he had not been consulted. The project failed. The health officer then took over the idea and made it a successful project of his department. Much time might have been saved if, after joint discussion and plans, it had been decided at the start to have the project undertaken by the health department with the sponsorship and support of the council.

V. Public agencies and governmental bodies when they participate in the Council should use and look to it as the medium for anticipating community needs, preparing the public for new services, initiating and promoting changes in programs. The public agency is bound by statutory provisions to provide specified services. Creation of these agencies and departments by legislation has meant that the legislators believe that the average citizen approves the services and considers them to be a valid responsibility of the taxpayer. It follows that the public agency usually cannot move as fast or be as flexible in meeting new or emergent needs as is often neces-

sary. The Council's function is to be alert to such needs and to find some resources to meet them until such time as they are proved to be the legitimate responsibilities of the community, to be carried by a public agency. The Council also has the obligation to prepare the public for full acceptance of such responsibilities through an education program which may even involve a demonstration project.

For example, in many communities day care programs for children of working mothers were initiated through Council action. In one community studied, the council was responsible through an active educational campaign for the establishment of a public recreation commission, and in another for the organization of a public health department. In many Councils improved standards in public agencies for personnel or budgets for families in need have been achieved through Council action.

VI. A Council should have a clearly defined policy, developed with the participation of public officials, in regard to the channels and methods of taking a responsible stand on legislative or other public issues. Such a policy would mean that public agencies may rely on effective and timely support for vital public measures. Some Councils have a defined policy which anticipates emergencies and lays down general principles on the basis of which the Council takes responsibility for appropriate action on public matters. This type of policy makes it possible for public officials to look to the Council with confidence for assistance and support in bringing about needed legislative changes. This device is one step in achieving an integration in planning between public and private agency programs. It should be noted, however, that most Councils believe that they should confine political action to support of issues that affect health and welfare programs or personnel qualifications and standards for public office and should not oppose or support a specific candidate or party in a political campaign. Councils have been effective, however, in making recommendations of candidates for appointment to official health and welfare positions. . . .

VII. Councils should help to define and clarify inter-agency relationships between both public and private agencies which work in the same or related fields. Through committees of the Council, agencies are able to clarify intake and discharge policies, referral procedures, inter-agency agreements and other questions and problems which arise between agencies which deal with each other in the course of their business. Such clearance points up gaps and duplications in services, makes it possible for the agencies to plan realistically through the Council to meet the needs of the community, and

helps the agencies to see their functions in perspective against the total health and welfare program. Many Councils are engaged in studies of the division of responsibility between public and private agencies for the institutional and foster home care of children. Other Councils are examining relationships of visiting nurse associations and public health departments. Veterans' information centers have necessitated clarification of referral procedures between agencies as well as a definition of agency function.

VIII. Whenever possible, studies and projects involving public agencies should be initiated, planned and carried out with the participation of the public officials involved. It is sometimes desirable that major studies affecting public agencies be sponsored jointly by the Council and the branch of local government concerned. Although it is important to seek the full cooperation of public officials, this does not imply that it may not be necessary under certain circumstances to conduct studies of or involving public agencies without this cooperation. Such instances might occur when in a public agency there was serious maladministration or inadequate standards, or where functional changes were needed.[17]

NEW TRENDS IN WELFARE COUNCIL PRACTICE

Some of the newer directions being followed by councils of social agencies have already been indicated incidentally and will be recapitulated along with other emerging trends. The designation: "community welfare council" or the like, which is coming into general use indicates the broader scope of interests expressed and of participation in social planning.

In larger cities especially, councils have encouraged and given staff assistance in the formation of local community or neighborhood councils, essentially the same as described in Chapter VIII. Outstanding among these are the developments in Pittsburgh and Cleveland which go back to the early 1930's, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland, Washington, D.C., Indianapolis, St. Louis and Rochester, New York. "Approximately fifty councils are currently providing staff time for the organization and service of such neighborhood councils."[18] In some places, council leadership is provided principally to slum or blighted areas, but there is a tendency to

[17] *Public Agency–Council Relationships, op. cit.*, pp. 17–19.
[18] Letter, Violet M. Sieder, Community Chests and Councils, August, 1947.

make staff service available regardless of the incidence of the more obvious forms of social disorganization. The core of interest of such councils is usually in the planning of health, welfare, recreation, and related services, but they may also be actively interested in traffic safety, the physical appearance of the area, or other matters of local interest.

Councils frequently include members from an area larger than the central city, and there is some evidence of a trend toward a metropolitan regional basis of organization for welfare planning. In the study already quoted, 94 of 112 councils reporting serve an area larger than a city; the county in 50 cases, the metropolitan area in 32, "more than one small town" in 10 and "more than one county" in two cases. During World War II there was also fund-raising organized on a regional basis, especially in Boston and Chicago.

A major trend is toward the inclusion of more lay people and a more representative cross section of the community in welfare planning. This is being achieved in part by the decentralization of planning to the local community, where citizens can see the problems at hand and can participate in planning without the more technical knowledge that is often required to deal with complex questions relating to the organization of services for the city as a whole. A major development in this direction of wider participation is the activity of labor unions in the broad field of community services. Their cooperation in war fund raising led to greater interest in the planning of welfare services, and union members are found in increasing numbers on boards and committees of councils and individual agencies.[19]

Planning of social work, when it deals with more than interagency and administrative problems, comes close to an interest in housing, employment, and other basic community conditions. Welfare councils are developing an interest and initiative in the broader reaches of community planning particularly in relation to problems of the economic and physical sort which underlie the manifestations

[19] *Organized Labor's Participation in Social Work.* Bulletin No. 163 of the Russell Sage Foundation Library, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, October, 1945. Hillman, Arthur, "Labor Joins the Chicago Council," *Community*, Bulletin of Community Chests and Councils, 22: 48–49; 52, November, 1946.

encountered by social agencies.[20] On the other hand, city planning of a comprehensive sort must include community services in its scope, and in this sphere the specialized knowledge and support of social agencies is of major significance.[21]

Finally, there is the related challenge of "social action" as social workers designate the interest in social legislation, and other measures designed to prevent the recurrence of individual problems.[22] Labor unions are likely to join in supporting legislation favored by social workers and welfare councils, and in turn invite support for measures which border on the welfare field such as laws relating to unemployment insurance, industrial health and safety, and fair employment practices. With broader participation in welfare councils, it is predictable that interest in social action will increase. This follows also from the maturing of social work as a profession, including the recognition of a distinction between what social workers do as citizens and their professional obligations as a result of their specialized competence and experience, and an awareness of the general limits of individualized treatment of social problems.[23]

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[20] *Public Agency–Council Relationships, op. cit.*, p. 6.

[21] See Chapter IV and particularly *Action for Cities* cited there and in the introduction to Part IV.

[22] See No. VI. quoted from *Public Agency–Council Relationships*, p. 18.

[23] See Burns, Eveline M.,. "Social Action and the Professional Social Worker," *The Compass*, Journal of the American Association of Social Workers, XXVIII: 37–40, May, 1947; and Youngdahl, Benjamin, "Social Workers: Stand Up and Be Counted," *The Compass*, XXVIII: 21–24, March, 1947. An interest in the deliberate reconstruction of social institutions as a complement to case work is consistent with the sociological view of the individual and society as reciprocally related. The immediate task of social work is often the treatment of the individual aspect of the problem, but it follows that society may also be the patient, See Frank, L. K., "Society as the Patient," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII: 335–344, November, 1936, and Waller, Willard, "Social Problems and the Mores, "*American Sociological Review*, 1: 922–933, December, 1936.

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CHAPTER XIII

Planning Recreation Programs

RECREATION AS A COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

If the town fathers of Middletown had been asked in 1800, or even in 1900, to expend public funds for playground supplies, for arts and crafts materials, and for full-time leadership to organize play activities for people of all ages, the request would have been met with astonishment and would doubtless have been rejected as a waste of money and an encouragement to foolish pursuits. In fact, it is hard to imagine who would have made such a request a century ago. The history of this country was dominated by the outlook of the pioneer and the Puritan, for whom thrift and industry were supreme virtues. Conditions have changed, however, with the passing of the frontier stage of national development, the growth of cities and their congestion, and with the increased use of machines to expand production. Mechanized industry has brought not only routine and specialization in jobs, for which recreation of some sort is an escape or antidote, but also the fact and possibility of increased leisure. The time on people's hands and the tensions felt in urban living have served to set the stage for organized recreation as a community function.[1]

The pioneers in American colonies and on the frontier were not all austere folks, without any fun in life. Having to work without the aid of modern machines, their opportunities for recreational pursuits were limited, even when play was not devalued culturally. On the

[1] Steiner, J. F., *Americans at Play: Recent Trends In Recreation and Leisure Time Activities.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.

other hand, living in small towns and rural areas made possible many spontaneous activities centered around hunting expeditions, holiday festivals, harvest customs, for example, and informally through participation in more closely integrated life in families churches, and neighborhoods. Some sporting events, such as horse-races, which have long been popular, and resort to fashionable watering places were often enjoyed only by members of the upper classes of communities. What is new is that leisure has become the property of more people, of all income levels. Moreover the bigness and impersonality of cities has meant that recreation space, facilities, and leadership must be planned for, especially if they are to be generally available. The planning of community recreation programs is in keeping with the increased amount of leisure time and with the urban way of life generally.

By community recreation programs are understood those that are provided as a public service, being paid for by taxes or by contributions of interested people, as well as in part by fees paid by "consumers." A major alternative to such programs to engage the time of people outside of the home is, of course, leisure spent in random activity, sometimes in forms that may be considered destructive as well as "creative." Community facilities of a sort are also provided on a fee basis by commercial interests, which range from theaters and taverns to bowling alleys and amusement parks, catering to different degrees of passivity and to varying tastes. Since space in cities is at a premium, it follows that commercially operated facilities are conducted with an eye to profit in the sale of elbow room, or of a place to sit, and not out of primary consideration for the quality of the activity, from an esthetic, moral, or educational point of view.

The demand for leisure outlets is so great in cities that community-sponsored provisions are generally insufficient, and much as the programs of governmental and private agencies may be expanded, there will also be a large place for commercial amusements as well as for random and highly individualized activities. "Expenditures for commercial recreation increase directly with city size. . . . Public expenditures for recreation by cities over 30,000 population

increase with the size of the city. . . . Although the number, variety, and quality of recreational facilities increase with city size, their ratio to population is highest in the smaller or medium-sized cities."[2]

Communities have shown some responsibility of a negative sort through the attempts to regulate excesses of commercialized recreation. This function of government locally has been carried out with difficulty and unevenly.

The role of the government as supervisor and censor of commercial amusements antedates by far its more recently assumed functions of public recreation promotion. The close relationship between amusements and morals and the tendency to increase financial profits by providing demoralizing forms of popular entertainment have made it necessary for the public to set up standards and regulations in the interests of the general welfare. . . .

One of the forms of commercial amusements that has been especially difficult to regulate is the public dance hall. . . . It is estimated that 75 percent of the existing dance hall ordinances of the more complete type have been passed since 1918. In 1938 there were 28 states which had enacted laws dealing specifically with the regulation of public dances and dance halls and practically all the states had conferred full power upon municipalities to license and control these places of amusement. Recently enacted dance hall legislation seeks to accomplish its purpose through the requirement of licenses which are to be given only to halls that maintain certain required standards and comply with regulations covering such matters as hours of closing, participation of minors, lighting of premises, and conduct of dancers.[3]

The long and futile efforts of the government to suppress gaming devices, gambling in connection with legitimate amusements, and resorts that foster vice and immorality are matters of common knowledge and represent a serious breakdown of the forces of law and order. Illegal amusements for which there is a considerable popular demand have always flourished in spite of governmental opposition and apparently the same situation prevails today in

[2] *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy,* Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937. P. 22.

[3] By permission from *Americans at Play,* by J. F. Steiner, Copyrighted 1933. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. Pp. 174, 175.

American municipalities.[3] From time to time reform movements are inaugurated, a new administration may come into power, and as a result illegal amusements are forced to run for cover, but such victories are never final or complete, and it is doubtful whether any great headway has been made in recent years in bringing about a satisfactory solution of this perplexing problem.[4]

In justifying community support of positive programs of recreation, the argument is often advanced that such expenditures will tend to reduce delinquency among youth. Persons especially interested have resorted to such negative arguments, sometimes of necessity, because of the lack of acceptance of recreation as a value in itself—something inherently good which needs no further justification. It can properly be said, however, as noted in Chapter XI, that delinquent behavior is more complex than the mischief that results merely from idleness. Recreation workers also are increasingly inclined to emphasize that they do not offer any panacea, that organized play is obviously a substitute activity but not a simple "medicine-chest" antidote to delinquency. However, recreation programs under community auspices are often, perhaps usually, provided to meet the needs of children and youth, and public support is specially motivated as part of the broad concern with child welfare.

In this connection, and with the reservations indicated, a study of the relation of recreation and delinquency is worth noting, because it offers carefully formulated evidence. In a study of five selected communities in Chicago, it was found that delinquents do not take part in supervised recreation as much as do non-delinquents. Delinquents who did not take part in supervised recreation became repeaters thirty per cent more often than those who did participate.[5]

[3] Article on "Public Amusements," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2: 45.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 179. The provisions for movie censorship are also relevant, and a particular problem is the variation between cities in definitions of what is fit to be shown. As a positive approach to the insurance of quality of motion pictures, various community groups are publishing lists of approved or recommended films, with special attention to artistic merits and educational values.

[5] Shanas, Ethel, with the collaboration of Catherine E. Dunning, *Recreation and Delinquency*. Chicago: Chicago Recreation Commission, 1942.

Nothing in the provision of community recreation facilities and program leadership services clashes with the values of freedom and voluntary participation. Recreation leaders agree that if an activity is forced or regimented, it ceases to be recreational in value. However, it is also pointed out that freedom of choice is empty if facilities and services are not available.[6] If opportunities are to be made generally available to all citizens, governmental responsibility is necessary. Efforts of voluntary groups have their place in a total community program, but tax-supported provisions are basic to complete and consistent coverage of a community, just as in health or education services. This point of view was succintly expressed by the former Director of Recreation in the Federal Security Agency's Office of Community War Services:

> Free time alone is not enough. Unregimented and unshackled facilities, programs and opportunities must be provided to individuals and groups for their free-choice participation; recreation opportunities which are solely for the enjoyment, adventure, and freedom of persons, and for the development of individual initiative. And so it is that public recreation in a democracy is largely the cooperative purchase through government of recreation facilities and services which could not otherwise, through their resources as individuals or as separate voluntary groups, be made available to the people. . . .
>
> The all-too-dominant notion that government is something external to the lives of the people must be forsaken. We must abandon completely a notion which is no longer consonant with the interdependence of our industrial society, and positively affirm that the fruits of fully and properly used leisure time and the nurture of the cultural aspects of community life shall never again be solely the gifts of philanthropy.[7]

[6] Hjelte, George, in *Development of Community Recreation Programs for People of the United States,* Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, Seventy-ninth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2070, May 13 and 27, 1946. P. 120. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946.

[7] Gates, Sherwood, *The Stake of Government in the Recreation of all the People.* Washington: Federal Security Agency, Office of Community War Services, December, 1944. Multigraphed, 4 pages. Pp. 3 and 4.

A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM

Recreation authorities are urging that provision should be made for more than summer programs or for services to children, although such opportunities under community auspices are frequently the starting points. If recreation is accepted as an essential of a balanced program of community services, it follows that it should be available to people of all ages and on a year-round basis. These are the first principles stated in a platform which has been adopted by the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, a department of the National Education Association, and the Society of Recreation Workers of America, and endorsed by various civic bodies.[8]

Community responsibilities for recreation were defined for a recent Los Angeles survey, of which Roy Sorenson was director and in which other eminent authorities served as consultants. The statement points out that there are four kinds of major satisfactions which people seek in leisure outside of their homes. To meet these wants of people, facilities and leadership are being provided by governmental and voluntary community agencies. In the words of the survey report:

1. Provision of facilities, without leadership (except permit and custodial) or activity organization, such as parks, beaches, swimming pools, picnic areas, golf courses, tennis courts, libraries and museums. People want places to go and equipment to use for their own unorganized and unsupervised enjoyment . . . This function has become widely accepted as a public responsibility. It is no longer appropriate for private philanthropy to supplement this facility provision except as occasionally a group of citizens contribute to acquire property for transfer to public authorities to operate. This function is appropriately one for tax and bond issue support.

2. Leadership and equipment for a broad, organized activities program, including sports, music, drama, crafts, adult education and social activities. People want opportunities to engage in a wide variety of "activities" which, by their nature, must be "organized"

[8] *Essentials for Developing Comunity Recreation* published by The Athletic Institute, 209 South State Street, Chicago 4, Illinois, 1946.

and which in many instances also require special equipment. In the main, in metropolitan areas, these opportunities will not be afforded unless someone does the organizing and supplies the equipment. Illustrative of these activities are team play, music, drama, crafts, adult education, dances, social gatherings, and the like. These require playgrounds, play fields and activity buildings with meeting rooms, play areas, auditoria, lounging and game rooms and craft shops. These activities take different content form for various ages. Children need places to run, throw, and play with guidance. As they approach and get into adolescence, they need to acquire activity skills—sports, dancing, crafts, music, and dramatics. They want to learn. The adult has two main learning motivations, economic advancement and leisure-time interests.

This function has increasingly become an accepted public responsibility through school boards and municipal recreation commissions and committees. The private agencies' responsibility in regard to general activities program in a community where public responsibility for leisure-time services has been accepted is to conduct only such activities as lead to the organization of special interest groups and as supplemental to their member group and intergroup activity. It is not a private-agency function to organize a general activities program for a community.[9]

Public responsibility is thus recognized as specially appropriate for mass recreation activities and those with the widest appeal. On the other hand, private agencies have large but not exclusive concern for smaller club programs and more closely guided group activities. In this, the area where group work methods are used, often designated as character-building,[10] the activities are leisure-engaging but they are informally educational as well as recreational in content. These activities, as the continuation of the quotation indicates, are consciously designed to give practice in leadership and group relationships, and while they may be justified as any recreation program can be, as developing the art of leisure living, they are thought to have added values. The habits and skills which are practiced in

[9] *Recreation for Everybody: A Community Plan for Recreation and Youth Service for Los Angeles.* A Report of a Survey Conducted by the Community Surveys Associated, Under the Auspices of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., For the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, a Department of The Los Angeles Community Welfare Federation. Volume I, The General Report. January 1, 1946. Pp. 8–9.

[10] See Chapters XI and XII.

such group activities are those needed by youth in normal development, in contrast with the final type of recreational function outlined, that of therapy for problem children.

3. Leadership and program for smaller, continuing, self-determining groups. People, particularly children and young people, want the satisfaction which comes not so much from an activity itself as from the opportunity for close group association with those of their own age and kind. This is one of the ways in which adolescents and young people acquire social purposes and habits, learn to accept responsibility, exercise leadership. The "activities" in which they engage are thus incidental to their need for group association. The urge for close group belonging is strong on the part of children and youth up through high school. Clubs, troops, special interest groups, committees, and councils, and in many cases, teams, fulfill their urge to join and belong to their own group on the part of all ages. In the younger groups the social learnings are of an elemental sort. In teen-age groups social purposes, leadership and responsibility are learned. In young people's and adult groups, the emotional satisfactions are less, and organizing is for the pursuit of common interests, values, and purposes. It is in these groups, with continuing membership, where the citizenship, behavior, and life-philosophy values are most effective.

This group leadership and programming responsibility is a function of both public and voluntary agencies. The public authorities with the necessity of managing and operating large facilities, and a big volume activities program, do organize and supervise many groups as part of their program. The privately supported voluntary agencies, without the necessity of providing public facilities and a large activities program, focus upon organizing, recruiting and training leadership and supervising their member groups. Thus the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Woodcraft Rangers, YMCA, YWCA, Jewish Centers Association, the church bodies, Boys' Clubs and Neighborhood Houses are conspicuous in the fulfillment of this function.

4. The special guidance of unadjusted individuals and gangs through recreational and group activities. Finally, for certain children and young people who are not too well adjusted, association with others in small groups can be so directed as to serve a more precise and positive social purpose. The need is for socialization and understanding guidance. It is through the skillful conduct of such groups, with the highest quality of skilled leadership, with a pre-

mium upon "individualization" within the group, and in close cooperation with other agencies which have at their disposal caseworkers, visiting teachers, psychiatrists, probation officers and the like, that recreation can achieve the true purpose of "social treatment." This responsibility at present is primarily a private-agency function, and the public recreation worker's responsibility is in identifying problems and working with the private group work agencies and other resources in their treatment. However, public recreational and educational authorities are increasing their attention to this function.[11]

The same report lays down an important principle as to the areas of the city which should have priorities, assuming that community programs generally meet minimum standards for facilities and leadership:

Geographic areas which have special problems such as changing populations, low economic level, interracial tensions, and crowding or poor housing require an intensification of services above the minimum for all areas: In middle and upper economic neighborhoods, homes and backyards provide normal play spaces for younger children. In crowded, poor neighborhoods, homes and yards do not permit normal play, and neighborhood playgrounds are essential as a substitute. Neighborhood playgrounds are essential in every neighborhood but are a must in these crowded, poor sections of the metropolitan area. All four recreational functions should be provided on a high level in these special problem areas, and in addition there need to be special emphases on the last two functions listed above, because there is more unadjustment.[12]

COOPERATIVE PLANNING

The groups and institutions interested in community recreation functions may plan cooperatively through community councils which have general purposes, as described in Chapter VIII. Social agencies and allied interests may act through welfare planning councils whose characteristics were outlined in the preceding chapter. The public schools may extend their programs to include recreational activities or make their plants available to community agen-

[11] *Recreation for Everybody, op. cit.*, p. 9.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

cies and groups. This wider use of school buildings, as was suggested in the chapter on community centers, is in keeping with the objective of providing recreation opportunities on a year-round basis to people of all ages, because the schools tend to be evenly distributed and are found in all communities.

Community planning for recreation involves making an inventory and evaluation of current existing facilities and programs; determining the needs of the community with adequate recognition of special groups such as children in congested city neighborhoods, children in rural or sparsely settled areas, children with mental, emotional, or physical handicaps, children in institutions, employed youth and adults, and minority groups; determining needs with reference to geographical areas within the jurisdiction of the city, village, or county; developing standards which give due consideration to voluntary participation, freedom of choice of activity, and different points of view of recreation; preparing a course of action to create the services to meet the known and demonstrated recreation needs of the community.

The organization of community planning for recreation may vary from place to place as to detail, but the usual general pattern, successful in practice, is to bring together in a committee or council all the various interests in the community, for example, public and voluntary recreation agencies, civic and service clubs, commercial recreation interests, schools, welfare departments, business, industry, labor and youth themselves.[13]

A special board or commission has been found useful in many cities particularly for coordinating the programs of parks, schools, and other public agencies. Recreation as the central focus of cooperative planning is typified by the success story of Decatur, Illinois. In this medium-sized city, support for recreational services has grown over the years, and the public authority which now functions in the field of recreation enjoys a high degree of cooperation from civic groups and voluntary agencies.

Decatur is a town where everybody plays. The evolution of its public recreation follows pretty much what many communities have

[13] National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency *Report on Recreation for Youth.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947. Pp. 61–62.

experienced. It has not been without struggle and opposition—difficulties and setbacks along the way; funds often sadly lacking. Its progress has been due, in large measure, to popular support: comparable accomplishments are within reach of any wide-awake, determined group of citizens. Recreation in Decatur surmounted the withdrawal of the Federal emergency assistance available during the depression. It is too strongly supported by public demand to be subjected to political influence. The record of its progress to date may be considered only a forecast of what the future holds—for public recreation in Decatur is inextricably woven into the texture of good community life.

A summer night may see ten thousand people, one out of every six of the population, on the lighted play centers. Whole families come together to share the fun. While the youngest members play in the Tot Lot, their elders enjoy a ball game or swing to the fiddler's call in a square dance under the stars.

On the softball field teams are at play—business men or women, or industrial workers, a game perhaps between teams of Negro women of two rival industries. The lookout is manned by a junior playground leader, who makes the announcements and between innings runs off music recordings. The refreshment stand in the center of the park does a land-office business in soft drinks and popcorn. In charge are two housewives, members of one of the Neighborhood Recreation Clubs, which have a vested interest in each playground.

On seven of the fifteen playgrounds of the city floodlights pour upon people at play, skating, dancing, playing badminton, tennis. At one center several hundred spectators may have gathered to enjoy a city-wide amateur night. In the courtyard of a housing project the municipal band gives an open-air concert. If it is at another season, skating, badminton and dancing have moved indoors; baseball on the night-lighted field becomes basketball in the school gym. A folkdance festival in a school auditorium or a play by a dramatic group draws as many spectators as the summer amateur night in the amphitheater.[14]

As in many communities, the present program of recreation in Decatur had modest beginnings. The first playground was established in 1911. Two publicly operated summer playgrounds were

[14] Federal Security Agency, Office of Community War Services, Division of Recreation, *Community Recreation Comes of Age: The Story of One American Town.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944. P. 7.

opened in 1913, being stimulated by the national movement of the time. The first community center, under YMCA direction, began its program in 1915. In 1924 the Park Board was created, and a gift of a 150-acre tract of land stimulated the development of park areas. In the same year the first vote on a tax levy for recreation resulted in a defeat. Support for playground activities came in part from private contributions, but public expenditures increased during the 1920's.

In 1934 a Community Recreation Association was formed which gave fresh impulse to year-round community recreation. One purpose was to secure a full-time director of recreation; another, to promote a referendum for a recreation tax levy. In an election held in 1935, the measure sponsored by the Association, again was lost, but by a much narrower margin than in 1924.

During the early years of the depression, recreation was hard hit, while unemployment increased the need for it. A county emergency relief project in the summer of 1935 granted $19,000 for recreation, provided employment for 60 people, and $1,000 for equipment.

Decatur's recreation progress emboldened the Planning Committee of the Recreation Association to submit a plan for a $135,000 WPA project, which proposed large-scale expansion of program, play areas, indoor facilities, and provision for community-wide, year-round recreation. The project, developed and submitted in 1935, was approved to the extent of $150,000. One result of the project was the employment of a new full-time superintendent of recreation, succeeding the former director whose duties at Milliken University made it impossible for him to give full time to the job.

From this point on, recreation swept through Decatur like the winds off the prairies. People young and old found new interests during those trying days. Jobless men and women (out of 110 employees only 11 were specially trained in the recreation field) were trained to serve as leaders for games, workshops, music and drama groups, to run community celebrations. A little theater group was started, an art shop, dancing classes, forum clubs. Twelve school and church gymnasiums were opened for public use. Twenty summer playgrounds were operated, with 40 directors. A summer day camp was opened. . . .[15]

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

With the help of WPA funds and leadership, and the depression needs as a stimulus, a pattern was established for a comprehensive program with emphasis on leadership. This led to the approval of a tax levy in 1938, which in 1943 was increased to one and one-third mills, the maximum permitted under the Illinois state enabling act. At present, the city recreation department operates under a municipal ordinance and within the framework of the state law.

The city ordinance establishes the Playground and Recreation Board, provides for a staff of employees trained in public recreation, to conduct a program for all ages and elements of the population and to coordinate and correlate all activities of a similar nature in the community. It provides that the recreation program be built around the public schools and parks. The Playground and Recreation Board consists of five members, appointed for terms of five years each, who serve without pay. The plan calls for one representative from the School Board, one from the Park Board, and three members from the community at large. The board is appointed by the mayor with the approval of the City Council. It elects its own officers. The city treasurer, by virtue of his office, is treasurer of the board. The functions of the board are to set standards and policies for the recreation program, to acquire new play areas and recreation centers and adequate facilities both indoor and outdoor. It has a responsibility to interpret policies, plans, and budget needs to the community; to see that the necessary funds for the program are secured and are economically and effectively used, and that the department is well administered.[16]

The Playground and Recreation Board works closely with other municipal agencies, particularly with the Park District Board and the Board of Education. It also has active cooperation and support from citizen associations, which is a particularly notable source of strength for the entire program. Parent-teacher associations and other voluntary groups also cooperate in appropriate ways.

The development of parks has from the first had in view their recreational use. It has been a policy of the Park Board to acquire areas adjacent to school buildings. The park authorities are in agreement with the policy of the Playground and Recreation Board to

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

provide a play area within walking distance of every citizen, with larger parks scattered over a wider radius, and still larger acreage on the outskirts of the city. The Park Board cooperates in providing and maintaining facilities for recreation. The Playground and Recreation Board owns no property and operates entirely on park and school property. The Park Board uses about $75,000 for maintenance and upkeep of properties; $16,000 to 20,000 of this comes from fees from golf courses, boat rentals, concessions, etc. The tax levy for the Park Board was increased 33⅓ percent in 1944, bringing it to the State maximum.

The same kind of close affiliation exists with the schools. In the earlier days of the program, the Board of Education contributed funds as well as facilities. It makes available, equips, and maintains school yards and indoor facilities, pays for heat, lights, and repairs. The School Board has provided bleachers on some of the park grounds, has helped with lighting on playfields. There is considerable interchange of equipment between the schools and the Recreation Department and the schools help in publicizing activities of the recreation program. They make rooms available for group meetings and gymnasiums and auditoriums for large special events.[17]

Each community center has a sponsoring Neighborhood Association made up of citizens who are actively interested in neighborhood recreation. Each association has the customary officers, with an executive committee consisting of the chairmen of the standing committees into which the association is divided. These Neighborhood Associations are part of the very backbone of the recreation system. Made up of key citizens in their neighborhoods, they serve as sponsoring councils with a wide range of responsibilities:

—They help to enlist the interest of others in the neighborhood; to promote and interpret the program.

—They raise funds to supplement the regular budget, provide needed equipment from time to time.

—They have a voice in planning the program.

—They cooperate with the leaders of the playground or community center in various ways, acting as judges and umpires, referees of contests, and aiding in special events.

—They cooperate with city, school and park officials; work for adequate budgets, and to keep programs free from political influence; share the responsibility for care of equipment, grounds, etc.

These Neighborhood Associations have purchased large amounts of equipment, bought floodlights for playgrounds, beautified and

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

fenced areas. . . . From time to time these associations hold social meetings as well as business sessions within their neighborhoods.[18]

The Playground and Recreation Board spends seventy per cent of its budget for leadership. Workers are selected on the basis of education and experience, and in-service training programs add to their qualifications. Recreational activities which are sponsored include not only athletics but also music and dramatics, arts and crafts, and a variety of special events appropriate to the seasons. Plans for expansion of the program in Decatur are based on the policy that the major portion of expenditures should go toward paying for qualified personnel.

Of other examples of community developments that might be cited, that of Clinton, Tennessee, is noteworthy. There a Recreation Commission was organized during World War II with the aid of the recreation field representative from the Federal Security Agency. The Commission was chosen from people who had proved their interest and ability through service on several committees which had been formed earlier for various phases of recreation planning. A record of this development includes a striking statement of the value of tax support as well as the need for planning a balanced program.

By making recreation an official community enterprise the basis for continuity of effort, which is essential to success, was established; the pitfall of depending upon the changing enthusiasm of local groups was avoided. The tennis court of today will be the weed patch of tomorrow if its future rests in the hands of an organization not primarily concerned with recreation. An isolated baseball field does not make a recreation program and will, naturally enough, receive only the support of baseball enthusiasts. By including in their development something that would appeal to nearly everyone in the town, Clinton could expect and did receive wide support for the enterprise. The probability of community support was increased when the people were taken into confidence and allowed to state what they wanted. By first securing technical advice, the commission avoided doing many things that experience has indicated are impractical or unworkable.[19]

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[19] McIntyre, William E., "Recreation in Clinton—A Case History," *The Tennessee Planner*, VII: 42–48, October, 1946. P. 48.

During World War II, the Federal Security Agency through its Division of Recreation[20] made technical assistance available to communities in planning to meet wartime problems. The same field staff was also called on to help develop long-run plans, and the publication of the booklet on Decatur, which has been quoted, was related to such planning. Proposals for the continuation of this service as a Federal function in peacetime have thus far been fruitless.[21] The National Recreation Association has long been active in this field, and its experience in technical service to communities was drawn on by the Federal Security Agency in its war program.

The wartime impetus to community recreation planning has resulted in the creation of several state commissions or departments, which will coordinate and stimulate further development of recreational programs. These are outgrowths of war emergency committees, and were encouraged by the Federal Security Agency Recreation Division. State leadership is especially relevant because what cities are empowered to do in recreation as in other fields largely depends on enabling legislation. It may be that communities increasingly will turn to state governments and perhaps to National agencies for guidance in expanding recreation programs.[22]

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CHAPTER XIV

Community Race Relations Programs

THE COMMUNITY APPROACH

Segregation of Negroes and other racial and ethnic groups in housing, the prevalence of discrimination in employment, and restrictions on the exercise of political rights constitute major threats to the development of inclusive communities of beliefs and actions. Community does not exist or cannot grow where sharp cleavages exist between segments of the population. The basic divisions on racial, religious, and cultural lines within communities in the United States are being questioned as never before by the new and insistent leadership among Negroes and other minorities and by whites who feel uneasy or genuinely disturbed by their dominant position. The growing sense of a vast gap between American beliefs in fair play and equality of opportunity on the one hand and the practices of discrimination on the other, between the American Creed and the elaborate pattern of segregation, is a major "American dilemma."

What is new about the problem of race relations is not only the new leadership and the new vigorous public attention directed to it. There is a new element more basic also than the prominence of the problem in World War II, when Hitler's arrogant racism served to put democracies on the defensive and to cause some homefront stock-taking. What is essentially new, according to Gunnar Myrdal, is that ideas about race have changed in the last few decades. New knowledge is a challenge to customary beliefs.

The gradual destruction of the popular theory behind race prejudice is the most important of all social trends in the field of inter-

racial relations. It is significant that today even the white man who defends discrimination frequently describes his motive as "prejudice" and says that it is "irrational." The popular beliefs rationalizing caste in America are no longer intellectually respectable. They can no longer, therefore, be found in current books, newspapers or public speeches. They live a surreptitious life in thoughts and private remarks. . . . Everybody who has acquired a higher education knows that they are wrong. Most white people with a little education also have a hunch that they are wrong. . . .

The white man is thus in the process of losing confidence in the theory which gave reason and meaning to his way of life. And since he has not changed his life much, he is in a dilemma. This change is probably irreversible and cumulative. It is backed by the American Creed. The trend of psychology, education, anthropology, and social science is toward environmentalism in the explanation of group differences, which means that the racial beliefs which defended caste are being torn away. It also means, by implication, that the white majority group in power is accused of being the cause of the Negro's deficiencies and unhappiness. Authority and respectability are no longer supporting the popular beliefs.[1]

Related to this new sense of a dilemma is an unprecedented willingness of leaders in the nation and in communities to face the problem of race relations in the United States. " . . . not since Reconstruction has there been more reason to anticipate fundamental changes in American race relations, changes which will involve a development toward the American ideals."[2] The immediate impetus to consideration of action has been on an emergency level in response to incipient violence and major riots in some communities. These crises though are actually symptoms of the tensions which reflect the changing ideas and which arise with the movement of people. The motivation for action is sometimes political, the desire to win favor of minorities as voters in Northern cities particularly, but the arena of politics is exactly where the struggle of ideas, which Myrdal has delineated, can be observed.

[1] Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. P. 1003.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xix. The national document of historic significance in this respect is *To Secure These Rights,* Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947.

The problem of race relations is seen to be national in scope when one considers the employment policies of large companies, the status of Negroes in labor unions, and the difficulties of enacting Federal legislation. The power of southern conservative Congressmen in blocking laws on the poll tax or fair employment practices, and their dominant position on Congressional committees due to their seniority, is evidence, if it be needed, that the problem is of national interest rather than confined to a region. Given also the migration of people from the South, with its higher birth rates, there is reason for a wide concern with the quality of education and other community services in the Southern states. With all this, however, there are ample reasons for a local approach to the problem, paralleling whatever is done on a national and state basis. Many of the problems of housing, jobs, and community services are localized and can only be subject to control by community action.

Whatever is done through planning to stimulate employment opportunities for all and the building of more housing in congested cities will, of course, benefit Negroes and other minorities and thus indirectly reduce tensions. However, the acuteness of the problems of race relations, including not only Negroes but also persons of Mexican and Oriental ancestry, has resulted in special attention, particularly through the creation of committees in scores of communities in recent years, as well as other forms of community planning. These committees provide machinery that can be used to gain wider understanding of the problem, to plan remedial measures of a long run sort, as well as to function in "putting out fires" in the form of rumors and minor violence. There are at least thirty-five local race relations committees that are official, in the sense that they are appointed by the mayor and their operating expenses are paid for by city funds. Other committees or councils represent voluntary interest in the problem, and there is an interrelated function for both official and unofficial bodies which will be indicated.[3]

[3] *Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, National, Regional, State and Local, 1948–1949.* Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1948. 35 public and 142 private local independent agencies are listed, in addition to numerous branches of national organizations. There are 18 public and 28 private state-wide agencies listed.

Many communities have made a gesture towards meeting their problems of intergroup relations. Citizens' unity committees and official mayors' committees on race relations have been set up. Many communities, a large number of well meaning citizens, and the majority of local government officials have felt that something really important has been accomplished by the organization of such bodies. Few responsible individuals or forces in the community have stopped to think what intergroup committees can and should do. Few have given detailed attention to the responsibility of their community to meet the problems in this field and to the specific action which can and must be taken. The result has been that most of the existing citizens' and official committees are ineffectual.

The formation of citizens' and official committees is in itself an evidence of community concern about intergroup problems. These organizations can, as many have, become empty gestures unless they are ready to face situations and try to do something about them. The fact that leading citizens in your community have an interest in minorities' problems will give new hope to these minorities. Unless, however, this interest leads to tangible results, hope may turn into disillusionment and bitterness. . . .

Name calling does no good. An evasion accomplishes nothing. What is needed is an understanding of the why about intergroup relations and the development of the how to improve them. This is a job that requires the use of our best experiences, programs of action, and specific techniques. At the same time, there must be an understanding of how to sell such collective wisdom to your community. Any program which hopes to succeed must have as its ultimate objective the full participation of all citizens in every aspect of community life. It must deal with employment, housing, law enforcement, public information, public schools, and community organization.

Once there is a will to face the problem and to resolve to develop effective programs of action, there must be some machinery to develop and carry out the desired programs. Experience to date, and current practices in other areas of municipal activity, . . . suggest the need for two types of organization: a citizens' unity council and an official committee or agency. The citizens' organization can, as the San Francisco Council for Unity has already done, concentrate upon analyzing the causes and nature of intergroup misunderstandings and conflicts, interpret the true cost of the current situation to the whole citizenry, and take realistic action to deal with the basic causes of intergroup conflicts. The official body

should be equipped and prepared to secure prompt and effective action on the part of local government in dealing with similar problems. In most communities it is important to have both organizations. Where the two are in operation they should complement each other.

Some communities have felt that the existence of a mayor's committee on race relations is enough. As a matter of fact, there is always a danger that such an official agency may pass into inactivity and either do nothing to improve the situation or become an impediment to effective action by others. The best safeguard against such a development is the existence and functioning of a well-organized and articulate citizens' group which constantly presents pressing, though unpleasant, situations, urges action, and spurs the official interracial body, other government agencies and the public to meet issues squarely. At the same time, a citizens' committee will find an official group of great assistance in influencing the policies and practices of branches of the local government.

It must always be remembered that most of the existing official and citizens' race relations committees were conceived to prevent race riots in their communities. As soon as the immediate danger seemed to pass, the committees were lulled to sleep. This lethargy is as symbolic as it is general. Our cities have not been ready to face reality and seek out the causes of riots. No race relations organization in your city will be effective unless it is prepared to tackle these basic issues; and there is more probability of such results if your community has a dualistic type of organization.[4]

This is obviously no counsel of patience, but it does stress the importance of a thoughtful and thorough approach. There is a challenge to resourcefulness, there being no blueprint for action, and to decisiveness at a time when many people are unsettled in their thinking about race relations. These committees, when given the means to function, are an expression of faith in the workings of democracy.

Programs and action require an effective, paid, fulltime executive. No citizens' committee and no mayor's committee is any better than the quality of its executive. Such an officer should have specialized knowledge of one or all the basic areas in which the committees will have to operate. He should have a knowledge of government and a full appreciation for the techniques of good

[4] *Manual for Official Committees.* Prepared by the Community Division of the American Council on Race Relations. Chicago, 1945. Pp. 3–4.

public relations. Above all, he should be an able and experienced operator, not a well-wisher who doesn't know how to get things done. Unless the executive is able, courageous, and effective, the intergroup organization is sure to become a "front" for those elements which do not want to deal with a controversial subject.

Next in importance to the executive is the chairman. He must be a person of prestige and integrity, and he must be willing to take unpopular stands on pressing problems. His principal functions are to represent the organization before the public and support sound and effective programs of action within the organization. . . .

Before there can be a sound program of action, there must be an understanding of existing problems. In most communities there are several agencies which have voluminous materials on the status and problems of minorities. These materials should be collected and supplemented where there are deficiencies. Do not survey for the sake of surveying; in most areas minorities have already been studied rather thin. . . .

There are two principal things your community can do; take steps to avert and control immediate intergroup conflicts and promote the execution and community acceptance of long-range programs to remove the basic causes of intergroup antagonisms. One of the most difficult problems which your community will face is that of establishing a balance between the types of program.[5]

In considering local action, it is well to ask:

Do you need a new organization or is there a suitable one that has already assumed or that will accept the responsibility? In determining this, consider all of the groups that should be included and be sure that the organization, old or new, or revised, will provide for their full participation. If you have a council of social agencies, a community-wide intergroup council, other inclusive planning or coordinating committees, or a public or private race relations or intercultural agency, it should be the nucleus.

It can be assumed that your community includes a number of persons and groups that are ready to take responsibility, have expressed concern for civil rights, and will gladly join with an organized effort to do something. Discover all the persons, agencies, groups and organizations that are concerned; then decide the important question—"Who else should be?"[6]

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

[6] *"To Secure These Rights" in Your Community: A Manual for Discussion, Fact-Finding, and Action in State and Local Communities.* Chicago: American Council On Race Relations, June 1948. P. 1.

IN THE SOUTH

The Southern region is the home of the problem of Negro-white relations in the United States. Its traditionally rigid and systematic system of subordination is well known. Despite the migrations of Negroes to the north and west, there is still a concentration in the South. In 1940 there were nearly ten million Negroes in 15 Southern states, which was slightly more than three-fourths of the total Negro population of the United States. In the current decade, many Negroes have moved out, but at least half of the Negroes of the country still live in the South.[7]

Even in the South, there is evidence of new willingness to face the problem, at least in its economic and political aspects. The relatively small number of "liberals" in the South have generally taken the position that some gains can be made in an offensive on economic and political problems, which would not raise the spectre of "social equality." The fear of inter-marriage and all that social acceptance might imply to traditional Southerners have been a consistent barrier to mild reforms, which liberals have had to reckon with in their strategy. The forces of liberalism have been augmented in recent years by stands taken by churches and by labor unions, particularly with the recently initiated organizing drive of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Labor unions are significant not only because of the potential economic gain for members, but also in providing interracial contacts of an unprecedented sort.[8]

The Southern Regional Council has taken a liberal position for the South, subject to criticism not only by conservatives but also by a small minority who would have it openly attack segregation. Its program is defended as a progressive compromise. It was chartered in 1944 and succeeded the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which had worked for twenty-five years. "The Commission has made interracial conferences and forums respectable everywhere in the

[7] U.S. Census reports; *Negro Year Book.* Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1947.

[8] "Labor Drives South," *Fortune XXXIV:* 134–140. November, 1946.

South, has marshalled thousands of the church women of the South in opposition to lynching and other injustices, has sponsored significant researches on race relations, has issued over two million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and has symbolized the awakened conscience of the southern white people."[9] The community approach as stimulated by the Commission and now by the Council is summarized in a recent book which presents the "best practices" in race relations in the South.

With all the good will in the world a southern regional council alone could not accomplish much; it needs to be sustained by smaller councils of citizens in southern states and cities, working out its ideals in terms of local practices. We shall attempt here to show to what extent such committees are already at work in southern communities, and what they are doing.

We have reports of state or local committees working for better race relations in all of the states, with the exception of Oklahoma, which fall with the area of the Southern Regional Council. . . . In general the citizens' committees follow a common pattern. They are made up of about equal numbers of both races, with a similar division of office-holding. Drawn from a wider panel of interested, representative citizens, they work through an executive committee of not less than five nor more than fifty persons. They are made up as a rule of moderate and liberal citizens known for their interest and dependability. Church, college, and professional people representing civic groups or social agencies often take the lead, but in communities where organized labor is strong its representatives are frequently active, and representatives of chambers of commerce and industry have sometimes taken the initiative. The ideal is to secure as wide a cross-section of the community as possible, without defeating the fundamental purpose of the committee, which is to make progress.

These committee members usually meet together in a church, a Y.M.C.A., or some public hall to plan a program of action. Often subcommittees are appointed to work out plans in some special field such as recreation, housing, law enforcement, or public education.

[9] Johnson, Guy R., "Southern Offensive," *Common Ground*, Summer, 1944, IV: 87–93, p. 90. This article describes the background and program of the Southern Regional Council and is an answer to two critical articles in a previous issue: Redding, J. Saunders, "Southern Defensive I," and Smith, Lillian E., "Southern Defensive II," *Common Ground*. Spring, 1944, IV: 36–45.

Most of the groups work along similar lines and with similar methods, although some are naturally more active and effective than others, and they differ in emphasis and scope. Basically, the technique is educational, beginning with rather careful fact-finding either about minority problems in general or in regard to some special local situation. If action is decided upon, it is carried out by conferences with public officials or influential private citizens, by putting the matter before the public through meetings and forums, or by some other means of peaceful persuasion. Probably the most important single thing about these groups is that they afford a means of bringing people together, of educating them to respect each other's judgment, to learn each other's accomplishments, and to work for common purposes by common effort.

This plan and practice have been made familiar to the South through the work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. When the first such committees were organized through the efforts of the Commission following the last world war, the pattern was quite new. It called for a great deal of courage for the members of both races to venture forth to meet each other on this basis. Twenty years ago many southern white people had never met any educated Negroes and were embarrassed at shaking hands with them or saying "Mr." and "Mrs." At that time only a few Negroes had had the educational background, or the business and professional experience, to meet leading white people on a common ground and take their part of the responsibilities easily and naturally. Today it is rare for an educated person to suffer any embarrassment in meeting citizens—although of another race—with similar interests and culture. Also today there is a large group of able business and professional Negroes in every large southern city qualified to serve competently on such committees; and in the ranks of organized labor there are increasing numbers of men and women of both races accustomed to working out their common problems together.[10]

A specific example may suggest in part what can be done in the South or by public officials and community committees in similar situations anywhere:

[10] Reprinted from *Into the Main Stream* by Charles S. Johnson by permission of The University of North Carolina Press. Copyright, 1947, by The University of North Carolina Press. Pp. 12–13. In the same vein, see also Jackson Nelson C. "Candlelights in the Darkness," *Survey Graphic*, XXXVI: 693–696, December, 1947. Jackson a director of the Southern Field Division of the National Urban League, presents examples from the fields of housing

Prompt action by the radio, police, and citizens' committees to combat rumors also can do much to cool off a dangerously heated situation. Houston, Texas, averted a crisis in June 1943 in just this way. People were whispering that the annual Negro Emancipation Day parade and carnival was to be the signal for an uprising. Some irresponsible white citizens started a movement to attack the parade. Informed of the rumor the police chief, the mayor, and city's bi-racial commission, and leading white and colored citizens signed a proclamation that there would be no trouble on "Juneteenth Day," that the celebration would be held according to plan, and that anyone who tried to interfere with it would be promptly arrested. This proclamation was published as a full-page notice in all the daily papers. It turned out to be the most peaceful "Juneteenth" celebration in Houston's history.[11]

Illustrative of a readiness to appraise local problems, including those of race relations, in a Southern community is a survey recently completed in Jacksonville, Florida. The Southern Regional Council provided technical assistance, but there was considerable local participation.

One important thing about this kind of community survey is that it is a local job from start to finish—"by the people, for the people"—so a few die-hards in your town can't kill it with that old complaint of "outside interference." . . . It was done within the framework of the community. The makers of the Jacksonville survey wanted results. They knew that officials and influential citizens could help get those results. So they called in city and county officials and leading citizens to take part in the survey. On the two top committees were a former juvenile court judge, the county supervisor of Negro schools, the secretary of the Negro Welfare League, as well as leading citizens from business and the professions. Among the members of the advisory committee were the mayor of the city and a retired judge of prominence and influence. The heads of the "section" committees, which supervised studies in specific fields, were people with responsibility or executive power in those fields: the city health officer was chairman of the health and medical care committee; the city director of the division of sanitation was chair-

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and employment, as well as a summary of community survey-action programs in the South, which are described briefly in the following pages.

[11] Gray, Ernest A., Jr., "Race Riots Can Be Prevented," *Harper's Magazine*, 191: 492, December, 1945.

man of the sanitation and safety committee; chairman of the housing committee was a member of the county welfare board; chairman of the recreation committee was the head of the city recreation department; chairman of the delinquency and law enforcement committee was a former juvenile court judge.[12]

Over 200 local leaders worked on the survey, and this much indentification with its recommendations has helped to insure their being followed up with determination.[13] These recommendations are specific and detailed and well within the "separate but equal" formulation of Southern policy, but with more emphasis than usual in the direction of equality of community services for Negroes.

In the years 1944–47, the National Urban League has made more than a dozen community surveys, including several in Southern cities: Houston, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, St. Petersburg, Little Rock, Winston-Salem, and Chattanooga. These surveys were begun in communities like Gary, Indiana, and Dayton, Ohio, which were important in war production and subject to racial tensions. Attention was directed to long-term planning and peacetime problems. The survey pattern developed was for the National Urban League to make its services available on invitation from a representative community body, councils of social agencies in many cases, which was followed up by a local advisory or sponsoring committee. Staff specialists were assigned to work as needed on facts and recommendations in the fields of family and children's services, recreation and group work, health, housing, and employment.[14]

NORTHERN COMMUNITIES

The North has many advantages over the South in working out satisfactory adjustments to race relations. In the first place, race is but one of many problems in the North; in the South it is *the* problem. Then, too, the general social and intellectual level of the North is higher than that of the South. In the North, as contrasted

[12] "'By the People' . . ." Special Quarterly, Number *New South*, published by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 2: 3–4. June, 1947.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 27–30, lists results up to April, 1947, ten months after the survey.

[14] National Urban League, Community Relations Projects, press releases, mimeographed.

with the South, there has been less effort—and because of the political status of the Negro—less chance to ignore the true nature of the problem. While the North is generally ignorant about the Negro, and admittedly so, the South too is ignorant, but believes that it "knows the Negro." In the North, the community does become shocked by the facts when they are presented; the South becomes defensive and sensitive.*[15]

Chicago has both an official race relations committee, the (Mayor's) Commission on Human Relations, and a voluntary organization, the Chicago Council against Racial and Religious Discrimination. Both were organized in 1943 and have been active since with vigorous and competent staff members. Their effectiveness has been hampered by the acute housing shortage, which has affected Negroes most adversely, and much time has been spent on the resulting tensions. The continuance of full employment has been a favorable factor in race relations. Activities of both groups have been centered on long-run educational programs as well as many specific incidents of tension and conflict. Together they illustrate the complementary roles which can be played by voluntary and official committees.

A self-survey technique, developed for community use by Charles S. Johnson, has been applied in several communities, notably San Francisco, Pittsburgh, and Minneapolis. It calls for the cooperation of volunteers, numbering in the hundreds in the larger cities, to collect facts about special problems and race relations, to discuss the data and to help frame recommendations with the assistance of a social scientist as a technical consultant. This process of participation is believed to be helpful in creating a widespread commitment to the survey recommendations. In Montclair, New Jersey, a community self-survey was undertaken as a follow-up of the report of the President's Committeè on Civil Rights. It resulted

* For a significant analysis of the northern aspects of Negro-white relationships, see L. D. Reddick and others, "The Negro in the North During Wartime," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* January, 1944. 17: 257–320 (the entire issue).

[15] Weaver, Robert C., "Whither Northern Race Relations Committee?" *Phylon,* The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, Third Quarter, 1944, V: 205–206.

in the publication of a brief, specific balance sheet recording community assets and liabilities with respect to employment, housing, recreation, education, health and public facilities.[16]

Another technique for community planning which involves active participation is that of interracial "clinics." These have been organized in cooperation with local communities by the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. An interracial clinic is defined as:

> A means to recruit, orient and stimulate local leaders to deal with the ills of racial tensions and conflicts so as to improve the social health of their communities. The methods and procedure, which include conversational discussions in small sections and judgments agreed upon in that way about what can be done, are based upon the facts secured in a community self-survey and analysis made by local leaders themselves under coaching by experts. The case method is the basis of the fact-finding procedure in local situations on such questions as employment, housing, etc. Many of the facts are readily available. The clinic is a means by which people analyze the problems in the community where they have a mutual interest, their attitude and practices in a democratic manner and reach a consensus of judgment on what to do. The holding of a clinic may follow or precede the setting up of a permanent interracial council or commission in the community. The clinic is a device that can be used at different times to diagnose social problems and agree upon treatment.[17]
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> One unique feature of the interracial clinic has been the absence of speeches from leaders to tell the others what to think. Consultants with wide knowledge and experience in such matters gave counsel and advice but left those who participated to do their own thinking and to make their own decisions. Oratory was ruled out. . . .
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> The interracial clinic does not try to solve the race problem for the whole community or for the nation or for all time. It does try to deal with concrete issues or situations in the local community and

[16] *The Montclair Community Audit*, published by the Montclair Intergroup Council, 1948. See also Harding, John, "Community Self Surveys," *Congress Weekly* (American Jewish Congress), March 5, 1948; and *Let's Look at Ourselves: A Brief Guide for Conducting a Community Audit*. New York: National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights, 1948.

[17] Haynes, George Edmund, *The Clinical Approach to Race Relations*. New York: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Department of Race Relations. Interracial Publication No. 62. April, 1946. P. 8.

to work out a limited program of action for a year or longer. In several cases clinics voted to meet again in a few months to check up on the lines of action they had laid out.[18]

Interracial clinics have recognized the responsibilities of established agencies of the community by passing recommendations on to them for action. In addition, "some central coordinating and clearance committee usually was set up to implement the program unless such an agency already existed and was accepted by the regular organizations and agencies of the community."[19] Results obtained in clinics held in 1944–46 are summarized in the pamphlet and article that have been quoted, both written by George Edmund Haynes, who was the member of the Federal Council of Churches staff responsible for the clinics along with other work in race relations. Effects of clinics on continuous community planning may be illustrated by the following examples:

In Akron, Ohio, the clinic resulted in the merging of several efforts for interracial improvement into a community-wide Interracial Council and a petition to the City Council for an ordinance authorizing the appointment of and financial support for a Mayor's Interracial Committee. Youngstown, Ohio, has had an Interracial Commission for more than twenty years. It took the initiative for a clinic which was sponsored by a dozen different agencies and worked out a constructive program of action that a re-organized Council has incorporated and launched a campaign to implement the program. In Indianapolis, Indiana, the clinic provided material for the newly appointed Mayor's Committee and stimulated service activities of the church and social work groups.[20]

The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights has stimulated local action in communities throughout the country, as it did in Montclair. Fact-finding is a recommended first step, as it was also in the work of the President's Committee, with the caution to be observed that a survey can become an alternative rather than a preparation for definite action. A manual for community use in fol-

[18] Haynes, George Edmund, "Clinical Methods in Interracial and Intercultural Relations," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 19: 322, January, 1946.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 322–323.

[20] Haynes, *The Clinical Approach to Race Relations, op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

lowing up the Civil Rights Report includes questions for inquiry by local committees and concrete suggestions for action that can be adapted to local conditions. With reference to the fact-finding work of local committees, it is counseled that:

> Your community is sure to assemble some facts which it will not be proud of and some which are highly controversial. Take pains to keep the fact-finding honest, fair, objective, and in good faith. Be sure of the facts; wherever possible verify them from actual records and in every case keep a complete file of the sources of information. It may be wise to ask appropriate officials and agencies to examine the rough draft reports before they are issued and to confirm the contents or comment upon them. The more controversial the subject, the more important it is to gather, interpret and report the facts in a thoroughly objective way, and to allow for cooling-off periods between reports and next steps. . . .
>
> In reporting the facts committees cannot afford to get too far ahead of the general community and must, therefore, remember that the facts should be reported, discussed and understood before the community considers specific recommendations for improvement. When the cart gets before the horse, citizens make snap judgments and pronouncements that cannot always be withdrawn later. Some problems are as old as the community itself; they cannot be solved in haste and before the community understands. Disclose the problems first; allow time for wide discussion and debate; let the people wrestle with their own consciences and with their own interpretations of the American Creed. Keep the problem before the public; keep describing conditions; keep reporting and allowing opportunity for discussion.[21]

WEST COAST PROBLEMS

Communities in the Pacific Coast states had occasion to work on race relations because of events connected with World War II. The evacuation of the Japanese gave prominence to race as an issue in the war with some revival of anti-oriental feelings mitigated in part by the role of China as an ally and by liberal sentiments. The tremendous wartime growth in population brought Negroes to western cities in unprecedented numbers. The "zoot suit" incidents made for greater attention to problems of Mexicans in southern California.

[21] *To Secure These Rights in Your Community, op. cit.*, pp. 39, 41.

Underlying these developments was a sense of "regional solidarity," a feeling that the West is separate and different and can develop new patterns of community action.

Negroes before the war, except for a group of less than 50,000 in Los Angeles, were represented by very small groups in Pacific Coast cities. Less than five thousand Negroes lived in San Francisco, and Portland had about 1800. The San Francisco Negro population had jumped in 1943, to above 18,000. Portland, Seattle, Tacoma, Oakland, and other communities experienced similar increases. Naturally social friction and arising racial tension marked these changes. More conservative whites discussed the introduction of Southern, segregated institutions, while more liberal groups favored an opportunity to provide the country with a demonstration of new and more equitable patterns of Negro-white relations in American communities.

It should be noted that within the newcomer group were able and sophisticated Negro spokesmen. For the first time, the colored minority groups of the West Coast had spokesmen who clearly envisaged the problem of racial discrimination and were able to express their ideas in speech and writing without a language handicap. It is to their credit that they did not confine their interest to Negroes alone, but in a sense became spokesmen and advocates for the entire colored, minority group.[22]

Community committees and agencies were organized in leading cities beginning late in 1943. These included Councils for Civic Unity in Los Angeles and San Francisco, mayor's committees in Seattle and the major California cities, and new branches of the Urban League. Universities and colleges conducted workshops and institutes for the training of teachers and other leaders.

Along with these organization developments are several related events significant of the region's general attitude. After a long fight, the Supreme Court of California forbade the establishment of discriminatory Jim Crow locals by trade unions in the James vs Marinship Case (January, 1945). Again, in the fall of 1944, the California Appellate Court reversed the conviction of twelve Mexican American youths found "guilty" of murder in the Sleepy Lagoon case, but

[22] Hewes, Laurence I., Jr., "Race Relations on the West Coast," Western Supplement of *The Nation*, September 21, 1946.

only after they had spent long months in prison. Both these events were preceded by much public discussion and agitation. In San Diego, over vigorous opposition, a qualified Negro was appointed to teach school in a predominantly white neighborhood. . . . Today public officials on the Pacific Coast, except in the smaller rural communities, cannot hope to escape challenge if a suspicion of racial bias colors their official acts or statements. This contrasts distinctly with much of the earlier history of our region. Several school officials have recently been so challenged in efforts to create or to operate segregated public schools.[23]

Policies followed in public housing projects varied from one of non-segregation in Seattle through various degrees of compromise to complete segregation in other cities on the West Coast.[24] Vanport, near Portland, was the "nation's largest housing project" and "Oregon's second largest city." Portland and Vanport had all-Negro projects or a pattern of segregation within mixed projects. Vanport housed some 40,000 people in families whose wage-earners were engaged principally in ship-building. They came from all corners of the country, as the title of a vividly descriptive booklet about the schools indicates: "6,000 Kids from 46 States." The school experience with the "minority question" is summarized as follows:

Prejudices toward minority groups came with the new arrivals. The Housing Authority bowed to them through a policy of partial segregation of Negroes. The schools had more complaints directed toward the non-segregation policy than toward any other matter.

Our answers to this problem would not be possible in all communities except on a long-range basis. When efforts were made to identify one of our schools as a Negro school, we requested of the Housing management that Negroes in the project be so housed that an equal proportion attend all schools. Similarly with the schools an equal proportion was maintained in the rooms of each grade level. Excellent Negro teachers were employed without discriminatory assignment. Any who complained at such policies had the alternative of accepting them or leaving the project.

Among the children prejudices induced by parents soon disappeared. Tolerance was nourished by the necessary acceptance of

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.* O'Brien, R. W., and Brooks, L. M., "Race Relations in the Pacific Northwest," *Phylon*, 7: 21–31, March, 1946.

the fact of practice, but under-the-surface intolerance by many adults still continues.[25]

These evidences of attention to problems of race relations on the Pacific Coast suggest again both the nation-wide character of the "American dilemma" as well as the new willingness to face the fact of tensions and their causes. What sometimes seems, therefore, like increased tension may actually be a rise in the amount of public concern and willingness to tackle the problems involving minority groups. As experience among articulate community leaders accumulates, and as larger numbers of participants are involved in local action, one can expect that orderly procedures for planning in this field will be further developed. The steadiness of efforts to integrate minorities into community life need not spell resignation to slowness or change. Systematic and persistent work of the kind which has been launched in many communities in recent years, may ultimately result in increased attention to the problems of minorities by city planning agencies and community councils. Possibly, therefore, the long-run effects and the test of success of the work of the specialized organizations which have been described will be that their work will be done within the framework of broader community planning.

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[25] *6,000 Kids from 46 States.* Published by Vanport City Schools, Portland, Oregon. P. 89. (Vanport was destroyed by a flood in 1948.)

Among the conclusions is the statement: "The need is for an organization in which the lower-class Negro and Mexican can participate and in which he will not be submerged." P. 19.

HEWES, LAURENCE I., Jr., *Intergroup Relations in San Diego*. San Francisco: American Council on Race Relations, 1946.

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CHAPTER XV

Planning for Special Purposes

Planning in various functional areas goes on through specialized councils and committees, either temporary or of an ongoing character. This is especially the case in larger cities where the greater number of agencies in each field, such as health and adult education, requires machinery for continuous coordination; the same interests in smaller communities may be dealt with by councils with general purposes. Some of the examples described of specialized planning, in adult and family life education particularly, have been undertaken with assistance from outside the community, on a demonstration basis. The expectation in such demonstrations is that successful achievements may be continued with local support and that other communities may follow suit. Citizens' committees and councils may be formed for somewhat temporary purposes, such as the assistance to veterans upon discharge, as noted in this chapter.

Citizen vigilance to guard the quality of public services may involve special organizations of individuals and of interested groups, either in response to an emergency or on a continuing basis.[1] In describing community organization for special attention to race re-

[1] Community action may be represented by the Citizens' Schools Committee in Chicago, which had a major part in recent years in focusing attention on the need for changes which were eventually brought about in school administration. The complete story of the campaign to effect a change in the Chicago schools has not been written. It involves the work of many organizations and individuals besides the Committee mentioned, including the local of the American Federation of Teachers and the Church Federation of Chicago. For part of the background, see: National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education of the National Education Association, *Certain Personnel Practices in the Chicago Public School.* Report of an Investigation. Washington, May, 1945.

lations, it was noted that both official and voluntary committees are needed. The same may be said for housing and city planning generally. The voluntary bodies have the general function of stimulating governmental authorities, of criticizing them on some occasions and of commending and defending their work on others. This role with respect to a broad range of governmental services has been played vigorously in some places by municipal leagues, or city clubs as they are sometimes called, and by the local units of the League of Women Voters among others.

HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS

Of increasing importance are associations and councils for expressing citizen interest in housing. Their method is educational in an active, broad sense. They work through surveys and research, and through expressions on policy and legislative questions related not only to housing but also to planning problems in general. Their growth has been rapid since the expansion of public housing.

The first organization of this kind was founded in 1898 in New York City, and it is still active as the Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society. Housing associations have since been formed in most of the principal cities. Some are membership organizations, such as the Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York City, and others are representative of social agencies, civic groups, as well as individual interest. They are financed by membership dues, contributions, and grants from community chests as in the case of the Washington Housing Association.[2]

Public housing is administered locally almost entirely by housing authorities, which are a part of city or county governments. Housing councils or associations are the citizen counterpart, expressing public interest in the extent and quality of housing provisions. They may exert political pressure, but they are non-partisan. Working through an employed staff in many cases, their functions are dependent on the quality of leadership. They usually attempt to relate their programs to all matters concerned with housing.

[2] Bunzel, Joseph H., "Citizens' Housing Associations—Educators for Social Policy," *The Journal of Housing*, 4: 109–110, April, 1947.

Practically all associations, at one time or another, have worked at a compilation of housing standards, legally established and socially desirable; they have attempted to convince the powers-that-be of the necessity of maintaining and enforcing such standards. They make surveys showing the high social costs of slums. Advice is given on legislative matters, as well as on financial problems of a community with regard to housing. Such advice is often followed by city officials, in view of the disinterested position of the housing association.

Some of the associations do inspection work, often in conjunction with health department officials. Such inspections are usually made at the request, and never without the permission of, the party involved. Most of the complaints stem from clients of social agencies, both public and private. Inspectors may appear at hearings called to determine the extent and duration of the violations reported. The case records so established serve as the basis for housing research for the district. Such research can result in comprehensive recommendations for rehabilitation of a given area.

One association, for example, does not do "inspection work" as such but instead employs a staff of six home advisers who do educational work in areas of substandard housing, by assisting landlords with management problems; by instructing tenants in housekeeping, through individual instruction and in homemaking classes; by helping families with budgeting. They also handle evictions and urge landlords to make needed repairs promptly; when cooperation is not forthcoming, violations are reported to the proper authorities. . . .

Distribution of periodicals and pamphlets serves to establish a record of service but also points clearly the way to social action and educates toward social policy. . . . It has become a truism among professional housers to assert that housing is more than mere shelter; however, by the greater part of the citizenry, housing is still regarded as the procurement of just that. Educating the public away from that concept is a major responsibility of housing association literature.

It is obvious that there is value in having a group of citizens in a community that is interested in not just one phase of the housing problem (as, for example, public housing), but in a well rounded program, the objective of which is better homes for all people. This group can serve as a nucleus for other citizen organizations whose main interest is not housing, e.g., YMCA, YWCA, service clubs, community planning groups, etc.[3]

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

HEALTH EDUCATION

Some coordination of health agencies, in planning services and in relating their work to that of welfare agencies, is achieved by health divisions of councils of social agencies. The same kind of planning may also take place through separate health councils.[4] There are also hospital councils in larger cities. Special interest has been expressed in health education because of the importance of complete coverage of the community and the fact that a variety of different agencies are involved. Schools and health departments have the largest programs and the official responsibility, while important pioneering in health education has been done by private agencies. The interest in coordination of these programs led to the creation of a committee of the American Public Health Association.

The report of this committee notes factors which are "pushing forward community organization for health education. The first is the change in the educational philosophy of schools. Today the schools are asking how they are helping students to face problems of living. . . . They find that cooperation with other agencies in the community is most useful. The second force is a change in the philosophy of the public health administrator. He is finding that the solution of public health problems is not his province alone, but that many other agencies can help."[5] Finally, the report notes the influence of federal agencies on state and local programs in this field.

Among the difficulties encountered are those arising from the professional isolation of workers in health education.

One administrator illustrated a common type of difficulty in achieving understanding between groups in the following words, "There is nothing in the training of the average physician which fits him for cooperation with other types of professions. He gives orders to nurses and patients. He does not ask people to cooperate

[4] See Chapter XII and bibliographical references for this chapter.

[5] *Community Organization for Health Education.* The Report of a Committee of the Public Health Education Section and The Health Officers Section of the American Public Health Association. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Technology Press, 1941. P. 111.

with him. He is the authority in the medical field and tells them. This does not make for a satisfactory cooperative arrangement, and until doctors learn that, in cooperation, both sides must cooperate, such a program will never be completely satisfactory." . . .

Important obstacles to joint enterprises also arise from the misfunction of the machinery which people set up to govern these joint activities. There must be a definition of the function of each agency in the program, and also of each staff member. Most cooperative programs take the first step and define the function of each agency very well. Many, however, fail to take the next step, that of defining the functions of the staff members. Thus problems of administration which arise, unless solved at the start, will certainly interfere with proper functioning of the program and may cause so much friction that the cooperative project will break down.[6]

In carrying out joint activities between health departments and schools, "there is frequent failure in understanding and separating the educational function of a physician and the health functions of teachers."

The physician or other health specialist can and does educate individual parents, children, and teachers about the peculiar medical and dental needs of a particular child. . . . Contrasted to these techniques are those employed by the teacher. She is concerned with problems of health which do not require immediate medical or dental treatment. She is concerned with accepted standards of individual conduct. Most of her instruction involves groups of children and deals with principles of health behavior. . . .

Now confusion arises, because some say, "Yes, but the teacher knows little about health; therefore, let the doctor, nurse, dentist, or hygienist teach." To which the equally truthful answer is made that "the medical technician knows nothing of educational methods." What, then, is the solution of the problem? The answer represents a fundamental principle of this report, and the basis of good administration; namely, let each do that for which he is fitted, and let cooperation bridge the gap of preparation. In other words, in matters of health requiring medical or dental supervision the trained specialist should function. In matters of health concerning training for healthful living, that other trained specialist, the teacher, should function.[7]

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 113–114.

The report describes programs, some of which were initiated by school systems, others under health department leadership, and some with joint sponsorship. Based on these observations, certain general principles are stated, such as the recognition that health education should be concerned with individual differences in learning and participation in the process of education; and that community organization for health education is a means of strengthening local democracy. The report also recognizes that "there is no single best plan for community organization" in this field. Local factors and resources available may determine what type of organization is suitable in health education.

Rochester, Minnesota, has a comprehensive community-wide child health project under way, directed by Dr. C. Anderson Aldrich of the Mayo Clinic. A combination of research, health education, and preventive medical service for all of the children of the city, it is carried out by Mayo Clinic staff members, with the cooperation of the local health department and the schools. A guiding principle has been to work through improvement of local facilities rather than the creation of new agencies; this will make it possible to apply any successful techniques in the programs of existing health agencies in other communities. Throughout the program a broad view of child development is stressed, with recognition of the interrelation of physical and mental factors in health growth, as well as awareness of housing and other community conditions which have a bearing on the health of children.[8]

ADULT EDUCATION

If education includes the interpretation and the intelligent reconstruction of society, all significant adult participation in community life is an educational experience. In this broad sense, adult education is coextensive with community organization. Even viewed more narrowly, adult education is more than a formal curriculum or set program. W. H. Kilpatrick has expressed this point of view succintly:

[8] Aldrich, C. Anderson, M. D., *What is the Rochester Child Health Project?* eight page leaflet, undated.

A recognition of the vast and difficult task of adult education does not lead to a categorical program. Neither does the concept of planning important affairs cooperatively and educatively precipitate a formulated curriculum. Indeed, from the point of view hereinafter developed it is impossible to lay out specific programs in advance. It is necessary instead to identify adult education with social ferments, dealing with them in such ways as to make the participants intelligent and responsible planners, rather than drifters, sufferers, and undergoers merely, or ruthless schemers for personal advantage.[9]

A similar expression may be added:

Adult education cannot then say that it is the business of some one else to remake the environment for educational purposes and confine its attention to seeing that adults get the educational effect that is there waiting for them. It is indigenous to its field to see that the remaking of the environment takes place continuously through the conscious purpose of the persons who make it up and live in it.[10]

Adult educators have sought to implement the spirit of these statements through broad community programs. One experiment in community organization and development on a county-wide scale took place in Greenville County, South Carolina, from 1936 to 1941. A council was organized which aroused interest in community services. It also succeeded in promoting better understanding between city and country residents. The Council did not go on after the expiration of the experimental period, which had been subsidized by the General Education Board. Among the reasons for the failure to continue were said to be that the program developed was overambitious and also that the concern about the welfare of the Negro minority group was not accepted locally.[11]

Adult education in a more specific sense, as carried on through forums has been related to community action, both as an incidental by-product of active discussion and as a deliberately sought out-

[9] Kotinsky, Ruth, *Adult Education and the Social Scene.* New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933. Introduction, p. XVI.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

[11] Brunner, Edmund deS., *Community Organization and Adult Education.* Chapel Hill; University of North Carolina Press, 1942. See also references in Chapters III and VIII to broad programs which have had technical aid from adult education specialists.

come. Adult educators tend to disagree whether forums should serve to clarify issues or whether they should also stimulate social action on the part of the participants.[12] During World War II and immediately before the United States entry into it, the American Association for Adult Education promoted an interest in community councils in the "defense of a democratic culture."[13] More recently the national leadership in this field directed attention to the need for provisions for counseling of veterans, an aspect of community planning to be touched upon later.[14]

More specifically related to the other forms of planning presented in this chapter, however, are the adult education councils. They have a function of coordinating the interests of the many organizations and agencies that provide, both formally and informally, for the education of adults. Clearance of dates, the issuance of a calendar of educational events, advice on program materials, speakers, and conference planning, and similar practical problems of people working in the field professionally are among the functions of such councils. In their somewhat specialized field, adult educators work with persons engaged in other forms of education and community planning.[15]

FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION

Educational programs dealing with problems of child behavior, personality development in families, preparation for marriage, and family relations generally have increased in public interest and importance in recent years. Public schools are becoming more active

[12] Balduf, E. W., "Adult Education in the Public Schools," *School and Society*, 49: 229–236, February 25, 1939. Ely, Mary, *Why Forums?* New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1937.

[13] *Community Councils in Action*, Vol. I, No. 1, December, 1940, published by the American Association for Adult Education. (This was the only issue published.)

[14] Cartwright, Morse A., and Burch, Glen, *Adult Adjustment; A Manual on the Coordination of Existing Community Services and the Establishment and Operation of Community Adjustment Centers for Veterans and Others.* New York: Institute of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945.

[15] Kotinsky, Ruth, *Adult Education Councils.* New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1940.

in the field of family life education, but much of the work is carried on through informal study groups with various kinds of sponsorship. Some of these groups are made up of young people, whose interest in the adjustments incident to adolescence may be part of a broader program, as in a church, YMCA, or YWCA. Mothers may organize for study or include an interest in behavior problems in the program of parent-teacher associations among others. In New York City, the Child Study Association, and in Chicago, the Association for Family Living give community leadership in programs of family life education, through their own courses, study groups, and by providing specialized program leaders for various youth and adult organizations. They also do some counseling on an individualized basis.

Representative of the interests of schools in this field is the demonstration program sponsored by the United States Office of Education during a two-year period beginning in the fall of 1938. Four school systems were selected with reference to size, region of the country, and occupational differences: Obion County, Tennessee, Box Elder County, Utah, Toledo, Ohio, and Wichita, Kansas. Every effort was made to have the programs evolve locally, but with the help of staff specialists supplied by the Federal agency.

The chief purpose of the experiment as a whole is to find ways of bringing about stronger, richer, more realistic programs of education for home and family living through concerted school and community effort. For a number of years, teachers have found the real "content" for their teaching in the home experiences of their students. Problems of nutrition, of clothing, of housing, of home management, of family relationships are concerns of life itself. To be completely "abstract" in the discussion of such matters as family use of money or cooperation in family living is ineffective from an educational standpoint, and impossible from a practical one. . . .[16]

The general plan is to bring into existence, under the leadership of the school, community councils representing a cross-section of community interests relating to family life. It is the business of these councils to study local conditions affecting family life, to discover

[16] Amidon, Edna P. and Muriel W. Brown, "Community Organization for Family Life Education," *School Life Reprint*, p. 1. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

the common problems and needs of local families, to work through existing organizations to interpret these needs and find ways of meeting them. Such a council is not "just another organization" identified with some special program. It is a clearing house of ideas. It can analyze, investigate, and recommend, but it does not, in and of itself, initiate new undertakings, or employ personnel. The school board usually provides it with a person to serve as coordinator, or executive secretary, but each program developed grows out of each council's around-the-table thinking.

Although they were convinced from the beginning of the worthwhileness of the idea, members of the original committees asked to serve in connection with these demonstrations could hardly have foreseen all of the fine things that have come out during these 2 years of intensive work. . . .

It is obvious that homes, schools, and other community agencies are working more closely together on problems of family living in the centers where programs are in operation. . . .

Perhaps the most spectacular gains in the direction of home-school-community cooperation have been in community organization for better play opportunities for children of all ages, although a number of joint projects in a variety of other fields have been reported.

More parents are studying family life. After all, the quality of family life in any community must finally depend upon the vision and skill of the parents responsible for families. All centers report classes in which men and women—sometimes parents and children—work together on home projects of many kinds.

Changes in school programs have taken place as the family life programs have developed in the four centers. There are more home visits, more planned home experiences in connection with high-school work in home economics. . . .

Family unity through projects which bring families together for recreation has been emphasized in two of the programs. . . .

One result of this intensive public education is a growing appreciation in each of these communities of the part which family life plays in education for democracy. Since family life is the first, the closest, and usually the longest lasting of all human experiences, it must have more influence than any other kind of human association on the development of attitudes toward citizenship, philosophies of group organization, and habits of behavior. . . .[17]

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

SOCIAL PROTECTION

The problem of venereal disease control was highlighted during World War II. Public health officials had already begun to campaign vigorously and openly in many places for reduction of venereal disease rates. The Federal interest expressed by the Army and Navy and the U.S. Public Health Service was occasioned especially because lost time due to sickness was a threat both to military effectiveness and to industrial production. It was, however, a problem that required local interest and community control measures. It soon came to be recognized that a broad attack on the problem was needed, involving law enforcement directed against organized prostitution as well as promiscuous "Victory girls." Community action included the work of health agencies for treatment of persons infected, and the services of social agencies in individual adjustment especially of younger girls who could be redirected. Educational measures were also part of a community program.

This involved the coordination of public and private agencies, with some stimulation from and patterns for action established by the Federal Government. The Social Protection Division of the Office of Community War Services, a wartime unit of the Federal Security Agency, had the responsibility for guiding community action during the years from 1941 to 1946. A manual based on the experience of this Division, which had a field staff, includes these general recommendations on community organization.

A few hundred communities have established over-all planning bodies to provide a coordinated community attack on prostitution and venereal disease. A similar body is needed in most communities, and the total should reach several thousands. These bodies are variously known as Social Protection Boards, VD Control Committees, Commissions or Councils. . . .

These boards do not operate or provide direct services. They are planning boards with official backing and recognition, set up to stimulate and fit together adequate programs in the fields of Health, Social Treatment, Education and Law Enforcement. They also

develop and take part in all aspects of the program pertaining to public relations.

Because social protection is largely a public program, these boards or committees should be established as official bodies. If there is a community council, or an officially recognized Council of Social Agencies, the board should be part of such a council. Where there is no official planning agency, the mayor or the executive head of the local government should be responsible for organizing this board.

The board should never become "just one more organization" but should be the meeting ground of existing organizations—a means of simplifying and strengthening rather than of complicating the community structure. The board should make full use of existing official and non-official planning bodies; it should never duplicate any job already being done in the community. On the other hand, it must make sure that social protection work of all kinds is being well handled. For instance, if there is a health council existing in the community, the board would not establish a Health Section but would encourage the health council to undertake that part of the job. If there is a welfare division of a Council of Social Agencies, that division should be used in promoting social treatment.

In communities where there is no general organization, the board will usually need to establish sections on Law Enforcement, Health, Social Treatment and Education.

Since venereal disease, prostitution and promiscuity are symptoms of poverty, ignorance, lack of recreation and other social ills, there is danger that boards may extend their efforts in too many directions. Underlying social problems should be recognized and community committees concerned with housing, public works, education and other services should be encouraged; but the board should confine its efforts to the well-definable aspects of a social protection program.

In general, the responsibilities of the board should be to make sure that adequate plans for action are developed in each of the four fields and that all of the plans are so coordinated as to provide a complete and effective social protection program. . . .[18]

[18] *Challenge to Community Action.* Social Protection Division, Office of Community War Service, Federal Security Agency, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945. Pp. 56–57. See also *A Demonstration in Federal, State and Local Cooperation,* Office of Community War Service, Federal Security Agency. Washington: Government Printing Office, June 30, 1946, and further reference in Chapter XVII to work of the Office of Community War

SERVICES FOR VETERANS

With the beginning of demobilization of military personnel toward the end of World War II, many organizations and agencies began offering services to veterans. The veterans' organizations were interested in getting a favorable response from discharged men as were also various public agencies. Social agencies and others sought to adapt their programs to the special needs of veterans. Newspapers in some cities set up service bureaus. The result was considerable confusion and no assurance that a balanced program to meet the needs experienced by veterans would be provided in a community.

Community leaders in some places saw the need for a central information center, which would stop the "run around" between agencies. This center, if publicized as the point of first contact, could direct veterans to specialized agencies, and in the process of referrals would discover what were the unmet needs in the community. To provide for veterans' information centers as needed, with broad community support, was the recommendation to local communities in Order No. 1 of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration, on May 17, 1944. The local representatives of the Selective Service System, the United States Employment Service and the Veterans Administration were directed to promote "an integrated and balanced program" with the aid of a representative Veterans Service Committee.[19]

As the impact of mass demobilization subsided, the functions of such centers changed. The more recent experience is that instead of providing information and referral only, centers need to give guidance and service in a more active way. Services provided, however, are planned so as not to duplicate the work of existing agencies, but some types of assistance may not be otherwise pro-

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Services.

[19] *Veterans' Information Program.* Prepared by Office of War Information in cooperation with the Retraining and Reemployment Administration. Washington: Government Printing Office, February, 1945. Hillman, Arthur, "Community Organization of Counseling Centers," *Occupations,* XXIII: 441–443, May, 1945.

vided. This includes for example, educational and vocational counseling, which is frequently lacking under community auspices. Some cities have found that veterans need advice on starting new businesses, or in unusual occupations, and have organized volunteer panels to provide this service. Some advisory centers include non-veterans in their services.[20]

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

A small number of communities are working on plans to improve relationships between labor and management. Special machinery is being set up for constructive action directed toward the lessening of industrial conflict. In addition, the civic activities of chambers of commerce might be mentioned in this connection as well as the developing interests of organized labor in the work of public schools, and social agencies, and other matters of community concern.[21]

Management and labor representatives may learn to know each other better when they meet on the common ground of interest in Red Cross or community fund-raising, for example. The former mayor of Minneapolis notes this effect and specifically the working together of labor and management representatives on citizens' committees which were created there to strengthen the "weak mayor" system of city government. The mayor sought the advice and support of such committees in municipal programs. He stressed the importance of having an equal number of business men and of labor leaders.[22]

COUNCILS OF CHURCHES

Cooperative planning between religious bodies may be illustrated in organizations of Protestant churches because of the great

[20] U.S. Department of Labor, Retraining and Reemployment Administration. *To Organize, to Operate Your Community Advisory Center for Veterans and Others.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947. National Social Welfare Assembly, *Bill of Particulars of Community Responsibility to Veterans.* New York: National Social Welfare Assembly, Revised, January, 1947. 9 pages mimeographed.

[21] See Chapters X and XII with reference to organized labor.

[22] Humphrey, Hubert H., "A Community Program For Labor-Management Peace," *American City*: LXII 92–94, May, 1947.

diversity of denominational interests involved. In the absence of special efforts toward cooperation, Protestant denominationalism may become a divisive force in the community. Moreover, the joint interests of churches in programs of social service, the reducing of industrial and race tensions, social legislation, and similar matters are indicative of a community outreach which may transcend doctrinal differences between religious bodies. It is possible, as experience in many communities indicates, to achieve some collaboration between Protestant churches and between them and other major faiths on ethical issues and service programs without attempting to achieve a union of religious bodies or to deny the existence of genuine doctrinal differences.

The question of local autonomy is involved in this as in other areas where federated or cooperative action is attempted.

While the concept of parish sovereignty varies, in part, in accordance with the policy by which the given parish is governed, the general viewpoint now prevailing emphasizes the principle of full parish autonomy. This principle is held in extreme isolation by many parishes. It is seldom recognized that when a parish decides to become a constituent member of a church council it does not thereby abridge its sovereignty. Rather it chooses to exercise areas of its sovereignty cooperatively or corporately. This absence of the sense of consciously belonging to and participating as members of the Church Universal, ecumenically conceived as coming to expression through unity of action, functions as a disturbing barrier to more effective Protestant community organization. . . . A council of churches is a representative body of the parish churches of a community through which we accumulate experience in community service and thereby grow together. . . .[23]

There were in 1946, 156 city and county church councils with employed executive leadership and 440 with voluntary leadership.[24] The Department of Christian Social Relations of the Federal Council of Churches and its counterpart in local church federations is active in joint planning with social agencies and in programs re-

[23] Miller, J. Quinter, "Protestantism's Community Responsibility," *Illinois Church Councilor*, 11: 3, April, 1947.

[24] Federal Council of Churches of Christ In America, Biennial Report, 1946, p. 22.

lating to housing, juvenile delinquency, and other community problems.[25]

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[25] *Ibid.,* pp. 38–41.

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PART FIVE

PROCEDURES IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Standards and Measures of Achievement

"How do we know where we are going?"
"Are we getting our money's worth?"
"Are there standards to go by in making our plans?"
"Are we as well off as people in other cities?"

Thoughtful people are inclined to ask questions like these in the course of community planning. There are some yardsticks of achievement available and some bases for comparisons between communities. Some of these are the result of agreement by experts based on broad experience. Standards in the health field tend to be relatively definite; service can be judged by results in terms of trends in disease and death rates.

In many fields, standards must necessarily be more subjective, a reflection of what people want, including intangible values. They may be compared with a family's standard of living, which can be stated in quantitative terms although it is a summation of preferences, tastes and relative insistencies of the members. A family standard is distinguished from its plane of living which is its actual distribution of expenditures at a given time.[1] So also a community may not be achieving a quality of common life commensurate with its standards, but its actual expenditures of time and money for activities and services that contribute to the general welfare are at least implicitly a reflection of a standard of community life. The thought has been expressed in other connections that it is of the essence of community planning that standards or goals should be consciously and collectively defined.

[1] Eliot, Thomas D., *American Planes and Standards of Living*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931.

The importance of factual evidence has been stressed in previous chapters and it should be understood that facts by themselves do not define goals but they are indispensable in giving substance to the process of planning. There should be available in every community, through the continuous work of the city planning agency or perhaps a university research organization, broad factual foundations for use regularly by government agencies and as needed by other organizations with specialized interests. Such data would include population composition and changes, occupational and economic trends, measurements of the service areas of major institutions, and transportation system use records. Much of this running community inventory can be in map form, or otherwise organized for ready reference.

Presented herewith are references to some outstanding compilations of standards, including discussion of them and related questions. They are designed for use by laymen and by professionals for whom community study is somewhat incidental to their main responsibilities. Studies in specific fields as well as more general surveys can be planned with the aid of the references cited. Included separately are citations of research studies which have attempted to compare cities from standpoints indicated. Such comparisons are part of a scientific interest in the patterns of community life; their primary purpose is knowledge or understanding, but the results may be useful to persons engaged in the practice of planning.

REFERENCES ON STANDARDS FOR USE IN COMMUNITY PLANNING

Action for Cities: A Guide for Community Planning. Published under the sponsorship of American Municipal Association, American Society of Planning Officials, and International City Managers' Association. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1943. Publication No. 86.[2]

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[2] Quotations from this publication appear in Chapter IV and it is cited in the Introduction to Part IV.

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WALKER, MABEL L., *Municipal Expenditures.* Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1930. Cities are rated by use of several indices, including the distribution by percentages of municipal expenditures.

[3] Cited in Chapters IV and VI. See also chart based on this source following Chapter IV.

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CHAPTER XVI

Policy-Making and Administration

A BASIC DISTINCTION

Decisions on goals to be achieved in community planning need to be distinguished from questions of how to achieve these goals. Broad questions of policy, as has been indicated, are best decided by all persons concerned or their representatives. General participation of citizens or laymen in determining policies, however, does not preclude a largely separate sphere of administration, or the exercise of technical competence in planning operations. Skills in the administrative side of planning are not as well defined or developed as in older professional disciplines, but there is nevertheless a planning know-how involved in the day-to-day job whether in work for a city plan commission, for example, or as the executive of a community council or a council of social agencies.

This distinction between policy-making and administration is basic although it admits some overlapping. The similar distinction in the roles of the professional worker and the community leader, as well as the qualities they need to have in common is also relevant at this point.[1] The regard for the values of democratic participation in policy-making on the one hand and respect for technical ability on the other can be appreciated by reference to other forms of organization. In democratic government, the voice of the people is heard through the election of their representatives and leaders as well as through legislative processes but should not be allowed to interfere with capable administrators in the discharge of respon-

[1] See Chapter IX.

sibilities that have been delegated to them. There is some leeway for discretion and judgment in administrative decisions, and some policies may develop in practice by small increments of precedent, but this does not invalidate the main point. Successful operations require clear statements of major policy which are the responsibilities of legislative bodies, boards, councils or committees. This is the case not only in government but also in social agencies or in consumers cooperatives to mention but two of many possible examples.[2]

The distinction just outlined is based on a concept of administration which can be used in various spheres of activity.

Administration is generic. It is a social science concept which applies to all organized group activity. Administration arises when ever organization occurs. There are common problems and processes in the household, the school, the church, the business corporation, and the vast modern state. After deciding upon objectives, means must be devised for carrying out the program. This latter process is administration. Anyone who is responsible for directing the work of others thereby becomes an administrator.

An adequate theory of society must obviously be based upon a knowledge of administration. The importance of administration is in direct ratio to the complexity of inter-personal relationships and the number and utility of joint services. The more things that are done for the individual, the greater becomes the importance of organization. Many of society's most difficult problems, such as security for the individual and uninterrupted economic progress, boil down largely to matters of proper organization.[3]

PERSONNEL FOR PLANNING

The professional preparation of personnel for community planning, as already suggested, has not been highly standardized. Moreover, there is considerable specialization according to functional areas. In the major areas, there is recognition of a significant job to be

[2] Dimock, Marshall E., *Modern Politics and Administration.* Chicago: American Book Co., 1937. Pp. 30, 231–232, and passim. Hillman, Arthur, "The Responsibility of Being a Co-op Board Member," *Co-op Magazine* 2: 24–25, December, 1946.

[3] Dimock, Marshall E., "The Study of Administration," *The American Political Science Review,* XXXI: 29, February, 1937.

done but also, as has been indicated to some extent in previous chapters, a growing sense of borderline interests and of the relation between diverse aspects of local planning. There are also possibilities, evident already in part, of the transferring of professional skills from one form of planning to another, especially whenever the emphasis is less on the concrete problems and more on the process of defining goals for and with people and of mobilizing the services of technical specialists.

For professional work in community organization and planning, an undergraduate college course, with major work in the social sciences, is a minimum essential. This might be supplemented by "interneship" or apprenticeship to develop more of a "feel" for community situations. It should also be obvious that no one can teach anyone exactly how to operate in a specific situation. Even with greater maturity of planning as a profession or of its specialized aspects, and corresponding development in educational requirements, there will continue to be an emphasis on broad background, out of which insight and specific skills can develop. There is no formula for imagination and resourcefulness, but these traits can be disciplined by training and experience.

Graduate education has been developed for community organization work in the health and welfare field. This is a part of as well as a specialty in the field of social work, education for which is becoming standardized in graduate professional schools.[4] Social work educators and leaders recognize the need for reevaluation of their curricula, especially because of the developments of related community services and professional skills. A comprehensive study of social work education is under way, which includes attention to community organization aspects of the profession.[5]

[4] Newstetter, W. I., "Teaching Community Organization in Schools of Social Work," paper presented at the National Conference of Social Work, 1941, included in McMillen, Wayne, *Community Organization for Social Welfare.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. 59–67.

[5] Conrad, Irene Farnham, "The Organization, Objectives and Program of the National Council on Social Work Education," *The Compass,* XXVIII: 3–6, March, 1947. Pray, Kenneth L. M., "The Plan for a Study of Social Work Education," *The Compass,* XXVIII: 10–13, March, 1947.

Housing administration is another field involving community organization along with other kinds of professional skill. It is much less developed with respect to professional education, as compared with social work. The relative newness of housing as a major community responsibility and the fact that its future depends in larger part on Federal and state legislation is reason enough for its relatively slight professional development. However, a few universities are instituting curricula and others are expanding their work in housing at the undergraduate level. A basic question, at the undergraduate level is the extent to which courses in housing as a separate field should be taught as compared with the possibilities of grouping related and existing courses. The problem of housing is sufficiently broad to serve as an integrative subject for many branches of study.[6]

City and regional planning has been approached as an aspect of public administration as well as of architecture, engineering, and the social sciences. These approaches can supplement each other within the comprehensive view of city planning which is emerging, as indicated in Chapter IV. Univerities are beginning to offer curricula in planning which aim at the development of practical, technical competence combined with knowledge from philosophy and the social sciences. The professional planner needs specialized skills and knowledge as well as a broad background which will enable him to function cooperatively and with a sense of perspective on complex projects.[7]

In-service training also has an important place in the professional preparation of planners and common devices are staff conferences, seminars, and professional meetings. The annual meetings of the American Society of Planning Officials and the National Associa-

[6] Manser, Gordon, "What Can Universities and Colleges Contribute to Housing?" *The Journal of Housing*, 4: 107–108, April, 1947. Ten Professors Comment On "What Can Universities and Colleges Contribute to Housing?" *The Journal of Housing*, 4: 171–174, June, 1947. *Housing Education in Universities and Colleges.* Needs and a Suggested Curriculum, A Committee Report, University of California. June, 1947.

[7] Leipziger-Pearce, Hugo, Howard, John T., and others, "The Planner As An Educated Man," in *Planning 1947.* Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1947. Pp. 80–101.

tion of Housing Officials offer this sort of opportunity for persons actively engaged in planning and related forms of administration. Community Chests and Councils not only has annual meetings but also provides staff leadership for week-long seminar type conferences, such as the Great Lakes Institute, which has met annually at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. A need for continuous stimulation and exchange of experience is felt by workers in community planning who appreciate the growing edges and dynamic character of their responsibilities.

TALK AND ACTION

The talking-over process, far from being a diversion of energy, if properly organized, is an essential part of action on community problems. Active discussion is obviously involved in democratic policy-making but its role in administration is also being recognized. The executive role includes exerting leadership and making decisions, not all of which are necessarily talked over with staff members. However, a sensitivity to the reactions of staff assistants is not only good for building morale in an organization but it has other practical values. The pooling of ideas and sharing in some decisions by persons engaged in planning has been found to be effective in strengthening staff operations.[8]

Keeping the whole group in line and in loyalty thus demands an attitude of solicitude on the part of the administrator. He had better be not only attentive to distress signals but affirmatively eager to make it clear in action that persons and their satisfactions are being reckoned with as well as company purposes and their attainment. He, after all, broadly initiates the ongoing of the enterprise. He wants a good response; he should be anxious that down from the top a sense of responsible concern is felt and that up from the bottom a wide human support is forthcoming. In other words good administration requires good communication growing out of good attitude. And this must start with the executive as leader. Communication, moreover, is successful only when it is intelligible, when it commends itself to agreement, when it is unrestrained, spontaneous and thus creative, and when finally it is subject to come-

[8] McMillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–168; Barnard, Chester I., *Functions of the* Executive. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938.

back or criticism. It has in consequence to embrace discussion and face-to-face conference and not just telling by one to another. In good administration communication is full, free, fair, and up as well as down. And the reason for the communication, let us be clear, is, first, to interpret persuasively the group purpose to be served and, second, to keep in proper view the welfare of the associated persons as the condition of their going all out for their associated purposes. . . .[9]

Ordway Tead writes also of the executive as leader and while his reference is to individual organizations and agencies, his comments apply also to community-wide bodies. This sort of leadership role does not usurp the prerogatives of the community leader. In fact, the executive with skill in the methods of communication can facilitate participation not only within a staff but also in a board or membership group.

Turn now to the contribution which leadership peculiarly must make. It should, in a word, galvanize the whole process of conferring and integrating diverse interests into a smooth-running experience of human relations among the individuals and groups whose efforts are being unified. This means and implies a number of supporting factors. It means that the leader is constantly holding the main, common objective in view, so that in deliberative conferences on policy and methods someone is always bringing discussions back to the main track and toward the anticipated terminal point of agreement.

He it is also who will be specially concerned in the various groups where he is overseeing the coordinative process to see that the following conditions are satisfied: (1) a complete body of facts available about matters at issue; (2) an open consideration of every different point of view before any given deliberative body; (3) the encouraging of subordination of differences in favor of unity of drive; (4) the effort to assure that indecision changes into choice and action; (5) provision for the process of acquainting the entire membership with decisions and of interpreting them persuasively; (6) the careful delegating of responsibility for carrying out decisions.

Experience is conclusive that unless the leader assumes these responsibilities, they are not fulfilled and the process of co-

[9] Tead, Ordway, *Democratic Administration.* New York: Association Press, 1945. P. 69.

ordination halts and breaks down. And in such organizations as those here discussed, the general secretary is the logical executive to undertake this leading role. He it is who definitely should take the whole view of the whole organization. He it is who should have a sufficiently sympathetic and comprehensive view of the entire operation to facilitate the bringing together of different outlooks.

Also, more than this is required, even to aid coordination. There must be continuously sympathetic account being taken and consideration being given to points of view and claims advanced by sincere minority groups which want to be unified with the whole but feel that they have some special insight or emphasis of which adequate account is not being taken. And this consideration must go beyond the usual efforts to integrate differences which are always arising about minor points. It has to do, where profound issues are raised or joined, with the general executive's own insight and prophetic vision of the larger trend that affairs are taking as they relate to the protests of these minorities. I am, in short, not implying that a facile smoothing over of differences or a mollifying of minorities is the road for the executive to follow. On occasion his line of policy may be so under fire that the effort to coordinate may have to be preceded by his own searching of soul as to the implications of the issue which the minority has raised.[10]

At times even the most experienced community workers, lay and professional, may voice a note of weariness of organization processes and complain of too much machinery. Machinery for interaction of people may indeed be cumbersome and inefficient and it may persist beyond its usefulness. Institutions of many kinds run the risk of formalism, form for its own sake.[11] There is no simple preventive of formalism, but alertness to its possible occurrence will help, as will also the review of organization forms and procedures in the light of other experience in community planning, and specifically in the operations of community councils as will be indicated in this chapter.

The reaction against the mechanics of cooperation is understandable especially where organization becomes complex. This should not obscure the fundamental recognition that without or-

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

[11] Cooley, C. H., *Social Organization; A Study of the Larger Mind*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929.

ganization, there cannot be adequate talking-over or other kinds of action. "Human groups cannot carry out actions for which they have not established social organization. . . . You cannot even boss a dog unless the dog has been trained to obey."[12] The same writer notes that self-management in communities does not occur without struggles and politics. The way of democracy is not easy or smooth.

Aggressive individuals are likely to feel that the forms of organization are an impediment to "getting things done." This too is a short-sighted view. Ideally the machinery of organization, whether for policy-making or administration should provide a channel through which individuals can express initiative. Moreover, group consideration of new ideas, while delaying immediate action, usually provides a healthy corrective and broadening influence. The Quakers, through centuries of experience, have developed a practice of "group review" of what individuals feel prompted to do. The individual who feels a responsibility to act is said to have a "concern" which while encouraged as an expression of religious conviction is also held subject to a sympathetic review by the meeting of Friends. It has been found necessary to authorize and back individuals in this way lest their zeal carry them into fruitless activity.

Committees in an organization are frequently subject to unjustified criticism. Standing committees stand, it is said, or a committee is a device for wasting time. But how else can details be worked out and diverse viewpoints integrated? Whose fault is it if committees are inefficient or if they are deliberately resorted to as a "stall" to avert action? Certainly the committee method or the democratic ideology involved should not be blamed if it is misused. As Tead says of committees:

They can be responsible, effective, and not unduly dilatory. Indeed, they are an indispensable means for doing certain kinds of things. Fundamentally they are agents of integration—for bringing agreement out of disagreement or confusion. However much they

[12] Leighton, Alexander. *The Governing of Men.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1945. P. 324. This is an important example of anthropology applied to problems of administration of a Japanese relocation center, with general principles stated that apply to social organization of communities under more normal conditions.

may seem to involve delay and to generate too much talk, they are nevertheless the price of advance agreement. And within the given limits, nothing else can take their place. They are a tool of the democratic, knowledge-pooling, and desire-harmonizing process which cannot be otherwise forwarded. And when committees fail, as they sometimes do, it is because the limits to their role are not clearly understood or because they have not benefited by proper leadership from the chairman.[13]

Inadequate provision for follow-up on committee decisions is one of the common weaknesses, and responsibility for continuity in action rests primarily with the chairman, and the staff secretary if there is one.

Talking problems over, in committees of any kind or staff meetings or sessions of boards or memberships, is not a random sort of activity. Like other activity which is time-consuming, it needs to be organized. Chairmen of meetings and discussion leaders have a major responsibility in this respect and manuals are available to help them. A useful booklet in the conduct of community meetings contains this summary of concrete suggestions:

1. The leader can set the general tone of a meeting by the attitude he expresses, and the way he operates.
2. It is the chairman's job to stimulate participation at the meeting.
3. Meetings should be called only when there is business to consider. They should begin and end with a plan.
4. Being democratic is not synonymous with lack of planning.
5. An agenda for each meeting will expedite business.
6. When progress reports are desired, the responsible persons should be notified in advance.
7. Send a copy of the meeting minutes to all interested parties.
8. Monotony results in slow death: vary the tone and tempo of the meetings.
9. Give attention to the physical setting.[14]

[13] Tead, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[14] Edmonson, J. B., Zander, Alvin F., and Morse, William C., *Invigorating Community Meetings*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, Adult Education Program. Mimeographed pamphlet, revised October, 1945. Pp. 9–10.

Other references on organization methods are included in the Bibliography. The list is not meant to be complete but recent and representative works are included. Many organizations in specific fields, such as churches, farm groups, youth groups and cooperatives publish similar guides or manuals and they

"To meet or not to meet" introduces a discussion by the Ogdens, based on their experience in many communities:

"Let's have a meeting" is the most frequently suggested way of getting a new idea before people or of trying to get community action on a problem.

"But there are so many meetings, and they never get anywhere" is the most general reaction to the suggestion.

There is a contradiction here that indicates a real problem. Getting together to talk things over and make a plan seems to be a natural method of procedure for a group or a community. Yet there have been so many unsatisfying experiences that there is general skepticism about the wisdom of meetings.

In looking at community programs, we have been especially interested in the place of meetings in their development. Our conclusion is that there is no magic in meeting any more than there is in sending out a bulletin, or forming a study group, or organizing a council. On the other hand, a meeting occurs at some point in almost every community story we find. Whether or not the meeting has played a vital role in the growth of the program depends on its relation to what has gone before and what is to come after. Its relation to the sequence of events depends on whether it is so planned as to make an audience think and to give it a chance to continue to the point of thinking things through.

In general the meetings in which a large number of persons have had a part in the preliminary planning seem to have been most successful.[15]

Effective communication is essential to a sense of community. Moreover, the freedom of expression and its channeling into action is at the heart of the democratic process in communities. The following summary statement applies to organizations generally.

The democratic process can now be measurably identified by the use it uniquely makes of the following succession of steps: (a) You define your constituency (you establish the fact of citizenship or membership); (b) you identify what groupings or breakdowns seem logically and conveniently to appear within your constituency

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are useful to those for whom they are written but also contain suggestions relevant to community organization.

[15] Ogden, Jean and Jess, *Small Communities in Action.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. P. 212.

as a basis for representing special points of view when common issues are under discussion (typically in political affairs these groupings have been geographic even within the town meeting); (c) you identify, articulate and represent these exigent interests; (d) you create a continuing body where representative deliberation shall take place; (e) you assure regular deliberation; (f) you try to supply such leadership to the deliberative process as will press the group toward clear and sound agreements; (g) you try to supply the conferees with the fullest possible measure of facts relevant to the issues under discussion; (h) you reach agreements with as little affront to the good will of the momentary minority as possible; (i) you try out the solution (in politics it is usually new legislation) and see how it works; (j) you review in some manner from time to time how salutary the solution is in action, and how satisfactory the leadership is in purposive and personal terms.[16]

What we are thus in process of achieving is a necessary, prudent and productive sharing of power, of knowledge, and of respect. And irrespective of methods conveniently thought to be "democratic," such as voting and the like, wherever sharing on all these fronts goes forward, where creative release of persons is taking place, where responsibility for achieving these aims is being equally shared—there is democracy. And the methods which eventuate to do all this successfully are democratic. And they are absolutely imposed once the end in view is agreed to.[17]

COUNCIL PROCEDURE

What has been said about the difference between policy-making and administration and the central place of communication in the democratic process can be illustrated in council procedure. Councils of various kinds face the problem constantly of keeping machinery functional, that is "stream-lined" with no extra gadgets or ornaments. Professional workers and lay leaders of councils have special responsibilities, as has been indicated, in carrying out these principles.

They may use special surveys or continuing statistical reports as tools. Measuring results against standards is important in both policy-making and administration. Statistics, however, should defi-

[16] Tead, *op. cit.*, p. 60
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

nitely be used as tools or means and not as ends in themselves. Incidentally, valuable as statistics are for their objectivity, it may well be that important data needed for planning have not been stated in quantitative form or that measures of services of government or other agencies, for example, tell only part of the story of what is happening. Professional planners particularly need to cultivate contacts outside their own circle and to get fresh points of view on the nature of problems confronting communities.

A community council may also undertake a "self-study" as a start or guide in planning.[18] A recent example is a survey of Benton Harbor and St. Joseph, Michigan,[19] which originated from a desire of citizens to know more about the approximately 175 social agencies at work in the community as well as an interest in planning a year-round recreation program. The Coordinating Council was established as an outgrowth of the recreation planning. The Council set up a survey committee which gathered facts about the community, its organizations, and agencies. The data accumulated were reviewed by a specialist in administration from outside the community, who made suggestions for future work on the survey. This method is similar to the social survey technique widely used for several decades in the United States. Major responsibility for fact-finding is given to specialists in the survey, but a citizens advisory committee is set up to guide the process and share in responsibility for conclusions.[20]

The following suggestions on council procedure are offered:

There are a number of principles which seem to be applicable to Community Councils of many kinds and which should be carefully considered in planning the organization and program of a local Council.

[18] See Chapter XIV for reference to this technique in race relations, and the introduction to Part V for references to standards which can be used by community groups.

[19] *I Know My Community:* St. Joseph and Benton Harbor Community Study. Prepared by Survey Committee of the Coordinating Council of St. Joseph and Benton Harbor, Michigan, October, 1942. Revised, December, 1944.

[20] Young, Pauline V., *Scientific Social Surveys and Social Research.* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939.

1. *Take time to organize:* It pays to take sufficient time to lay the foundations well. This calls for long discussions by the key group or sponsoring committee so that they understand thoroughly the organization and functions of the Council and its implications in the local situation. It will require consultation with community leaders who may not be part of the key group. It means gradually creating interest in, and spreading understanding throughout the community of the purposes, advantages, and limitations of a Council. Time spent in developing understanding, conviction, and loyalty of and to the Council idea will pay dividends in terms of effective organization and functioning later on.

2. *Secure the backing of all groups in the community:* The Council should represent the wishes and aspirations of all sections of the community. There should not be the slightest indication of discrimination based on sex, race, religion, or economic status. One of the fine things about real Community Councils is that they draw together people of all kinds in co-operative efforts. . . . If representation is to be secured from blocks or districts in the community, a few members-at-large might be appointed to give a place on the Council to important groupings such as the Protestant and Catholic Churches, the Jewish Synagogue, the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, the local labour Unions, etc. Methods of building Council membership will vary but the principle of securing as wide a base of representation as possible is one which should be closely observed. The Council should be a "people's movement" and everything possible should be done to include as many of the "ordinary folks" in the organization as possible. . . .

3. *Get official recognition from major groups:* In many cases the major organizations in the community will have direct representation on the Council and this will involve a degree of approval and support from these organizations. But a continual effort should be made to keep these organizations informed and interested in the work of the Council. Included in the list of such organizations would be the municipal or county board or council. . . .

4. *Make a survey:* One of the first things a Community Council should do is to make a survey of their community. This should provide them with factual information about the town or neighborhood which should give them an idea of the community's resources and limitations as well as a good idea of the point at which they should begin to work. . . .

5. *Do quality work:* A Council beginning its work would be well advised to select one or two projects and do these well—rather than

spread their effort over a wide variety of fields. One or two projects successfully accomplished will give the Council confidence and a reputation for good workmanship. In the beginning the most pressing community problems about which it seems apparent the Council can do something, should be selected for intensive work. Later on, with an organization experienced and strengthened through community activity, the Council might well expand their work. But one job well done is worth a dozen sloppy incomplete projects.

6. *Develop a sound financial structure:* The work of most Councils will require some financial resources. The means of building up a Council budget will vary with circumstances. Some of the common methods are: (a) fees or contributions from member organizations, (b) campaigns for voluntary subscriptions, (c) grants from the Community Chest, (d) grants from the Municipal Council, (e) contributions from individuals. Sometimes a combination of methods is used. If there are indications that the Council is a truly representative one and that it can render effective community service, the matter of financing should not be a major problem. A determined effort for funds will produce results. However, every care should be taken to see that the Council operates within its budget and that its funds are spent with the greatest usefulness.

7. *Use all resources available:* It is surprising how often local ability and talent go unrecognized. Community Councils have often been successful in discovering and using outstanding personalities in their communities. . . .

8. *Organize Committees to carry on special projects:* The whole Council need not, and should not, be concerned with all the details of the Council work. Committees responsible to the Council can be appointed to carry on various aspects of the total work. Thus, one Council had a committee of members on weed eradication which worked for a considerable period of time on this particular problem. . . .

9. *Include young people in the Council organization:* In some communities there are found both Community Councils (largely made up of adults) and youth councils. These two bodies are usually not related although both often deal with the same problem. Good practice would seem to suggest that youth be included in, rather than separated from, the Community Council. . . .

10. *Keep the community informed.* The public should be kept informed about the work of its Council and this may be done in a number of ways, such as published reports, radio talks, special meetings, etc. One of the most effective ways of doing this is regular

meetings, at which some vital problem of the community (like housing) is considered. A drama may be presented, special music provided, an outstanding speaker used, etc., in order both to entertain and enlighten the audience. . . .[21]

An important question in council procedure concerns the role of the delegate. His status as a delegate, sometimes being instructed how to act and required to report back to his group, and in other cases left more free to exercise his judgment as a representative citizen, is basic in the process of community organization. More attention is being directed to understanding the delegate's role, particularly by W. I. Newstetter, as part of an analysis of "inter-group" relationships represented by councils and other planning devices.

A responsible relationship is one in which there is response. Irresponsible participation of individuals, either officially representing or representative of groups, too often results in some kind of adjustments between the individuals in terms of social goals, but does not accomplish the real purposes which are presumed to result from such a process. . . . The inter-group ends up as a group in which the individual members are using it primarily to meet individual and personal needs.[22]

Newstetter notes that unless a "from and to" relation exists between the constituent groups and their representatives in the inter-group, there is a situation of irresponsibility. There is the possibility, which he warns against, that the inter-group may become a group in itself, with relations developed within it rather than between the central body and its member organizations. It may well be emphasized that a council cannot claim to be a representative community planning body unless there are active, two-way channels of communication between it and constituent groups and elements of the community. The stress on having delegates report to their organizations need not imply formality of relationships or restrictions on the flexibility of council procedures. Councils may be strengthened by having members who are free to exercise their personal judgments

[21] Ross, Murray G., *Community Councils.* Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, February, 1945. Pp. 32–36.

[22] Newstetter, W. I., "The Social Inter-group Work Process," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work 1947.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 209–210.

in the course of discussions, but the warning expressed is against delegates lapsing into irresponsibility.

Finally a problem affecting councils and community action often is, simply stated, "who gets the credit?" It is of course the professional worker first who must be disciplined to a "passion for anonymity" and a satisfaction in getting the job done with lay members of the team getting the spotlight. It is the council itself that must hold back for fear of losing support of constituent organizations. It is likewise for the national organization to give credit to the local community.

The Ogdens address themselves to this problem and summarize their experience with a positive note:

> Whatever the initiation or the sponsorship, there is a growing conviction on the part of citizens that agencies and institutions must no longer exploit community programs for their own prestige. There are a gratifying number of instances of whole-hearted acceptance of this principle by the group involved. One young minister who has been the inspiration of a very fine, church-centered program expresses this trend when he says that the emphasis throughout his program has been "upon human needs and their satisfaction through cooperative community effort and planning rather than upon the aggrandizement of the church as an institution."
>
> To be sure, petty jealousies between agencies still exist in most communities, but, more and more, their subversive influence is being recognized. In the long run the group that starts a program must be willing to lose its identity in order to find a more abundant life in the finer community made possible through cooperative efforts. The trend in this direction is more apparent on the local level than in the organizational set-up which is farther removed from the people. Too frequently pressures for numbers or for showing "results" come to local workers from the state or federal level. Then the question of credit may take precedence over the best interests of the community. The agency worker in the community is more likely to see his relationship to other local programs than are his superiors in state, regional or national headquarters.[23]

[23] Ogden, Jean and Jess, *These Things We Tried, A Five-Year Experiment in Community Development by the Extension Division of the University of Virginia.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Extension. Vol. XXV No. 6 October 15, 1947. Pp. 92–93.

The problem is not simple. It may be a matter of rivalry between elements within a community or between competing agencies. The vested interests of organizations, their excessive demand for sovereignty, often stand in the way of developing a community point of view. These roots of the problem are laid deeply in human tendencies to act from habit, self-interest, and parochial viewpoints. Recognizing the stubborn persistence of these tendencies, however, may be the basis for perspective and for devising strategy on the part of council leaders and executives.

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CHAPTER XVII

Relationship between National and Local Planning

Communities differ in the particular combinations of problems encountered at any given time. However, many communities in attacking local problems have found that they cannot stand alone; nor can they lift themselves by their bootstraps. This does not at all discount the value of local initiative and effort, but it points to the interdependence of communities in the face of nation-wide problems. Cities and other local governmental authorities have turned to the Federal government for help in many cases in recent decades. The Federal agencies have also exercised leadership in programs related to local planning.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS RELATED TO LOCAL PROBLEMS

Several Federal programs have already been noted in preceding chapters as having relations to community planning and may be recapitulated. The United States Department of Agriculture has had long experience in state and local relationships. Its effort to adapt national programs to local needs and to enlist local participation in planning received special impetus through the county land use planning program of 1935–1941. Federal reclamation projects have made resettlement and new forms of rural planning possible. Other resettlement projects[1] have demonstrated possibilities inherent in Federal aid in rehabilitating people and in stimulating local planning.

[1] See Chapters III and VI.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is notable for its regional development of natural resources, but in this connection its contribution has been to the decentralization of administration. TVA officials have sought local participation in planning wherever possible.[2] There seems also to have been a positive stimulation to the quality of local planning in the region, in Kentucky and Tennessee particularly.[3]

Urban redevelopment, as indicated earlier, presents tremendous financial problems to cities already faced with shrinking municipal revenues.[4] Federal legislation proposed in recent years for help to cities has included bills based on the principle of a subsidy for the purchase of land in blighted areas. With Federal aid, local governments would be able to buy land and to lease or resell it at rents or prices low enough to permit necessary redevelopment at a reasonable profit. The assumption seems valid that the current price of such land is above its actual value for residential purposes and that this impedes the rehabilitation of blighted areas. The federal aid proposed might be repaid from future receipts from the redeveloped land. The Federal government might require as a condition of its aid that an overall city land-use plan be submitted.[5]

Federal aid for urban redevelopment is primarily proposed for slum clearance objectives, but it would at the same time mean the building of new housing. The various national housing bills, introduced first in 1945, gave some recognition to the principle of Federal aid for urban redevelopment, but their main purpose was to provide credit and assistance in a large scale public and private building program. There was precedent for such action in the credit underwriting by the Federal Housing Administration and in the United States Housing Act of 1937, which extended the building of public housing begun under the Public Works Administration. Emergency

[2] See Chapter V.

[3] See Chapter III for reference to the Committee for Kentucky. The work of the Tennessee Planning Commission can be known through its periodical, *The Tennessee Planner.*

[4] See Chapter IV.

[5] Greer, Guy., *Your City Tomorrow.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. 111–115.

war housing was built with Federal funds and some of these dwellings were converted to post-war use. In general, the Federal policy has been to depend on city or county housing authorities to construct and administer local public projects under supervision with standards set by the national government agency.[6]

Programs initiated during the depression of the 1930's not only aided communities in meeting immediate needs but also stimulated local planning. The National Resources Planning Board, during its existence, gave considerable attention to problems of cities.[7] Public works programs—bridges, highways, public buildings, for example—with Federal aid under the Public Works Administration, brought permanent improvements to many cities. These projects were sometimes planned hastily because of the immediate need for creating employment. This led to some recognition of the value of long-range planning of public works, primarily for their usefulness, but at the same time having possibilities of expanding employment when necessary. The Works Progress Administration provided jobs for employable people on relief. New varieties of public work relief employment were opened up by WPA, including theater and writers projects, adult education, and recreation programs. Both PWA and WPA entered into direct relations with cities and other local units

[6] Colean, Miles L., *American Housing: Problems and Prospects.* New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1944. Pp. 279–280.

The Housing Act of 1949, passed in June, is a major development in Federal aid for public housing and urban redevelopment. Federal contributions and loans for low-rent public housing are authorized to the extent of 810,000 units throughout the nation over a six year period. For local urban redevelopment projects, both Federal loans (one billion dollars over a five year period), and grants (500 million dollars in five years) to absorb up to two-thirds of the loss involved in the assembly of land for sale or lease for slum clearance purposes. The encouragement of private investment in the redevelopment of residential areas is a basic policy embodied in the act. Not more than 10% of the total funds may be expended in any one state. Provision must be made locally for the relocation of persons displaced by slum clearance projects. The federal administrator, in extending financial assistance to local agencies, is required under the law to give consideration to the extent to which building codes have been modernized and restrictive practices eliminated; as well as to the conformity of the redevelopment plans to the over-all city plan. Unified metropolitan planning is to be encouraged.

[7] See Chapter IV for quotations from *Our Cities* and *Action for Cities.* The latter was based on National Resources Planning Board experience.

of government, which was a departure from the usual Federal pattern of working through state governments.[8]

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration from 1933–1935 aided states in meeting unemployment relief needs. It was an emergency program and Federal aid on a large scale in this field was a marked break with precedent. The Federal government withdrew from participation in direct relief and this action was followed by the Works Progress Administration work relief program and the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935. The latter was an omnibus measure, including social insurance and public assistance, child welfare services, added grants to states for public health work, and other special services.[9] Responsibility at the Federal level for the programs originally included in the Social Security Act is assigned to the Social Security Administration, the Children's Bureau, the United States Public Health Service, and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. These agencies, and others such as the Office of Education, are all part of the Federal Security Agency, created in 1939. The Children's Bureau, established in 1912 in the Department of Labor, has administered certain programs of financial aid to states with respect to maternal and child health and has worked continuously through conferences, publications, and staff services to raise standards in child health and welfare.

The Federal Security Agency combines in one administrative organization several related agencies in the fields of education, health, and welfare. It provides some coordination of planning at the Federal level, but this has been largely limited so far to budget-making, personnel practices, and other administrative arrangements. Integration around broad concepts of security or welfare has not been developed for various reasons. Some of its constituent units are older, like the United States Public Health Service, which goes back to 1798, or the Children's Bureau, which for years was the only

[8] Anderson, William, *Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations.* Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois, 1946. Pp. 137–138.

[9] See brief reference in Chapter XII.

Federal agency with a broad welfare interest. The Social Security Administration has a large program to administer and in some ways therefore is stronger than the nominal overall organization. These various agencies have field staffs working mainly with and through state governments.

Any efforts towards coordination of field service presents not only administrative problems but also raises larger questions as to the functions of the Federal Security Agency—the extent to which it should exert program leadership around unified concepts of the needs of people and local communities. It has been suggested that programs of research and service might be focused on the needs of particular elements in the population to provide substance for the Federal Security Agency leadership, if its role is to be extended beyond that of promoting administrative efficiency or of arbitrating conflicts between constituent agencies. Common interests within FSA might also be integrated around types of community situations, such as industrial boom towns or depressed rural areas, or a broad attack on juvenile delinquency.[10]

What communities have been getting in various ways from the Federal government and the extensions of such relationships which have been proposed can be summed up under two principal headings: financial aid and technical assistance, in special fields. With due respect for local autonomy and the values inherent in community action, it must be recognized that there are many limitations in resources that can only be compensated for by the Federal government with its broader taxing power and its ability to mobilize professional talent from all over the country. Sometimes financial aid has been combined with standard setting by attaching conditions to the granting of Federal funds. The conditions need not be specific, as in the case of Federal funds for public assistance where provision is made for review of state plans for administration in order that

[10] Latham, Earl, *The Federal Field Service.* Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1946. U.S. Federal Security Agency, Office of Administrator, *Methods and Approaches for Improving Field Coordination Within the FSA:* A Report by a Survey Committee. Washington, D.C., May 20, 1947. Exhibit E of this report summarizes field coordination in other Federal agencies.

there shall be "proper and efficient operation of the plan." This calls for continuing consultation and negotiation between Federal and state officials.[11]

There has been considerable experience with grants-in-aid which should be analyzed and reviewed as a basis for the further development of Federal-state-local relationships. The basic question is that of determining criteria to distinguish national, state, and "purely local" concerns. The trend toward increased Federal responsibility is older that the grant-in-aid device in fiscal relationships, going back to the early assumption of state debts and land grants by the national government. Are these all a piecemeal piling up of precedents for Federal action or signs of deeper changes in economic and political configurations? Is there any evidence to back the charge often made on behalf of states rights that Federal aid is a threat to the freedom and self-respect of recipient states and localities? On the contrary, can a case not be made for the increased strength of states in the content of programs as well as in the quality of administration because of the Federal-state teamwork?[12]

WAR EXPERIENCE OF FEDERAL AGENCIES

The United States during the defense period beginning in 1940 and the war years undertook unprecedented programs of industrial production and expansion of military forces. The effects were felt in all areas of life, not least in local communities which in some cases mushroomed in population with all the attendant problems of planning and providing community services. The war movement of population was the greatest in the history of the country. Communities near military camps had responsibilities for recreation and problems of "social protection" or venereal disease control.[13] Provisions for the day care of children of working mothers was another example of a war-related community need.[14]

[11] See references in Bibliography to articles by Patterson and Grace, the latter on grants-in-aid to education.
[12] Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–137.
[13] See Chapter XIII and XV.
[14] See Chapter XI.

Various agencies expanded their activities in relation to local problems, as part of the war effort. The erection of war housing where needed to accommodate in-migrants was a responsibility of the Federal Public Housing Authority. The United States Public Health Service had a semi-military status in wartime, and it made surveys of local health conditions that had been affected by war conditions and in other ways adapted its work to the emergency. The Federal Works Agency was given responsibility for administering the Lanham Act which made financial aid available to communities which could show war-related needs for facilities, such as school buildings, hospitals, sewer systems, and for public services, including child care, recreation, and school operations.

A Federal coordinating agency was created for bringing together Federal, state, and local, including private, agencies in planning to meet community problems. First called the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, it became the Office of Community War Services within the Federal Security Agency in April, 1943. It had divisions on Recreation and on Social Protection, fields in which no Federal agency was already active. Its general work in coordination of Federal and local responsibility for community problems is of more than temporary interest, because it illustrates a potentially broad approach on the part of the Federal Security Agency, which was referred to above. It also indicates the possibilities of a non-authoritative approach in planning on the part of a Federal agency.[15] The following paragraphs are based mainly on the work of the Chicago regional office, in terms of the roles that made up the coordinating function.

In carrying out its broad functions, the work performed by the regional OCWS may be described by indicating the roles that were played in relations with other agencies and with local communities.* First was that of the secretariat or clearing house. This included the issuing of comprehensive area reports and progress reports, to both

* I am indebted to Dean Snyder, formerly Director of Field Operations, OCWS, for suggesting this analysis in terms of roles.

[15] Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency. *Teamwork in Community Services 1941–46: A Demonstration in Federal, State and Local Cooperation.* Washington: Government Printing Office, June 30, 1946.

of which were related various kinds of follow-up work. Some conferences also served the same purpose. Special bulletins and directories were issued to meet specific needs. For example, the Chicago regional office prepared a directory of agencies giving services to veterans in Chicago, which was widely used at a time when there was no central informational center under community auspices. . . . Apart from the published reports, the files of information which were kept current on communities specially affected by the war were relied upon by a number of cooperating agencies as a central place for community data. Information was given out in some cases over the telephone, otherwise in letters or through visits to the office.

Another role was that of convenor or mediator. In the early part of the history of the agency the practice was to call regional council meetings at fairly frequent intervals. This was more necessary at a time when agencies were new to their jobs and close working relationships had not been established. Later, it was found more useful to have conferences about specific communities or special fields of work. The range of agencies invited to confer varied with the problems, but usually included as a central group the War Manpower Commission, the constituent agencies of the Federal Security Agency, the Federal Works Agency, and the housing agencies. Staff meetings held monthly in Region VI (Chicago) included not only the professional workers on the staff of the Office of Community War Services, but representatives of other agencies, such as the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, and the U.S. Office of Education, and the U.S. Public Health Service from the Federal Security Agency. These monthly meetings brought an exchange of information about communities in which the various agency representatives were working or had recently visited, as well as reports on community developments in their particular program fields. There were also special speakers of general interest from other agencies so that these staff meetings can be thought of as a kind of informal regional council.

Another type of function can be described as that of attorney or advocate on behalf of local communities. This means assembling evidence and presenting the case for Federal assistance to communities, as indicated above through reports and meetings, as well as in various informal ways. Field work by representatives of the Office was a part of performing this role, in that on-the-spot fact-finding and appraisal of problems through consultation with local people helped to give an over-all view of local communities. The

goal of a total approach to community welfare helped to counteract the limitation of agency specialization.

A final role was that of consultant or adviser. While this was more directly the work of the special Divisions, there was a partial development of this role in relation to some of the oddments where work was done on a demonstration basis. For example, the Chicago regional office did a special study of race relations in Gary, Indiana, following a conference of Federal officials responsible for advising their agencies in that field. The New York regional office undertook special responsibility for the organization of the first veterans' information center which helped to set a pattern for the rest of the country. There was some technical help to communities on general welfare planning, of the kind which is carried on by councils of social agencies in many places. Some of the publications of the national office on services to children and problems of juvenile delinquency, for example, were useful also in work with the local community in the role of consultant.*[16]

The Office of Civilian Defense was assigned the task of mobilizing citizens both for protective services, the air raid precautions for example, as well as for "war services" including committees to act on various new problems such as recreation, child care, salvage, victory gardens, and consumer information.[17] "The completeness of the Office of Civilian Defense organization in communities, especially on the war services side, varied greatly, and there was no single pattern that prevailed. In some places where the war services part of the local defense council was well developed, that responsibility had been assumed by the council of social agencies or some group with previous experience in community planning.†"[18] Civilian defense organization doubtless was responsible for expansion of local planning activities in many places Moreover, the OCD experi-

* Office of Community War Services, *Citizens of Tomorrow, A Wartime Challenge to Community Action* (November, 1943); Recreation Division, *What About Us? A Report of Community Recreation for Young People,* (1944).

† Community Chests and Councils, Inc., *Social Work and Community Organization Problems in Wartime.* (March 19, 1942), 17 pp.

[16] Hillman, Arthur, "A Federal Agency's Relation to Community Planning," *Social Forces,* 25: 185–186, December, 1946.

[17] See references in Bibliography of this chapter and paper by Walter Roy cited in Chapter VIII.

[18] Hillman, *Op. Cit.,* p. 184.

ence led to an interest in the possibilities of combining voluntary organization and public auspices in local planning.[19]

NATIONAL VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

Voluntary, non-governmental organizations of national scope can also point to special wartime experience, much of which grew out of continuing activities in relation to local communities. Organizations in the health and welfare field are numerous and well developed, as will be indicated, but it should be noted that program leadership and coordinating service is offered by national agencies to communities in other fields as well. Prominent among such national organizations are the National Recreation Association, the American Association for Adult Education, and the American Council on Race Relations.[20] In Canada, an organization with a broad purpose, the Canadian Citizenship Council, has published community guidebooks as part of its program of stimulating a greater application of democracy as a way of life.[21]

The Council on Intergovernmental Relations has been active in recent years, particularly in five counties where demonstration projects have been conducted. Local councils have been formed in these places to organize citizen interest in the quality of local government and its relation to Federal and state services. This program, financed by the Spelman Fund, has had the support of Federal administrators and cannot, strictly speaking, be classified as a voluntary organization. It is noteworthy, however, because its objectives are stated in terms of intergovernmental cooperation as well as increased citizen participation in local affairs. There is some evidence that local leaders have become more articulate and active as

[19] See Office of Civilian Defense, *The Community Council: A Natural Outgrowth of the Defense Council.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945. This bulletin is summarized together with two others in Chapter VIII. See also Devine, Thomas, "Community Organization Under Public Auspices: From the Federal Viewpoint," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1944.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. Pp. 402–409.

[20] References to publications and activities of these organizations were made in Chapters XIII, XIV, and XV.

[21] One of these publications, *Community Councils* by Murray G. Ross, has been quoted in Chapters VIII and XVI.

a result of this program and that experience has been gained that can be useful to public administrators at various levels.[22]

In the health and welfare field, there are three major kinds of national organizations:[23]

1. Those which are the creation of local member agencies. The Young Men's Christian Associations and the Young Women's Christian Associations are examples of organizations with local affiliates which are based on individual memberships. On the other hand, agency memberships constitute the major constituency of the Family Service Association of America and the Child Welfare League of America among others.

2. Those which were created nationally and have planted local units in communities, as for example, the American Red Cross and the Boy Scouts of America.

3. A smaller number which have no local organized member agencies, but are maintained by individual memberships, as in the case of the National Child Labor Committee and the National Probation Association.

The work of national health and welfare agencies in relation to local communities has been summarized by Robert E. Bondy.

> The continuing national services to locals are varied, largely because they must be tailored to fit the local service needs. Yet they have certain common denominators. Program formulation and guidance is a service given by practically all national organizations to their locals. It includes program material, exchanges of program experience, definition of program and service standards, bulletins and publications on program matters, consultation service through national staff members.
>
> Services of national field and consultant staff members to locals

[22] Council on Intergovernmental Relations. *Grass Roots: A Report and an Evaluation.* Washington, September, 1947. Counties included were Blue Earth County, Minnesota; Henry County, Indiana; Colquitt County, Georgia; Santa Clara County, California; and Skagit County, Washington. *Team Study Report Henry County Council on Intergovernmental Relations,* New Castle, Indiana, Visit: April 30–May 1, 1947. Mimeographed report available from National Planning Association, Washington, D.C.

[23] This and some of the points made later in this chapter are based on discussion of Local-National Relationships at the 1947 Great Lakes Institute sponsored by Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

is one of the most important national services. . . . Their service includes speaking before local groups; making studies of the community or of the program of the organization itself; offering specialized consultation; planning and administering regional conferences; advising on local organization problems of relationships, budget, and finance; and supervising and guiding local program.

In personnel matters national organizations give valuable service in standard-setting, job classification, general salary schedules for local adaptation, recruiting for local staff needs, and extensive induction and in-service training projects. The recruiting, training, and placement of personnel is of great importance in national-local service relations. The far-flung services of national organizations to locals in separate personnel matters merits a comprehensive article in itself.

Supply and equipment services of nationals are important to most locals, especially those in youth-serving and group work fields. The economy and improved quality achieved through central national purchase and distribution are obvious values.

Research by national organizations into basic social problems, as well as into the program and administration of organizations, has made a sound contribution to the existing body of knowledge.[24]

Since the national agencies derive their support from local sources and define their purposes in terms of service to communities, it is inevitable that they face the recurrent question from local leaders, "What do we get for our money?" This is a difficult question since the content of national programs is somewhat intangible, and services which may be described as "standard setting" or "coordination" are not easily described or evaluated. Community chests in reviewing member agency budgets are called on to approve dues and other expenditures to support national agencies in various specialized fields. The need for increased and improved interpretation of national programs is therefore, being recognized and the possibilities of budget review at the national level, which might result in an equitable apportionment of expenses among communities is being studied.[25]

[24] Bondy, Robert E., "National Roots in Local Soil—The Place of National Organizations in the American Scene," *Community*, 22: 168–170 plus. May, 1947. P. 170.

[25] *On the Alert*, bulletin published by Community Chests and Councils, Inc., July 18, 1947.

Another problem in national-local relationships in the health and welfare field which is being studied is that of coordination of field services. It has been estimated[26] that seven hundred field representatives of both public and private agencies serve local communities in various ways, such as the recruiting and training of personnel and consultation on agency operations. There is no indication of serious overlapping of functions on the part of these field representatives but problems frequently arise as to the timing of visits and the initiation of local studies and projects. Pooling of information between field personnel has been suggested as a minimum form of inter-agency cooperation, which might lead to more joint planning by related agencies, locally and nationally.[27]

Inter-agency cooperation in wartime demonstrated some of the possibilities of joint planning among national agencies as well as unified approaches to local communities. American War Communities Services was composed of six national organizations.[28] Its limited budget prevented the development of a full program, but one of its projects, in Gary, Indiana, is an outstanding example of united work in relation to local needs. Through cooperative study and conferences of national and local people, priorities were agreed upon in the expansion of services in Gary.[29]

The United Service Organizations is a well-known example of war-born cooperation among national agencies. The kinds of cooperative experience participated in by six national agencies in USO[30] have been grouped in ten categories:

[26] See footnote 23.

[27] The Office of Community War Services regional staff meetings and conferences, described earlier in this chapter, indicate some of the possibilities in this respect.

[28] American Federation of International Institutes, Child Welfare League of America, Family Service Association of America, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, National Organization of Public Health Nursing, and National Urban League.

[29] Swoverland, Leonard, "Experiment in Gary: Six National Agencies and One Local Council Demonstrates That Joint Planning Gets Results," *Community*, 22: 24–26, October, 1946.

[30] National Catholic Community Service, National Jewish Welfare Board, National Travelers Aid Association, Salvation Army, Young Men's Christian Associations, and Young Women's Christian Associations.

1. Discussing common problems;
2. Conferring with governmental officials;
3. Interpreting needs and services jointly;
4. Joint fund raising;
5. Establishing inter-agency understandings;
6. Providing co-ordinated consultative services to local communities;
7. Working together on personnel matters;
8. Defining standards of workmanship;
9. Providing common headquarters services;
10. Planning and operating local services together.[31]

With special reference to USO, national-local relationships are summarized:

Local autonomy has been a strong tradition in American life, in government and in education, as well as in social welfare services. Local responsibility has had great value. Different degrees of national control, in peacetime services, existed among the USO agencies. Some of them, especially the National Travelers Aid Association, were organized as federations, with little national control over local units. The National Jewish Welfare Board, The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have had certain requirements for membership in the national body through which some control has been exercised. The Salvation Army has had almost total control, through its territorial offices, over its local units. The National Catholic Community Service operated under a national Board of Bishops but was also influenced by a strong tradition of diocesan control. These different bases of national-local relationships influenced the USO work of these agencies. Some agencies were willing to give local operating committees and councils considerable authority. Some community leaders expected, even demanded a degree of control; it was their community in which the services were organized; their community had helped provide the funds. Yet national responsibility was inherent in the USO plan. In many local communities, too, responsible local leadership was limited in numbers and experience. A mixture of national-local responsibility was

[31] Johns, Ray, *The Cooperative Process Among National Social Agencies.* New York: Association Press, 1946. P. 34. This study includes historical and current data on other national agencies and cooperative efforts. Problems encountered in developing consensus which is basic to joint planning and operations are indicated on p. 148. Ever present is the problem of "sovereignty," pp. 167 ff.

eventually developed for USO Councils and operating committees of operations staffed by two or more agencies. The different agencies gave varying degrees of responsibility to the local groups in single agency operations; some local committees were only advisory; others carried operating responsibility, restricted to USO policies and with limited authority over personnel. In practice, an increasing degree of local responsibility was progressively developed, and agency regional supervisors, as representatives of the national organizations, and local committee and council workers, worked quite satisfactorily together.[32]

Johns notes some pressure from local communities in the direction of increased cooperation among national agencies,[33] and this is perhaps the long-run significance of the AWCS and USO programs.

The National Social Welfare Assembly organized in 1945 is a venture in cooperation of private and public agencies concerned with health and welfare services. With headquarters in New York City, the Assembly works closely with other national coordinating bodies, especially the National Health Council and the National Education-Recreation Council. The Assembly has an active Youth Division which carries on the work started by the Associated Youth-Serving Organizations, Inc., organized in 1943. Its Social Case Work Council is also engaged in studies and committee work to express the common interests of member agencies. In many ways the Assembly may be compared with a council of social agencies in a community. It addresses itself particularly to problems of national importance, services to veterans being an outstanding example,[34] and to inter-agency relationships, particularly through a Committee on Field Service Cooperation which is concerned with the problem already stated. In Canada, the Canadian Welfare Council has similar national coordinating functions.

The National Conference of Social Work sponsors an elaborate annual meeting which brings together laymen and professional workers by the thousands for a review of developments, clarification

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[34] See Chapter XV for reference to an Assembly publication on community responsibility for the needs of veterans.

of purposes and exchange of ideas about current practice. A well-established organization, the National Conference of Social Work celebrated its 75th anniversary in 1948. Its annual published proceedings are reflections of the development of social work thought and practice.

NEW TRENDS

Federal governmental and voluntary agencies have been considered separately, but there is evident a growth in public-private agency cooperation in the welfare field. This corresponds to a similar trend noted in local welfare planning in Chapter XII. Consultation among agencies, much of it informal, has served to set the stage for joint planning. For example, the welfare Committee of the Office of Community War Services during World War II brought together officers and executives of agencies on a broad scale.[35]

State-wide organization in the welfare field is being considered and undertaken to provide an intermediary between national and local agencies. This is a counterpart to Federal agencies working with and through state departments of education, health, and welfare. State organization may preserve some of the War Fund experience and it may prove an answer to the field service coordination and budgeting problems of national agencies to which reference has been made. Steps toward state organization have been taken in Massachusetts, while in Michigan, a United Health and Welfare Fund was formed in July, 1947.[36] It should be noted that state conferences of social work, composed of professional and lay members, meet annually. Some of the state bodies have long been active in support of welfare legislation and in continuous education programs. These functions, however are more limited than the fund-raising and inter-agency planning which Michigan and other states are undertaking.

[35] Charles P. Taft, who was the first director of the Office of Community War Services, became the first president of the National Social Welfare Assembly. Ralph Uihlein of Milwaukee was chairman of the OCWS Welfare Committee while he was president of the Family Service Association of America.

[36] "Thunder Over Michigan: The United Health and Welfare Fund of Michigan Is Born in Detroit," *Community*, 23: 4–6, September, 1947.

In other areas of community planning, state and national organizations are providing stimulation and guidance. The increased activity of state governments in the recreation field was noted in Chapter XIII. New York state, as noted in Chapter VIII, has had an outstanding development of community councils assisted in their growth by a state council which was a wartime development sponsored by the defense council and the state department of education. Other states are assisting local communities to organize for planning, notably in Michigan and Virginia, through university extension programs. National organizations have issued publications, some of which have been quoted, and have given leadership in other ways toward increased participation of their members in local planning. The League of Women Voters, the national labor organizations, and the United States Chamber of Commerce, among others, are stimulating local activity.

Finally, a heightened interest in proposals for a Federal cabinet position to represent interest in education, health, and security has major significance for its potential in focusing attention and leadership on community problems. In 1946, Senators Fulbright and Taft introduced a bill to provide for a Department of Health, Education, and Security. President Truman in his 1947 annual message recommended a "well-integrated Department of Welfare." A Committee representative of national organizations in the fields concerned has recommended a cabinet department of health, education, and security. Actually, such a move would mean a conversion and elevation in status of the Federal Security Agency.[37]

There are practical problems involved in such reorganization. Health officials would not want to be subordinated within a larger agency or come under the direction of laymen. Educators have expressed some concern about losing their identity and also of becoming associated with traditional attitudes toward relief and wel-

[37] *Report of the Committee on a Federal Department of Health, Education, and Security,* sponsored by American Council on Education and National Social Welfare Assembly. New York: National Social Welfare Assembly, 1947.
In 1949, the part of the President's Reorganization Plan No. 1 which would have created a federal Department of Welfare was defeated by action of Congress.

fare services, in spite of the emerging concept of social security which might be more strongly expressed in a new department. It seems likely therefore, that a new Federal department would have a tri-partite organization, with somewhat separate divisions of health, education, and security. There is a question, therefore, whether apart from the added prestige that would be accorded to welfare services, broadly defined, a department with cabinet status would be able to exert leadership in broad gauge planning related to community problems.

Among the possible activities which have been indicated for a Federal department of "social affairs" are expansions of existing services, particularly those related to recreation, youth needs, and consumer problems. It has also been suggested that activities in the community organization field would be an appropriate Federal function, meaning by this what has been partially described in this chapter—"stimulation and assistance in the closer coordination and integration, through planning councils or otherwise, of the various public and private efforts, social and civic, for the improvement of community and family betterment."[38]

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CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XVIII

Community Welfare: The Broader Focus

The many variations that have been presented in both the form and purpose of community organization and planning may now be viewed in broader perspective. Community planning has been thought of as a process, an activity of the participants, a network of dynamic relationships, and at the same time as a method, the skills involved in the guidance given by professional workers. It is planning as an ongoing process that has been stressed, not a planned society; even the so-called planned communities that have been described are subject to continuous stock-taking and readjustments. Goals and stages of development there will be, but growth and the interplay of functions in communities calls for planning as a continuing activity.

Despite all that may be said as to patterns and principles of organization, one salient insight is that planning requires the exercise of the disciplined imagination, for which there is no set of rules. We are dealing with a creative undertaking, and like all significant human relationships, there is an element of the artistic involved. Many of the records of achievement that have been cited suggest strongly that the role of one or of a few individuals is a central factor; their resourcefulness is the indeterminate element, and their leadership releases energies and abilities of participants. There is evidence of "public spirit" in latent forms, and the unexpected results that are often noted in community ventures give to the participants the satisfaction of creativity in a group setting.

If these chapters have said anything between the lines, it is that people are important. They are the ends and the means, the mean-

ing behind the procedures. The stress on the reciprocal aspects of leadership and participation, however, has not overlooked the practical difficulties involved in overcoming mass inertia and habits that often spell defeatism in communities. In recognition of these impediments, the community organization process includes conscious, intelligent efforts to arouse interest which are appropriate to the complexity and impersonality of large scale living and which do not do violence to the freedom of the individuals concerned. Again, the stress on development and progressiveness within communities does not imply Utopian perfectionism, but a reasonable effort to do more than community housekeeping and mere subsistence living. The values of cooperation and of democratically achieved consensus, have been implied without overlooking the actual and potential cleavages of an economic and ethnic sort which stand in the way of achieving the experience of community. In many ways, as have been described, people have learned to do more for themselves than they thought possible, through conscious organization and planning.

The main characteristics of community planning as a systematic process have been indicated in several contexts. First and throughout, a solid groundwork of facts is essential. This may seem a survey for inventory and reconnaisance purposes, but obviously not just one, once for all. There needs to be continuous respect for facts to give firmness to discussions. Equally important is the selection of goals, deliberately, progressively. The determination of goals and policies calls for democratic participation, from the point of view that has been developed, both in respect to pragmatic considerations and to the social values involved.

In both the fact-finding and the goal-selection, professional help is usually needed to give continuity and to add technical knowledge and experience. The peculiar quality of leadership exercised by professionals in community planning has been noted as facilitating, not interfering with, citizen initiative. Follow-through of committee discussions and of decisions that require execution in detail might be lacking for want of a professional worker with time and ability to carry on and to coordinate several phases of related activities. It is a teamwork of professional and layman that brings together the

skills, the enthusiasm, the patience, and the vision that is required in community planning.

Planning is a two-way process. Its fundamental principle is interaction between experts and experience, between specialists and the people. The chief contribution which comes from the experience of the people is a sense of need and a sense of justice. Specialists may be so preoccupied with notions of efficiency that they may overlook the fact that some people might prefer to suffer certain wants rather than abandon certain rights. Efficiency may be imposed upon the people at too high a price in human values. When this happens, the people will either become servile pawns of the experts, or they will revolt. If they choose the former alternative, they will then become the channels through which the forces of dictatorship easily flow. If, on the other hand, the people insist that planning, since it ostensibly involves their needs, must also become a process of their consent, they may prevent planned societies from becoming regimented societies. . . .

Planning is in one sense merely a recognition of growing interdependence. Its major goal is to substitute orderly processes of problem-solving for the remaining remnants of anarchy which still persist in modern societies.[1]

It is in this sense that no single pattern of organization can be suggested for the attack on problems confronting communities. Councils, committees, and boards—temporary or relatively permanent as the case may be—must be adapted in form to the composition of institutions and the traditions of the given community. Particularly evident as the size of the city increases, there will be greater differentiation in organization with responsibility for areas of planning assigned to specialized bodies. In the largest metropolitan centers, then, the problem of coordinating the coordinators looms large, and the difficulty of getting a total view of the community becomes correspondingly great. In a community of any size, the job is one of achieving collaboration and consensus among specialists, both professionals and citizens with special interests. We have basically a problem of communication, and it is hoped that this volume may serve to create more of a common language among

[1] Lindeman, Eduard C., *Leisure—A National Issue;* Planning for the Leisure of a Democratic People. New York: Association Press, 1939. Pp. 34, 41.

specialists, as well as a sensitivity to the frontiers of community action.

There are many starting points possible in community planning, and enough in each of several spheres—transportation, health, recreation, race relations, as examples—to keep people usefully and creatively occupied. At the same time a large view will recognize interrelationships, between the several kinds of community services, and basically between the physical and the social aspects of community planning. Even with specialization there can be marginal attention to related problems so as to achieve balance and comprehensiveness in planning. Here again the professional worker is needed to temper impulsive enthusiasms for panaceas or tangential developments and to hold together the easily tangled lines connecting parts of the community.

The two-way relationship between planning activities in local and larger units has been presented as it applies to the parts of a large city in their tie-up with the city as a whole, as well as in the relationships between local communities and state, regional, and national forms of organization. Grass-roots discussion means initiative and the close-to-home checking of paper plans with experience and localized needs. On the other hand, the city, the region, or the largest units of government have material resources and broader experience to draw on to help communities to lift themselves, sometimes with the borrowed bootstraps of funds or technical consultants. With the local community as the starting point, the participants have a sense of something tangible, within the realm of familiar experience, however far the activity may later lead in the directions of inter-city cooperation or of state and Federal action. The community unit is a handle to help grasp the vastness of modern society.

Moreover, the interdependence within communities that has been delineated does not suggest autonomy of any but the most abnormal, isolated hermit-like areas. On the contrary, while attention has been focused on local communities, the community in the larger sense of economic, political, and social interdependence is an obvious reality. Therefore, there has been attention to national and

Federal relationships to communities. Certainly national planning, in a broad, democratic sense, is increasingly imperative to the welfare of localities. Without stable prosperity and peace in the world, the welfare of local communities is imperiled. With widespread and skillful participation in community planning, the local units of common life can become increasingly strong as the underpinnings of democratic society. The supreme choice in contemporary society need not be between laissez faire individualism and dictatorship: the course that can be experienced progressively, locally and on a larger scale, lies toward freedom with and through planning.

APPENDIX

Films Related to Community Organization and Planning

THE GROWTH OF CITIES, URBAN REDEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

The City, Museum of Modern Art Film Library, 1939, 30 minute sound. Commentary by Lewis Mumford. This has become a "classic" in the field.

Growth of Cities, Encyclopedia Brittanica Films, Inc., 1942. 11 minutes sound.

Arteries of the City, Encyclopedia Brittanica Films, Inc., 1941. 11 minutes sound.

This film considers various factors influencing the development of a city's transportation facilities. This and GROWTH OF CITIES were produced with Robert S. Lynd as collaborator.

Urban Community in America, Bureau of Visual Aids, University of Illinois, Champaign, Illinois, 1948.

This film showing relationships between physical structures and social functions in communities was produced for use with college classes studying urban sociology and city planning. Examples are drawn mainly from mid-western American cities.

The Way We Live, British Information Service, 1947. 64 minutes sound.

Planning, with citizen participation, for the rebuilding of Plymouth is described.

The Proud City, British Information Service, 1947. 26 minutes, sound.

A comprehensive plan for London is presented.

DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

Democracy, Encyclopedia Brittanica Films, 1946. 11 minutes, sound. *Despotism,* same producer and same length, is the companion film.

Harold D. Lasswell was the collaborator in the preparation of these films. DEMOCRACY is aimed at developing "a keen appreciation for the

meaning of democracy by analyzing four major concepts on which there is a substantial body of agreement. Points out that a true democracy is characterized by at least two signs: Shared Respect and Shared Power. Clarifies the meaning of democracy still further by considering two conditions favoring its development: Economic Balance and Enlightenment." Quoting further from the EBF catalog, DESPOTISM "provides a penetrating analysis of the true meaning of depotism. Reveals that any community can be rated somewhere along a scale from complete democracy to complete despotism." The marks of despotism are the opposite of the criteria of democracy, already mentioned.

Experimental Studies in Social Climates of Groups. State University of Iowa, 1940. 30 minutes, sound.

This is based on the research of Kurt Lewin and others. See bibliography of Chapter IX and XV.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

Who Is My Neighbour? National Film Board of Canada, 1946. 23 minutes, sound.

Produced in cooperation with the Canadian Welfare Council, and shows the growth of welfare agencies and of the community chest movement in Canada.

Make Way For Youth, Association Films, 1947. 22 minutes, sound. Produced by the Youth Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

The actors are teen-agers from Madison, Wisconsin, and the Youth Council of that city is typical of the pattern of organization described. For reference to the Madison Youth Council, see Chapter XI.

Playtown U.S.A., Association Films, 1946. 23 minutes, sound.

The film describes community organization for year-round, all-age recreation programs. Decatur, Illinois, is the city whose program is described. A report of this is quoted in Chapter XIII.

Film and You, National Film Board of Canada, 1948. 20 minutes, sound.

The film shows how Canadian film councils are organized and what such an organization can do for a community.

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Near Home, International Film Bureau, 1946. 25 minutes, sound. Produced by British Information Service.

It describes the study of a community by a class, and the presentation by the class of an exhibit of maps and charts of local interest.

Lessons in Living, Brandon Films, Inc., 1945. 22 minutes, sound. Produced by National Film Board of Canada.

It shows how a school project revitalized a community by giving the children a part in community life.

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