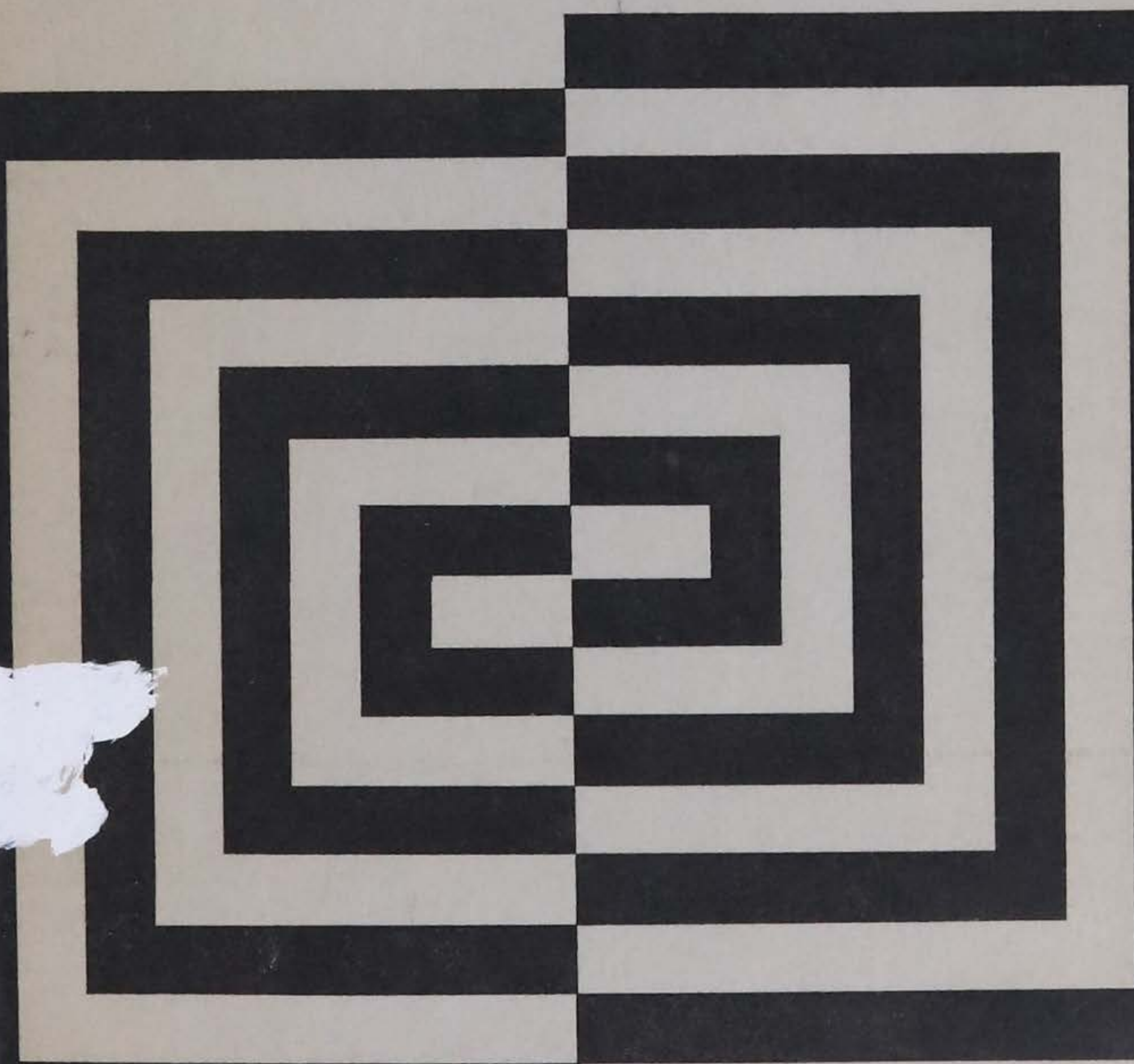


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Strengthening Government Organizations in Changing Communities

Institute of Public Affairs
The University of Iowa

Proceedings of the Fifth Annual
Urban Policy Conference October 3-4, 1968



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Foreword

The essays in this publication were presented at the fifth annual Urban Policy Conference held at The University of Iowa on October 3 and 4, 1968.

Each year's Urban Policy Conference is directed to some aspect of the contemporary urban community. Past sessions have dealt with: "dimensions of urbanization," "urban development," "community leadership and decision-making," and "cities of the future." This year's theme—"strengthening government organizations in changing communities"—continues this direction. It is hoped that the Conference has provided some new perspectives to those concerned with the quality of life in our communities.

Urban Policy Conferences are cosponsored by the Institute of Public Affairs, Iowa City Managers' Association, League of Iowa Municipalities, and the Large Cities Group.

Dean Zenor, *Director*
Institute of Public Affairs

January, 1969

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The Changing Concepts of Community

RANDY H. HAMILTON^o

I am weary of policy prescriptions that tell us we "must" do such-and-such within the next "X" years. Or, that "unless" we do thus-and-so by a week from next Tuesday, the system of American government will proceed netherward in a handbasket.

We stand on the shoulders of giants. Our descendants will look upon our times of turbulence with precisely the admiration we have for our forebears because we have equal courage to face the problems and to move forward with the unique American experiment of self-government. I open my remarks by declaring that I am an urbanist-optimist. I am optimistic because we have never stopped redesigning governmental structures for changing communities in the United States. Any notion that we have or that the process has slowed down is simply wrong. We shall continue to redesign and improve our governmental machinery. It is not as though this is a new idea. By 2000 A.D., our concepts of community and local government will seem as different as those of the 1700s seem to us. Why shouldn't they be? What is there that causes anyone to think otherwise?

As Professor Raymond Vernon has pointed out, there is a "striking disparity" between the literature of protest and the fact that the clear majority of Americans "who live in urban areas look on their lifetime experience as one of progress and improvement, not as one of retrogression; . . . they see their lot as being better than that of their parents and confidently expect their children to do a little better still."¹

Let me use some illustrations to indicate the constant changes and improvements which give rise to my optimism:

Housing—In the mid-nineteenth century teeming slums and conditions of life in nearly all of our cities were incredibly shocking—even by the middle-class standards of the time. "By contrast," as Vernon notes, "the contemporary slum areas of East St. Louis and Philadelphia appear benign." We have

^oExecutive Director, Institute for Local Self Government, Berkeley, California

¹R. Vernon, *The Myth and Reality of Our Urban Problems* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

dramatically improved housing conditions and reduced the stock of substandard housing since 1950. The best available census data we have indicates that the number of substandard housing units declined from 14.8 million in 1950 to about 8.4 million in 1960. While 15 per cent of our population still lives in substandard housing, only two-thirds of that percentage do so in urban areas. The impressive decrease of substandard housing stock occurred despite the fact that almost one-million metropolitan housing units went from white to nonwhite occupancy. Almost 30 per cent of all Negro families living in metropolitan areas occupied housing which ten years previously had been occupied by whites. The number of Negro families living in substandard housing decreased 20 per cent in the ten-year period from 1950 to 1960—2.8 million families to 2.3 million.²

Transportation—The evidence indicates that the transportation problem was much more acute in the past than it now is for a considerable majority of urban dwellers. A century ago, New York's downtown area was "a jumble of brewery drays, horse trolleys, hackney coaches and steam locomotives." The situation was so acute that the city built overhead pedestrian ways to separate the battlefield's occupants. Contemporary photographs at the time of World War I show the mad, mad, whirl of downtown traffic on the streets of all eastern cities to be nothing short of chaos. Thirty years ago, the mass transit facilities of all our major cities were filled to the bursting point during rush hours and reached peaks of discomfort for the middle- and lower-income commuter which has not been matched since that time.

Public Services—Who here will doubt that our public urban services are incomparably better than they were? The history of American cities until the very recent past is filled with accounts of epidemics generated by polluted water supplies, of streets that could not be traversed because of water and mud 25 per cent of the time, of roaring conflagrations in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, San Francisco, Boston, and other cities that went unchecked because of the pitiful level of firefighting services, and of corrupt and compliant courts and police. Lincoln Steffens' characterization of the St. Louis of 1904 was true of most major cities of the time:

The visitor is told of the wealth of the residents, of the financial strength of the banks, and of the growing importance of the industries, yet he sees poorly-paved, refuse-burdened streets and dusty or mud-covered alleys; he passes a ramshackle fire-trap crowded with the sick and learns that it is the City Hospital; . . . he calls at the New City Hall and finds half the entrance boarded with pine planks to cover up the unfinished interior. Finally, he turns a tap in the hotel, to see liquid mud flow into wash-basin or bath-tub.³

² B. J. Frieden, *Housing Conditions in the U.S.* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1967).

³ Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York: McClure, Phillips, 1904), p. 31.

I could easily take up my allotted time with further illustrations. But, the point I think is already made and it explains my optimism.

This is not to say that we too will not be beset with times that try men's souls. And, while suburban ladies may wish that somehow it would all go away, I think that the majority of Americans will wrestle with the problems and solve them in fulfillment of Holmesian philosophy that as "life is action and passion it is required of man that he should share the passion and action of his time at the peril of being judged not to have lived."

It is not surprising that this year's Annual Urban Policy Conference has as its theme, strengthening government organizations in changing communities. It is equally unsurprising that local governmental structures are not perfectly suited to the nature of today's population in cities, nor their needs. Certainly, local governments today represent the needs, values, services, functions, structures, and attributes suited to white middle-class America. Rather than castigating local governments for it, I choose to commend them. I do so because if the characterization is true, then it is also true that local self-government is responsible to the needs of its inhabitants, *has* been in tune with its population and has, in fact, fulfilled the majority's democratic ideas of local self-government.

Local government structure cannot be damned because it mainly represents middle-class America, and damned if it doesn't represent some other values. Those that suggest the city as being unresponsive to the needs of the disadvantaged members of our society, particularly the nonwhites among us, have a lack of historical perspective that discolors their thought processes. During the past twenty years, *the United States of America has undergone the greatest migration in western history*. In that time we have witnessed a trek unparalleled for distance, magnitude, or effect. Nearly four million people have moved from a rural/agricultural economic base and mode of living to an urban/service economic base and mode of living! This unprecedented mass migration dwarfs any previous population movement in history. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that community institutions largely developed prior to that migration are not perfectly programmed to meet the needs occasioned by the massive human wave which has engulfed them.

Before discussing some proposals for redesigning governmental structure for community change, however, we must continue to separate fact from fancy—myth from reality concerning our local governments and the nature of American cities. Misconceptions abound and intelligent appraisal of the prospects cannot be made until we better understand what exists.

There are more than 20,000 municipalities in the United States. Ninety per cent of them have fewer than 10,000 people. The majority of our cities, in fact, have fewer than 1,500 people.

Since 1920, the percentage of our population living in cities over 250,000 has remained just about stationary. Contrary to popular opinion, we have not become a nation of big cities. Only 10 per cent of our population lives in cities over one million—a percentage not significantly greater than in 1910, while simultaneously the percentage of those living in places of 50,000 or less has increased by 50 per cent.

At the 1960 census, for the first time in half a century, not one state had half its population in a single city! Only two states, New York and Hawaii, had even 40 per cent of their population in a single city. Of the ten largest cities in the United States, only Houston increased both in absolute size and in percentage of total state population, while eight of the ten actually declined in population.

While 70 per cent of our population lives in what are classified as “urban areas,” we must remember that the Census Bureau defines an “urban area” as a place, incorporated or not, of 2,500 or more. Our European friends chuckle at this definition of “urban” and consider our criteria for standard metropolitan statistical areas as laughable. In my own state of California, we have one entire county with thousands of square miles of the Mojave Desert classified as a metropolitan area. Part of Death Valley is even included in the area.

It should also be noted that ours is a mobile population. We are not city dwellers as history has known them to be. We are nomadic city dwellers and I make no apology for that seeming contradiction in terms. Yearly, one-fifth of our population changes its residence. In so doing, about 15 per cent of us change our state of residence. Even within a single city such as New York, according to a recent study by the City University of New York, nearly half of all families living in the city moved from one residence to another within it during the past five years. Consequently, the changing concepts of community must surely be accompanied by realizations that the community is changing so rapidly that social scientists cannot keep abreast of it.

We are also subject to much nonsense about the gobbling up of our land for urban development. The most recent reliable report at hand notes that:

The United States is expected to have a population increase of about 100 million persons between 1967 and the end of the century. Ninety per cent of these new people will be living in cities. Unless a program for building new towns is carried out, 75 to 80 per cent of the population growth is likely to take place in present metropolitan areas. . . . A conservative estimate of the new land required for urban development by the year 2000 is eighteen million acres, or 28,125 square miles—an area approximately equal to the total area of the states of New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. . . .⁴

⁴ U.S. National Commission on Urban Problems, *Problems of Zoning and Land-use Regulation*, by American Society of Planning Officials, Research Report No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 6.

The report, like so much of the literature of doom about our urban situation, is quite misleading in its implications. Twenty-five-thousand square miles is peanuts in a country of over three-million continental square miles. In fact, and in proper context, the area needed to take care of our population growth to the year 2000 is about half the size of Georgia or Illinois, and only 30 per cent of the area of this state, Iowa. This does not represent an insuperable problem. I do not agree with the Report from the National Commission on Urban Problems that land-use regulation of an area as small as this represents any great problems for the existing units of local government.

Although we may grumble about the rising cost of land, there is, in fact, no dearth of land around our urban cores because every urban area can reach out further and faster than it could ten years ago through its various spokes. Orange groves do blossom into split-levels in sunny California. But the acreage taken out of rural use has amounted to vastly less than the added land made congruent to the urban mass by improvements in the highway system. There is no reason to suppose that this process is at an end. Here and there the edge of some urban area may merge with the spreading reaches of another or back up into the natural barrier of a mountain range. For the foreseeable future, however, the land will easily absorb the growing population.

The point of the dragon-slaying I have engaged in for the past quarter hour is not to confuse with statistics but to set the stage for factual treatments of changing communities. Unless we understand the "community" for which we are proposing change, we cannot possibly hope to propound meaningful solutions. We are not a nation of big cities by world standards. We have become a nation of urbs, suburbs, and small towns. The political scientists who bemoan the "fragmentation" of government and stridently call for consolidation as a response to redesigning government structures have, in my opinion, failed to realize what has happened. The decline of large cities and the growth of small ones is in and of itself one of the world's outstanding examples of continuing restructuring and refashioning the instruments of local self government to suit the needs and desires of the *majority* of our population.

Let us turn, then, to the minority of our population. Here I refer to the heart of the core-city areas. This heart tends to be old and black. The rest of this paper is devoted to the kinds of new institutions which are needed in considering our changing concepts of the community. What are the kinds of things involved, what makes them necessary, what responses can be made, what will constitute the second wave of municipal reform in the United States? The objectives of the first wave of reform have largely been achieved. And, they have been achieved despite vast amounts of skepticism

from our fathers who fifty years ago would never have believed that corrupt old city hall could be reformed, for example, to the point where the majority of our city employees would be covered by merit procedures and not be political appointees of the mayor. In less than fifty years, the most popular form of city government for cities over 10,000 has become the council-manager form, a type which did not exist when the first reform wave started.

I suggest that the second wave of reform will be composed of many elements which seem just as strange to us as the elements of the first wave seemed to dear old Dad. The policy arena for highest priority attention is the heart of today's major domestic crisis—the cities. As John Gardner has noted, “the rising and inescapable tide of urbanization brings the combined problems of growth and decay.”

It is true that the disadvantaged have not been reached rapidly and fully enough by even recently augmented means and action. Reaction to deprivation must be action by public officials to correct the root causes of despair and to open new opportunities. The quest for a higher quality of human existence in the city should be reinforced with new ideas, new approaches, new actions. Where existing programs fail to meet targeted needs, they should be revised and reconstituted. Patterns of organization for action, as well as the substance of the action, need critical review in the search for improvement. Great and significant progress has been achieved on the legislative front to attack the deficiencies. Public funds have been vastly increased to serve the purpose. More legislation or funds may be required in the future. But, administrative action by all governments at the local level is the urgent priority. Agencies and jurisdictions will increase sharing of knowledge, understanding, and resources to advance the day for better urban life. We cannot solve this century's problems with last century's government. Our budgets are still based upon objects and things, yet as John Garvey of the National League of Cities has noted, “our services are aimed at the affairs of the people and the goals of our governments.”

While we are trying to humanize our governments, we are lacking in adequate knowledge of the science of human relations, and in the perfection of dependable formulas for human understanding. We need to know more about the behavior of victims of unemployment, poverty, ignorance, and prejudice. We need more case histories of community reorganization such as what I consider to be the most exciting innovation in the changing notion of “community” that is taking place in America today—the East Palo Alto Municipal Council.

East Palo Alto is an unincorporated community located at the southeastern corner of San Mateo County, California. It is a part of the suburban area between San Francisco and San Jose and is surrounded by some of the

most affluent communities in the San Francisco Bay area. It is bounded on three sides by Menlo Park and on the fourth by Palo Alto.

The East Palo Alto population is 65 to 70 per cent Negro. There is very little industrial or commercial development within the community. Although the residential development is primarily of single-family construction, the area is about the most densely developed in the county. On a per capita basis, a dollar property tax levy in the adjacent city of Menlo Park will produce more than three times as much revenue as it will in East Palo Alto. The problems of the area were highlighted in recent years by two reports: one was developed as a part of the county's application for an Office of Economic Opportunity grant, and the second was developed by the San Mateo County Local Agencies Formation Commission in response to a request for annexation to Menlo Park of East Palo Alto's most valuable commercial and apartment area. This information coupled with an increasingly evident desire of the residents of the area to have a strong voice in matters which affect them led the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors to establish the East Palo Alto Municipal Advisory Council.

This Council was established on July 5, 1967, by Resolution of the Board of Supervisors. Under this resolution the:

East Palo Alto Municipal Advisory Council shall advise the Board of Supervisors on matters concerning the government by said Board of that area known as East Palo Alto. Such advice to the Board of Supervisors shall be on all matters concerning the services which are or may be provided to the area by the County or other local governmental agencies, including but not limited to, advice on matters of public safety, welfare, public works, and planning.

It was determined that there would be one councilman elected from each of five districts to be established in the area. The first election was held in conjunction with a Special Congressional Election November 14, 1967. Thirteen area residents filed for the five positions, three each in three of the districts and two each in the other two. Approximately 32 per cent of the registered voters participated in the election of the Council.

Since the inception of the Municipal Council the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors has made a concentrated effort to institutionalize this concept in the community. The Board has made it clear that it will not make decisions bearing on the East Palo Alto area without action by the Municipal Council. In addition, it has consistently approved the requests and recommendations of the Council.

The following are some of the more significant activities of the Council:

1. The Council coordinated the preparation of an application for a \$115,000 Model Cities Planning Grant. This involved about thirty meetings with seven different committees, seven citizens, and public officials in a six-week

period. This provided the foundation for a 200-page application. More than half of the application material was provided by residents of the area.

2. In response to a request for a recommendation on the development of a storm drainage district to serve part of the area not now protected, the Council recommended that plans be developed for the only remaining unprotected area (which shares its storm drainage problems with adjacent parts of Menlo Park) and that action be taken on both areas at once. This has been done and the County is now cooperating with the City of Menlo Park in the preparation of an application for a \$1.6-million federal grant to assist the project.

3. Immediately following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, the Council organized a Citizen's Patrol and took over patrol of the area. The Sheriff's Department pulled out all regular patrol cars during the evening and the Citizen's Patrol served in keeping trouble from starting. A group of businessmen from the adjoining areas provided rental cars, walkie-talkie radios, and other equipment for the patrol.

4. After holding a public hearing, the Council recommended that the County prepare engineering plans and initiate an assessment district to provide for the improvement of a major section of Bay Road, a community arterial. Adjacent property owners will pay their share of the cost of improving the street to residential standards and the County will pay for the cost of widening the street and improving it to major arterial status.

5. The Council appointed a Citizens' Advisory Committee to work with the Probation Department in the initiation of a branch of the Probation Office in the East of Bayshore Community. This program will include the hiring of community residents in "New Career" positions and as "Probation Aides."

In addition to the above, the Council has been concerned with a number of other activities including zone changes, traffic signs, street lights, an architectural study for a Civic Center, consideration of a name change (Nairobi has been suggested), consideration of the abatement of non-conforming land use, and initiation of a Community Design Center employing an architect to assist people in the community.

The Council has also been asked to designate representatives to the following countywide organizations: Regional Planning Committee, Mayors' Association, and Comprehensive Health Planning Council.

To carry on its work the Council has been assigned the full-time services of the County Manager's Executive Assistant and a secretary. Additionally, numerous County departments have responded to Council requests for assistance. Frequent assistance has been provided by the District Attorney, County Engineer, and County Planning. The Council offices and chamber are located at the East Palo Alto Municipal Center, 1657 Bay Road, East Palo Alto.

The changing concepts of "community" in American local government during the next few years will cause the engagement in and the embarkation upon many and varied activities and functions keyed to these changing ideas.

Architects strive for a spirit of harmony, unity, and wholeness by following the dicta that "form follows function." The architects of local governments could do well to adapt this notion to its structure—function should follow the form of community organization.

Let me lay out for you some of the things which are today uncommon in the local government public service but which, in keeping with changing notions of community, will be quite common within very few years.

Cities Should Engage in Social Planning Activities

There is a department of city planning in nearly all city halls of cities over 25,000 in the United States. For the most part, they have forgotten people and emphasized things. Urban planners have failed to collaborate with their "clients" the city dwellers. The present approach to city planning smacks of the Renaissance period with the present-day "patron" usually a director of planning or redevelopment who concentrates on urban design. The amount of contact between the designer and the user of the environment is minimal.

The conventional model of city planners is still the City of Things. Professor Bertram M. Gross of Syracuse University views the old hard good techniques of zoning, building regulation, subdivision control, and capital budgeting as insufficient to cope with, as he put it to the 1966 annual meeting of the American Institute of Planners, "pressing urban problems of post-industrial America in the emerging world society. . . . The idea of city planning as physical planning alone has been riddled with bullets on the streets of Watts and Harlem. The body stinks. Let's bury it quickly."

Most city planning today fails to come to grips with the most pressing issues of social organization and interaction, while nevertheless appearing to deal with these matters through treatment of segmental components of life in cities. Certain phenomena that can be treated in a variety of ways are seldom treated by city planners as social problems. For example, mental retardation is seldom looked upon as a social problem, nor is prostitution, alcoholism, or juvenile delinquency. I have seen no city plans that treat the alienation of youth in the cities. There is little treatment of the aged in terms of social and psychological factors in the lives of people over 65. There is very infrequent treatment of the too common "skid row" community (except as physical blight). There are enough skid rows in our cities to consider the social problems, too. Most city planners view this as an economic not a social problem.

Cities should engage in social planning activities. Fewer than a half-dozen cities have a department of social planning, and even where they exist they are organizationally separated from the city planning department.

City plans do not mention the vicious cycle of welfare subsistence. City plans, where they treat employment issues at all, assume that somehow if we offered low-income Negroes the same incentives that we offer middle-income whites, the Negro unemployment problem would be solved. But, jobs alone are not enough. The culture of many in the core city is heavily influenced by antiemployment incentives. The great hero is the bookie or the pimp, not the man who goes out to make \$1.60 an hour. This fact of core-city life must be faced if city planning is to be related to reality.

Some summary review of the reasons for the lack of city social planning seems appropriate. First, let me mention the magnitude of social planning responsibility. Community behavior is difficult to analyze comprehensively, let alone plan. Moreover, there are apparent dangers in social planning. The threat of totalitarian approaches to social planning should not, however, provide an excuse for avoiding the development of social planning altogether. Second, the basic objectives of social planning may be beyond the achievement of city planners. Man retains a self-directing capability that defies any attempt to treat him as a simple reactor to stimuli. We are reluctant to undertake social planning because we know that community values cannot be influenced as readily as physical environment. We cannot predict results and unpredictability utilizing public funds is not very palatable to public officials. Third, the political costs of attempting social planning are very high and city planners fear the loss of other planning opportunities if they attempt social planning. Last, the specific history of the legislative mandates for planning has, to date, not opened specific opportunities for social planning.

If city planners continue to talk about physical resources and physical planning and continue to make reference to this as planning "for the people," and yet fail to deal with the basic facts of community existence, there is every reason for people to pay little attention to the planner's recommendations, to say the least. Planners can talk about amenities or benefits, and they can talk about the need for controlling the use of space so that we can all enjoy a fuller life, but we still have to come to grips with the fact that millions of Americans live below the poverty line.

If city planners turned to social planning in a minimization of their traditional fascination with physical planning, they would be able to build their plans into something more meaningful politically. They would then not continue to be frustrated as their plans go awry in the legislative processes in cities. If city planning is intended to have the *minimal* impact on the life of

the people, then we should say just that in the plan. The words would read something like:

“This plan is not designed to affect the lives of the people of communities in this city, just the physical environment.”

If, on the other hand, city planning explicitly tries to affect the lives of the people, then we ought to do it as explicitly as possible. Modern-day city planning requires the spelling out of the social consequences. The opportunities are particularly significant in the light of “the politics of planning”; i.e., social planning presents a chance for city planning activities to fit in with the needs of community leaders in the city at this time in our urban history.

City Halls Must Be Innovative

With so many city halls in the country, their activities and responses to changing community conditions typify the glass-half-full-or-half-empty-of-water conundrum. Multitudinous innovations are occurring at a rapid rate. Some cities are imaginatively using existing line departments as instruments for social change. Even so “stuffy” a department as the city treasury may be so utilized. For example, commonly, cities deposit their funds in one or a few downtown branches of large banks. Some cities have begun to spread their deposits around to neighborhood banks or small branches of the larger banks, guaranteeing a minimum annual “float” of public deposits and thus creating lendability in those banks. In return for these deposits, the banks must agree to utilize their increased lending ability for city-suggested, socially desirable purposes (suited to intracity communities) such as loans to small neighborhood business, or loans to nonwhite or minority-controlled businesses and industries, or for neighborhood improvement projects.

Banks that serve as depositories for city funds are now being required by some cities to certify that their hiring and promotion policies are free from discrimination. Going beyond traditional FEPC requirements the new dimension includes the necessity to report annually to the mayor or city council concerning the positive steps taken to prevent discrimination.

City courts are rapidly changing traditional bail-bond procedures. Bail on one's own recognizance is now becoming commonplace for the poor as well as the rich. Similarly, for an increasing number of alleged misdemeanor offenses, a simple summons-subpoena is being issued. It is similar to a traffic violation summons, requiring appearance in court to answer the charge, without the involved, expensive, time-consuming, and demeaning process of booking and logging of the offender in the precinct or central police headquarters.

Recreation departments are being used, increasingly, to fulfill community

goals. Their potentials are just being tapped and one sees more and more "happenings" and similar activities designed to fit the city for its people. "Keep off the grass" signs are coming down in favor of new administrative policies aimed at utilizing the parks and open spaces for the benefit of all the city's inhabitants.

Even a purchasing department can be innovative and creatively utilized concerning social tensions. Many cities are now requiring as a condition precedent to the award of a contract for construction with public funds, a certification from the general contractor, all subcontractors, and all unions that are involved in the project, that they do not discriminate against minorities. Some are going so far as to require the employment of a specific percentage of minority personnel, in all categories, on public construction jobs. Local government expenditure for new construction totaled \$11.5 billion during the twelve months ended with June, 1967. This was an increase of 9 per cent more than for the year ended with June, 1966. Current new construction expenditures are still increasing and with an average local government outpouring of more than \$1 billion a month, purchasing and contracting agencies of city governments are in a position to affect much social change.

In redevelopment projects, we are finding wider acceptance of demolition activities if the contracts are let to companies using employees from the community itself.

Personnel departments are giving much thought to reorganizing human service agencies (health, education, welfare, corrections, etc.) to better meet human needs. They are developing new sources of manpower to enter the grossly undermanned human service occupations and they are providing useful work with opportunities for personal growth and advancement for unemployed and underemployed people. The growth of the *New Careers* concept has been phenomenal and city halls are in the vanguard in the development of appropriate motivation in the unemployed and underemployed, not only to induce them to accept entry level positions but to create a reservoir of manpower for the middle-line skilled, administrative, technical and professional positions.

Cities Should Become Involved in Consumer Activities

With a possible handful of exceptions, cities in the United States do not engage in consumer services, consumer education, or very much consumer protection. There are few municipal functions, however, which have a longer lineage. Mumford and others assert that when people first came to live together in settled places, there were three initiating causes: protection, availability of water, and the operation of a marketplace. The latter was generally under some set of fair standards for weights, measures, and the ex-

change of whatever was the coin of the realm. Consumer services and protection is nothing new. It is ancient. What is needed in today's America is adaptation to fit our society. It is possible to administer cities with such a goal in mind. To do so would be one way of easing some of the tensions between the people and the cities in which they live.

To improve relationships with citizens of many of its communities, a city should improve the methods it uses to meet their needs. The citizen expects his city to protect him from unscrupulous operators and merchants, all of whom have either a permit or a business license tax from the city prominently displayed. It is fruitless to tell unsophisticated citizens that the business "license" tax really is not a "license" (which implies the power of sanction or revocation), but that it is really a business privilege tax. What is needed is positive administration of the business license tax system in such a way that revocation is certain and sure upon conviction of specified unfair and shady business practices best categorized as a suede shoe operation.

The practices which offend citizens and against which they expect their city to protect them are as infinite and varied as the mind of man.

Cities no longer function mainly as centers of trade and commerce although they certainly perform those functions to an even greater extent than formerly. The city is no longer a place to go on Saturday to buy the week's provisions and take in a moving picture show. The majority of our population now lives in cities. It is in cities that their pursuit of happiness occurs.

The city must function as a suitable place for human existence, for the support and maintenance of life, for the enhancement of civilization. It is remarkable that cities have adjusted to influx and change as well as they have. But, there seems to be a holdover from the past. We have not fully recognized how change in the size, shape, and nature of our cities has caused a necessity for administrative changes to fulfill modern city functions and roles. If explosive growth is manifested in the physical changes which we remark upon every time we come to a part of a city not seen for some time, is it not logical to assume that there is present a similar need for functional, administrative change?

Viewing both the citizen as a consumer of goods and services and the city as a place with broad social problems in many of its communities, there is a necessity for municipal involvement in consumer activities in order to make the city a better place to live—a place that responds to the needs of its citizens and in so doing represents the finest manifestation of man's creativity.

The city dweller is dependent—he is not self-sufficient. He depends on the city for his job, his shelter, his food, and his clothing. He is a producer only in a specialized area—on an assembly line, in a factory, in an office. He

is a single part of a great complex called "a city" which divides its labor to produce and obtain material goods and services for all. The people of a city are consumers. And, while consumers as individuals have problems that differ with age groups, income levels, and educational attainment, they all want satisfaction and value from the goods and services they purchase. Consequently, it is not unreasonable to assume that one of the functions of a modern American city should be to assist them in getting it.

We are living, as President Eisenhower once said, in an economy oriented toward consumption and not toward the consumer. A consumption-directed economy accepts the philosophy that anything goes as long as it makes people buy. A consumer-directed economy, of course, must compete for the consumer's favor, for his acceptance of a product, or his satisfaction with service rendered.

It is a legitimate function of a city to initiate policies and programs that affect the commercial activities within it so that they are consumer directed. This being so, it is surprising to find a mere handful of cities that even profess to having consumer activities as part of their organizational format.

Food prices also tend to rise between 7 and 10 per cent in certain communities when the welfare checks are due. These checks represent the expenditure of tax funds for the specific purpose of improving the social welfare of the city's residents. It does not seem illogical to assume that the city should take positive steps to prevent the dissipation of public welfare payments in the form of artificially raised prices.

I am well aware that most city administrations are not legally involved in the welfare programs. This can, of course, be used as reason for not becoming involved in consumer activities. But, it should then come as no surprise to city officials that citizens in many communities within it may conclude that because of some vague jurisdictional concept which they cannot be expected to comprehend, *their* city and *their* city officials are unconcerned with *their* problems.

By 1980, a little more than half the average city's inhabitants will be in their 20's or younger, with only 30 per cent in the 30-55 age group and 17 per cent 55 years or older. City residents will become consumers at earlier ages.

One of the major sources of trouble for young families is money management, particularly the use of credit. Consumer credit buying is a relatively recent innovation in our economy and while it is a stimulant to the economy it has dangers for the consumer of goods and services.

No less than the young people who are burdened with borrowing mistakes is the problem of the consumer who is economically deprived. Low-income populations tend to be concentrated in inner-city communities. The

low-income consumer not only has no budget cushion to absorb small errors in buying and borrowing, he is also particularly susceptible to making errors. Experience in Watts and elsewhere indicates that he is explosively critical of poor quality goods and services. He complains of exploitation at the hands of money lenders, merchants, and salesmen. He wonders if anybody is listening to him.

It is the responsibility of the city to listen—not only to low-income consumers but to all consumers because they share many common needs. It is the responsibility of the city to act. It is the responsibility of the city to provide consumer services and functions in today's society. Any city could, if it wanted to, tomorrow, pass a municipal ordinance requiring that prices be prominently posted on all articles offered for sale to the public clearly visible to those who can see such merchandise from the public streets.

I suggest municipal retail credit ordinances. Waiting for a national "truth in lending" bill to pass does not appear to be the kind of positive, innovative activity demanded by the times. While my research reveals a split among legal opinion givers concerning municipal control of buying on credit, most city attorneys feel that cities would be sustained in the courts if they attempted to regulate retail credit transactions, if only because of the social dysfunctions now prevalent.

The Federal Trade Commission in a letter to Senator Warren Magnuson recently catalogued a number of what they termed "many types of practices which commonly are used to victimize poor and aged persons." These include:

... bait advertising or the advertising of an attractive offer, not in good faith, for the purpose of obtaining leads. When the prospects respond the salesman disparages the advertised product in order to sell more expensive models.

... referral selling, or the promise of commissions on sales made to friends, relatives, or neighbors. Very seldom does the amount of commissions measure up to expectations.

... false claims that prospect has been specially selected as part of an advertising or introductory promotional program, or that offer will be in effect for a limited time only.

... misrepresentation of credit or finance charges or arrangements.

... selling used or reconditioned products as being new.

... false claims as to safety, health benefits, quality, or performance of product.

Cities are peculiarly well suited to control these practices, much more so than any other level of government. Unfortunately, only a handful make more than a cursory attempt to do so.

Cities Should Improve Their Mechanisms for the Redress of Citizen Grievances

Folklore has it that "you can't fight City Hall." In a democracy, this is

intolerable. Most urban administrations are not sufficiently aware of, much less structured and organized, to provide simple, orderly, inexpensive, widely-known processes for the redress of citizen grievances in keeping with the justice and equity where administrative agencies execute a multitude of regulations. Even if the perfect city existed, its citizens would find some cause for complaint. In a democracy, it is essential that city governments hear and respond so that the perfect city and the not-so-perfect one can provide proper procedures for the redress of citizen grievances.

Cities tend to improvise to meet crisis situations in redressing grievances. More reasoned, orderly public administrative processes could overcome the difficulties of acting only after the panic button has been pushed. We need planned, phased administrative or structural reform that would make cities better able to handle grievances and in the process become demonstrations of success in local self government.

Cities have tended to develop impromptu responses to pressures rather than institutionalizing the necessary changes in administrative organization. As a recent Mayor's Task Force on Reorganization of the government of the City of New York said: "The increasing complexity of modern urban problems calls for more imaginative and creative development of policies, and this in turn requires more sophisticated tools of government . . . to fashion a governmental instrument supple enough to be readily responsible to the policy decisions of the city's elected leaders and efficient enough to deliver municipal services to its people when and where needed. . . ."

Cities operate complex governmental programs based on legal machinery more appropriate to the simple agrarian society of old England from which we inherited our common law base. City officials may be so uncritically enamored of the virtues of our system of common law that they may have not perceived the appearance of novel forms of injustice for which existing procedures for adjudication are inadequate. Under today's urban conditions, large masses of our population cannot obtain redress for many of their grievances (real or imagined).

Analysis of citizen grievances patterns indicates a priority need for municipalities to develop programs designed to identify and ease racial tensions and to involve themselves in social planning. Problems of delinquency, crime, unemployment, family and child welfare, illegitimacy, venereal disease, housing for low-income families and the elderly have become matters of grave and pressing concern. It simply will not suffice to piously proclaim that these are not "traditional" city functions in most cities in the United States. Like it or not, they must become part of the warp and woof of today's local government administrative processes. These are grievances in urban areas, and cities should not allow it to be said of them as was said of Henry

III that he was more pious than wise as he heard mass three times a day, but refused to listen to complaints.

That this is not just an academic or institutional view is indicated by the attention currently being given the matter by many mayors. For them speaks Mayor John H. Reading of Oakland, California, from whom the remainder of this section comes:

Nearly 200 years ago our forefathers dramatized their refusal to be suppressed by authoritarian and unreasonable government with that curious celebration known as the Boston Tea Party. Thus began the heroic struggle Americans have maintained ever since to affirm the rights of individual citizens and to protect them from the weight of impersonal government. In their Declaration several years later the colonists itemized some twenty-eight grievances which they said had been spurned or ignored by the Crown. Efforts to gain redress always failed, they said, because British rulers would not provide a fair hearing and denied even the most elemental rights of the people.

Authors of the document adopted July 4, 1776, spoke of inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and noted that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

No statement is of greater importance to the citizens of this country today. Explosions taking place among the people of our cities express their feeling of hopelessness in a society which they claim is bypassing them by denying their aspirations and ignoring their grievances. City governments are more than ever a target of criticism—not only from the poor and the minorities, but from the educated and the elite. We must sadly acknowledge that a common attitude of the American people toward their own local government is summarized in an old cliché, "You can't fight City Hall."

Many mayors must confront frustrated citizens who feel they have exhausted resources for solving problems through the right channels and who appeal to the chief elected official as their last resort. Dozens of letters, phone calls, and personal visits to my office each month reveal experiences that demand new solutions. These complaints are roughly in five areas:

(1) Confusion regarding complex city procedures, especially for licenses, permits, and hearings.

(2) Administrative processes which have been developed over a period of years and tend to become oppressive and inflexible.

(3) Incidents of unfortunate experience in contact between city employees and the public which give a feeling that the official is indifferent or arrogant and unwilling to help solve a given problem.

(4) Complaints about city service, such as street repair, housing investigation, police protection, and so on.

(5) Dissatisfaction with the laws and ordinances themselves, which seem unfair to the complainer and, in fact, may be unreasonable when rigidly applied.

In addition to these five areas the city is often requested to intervene on behalf of a citizen who feels unjustly treated by a noncity agency such as the county, the state, or other entities beyond their jurisdiction.

The basic problem with existing grievance remedies in the police, as well as other departments, and the justification for a new approach, frankly is the question of public confidence. For a grievances system to work it must have complete trust by the public with whom it deals. Existing procedures in our city simply do not have this confidence, particularly among minority groups who feel the cards are stacked against them. The Ombudsman would help insure proper and sympathetic handling of matters brought to his attention and I believe would deserve and receive confidence of the community. It would serve the public as an unbiased source of explanation or correction of possible abuses. The Ombudsman would also aid government staff by revealing truth; either justifying the action taken by the city employee, and thus clearing the air when false charges are made; or bringing pressure on the department or individual to effect change. The Ombudsman is a counselor, not a commander. The foremost American authority on the subject, Columbia Law Professor Walter Gelhorn, notes that this system helps insure protection of individual rights while guiding the bureaucracy to use its authority reasonably.

Though the idea of the Ombudsman has opposition from many fronts, it is gaining significant endorsement. New York City leaders of the opposition to Mayor Lindsay's Civilian Review Board—aimed solely at the police department—have urged adoption of the Ombudsman because it deals with the full city administration and promises a more effective and equitable method of handling complaints. In Oakland, the Chamber of Commerce Board and the Oakland Tribune Publisher, former Senator William F. Knowland, have urged consideration of the plan.

The City of San Diego has appointed a "Citizen's Assistance Officer" with the full support of the city manager and the city council. The Hawaii Legislature created the first Statewide Ombudsman in this country earlier this year and proposals are currently under discussion in at least a dozen other states. Both houses of Congress have studied legislation for a national Ombudsman and a District of Columbia plan. In presenting a bill to the California Assembly, Speaker Jesse Unruh described the need for meaningful oversight of administrative procedures. Unruh argues that "the great majority of actual administrative decisions carry no formal right of appeal" and that administrative law has been slow to provide necessary protection for individual rights. Furthermore, he notes the preoccupation of administra-

tors with their own relatively confined unit of government, whereas the Ombudsman would have a comprehensive outlook.

Cities Should Increase Administrative Activities To Improve Housing Conditions

Professor Dan W. Dodson of New York University contends that "A major part of the blame for social unrest in recent years lies in poor housing conditions . . . we must take steps at the community level to correct those situations which lead to expressions of dissatisfaction, and, perhaps, eventual rebellion."

He took this position before what at first glance would appear to be an unlikely forum, the 13th Annual Institute of Police and Community Relations, at Michigan State University in May, 1967. Within ninety days policemen in more than sixty cities tragically realized the relevance of his words at that conclave.

The creation of housing codes in America to protect public health, morals, and general welfare has remained a function of cities. Uniformity of housing regulations does not exist. City governments tend to create enforcement agencies as the need arises with enforcement delegated to specialized agencies. Consequently, in most cities several agencies share code-enforcement responsibilities. Citizens are usually confused about which agency should receive their complaint. Unclear responsibilities, overlap, and organizational complexity frequently unduly interfere with improving housing conditions.

To reduce problems created by multiple inspection, regulations pertaining to structural soundness, fire safety, maintenance, sanitation, and occupancy, cities should institutionalize the necessary changes in administrative organization to create a single housing and related code inspectional enforcement agency.

As the demand for protection against housing abuse increased, so did the scope of housing codes. Many now prohibit discrimination in housing, but problems of enforcement and sanction are prevalent. Socio-political questions cloud problems of enforcement and, perhaps, this is most proper. Surely an American city is better advised to provide a conciliatory service than a retaliatory one. Unfortunately, only a handful do.

While lodgment of a housing grievance may result in immediate inspection of the alleged violation, there exist basic factors which tend to discourage citizens from so doing as well as factors which make uniform code enforcement cumbersome and slower than necessary. Few cities engage in systematic citywide housing code inspection. Opinion tends to differ between practical administrators and those working in various organizations for housing improvements. The latter say there should be systematic citywide uniform inspection to improve the total overall supply and thus re-

lieve the pressure on low-income housing where research indicates from 75-90 per cent of housing code violations occur. Most inspections are also concentrated in those areas.

If housing codes were strictly enforced in those areas, there might be dispossessions of considerable percentages of the population in many inner cities. Perhaps a solution lies in the adoption of administrative procedures for "zoned housing codes." As presently constituted, housing and similar codes relating to structural and sanitary conditions are generally uniform throughout the city with the possible exception of the downtown "fire district." Reform of present practice and the adoption of zoned codes would provide different standards for different parts of the city and enable realistic enforcement of realistic codes. This would tend to overcome the problems of lax enforcement necessitated by uniform codes which is presently the rule.

Using the "zoned codes concept" developed by the staff of the Institute for Local Self Government, a city could then more easily adopt ordinances which would prohibit a landlord from evicting a tenant merely because he complained to governmental authority of a bona fide violation of an applicable housing code. Reprisal by the landlord of dispossession or eviction most often follows a citizen's complaint at the present time. But a scant few local governments outside of Illinois have given attention to this problem. In New York, tenants may organize and place rental payments in escrow pending resolution of the alleged violation. Apart from Illinois and New York, one is hard-pressed to find imaginative municipal intervention to prevent the landlord's reprisal.

Of course, the matter is complicated and compounded by the nature of a lease and the peculiar relationship that exists between landlord and tenant. This is part of the holdover from English common law which we earlier indicated was less suitable to modern American city times than to the agrarian society in England in which it developed. Generally, no matter what the state of repair of the house or dwelling, the tenant is obligated to pay the rent. The concept goes back to property rights which have dominated contract notions of the lease. While a leasehold interest in property is created by the legal instrument, the lease, it also contains numerous agreements between the parties binding them to a contractual relationship. The lease consequently is both a contract and a conveyance. Legal principles which would normally apply in a contractual relationship are abated because certain property principles are controlling in the lease.

Municipalities can overcome these problems by prohibiting landlord reprisals for complaints against *prima facie* code violations. The reprisal which a landlord now exercises is because cities have not taken this simple step to help redress housing grievances. This leads to sullen silence rather

than a complaint formally processed under due procedures. This is one of the areas which was mentioned in the preceding chapter when it was said that most city administrations are neither structured to alleviate nor aware of the basic nature of citizen grievances.

Public policy in the United States at both the federal and local levels now subsidizes slums. Cities subsidize them by clinging to systems of property taxation which place the bulk of the tax on improvements, rather than on the land. This results in subsidizing slums.

Three readily available models are present for any city which desires to cease subsidization—a system of “site value” taxation, the forty-year-old Pittsburgh plan, or an adaptation of Hawaii’s graded real property tax. Municipal experimentation with any or all of these concepts now in use successfully would be a demonstration that cities were using their taxing powers to make it less profitable to own slums. Unless cities do so, they cannot expect slum dwellers to really believe that there is grave concern in city halls about conditions in the slums. As long as slum property ownership is profitable, largely as a result of present real property tax administration and policies, most citizen grievances concerning housing will continue to go unredressed.

The federal government subsidizes slums because it allows slum landlords to depreciate property regardless of whether the property is illegally occupied. We define “illegally occupied” to mean a building inhabited in violation of city codes. The Internal Revenue Service could, by simple administrative regulation, achieve more social reform and improvement in the housing field than any other single agency by a single action. It is axiomatic that no one can claim the right granted by a law or regulation while engaged in an unlawful activity. No slum landlord would be oppressed if the Internal Revenue Service required the submission of a certificate issued by a local government attesting to compliance with all codes on any property for which depreciation was claimed for federal tax purposes. This would make it impossible to claim depreciation on most slum properties and reduce much of the profit incentive that now makes its ownership so appealing. It might, coincidentally, also be an extremely convincing demonstration of federal-local partnership and an improvement in intergovernmental relations.

It is the low-income renter who is usually hardest hit by the inadequacies of leases and code enforcement. He is usually the one who cannot easily relocate; he cannot afford an eviction notice. Most housing code violations tend to occur in housing for low-income people. They may be forced to live in dilapidated housing and may be fearful of registering a complaint knowing the landlord’s reprisal can be an eviction notice. Even if the tenant calls the housing inspection services agency, the landlord can usually forestall

necessary repairs beyond the length of the lease; hence, the tenant may not obtain satisfaction. If the landlord repairs, he may raise the rent. To this only a minute fraction of tenants have practical recourse. It is to his city that the citizen looks for protection in this most vital of matters. Too often his look is returned with a blank official stare.

One notable advance has come in recent weeks. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled May 17, 1968, that slum landlords have no legal right to evict tenants in retaliation for the reporting of housing code violations. The split decision by a three-judge court applies only in D.C., but it is likely to have nationwide repercussions. Judge J. Skelly Wright, who wrote the decision, found that retaliatory evictions are in basic conflict with the purpose of the housing codes. The court found that the housing and sanitary codes "indicate a strong and pervasive Congressional concern to secure for the city's slum dwellers decent, or at least safe and sanitary places to live." Judge Wright found there was no doubt that a slum dweller would "pause long" before he reported code violations in his home if he feared eviction as a consequence.

Referring to the tenant, Mrs. Yvonne Edwards, the court said eviction under the circumstances "would not only punish the appellant for making a complaint which she had a constitutional right to make . . . but also would stand as a warning to others that they dare not be so bold, a result which, from the authorization of the housing code, we think Congress affirmatively sought to avoid."

Cities Should Administer Manpower and Employment Service Activities

Generally speaking in the United States, employment services and activities are not traditional city functions. But, unemployment is a problem for the city. It is the city which suffers when joblessness is acute. It can be a source of fiery violence. Municipal noninvolvement as a result of the legally perfectly correct but perhaps woefully misguided policy that employment services are for the state employment service in cooperation with the federal government may be comforting. But, such unconcern will do nothing to reduce the manifestations of unrest resulting from unemployment in many intracity communities.

"When unemployment gives rise to unrest," we were told by a former president of the International City Managers' Association, "it's amazing how many 'for sale' signs you see." Unemployment has a deadening effect and economic development is held back in those cities where there is no social peace.

Too few city governments give concerted, continuous policy attention to maintaining the economic health of the city. Very few cities have attacked unemployment as a basic municipal problem. Most often, city financial as-

sistance is given to "Economic Development Committees" of the Chamber of Commerce or similar entities. Policy-makers tend to regard this as complete fulfillment of the city's commitment in that regard. Relatively few cities have attacked unemployment as a special problem of the inner city. Total manpower utilization is not a part of basic municipal policy nor has it been viewed, up to now, as a municipal administrative problem. Employment services and activities have not been centered around city halls, as they should be. Since, customarily, the city's involvement is peripheral, it is not surprising that the hands-off policy has fostered major citizen disenchantment with the government of their city.

Unemployment is undoubtedly the foundation for other disorders that plague the community—rising crime rates, crumbling neighborhoods, faltering business, or growing welfare and police budgets. From random readings of hundreds of city council meetings, the Institute concludes that the average city council spends a hundredfold more time hearing requests for zoning variances than it does on policy decisions attacking unemployment or underemployment. Councils and planners are designing and zoning the "city beautiful" while neighborhoods deteriorate, industry slips quietly away, and considerable portions of the citizenry are unemployed and aggrieved. While positive programs and policies for redressing employment-centered grievances cost more money than any other recommendations contained in this report, it is sophomoric (but apparently necessary) to point out that so does the aftermath of a riot.

The essential administrative tasks for the city in manpower and employment service activities are coordination and innovation.

Some of the activities which suggest themselves and which are not generally regarded as city functions would include minority employment projects, neighborhood youth corps, skill development centers, work experience programs, job fairs, on-the-job training programs, and similar activities.

It is not necessary for cities to wait for the federal government to develop federal tax incentive programs to encourage private industry to seek out and make special efforts to employ the hard-core unemployed. They can do that for themselves by imaginative utilization of tax policies to accomplish these social purposes. Economic democracy is a governmental goal as valid as political democracy.

It is necessary for cities to become involved in employment activities and services. If this means a clash with traditional state employment services, it may be better to have administrations clash over policy than to risk the clash of people in a city. I mean by "employment activities" several functions which would be new ones for most cities: placing potential employees, scouting the job market, soliciting employment offers; and counseling, testing and training of hard-core unemployed to fit the job market.

Cities can perform these needed social functions better than any other level of government since they are indisputably closest to the job market and have their finger on the economic pulse of the community.

Research by the Institute for Local Self Government reveals that most state employment services are opposed to municipal involvement in what they have regarded as their somewhat exclusive bailiwick. When questioned, four themes were repeatedly struck as to what state employment services thought cities should be doing concerning employment services and activities: (1) Assume the stance of a progressive employer in keeping with fair employment practices (although none could produce evidence to indicate that this is not already so), (2) promote and publicize state employment services more widely, (3) modify civil service and merit system requirements to permit employment of many now excluded because of bad personal histories, and, (4) assign to the state employment services some of the personnel functions now performed by cities in their testing, certification, and hiring processes.

While all four are helpful they are not enough.

Concerned cities should band together and, where appropriate, work through state leagues of municipalities to convince the governors that the state employment services should be utilized in a highly focused, laser-aimed way to deal with the problems of underemployment and unemployment in the inner city. There is no reason in today's world why they should be proliferated and scattered throughout the state and be concerned with getting a warehouseman for the County Club Hills Plumbing Company, or a stenographer for the Institute for Local Self Government. State employment service offices should be closed in outlying areas including those concerned primarily with agricultural employment. Physical facilities and personnel should be concentrated on the inner-city communities in a massive attempt to utilize an existing bureaucracy and administration to solve the major domestic problem of America today. "Business as usual" with a bureaucracy already in place in every state of the nation, principally supported by federal funds, is intolerable and unimaginative.

By concentrating solely on the employment problems of the inner-city communities, state employment services may earn some relevance for our times. If they cannot be utilized in this fashion then there is, in fact, serious question as to whether they serve any useful purpose at all since two-thirds of the total employment service "hires" in this country come through private agencies and services.

The city's role in employment services will help reduce the feeling of alienation prevalent in many communities within a city. A word of caution is in order. The job will not be easy. As was stated in a recent report to the Mayor of the City of New York, *Developing New York City's Resources*:

Nowhere in our studies have we found as many unrelated pieces, gaps, and as much duplication and overlap as in the field of manpower and employment. It is as if segments of railroad track, many of high quality, were nailed down haphazardly all over the landscape. Some are longer, some shorter; some approach a station, but most end somewhere in the countryside; a good many run parallel to each other, leaving wide areas without any service.

If all these chunks of track could be placed end to end with a clear direction, they would undoubtedly go far towards meeting existing needs. Many would have to be upgraded and some new pieces would have to be added, but the big job is to design a sound pattern for using the available hardware.

This is the heart of the problem . . .

At the very least, the establishment of a Municipal Manpower Coordinator who, working closely with an official city Department of Human Resources, could accomplish significant social change suited to "the changing concepts of community."

Cities Should Reform Their Civil-Service Systems

Merit systems and civil-service systems were created to eliminate "politics" from the hiring process, but the standards and procedures which have been substituted for patronage frequently tend to reinforce the problems for the disadvantaged members of urban society. As noted in the *Congressional Record-Senate* on January 26, 1967, "The majority of municipalities and nearly all of our counties are dominated by . . . old style civil-service systems that emphasize rigid requirements, job security, and the policing function."

Civil-service commissions have followed the pattern of private employers in raising educational requirements concurrent with elevation of the educational level of the nation. Regardless of job skills required, high school diplomas are usually minimal entrance requirements. Written examinations are the norm despite the latest psychological and educational research which indicates that emphasis on verbal ability rather than job performance may be a built-in cultural bias in favor of the better educated, middleclass, white job seeker.

While some civil-service regulations are mandated by state legislatures or frozen into charter provisions, they are usually administrative regulations which may be changed. Recognizing that for the most part the administration of the systems is under the control of an "independent" civil-service commission or board, the Institute contends that if cities had policy positions positively encouraging to employment of qualified persons, regardless of class, ethnic, or racial background, it would still be a relatively easy change to make. The question, once again, is whether or not the city *really* cares to serve *all* of its communities. If it does, and if the political leaders of the city government made known their concern, the "independent" boards

and commissions would soon get the message. The city must positively concern itself with allowing for equal opportunity for employment of all its citizens. This being so, reformation of civil-service systems—particularly the selection and hiring processes—is in order.

Some call for government to be the employer of last resort. It is not in this light that the suggestion for institutionalizing the necessary changes in city civil-service administrative procedures is cast. There must be no diminution of the quality of public service.

I am not unmindful of the complex web of intergovernmental and interpersonal relationships that are involved in reformation of civil-service systems. Aside from the "independence" of the administering agency (contrary to modern concepts of public administration in which an executive or policy-making body would have control), there are webs involving federal-state-local relationships in those systems established to qualify for governmental subventions. The interlocking relationships and the built-in rigidities of the system sometimes makes reformation seem impossible. It is not unknown, for example, for more than six months to elapse from the time a department receives approval for a position until someone comes on-board. Faced with the need to find immediate employment, the population in many of our communities, even those who meet the qualifications and pass the examinations, cannot afford to wait.

The issue in civil-service reform is really not so much that procedures must be changed, but that resistance to change must be overcome. The best method for so doing is the exercise of strong political leadership by the mayors and councils of those cities who want public employment to be open to all on as nearly an equal basis as possible.

In the long-run, civil-service recalcitrance regarding change will prove to be a disservice to itself. More and more bypassing of traditional civil-service procedures is observed. Provisional hiring and noncompetitive positions are being established at a snowballing rate as one reaction of sensitive city administrations. The new element in this trend is that while formerly noncompetitive positions were reserved essentially for top level and professional jobs, the device is now being used in newly-created jobs which are especially designed for the poor. Because across-the-board change has proved difficult to obtain from entrenched old-style civil-service administrators, the strategy has been to avoid direct confrontation with it. Sidestepping civil service by creating exceptions has the immediate advantage of providing a ready solution, but its patchwork basis offers no framework for achieving the fullness of public service careers for the poor—or anyone else, for that matter.

There are four major developments coalescing to force civil-service reform. The demand for jobs by the poor and minorities is reaching crisis

proportions. Public employment is seeking more and better manpower. The antipoverty program and the other social and economic legislation recently enacted is placing additional burdens on already understaffed local governments. And, the growing economy of the country, now nearly 100 months long without recession, is forcing greater competition for the scarce worker while simultaneously reinforcing the concern for finding ways of economizing by using workers more efficiently.

State and local government employment is the fastest growing sector of the American economy, said to be increasing at a rate four times greater than any other segment. Compared with a little over four million employees ten years ago, these governments now employ nine million with projections to over eleven million by 1975. State and local governments in the United States have a monthly payroll of about \$4.3 billion. During the sixteen years ending with October, 1967, the full-time equivalent of state and local government employees rose 99 per cent and monthly payrolls went up 323 per cent!⁵

Cities and their civil-service commissions should give serious consideration to new concepts in civil service, or, more accurately, creative personnel administration. Regulations could be issued stating:

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, workers who successfully complete agreed-upon post-entry training courses, as certified by the responsible agency or department, are eligible automatically for employment in the job for which they are being trained.

This would mean that they need not undergo the traditional civil-service examination to become city employees. Instead of the standard entrance examination that measures general aptitude, intelligence, and educational achievement, there could be no further requirements other than achievement tests to measure progress in the training program's curriculum.

Performance during training can also be made to substitute for education and experience components of traditional civil-service tests. *The Congressional Record* of March 22, 1967, quoting Senator Tydings, notes:

In training men and women for government jobs we should not impose unnecessary and unrealistic entrance requirements on them. The entrance requirements should be related directly to specific jobs which the worker is expected to perform and conformance with this requirement can be judged best as part of the job-training program itself.

I am not suggesting the establishment of make-work jobs, or even that preferential treatment be given to the poor (either of which would diminish the quality of public service). Acceptance into the civil service upon suc-

⁵ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Public Employment in 1967*, GE67 No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968).

cessful completion of post-entry training could easily be made applicable only to those cases where traditional civil-service methods did not produce the persons required.

Civil-service reform can also be achieved by a redesigned rating system which enables examiners to use the "job-element approach" in evaluating the qualifications of people for lower-level "wage board" positions where salaries are determined by prevailing wage rates, usually in blue-collar occupations. This would enable entrance into public employment of those who have little or no work experience but who have the capacity to do the given job. Creative municipal personnel administration of this order would be particularly meaningful to youth. According to the U.S. Civil Service System Bulletin, 300-9, they could be rated according to their ability as demonstrated "either by tests *or* by what they have done in their lives in schools, in jobs, in the community, in Job Corps camps, in boys' clubs, etc." The reformation in civil-service thinking that is required is to consider which factors could be considered as evidence of ability to perform on the job—reliability, dependability, promptness, a general knowledge of tools and equipment—rather than skill in passing a written examination.

Civil-service commissions and boards should begin very searching efforts to restructure their jobs and stop applying old criteria of "What *have* you done," to "What *can* you do." Management and personnel officials should make imaginative use of recruiting and selection tools and standards to make certain that equal-employment opportunity is not just a nice-sounding slogan.

Financial Reform Is Necessary

Local governments (principally cities, counties, school districts) within the thirty-eight major standard metropolitan statistical areas accounted for about one-half of all local government finances in the United States. Forty-one per cent of the population of the country resides in these areas. There are nearly 10,000 local governments in the thirty-eight SMSA's. While there has been a significant per capita increase in revenue and direct general expenditure in the SMSA's from 1962-66, there was relatively little change between 1962 and 1965-66 in the percentage of various local finance amounts accounted for by the thirty-eight SMSA's.

Per capita revenue increased from \$256 to \$331 and per capita expenditure increased from \$264 to \$331, but there was no real outpouring of funds in the standard metropolitan areas of this country in terms of per cent of total local government revenue and spending. In 1962 the SMSA's accounted for 49 per cent of total local government general revenue; in 1965-66 it was 49.6 per cent. As a percentage of total local direct general expenditure, how-

ever, the amounts spent in the metropolitan areas actually decreased from 49.2 per cent in 1962 to 48.8 per cent in 1965-66.

Because most of the urban tensions and social disorders occur in the major metropolitan areas, important questions are raised by noting current commitment to spending for social purposes in the SMSA's. One would normally have expected the expenditures in those areas to become a greater part of total, overall local government spending. To find the trend in the opposite direction once again points out the importance of suburbia in our urban scheme. Those city halls relatively affluent are spending a larger part of the total amount. The core city hall coffers are relatively bare.

The fiscal disparity between core cities and the suburbs is not without meaning in considering the subject of this conference—"Strengthening Government Organizations in Changing Communities." About 80 per cent of the nonwhite families but only 44 per cent of the white families live in metropolitan areas of the central cities. Current size of white families in central cities is 3.47 persons and that for nonwhite families 4.15, according to the Census. Because nonwhite families and their communities tend to have distinguishing socio-economic characteristics requiring greater expenditures by cities and other local governments for services and functions, the central city bare cupboard raises the necessity for considerable financial reformation.

Concluding Comments

There is currently a good deal of fascination with the concept of "little city halls," as an attunement to the needs of changing notions of the concept of community. The creation of several multiservice centers which bring together at one centralized location, within different communities, all the local government resources is nuclear.

City hall gives up autonomy in these situations for the development of such centers which are coordinated with appropriate federal, county, and state agencies. Such pooling of services makes available to citizens a meaningful program to improve their vocational, economic, and social status and removes some of the barriers which have kept government services from effectively penetrating certain areas of core cities—scattered facilities, inadequate transportation for the poor, fragmentation of services, and endless referrals.

The scope of the multiservice centers varies with community needs. Service workers are grouped, where appropriate, into functional teams which include representatives of employment, rehabilitation, and welfare aided by a support group including liaison aides or staff workers from other departments of other levels of government. The functional teams eliminate the endless referral of persons seeking help; the direct services are specifically

accommodated to the individual's problem, and counseling services are available for follow-up and evaluation.

The pioneering concepts for these reorganizations were developed a dozen years ago in the "Associated Agencies Program," in Oakland, California. Since then cities have been busily reorganizing their administrative services in cooperation with other levels of government to:

1. identify services needed by area citizens;
2. establish a cluster of services which logically belong together regardless of the agency or governmental level;
3. provide prompt attention to problems and avoid unnecessary referrals.

A true understanding of what city hall is like reveals that even these innovations are not "new." City halls have been "multiservice centers" for centuries. That's why they were created. The evolutions now taking place, as I indicated in my opening "optimistic" remarks, will continue.

In our complex modern urban society, explosive changes will continue to change the role of local governments in their continuous restructuring for changing communities. The role must change to reflect the new responsibilities that are evolving for better qualities of living, more concern for human development, and the identifying of aspirations and goals for different communities within the city.

Our cities are the crucible that is providing the testing ground for effective democratic local self government. The role and responsibilities of our locally elected political leaders reflect the accelerated changes that are occurring. Governing bodies are called upon at every meeting to make decisions as complex as those made annually only a few years ago. These decisions cover a much broader scope of activities and have more social involvement than ever before.

It does no good to oversimplify our problems, but the simplifiers are ever present. They have an understandable desire to roll all our troubles up into one ball. All the problems of community organization and the lesser devotion of domestic government to the problems of our core-city communities is, they say, traceable to the war. Or to the President. Or to racism. Or to the establishment. Or to our economic system. Or to people over thirty. The fact is, however, that our problems are not simple. They have no simple cure. They are numerous and complex. Our afflictions are many. They will not diminish soon. We have enormous tasks ahead. As long as this is a representative democracy, these problems belong to "We the people . . ."

The times call for the second great wave of local government in these United States. The tocsin has sounded on the streets of Newark, Los Angeles, Detroit, Harlem, and a hundred other cities. The deliberations of this Urban Policy Conference should help provide the impetus for that new wave.

We shall need cool heads and courage—and above all staying power—if we are to get through future years. My concluding thoughts on the changing concepts of the community and the redesigning of governmental structures for changing communities are best put in the words of John Gardner: “In the time immediately ahead the attribute that may prove to be most valuable to the American people is stamina.”

Regionalism

NORTON E. LONG^o

Regionalism as a term comprehends a multitude of meanings. These meanings range from government decentralization, to watersheds, drainage basins, river valleys, poverty areas, economic development areas, metropolitan areas, and cultural areas. The approach adopted varies from involuntary constitution of the area by a superior government to varying degrees of voluntarism in the setting up and management of their boundaries, jurisdiction, and affairs.

During the thirties the National Resources Planning Board under strong Southern influence was much affected by ideas associated with cultural regionalism. The sense of regional separatism deriving from wide variations in rural-urban makeup has notably diminished. "Regional economic differences, measured by income, labor, skills, and a host of other indices were substantially greater twenty-five years ago than they are today."¹ Cultural regionalism, however, when embodied in political form dies hard even when its expression has been rendered anachronistic and largely sentimental by economic change. Edwin Gere, Jr., quotes John Gaus as saying: "Once a political boundary is drawn, human interests—political ambitions, areas of common service, the tax rates—adhere to it." Gere goes on to say "Perhaps in no case was this tendency more clearly demonstrated than in the recent federal decision to designate New England as an 'economic development region' under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. In the face of strong pressures to include portions of upper New York State and to exclude the wealthy areas of lower Connecticut, it was decided to hold to the traditional political lines of the six states."²

This constitution of New England as an economic development unit on grounds of sentiment and history rather than the facts of contemporary

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¹ John W. Dyckman, "State Planning in a Federal Economic System," *Cornell Conference on State Planning, Existing State and Future Trends*, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, March 23-24, 1966.

² Irving Howards and Edwin A. Gere, Jr., "Some Notes on Regionalism," University of Massachusetts, 1966.

economic geography is both a good example of continuing cultural regionalism and of its waning relevance in the face of the economic transformation alluded to by John Dyckman. Indeed one may question the applicability of Gere's quotation from John Gaus to New England and any similar multistate area. New England does not possess a common political boundary to which "human interests—political ambitions, areas of common service, tax rates—" adhere. People do not run for or elect governor or congressmen of New England nor do they pay New England taxes. In fact, as neighbors the states are also keen rivals with as much or more interest in stealing business from each other as in promoting a nebulously envisioned New England common interest.

John Gaus is right in treating the existence of a political entity as a prime fact in the constitution of a region. Such a political entity can build a structure of local interests to give it vitality. The political culture, with its strong emphasis on identifying with one's own side in the rivalries and controversies of governments, produces at least for some the sense of "we" versus "they"—of the home team and its opponents. In the world of limited commitment of local government and among the birds of civic passage that compose much of it, the moral imperative to stick up for one's own side and the need to have an own side to stick up for have limited power and appeal. They are neither the imperatives of the city-state of old or the nation-state of today. Yet these political attachments however caused and however deep are among the most important facts that give identity and continuity to a region. They make its inhabitants more than so many ceaselessly shifting factors of production in a national market and they make its territory more than so much land subject to unresisted locational obsolescence. One may suspect that the psychological needs for local territorial identification as a means of attaining personal identity persist in the nation-state and in the national market. The problems that Nisbet explores in his *The Quest for Community*³ and Roland Warren in *The Community in America*⁴ are central to some of the vital forces of regionalism.

The importance of a political base for regional organization is clear. Inability to sustain an effective political process spells incapacity to mobilize people and resources. The territorial capacity for organized mobilization of people and resources is an indication of potential and actual capacity to function as a region and the degree of that capacity. The need for an effective regional political process is apparent in voluntary regional organizations, but it is almost equally important in the involuntary structures

³ Robert A. Nisbet, *The Quest for Community: A Study in the Ethics of Order and Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953).

⁴ Roland L. Warren, *The Community in America* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963).

created by governmental decentralization.⁵ Thus Philip Selznick's study of the TVA illustrates the importance of co-opting local elites for the functioning of a federal decentralized regional activity.⁶ The politics and special constituency of the Port of New York Authority provide another example of adaptation to the necessities of creating a base of local support.

Whether we approach regionalism from the standpoint of local people seeking to organize themselves to solve territorially defined problems or from the point of view of a government seeking to decentralize its operations to an appropriate territory, a major consideration must be the capacity of the people of the territory to develop a significant territorial identification and an effective territorial political process. The economists who have been wrestling with the problems of regional planning have rediscovered the centrality of regional citizenship as a prerequisite for more than a paper planning process. George Borts gives a highly realistic definition of a region in his interesting essay on "Criteria For the Evaluation of Regional Development Programs." He states: "A region will be treated as a decision-making unit, acting through governmental or semigovernmental agencies. The region will consist of those resource owners who would willingly take a large reduction in earnings before transferring to other regions."⁷ This is a highly operational definition of commitment. Its application might yield a useful if painful appreciation of the base for regionalism in an area.

If the willingness to accept a large reduction in earnings on the part of resource owners is an essential element of a region, a parallel willingness on the part of the local governments of a region to share fiscal resources and liabilities can be considered equally essential for regional plans to be more than civic New Year's resolutions. "Reasonable land-use management will cause one municipality to industrialize while another develops as the cultural hub of the region. How will it be possible to support costly public services used by citizens of the region when the principal growth of property tax revenue will take place outside the jurisdiction that provides these services? The answer may be a politically acceptable tax-sharing formula which harmonizes the objectives of the regional land-use plan with the financial requirements of individual municipalities."⁸ Chinitz is on target in

⁵ For various types of compulsory and voluntary regionalism, see W. Brooke Graves, *American Intergovernmental Relations* (New York: Scribners, 1964).

⁶ Philip M. Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).

⁷ George H. Borts, "Criteria for the Evaluation of Regional Development Programs," in *Regional Accounting for Policy Decisions* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), p. 204.

⁸ Benjamin Chinitz and Richard S. Bolan, "Town Meeting for Tomorrow," *Greater Hartford's Conference on Metropolitan Cooperation and Development, Policy Implication of Regional Planning*, published by Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, 1964.

finding the built-in competition for the property tax a major obstacle to effective regional resource management. At the same conference in which Chinitz proposed an intertown committee to share tax revenues and make possible rational regional land use, Richard Bolan gave a gloomy picture of the effectiveness of the Capitol Regional Planning Agency in transforming plans into action programs.⁹ Inadequate funding, limited staff, timidity, and lack of a leadership and catalytic role characterize one of the most successful regional planning agencies in a state noted for its commitment to planning. No powerful regional political process empowers the planners, and their paymasters are largely devoted to maintaining the status quo with such minimal change as may be necessary to meet glaring problems.

For some time the approach to regionalism has been characterized by a belief that there were "natural" regions whose boundaries were objectively determined by common problem areas. It has been felt that once the people of these problem areas were enlightened as to the common character of their problems and the means for their solution, they would take the seemingly obvious next step and seek to create the requisite governmental mechanism for problem solution. This view in the larger area has been espoused by World Federalists and believers in a united Europe; at a more mundane level it has characterized the thinking of many of us about the disunited governments of metropolitan areas. Whereas in the thirties river valleys were the region for planning par excellence, today it is the urban region—most notably the metropolitan area. An exception to this that looks back to an earlier epoch is Appalachia, though one may doubt whether this can be made into an effective region for a political process. With few exceptions, the hopes of planners and others that delineation of common problems and their solution would lead toward regional political unification, particularly in metropolitan areas, have met with disappointment. Even the exceptions give little ground to believe that they foreshadow a trend.

While economists such as Benjamin Chinitz as well as the planners and political scientists have made a strong a priori case for regional and metropolitan planning, the case has remained a priori. We might have hoped that the examples of Toronto Metro, Metropolitan Miami, and Nashville-Davidson would be so persuasive as to induce imitation. Americans have experimented with commission plans, city manager plans, port authorities, and other powerful special districts. While metropolitan government faces more formidable obstacles, it is doubtful whether any political conservatism would have withstood the urge to imitate any obviously good thing embodied in a visible going concern. Thus far justification has been largely based on faith without the exemplary power of works.

⁹ See Richard S. Bolan, "Public Policy and Regional Planning," in *Greater Hartford, op. cit.*

It should not be surprising that faith has remained at the level of a priori reasoning. John Dyckman in a paper previously cited, "State Development Planning in a Federal Economic System," points to the very real limitations of the states as economic planning entities.¹⁰ Their economies are open. They are fiscally incapable of following a stabilization policy of their own. They have only limited capacities to affect their share of the gross national product, let alone affect the gross national product. What is true of the states is a priori even more true of lesser regions. The promotional and informational programs of the states in Dyckman's view have had minimal effectiveness and an effectiveness quite disproportionate to the funds spent upon them. None the less, Dyckman does not argue for giving up on state economic planning. Quite the contrary. As he points out, the states have made only minimal efforts to use constructively the powers they possess. They are a conduit for billions of dollars in federal highway funds. Expenditures for education and welfare are large by any standards. Yet only minimal or no efforts have been made to coordinate the activities of state agencies in the service of state and regional planning. Highway departments have major impact on land development. Failure to use this impact as a positive tool to achieve state and regional land-use goals renders these goals, where they exist, of dubious practical significance. It may be asking too much to demand that lesser regions exercise rationality and use their limited powers when their superior governments, the states, and the nation, provide so poor an example.

The most powerful thrust for regional planning is occurring in metropolitan areas. There the federal government at long last is moving from piecemeal *ad hoc* intervention through unifunctional agencies and their state and local allies toward requirements of metropolitan planning.¹¹ These planning requirements, after a period of legislative proliferation, seem to have reached a stage where consolidation and focus are in order. Carrots and sticks to encourage and compel meaningful metropolitan planning and plan implementation are in evidence. A Congressional acceptance of the importance of coordinating federal and local programs in the interests of achieving desired planned results and of avoiding the adverse impacts of unconsidered, unintended program side effects seem on the increase. Absent the effects of the Viet Nam war, the gradual development of the Department of Housing and Urban Development as a National Ministry of urban (metropolitan) local government, and the Department of Agriculture in an extension of its previous role as a new ministry of rural local

¹⁰ Dyckman, *op. cit.*

¹¹ See Norman Beckman, "The Quiet Revolution," *National Civic Review*, Vol. LVII, No. 1 (January, 1968).

government might have progressed much further. In any event this development seems their present logic.

Regionalism in its most likely present form is powerfully impelled by the needs of superior governments to decentralize their operations and achieve effective functional coordination in planning areas appropriate to the needs of their citizens. The federal government, without any exhaustive reconsideration of its structure, has evolved from a limited purpose federation to the post-Civil War nation-state we now know; and this nation-state has changed from one committed to a doctrine of *laissez faire* to a welfare state. Its constituency is no longer the farmers who once were its most numerous members and whom it never hesitated to serve actively and directly, but the urban dwellers who as consumers rather than producers it has served piecemeal by way of exceptional intervention and with a constitutional bad conscience. It was only through use of the spending power that the New Deal was able to penetrate the judicial barricade and react to the Great Depression. It was forced to bribe and cajole state and local governments to attain its objects and frequently had these objects distorted or defeated by expedient political alliances of its bureaucrats with their local opposite numbers. At long last we are beginning to be forced to ask whether the United States as a nation-state needs a *national* system of local government and equally as a welfare state needs a local delivery system if its welfare goals are to be achieved.

Regionalism can be based on the needs of a central government to achieve an appropriate areal coordination of its functional programs.¹² For some time we have witnessed the unintended but serious impacts of federal programs on urban areas. Recognition of the problem has received symbolic attention since Eisenhower. In principle the Convener Order of HUD directs federal interagency coordination. The Model City Program, at the level of rhetoric and possibly even in practice, states an explicit concern with intraareal federal program coordination. The Model City Expediter might have become, indeed may some day become, a kind of federal urban prefect, the President's man in the metropolitan area. The need is becoming constantly more apparent for a local area of federal administration, an area that will give a territorial basis for planning and determining the priorities and mesh of federal programs, hopefully of these programs with concurrent state and local programs. The preponderant, though by no means exclusive, area for decentralized federal administration emerges as the metropolitan area. It now seems abundantly clear that the nation's housing program would have been a very different affair if HUD had related to a metro-

¹² For the problem of decentralization and its areal and functional aspects, see James W. Fesler, "Approaches to the Understanding of Decentralization" (Yale Papers in Political Science No. 24).

politan housing market rather than operating through the jurisdictions that fragment that market.

The compulsions of a national urban welfare state to restructure its inherited local government structure to serve more effectively its purposes are great and growing. Of particular importance is the difficulty of achieving egalitarian, redistributive objectives through a local structure that is in practice devoted to segregating access to public goods and the opportunity structure. The egalitarian, redistributive norm can be far better served through a metropolitan area that represents a far more representative slice of the nation's population and problems than any of its mosaic of local governments. Under the prod of federal initiative and inducements, councils of governments are forming in metropolitan areas.¹³ Some, such as New York's, have failed to get off the ground. Others, such as San Francisco's Association of Bay Area Governments, have, stimulated by fear of state action, become real factors in their region. If the states are not to be bypassed and perhaps frozen out of the action, they need to take a creative hand in adapting our institutions to the needs of our urban welfare state. For such a task they have the legal tools and constitutional responsibility. The states are, after all, legally responsible for local government.

The late Morton Grodzins coined the happy phrase "marble cake federalism" to replace what he held to be the erroneous notion that ours was a layer cake federalism of strictly separated powers and functions. This marble cake federalism has for the most part been exemplified by the comingled activities of national, state, and local bureaucracies in unifunctional areas of administration such as highways, health, welfare, or education. We have no examples of multipurpose marble cake federalism in which several programs are coordinated to insure that their combined effect will be as beneficial as possible, especially where a combined effect is likely to be different and more desirable than uncoordinated individual results. What we are working towards by trial and error may be a kind of marble cake local government in which federal, state, and local programs are focused on a common planning area and the needs of that planning area are treated as determinative of the mix and coordination of the whole range of programs. We appreciate intellectually the need to relate highways, housing, education, health, and welfare to name but a few items to regional development. We also appreciate it matters little whether these programs are under national, state, or local auspices; they need planned coordination for most effective results. For such planned coordination they need a common area for planning and plan implementation. For effective planning and plan implementation the levels of government and their agencies need a com-

¹³ See Judith Finlayson, "Councils of Governments: What and Why Are They?" *American County Government*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (April, 1967).

mon areal device through which they can cooperate and arrive at decisions.

Such a device might be a species of marble cake local government that could meet the federal government's need for decentralizing and coordinating its urban welfare programs, the needs of the states for regionalizing their own operations, and the needs of the existing local governments to merge their resources for increasingly important common regional objectives. We have been able to achieve interlevel bureaucratic cooperation in unifunctional areas. We have been able in agriculture not only to achieve this cooperation among bureaucracies but in addition to involve a farming electorate. In a time of increasing appreciation of the importance of participation by the people served in planning their future and supporting plan implementation, it would make sense to broaden bureaucratic marble cake federalism to an electoral marble cake federalism. In such a process the states might well take over the federal initiative already shown in federal support for metropolitan planning and plan implementation. If the states were to determine their own appropriate regionalization, the odds are that they could persuade the federal government to utilize the states' regions as regions for its own administrative decentralization. If the states had economic plans for their development that made sense, they would have powerful intellectual compulsions for the nation and the local governments to accept the regionalization their development plans entailed.

Regions might develop local governments from the initiative and untutored desires of their inhabitants. Equally, regions may be the appropriate geographical areas for decentralizing the governments of state or national communities. The regions can be no more than areas of national or state administration. However, given our traditions, it is likely that any regional administration may need and want coopted or elected local representation. This would be even more likely in the case of a multipurpose regional administration such as envisaged here. Such multipurpose regions planning, combining, and coordinating federal, state, and local programs for the benefit of the inhabitants of the region would be far too important to the inhabitants for these to be left out of the official action. Such regions, if they come to be, will clearly require the extension of marble cake bureaucratic federalism to marble cake electoral federalism. Given the federal government's difficulties in coordinating its own agencies and agency programs, its difficulty in getting an appropriate territorial unit for administration, and the growing Congressional recognition of the importance of regional planning, the climate would appear ripe for state initiative or at any rate for the initiative of those states prepared to take it.

Iowa might be such a state. Brian Berry and Paul Schwind in their paper on the "National Space-Economy and Urban Fields in Iowa's Future" show that Iowa is on the fringe of the nation's manufacturing belt. Access to this

belt creates a strong eastern orientation. In their judgment "only labor markets with populations exceeding 250,000 appear capable of self-sustained growth within the national urban system, at about the rate of the nation, and that centers with populations of less than 25,000 have little or no impact on the gradients of welfare spreading outwards from larger centers."¹⁴ Berry and Schwind say: "For outlying areas, the best prospects for deflecting current trends appear to be in improved access that diminishes the gradient of urban influence, leading to broader spread of commuters and work places over the countryside, to multicentered urban fields rather than the strongly single-centered patterns of western Iowa." A similar view is held by Karl Fox of the Department of Economics of Iowa State University.¹⁵ He proposes state and regional action to organize the scattered population of several small cities, towns, and counties into what might be called extended cities with a population of some 200,000. By organizing transportation and the potential labor market, he thinks it might be possible to achieve the scale that would halt the presently inevitable drift. Fox would couple a positive state regional program with a national urban policy designed to limit the further growth of our largest metropolitan areas. In view of experience with efforts to limit the growth of cities such as London, Tokyo, and Moscow in countries with traditions more favorable to the forceful exercise of governmental power than our own, Fox's proposals for limitation may be overly optimistic. However, a positive federal program to assist the states in developing extended cities is another matter. Highway funds and other federal investments could be used to reinforce state policy. Should a state decide to regionalize in such a way as to foster the creation of an extended city, it would need to carefully examine the infrastructure necessary to turn the population of the region into a functioning labor market. Its planning would have to encompass education and training necessary to transform an adequate number of people into an adequate mix of skills. In the short run, this might require positive public programs to attract critical skills in short supply. Even cursory consideration suggests that the small cities and towns with which Fox is concerned are no more likely to band together and produce a powerful program for their regional future than are Chinitz' Connecticut towns to create an intertown committee to share tax revenues attendant on a rational plan for regional development. If such action is to be

¹⁴ Brian J. L. Berry and Paul J. Schwind, "The National Space-Economy and Urban Fields in Iowa's Urban Future," in *Cities of the Future, Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Urban Policy Conference*, October 26-28, 1967, Institute of Public Affairs, The University of Iowa.

¹⁵ Karl A. Fox, "A Program to Promote Maximum Employment, Human Dignity and Civic Responsibility in the United States," *Memorandum*, April 29, 1968, Department of Economics, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa.

taken, the initiative in most cases must come from the states' own efforts to regionalize.

State regionalization to meet the needs of its local population need be no permanent threat to local self government. Decentralized regional state administration can become the base from which local governments can grow. Local governments can grow from decentralized units of state governments as the career of many counties toward municipal status shows. The states do not have to wait for the local governments to band together for common action. They can create the conditions for political evolution along lines that people learn to desire. A decentralized agency of the state community can itself become the nucleating agent for bringing into existence a local political community. What is true of the states is true of the nation. In the absence of state action, the pattern of regionalization will follow such direction as the federal government chooses to give it.

Emerging Patterns of Service for Communities

HUGH DENNEY*

Today virtually all rural communities face one of two situations. They are caught up in the readjustment to a declining rural population or they are the receiving point for large numbers of rural out-migrants. Few communities are in static equilibrium. Many rural communities that appear to have stable populations are in effect faced with a reduction of population. As the number of farmers decreases, the hinterland population around the rural trade center decreases. Even if some retired farmers settle in the trade center, it is likely that the total community (trade center and hinterland) population will decline.

Decline in the total community, however, has *not* been associated with a decrease in the demand for a variety of services. Indeed, the advancing technology of our world, the promotion of programs and products and the ever-increasing scope of government in our daily lives, lead to an *increased* demand for services. In spite of the declining numbers in a community, the increasing demand for services has not abated.

One of the major problems facing the rural American is how to hold down the cost for these ever-expanding services in the face of a declining population. In the comments that follow I will attempt to project for you some possible means of maintaining an acceptable balance between the local patterns of government and private services and still expand the range of those services to serve better our entire countryside.

I submit to you that there are two major parameters that control patterns of service whether governmental or private.

The first of these parameters is population. A minimum number of people is necessary within any given income level to justify and maintain the local availability of a service. This applies equally well to private enterprise and government; be it a filling station, a doctor, or the state employment office.

The second parameter of equal concern is that there is a maximum time

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distance beyond which people will not, or cannot, go to obtain a service. This may be exemplified by the range of an ambulance to the nearest hospital or the broadcasting range of a television station. The two parameters which I have listed are constantly interacting. On the one hand, in densely populated areas with a large total population, the distance parameter operates on a time scale rather than mileage. Certainly in congested cities, the distance one can move in heavy traffic is less than on good roads in open country. On the other hand, in areas where the minimum population cannot be maintained, the distance parameter may be pushed beyond the normal limit. More often, if the service is to be made available within the normal time distance, the cost of that service is increased to accommodate for the reduced population needed to support it.

Many books have been written on the need for reorganization of government and I would not challenge the validity of their thesis, but I would question the probability of their success in our lifetime in a country where the residual population has the power to vote for what they consider to be the further weakening of their own form of local government. Rather, I believe that we can quiet the emotions and still modify the functions of local governments; not only permit, but accelerate, the consolidation of functions of adjacent units of government that will help hold the cost line. In this way, we can still provide a service that is at least as accessible in time and effort today as similar services were in grandfather's time in smaller units of government. Parenthetically, might I point out that those who demean the size of counties and local units of government today do a great disservice to the founding fathers of our country, who, considering the speed of travel at the time, showed a great deal more judgment than current pseudo-scientists by devising units of government that were within the accessibility range of the inhabitants of the area.

Our problem of service areas lies in the fact that the changing technology has operated in two ways to the disadvantage of the small local service points. First, in the mechanization of agriculture, we have witnessed a decline in rural population from two causes: (a) the surplus farm labor was freed to go to cities to become industrial workers, and (b) with the additional machinery, larger and larger acreages could be handled by the remaining population so that the number of farms and consequently farm families declined. Second, the development of highway travel has made available services much farther away within the same time span that grandfather could go to the general post office for his infrequent mail. When going to school meant walking, the elementary school with a maximum radius of approximately two miles was very appropriate, but with the coming of the school bus, the eight-mile radius became feasible for local schools. With good roads and declining rural population, these eight-mile schools are proving far too small to gather enough students to maintain the level of

curricula and reduce the overhead to a manageable scale, and as a consequence we see a sixteen-mile pattern of secondary schools developing.

Private enterprise has adapted to these same changes by ceasing operation; the vacant store building in the small towns of rural America testify to their decisions. The dollar votes of citizens which have been transferred to the nearby city have been reflected in the abandonment of countless stores—often after a long period of struggle by the elderly operators. These small town conditions have been deplored by the same people who saw disaster in the decline of the family farm.

When it comes to government services, the political vote has not shown an equal decision-making ability, and we have continued to perpetuate small units of government service in the mistaken belief that local government today must be performed in the same place as in grandfather's time. I would like to suggest for your thinking that local government today encompasses a range of mobility within time limits just as it did in grandfather's time, but the mileage is greater because we travel faster. With the population available in the larger radius of service, we can continue to provide strong "local" government, adequate schools, and institutions of retail service within the tax limits the populace can afford.

We can no longer expect a young medical doctor to return to the village where his grandfather practiced when the mobility range was four to eight miles and the population was double or in some cases triple the present population. Still, the need for medical services remains, and even if the ability to support and justify a professional doctor is available, the living conditions that would make the area attractive to the professional and his wife are almost always lacking in comparison with his alternative choices.

As population declines, the radius of services has to increase in order to have enough population to support the same level of service. Eventually a point is reached, however, at which the ability of the population to move to the goods or services or for the goods or services to be delivered to the population is exceeded. This presents three alternatives to the people in the area: they can do without the service, they can subsidize it with or without the help of the larger society, or they can move to a community that will support the service. One or the other of these alternatives appears inevitable. Considerations other than cost are obviously involved. If it is a case of a high school in a rich farming area, it may be quite possible to call upon the emotions to continue to perpetuate the small village high school with a few students in the senior class and consider it a burden that taxpayers are willing to pay. But this is only one measurement of service. What about the quality of education the student is receiving in return for the satisfaction of maintaining a building close to home?

The question of the goals and objectives of service for communities

therefore needs to be considered. Do we want to preserve the physical institution or the quality of the service it was designed to provide? I believe most thinking people will prefer the latter.

It would be presumptuous of anyone to come into the state of Iowa and suggest that he knows what the pattern of service should be for any particular type of function in any single community. However, I have the temerity to suggest to you that based upon long years of study and experience in other states and some study of your own, that you, the people of this great state, along with your forebearers and those former citizens who have moved away, have been developing patterns which can be visualized for you that are closely related to the ever-increasing mobility of people. I prefer to think the maps on pages 49-52 are a visual record of the decisions that you and the other residents of Iowa have been making by your individual behavioral acts since the first settlement of these communities. After all, a community is the sum total residual of all the acts of man and nature since it was first settled. These maps, to the best of my ability, reflect at different levels of service the cities and towns which people of Iowa have down through the years elevated into their present positions of prominence. These maps are based upon the time and distance and population parameters. I know that others have drawn maps and still others will draw maps. These lines are not sacred for planning patterns of service, but I commend them to you as a point for departure that you should not treat lightly.

Years of study indicate that given alternative choices between two points, the midline in time-travel becomes a very strong determinant in the behavior of people. Individual variances will exist but mass behavior is closely related to economizing in time-distance-travel cost. It has a high predictability for indicating the changes in post office service patterns, or in predicting the eventual combination of local schools into consolidated secondary school patterns. These maps also indicate the direction that we have been moving without a plan. If we as intelligent human beings desire, we may alter this pattern. To do so, we must study where we are and then plan new highway and transportation patterns, and select points of concentration for state-supported systems that will provide still greater impetus to some of these areas.

When one enters the political decision-making process, it is normally a point at which the academic bows out, but since I have had experience on both sides of this street, I suggest to you and to your political friends that in view of the one-man, one-vote rule and the concentration of population in the key cities indicated on these maps, that the officeholder needs to hesitate a long time before deviating from these points of population concentration because that is where the voting power is today and will probably be in even greater numbers by the next election regardless of your deviation for personal political purposes.

The four maps discussed here are part of a larger series which describe fifteen spatial classes and twenty-seven population classes. The largest spatial class is 16,384 miles and the smallest is one mile. We are dealing here with Class 5 (16 miles), Class 6 (32 miles), Class 7 (64 miles), and Class 8 (128 miles).

Population classes are represented by a capital letter enclosed in a circle. Following is a key to the nine population classes represented in the four maps.

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Population</i>
H	262,145-524,288
I	131,073-262,144
J	65,537-131,072
K	32,769- 65,536
L	16,385- 32,768
M	8,193- 16,384
N	4,097- 8,192
O	2,049- 4,096
P	1,025- 2,048

The small map (Class 5—16-mile maximum radius on page 49) indicates a predictive high school locational pattern for the next period in our school history. It also is a point at which major grocery and other frequently needed retail services may be obtained. It may well be the point for continuous service for the weekly newspaper.

The second map more commonly known as Class 6 (on page 50) is a thirty-two-mile maximum radius of service. Here you will find the principal cities of Iowa outside the metropolitan suburban areas. Here you will also find the cities that either have or will develop radio stations for local service, that have strong daily newspapers, that will develop trade schools of a high order, and that will attract industry because they have a population concentration within a commuting range attractive to industrial labor. Here you will also find your general hospitals and a full staff of doctors. These are the towns that either are or will be served by primary arterial highways or better.

Now for a look at the next larger scale of community. This we refer to as Class 7 or the sixty-four-mile maximum radius of service. (See page 51.) Here you will find the principal cities of your state that either have or will develop units of higher education, that will attract major industries, that will be the originating points of television stations, that will have strong daily papers. Here you will find specialized medical services over and above the general hospitals found at the previous level. Most of these cities will be on four-lane interstate or comparable highways within the next decade—these are your anchor post communities that will be within an hour's travel

time for all your citizens after further improvement in the road structure. These communities as they develop their industrial strengths will become stronger market places for the surrounding rural areas. This will be the center of services for your major services and your professional needs within a one-hour travel time.

Now for a look at the fourth map on page 52. This is a 128-mile scale. You will recognize these cities as your major metropolitan areas at the present time. Certainly they should continue to grow and prosper because they have not yet reached the point of diminishing return to scale that some of the eastern seaboard cities have experienced. Because of the problems of larger eastern cities, these cities hold much hope for further gain if we plan well and provide services including the cultural environment which our young people have been going elsewhere to find, but often to be disappointed. These are the cities that should provide great universities, great medical centers, the finest metropolitan papers, and originating programs for national broadcast of television and radio. These are the cities that will be connected by major jet port service to the rest of the nation.

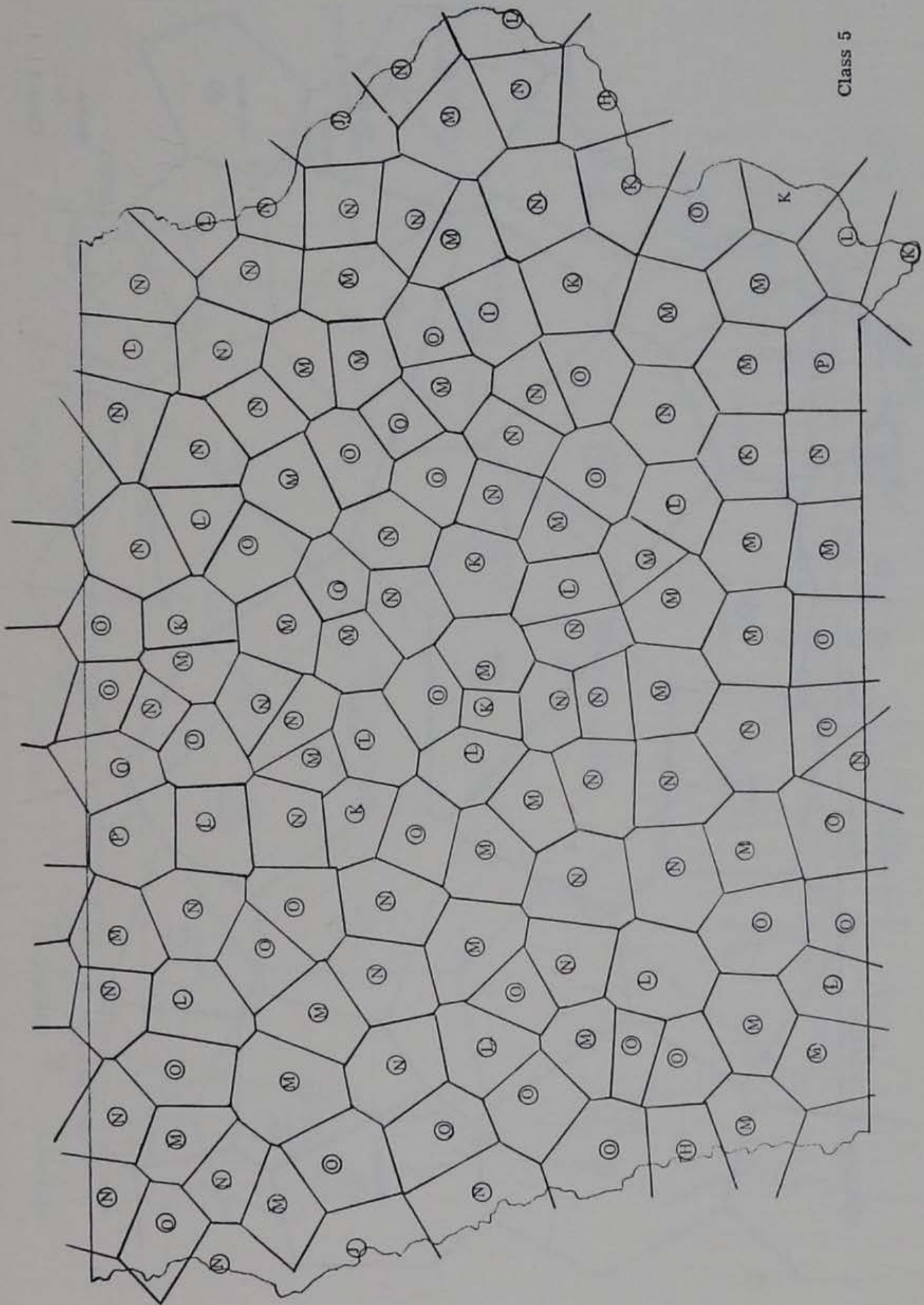
I have not attempted to cover all characteristics of these different levels of community but I would like to finish with an admonition to you, as leaders in your community, whether public officials or academics. This country has been very fortunate to have achieved so much greatness without a design, but as I view the landscape today, if we want to maintain a strong rural America with strong cities dotting that rural land, we would do well to pool our energies, forget our petty differences, and our political bickering over where to locate institutions or to establish our new service units. We must apply sound judgment similar to that which I projected to you here today as the best means of providing the greatest variety and quality of services closest to the most people at the least possible cost, and in so doing make sure that there is a distribution of these services at reasonable distances throughout the state. Obviously, if the tide of out-migration of our population can be turned, and I think it will, we may expect in future years, once we have established the sixty-four-mile cities as full service centers, that we can then proceed to upgrade the services at the thirty-two-mile spacing and in a more distant time if the population pressure warrants, we may even re-establish the sixteen-mile cities to a high level of local service.

I do hope we never reach the point where we forget that cooperation between units of government is an absolute necessity for the public welfare. Home town pride and competition for basketball is a fine thing if not carried too far. Unfortunately at no place in our educational system do we teach cooperation beyond our local self interest. Some day a wiser citizenry may view the problem of community as a multilevel situation and teach that we are not for or against state or federal or local government, but that

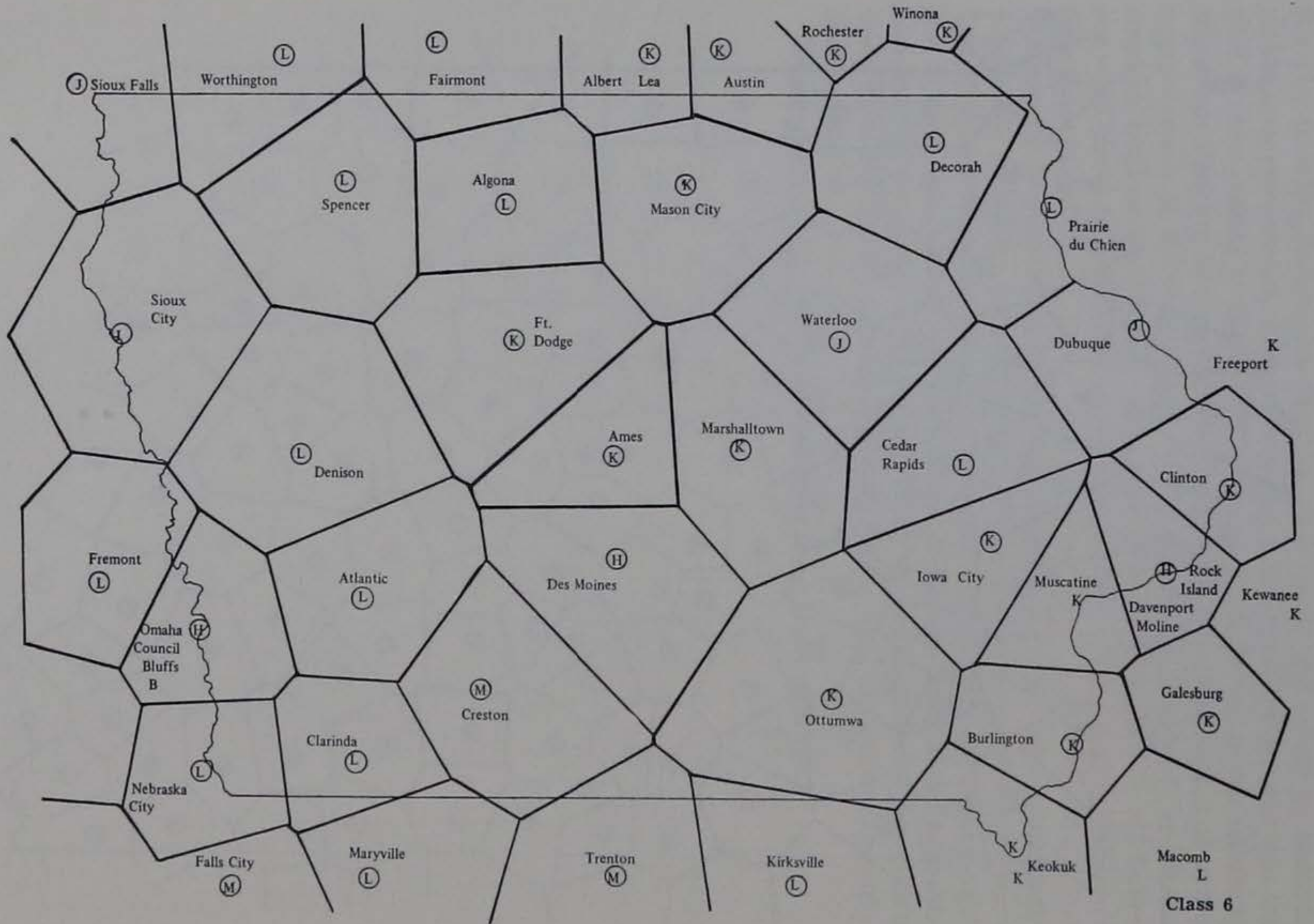
the wise founding fathers provided for all three. In our failure to maintain viable local government, we have witnessed the erosion of services and the shift of their control to larger levels. This is as much due to our failure to adjust our thinking as on what constitutes local government as it is to the aggressiveness of the federal and state governments. I suggest we should consider local as anything less than state within a one-hour travel limit—not what it was in grandfather's time, but what it will be in your children's time if not in yours.

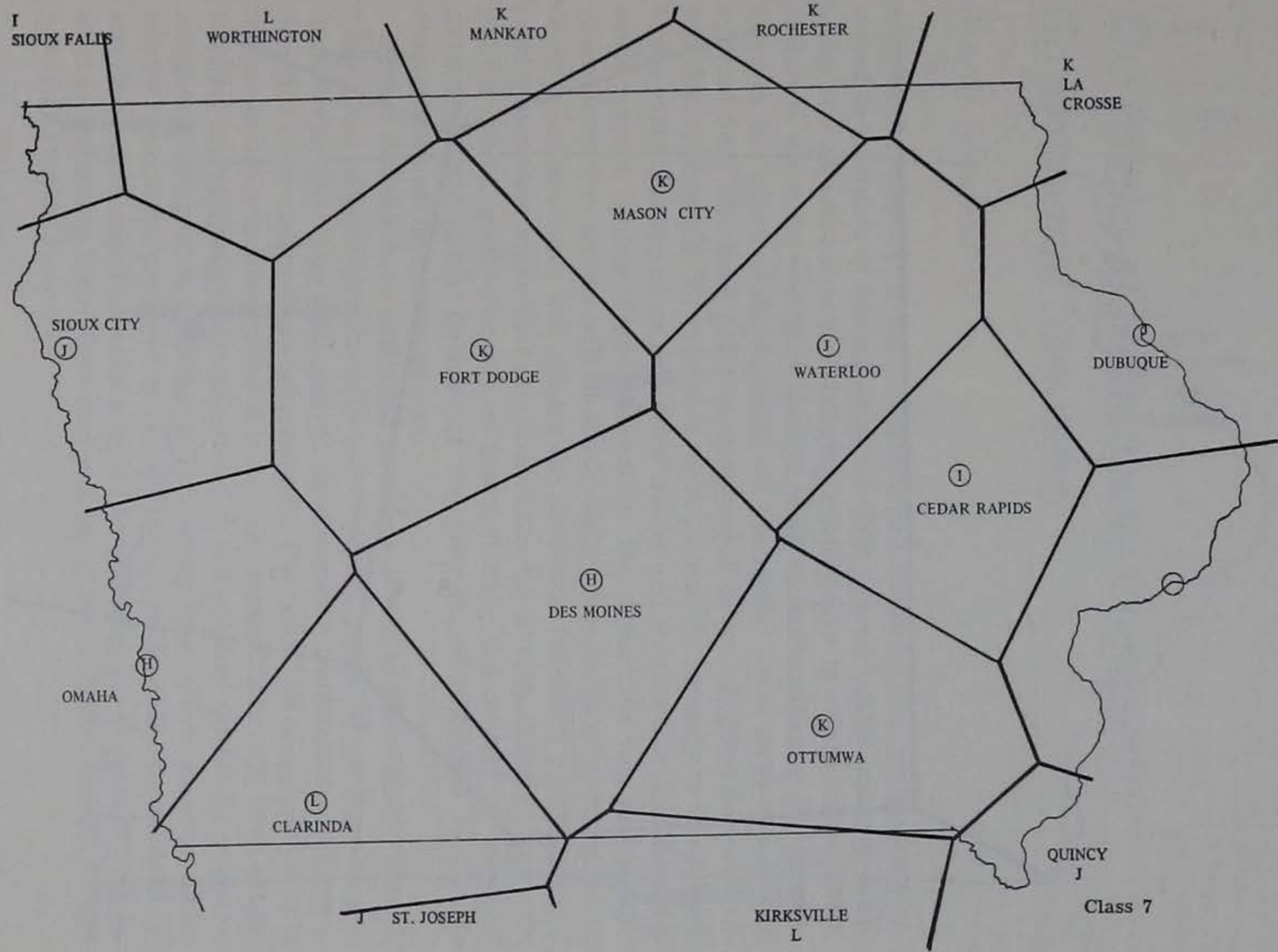
Again the two essentials in my view are that we must have a minimum population within a maximum range of accessibility for government services. If these two cannot be mated, then we must consider subsidizing services in those areas deficient in population in order to bring about a healthier condition for growth until our constantly expanding national population finds these low-density areas and fills them to a level of minimum population support.

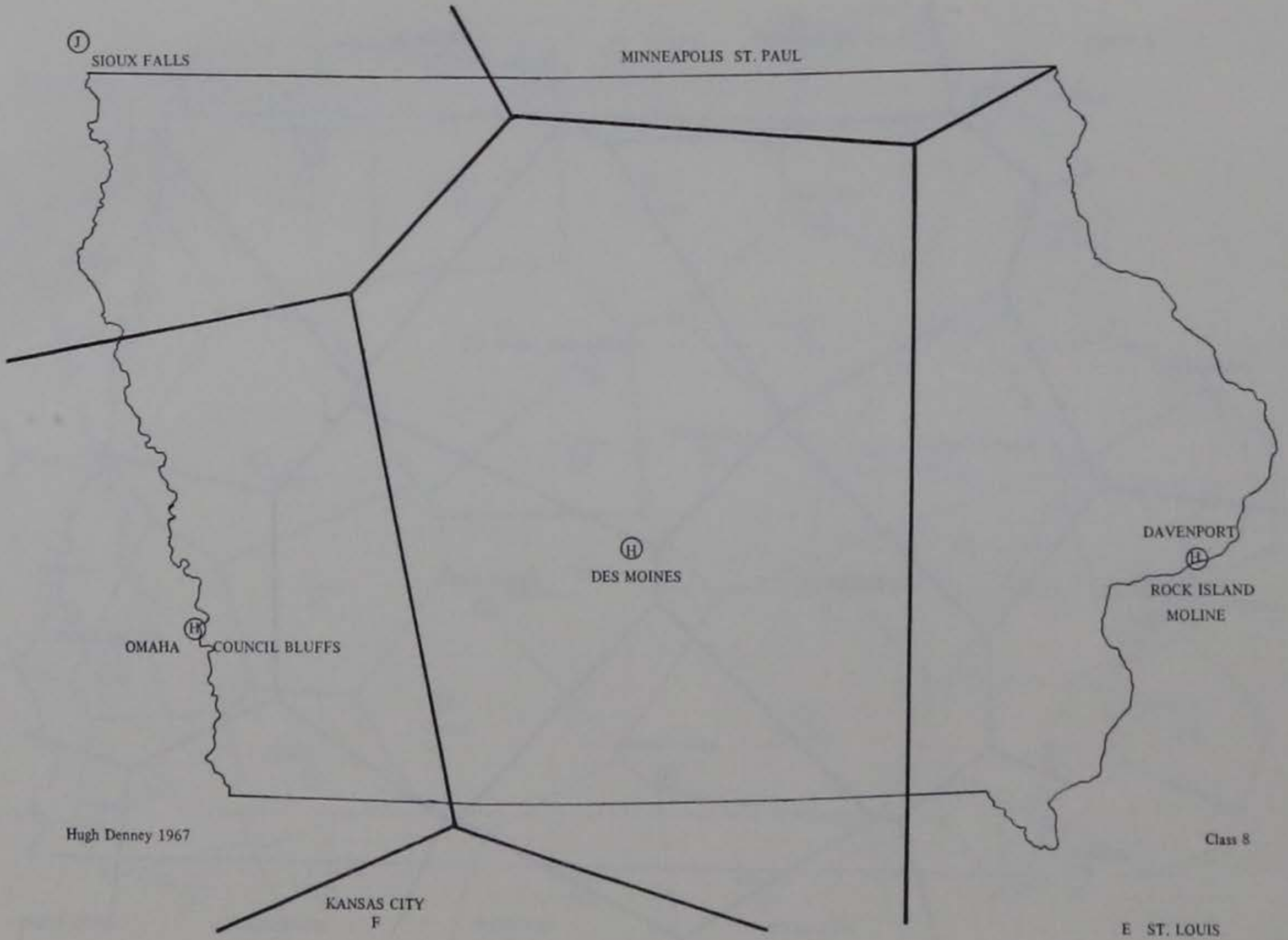
Thank you for the opportunity of sharing these views with you.



Class 5







The Politics of Redesigning Community Governmental Structures

HENRY J. SCHMANDT*

All systems, whether biological, mechanical, or social, are continuously involved in a process of self-maintenance. This process entails constant adaptation and adjustment to the changing environment in which they operate. Failure to make the necessary changes leads to malfunctioning and in some cases to the eventual displacement of the system by a more viable and relevant unit. The local polity or government is no exception to this well-established principle. To survive, it must possess the capacity to adapt itself to the rapid changes of an urbanized nation and to meet the new demands made upon it. Unless it can demonstrate this ability, its role and significance in modern society will diminish while other levels of government or other social structures will assume the defaulted functions. Some critics of local government argue that this diminution has already occurred to a substantial extent, partly because of forces outside the control of the local community and partly because of the deep-seated resistance to change characteristic of the existing system.

Recent decades have witnessed countless efforts in the United States to adapt local political structures to contemporary needs. These have ranged from simple tinkering with internal administrative mechanisms to the creation of unified metropolitan governments. The record of accomplishment is spotty—to listen to many critics it is dismally small. Those who have sought to effect reorganization have discovered that a political system encompasses safeguards designed to sustain it in its existing form and to preserve its integrity against the pressures of change. Some proponents of structural reform have been mindful of this simple fact and have sought to take account of it in fashioning their plans and strategies; the majority, however, have ignored its import altogether.

Sources of Confusion

Considerable confusion has surrounded the question of redesigning community governmental structures. The long-standing debate over the desir-

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ability and necessity of structural change has generated more heat than understanding and has been of scarcely more than marginal value to those concerned with the viability of the local polity. One source of confusion has been the tendency to generalize, to assume that the situation is basically the same in all urban areas, to speak of all communities as though they were New York City or Chicago. Painting with a broad brush facilitates coverage but it also prevents differentiation. Much of the debate and much of the literature are aimed at the large metropolitan aggregations, and a substantial portion of what is said has little relevancy for many of the nation's smaller communities. Despite this fact, civic activists and other proponents of change, no matter what the size, character, and political culture of the particular area, tend to employ a common rhetoric, often to the bewilderment of the citizen and public official at whom it presumably is directed.

Another source of confusion lies in the vast accumulation of writings dealing with local governmental reform. Here the reader can find support for almost any position he might be disposed to take. On the one hand, he can find a grim picture of balkanized governmental systems, of an excessive surplus of local units, of numerous instances of overlapping jurisdictions and functional duplications, and of seriously defective and irrational administrative structures—the conclusion being that these conditions are major contributors to the plight of our urban communities. The most recent expression of this viewpoint is contained in the report of the prestigious Committee on Economic Development (CED), entitled *Modernizing Local Government*. According to the recommendations of the committee, the number of local governments in the United States should be reduced by at least 80 per cent; the number of overlapping layers of local government found in most states should be severely curtailed; popular elections should be confined to council members and chief executives. Adaptation of change by the nation's courthouses and city halls, the CED warns, has been so slow, so limited, and so reluctant that the future role of our local public institutions is now in grave doubt.¹

On the other hand, the reader perusing the literature can also discover strong support for the view that the conditions, as described by the CED, are not abnormal but part of the ordinary problems of living in a wealthy, changing, complex society. It is of little importance, in this view, that twenty or several hundred political subdivisions may exist in an urban area; perhaps there should even be more.² Although some adjustments may be

¹ *Modernizing Local Government* (New York: Committee for Economic Development, July, 1966).

² For an expression of this viewpoint see Edward Banfield, "The Politics of Metropolitan Area Organization," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, I (May, 1957), pp. 77-78; and Charles R. Adrian, "Metropology: Folklore and Field Research," *Public Administration Review*, XXI (Summer, 1961), pp. 148-157.

needed from time to time, these can be accomplished in the normal push and pull of the political process.

A third source of confusion is the failure to distinguish clearly between internal administrative changes and those which relate to the adjustment of political boundaries or the relations between units of government. The CED report, for example, speaks in one breath of the proliferation of local governments and the need for a single chief executive and a strong merit system for public employees. This holistic approach reflects the merger of the earlier reform movement to end municipal "corruption" and the later crusade for metropolitan government. Administrative reconstruction and the establishment of areawide political mechanisms are, of course, related; but indiscriminately lumping them together only obfuscates the issue and often prevents either from being achieved. County government, it is commonly said, must be modernized so that it can take on new responsibilities as a metropolitan or regional purveyor of services. Political opposition from all sides is thus generated: from the county officials who feel threatened, and from the local officials who see a diminution of their power. Thus, no one but the civic reformer is left to lead the movement. Moreover, we have little evidence outside of impression that existing county structures cannot, in many cases, assume a larger role without major surgery. In fact, one might well argue that the new responsibilities, once assumed, would in themselves lead to the necessary administrative changes.

A fourth area of confusion arises from the failure to distinguish between problems which exist in urban areas regardless of form of government, and those which exist by virtue of inadequacies of administrative structure. Just as it is wholly erroneous to assume that governmental structure is unrelated to policy output or the general tone of a community, so is it misleading to contend that reorganization is the answer to its difficulties. Yet the tendency on the part of those advocating change has been to associate community problems with administrative structure and to assume that modifications of the latter would alleviate the former. This impression has often diverted attention from the basic sources of many of the difficulties which lie in social cleavages or economic factors. Government structure, as recent empirical studies have shown, is linked to policy output, but the more important variables affecting the behavior of the public sector are those which relate to the resources, socio-economic characteristics, and political culture of the community.³ Proposed changes, more often than not, ignore these factors.

A final cause of confusion results from the incompatibility among the values which are to be furthered or the needs to be served by redesigning

³ See in this connection, Thomas R. Dye, "Governmental Structure, Urban Environment, and Educational Policy," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, XI (August, 1967), pp. 353-380.

the local polity. Among the generally agreed upon values to be promoted are operational efficiency and economy, effectiveness, equity, responsiveness, representativeness, and citizen access to the policymakers and administrators. Those who argue for change usually contend that their proposals will advance all of these goals. Efficient government, they say, is more responsive to popular will; representativeness results in a more equitable distribution of the costs and benefits, and so on. The relationship, however, is not that clear. Proposed solutions may, and frequently do, promote one value at the expense of another. Efficiency and economy, for example, may be advanced by the creation of a governmental unit of such large size that citizen control and accessibility would be limited and popular participation discouraged. Or the type of representation (e.g., at large instead of by district) may increase overall effectiveness but deny meaningful access to minority groups. The same situation exists with respect to needs. The type and size of organization which may be best for areawide planning may be dysfunctional for the management of conflict or the protection of valid neighborhood interests.

The conflicting forces and pressures of modern urban society aggravate this dilemma. Specialization, one of the major characteristics of urbanization, is a prime example of a force which pulls in two directions. Each specialty, whether it be a profession, a governmental bureaucracy, or a homogeneous suburban neighborhood, endeavors to build up protective walls around itself to prevent encroachment by outside interests. It seeks, in other words, to establish an autonomous position for itself, and in doing so contributes to the fragmentation of the urban community. At the same time, specialization, whether functional or spatial, leads to greater interdependence among individuals and economic enterprises as well as among local governmental institutions. This interdependence, in turn, necessitates integrating and coordinating mechanisms to bring the specialized segments of the community into effective working relations. If, in short, we are to have pluralism—and no supporter of a democratic system would question the desirability of this—we must also have the means of reassembling the numerous parts in the interest of the whole.

These counterpulls find expression in the demand for consolidated political units on the one hand and in the burgeoning of neighborhood and community organizations on the other. The latter trend, in its more radical form, calls for a large measure of neighborhood self-rule within the large core city as an essentially protective device against "overcentralized" government and an incentive to citizen participation.⁴ This move toward the creation of "ward republics" is a modern version of the "grassroots" philoso-

⁴ Milton Kotler, "Two Essays on the Neighborhood Corporation," in *Urban America: Goals and Problems* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 170-191.

phy long used to rationalize the existence of suburban governments. Meritorious as its objectives may be, it adds further confusion to an already complex picture and weakens the logic of the political "integrationists."

Political Factors

Redesigning the governmental structure of an urban area—whether in minimal fashion through cooperative devices or in more fundamental ways such as annexation or functional consolidation—is essentially a political question. Every proposal for change must at some point meet the test of political acceptability, a test that is provided in some cases by popular referendum, in others by the legislative bodies of the units involved, and in still others by the nod of approval or disapproval of party leaders. The fact that it is a political question requires that it be approached in a political manner and with political strategies, not as a civic crusade for a new music hall or football stadium. Changes in the governmental structure involve alterations in the division of power, rewards, and labors. These changes may, and often do, jeopardize the positions of local officials and employees, threaten the protective controls exercised by suburban units, affect the representation of different constituencies, and modify the impact of taxes and services on various groups. It is naive to expect that a reorganization proposal will have such overwhelming logic from the standpoint of efficiency or equity that it can avoid attacks from those who perceive it as a threat to their interests.

The position of individuals and community groups toward reorganization proposals and the intensity of their support or opposition is determined largely by (1) the conditions which give rise to particular plans and which are sought to be corrected, (2) the kind of alterations being sought, and (3) the possible effect of the changes on their interests. Proposals involving areawide restructuring, for example, are likely to mobilize a different set of actors than those which relate to internal administrative improvements. Or a recommendation for the establishment of a special district to handle sewage disposal is likely to activate different groups than a move to transfer property assessment powers from the municipalities to the county government.

Empirical studies give us only a sketchy picture of the politics of governmental reform. The long-prevalent tendency to view reorganization in apolitical terms has led to emphasis on the substance and rationale for change to the almost total neglect of political factors. Impression, folklore, and a priori assumptions have constituted the basis of our knowledge. Only in recent years have systematic efforts been made to probe into the causes of success and failure and to identify the critical variables involved. These studies, however, have concerned themselves largely with the major reform campaigns; few have sought to examine the less spectacular but far more

numerous instances of change attempts of smaller scope.⁵ The deficiency is unfortunate since it hinders comparison and makes generalization more tenuous.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in one of its earlier studies undertook a review of reorganization efforts made in eighteen metropolitan areas from 1950 through 1961.⁶ The purpose was to determine the kinds of issues involved, the role of the various community elements, and the strategies employed. The Commission found that in nearly every instance, the proponents of change focused strongly on two points: the faultiness of the existing local government structure or operations, and the need for urban-type services in outlying areas. Opponents likewise concentrated on several key issues: financial costs and their geographic allocation, the "drastic" nature of the change, and the existence of "better" approaches for meeting the local situation. The lineup of supporters and opponents in each case was strikingly similar. Those favoring the reorganization typically included metropolitan newspapers, League of Women Voters, central city chambers of commerce, central city commercial and real estate interests, and, to a lesser extent, central city officials. Those opposed included farmers, rural homeowners, employees of county government and of local governments in the fringe area, and suburban newspapers. Missing from the list of those actively involved, with a few exceptions, were such influential mass-based groups as political parties and labor unions.

As the Commission review and other studies have found, reorganization proposals generally fall on an apathetic public.⁷ In some instances this indifference results from the absence of a really critical situation to be remedied; in others it is because the citizenry does not perceive or recognize a problem of serious consequence. The latter may be due to a communication failure on the part of those advocating change or it may simply be that people are too busy with their personal affairs to listen. Moreover, as is well known, every referendum automatically generates a certain "against" vote,

⁵ See, for example, Scott Greer, *Metropolitics* (New York: Wiley, 1963); Roscoe C. Martin, *Metropolis in Transition* (Washington: Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1963); Edward Sofen, *The Miami Metropolitan Experiment* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963); and David Booth, *Metropolitics: The Nashville Consolidation* (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development and Services, Michigan State University, 1963). One of the few case studies of reorganization in a smaller urban area is William C. Havard and Floyd C. Corty, *Rural-Urban Consolidation: The Merger of Governments in the Baton Rouge Area* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1964).

⁶ *Factors Affecting Voter Reactions to Governmental Reorganization in Metropolitan Areas* (Washington: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, May 1962).

⁷ See, for example, John C. Bollens (ed.), *Exploring the Metropolitan Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961); and Bernard J. Frieden, *Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966).

one that can easily be mobilized as an expression of resentment against the "establishment" or the "powers to be." In fact, one of the successful reorganization efforts of recent years, the consolidation of the city of Nashville and Davidson County, was as much the result of resentment against the purported central city "political machine" as it was of recognition of the proposal's merits.

What the experiences of reorganization endeavors suggest is that "there be an early, realistic, and hard-headed consideration of the implications of structural change for key groups and leaders in the area; that these implications enter into the choice among possible alternatives in the development of a particular reorganization proposal; and that the process by which a specific proposal is developed be such as to enlist the interest and expression of views by a diverse range of community elements."⁸ Whatever the change, it is likely to take place through political channels, under the initiative of political actors, and through the process of political bargaining. Civic groups and civic leaders are important, but more as legitimizing symbols for the cause than as carriers of the movement.

Governmental reorganization, as change efforts in general, should be based on some calculation of the costs and benefits involved, not only those of a material character but also those relating to values. Assessments of the latter nature can be made only if we know something about the relationship between governmental forms and structures and policy outputs. The essential question is whether, and in what way, translation of social demands into public policy and the responsiveness of local political systems to class, racial, and other community differences vary with the kinds of political structures adopted. When, for example, a larger unit of government is created or certain services consolidated, do these changes differentially affect the various segments of the polity?

There is always danger that changes in governmental structure made for purposes of efficiency or economy may have consequences for substantive issues or interests in the community. An example of this possibility occurred recently in a federal district court where the split verdict⁹ in damage suits was inaugurated in the interest of saving time. The device proved successful for this purpose but like a drug which cures one malady only to produce side effects, so the two-stage procedure was accompanied by a substantial increase in the number of verdicts for defendant on the question of liabil-

⁸ Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁹ Under the "split-verdict" device, the question of liability is separated from the question of damages. No proof of the latter is presented in the initial trial. If the jury brings in a verdict of liability, it is then reconvened to hear testimony pertaining to the extent of damages suffered by the plaintiff.

ity.¹⁰ Whether this represented a more equitable allocation of justice is not known. What the experiment clearly demonstrated is the danger of appraising structural or procedural changes in public agencies merely by efficiency or economy tests.

Unfortunately, little empirical evidence exists to show the relationship between structure and output much as such knowledge would be helpful in fashioning proposals for change.¹¹ Nor is there much evidence available as to the socio-economic factors which pull towards or away from greater political integration in the local community system. Some studies, however, are beginning to emerge in this difficult area of inquiry. Typical of the findings are those which indicate that cooperative arrangements occur with greater frequency among local units of similar social rank than among those of different status.¹² Others show that high social-rank communities are predisposed to cooperate in arrangements which will raise service standards but not affect life styles while low-ranking communities are less disposed to enter into intergovernmental agreements.¹³ Still others reveal that annexation is more likely to succeed where the social differential between the city and the fringe area is not great than when social distance favors the latter.¹⁴ As yet, these research endeavors offer little in the way of policy guidance to local officials. Far greater efforts must be made if we are to enlarge significantly our understanding of the centripetal and centrifugal forces at work in urban and metropolitan areas.

The Psychology of Change

The efforts of local polities to adapt themselves to the changing demands of their environment—or conversely, to control their environment—have taken many forms. In virtually every case the response has been minimal and designed to meet an existing problem or crisis in a way least disturbing to existing arrangements. Seldom has the change occurred in anticipation of the future or for the purpose of reshaping the environment by

¹⁰ Hans Zeisel and Thomas Callahan, "Split Trials and Time Saving: A Statistical Analysis," *Harvard Law Review*, 76 (June, 1963), pp. 1606-25.

¹¹ For a study dealing with this relationship, see Robert L. Lineberry and Edmund P. Fowler, "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities," *American Political Science Review* LXI (September, 1967), pp. 701-716. Also see Charles E. Gilbert, "Some Aspects of Nonpartisan Elections in Large Cities," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, VI (November, 1962), pp. 345-362.

¹² Oliver P. Williams, *et al.*, *Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965).

¹³ Thomas R. Dye, "City-Suburban Social Distance and Public Policy," *Social Forces*, 44 (September, 1965), pp. 100-106.

¹⁴ Thomas R. Dye, "Urban Political Integration: Conditions Associated with Annexation in American Cities," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, VIII (November, 1964), pp. 430-446.

developing potential strengths and assets. Resistance to change is always great, whether in individual behavior or in institutional practices. All of us in our many roles of parent, employer, political candidate, or citizen are constantly engaged in trying to influence the behavior of others. Most of us act intuitively; a few proceed on the basis of "street corner" or "parlor" psychology. Generally, those who have sought modifications in local governmental structures have appealed to the rationality of man but have paid scant heed to the psychological factors involved. Modern industry has been much more cognizant of these elements and has sought to utilize this knowledge in influencing corporate behavior. In fact, the insights developed in the field of organizational theory and practice might be drawn on with profit by those in the political and governmental sectors.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to an exploratory examination in nonprofessional terms of the psychology of change as it relates to the politics of redesigning the governmental structure of the urban community. The discussion will center around three models (or approaches) for influencing behavioral change: authoritarian, manipulative, and collaborative.¹⁵ The three are ideal types and are in no way exclusive; elements of each may appear in any given case although one or the other usually predominates.

The Authoritarian Model. According to the authoritarian model, people in higher ranks use their position to direct the behavior of those lower in the hierarchy. Superiors in bureaucratic organizations, for example, frequently turn to authority whenever a change problem arises with subordinates. Their use of this form of influence or power is likely to be motivated by the need for order, control, and efficiency. The probable result in each case is the establishment of a minimum level of conformity by subordinates who may resent the directive but who comply with it because of the sanctions which the superior can impose on them.

The authoritarian model is often employed in the governmental sector to make internal administrative adjustments, such as the reorganization of a department, but its use is much less frequent in effecting changes in the structural pattern of local government. Unlike the Canadian system where provincial authorities on occasions superimpose new governmental structures on urban communities—the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is a case in point—American state legislatures have generally respected the principle of local home rule and have left the question of areawide restructuring to the decision of the local communities. School district consolidation has been the major exception to the non-use of the authoritarian model in the United States. At a lower level, forced change has also been resorted to by cities and towns in states where liberal annexation laws permit the expan-

¹⁵ These models are taken from Harold J. Leavitt, *Managerial Psychology*, revised edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

sion of municipal boundaries without the consent of those in the affected territory.

Many observers have long advocated a greater use of state authority in redesigning the urban polity, but the principle of local self-determination has permitted little beyond enabling legislation authorizing changes at the option of the local governments. Alterations in individual or corporate behavior brought about by fiat usually lead, as we have already observed, to a low level of compliance, if not actual resentment. As a result, the potentialities of the change are seldom fully realized and often are even negated. There is no reason to believe that similar results will not follow governmental restructuring forced on an area by higher authority without the acquiescence and support of a majority of the major political actors at the local level. The experiences of the Miami-Dade County reorganization lend credence to this assumption. Although approved by countywide referendum, the change was in effect forced on many of the suburban municipalities over their vigorous objection. The subsequent history of the difficulties which have plagued the new government and the tortuous progress it has made in taking over significant functions are common knowledge.¹⁶

The Manipulative Model. The second approach to change, manipulation, is to try to get someone else to do something we want him to do without using authority. This model is used mainly in situations where the superior-subordinate relationship does not exist and where authority therefore cannot be employed. This situation is analogous to the case of local government where the relationship among the political subdivisions is more that of peers than of unequals. Those resorting to the manipulative approach are well aware of human needs, emotions, and values, and how they affect behavior. Never fully revealing their motives, they try first to win the confidence of the other person and to establish a dependency relationship with him that can be exploited as a bargaining weapon for bringing about the desired change. In this process they proceed slowly and gradually, seeking to influence behavior alterations in bits and pieces and by indirection rather than direction.

The grant-in-aid device is sometimes used as a manipulative tool. As local governments become increasingly dependent upon federal and state subsidies in various functional areas, it becomes possible for the granting agencies to design preconditions to aid in such a way as to bring about significant changes in the local governmental system. The most notable example of the use of subsidies for this purpose is the federal requirement for area-wide review of community facility applications, a requirement which has led to the establishment of regional planning commissions and councils of governments in virtually every urban area of the country. The purpose of

¹⁶ See Edward Sofen, *op. cit.*

the requirement is less to provide for local review—the funding agencies continue to do their own reviewing—than it is to promote the establishment of a governmental mechanism at the metropolitan or regional level which can evolve into a meaningful coordinating and policy-making organ for matters of areawide concern.

Manipulation has seldom been a tool employed by local groups seeking to restructure the governmental pattern. Their approach usually has been direct, precipitous, and hortatory. Reliance has been placed on the presumed logic of the change with little effort to design the plans in such a way as to co-opt key political or governmental leaders in the cause. For the most part, it has been the opponents of change who have successfully utilized manipulative devices to mobilize resistance to reorganization plans. One noteworthy exception was the successful Nashville-Davidson County consolidation where the proponents of change skillfully exploited political rivalries to build up a winning coalition.¹⁷

Manipulation generally results in a more willing acceptance to change (and hence a higher level of compliance) than does the use of authority or coercion. It runs the danger of backfiring, however, should the subject discover or begin to feel that he is being “played.” People resent being manipulated and when they suspect they are the victims of such techniques, their reactions are likely to nullify whatever change may have taken place and make further efforts in this direction futile.

The Collaborative Model. The third approach, the collaborative model, is designed to get people to recognize a need for modifying their behavior and to seek assistance in effecting such change. Alcoholics Anonymous employs this method with considerable success. It helps those who ask assistance to change themselves by showing them alternative means, substitute behaviors, and new sources of faith. The community development model used by the Peace Corps and the Extension Divisions of some American land-grant universities is based essentially on the psychology of the collaborative approach. Community development specialists help local leaders and residents articulate the needs they feel and analyze the problems their community faces, understand what can be changed and how such modifications can be brought about, assess what resources they have and how these resources can be utilized and expanded to effect the desired change. Always, however, it is the community members themselves who decide whether changes should be made and what they should be.

Unlike Alcoholics Anonymous where each man is permitted to solve his own problem in his own way and at his own pace, or unlike the doctor who

¹⁷ John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, *The Metropolis* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 507-512.

must wait for the patient to feel bad enough to seek help, governmental reorganization usually cannot afford to sit by until local officials recognize and become unhappy with the existing situation. Since human beings, whether private citizens or public officials, do not change unless they feel dissatisfied with their present behavior, several techniques, other than sit and wait, may be employed to make people want to change. One is simply to inform others that their work or behavior is unsatisfactory and does not merit the rewards you have at your disposal. This occurs in the governmental sector when an industry informs local officials that existing service arrangements are not satisfactory enough to warrant plant location or expansion in their community. It also occurs when groups threaten to withhold their votes from incumbent candidates unless certain changes or improvements are made.

A second technique is to place people in situations where their inadequacies become obvious to them. One way of accomplishing this is to give them additional responsibilities which will necessitate a change of behavior on their part if they hope to succeed in carrying out the new tasks. Instances of this have occurred where the state, by placing new duties on its political subdivisions, has caused local officials to recognize the inadequacies of the existing structure and the need to introduce organizational and procedural changes in order to discharge the new responsibilities. Earlier we mentioned that the insistence on modernization of county government as a precondition for the assumption of new functions has stood as an impediment to functional consolidation. According to the psychological principles involved here, such reorganization need not necessarily take place prior to or simultaneously with the transfer of functions; in some instances it may be worthwhile to take the risk of assuming that such change will follow.

Another technique of the collaborative model is to make people want to change by giving them higher goals and opening up new opportunities for them; in sort, by raising their levels of aspiration. The Model Cities program is based essentially on this psychology (as is the community development approach). Communities are encouraged to raise their sights, to undergo a process of self-assessment, and to devise plans of broad scope to bring about significant improvement in their localities. The initiative for change rests with local officials and citizen groups; and although guidelines are set by higher authorities, the intent is to keep them as flexible as possible so as to permit solutions that take account of the peculiarities of each community. In this way, changes can be worked out and new behaviors adopted which fill the needs of both the external environment and the psyche of the community itself.

The technique of opening new opportunities for the purpose of stimulat-

ing change would be applicable, for example, in those areas which are on the reverse side of the urban coin. Overwhelmed by the statistics of urbanization, we tend to overlook the fact that more than half the counties of the United States and many of their communities are declining in population. In such areas, the traditional devices of governmental reorganization, such as annexation and consolidation, have little applicability. It is conceivable that an entirely different type of governmental structure might be encouraged by holding out opportunities and incentives for growth and development. The change would be directed toward the aggregation of resources on a sufficiently wide territorial basis to make the area a viable and competitive entity. This objective would require a regional or subregional framework, a set of goals accepted by all political subdivisions, and a political mechanism involving local, state, and federal agencies for the purpose of capitalizing on potentialities and sources of strength. It would also require revision of the tax structure so that the location of industry or other income-producing activities would be freed from internal competition among the local governments. The objective would be to create, through intergovernmental arrangements, an economic unit which would function in some respects as a single community with a population sufficiently large to be economically viable even though this population would be spread over an area of several or more counties and would encompass numerous townships and municipalities. Unrealistic as it may now appear, serious consideration of such a development may become a strong possibility in the foreseeable future as the problems of our heavily urbanized centers continue to mount. Stable or declining areas with imaginative leadership could capitalize on this possibility by making use of the external aids which are becoming increasingly available.

The collaborative approach to governmental reorganization is obviously time-consuming as well as frustrating to those who are impatient with the status quo and want action quickly and efficiently. In the large urban areas where time is at a premium, and some would say running out, the only recourse as a practical necessity may be change superimposed from above. But in many of the smaller and medium-sized communities where the problems and demands are not as critical or pressing, reliance may be placed on less coercive means to achieve functional alterations in the local governmental system. And change effected by collaboration invariably has more desirable consequences than change brought about by coercion since it evokes more willing compliance and fewer efforts to undermine its purpose by passive resistance or other techniques of avoidance.

Conclusion

The task of redesigning the urban polity is continuous and never-ending.

Changes accomplished today, no matter how well conceived, may prove inappropriate or inadequate for tomorrow. Or an alteration made in one part of the system may generate difficulties in another and necessitate further adjustments. So also the problem of allocating functions among and within levels of government can never be satisfactorily or permanently solved in a dynamic society. The tendency in the United States has been for power, both public and private, to move ever upward; and this movement shows no sign of reversing itself. Yet as power concentrates, it generates counterpressures toward decentralization, as we have witnessed in large industrial establishments such as General Motors, and in the demand for greater neighborhood involvement in the community decision-making process. The form that the society is evolving toward appears to be one of diminishing policy-making powers of broad import at the lower levels of business and government accompanied, however, by an expanding area of administrative discretion at these levels in policy interpretation and application.

The problems of adequate housing, equality of opportunity in employment and education, racial discrimination, and the conservation of natural resources have now become nationalized to the point where federal policy can be expected increasingly to promote their solution. At the same time, this activity at the national level of government—and to a lesser extent at the state level—opens up new opportunities for local governments by making available to them resources which they themselves could not possibly muster because of political realities or lack of economic means. Viewed in this light, the problem of reorganizing the local governmental structure becomes essentially one of reshaping the system to conform to the realities of the emerging power arrangements. This means, in other words, that structural changes in local government should be considered not only with respect to their impact on the internal operating efficiency of the community or metropolitan area but also with regard to their appropriateness vis-a-vis the outside world, particularly the national and state governments. For the better organized and unified they are structurally, the stronger will be their bargaining position with the higher centers of power.

By shifting the emphasis for change from internal efficiency to resource mobilization for coping with the external environment, the objectives of both may be furthered without arousing the intense opposition that proposals for structural reorganization invariably generate. Heterogeneous groups, as we know, are more likely to cooperate in achieving a "superordinate" goal, one that is so important to each that differences among them go by the board. These groups can be brought together by threatening all of them or by inducing a common objective which raises their sights and presents them with new opportunities. Governmental change in urban areas need not be a zero sum game in which there are only winners and losers; it can,

if properly conceived and articulated, be converted into an "economic-type" game in which all or most of the parties profit. The primary task is to develop stronger identification of the subunits with the total community and its goals so that relevant changes can be accomplished. This is an exceedingly difficult undertaking, but in the face of increasing outside pressures, it is a possibility not to be ignored. The question always is where the leadership and initiative for moving in this direction will be found. Here we are back in the realm of politics.

