

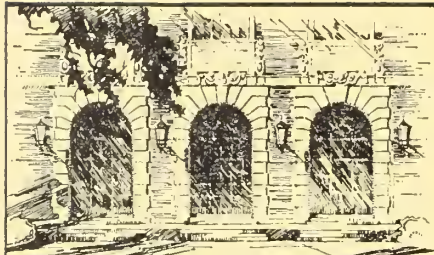
THE ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL PLANNER IN THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

(MODEL CITIES SEMINAR PAPERS: 1968-1969)

UP 487-A Urban Planning Seminar

Fall, 1968-1969

University of Illinois
Department of Urban Planning
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PURPOSE AND SCOPE

This report was developed by Carl Patton from an urban planning seminar devoted to examination of the Model Cities Program. UP 487-A, held during the Fall of 1968, was the second seminar devoted to this purpose. The first seminar was held during the Fall of 1967, and both were guided by Professor Louis B. Wetmore.

Model Cities was examined from several broad contexts: the basic social issues, the content of the program, and the role of the professional planner. The basic social issues were viewed as they were related to the reform movement and increase in social awareness which brought the Model Cities Program into being. The goals of the Model Cities Program were examined and the objectives which are intended to trend to those goals were brought to light. The content of the program was then examined both in regard to scope and methods involved. Of particular interest were the experiments attempted, the innovations and their potential for success and failure. The contributions and roles of the professional planner were also viewed as elements of a strategy to improve the quality of urban life. The third context, the role of the planner, permitted examination of the state of the profession in relation to the demands of social and policy planning. This also permitted defining new roles for the professional planner implied by the broadened scope of planning, and caused recognition of the demand for an intergovernmental planning structure.


Regular seminar sessions were supplemented by guest participants and visits with appropriate agencies. Professor Robert Heifetz, from the Department of Urban Planning, joined a session of the seminar to discuss the background of urban renewal, helping to establish a context for the social awareness approach of Model

Cities. Professor Donald Lathrope, from the school of Social Work, Discussed the concept of the culture of poverty, to help develop an awareness of the inter-relatedness of the causes and effects of poverty. Robert Mendelson from Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, presented the case study of East St. Louis in the development of its Model Cities Program, illustrating the goal-formulation and objective-setting process and citizen involvement aspects of the program.

Members of the seminar visited the regional office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Chicago, Illinois. A discussion was held with Alan Goldfarb, regional director, concerning the overall Model Cities Program as it related to the total group of federal programs aimed at improving the quality of urban living. Areas of concern to individual members were then discussed as they related to the particular topics and papers being developed.

Staff from the Model Cities Agency and the Department of Development and Planning of the City of Chicago met with members of the seminar to discuss Model Cities as it related to the city as a larger unit for planning. The sub-area-whole concept of Model Cities was discussed, noting that the solution to Model Cities Area problems cannot be found entirely within the project boundaries.

A precis of the six papers developed by the members of the seminar is presented as the first section of this report. Copies of the papers are on file in the City Planning and Landscape Architecture Library, University of Illinois, Urbana. An opportunity to examine any paper of interest can be arranged through the library.



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I. PRECIS OF THE SEMINAR PAPERS

The seminar papers, in examining the Model Cities Program, express concern over the activities engaged in by planners, and indicate where there is need of an expanding of professional emphasis.

Roland Loch and Milton Nicholas are concerned with Intergovernmental Relationships. Loch, by using housing as a vehicle, compares the policies developed at the three planning levels considered, and finds they are rather consistent. He attributes this consistency to the fact that the problems of the Model Cities Area account for most of the difficulties in the central city, and that the metropolitan planning agencies, having only advisory functions, can establish ideal policies to attack the problems which again rise mainly from the central city. Where discrepancies in the intention or interpretation of policies occur, Loch feels they result from the contrast between the central city and the surrounding suburbs. He concludes by noting that most difficulties of the central city can only be dealt within the metropolitan context, and argues for a stronger metropolitan government authorized to coordinate the planning of the central city and the suburban communities.

Nicholas continues investigation of this sub-area-larger whole conflict through the concept of the public interest in relation to the Model Cities Program. By viewing the Model Cities area as a special interest group he examines internal and intra-community conflict, concluding that the planner, in dealing in a Model Cities situation, may not need to be overly concerned about the public interest at the larger community level. He will, however, have to deal with interests within the area and identify his specific client. Nicholas feels the definition of the public is the most difficult task which must be carried out, but once this

has been established, the ends being sought begin to crystalize. The actual concept of the public interest cannot be said to have been altered, but more the method of deriving and interpreting it. It is not an isolated process that is carried on by the planner, but through citizen involvement the process has taken on a new dimension and with it new responsibilities for the planner and the citizen.

From this broad-based viewpoint, the scope of examination narrows. Szunyog investigates the use of the Neighborhood Center as a physical and social meeting place which will facilitate citizen participation in the planning process, while consumer-retailer relations in the Model Cities Area is examined by Preissner. Both fit into the context of People and Systems.

Szunyog begins his paper with a discussion of the concern within Model Cities for citizen participation, and the means that are provided to encourage such. He indicates that the important aspects of the requirements and standards are the local organization of residents, and the facilitation of an intelligent dialogue between the residents and the City Demonstration Agency. The success of participation in Model Cities depends, however, on a number of strategies which will encourage residents to become involved. The relationship between the Model Cities program and the Neighborhood Center program comes into play at this point. Both programs have similar goals and similar problems. Each specifically involves residents directly in the planning process and each program cites the other in its guidelines as a possible, constructive adjunct.

Szunyog feels it is difficult to separate what the Neighborhood Center Program can do for Model Cities, and what Model Cities can do for the Neighborhood Center

Program. The role of the Neighborhood Center Program in relation to a Model Cities Program is to organize the neighborhood socially so that it can more easily respond to the greater physical emphasis and importance of the Model Cities Program.

One of the most severe and immediate inequities faced daily by the low-income resident of decayed or ghetto neighborhoods, Preissner contends, is the inefficient retail distribution system. Twenty percent of the United States' families are left to be served by non-mass merchandise establishments, usually overall independent neighborhood "mom" and "pop" stores. Such an indigenous retail system is characterized by higher prices and limited variety intrinsic to small scale neighborhood stores. Preissner cites several studies which document that the poor pay more. He suggests that Model Cities offer a unique opportunity to implement programs to alter the existing consumer-retailer relationship. Consumer education, a Model Cities funded cooperative, assistance to businesses, and attracting chain store retailers to the area are examined as to merit and areas of conflict.

The role of the planner in this endeavor becomes extremely complex. He must serve as an analyst: creating new, altering existing, and deleting obsolete programs as changing conditions demand. Two means to the end goal of optimum purchaser capability exist. Either the ghetto environs must be altered to the degree that private enterprise is freely willing to participate in the provision of quality products at competitive prices, or the existing retail facilities and functions must be improved to produce a new level of service and operation.

The relation of the residents to planning is viewed by James Steele and Robert Daniel. Steele outlines the roles that indigenous workers may perform in Model Cities, recognizing the potentiality of the residents of the disadvantaged community to act as a bridge between the professional and the community. Daniel then examines the use of simulation techniques for facilitating communication between the community and the planner.

The development of "New Careers" is a fourth dimension in the slate of Anti-poverty Programs. It is a manifestation of efforts to realize the potentiality of the poor and to find and develop ways of including them more positively in the mainstream of American life. It recognizes that any efforts to deal with the problems of the poor and poverty must embody some concept of "self-help" in the system. The indigenous worker has unique characteristics which permit him to play a valuable role in Model Cities. He has social position, "know-how," a style of life and motivation which make him a part of the Model Cities area. The relationship, then, is mutual. While jobs for the indigenous worker help him financially, his employment aids the Model Cities Program. Steele sees the nonprofessional indigenous worker involved as a community action aide, housing service aide, or helping with legal service and planning activities. Depending upon the imagination, the list of jobs could be endless.

In the Model Cities Program, however, Steele sees the emergence of a new role, springing from the critical need for a worker whose primary concern is the service relationship between the agencies and the client. This person assumes the responsibility for putting the client and the agency in touch with each other,

and would function in an overall communications role which consists of expediting and facilitating a smooth line of communications between the agency and the client. Steele sees this person as the community worker, and examines both the function he performs for the agency and the issues involved in training the indigenous worker so that his role can contribute to an effective strategy of change in the Model Community.

The nonprofessional indigenous worker will help in reducing manpower shortages in social service fields and provide more, better, and closer service for the poor. The indigenous community worker will play a role, with professional responsibility characteristics, which is vital to the success of the total Model Cities Program.

Daniel approaches the question of relating residents to planning through simulation. He examines several of the techniques involved in simulation and develops a proposal which relates these techniques to the specific problem of externalizing and identifying the values, opinions, and attitudes of the disadvantaged persons one encounters in the Model Cities Area. For the planner, this essentially becomes a problem of developing techniques to help facilitate a more effective means of communication between the planning agency and those for whom the planning is being done. Daniel presents a general description of the contextual elements involved, and some of the advantages and limitations of possible existing simulation techniques.

His proposal consists of two stages. Stage I is to arouse the interest and opinions of the persons within a minority subculture, and begin to create an active interaction among these people. It also serves to help all participants

gain confidence in working with a group. The product of this simulation would be the stimulation of resident opinions, determination of some of their particular opinions and attitudes, and preparation of people for active participation in Stage II. The output of Stage II would be an increased awareness and understanding on the part of the disadvantaged of some of the problems planners must face. It should also create an active interest among these people to help solve some of their problems. Equally important as educating disadvantaged persons is the information which it is possible to gather from such an exercise. It may then be possible for the planners to better assess the structure of the priorities within the Model Cities areas and eventually make plans and proposals which are more closely aligned with the actual needs and desires of these people.

Daniel concludes by analyzing some of the benefits and restraints of the proposed system and some of the implications it might have in relation to the professional planner, the disadvantaged person, and the balance of society. He indicates as well, some of the possible directions and areas still requiring study.

II. THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER

Within the context of comprehensive planning as viewed for this seminar there may be identified three categories: the role of the planner, the planning process, and the comprehensive plan. The first category, the role of the planner, has the broadest base, cutting across all topics examined by the seminar participants. Therefore, to relate the individual research areas, the role of the planner was focused upon. This was judged significant because Model Cities may call for the assumption of new roles or major adaptations of existing roles which are played by professional planners.

In order to be able to compare the roles of the planner in the topic areas, a common description of the roles of the planner was needed. For this, two formulations were used. Robert Daland and John Parker, in Urban Growth Dynamics, describe four roles of the planner, and Henry Fagin, in "The Profession and the Discipline of Planning," distinguishes six major functions of the practice of planning.

Daland and Parker, through empirical study, defined four roles of the planner: (1) institutional leader of his organization, or the role of building confidence in the planning institution; (2) professional planner, or his expertise; (3) instigator of political innovations, or commitment to innovation through the political process; (4) promoter of citizen education in planning.

Fagin's six major functions of the practice of planning are: (1) the basic function of the planner as analyst; (2) the function of synthesis or

assembly of parts to create wholes or systems; (3) the function of collaborator, or a sharing of responsibility for planning; (4) the function of educator, a reaching beyond the immediate circle of planning participants; (5) the function of mediator, a concept of level of compromise in actions collectively taken; (6) the function of advocate, or the service of particular interest groups, especially those not now adequately severed.

After discussion, the seminar participants decided that neither formulation alone would serve. This was due to the fact that Daland and Parker empirically determined the roles played by practitioners, and Fagin distinguished between the functions that should comprise a planners role. The Daland/Parker roles, then, describe sets of activities individual planners might perform, but Model Cities has caused a recognition of the need for a team approach. Fagin's functions represent those activities which in various mixes define the professional positions comprising the professional teams adapted to specific situations.

For the seminar, and within this paper, functions represent both the activities a planner engages in while playing a certain role, and the expertise that members of a team should have, if a team is conceived as performing the required scope of planning practice. A mix of functions may be required in a given situation, but the composition of that mix will depend upon the particular situation. Although Model Cities calls for a very wide scope of concern, every situation may not call for each function.

To use these formulations, one must be conscious of the time frame and methodology involved in the development of the formulations. Parker and Daland developed their formulation more than ten years ago through empirical methods.

They were attempting to describe the role of a planning director as it was actually played in practice. Their roles, then, are situational and descriptive.

Fagin, however, suggests six functions that are required in the practice of planning. He was using this list to suggest that "the state of the art of the profession of planning is embodied in the best levels of competence planners have reached in the performance of the six essential roles." Although Fagin uses the terms "function" and "role" interchangeably, the elements of his formulation are consistent with the definition of "function" developed earlier.

Fagin's redefinition is an example of the widening scope of the professional practice which responds to the expanding demands of society. This expansion has occurred both in terms of the content of subject matter in planning, and in terms of the level of concern. It is exemplified by social and welfare planning, the tendency for planners to become involved at levels other than the city, and planning across municipal boundaries. His formulation refines the institutional role, and calls for an expansion of the other roles to recognize that the planner is being called upon to modify the manner in which he is doing business as well as recognize that his clientele is expanding. The advocate planning interest is an illustration. Although advocacy is not new, since planners have always been advocates for various public interests and frequently have been retained by private groups with specialized or commercial interests, it is defined explicitly in response to a specific expansion of the scope of professional practice.

What Fagin presents, though, is in terms of "what should be," if a planning operation is to be complete, not "what is," that is, what a particular person is doing. His formulation, it should be noted, was not empirically derived, and it could be said that the functions are not situational since they do not arise from empirical observation. They are situational to a degree, though, since they stem from Fagin's observation of the profession of planning. With obvious qualifications, it could be said that if professional practice cannot meet the basics of both formulations, the expectations of professional planning will not be appropriately filled.

Each of the seminar papers suggested that the scope of the practice of planning was expanding. Within the categories of Intergovernmental Systems of Planning, Loch and Nicholas recognized a vertical expansion. Loch was particularly concerned with the relation between the policies set by various levels of government: Model Cities, Comprehensive Planning and Metropolitan-wide Planning. The professional planner will, of course, have to recognize the conflicts and inconsistencies that exist, and he must be prepared to help formulate his client's goals and policies within this framework. Nicholas also responds to this vertical expansion of role through the concept of the public interest. When planning for a segment of the total community, the planner may engage serious moral questions. The conflict between the desires of a sub-area and the larger whole must be mediated, unless one decides to ignore them. This expansion of metropolitan and state planning certainly adds a new dimension to the practice of planning.

Another new dimension of planning was approached by Szunyog and Preissner under the broad category of People and Systems. The Multi-Service Neighborhood Center

as envisioned by Szunyog is more than a centralization of physical facilities. It is intended to be a means for developing citizen participation. Within a planning program, concern must expand, and add to the physical aspect those elements necessary to make the neighborhood viable. If this involves planning for social service, welfare programs and the like, the planner must expand to encompass these demands, or he may do more damage than would have been done by ignoring the original problem.

Movement beyond the physical is called for again by Preissner. Concern for commercial and retail activities within the community does not stop with the size and location of facilities. The activities of the planner include the initiation of programs aimed at altering existing consumer-retailer relations, education of residents and assistance to businesses. This demands that the planner become familiar with programs previously considered outside his immediate area of concern. That the planner should become an expert in each area is not intended. Rather he must accept the broadened scope and supplement his expertise where necessary.

A demand for improved communications has arisen, due to the expanded clientele with which the planner is now dealing, and due to the inter-level conflict discussed previously. Steele and Daniel, under the context of Residents and Planning, examined techniques for facilitating communication. To bridge the gap between the neighborhood and the planning agency, Steele suggested employing staff who are indigenous to the neighborhood. This certainly illustrates a new dimension in the planning process and an expansion in the scope of contemporary planning through recognition of a new way to conduct business: a revised *modus operandi*. Employing an indigenous worker in a "professional" level role is an

explicit statement that a broader conception of planning involves communications difficult for or not possible by most professionals. If the agency and client are to function more effectively, and the poor are to be provided better services, understanding and receptivity must be improved. This might only be accomplished through a nonprofessional, and the expanded scope recognizes this.

No longer can planners base community needs on an assumption of community wants. New techniques for understanding community desires are being developed as part of the expanded scope. This emphasis upon externalizing and identifying the values, opinions, and attitudes of communities was explored by Daniel. The simulation and gaming techniques he discussed illustrate the degree to which the role of the planner has changed. The information sought is new in nature and scope, and substantive in content. The techniques used to derive this information are not only sophisticated, but to a degree permit quantification and evaluation of their product.

Model Cities is an example of the expanded scope of planning practice, and much is being learned from the Model Cities experience, as the preceding indicates. In particular, the planner is reexamining the way he has been executing his role. This is so because the demands of the Model Cities program are varied, more clearly stated, and involve both the method of practice in the profession, the content of that practice, and the interrelationship of the various levels of planning.

Each of the papers suggested that the scope of planning practice, including the functions to be performed and the roles played by individuals, was expanding; that the planner should become more closely related to the residents of the

community; and that the planner would function properly only if he were a member of a team. However they also suggested the need for a new kind of institutionalized professional role which would begin to assume the responsibility for integrating systems. A professional playing the role of facilitator or expeditor might act as a liaison between people and agency, and would begin to organize the functions that a team of professionals would engage in during the planning process. Perhaps this calls for a new role to be added to those defined by Daland and Parker, a role that is more likely to respond to current problems and the emphasis placed upon active involvement. Surely the functions which planners perform can be interpreted to encompass current demand for action, but a new institutionalized role would reinforce this commitment.

When the professional involvement of the planner in the Model Cities Program is examined in relation to the demands of the expanded scope of the profession, the roles described by Parker and Deland, and the functions outlined by Fagin provide a valuable formulation for analysis. Not all roles and functions were considered equally significant to the Model Cities Program by the seminar participants. More concern was expressed over: the relation of the professional to the residents involved; recognition of the planner as a member of a team; and integration among levels of planning.

The Loch paper, for instance, calls for a close cooperation of all planning bodies at all levels of planning. This, in turn, appeals to the qualities of a planner as collaborator and mediator between levels of planning. Nicholas in viewing the public interest, saw the need to develop planning teams to accomplish a given task, and the ability to act as a collaborator and educator were particularly useful in relating the desires of the Model Cities area to that of

public interest.

When people and systems were examined by Szunyog and Preissner, the professional concerns of the planner were viewed differently from those of Daland and Parker. In Szunyog's proposal for a facility as a basis for dialogue, two activities can be seen that involve significantly different participants. On one hand, the planner may function as a collaborator among professionals. Here the planner works with other professionals, using his knowledge and experience to introduce the concepts of the Model Cities Area into the process of plan and program formulation. He may also function as a mediator, dealing with the residents and leaders in the Model Cities Area itself, becoming involved in the basic exchange of ideas which will lead to substantive proposals. The function of synthesizer overlaps both groups and involves the joining together of various parts into an integral whole. It is the basic function which demands the full use of the planner's capacities; the bringing together of ideas from all sources.

Preissner, in examination of the consumer-retailer relationships, again contended that the planner, to be successful, can no longer plan as an impartial observer seated in a municipal planning office, but must be a major participant in a collaborative endeavor for which he has been trained as a professional. The planner is viewed as a person involved in and with the client community, using his flexibility and trained decision-making methodology to function as a vital discernable element. Pressner's program proposals are dependent upon a planning concept similar to the six major functions described. Considered policies must be compatible to both the consumer and the market segment over an extended period of time, demanding a more intensive professional relationship to the community.

When the participatory role of residents was examined by Steele and Daniel, it became evident that the ideal situation was not a listening and response activity for the professional, nor a wait and confrontation approach, but vital and active participation in a successful procedure. The involvement of the planner as mediator, collaborator, educator and advocate, Steele feels, certainly suggest a breakdown of responsibilities or functions in which the planner plays a part. In particular relevance to Steele's topic are certain roles which the professional planner must share with others, for example, with the indigenous worker.

A new technique such as the simulation proposed by Daniel, if it were used by a planning agency, would affect the roles of the planner.

Daniel feels that simulation would provide another means of achieving the analysis. As a synthesizer, the planner would have more elements with which to work. The basis for collaboration would be expanded, and the basis for mediation would be enhanced. Active participation of the public in game-simulation would serve an education function, and the advocate would have better analytic information. Obviously, involvement with simulation techniques will draw the planner into closer contact with residents, and call for adoption of a more client-oriented role, but it will also create a participatory role for residents.

III. SEMINAR PAPERS

- Roland LochRelation of the Model Cities Program to the Comprehensive Planning of the Central City and the Metropolitan Area in Regard to Housing
- Milton NicholasThe Concept of Public Interest in Relation to the Model Cities Program
- Michael SzunyogThe Multi-Service Neighborhood Center as a Means of Citizen Participation in Model Cities
- Robert PreissnerProposals for Consumer-Retailer Relationships Within the Model Cities Program
- James E. SteeleThe Role of the Indigenous Worker in the Model Cities Program
- Robert E. DanielSimulations: Possible Techniques for Facilitating Communication

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Roland Loch
Jan.10,1969

RELATION OF THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM TO THE COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING
OF THE CENTRAL CITY AND THE METROPOLITAN AREA IN REGARD TO HOUSING

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I. Introduction

The study distinguishes ten aspects of housing for each of which the relation of the Model Cities Program (MC) to the comprehensive planning of the central city (CC) and the metropolitan area (MA) is dealt with. In each case the discussion follows this methodological procedure:

- Policies - Listing of policies taken from outstanding examples of policy statements at the three planning levels considered.
- Facts - Statements of facts suitable to clarify intention, efficiency and interrelation of the policies, where this is not evident.
- Comment - Comment on the nature of the relation among the three planning levels.
- Suggestions - Suggestions, if available, to enhance the consistency and efficiency of the planning at the different levels. The suggested possibilities consist of innovative ideas discussed or tried in the United States and of exemplary practices in Europe.

As examples of outstanding policy statements were used:

MC:

1. Housing Act 1966, Title I, "Demonstration Cities", Program Guide by U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, 1966 (ACT I)
2. Model Cities Program, City of Chicago, "North Model Area", Goals and Objectives - Draft for Discussion, 1968 (CHIC)
3. Application to the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs for a Grant to Plan a Comprehensive City Demonstration Program, 1967 (EAST)

MA:

1. The Metropolitan Plan of the Northwestern Illinois Planning Commission 1967 (NIPC)
2. The Twin Cities Area Metropolitan Development Guide, 1968 (TWIN)

CC:

1. The Chicago Comprehensive Plan, 1966 (CHIC)
2. The Minneapolis Official Plan, 1962 (MINN)
3. A Housing, Planning Development Program for New York City, Report to Mayor Lindsay by the Institute of Public Administration, 1966 (NEWY)

As up-to-date fact reports served:

1. Past Trends and Present Conditions of the Population and Economy in Accelerator Study Area by the Real Estate Research Corporation, 1968 (ACCE)
2. Urban and Rural America, Policies for Future Growth by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1968/69 (AMER)
3. NIPC Annual Report, Trends, 1967 (NIPC)
4. Chicago Comprehensive Plan, Trends, 1966 (CHIC)

II. Investigation according to the major aspects of housing

1. Location

a. Geographical location of new housing supply.

Policies:

MC: Increase the housing supply inside and outside the area, especially for low and moderate income people (ACT I).

CC: Increase the total housing supply (CHIC, TWIN) by rising the amount of residential land use within the city (CHIC) and by urban renewal (CHIC, MINN).

MA: Provide enough housing for all area residents (TWIN).

Facts:

The population of central cities is growing at a very low rate, if not declining (AMER).

People who are leaving the city to live in the suburbs belong to economically stronger groups (CHIC).

Urban renewal, in general, means a loss of dwelling units in the renewal area.

Comment:

The intent of the Model Cities Program is to form viable and self-sustained communities that give the residents the feeling of identity and enhance their willingness to self-improvement. To attain an overall integration and balance of the population it is desired that people move to housing of their preference outside the area, after they have reached a certain independence and a higher standard of living and conduct, and thus become more acceptable for other housing areas.

The objective can be achieved by building or vacating low- and moderate-income housing outside of areas eligible for the Model City Program to accommodate the people expected to leave the Model City areas after a certain time. In many cases, where a Model City area does not contain any open land, the rebuilding and rehabilitation under the present building codes will lower the density and call for the relocation of a number of residents already during the implementation period.

For these reasons the success of the Model Cities Program relies on low- and moderate-income housing available outside the Model City area. The policies of both the city and the metropolitan planning level demand a housing supply matching all needs. While low- and moderate-income households in the metropolitan area are relatively sparse, however, they hold a high and steadily increasing share in the inner city. In this light the policy of the central city aims to a greater degree at increasing the supply of attractive medium- and higher-income housing to at least maintain the number of its wealthier citizens.

Suggestions:

Building new towns and communities containing an appropriate share of low- and moderate-income housing ("An Urban Strategy" by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, AMER).

Restore and maintain the residential living qualities of the central cities (Europe).

b. Access to employment and central functions

Policies:

MC: Availability of low- and moderate-income housing throughout the metropolitan area (CHIC).

Access to employment, shopping and community facilities (ACT I).

CC: Increase land for manufacturing in organized districts (CHIC).

Accessibility of inner city manufacturing districts (CHIC).

Maintain the vitality of the CBD (CHIC, MINN).

MA: Shorten trips to work by increasing the choice of housing throughout the region (NIPC) and by efficient distribution of employment (NIPC, TWIN).

A variety of travel modes to meet the needs of different people (TWIN, NIPC).

Improve public transportation to broaden employment opportunities for all economic levels and provide access to facilities (NIPC).

Maintain the CBD as a strong regional business, recreation and cultural center (NIPC).

Facts:

In the suburban Weston Accelerator Study Area 50 per cent of the employed are commuters from other counties, mainly from Chicago (ACCE).

Industry moves from the central cities to the suburbs (CHIC).

New industry settles in the suburbs (NIPC).

Existing and new jobs (services, offices) in the central city require skills.

The central cities houses most of the unskilled of the metropolitan area (AMER).

The disparity of types of opportunities and of types of housing available between the central city and the metropolitan area causes higher unemployment (up to 20% in some slums) and heavy traffic congestions in the central cities (AMER).

Low income housing must be related to job opportunities, commercial and industrial development, if it is to be preferred by the poor to their present living places (AMER).

Comment:

In principle the interrelation of housing and central functions can be attained between two polar solutions: Locating the two land uses close to each other or building transportation links between the land uses spacing them according to the speed limits of the transportation systems provided. Since the city is unable to provide enough employment for its less skilled poor, and cheap mass transit is not available to most new suburban jobs, the Model Cities Program seeks to adapt the two extreme approaches to bring the people to the outlying industries. Its policies demand the distribution of low-income housing throughout the metropolitan area and the access to the jobs for those who stay in the city. Yet the most foresighted endeavor of the Model Cities Program to improve the relation of working place and housing is the education of the unskilled for jobs that will be available in the central city. This policy avoids the danger of new unemployment caused by the progressing automation in manufacturing and helps to lessen the wasteful exchange of labor force between the central city and the suburbs twice a day. Moreover, both the planning of the central city and the metropolitan area promote the maintenance of the vitality of the CBD - the city's major tax source - which means its expansion with the growing region. Without better connection of housing and jobs such development is likely to worsen the traffic congestion and the environmental living qualities of the central city.

As crucial as the access to jobs is the access to recreation, shopping and service centers to assure the viability of the existing low-income community and to give those who move out the feeling to belong to the larger urban entity.

The policies set forth by the Model Cities Program do not conflict with policies found in the planning of the central city and the metropolitan area. The city goes even further and plans to increase the land for manufactory within its borders (CHIC) to achieve full employment for its residents (CHIC) broadening its tax base at the same time. Though industrial growth in the city could be objectionable in respect to environmental and locational considerations, it may serve as a limited short-run local solution before a more employment and mass transportation oriented population distribution at the regional level is reached.

Suggestions:

Tax incentives and investment subsidies for business and industry locating in certain areas (AMER, Recommendations 6 and 7, Europe).

Move of governmental offices to the suburbs (This development has already begun in the United States).

Use mass transit systems as a determining element in shaping the metropolitan structure (NIPC, Europe).

2. Community environment

a. Convenience

Policies:

MC: Convenience through accommodations (EAST).

Neighborhood environment for the enjoyment and use of the population (CHIC).

CC: Community facilities (MINN, CHIC).

Encourage participation in community activity (CHIC).

MA: Public services of adequate quantity and quality to all communities regardless of income, racial and ethnic composition (NIPC).

Convenience to facilities and activities (TWIN).

Convenient and diverse environment (NIPC).

Facts:

The lack of supportive community facilities is greatest in the low income areas, where they are needed most (AMER).

Comment:

The Model Cities planning combines social-physical programming. People should become self-sufficient to be able to move up (CHIC). The basic requirement for this goal is the provision of a convenient community, offering all services and facilities that meet the needs of the poor and correspond to general standards of living. The importance of shaping viable communities in the fight against poverty and its related evils is equally reflected in the policies of the central city and the metropolitan area.

Suggestions:

Comprehensive Community Development Projects (New York State Urban Development Corporation, founded in 1968).

b. Health

Policies:

MC: Neighborhood environment free of significant physical menaces to health and safety (CHIC).

CC: Environmental health: air pollution control (CHIC), separation of incompatible uses (MINN), quietness (MINN). Public safety(CHIC).

MA: Elimination of conditions both in structure and environment that are injurious to physical and mental health (NIPC, TWIN).

Facts:

High crime rate in the slum areas (AMER).

Industry and heavy traffic intrude into residential areas of the inner city, for which both damaging activities are vital (NIPC).

Traffic congestion in the central city grows with the size of the region and takes its social and psychologocal toll (AMER).

Comment:

All three policy making levels agree on the necessity to do away with the threats to health and life that are prevalent in the inner city and before all in the blighted areas. The concentration of urban problems in the central city may suggest to put more stress on the part of the Model Cities Program that favors an ultimate dispersal of the low-income families and its high share of black families in the whole metropolitan area. These people could then be taken care of in a less complicated and more favorable environment, and would not add to the difficulties of the inner cities.

Suggestions:

Make substantial clearances in the Model City area and build new housing that is also attractive for people of higher incomes (Model Cities planning of Chicago).

3. Design

a. Rehabilitation and renewal

Policies:

MC: Rebuild and revitalize selected large slum and blighted areas (ACT I, EAST).

Housing in adequate condition (CHIC).

Maintain neighborhood character (ACT I, EAST).

Representation and participation of area residents in planning and execution (CHIC, EAST).

CC: Improve the housing quality of existing residential areas (CHIC).

MA: Elimination and prevention of blighted and deteriorating housing (NIPC).

Facts:

Though efforts have been undertaken to renew the blighted parts of the cities, the problems arising from the slums and their population have not diminished.

Comment:

The Model Cities Program recognizing housing renewal as a fundamental means to eliminate poverty prescribes the way how to do it. Considering the past slow implementation of urban renewal with its failures the detail seems to be decisive for the success of a policy for housing renewal. The Model Cities Program seeks the solution in a locally concentrated exemplary effort with a strong participation of the residents. The housing renewal is used to establish a sense of common and personal identity and responsibility in the residents as a basis for future self-sufficiency. Much of the planning, therefore, must come from the inside of the problem area.

b. New construction

Policies:

MC: Improvement of urban design (NEWY).

Investigate new cost reducing technologies (ACT I, EAST).

Provide every resident with housing suitable to the needs of his family in respect to price, life style, tastes, aspirations (CHIC).

Provide neighborhood environment (CHIC).

CC: Improvement of urban design (MINN).

Diversity in housing types and densities (MINN, CHIC).

Build neighborhood with all facilities (MINN).

MA: Better design (NIPC).

Orderly development (NIPC).

Encourage design and planning innovation in both housing structures and land development (TWIN).

Choice of housing types (CHIC, TWIN).

Build neighborhoods and communities (NIPC).

Identity and individuality (TWIN).

Facts:

The building regulations in the urban growth zones foster low-density detached housing (AMER).

The construction of large units requiring common effort and coordination is rare, though slightly increasing (ACCE).

Comment:

Building low-income housing requires imaginative planning which is often hindered in the metropolitan area by the present building regulations (AMER, CH. 4). The usual suburban housing, facilitated or imposed by the use of the automobile, excludes people with low income, because they cannot afford the wasteful expensiveness of the living.

Moreover, many of the poor, especially negroes, do not find their preferred environment in the suburbs (Chicago Model City Area Planning Agency). The question arises: what are the standards to which the housing of the poor should be raised?

The great number and the conformity of the policies suggest that the needs for design improvement are general. Low-income housing, however, depends on careful design.

Suggestions:

Legislation granting cities and municipalities extraterritorial authorities over areas of logical expansion (AMER, Recommendation 1).

"Planned unit development" regulations to replace rigid conventional zoning districts with broad general standards and with detailed administrative review and approval of site plans (AMER, Recommendation 22c).

Design contests (Europe).

4. Occupancy

a. Composition of a housing area

Policies:

MC: Meet the full range of housing needs (ACT I).

Elimination of race barriers (CHIC).

Lease-hold and tenure similar to city-wide proportion (CHIC).

CC: -

MA: Housing choice within neighborhoods (TWIN).

Facts:

Many people are reluctant to share their housing area with people of lower income or different race.

Comment:

The comparison of content and number of the policies betrays a non-commitment of the planning of the city and metropolitan planning to small-scale economic and racial integration. Model Cities planning in effect deals with a racial problem. It assumes that tensions will disappear and racial integration will occur as soon as the area residents have reached a certain economic level. But it may very well be that many of these people, once their present living environment meets all their needs, have no reason to leave and racial concentration persist. This situation is expected in Chicago.

Suggestions:

Federal assistance for balanced housing with low-income households in proportion to the total projected population (AMER, Recommendation 23).

b. Composition of the metropolitan area

Policies:

MC: Supply of low- and moderate-income housing in the area and the metropolitan area to meet the needs for such housing by area residents (ACT I, CHIC).

Low and moderate income housing on small and scattered sites throughout the metropolitan region (CHIC).

Legislation to insure equitable housing practices (CHIC, EAST).

CC: Balance in age and economic structure (MINN, NEWY).

Equal housing opportunity (CHIC, NEWY).

MA: Housing opportunities for all racial, social and ethnic groups (NIPC).

Facts:

In most parts of the metropolitan area the choice of housing types to meet the requirements of all families is poor (NIPC).

Higher taxes push upper income families and business firms out of the central city (AMER).

The out-migration of young families from the central city to the suburbs accounted for 50 percent of the suburban growth from 1960 to 1968 (ACCE).

The less skilled, many negroes and the aged resist the attraction of job opportunities elsewhere (AMER).

Groups who differ in income and race are living increasingly far apart in large areas of similar housing (NIPC).

The problems of the areas eligible for the Model Cities Program and with them the problems of the inner city are aggravated by the metropolitan imbalance of the economic, racial and age distribution of the population. They in turn produce further imbalance.

With similar policies the three levels of planning try to achieve different population movements:

The Model Cities Program aspires dispersion of its poor and black area residents. The central city likes to be attractive to higher-income and younger families. Both rely in their endeavors on the metropolitan planning which tries to provide housing in the suburban area for the people now concentrated within the city limits.

Suggestions:

National policy directed toward a more balanced pattern of urbanization lessening barriers to migration and enhance the attractiveness of new and existing communities (AMER).

Resettlement allowances for low-income persons migrating from labor surplus city neighborhood to labor shortage suburbs (AMER, Recommendation 7).

5. Public efforts

a. Financing moderate and low-income housing

Policies:

MC: Use all public and private resources to increase the supply of low- and moderate-income housing (ACT I, EAST).

Use the possibility of non-profit organizations (EAST).

Investigation of cost-reducing housing construction (ACT I, EAST).

CC: Expansion of the financial resources for moderate- and low-income housing (CHIC, NEWY).

Programs reducing the cost of housing purchase (CHIC).

Rent supplements (NEWY).

Purchase and rehabilitation of older property (CHIC).

MA: -

Facts:

The omission of corresponding policies in the metropolitan planning suggests that little concern about building low- and moderate-income housing exists in the metropolitan planning. Obviously such directives are delegated to the competence of the different municipalities, which have little interest in such development.

Suggestions:

Federal assistance for balanced housing in large-scale developments and new communities (AMER, Recommendation 23).

b. Coordination and cooperation

Policies:

MC: The program should be comprehensive through cooperation with state, county and metropolitan agencies (ACT I, EAST).

The program should be of sufficient magnitude to contribute to the sound development of the entire city (ACT I).

Programs for the overall needs of low- and moderate-income housing (ACT I).

Relocation planning and assistance (CHIC, EAST).

CC: Expand and strengthen cooperative ties with other governments of the area (CHIC).

Fair share of the regional and metropolitan growth (CHIC, MINN).

MA: Create a system of planning to coordinate the development process at all levels of government and private activity (TWIN).

Facts:

Cities over 250 000 inhabitants are subject to diseconomies of scale (ACCE).

Urbanization raises public and private costs (ACCE, AMER).

The central city has to provide for the service needs of the commuters (AMER).

The tax resources of the central cities increase at a decreasing rate (AMER).

The central city faces growing expenses for high cost citizens (AMER).

Educational services are widely unequal due to the disparity of tax resources in different parts of the region (NIPC).

While all three planning levels call for their mutual coordination, the facts are that the inequality gap between the central city and the surrounding suburbs grows. The suburbanites benefit from the existence of the central city but hardly strive to take over some of its burdens.

Besides governmental funds it takes the cooperation of all citizens to fulfill the goal of population balance by changing metropolitan housing patterns, which is necessary for the success of the Model Cities Program.

Suggestions:

State legislation to lodge regional responsibility of a State urban development plan with area-wide planning agencies, which have the responsibility to review and grant applications (AMER, Recommendation 4).

Strengthening county government for dealing with urban land problems (AMER, Recommendation 18).

Legal force for state and regional frame plans (Europe).

III. Conclusion

The study reveals that the policies of the three levels of planning are rather consistent. This can easily be explained:

The problems of the Model Cities area account at the same time for most difficulties in the central city.

The metropolitan planning having only advisory functions can set up ideal policies to attack the problems which again mainly arise from the central city.

Where discrepancies in the intention or interpretation of policies occur, they result from the contrast between the central city and the surrounding suburbs.

Through the same contrast almost all policies of the central city and the Model City area become unrelated to the actual development outside the city limits.

The badly needed coordination of the planning of the central city and its suburban areas is not possible at present since the surrounding communities are not inclined to share the central city's problems. They also are protected by conventional building codes, which do not allow much room for innovative development necessary for housing the poor and other measures to relieve the pressures on the central cities.

The central city is unable to solve its problems alone. As the investigation has shown most difficulties of the central city can only be dealt with in the metropolitan context.

The Model Cities Program itself, concentrated on the most striking evils of the central city, is only a start and a short run solution. It must be followed by large-scale actions to establish the balance and to improve the structure of the whole metropolitan area. The Model Cities Program especially requires economic changes and the construction of new towns and communities as complementation of its locally centered social and physical planning.

These reasons call for a stronger metropolitan government authorized to coordinate the planning of the central city and the suburban communities, and to draw up a plan with legal force.

The strengthening of the metropolitan planning has consequences for the image of the planner:

The planner at the metropolitan level mainly acts as mediator between the interests of the suburban communities and the central city. Besides he should be an educator especially to the suburban communities.

The existence of an influential metropolitan planning assigns an advocate role to the planners of the communities and the central cities. The relationship between the planners of these two levels is comparable to the one between the planners of the Model City area and the central city, with the difference that the Model City area does not constitute a governmental unit.

In this hierarchy all decisions affecting the greater context have to be made at the next higher level. The interest of the part must be weighed against the interest of the whole.

THE CONCEPT OF PUBLIC INTEREST IN
RELATION TO THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

Milton J. Nicholas
Prof. L. Wetmore
U.P. 487
January 8, 1969

INTRODUCTION

The Model Cities program is oriented toward the improvement of the living environment and the general welfare of people. The unique aspects of the program are its focus on a specific area of a city and its comprehensive approach to the problems of the area. The fact that the program deals with one specific area of the city could necessitate an alteration in the roles which a planner must take as well as his concept of what policies and strategies are in the public interest.

Planning itself, as well as planners' proposals, has traditionally been considered as a profession which responded to the public interest. How one defines the public is of great importance in dealing with this concept. In addition, conflicts may arise between interests of the Model Cities area and the community as a whole, the resolution of which will be extremely crucial.

This paper then attempts to explore the concept of the public interest and its relation to the planner and ultimately its relation to the Model Cities approach.

The following information is being furnished to you for your information and the general interest of the public. The information is being furnished to you in accordance with the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. 552 and the regulations thereunder, 16 CFR 17.101 through 17.104. The information is being furnished to you in accordance with the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. 552 and the regulations thereunder, 16 CFR 17.101 through 17.104. The information is being furnished to you in accordance with the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. 552 and the regulations thereunder, 16 CFR 17.101 through 17.104.

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THE PUBLIC INTEREST

The concept of public interest is a very basic and necessary element of our democratic system. Our conception of democracy is based in part on a conception that there is a national unity and common welfare which can be identified and realized. The structure of this concept is, however, quite abstract and not easily agreed upon. In fact, some believe that it is not really definable and is useful only as a concept. There have been a number of formulations which have sought to structure the concept and three of these will be presented here. The variance between these formulations illustrates the difficulty in dealing with this idea.

In their book Politics Planning and the Public Interest, Meyerson and Banfield establish a conceptual scheme to structure the concept of public interest. They established two main categories and subgroups under each.

The first is a Unitary¹ conception of the public interest. In this instance the whole is viewed as a single set of ends pertaining to all its members. There are two subgroups in this category: Organismic and Communalist². The Organismic conception sees the whole as possessing a certain set of ends. The ends may differ from those held by individuals in the whole, but the ends of the whole take precedence.

In the Communalist conception the ends held by the whole are ends also shared by the members, in essence they are common ends. The Unitary concept then stresses the idea that ends should be common to the public by either superseding individual ends or by being shaped by the individuals of the public.

The second major category is Individualistic conceptions³. In this case the ends of the individual become the most important. The ends of the public are considered an aggregation of individual ends. Within this category three subgroups are defined: Utilitarian, Quasi-Utilitarian, Qualified Individualistic⁴.

The Utilitarian argument focuses on the individual and the ends which he views as important. The public interest, in this case, is best served by attaining happiness for the greatest number of people. This concept recognizes that there could very well be common ends in the public, but no extra value is attached to them. It also assumes that one can sum up the wants of individuals and then judge if the majority were fulfilled.

The first paragraph discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records in a business organization. It emphasizes the need for proper documentation and the role of various departments in ensuring data integrity.

The second paragraph delves into the challenges faced by organizations in the digital age. It highlights the risks of data breaches and the importance of robust cybersecurity measures to protect sensitive information.

The third paragraph explores the impact of automation on the workforce. It discusses how automation can increase efficiency but also leads to job displacement, necessitating continuous skill development and training programs.

The fourth paragraph addresses the ethical considerations surrounding data usage. It stresses the need for transparency in data collection and processing, as well as strict adherence to privacy regulations to build trust with customers.

The fifth paragraph discusses the role of artificial intelligence in decision-making. It notes that AI can analyze vast amounts of data to identify trends and predict future outcomes, though human oversight remains crucial for complex judgments.

The sixth paragraph focuses on the importance of collaboration in a globalized world. It argues that organizations must foster a culture of open communication and teamwork to effectively navigate international markets and diverse teams.

The seventh paragraph examines the impact of social media on brand reputation. It points out that while social media offers a direct line to customers, it also amplifies negative feedback, making proactive reputation management essential.

The eighth paragraph discusses the environmental impact of business operations. It advocates for sustainable practices that reduce carbon footprints and promote social responsibility, as these factors increasingly influence consumer choices.

The ninth paragraph looks at the future of work, predicting a shift towards more flexible and remote work arrangements. It suggests that organizations should embrace digital tools and create supportive environments for distributed teams.

The tenth paragraph concludes by emphasizing the need for adaptability and resilience. In a rapidly changing landscape, businesses must be agile enough to pivot and innovative enough to stay ahead of the competition.

The Quasi-Utilitarian conception also stresses the importance of individual ends but goes further and states that some mens' ends are more important. The whole is seen as an aggregate of individuals, but more value is placed on certain individual's ends.

The last subgroup, the Qualified Individualistic⁵, also focuses on the whole as being an aggregate of individual ends. In this case, however, only certain types of ends are considered relevant. Ends, for example, which are related to self-interest rather than community interest would not be acceptable.

The scheme put forth by Meyerson and Banfield focuses not only on the make up of public interest by considering how ends, both individual and collective, are taken into account, but it further relates this to the way in which decision making is carried on. Depending on which concept of the public interest is employed, the decision making process may vary. This idea will be further developed in a latter section dealing with planner and the decision maker and their interpretation of the public interest.

Two other formulations of the public interest can be found in the Nomos V publication The Public Interest. The first to be discussed was set forth by Colm. He distinguishes four levels at which one can consider this concept. The first is the Meta-Sociological level⁶. At this level it is recognized that in a pluralistic society various groups and individuals have different value systems. However, there are some values which all people could agree on, such as health, political independence, etc. The attainment of these values constitutes the public interest at this level. Public or private initiative can bring these values about, but if the private sector fails to do so, the governmental unit must take over.

The second level which Colm sets forth is the Sociological level⁷. The emphasis here is on the political process as being an important part of public interest formulation. Individuals and groups in addition to having differing value systems also tend to emphasize different aspects of the public interest. It is the duty then of the political process, in a democracy, to resolve differences and arrive at a common understanding of what constitutes the public interest. Colm, unfortunately, does not elaborate on how this process actually proceeds.

The Board of Directors of the United States Trust Company, organized under the laws of the State of New York, has the honor to submit herewith its annual report for the year ended December 31, 1948.

The Company's business during the year was conducted in accordance with the policy of the Board of Directors, which is to maintain a conservative and prudent management of the assets entrusted to the Company.

The assets of the Company at the end of the year were \$1,000,000,000, an increase of \$100,000,000 over the amount at the end of the year 1947.

The income of the Company for the year was \$10,000,000, an increase of \$1,000,000 over the amount for the year 1947.

The Company's operations during the year were conducted in accordance with the policy of the Board of Directors, which is to maintain a conservative and prudent management of the assets entrusted to the Company.

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The third level, the Legal level⁸, stresses the importance of the concept for the formulation of governmental regulations. The point here is that government needs some formulation upon which to base some of its actions, the concept of a public interest provides such a base.

Colm's fourth level is termed the Economic level⁹. At this level the abstract concept of a public interest is translated into specific objectives and goals. These goals in turn become yardsticks for assessing the performance of certain programs. This evaluation process can be used to ascertain if the public interest is being served. Colm in his formulation stresses the importance of the concept in the area of public policy. The need for governmental units to have such a concept is readily seen, since many of the actions and areas of concern of government can only be justified by the need to fulfill such an ideal. Colm's formulation then is more practical and can be seen as useful in policy forming. Meyerson and Banfield's, on the other hand, dealt more with the way one chose to define the ends to be considered as being representative of the public interest.

A third formulation, also set forth in The Public Interest (Nomos V), was set forth by Cohen. The focus here was not on the structure of the concept itself, but rather on its usefulness as a concept. He sees the public interest being used in two distinct ways: 1) as implying the basic values of a community and 2) in an instrumental sense by saying that an action would be in the public interest if it implemented one or more of the basic values¹⁰. Included within this view of the public interest is the need to consider future generations in policy formulation and in public interest conceptions. In many instances a profession, such as planning, can foresee certain future situations which lay people may not perceive or not be concerned with. As a profession then it would be in the public interest to attempt to respond now so that future situations can be altered. Cohen's second function of the concept is closely related to Colm's Legal and Economic levels. The concept can provide a basis for governmental action as well as act as a restraint on public action insofar as it is used as a standard of achievement or performance.

This third view of the public interest differs significantly from the

previous two in its emphasis on the concept as a concept and not its structure or operation. In essence the public interest is either a conclusion concerning the efficacy of means or a shorthand expression to the effect that the chosen ends are consistent with the established basic values of the community¹¹.

By surveying these three formulations, one can gain an appreciation of the abstractness and general lack of agreement on any specific statement concerning this concept. There is some discussion in the literature that this concept should be considered an overall framework which can be used to relate values and norms. With this initial discussion of the concept completed, a consideration of its elements and interpretation is seen as necessary.

studies and the general public. The first part of the report discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. The second part describes the methodology used in the study, including the sample size and the data collection methods. The third part presents the results of the study, and the fourth part discusses the implications of the findings for the general public.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST

In considering the various elements of this concept, of prime importance is the delineation of the public when attempting to determine interests and ends. Two distinct types of publics can be identified: 1) total public and 2) special public. These can be viewed as resting at either ends of a continuum.

The "total" public would be a conception which conceived of the community as a whole, as the public to be dealt with. Interests and ends would be some aggregate or representative views of the whole community. The "special" public, on the other hand, would be a much narrower conception. This would include "potential" groups (groups who have been underrepresented) or special interest groups who have traditionally had a voice in public affairs (League of Women Voters, etc.). Unlike the "total" public, the "special" public would vary greatly in its composition. Shifts would be seen among special interest group members, as well as new group forming, as the issues at hand changed.

Realizing that there could be this two fold view of the public, the next issue is who would be responsible for the interpretation of the public's need, and how would he define his public. If the concept of a "total" public is employed, certain assumptions must be made in regard to decision making. Taking such an approach assumes the decision maker is capable of identifying the ends of the people as a whole, as well as being able to attain these ends even though he must impose on certain special interests.

If the concept of a "special" public is employed, an alternative system must be employed. A decision mechanism which allows the interaction of interest groups and which accepts the outcome of such an interaction is needed. The four methods of interaction set out in Meyerson and Banfield's book, namely; cooperation, contention, accommodation, and dictation, would be applicable here¹².

Cooperation would be exemplified by having the parties to the dispute agree on a common end which would then become the basis for choosing among other ends. In contention, however, each party tries to settle the dispute in a manner most advantageous to his view. In accommodation, one party chooses to shift his ends and accepts the other's proposal thus ending any conflict. Dictation implies that one party compels the other to accept his terms. If

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these interactions were carried on between various groups in relation to specific ends, it is assumed that the outcome would be that which is in the public interest. This, however, is not the case. In a conflict situation, in many cases dictation would be the means of settlement due to inequities between interest groups. One may say that the Model Cities program is itself a response to such inequities.

Traditionally it has been the role of the decision maker (politician) to interpret what the public interest was. This, however, was not done literally, and in many cases it was done without consideration being given to the factors mentioned previously. In most cases the concept was used as a rationale for public policy formulation. In this respect it was used in two ways: 1) as a goal and 2) as a standard. As a goal it was an ideal to be sought in relation to public policy. As a standard it has been used to evaluate proposals and their relevance to the whole community. In addition, the decision maker has found it necessary to shift his conception of the public interest in many instances in order to retain his position.

Unlike the decision maker, the planner and the planning profession traditionally have held to the concept of a total public and a community interest. Early conceptions of planning saw it as an independent entity, able to establish a comprehensive view of the public interest and seek to serve it without any external pressures. A realization that the public interest is really an abstraction, and that dealing with diverse interests and groups and their interrelationships is more important, has recently come about. Planning seems to be shifting toward the political conceptions of public interest which can be characterized by a shifting public as well as shifting interests.

To this point the discussion has focused on the changes and interpretations of the public interest at the community level. The concept goes beyond this, however, and encompasses all governmental levels. The evaluation of the public interest is closely related to the scale of governmental activity which is being considered. Interpretation of this concept occurs from the neighborhood level to the Federal and world-wide level. In each case, however, a different set of concerns are dealt with and the ends sought also vary widely. The

dynamic and abstract nature of this concept really negates any attempt to define it except in a qualified way and in a specific context.

Due to this situation, a problem arises for the planner insofar as his role in relating to this concept. In relation to this, six distinct roles which the planner may need to play can be enumerated: 1) synthesizer, 2) collaborator, 3) educator, 4) advocate, 5) mediator, 6) generalist. The first five roles were developed by Henry Fagin in his paper The Profession and the Discipline of Planning.

The roles of synthesizer and collaborator can be used in a substantive manner by the planner. They are roles which although not specifically set out have been played by planners in many instances in the past. They deal with the bringing together of ideas in a comprehensive fashion and creating a useable and appropriate strategy.

The role of the educator is a necessary one in order to assure some base for the planner in the community. Until the planner's insights become part of the outlook of the larger community, the planner's plans remain inert with no power to infuse action¹³.

The last three roles, that of advocate, mediator, and generalist, closely relate to the planner's definition of his client or public. The role of the generalist is not one of the roles which Fagin enumerated. It is a role which the planner has traditionally played and maybe still of value in certain cases.

The advocate role would consist of being a representative of the interests of a special public in the interaction of competing ends. This role has recently come to the forefront and is predominantly related to the representation of under-represented groups. The need for a professional to "speak" in behalf of certain groups in order for them to obtain some of their ends is evident. But the question then quickly arises concerning the fact that this may not truly be a legitimate role since the public whose interest is being represented is a very narrow one.

The role of the mediator on the other hand also can be related to a view of the public interest which allows for interaction between groups for the resolution of conflicts. The planner in this case would be available to provide

[The text on this page is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document, possibly a letter or report, with several lines of text visible but not readable.]

information and suggestions but would accept the outcome of the interaction.

The role of a generalist is one which I believe planners have played in the past. This can be conceived of as a general welfare approach to the public interest, but in an authoritarian manner - the greatest good for the greatest number. The public interest would in this instance be conceived of but not solicited from the people.

These are roles which for the most part are new to the planner. However, they are necessary roles which he must play in order to respond to the changing demands of the profession itself. In addition, they are roles which can affect his outlook on the public interest as well as the reverse being true. The roles outlined above also have special significance in relation to the Model Cities approach. The Model Cities program incorporates many new features which the planner must deal with. The need to create citizen participation, and establish a face to face relationship with people in a community are new strategies which the planner must be able to adapt to. The need to coordinate programs from a number of agencies, and establish a common target is another vital element. These new demands necessitate the reassessment of how the planner is to function and what his responsibilities will be. In addition, the planner must be able to establish who his client or public really is. Is the Model Cities area a special interest group and if so, must their ends be in conflict with the greater public interest at the community level? This is the type of question which the planner must respond to and decide upon for himself in order to allow him to function effectively in such an area. In the next section this relationship which the planner must work within will be further dealt with.

The first part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1865. The letter discusses the state of the Union and the progress of the war. It mentions the recent victories of the Union forces and the hope that the war will soon be over. The Secretary also discusses the political situation in the South and the need for Reconstruction. The letter is signed by the Secretary of the State, William A. R. Wallace.

The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1865. The report discusses the state of the Union and the progress of the war. It mentions the recent victories of the Union forces and the hope that the war will soon be over. The Secretary also discusses the political situation in the South and the need for Reconstruction. The report is signed by the Secretary of the State, William A. R. Wallace.

The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1865. The report discusses the state of the Union and the progress of the war. It mentions the recent victories of the Union forces and the hope that the war will soon be over. The Secretary also discusses the political situation in the South and the need for Reconstruction. The report is signed by the Secretary of the State, William A. R. Wallace.

The fourth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the State to the President, dated January 1, 1865. The report discusses the state of the Union and the progress of the war. It mentions the recent victories of the Union forces and the hope that the war will soon be over. The Secretary also discusses the political situation in the South and the need for Reconstruction. The report is signed by the Secretary of the State, William A. R. Wallace.

THE MODEL CITIES APPROACH

The Model Cities area exhibits many of the characteristics of the larger community at a much smaller scale. In most cases the scale of the problems is reduced but not necessarily the complexity. In considering the concept of the public interest this can best be illustrated. The establishment of common ends many felt could be greatly lessened by having a geographically limited area with a relatively homogeneous population. This was not the case at all. The interests and ends represented in this area are extremely diverse. The fact that we are working at a micro-level does not do away with conflicting interests, it merely lessens the number of variables to be dealt with.

As within any community, the delineation of the public is quite a complicated task. This is especially true, however, in the Model Cities area due to a combination of past situations. There is a considerable lack of communication between citizens in the area as well as an apathetic attitude due to past failures of other programs and strategies. In addition, there are many self-styled leaders who say that they are speaking in the name of the people. As can be seen, the difficulty in sorting these factors out can be immense.

Assuming that some sorting can be carried out, there are still many conflicting ends which have to be dealt with. Two levels of conflict can be identified: 1) internal and 2) intra community. Internal conflicts would center within the Model Cities area. Such conflicts would not seem to be oriented toward ultimate goals but more toward the priorities to be established. The needs of such areas in regard to better housing, employment opportunity and the like is well established. What is not established is how these problems should be attacked and in what order. Also, there is the desire for the community to establish some power base and the internal struggles for the control of this are also to be dealt with.

The planner can play a significant role when such conflicts and situations arise. He has the ability to act as a mediator to better inform the disputing parties of their options and also attempt to point up areas of compatibility which may create a more cooperative atmosphere for discussion. The planner can also be a catalyst for new ideas as well as be able to synthesize the ideas which arise out of interaction and present alternatives. In many ways this is

The first part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the State to the Governor, dated the 1st day of January, 1880. The letter is addressed to the Governor and is signed by the Secretary of the State. The letter contains the following text:

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th inst. in relation to the matter mentioned therein. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. B. [Name]

The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the State to the Governor, dated the 1st day of January, 1880. The report is addressed to the Governor and is signed by the Secretary of the State. The report contains the following text:

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not totally a new set of tasks which the planner must perform, the only difference is the scale of activity is greatly reduced.

Conflicts of the intra community variety are more means oriented than priority oriented. At the community level, for example, the Model Cities program may be considered as being within the public interest since it attempts to deal with many situations which are commonly considered as being bad. When, however, a Model Cities program begins to affect individuals within the community, many people react negatively and create conflicts. The basic goals of the two areas may not be in conflict but the means employed to attain them are reacted to in many cases. Conflicts which arise from differing goals can also be cited. In many areas, for example, a revision of the governmental structure to allow for greater local control is a goal. But along with this there may be a goal which focuses on increased job opportunities and which may rely on a strong centralized authority to be accomplished. The allocation of resources to the Model Cities area instead of other sections of a community can also be a point of conflict.

The planner in an attempt to resolve such conflicts on a basis which is equitable to the area he is representing must take the position of an advocate for the area. His role would be to represent the area in any dealings with the greater community and at all times attempt to strengthen the position of the Model Cities area. In this case the planner does not seem to be abiding by a concept of a "total" public interest in his representation of a "special" public. This is not really the case since it is in fact in the "total" public interest to proceed with the types of programs which are responsive to this area's needs. The residents of these areas have for the most part been excluded in previous conceptions of the "total" public. Our form of government is based on certain human rights and to this point they have not been upheld for all people. The needs and wants of disadvantaged groups are in the total interest of all people if we once accept our governmental structure.

The planner must, however, go beyond the resolution of conflicts and must attempt to establish his client and the ends which they seek. The vehicle which is incorporated in the Model Cities program which best can serve such an end is the idea of citizen participation. It is an important element of the overall

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program for both the citizens and the planner.

For the citizen it is a chance for the first time to actually have some voice in the decisions and plans which are prepared for their area. In addition, such an element can, as it was intended, help bring out the actual ends which these people feel are their most important ones. For the planner, such an articulation of views and ideas can better help him establish his concept of the interests of the area. The interchange of ideas in such a matter could also serve to clarify internal conflicts and depict a clearer image of the public in the area.

Citizen participation, although a needed tool in the overall Model Cities strategy, can be a problem to promote and do so in a way that will result in meaningful outputs. The fact that there is citizen apathy, miserable living conditions and especially a lack of faith in their own ability to foster change, tends to work against effective citizen involvement. Once such a component is established the question of who can participate is also of importance. There are many groups within the Model Cities area who are willing only to deal with their own specific interests. It may not be wise then to consider that citizen participation can produce all the elements which the planner needs as his inputs. However, with an effective participation base established, the planner can relate his concepts to them and receive some reaction which could be helpful in restructuring strategies to better meet the citizenry's needs.

The Model Cities program has really been instrumental in rethinking the role of the planner, his viewpoint and also the planning process. The new roles which a planner will have to consider were discussed previously. The advocate role by far has been seen as the major way in which the planner can best relate to the Model Cities area. The East St. Louis program has accepted this role as the most meaningful one by which the planner can define his client and the ends which are to be sought. Beyond this, however, one can see a need to shift the viewpoint of the planner since he does have a new role and to further change the process by which he arrives at plans and proposals.

The planning process is usually seen as a five step process: goal formulation, policy formulation, analysis, plan making, and evaluation. For the

most part each of these steps were carried on by the planner without any true relation to the community. With the Model Cities program this sequence and the steps have been modified.

The analytical phase is now the first item to be carried out to be able to apply for Federal funds, but in conjunction with this has come the need for a comprehensive attack on the areas problems. It is now necessary to coordinate many agencies to proceed with the program. In the area of goal formulation, no more can the planner establish goals without the review and consent of the area citizens. The planner must be able to identify the goals and priorities set forth by the people. The fact that the planner must also represent the area in relations with the greater community is also a new role. These are all changes which affect the planner and his ability to function within the new program. In addition to these new elements, the planner must also work within a framework which does not have an established governmental unit. The area must rely on the greater community for its power and personnel to carry on the program. These are all elements which make the program unique and necessitate a new approach by the planner to be able to respond effectively.

The viewpoint of the planner is also an area which must be considered. The conflict between the Model Cities area being a special interest or "public" interest can be an area of concern. The planner has usually seen himself as representing the interests of the total community. With this program this viewpoint is slightly altered. The fact that the area is a special interest group does not necessarily negate the aims which it is striving for. The planner must be able to reconcile the fact that the program is in the interest of all even though the benefits and resources are being focused on one particular area. The resolution of this idea for the planner should be an easy task. Of more meaningful consequence will be his attempts to resolve conflicts which arise in the area or with the greater community. The planner must be able to bridge the gap between the two areas. If one were to label the attitudes of the Model Cities area and the greater community: one could use Wilson's formulation of a private regarding ethos and a public regarding ethos¹⁴. The private ethos

would characterize the citizens of the Model Cities area who are only concerned with the achievement of their own ends. The public ethos would essentially represent the greater middle class and its views. The planner has the responsibility to somehow bring these two viewpoints in harmony. As was pointed out by Wilson¹⁵, a planner can help create a group which is self-centered and tends to distrust the outside world, or work for an organization which will define positive goals and be willing to discuss and interact to modify or amend them.

The assumption which follows from the stress on pluralistic planning is that plans which are so developed will truly represent different value systems and objectives other than those of planners alone. The values which are ultimately represented in the plan are supposedly those which represent the public interest of the given area. The means by which these ends are arrived at is important in distinguishing if they are truly representative. Through the use of effective citizen participation, this can hopefully be arrived at. This approach also is able to stimulate planning in three distinct ways: 1) by better informing the public of alternative choices, 2) by forcing the public agency to compete with other planning groups for political support and 3) by forcing those critical of "establishment" plans to produce superior ones not just criticize¹⁶. In order to effectively play the role of the advocate for an area, the planner must be able to synthesize the varied elements which arise out of such an approach to planning. The roles set forth earlier seem equally applicable depending on the situation. The planner at some point must play each of these roles. For such an approach to be completely effective, it may be necessary to create teams of planners who can take on the various roles which are needed. In many instances the planner may not be able to play a certain role as effectively as a person from the neighborhood could. Here the use of indigenous workers in the program can be of importance to establish a liaison and prepare a base for the planner to work from.

The Model Cities program and the techniques it employs are meant to be new and innovative, however, problems arise out of the fact that the program sets up specific guidelines to be followed and sets a time limit for their completion.

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In many instances this will prove a difficult time schedule to meet. In addition, many cities desperately need this program but do not have the capability to prepare an application for submittal. Allied agencies who must contribute to such an endeavor have traditionally not cooperated with the planning department due to their autonomy. The melding of such diverse agency interest is another major consideration. The program in all respects calls for changes in processes which have been carried on for many years.

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CONCLUSION

The concept of the public interest, as was discussed previously, is one which cannot be readily defined nor easily dealt with. Perhaps this concept is not a static ideal but really a process which is continually changing. It may be visualized as a process by which policies are evaluated and judged in relation to a certain set of values which are articulated by some of the public. The concept is still an abstraction but one which is useful to governmental bodies to insure that some of their functions and actions are legitimate.

In the context of planning, the concept is also useful as a justification and standard mechanism. The concern for the public interest at the planning level is realistic since policies and proposals set forth will alter human choice and flexibility. The conception of the public interest held by a planner will tend to bias his decisions as it will for the decision maker as well.

The Model Cities program can be seen as playing a part in altering the conception which the planner has of the public interest. The planner must be capable of changing his role to meet the new demands of the program as well as be able to ethically reconcile his advocacy of one particular group. All professions have as one of their obligations the protection of the public interest. The definition of this interest varies greatly but it is useful as a benchmark against which one can measure certain actions. This use of the public interest perhaps is its most important function.

A planner or decision maker cannot pause and consider in each situation who is for it or who is against it and then wait for some equalization by interaction to take place. Actions which are deemed necessary by a professional can be taken and justified by saying that they are in the public interest. The concept is a useful tool to promote action as well as to hinder improper action.

The planner in dealing in a Model Cities situation may not even need to worry about the public interest at the larger community level since it is so by virtue of the existence of the program to begin with. However, he will have to deal with interests within the area and identify his specific client. The definition of the public is the most difficult task which must be carried on. Once this has been established, the ends being sought begin to crystalize.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy auditing of the accounts.

Secondly, the document highlights the need for regular reconciliation. By comparing the internal records with bank statements and other external sources, any discrepancies can be identified and corrected promptly. This practice helps in preventing errors and maintaining the integrity of the financial data.

Furthermore, it is advised to keep all financial documents in a secure and organized manner. This includes receipts, invoices, and statements, which should be filed systematically. Proper record-keeping not only facilitates the preparation of financial reports but also provides a clear history of the organization's financial performance over time.

In conclusion, the document stresses that diligent financial record-keeping is essential for the success and stability of any business. It provides a clear framework for how to manage financial records effectively, ensuring that all necessary information is captured and maintained accurately.

Although the program delineates an area, it cannot be considered a homogeneous unit and be dealt with equally in all respects. The composition of the population will necessarily be somewhat diverse and especially so in their ideas. The involvement of citizens in the planning process is the major means by which the planner can be assured of dealing with the common values of the area. This involvement must be encouraged on a wide scale to adequately cover the total range of views within the area, for only then can one gain a true perspective of the situation.

In addition to a more active type of involvement, projects such as a neighborhood self-survey can be carried on by indigenous workers to provide further information on the needs and desires of the area's citizens¹⁷. The whole Model Cities program is based on an increased level of communication. Communication between people of the project area, governmental agencies, and between the project area and the greater community - without such communication the program cannot operate at its most efficient level.

The planner, to be able to adapt to this new situation, must be flexible and have the ability to shift roles as the need arises. Unlike traditional planning projects where the planner dealt with physical considerations predominantly, he is now called upon to design social and economic programs instead of physical features. Unlike before when his expertise enabled him to proceed with his work without any consultation, he now finds himself in a position where he must seek out the needs and wants of people and work to fit his proposal to this set of ends. Such a situation is beneficial to the planner as well as the people he is working in behalf of. The planner can deal with established values which are other than his own and the citizenry can have a voice in policies which are being developed for their neighborhood.

The Model Cities program has had its most dramatic affects on the roles which the planner must play. In turn, this shift in roles has been reflected in the planners conception of the public interest and above all how he can establish this overall set of goals for the whole area. The new roles which the planner must take on can all be seen as reflecting the common interests

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of the area, and are merely vehicles which the planner uses to facilitate the attainment of the community's ends.

The actual idea of the public interest cannot be said to have been altered but more the method of deriving it and in turn interpreting it. It is not an isolated process anymore that is carried on by the planner. Through citizen involvement the process has taken on a new dimension and with it new responsibilities for the planner and for the citizen. The planner must create an atmosphere which is conducive to involvement in addition to providing incentives. The citizen on the other hand is obliged to participate and voice his views. The establishment of such a scheme in many cases takes a long period, due to the existing situation in the area. This time element must also be considered since it is one of the more important factors in this program. A period of a year is allotted to the formulation of a plan, during which active citizen participation must be taking place. This is a difficult schedule to meet. The time limit of five years set up for the whole project also is short when one considers the extent of time it takes for urban renewal plans to be completed. In one sense the time element is a limitation while in another it is a necessity. The Model Cities areas have consistently been let down by programs. If such a new program can not produce dramatic results, it is feared that people will lose interest and begin to retract their support of the program. The priorities which are established by the people in most cases will be those which produce a quick return. The need for the planner to program short range changes is of importance. One can see then that the requirements of the Model Cities program are quite unique due to the area it is to aid and also due to the innovative nature of the program.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Edward C. Banfield and Martin Meyerson, Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest (Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 323.
2. Ibid., p. 323.
3. Ibid., p. 324.
4. Ibid., p. 325.
5. Ibid., p. 326.
6. Carl J. Friedrich (ed). Nomos V: The Public Interest (New York: Atherton Press, 1964), p. 119.
7. Ibid., p. 120.
8. Ibid., p. 121.
9. Ibid., p. 121.
10. Ibid., p. 156.
11. Ibid., p. 158.
12. Banfield and Meyerson, op. cit., p. 304-307.
13. Henry Fagin, The Profession and the Discipline of Planning, p. 7.
14. James O. Wilson, Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal, (Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 1963).
15. Ibid.
16. City of East St. Louis, Model Cities Application, (1967), p. 330.
17. Arthur D. Little Inc., Strategies for Shaping Model Cities, (Washington, D. C.: Communication Service Corporation, 1967), p. 23.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses. The names are:

 1. Mr. J. H. Smith, 123 Main St., New York, N.Y.

 2. Mr. W. B. Jones, 456 Elm St., Chicago, Ill.

 3. Mr. C. D. Brown, 789 Oak St., Boston, Mass.

 4. Mr. E. F. Green, 101 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa.

 5. Mr. G. H. White, 202 Cedar St., San Francisco, Cal.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses. The names are:

 1. Mr. I. J. Black, 303 Birch St., Detroit, Mich.

 2. Mr. K. L. Gray, 404 Spruce St., Portland, Me.

 3. Mr. M. N. Hall, 505 Ash St., St. Louis, Mo.

 4. Mr. O. P. King, 606 Willow St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

 5. Mr. Q. R. Lee, 707 Hickory St., Memphis, Tenn.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses. The names are:

 1. Mr. S. T. Young, 808 Walnut St., Kansas City, Mo.

 2. Mr. U. V. Adams, 909 Chestnut St., St. Paul, Minn.

 3. Mr. X. W. Baker, 1010 Madison St., Milwaukee, Wis.

 4. Mr. Y. Z. Clark, 1111 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

 5. Mr. A. B. Evans, 1212 Park St., Los Angeles, Cal.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses. The names are:

 1. Mr. C. D. Fisher, 1313 Central St., Denver, Colo.

 2. Mr. E. F. Grant, 1414 Franklin St., San Diego, Cal.

 3. Mr. G. H. Hill, 1515 Lincoln St., Dallas, Tex.

 4. Mr. I. J. King, 1616 Washington St., Houston, Tex.

 5. Mr. K. L. Lee, 1717 Adams St., Phoenix, Ariz.

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2. City of East St. Louis, Model Cities Application, 1967.
3. Flathman, Richard E., The Public Interest, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1966.
4. Friedrich, Carl J. (ed), Nomos III: Responsibility, Liberal Arts Press, 1960.
5. _____, Nomos V: The Public Interest, Atherton Press, 1962.
6. _____, Nomos VII: Rational Decision, Atherton Press, 1964.
7. Little, Arthur D. Inc., Strategies for Shaping Model Cities, Communication Service Corporation, Washington, D. C., 1967.
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13. Wilson, James O., Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 1963.
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J. Michael Szunyog
U.P. 487
January 10, 1969

" The Multi-Service Neighborhood Center as a Means of
Citizen Participation in Model Cities "

Model Cities is an attempt to solve problems which former solutions were unable to ameliorate. Important here is the failure of ordinary urban renewal programs to accomplish anything but "Negro removal", as some have accused. It perhaps took successive summers of unrest in our major cities; the relative deprivation of Negro slum dwellers, which they so strongly feel; and the efforts of sensitive leaders for the nation to finally realize that if the phenomena we call slums and poverty were to be eliminated, they could not be approached from a purely middle class point of view. Model Cities is an attempt, then, to approach prejudice, poverty, slums and all concomitant problems comprehensively and from a more realistic viewpoint.

The Model Cities Administration of HUD requires
"widespread citizen participation in the program."

The implementation of this statutory provision requires: (1) the constructive involvement of citizens in the model neighborhood area and the city as a whole in planning and carrying out the program, and (2) the means of introducing the views of area residents in policy making should be developed and opportunities should be afforded area residents to participate actively in planning and carrying out the demonstration. 1

HUD does not determine the organizational pattern this requirement would take. This is left to the particular city which administers the program. Local circumstances will vary from city to city, and the means to this end will therefore vary. HUD does, however, set performance standards which must be met by the City Demonstration Agency if the Model Cities plan is to receive Federal approval. Each city must spell out precisely how the local citizens will be involved in policy making and planning throughout the program. The standards include first, an existing or newly established organizational structure embodying neighborhood residents the leadership of which "must consist of persons whom neighborhood residents accept as representing their interests." 2

Secondly, the participation must have direct access to the decision makers in the City Demonstration Agency. In order to be able to influence decisions and policy "that structure must have sufficient information about any matter to be decided for a sufficient period of time so that it can initiate proposals and react knowledgeably to proposals from others." 3 This initiation and reaction require that the structure have a sufficient technical capacity. This should be aided by professional, technical assistance in a form agreed upon by the residents.

Thirdly, financial assistance should be provided for transportation, baby sitting, etc., so everyone has the opportunity to participate. Finally, neighborhood residents are to be employed in the program, with a view toward the

development of new career lines through appropriate training. The important points in these requirements and standards are the local organization of residents, and the facilitation of an intelligent dialogue between the residents and the City Demonstration Agency. The hypothesis of this paper concerns both of these elements, and the relationships between them will be brought out later in the sections on citizen participation and the neighborhood center.

The philosophical reasons for the involvement of the citizen in shaping his own environmental destiny are stated well by Robert Lynd in his book Knowledge For What, published over twenty-five years ago. He says that we must, as professionals (he is speaking to sociologists in particular, and to planners by extension) refrain from accepting institutions and their values as given, an acceptance of the rightness of the "American way," the middle class concept of morality; we must seek criteria of the significant, which must be the same as those persons' criteria of the significant. These criteria or values are what Lynd believes to be shared by all cultures or classes because of their existence as human beings. They encompass an approach to humanity and human problems which is not based upon values of culture, but on values of humanity. They include the craving of the personality to live not too far from its own physical and emotional tempo; the craving for a sense of growth, a realization of personal power; a desire to do things involving a felt sense of fairly immediate meaning; a desire for physical and

psychological security, but with the option to be insocure; a craving to share purposes, feeling, and action with others.

These philosophical or socio-psychological values have been brought into the Model Cities program and the various social service programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The social and physical relationships between these two programs have been pointed out by HUD, who states that many Model Cities programs are under way in Community Action Program neighborhoods, and that there has been coordination between them in the form of assistance provided by the Community Action Agency in enlisting neighborhood support, organizing residents for participation, and providing technical assistance. The City Demonstration Agency has in many cases delegated some planning and organizational functions to the Community Action Agency. 4

We have been looking at citizen participation as it relates to the Model Cities program without really defining it. I have chosen a broad definition which I think encompasses all connotations the concept implies. Citizen participation, then, is the active involvement of persons, either individually or collectively, in the decision making process regarding issues which physically, economically or socially affect the viability and stability of the individual or of the community. This definition implies and assumes the ability to participate, and therefore assumes social, psychological, physical, and economic stability or security and ability. It assumes working within an accepted system, as a member of the system, to effectively change it, if change is warranted.

John H. Foskett, in his analysis of social participation, points out that participation is not/^auniformly distributed phenomenon. It is usually restricted to a middle class minority, and revolves around issues dealing with community life. In citing a General Community Participation score, he relates necessary elements for participation: voting frequency; frequency of discussion of education, government and civic affairs with family, friends and officials; membership and activity in formal organizations; involvement in local issues; attendance at meetings where these were major issues; and frequency of association with leaders and officials. The main factor associated with participation was status or position in the social system. This status variable usually includes income, occupation, ethnicity and education. Each element of status has differential variability with the variable of participation. but, summarily, the higher the status of an individual, the more likely he will either desire to participate, or the more factors such as occupation may influence the social or economic necessity to participate.

A few of Foskett's observations are important to the hypothesis of the paper, and for participation in general. First, he cites the fact that contact with others, and especially with other participators, is important. The ability to participate means the ability to communicate, and this relates to one's educational level. Third, participation must have a functional relevancy, including a relevancy to

to one's position or status. In an environment of poverty, discouragement and alienation, it is difficult to see such relevance. Along with these, the elements of place and frequency of participation play a large part. And,

Support for a program exists only when the proposal grows out of the thinking of the wider group. The best way to insure support at the solution level is to secure full participation at the problem defining and decision-making level. 5

And, as a strategy for professionals to follow, Foskett states that the participants' perception of relevance is greater if they participated at the locating and defining of the problem.

The success of participation in Model Cities, then, is based on a number of strategies, among which are making issues more relevant to more people; recognizing the diversity of value systems, getting down to basic human values; compensating for the inability to communicate through education and through the experience of participation itself; innovating time, place and circumstances of participation while actually seeking out non-participants to create involvement and not to merely gain support for a program; and, lastly, making participation respectable and a source of prestige for everyone through a modification of the role expectations people have of themselves and of others; in other words, raising and improving the self-image of the participant.

Participation in Model Cities must follow these strategies and recognize the actual social and psychological positions, and their perception, held by Model Cities residents.

This knowledge and understanding on the part of planners and politicians must cover the range of types of Model Cities areas. Although most target areas may be predominantly Negro, and exhibit all the elements of poverty and prejudice of slums, some areas may be in transition, from white to Negro, or from middle class Negro to lower class Negro, or some other variation. But since the first type is prevalent, perhaps it would be relevant to point out differences between the general opportunities for participation which exist for the Negro as an ethnic minority, and the opportunities of which other minorities could formerly avail themselves.

In the past, immigrant and ethnic groups formed cohesive enclaves in the city. The Greeks, Hungarians, or whoever, banded together physically and socially for mutual protection and advancement. Within a generation or two, the process of acculturation and socialization into the greater, on-going society had taken place. Politically, they formed pressure groups, and were usually of sufficient number to have direct representation in city hall. Old style machine politics was the rule. The acculturation process almost centered around the local political club, where jobs could be had, and other needs could be communicated to the proper authority.

Throughout the process of upward mobility, from lower to middle class status, the immigrant groups had a pride and self confidence in their inherent worth. There was a certain class consciousness, a feeling of unity in purpose. It would be redundant at this point to reiterate the problems

which Negroes face in making a go of life. Their feelings of futility and alienation and uselessness are well known. The general form of politics in our major cities has changed; the machine has given way to the efficient professional. The means to a stable life and upward mobility are therefore non-existent in the form they once took, especially for the Negro poor.

The past decade, however, has seen a change in American Negro history. There is a movement toward ethnic stability; and though the goal of a good life is echoed through the alleys of every slum, the exact form it would take and the means for reaching it are not agreed upon by all Negro factions.

In the past participation by ethnic groups took the form of voting for a candidate who could materially benefit the voter; by actual work on the precinct level; and for some, by actually running for office under the machine's auspices and guidance. The underlying elements, though, which shaped the ethnics' participation were a social-psychological stability, and a confidence in the system and in the future ---engendered by this stability. Communication through an efficient machine assured almost universal participation.

Negro participation, however, has been in most cases dissimilar from earlier forms. On the one hand, militant groups have formed, and by either peaceful or violent means, have tried to bring about change in their status. Positively, they are at last giving the Negro a sense of pride in his race and in his ability.

On the other hand, there have existed for many years

among the Negro minority such organizations as the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League, who have done much for the Negro perhaps outside the slum, in lessening job prejudices, but have done little in terms of instilling the Negro with self pride or confidence. And, until recently, these groups were dominated by white liberals both in membership and in policy formation. The Negroes benefiting most were those who had some semblance of middle class status and could more easily better themselves.

Since the focus here is on the more common Model Cities area, the Negro slum, the concomitant focus on the problem of participation is centered around groups or kinds of people who inhabit these areas, and on problems of the actual participation of these. We may, for the sake of convenience, identify two broad groups: those who do participate, and those who do not. And, carrying this further, we may break down each broad category. Among those who do participate, there are "militant" groups of individuals, and "legitimate" groups. Militants are defined as those who act outside the greater social system, and whose major goal is the acquisition of equitable power in the political decision making process. Legitimate groups are those, such as the Urban League, who have attained some semblance of the middle class ethic, and who may work exclusively at that level. Their goal is similar to that of the militants, but they would not change the system of power; they work within it.

The second broad group contained the normally non-participant---mothers on welfare, the aged, the unemployed---

those who exhibit and are apart of the culture of poverty.

There are a number of differences among these groups. One difference is brought out by Banfield and Wilson in their book, City Politics, and utilized by Wilson in his AIP Journal article on citizen participation in urban renewal. This is a class difference, and involves what is called a "private-regarding" and a "public-regarding" interest. The former is characteristic of the lower classes in general; they are seen as unorganizable except under very special circumstances, and for special purposes, as when they are directly threatened. On the other hand, the middle classes are "public-regarding," able to place the public interest above their own. The non-participants and in some ways the militants are accordingly private-regarding; and the legitimate groups are public-regarding.

In another way, we may differentiate among all three groups as to what they want to accomplish, what their aspirations are, and what means they use to achieve them. From Wilson's analysis, we see the importance of the word "interest," and its relevant definition. From a middle class point of view, the N.A.A.C.P. is working for the interest of the greater social system as well as for the minority interest. But, from the point of view of the minority themselves, the militants may well truly represent the greater public interest, and much more importantly and particularly, the minority interest. If we hark back to the concepts of Lynd, and look at the fact that a sizeable minority has been excluded from the greater society and its

benefits, it is hard to imagine that the interest of the middle class society should be uppermost. From the point of the minority, their interest encompasses that of the majority rather than vice-versa.

As to when and why the legitimate or militant groups participate, and where they and the non-participants fit in the planning process, we may simplify the analysis by saying that there are three periods involved in the process, which are not really discrete, but which overlap to degree, and continue through time: planning, programming, and operation. With our three major groups, there may be appropriate periods for their participation, especially the militant and legitimate groups. Generally, the organized groups are the filter through which the professional staff reaches the people, and through which the people may voice their interests to the staff.

In East Saint Louis one example of the interplay among groups, representatives, residents, and the professional staff may be seen. Although this is only one case, nevertheless, given the facts of the general situation, namely, that (1) the Negro poor have become increasingly aware of their circumstances in contrast to those of the white (or Negro) middle class, that is, their feeling of relative deprivation; (2) the social upheaval in major cities which is a call for immediate action; and (3) the distrust for legitimate Negro organizations (the feeling that they do not truly represent the poor), then we can generalize to other areas as well. In East Saint Louis, militant groups

sought and gained a large measure of control over the planning program from the beginning; because they represented the interests of the majority of the residents, they succeeded. The man they favored for the job was chosen as director of the program and is an effective liaison between the professionals he has hired and the people he represents. It is the view of the chief planner in East Saint Louis that in the forthcoming period of the Model Cities program, when money is allocated for the execution of the plan, the major antagonists will be the militants and lower class Negroes on one side, and the middle class Negroes on the other.

We turn now to the third element of the hypothesis, the Multi-Service Neighborhood Center, of which there are two types, both seen as potentially valuable for the desired goal of meaningful and effective participation in Model Cities.

The first type is a program element of the Office of Equal Opportunity, which was established in 1964. The multi-service center is set up and administered by a local Community Action Agency as a part of the overall Community Action Program. The agency's purpose is to take a variety of social services and programs directly to the people most in need of them. It reflects the social welfare concept of outreach. Some of the programs administered by the agency include the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, Head Start, programs for direct social welfare and recreation

programs. A primary goal of the center, aside from that of bringing services to the people, is to give the area a sense of community and involvement through the various educational and vocational programs offered. The center also hires residents, usually young people who are participating in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program.

The second type of center is described by Joan Stock in a thesis done at the University of Illinois. It combines the OEO approach, as outlined above, with a program of HUD which provides grants for the acquisition of physical facilities to house neighborhood or community centers, health facilities, or youth centers. The former stresses the services themselves, the latter stresses the facility to house such services.

The combination, under executive order of the President, was initiated as a Neighborhood Center Pilot Program in 1967. Federal agencies and departments involved in it are HUD, OEO, DHEW, and the Department of Labor. Its purpose is to demonstrate...

how local residents might be mobilized to plan (a center) which can house health, recreational, social and other community services,...and to demonstrate and evaluate systematically the role of community involvement in planning, developing and operating the neighborhood centers. 6

There are two ways of approaching the program, and six of the twelve cities chosen to participate utilize one approach, the other six taking the second approach. The approaches are, first, a neighborhood development corporation is established, and a decision making board of

directors is elected by the residents; or, second, the city establishes neighborhood advisory boards, who advise and cooperate with the city in planning the center. 7

The initial relationship between the Model Cities concept and the neighborhood center program is that they both have similar goals, and, by extension, similar problems. Each specifically involves, or hopes to involve, residents directly in the entire planning process. Each program also cites the other in its guidelines as possible, constructive adjuncts to the respective programs. It is difficult, therefore, to separate what the Neighborhood Center program can do for Model Cities, and what Model Cities can do for the Neighborhood Center program.

At first glance, one can say that the relationship depends upon which program was initiated first. The first program established would seem to facilitate the second. And, since the first of the two to be operationalized by the federal government, its possible presence in an area designated for the Neighborhood Center program should facilitate the latter. In fact, three of the four cities studied by Miss Hock had the Neighborhood Center located in a Model Cities neighborhood. This is the case in Washington, Philadelphia and New York.

Second, one can validly consider the Neighborhood Center program a part of the Model Cities concept. The Model Cities Program Guide states that the purposes of the Act are...

...(a) to rebuild or revitalize large slum and blighted areas;(b) to expand housing;

(c) to expand job and income opportunities;
 (d) to improve educational facilities and programs; to combat disease and ill health;
 (f) to reduce dependence on welfare payments; (g) to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency;... 8

A city demonstration program should not consist of a variety of social, economic and physical improvements carried out in isolation from one another...Components should be developed into interrelated systems. 9

The two programs, then, are complementary to each other, with the Model Cities program being the more comprehensive of the two.

Problems here are obvious, especially in light of the stated hypothesis with its emphasis on participation. If we look at the hypothesis only as it is stated, and with certain assumptions, then there are no problems in at least a simple solution. Given that the two programs exist, complementary in their goals, then one can conclude that if the Neighborhood Center is established and functioning, as a physical and social meeting place (necessary conditions for participation), Model Cities planning in the area should be facilitated.

The actual circumstances are not so simple, however. The establishment of one program does not mean the automatic establishment of the other program in the same area. It is more conceivable that a Neighborhood Center could be established in an area that does not need the physical improvements component of Model Cities. The converse is harder to imagine. Model Cities areas by definition need Neighborhood Centers.

Some of the variables involved in solving the problem of citizen participation in Model Cities vis à vis the Neighborhood Center are in the form of questions. First, when is the center to be established---before, during, or after the initiation of the Model Cities program? Second, what are the problems of participation in the Neighborhood Center program itself? Third, would the institution of both of the programs in the same area at the same time cause confusion among the residents? In answer to the first question, it has been suggested that the Multi-Service Center, in either form, and the Model Cities program, can work toward one another's goals of meaningful citizen participation in a sequential manner. Experience in New York programs has pointed out that there is a great deal of difference in success in Model Cities programs when the neighborhood is organized into citizen groups, as opposed to when it has no organizations. Due to the less complicated and more basic nature of the multi-service program, on the one hand, and the more complicated or sophisticated Model Cities program on the other hand, the former program might be initiated first. One of its main purposes would be to foster a continual process of participation in the area; to organize it to the point where the residents are informed of special needs of the area; educated as to programs, processes and responsibilities involved in Model Cities as well as neighborhood center projects; and capable of participating in both projects and their programs.

This strategy would follow the concepts set forth by John Foskett and delineated earlier.

The program offerings of the neighborhood center could focus on problems especially related to participation. The center offers the necessary preliminary elements for meaningful participation: contact with other participators; the development of the ability to communicate effectively; a functional relevancy of the project or problem; a place to participate; a frequency of participation (through educational and informational meetings); and, can lead to proposals which would emanate from the thinking of the residents as a whole. Support throughout either or both programs would be insured and increased if participation began at the problem defining and decision making level, as proposed.

The relative "simplicity" of the Neighborhood center programs, and therefore, are basic to the later participation in a Model Cities program. The center would organize the neighborhood socially so that it could more easily respond to the greater physical emphasis and importance of the Model Cities program. If success of Model Cities is based at least partially upon the organization of residents, and their participation, then this sequence would facilitate both programs. It would not mean, however, that the center would lose its importance after the initiation of a Model Cities program, but, as was stated previously, the former is a necessary adjunct to the latter.

In areas which are organized with effective citizen groups, the multi-service center is no less important, both for its sake and for its relevance to the Model Cities concept and comprehensive approach. It is probably inevitable that even in these areas there is a large segment of the population with little or no meaningful participation and voice in the affairs important to the viability and functioning of the community. The overall role of the neighborhood center, therefore, is to reach all residents with the information and education they must possess to be properly represented in society. It cannot be a catchall or panacea, but as a continuing function, it can be a help in those areas most in need of social and physical betterment.

This paper has attempted at the outset to show what is so blatantly obvious to social scientists and to planners at the present time: that in order to reach people in need we must know what they themselves desire; we must divorce ourselves from a middle class approach to social problems; we must look comprehensively at areas such as those designated as Model Cities areas or as target areas for social programs, first in an anthropological way, trying to find the unique elements in the community, and second, to put this knowledge in the context of society as a whole, with a historical perspective on the problems and the plight of the Negro, the displaced southern white, and the aged or otherwise insecure. The neighborhood center program or any other program must be approached with a sensitivity

hitherto unknown among those who devote themselves to such pursuits. Such sensitivity seems to be evolving in the humanistic thrust of recent decades.

The planner, in the particular contexts discussed, must perforce develop new roles ^{and role expectations} /if he is to be an effective agent in the process of positive change. He must not be simply an innocuous technician who puts together a plan which fits almost any area in the country. He must first reassess his role as a professional. He must be an advocate, not for particular interests or groups, but for humanity. He must recognize the universality of Lynd's concepts and at the same time recognize that what is good for one individual (that is, what is mentally healthy) may be an adverse condition for another person. This involves the promotion of an element of choice as wide as is possible. The planner is working with the total environment, not just the physical environment. His training, therefore, as well as his working outlook, must be wide enough to include the total diversity which is inherent in our civilization. In the Model Cities program and in the citizen participation component of that program, the planner needs to be completely open. On the one hand, he cannot force his middle class values on the local population and therefore must accept their desires for what they are; on the other hand, he is faced with the problem of educating these people as to the responsibilities that society expects of them. The role of "mediator" is therefore most important in this context.

While this provision raises questions of the reality of an idealistic approach, that the planner as mediator would represent some conceptual public interest and promote that, it seems absolutely necessary at this time to search for this type of approach.

The planner could take two different approaches, as I see it. First, he could be whatever he works for wants him to be. Here he would have no "roles" except that of a technician. Second, he could, as is suggested, take an advocate's view toward problems, as an advocate for some "human" interest, as opposed to either a "public" or "private" interest. The latter approach is desirable in any context.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Model Cities Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, COA Letter H6.3, Oct. 30, 1967.
- 2) IBID.
- 3) IBID.
- 4) Department of Housing and Urban Development, The Model Cities Program, Questions and Answers, Washington, GPO, 3/68.
- 5) John A. Foskett, "The Influence of Social Participation on Community Programs and Activities", in Marvin B. Sussman, ed., Community Structure and Analysis, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1959.
- 6) Joan Mock, Planning the Multi-Purpose Neighborhood Center, Thesis, Department of Urban Planning, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1968, p. v.
- 7) IBID., p.vi.
- 8) Program Guide: Model Neighborhoods in Demonstration Cities, Washington, GPO, 1966, p. 10-11.
- 9) IBID., pp. 10-11.

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Proposals for Consumer-Retailer
Relationships within The Model
Cities Program

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"The most direct contact between the poor and the business community is at the retail level"¹ yet it is here where the poorest members of the society are being served by the least efficient element of the retail distribution system. This is by far one of the most severe and immediate inequities faced daily by the low-income resident of decayed or ghetto neighborhoods. The residents of these areas typically are forced to remain within these environs of dilapidation, isolation, and stagnation because of unemployment, lack of education, immobility, or cultural bonds. The low-income consumer, besides the requirements of food and clothing, have the same socially supported desire for major durables as all other members of the society. While having the same wants as the total population, the low-income purchaser is constrained, after the allotment to food and shelter, by inadequate funds, by poor credit position, and by a general lack of shopping sophistication. The retail market mechanism is based on the mass-market purchasing power of the middle-income group. The lower 15 to 20% and the uppermost 10% of the population are ignored by the boundaries of the system. The needs of the upper-income group have willingly been fulfilled by specialized consumer service-oriented establishments; the possibilities for attractive profits being assured. This leaves 20% of the United States' families, mostly in low-income areas, to be served by non-mass merchandise establishments usually

small independent neighborhood "mom and pop" stores.

The low-income areas are served by an indigenous retailer system, characterized by the higher prices and limited variety intrinsic to small scale neighborhood stores.

A survey² taken in 1966 in Los Angeles' Mexican-American ghettos and the Watts area, documented prices 7-21% higher for a standard market basket consisting of 30 items purchased in small local stores when compared to similar items purchased in a Beverly Hills supermarket. To further aggravate the local store-higher price cycle, discrimination towards Negro consumers in Negro areas may exist. A survey³ conducted to evaluate discrimination in prescription price according to purchaser, black and white, revealed the least expensive type of pharmacy was the chain-owned variety drugstore located in low-income neighborhoods with nearby competing pharmacies. The central-city chain drugstore furnished the most attractive prices while the independent pharmacy in high income areas with few competing pharmacies proved most expensive, probably due to consumer service and convenience demands.

"The most interesting results were those observed in independently owned variety drugstores located in poor neighborhoods with few nearby competitors. All 6 pharmacies in this classification charged the Negro observer more than his white counterpart. . . . these neighborhoods were all predominantly Negro."

The social characteristics of the low-income group seem to make its members susceptible to victimization not only by poor merchandising, but also by parasitic merchants

who function within the unique ghetto conditions to fulfill a void in the normal market structure. The most flagrant abuses experienced by the low-income purchasers involve "hard goods", large appliances which are relatively expensive. The consumers do not have sufficient funds for cash purchase, a requirement for independence in choice of product and supplier, of the item. The unethical merchant can thus make his own market and name his own price by stressing easy credit, off-brand merchandise, low down payments, and small installments. A comparison of prices in Los Angeles and its suburbs revealed gross variation on standard name appliances:⁵

	<u>Watts</u>	<u>East Los Angeles</u>	<u>control</u>
Zenith Portable T.V.	\$170.-	-	\$130.-
Emerson Portable T.V.	\$210.-	\$200.-	\$170.-
Zenith clock radio	-	\$12.-	\$19.-

Absurd prices are paid by the consumer for a multiplicity of reasons which are the resultant of the normal market's failure to consider the demands of this purchaser segment. The low-income appliance shopper pays indirectly for his "easy credit" and acceptance as a credit risk by the retailer. The symbolic importance attributed to material goods, characteristic to American society, is parallel among all elements of our culture; the low-income consumer has many of the same basic and symbolic demands as the upper-income buyer who can easily afford them.

The lower-income consumer clearly is disadvantaged in his purchasing power, mobility, and choice of indigenous

shopping facilities. But as severe as the imbalance appears, the ghetto-based retailer is very much debilitated by the same factors which stricken the residents. There exists a cyclical relationship, a symbiosis which must be broken or altered to affect a basic change in the consumer-retailer function. The consumers in low-income areas are faced with a prevalence of small, inefficient, non-economical small businesses who are oblivious to the mass-merchandising practices of chain stores. This condition appeared as the result of the profit motivation of the mass-market stores; the low-income purchaser has little to offer the ethical businessman in terms of easy profit, just as the low-income urban community has little to offer as physical incentives. Few retailers have been effectively excluded by the higher cost of doing business while experiencing greater risk. Therefore the retailers to remain last are those who are bound to the ghetto location by investment or personal ties. They then must reflect the high cost of doing business by demanding higher prices while constituting the variety and volume of products offered.

The low-income central-city location is particularly expensive for the businessman because of high land prices, construction costs bolstered by strict urban codes, urban rentals, and exaggerated insurance rates. There is little to make the central-city low-income areas attractive to chain-store entrepreneurs when white suburbs offer cheap land, low insurance rates, and financially stable customers.

Low-income consumers must exist under the strains of

small resources compounded by dollar underutilization when spent in neighborhood stores which, by nature of their small scale, are uneconomical. These incompatible functions are amplified by the residents' lack of shopping sophistication, lack of mobility to expand their shopping boundaries, and self-imposed cultural ties to shops accommodating a particular life-style or ethnic minority. Any attempt to ameliorate or correct a single problem would do little to improve the long-term consumer position which ultimately implies increased purchasing power, improved quality and selection of products, enhanced consumer knowledge, and lower per item cost. At least three forces must be attacked simultaneously to stimulate a lasting economic, social, and physical improvement of the consumer-retailer relationship. The consumer's position must be altered over both the short- and long-term, first by maximizing existing purchasing power, eventually by increasing purchasing ability. The two-phase ideology applies to existing retailers as well; to remove their existing physical and economic limitations while assuring their position in a future reorganized retail system. In addition, new retailers must be brought into the low-income area to infuse the benefits of chain store mass-merchandising into an otherwise static market place. A comprehensive approach could generate the climate where each of the three segments would serve to amplify the others over an extended period to the mutual betterment of the purchaser, retailer, community,

and environs.

The Model Cities Act offers an unique opportunity to implement programs to alter the existing consumer-retailer relationship by means of a multi-faceted attack. Action programs, adjusted to meet the characteristics of the individual community, could be structured from a combination of possible elements which rectify diverse ghetto shortcomings. One particular approach may serve to remedy a severe situation on a short-term basis, to be replaced when appropriate by a more permanent program. The Model Cities-supported program would have to be primarily directed towards the resident if the inequities faced by the ghetto-area consumer are to be balanced. Consumer education could be a first and major step toward the development of a knowledgeable shopper, one who is aware of the quality of merchandise offered by indigenous small stores as compared to that of a chain-store located outside of, yet accessible to, the ghetto area. Improved shopper sophistication encourages the merchant to be aware of the quality of products available to the consumer. Shopping knowhow would eliminate some of the self-imposed barriers erected by the residents against consumption outside of their falsely accommodating ghetto community. The consumer education program may well include the distribution of informative literature presented in an easy to read format describing shopping hints to determine product quality, producer-label reputation, competitive prices, and store-

price comparisons. This information, and daily shopping prices and hints, could also become part of an educational T. V. series "from the community for the community" presented through the T. v. medium present in the majority of low-income homes. The dissemination of general consumer information could be supplemented by personal counseling on consumer problems and complaints, possibly as a function of the neighborhood center. Many legitimate disagreements between the consumer and unethical ghetto merchants are never documented because the residents lack knowledge of legal aids, interest limitations, and repossession agreements. They fail to take action against the merchant out of fear of welfare payment loss and salary garnishment, eventhough their complaints are supportable and valid.

Even when equipped with improved shopper perception the resident may be confined to the physical neighborhood by the lack of mobility, both private and public. And until the indigenous retailer reacts to the demands of the educated consumer an immediate improvement in shopping facilities within the designated Model Cities area must be provided. A possible solution to the necessity of quick retail facility formation and operation might indicate a Model Cities funded cooperative which would serve as an educational and experimental project as well as providing quality products to its supporters. From past cooperative experience the low-income, apartment dominated, urban conditions would not favor the success of the cooperative venture.

Little cooperative attempts have been characterized by a settled community of middle- to upper-middle income educated families where active community organizations have developed voluntary leadership. Apartment dwelling implies the residential instability of occupants who would not likely invest in the neighborhood or accept leadership responsibility.

Even after considering these initial problems the cooperative may be felt to provide enough additional merits to warrant its establishment and support by the Model Cities program.

The cooperative form of business, synonymous with consumer ownership, allows the low-income resident the opportunity to invest his capital in an enterprise that functions to serve the particular needs of the community and him as a voting member of that organization. It is service at cost to the coop members, by the use of year-end refunds prorated on patronage, the coop can serve the demands of its participants at the net cost of doing business. From the consumer's point of view the cooperative functions to provide facts for its members as to the need for more detailed product standards; labeling standards; value of its goods and services; maximum product quality per unit price; and the provision of product type and variety suited to the particular locale. The community cooperative could be justified alone on the basis of its being an educational experience enabling the residents to develop improved shopping knowledge, while providing its members an exposure to business operations through the investment

in its common stock, preferred stock, and bonds. The experience of member participation in the actual operation (one vote per member irregardless of total stock holding value), product selection, and coop goals and policies may have more longer range community values than just improved shopping conditions. "... cooperatives are businesses and are subject to the same economic laws that govern any business." ⁶ The cooperatives which have failed usually exhibited several defects in management, financing, competition, membership, book keeping, and Board of Directors; all of which are disciplines where potential leadership, support, and technical aid can be furnished by other members of the Model Cities program within the community. If the cooperative project is undertaken as a temporary solution or experimental project its successful operation could well serve as the basis for expansion and provision of additional facilities to serve the entire community and its environs.

The Report of the National Commission on Cooperative Development stresses the four elements of success:

1. there must be a need and this need must be recognized and felt by the members (the organization of residents by a central committee to form the cooperative may be one element of the community program)
2. there must be an alert, trained, forward-looking manager
3. there must be adequate capital (provided by or supplemented by the unrestricted funds of the Model Cities program)
4. there must be an informed and educated membership (which implies a continual educational program to promote and enlist new members)

The community leadership organized by the Model Cities program shall be needed to develop the public acceptance, as are the supplemental funds required to establish a physically mature cooperative undertaking.

"It is still true that no cooperative which has developed financing and operations large enough to have a \$1,000,000.- annual volume has failed; but the minimum to make such an assurance continue is probably increasing and we may well see some \$1,000,000.- volume cooperatives close because they are too small to be effectively competitive."⁷

The cooperative organization need not be restricted to consumer products, this business form has been particularly successful in the provision of consumer loans through credit unions, an omnipresent need of low-income families. The money which members of the credit union borrows comes from the membership's own accumulated savings, with an additional small portion acquired from outside sources. To be successful the credit union must minimize the operational expenses of detailed inquiries and reference checks, thus implying the formation of credit unions along three organizational types:⁸

1. occupational- membership is associated with a common employer
2. association- membership is united through membership in a consumer cooperative, church affiliation, etc.
3. residential- residents of a definable sub-area

Since the Model Cities areas are characterized by low-income families, the members' initial share capital and savings may not be adequate to enable operation, therefore

requiring preliminary funding through the Model Cities resources until union equity is enlarged by earnings and investment. Membership of the individual credit unions in the Credit Union National Association would provide loan protection and life-savings insurance, and bonding coverage, making the union a legitimate lending instrument while permitting lower interest rates for consumer goods (maximum allowable charge 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ % per month on outstanding balance or 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ % per annum) and the consolidation of debts at one lower rate.

The consumer in an improved position cannot maximize the acquired benefits unless there is a corresponding improvement in retailer status. The product and quality demands of a newly educated and expanding financially affluent public cannot be met if the retailer himself exists on the threshold of survival because of changing financial and physical conditions. Many of the small neighborhood stores are tied to their location by sizable non-liquidatable investments in physical facilities which become more expensive to maintain while producing diminishing returns. Generally, these small business operations are uneconomical and inefficient as a result of the conditions which have forced them to remain as the environs degenerated. The relative position of the "mom and pop" stores in the market structure has potential for improvement through the coordination of existing aids and programs available to the small businessman. Long a concern of governmental policy,

the small business is fortunate to have an informational and financial source in the Small Business Agency. The SBA was created by Congress to advise and assist small business by:⁹

1. direct and indirect lending of money
2. distribution of Government contracts and surplus Government property to small business
3. information and assistance regarding management, and sponsoring research into management problems
4. developing and presenting helpful material in the foreign trade field
5. providing production and products assistance
6. providing and preparing publications

With these guidelines the Small Business Agency has instigated an extensive program through which a retailer can obtain direct (100%) financial aid up to \$350,000.- for the purchase of machinery, equipment, facilities, materials; business construction, expansion, or conversion; or as direct working capital. The direct loans are provided for periods up to 10 years at a maximum interest rate of 5½% (and not below 5%) when it is ascertained that adequate bank or private financing is not available at reasonable rates. In addition to the normal financial procedure, special participation loan plans strive to accommodate unique and emergency situations:¹⁰

1. Small Loan Program- meets the financial demands of the very small businesses through loans up to \$15,000.- directly from the SBA, or as SBA portion in a mutual loan with a private lender, repayable over a six year period.

2. Simplified Bank Participation Plan- through this program the small businessman deals directly with the bank, following their instructions in preparing and submitting the credit information to enable the quickest possible action. The SBI may furnish up to \$350,00.- or 75% of the total loan which ever is smaller; repayable over 10 years
3. Early Maturities Participation Plan- this plan allows the bank to participate in the loan for as little as 2 years while the SBI will continue its share of the credit for 8 years more
4. Tool Loans- provides loans to corporations formed by groups of small businesses to obtain equipment, inventory or supplies with the SBI \$250,000.- per participating small business at 5% interest
5. Loans to areas of unemployment- SBI loans at 4% to small businesses in areas designated as re-development areas by the re-development Administration, or by the Department of Labor as having substantial unemployment.

The SBI defines the acceptable small business as having annual sales of \$1 million or less in the retail and service trades, and \$5 million or less in the wholesale market. Each of these five programs has particular relevance for the improvement of individual businesses within the low-income areas, especially if coordinated with the Model Cities program to obtain the maximum benefit for the community's over-all objectives. While the forementioned SBI plans are aimed at individual enterprise, two other provisions focus attention upon business groups and community-wide business proposals. With the use of Small Business Investment Companies the SBI licenses, regulates and provides financing of privately and publicly owned small business investment companies (SBIC)

who provide capital and long-term loans, as well as advisory and consulting services, to small businesses. To assume operation the SBIC must provide \$300,000.- paid-in capital and supplies which the SBA may match to the maximum of \$300,000.- through the purchase of SBIC subordinated debentures. When the SBIC has lent or invested a major portion of its money, additional funds can be borrowed from the SBA in amounts up to 50% of the company's paid-in capital en toto not to exceed \$4 million. With this financial background the SBIC may proceed to finance other small businesses through five means of investment:

1. purchasing debentures which are convertible into stock of the small firms
2. purchasing capital stock with or without warrants to purchase additional stock
3. purchasing debt securities with or without warrants to purchase stock
4. any other acceptable instrument of equity financing
5. long term loans to the business

This means of investment in the community by a community-based company opens many paths for substantial of the small businessman who, if pitted against other financial demands within the Model Cities area, would not fair nearly as well. The Model Cities program and staff, in this case would have the role of instigator, coordinator, sponsor, and financial reserve by simultaneously maximizing the use of SBA funds. The Small Business Agency also provides for local Development Companies, incorporated under the laws

of the state of operation, to promote the economic development of the community on either a profit or non-profit basis. The development company can borrow up to „350,000 for 25 years as the SBA's maximum 80% share of the project cost, available at 5½% interest. A reduced interest rate of 5% is available from the SBA if additional funds are lent at a similar rate by private institutions, a categorization possibly expanded to include Model Cities funds, thus permitting additional monies at the lowest possible cost.

The aid to business by the SBA does not end with its financial obligations, since funds in the hands of inexperienced management have little chance for competent use, the Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE) was established to furnish gratis managerial aids to the small businessman. The donation of management skills and training should be developed within the Model Cities program as a long-term community asset affecting all three components of the consumer-retailer relationship. As one element, resident training in a neighborhood cooperative would improve the individual's employee-consumer status while serving the community. Working experience of this type may be of future value when utilized by mass-merchandising operations who are to be encouraged to join and service the community.

A stable consumer market, increased purchasing power, and an indigenous skilled and unskilled labor source may

may provide the incentives, when combined with financial aids, to encourage the acceptance of low-income central city locations by mass-merchandising chain stores. The chain store, the third and probably longest range element, of the consumer-retailer trilogy, has effectively avoided the ghetto areas as their operation is based upon a low profit margin dependent on stable sales and predictable operating expenses. Intrinsic to the concept of mass-merchandising, variety and volume of consumer goods complement lowest possible per item price. The need for this service in low income areas is paramount; these families must maximize the purchasing power of each dollar spent on consumer products. If the benefits of mass-merchandising are to be accrued by the ghetto resident, the inner city location must be made as attractive as a suburban site to the chain store operators. It has been the imbalance in operational costs and site acquisition that forced the chain store to suburban locations, so steps must be taken to reinstate the city as an equally or more desirable site. Present Federal policies perpetuate "atomistic ownership" within the market structure by the liberal policies towards small business. A proposal by Frederick Sturdivant to remove the barriers that restrict progressive retailers would follow a policy similar to that of post- World War II investment in foreign business. The Federal government insured the value of American investment but left the task of profit making to

the management. The Sturdivant plan implied support through the Department of Commerce which would mean direct government influence in private domestic business, a concept liable to much public opposition. Yet a similar program could be initiated by the Model Cities program by providing investment guarantees for building or buying in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The investment guarantees would be validated through the bank deposition of funds useable for the reimbursement of physical loss from looting, burning, and compensation for operating losses during periods of civil unrest. An annual fee of approximately 0.5% of insured assets would be charged the participant for the guarantee service. In addition, conformation to state and local laws protecting the consumer would be strictly enforced to maintain the highest quality standards in the areas traditionally subject to product discrimination.

A related program not necessitating the direct use of Federal funds, yet possibly proposed and encouraged by the Model Cities community program, could encourage the establishment of local franchises of chain stores. The franchise sale to local retailers by the parent corporation would include assistance in money and management details, to ensure stability and competence. Meanwhile the seller profits from an established, under-serviced market who can identify with an existing indigenous retailer. Neither the investment guarantee nor the franchise is a "moral

obligation" by the business community to the low-income residents, it is sound business policy to offer this nearly untapped market products at a location and price appropriate to its characteristics. When private enterprise becomes aware of the legitimate profit potential of the neglected low-income market a natural business locational pattern will bring an increasingly wide range of chain store retailers into Model Cities areas. These areas are being stimulated to change on a short term basis while formulating a long term framework which should provide the catalyst for improved physical and economic conditions for both the individual resident-consumer and indigenous retailer.

The basis of the low-income marketing system has developed from an unique arrangement of social conditions from which the poorest consumer cannot escape. Generally it is a special system of sales and credits catering to the wants of these disadvantaged families:

"It can persist because it fulfills social functions that are presently not fulfilled by more legitimate institutions. The system's paramount function is to allow those who fail to meet the requirements of the impersonal bureaucratic economy to become consumers of products which cost substantial sums."¹¹

The Model Cities program seems obligated when considering physical and social policies to improve the present ghetto market system which daily bombards the consumer with poor quality merchandise, high prices, absurd credit rates and repayment conditions. Ethical small

business establishments, though guilty of inadequate service, are hampered by high operating expenses and deteriorating physical conditions. Any attempt to improve the inequities must consider this consumer-retailer relationship as an entity over an extended period of time. The goal must recognize an improvement of the consumer/resident's economic and occupational standing as part of better environmental and social conditions. The retailer role may be altered from a market structure of improved small businesses supplemented by a temporary cooperative venture, to a long-range mass-merchandise oriented system complemented by small scale service stores. The commitment by the Model Cities program must be based upon improvement of the buyers' status through consumer education, and the maximization of the residents' purchasing power.

Educational programs on a face-to-face, and informational basis can become a function of the community center and its permanent staff. Concurrently the atomized and uneconomical small businesses must be aided to promote a varied and economical market place. The consumer and retailer must be considered to be mutualistic, if the newly educated consumer's demands cannot be met by an improvement of the existing businesses then additional steps must be taken, possibly in the form of a financially stable cooperative. Likewise the funds expended on the support of the coop endeavor may serve the multiple purposes

of education, market analysis, and quality market. Some of the proposals may appear to conflict when considered as a single undertaking; financially supported small business pitted against chain stores; black capitalism versus black managers, this need not be a valid argument. Elements of the total program must be considered in their temporal context, a cooperative may force the demise of a corner food store on a short-term basis, only to be replaced by a privately owned chain store several years later. Conditions in the designated area are meant to and directed towards change, the market organization must react to these varied requirements.

The planner's task in such a dynamic program becomes extremely complex, it requires constant monitoring, stimulation, evaluation, and decision making. The planning procedure becomes less academic and more personal with multiple intermediate decisions rather than a formally structured five year plan. The planner must assume the role of an instigator to encourage small businesses to seek out improvement loans from the appropriate Federal agencies (ie. SBA), and stimulate the formation of a community cooperative headed by competent residents. He must work as a coordinator, bringing the programs of the Model Cities proposal into working relationships with other available sources of monies, both Federal and private to accomplish a unified objective. And continually

the planner must serve as an analyst, creating new, altering existing, and deleting obsolete programs as changing conditions demand. Even though the planner's responsibilities become more involved in the consideration of the consumer-retailer relationship two means to the end goal of optimum purchaser capability exist. Either the ghetto environs must be altered to the degree that private enterprise is freely willing to participate in the provision of quality products at competitive prices, or the existing retail facilities and functions must be improved to produce a new level of service and operation.

Footnotes

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A TERM REPORT

on

"THE ROLE OF THE INDIGENOUS WORKER IN THE MODEL CITIES
PROGRAM"

by

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for

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"THE ROLE OF THE INDIGENOUS WORKER IN THE MODEL
CITIES PROGRAM"

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INTRODUCTION

"In the Great Society, the elimination of poverty requires more than bringing up a particular group to a minimum level of income assets and public services. It requires attention to the achievement of new rights of political and social inclusion. For the poor are the excluded__not only excluded from economic affluence but from the new possibilities of the society in other dimensions as well."¹

The poor must be brought into the mainstream of the total American system. They must be included in the general system which must provide them with means for political effectiveness, self-determination, psychological inclusion, reduction of powerlessness and alienation, social inclusion, changing the pattern of social difference and deference, the diminution of stigma and the acceptance of diversity.

In developing new forms of inclusion (for the poor) it must be recognized that those at the bottom are not necessarily limited individuals, and that they do have some contributions to make to society as well as to their own personal advancement.

The development of "New Careers" is a fourth dimension in the slate of Antipoverty Programs. It is a manifestation of such efforts to realize the potentiality of the poor and to find and develop ways of including them more positively in the mainstream of American life. It recognizes that any efforts to deal with the problems of the poor and poverty must embody some concept of 'self-help' which must be made an integral part of the system. New Careers is a positive mechanism for understanding the roots of the poor___as well as recognizing their strengths and limitations. It proposes an alternative to emphasizing the pathology of the poor; their deficiencies, and the resulting apathy.

THE NEW CAREERS CONCEPT:

The New Careers Concept (hereafter "new careers"), the

term itself, initially appeared in the title of a book published a year after the poverty program had become law. The book, New Careers for the Poor, written by Frank Riessman and Arthur Pearl (the chief theoreticians of the concept), presents an exhaustive study and description of the problems of our non-productive population. It analyzes its causes, effects, evaluates suggested remedies, and proposes 'New Careers' as a remedy and sites its implications. Its basic thesis is that anti-poverty measures begin with the creation of job opportunities for those without jobs and those who are not even in the labor market.

"The New Careers theory," says Frank Riessman, proposes that all the human occupations (health, education, recreation, welfare, etc) can be broken down and reorganized to provide a much more efficient service product, while simultaneously allowing people who have little or no training to play a productive role in entry service positions. These untrained individuals will have the opportunity of learning on the job and rising in the service hierarchy with the ultimate option of becoming professionals.

The theory requires a reorganization and redefinition of jobs for both the professional and the non-professional. It not only breaks the job down into component parts, but also proposes new aspects of the job to be performed by nonprofessionals and to be performed by professionals. First, the theory proposes that untrained nonprofessionals can perform a great many of the tasks now performed unnecessarily by professionals. Second, it proposes different degrees of training. Third, it proposes that this training can be acquired on the job itself and through systematic in-service training and job based college courses, with the idea of providing people with employment first and diplomas later. Fourth, it proposes that this reorganization will free professionals to perform on much higher level of specialized services that require advanced training and experience.²

THE SCHEURER SUBPROFESSIONAL CAREER ACT OF 1966

The basic theme of the New Careers program is "hiring the poor to serve the poor _____ as a fundamental approach to poverty in an automated age." The primary impetus for the program comes from the 1966 Scheurer Subprofessional Career Act, which authorized 35 million dollars to employ and train nonprofes-

sional individuals from the disadvantaged communities to occupy positions in the public sector of the economy.³ It represents the first federal law to be passed that provided fund-
ing and directives to new careers projects in the public sector. There had been other programs aimed at providing jobs for the chronically unemployed. The Nelson Amendment in 1965, made it possible for the unemployed to participate in community beautification projects and other similar projects.⁴

The Scheurer Amendment provides the basic framework for the New Careers program. It is "specifically designed to enable chronically unemployed individuals to secure entry positions other than as professionals in the public sector of the economy; with built-in opportunities for training and experience."⁵ The emphasis on the public service aspect of the economy is directly related to increasing demand for public services throughout the country.

The future of new careers opportunities in the public services is more promising. Says Victor Fuchs, of the National Bureau of Economic Research, "virtually all the increase in employment in the United States from 48 million in 1947 to 72 million at present has occurred in the service areas of the economy; while employment in the production of goods has remained relatively stable."⁶ In 1966, estimates were made by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Labor which quoted the needs for aides in health care alone (before the advent of medicare) to exceed 1.2 million. In education, urban improvement and welfare the estimates was at 3 million.⁷

The Scheurer Amendment of 1966 focused primarily on Non-white adults 45 years of age or older__one million of whom were looking for work in March 1966. (Most of the antipoverty programs prior to this concentrated primarily on youth opportunities in education, training and jobs). The discrepancy that exist in the unemployment rates between non-white and white adults establishes the basis for the emphasis on non-white individuals; which for non-whites is twice that of white adults. Other provisions of the amendment are as follows:

1. It directs its attention to those individuals "indigenous" to the local community who are to be hired as auxiliary personnel in the various service agencies.

2. The people hired in these positions can receive time off from work for education and training.

3. Upward Mobility should be a key factor in the development of jobs and careers.

The following objectives have been established for the New Careers programs:

1. A sufficient number of jobs for all persons without work.

2. Defining and distributing new and existing jobs such that placements exists for the unskilled and uneducated.

3. The jobs to be permanent and provide opportunity for life-long careers.

4. To provide an opportunity for the motivated and talented poor to advance from low-skill entry jobs to any station available to the more favored members of society.

5. The development of work that will contribute not only to the employed person but to the well-being of society.

THE NEW CAREERS MODEL

The objectives stated above and the provisions incorporated in the enabling legislation cannot be effectively achieved unless there is positive commitment to the concept and validity of the new careers program. Its implementation will take time money and strategy. There must be positive commitment to the program on the part of participating agencies as well as positive support from the constituency in the community. The agency and the professionals therein must be willing to subject their organization or system of organizations to critical analysis to determine how and to what extent new careers can be feasibly established in their organizational hierarchy.

Some more specific guidelines for developing new careers programs are developed in the following New Careers Model which can be used by interested agencies. The following features should

should be incorporated in the programs as much as possible; Realizing that each agency will establish different objectives, different focuses in relations to its needs and organizational structure. 10

1. The establishment of new entry level positions in which new employees can be immediately productive.
2. Training integrally connected to these entry positions.
3. A genuine, explicit career ladder between the entry level jobs and higher positions in the personnel hierarchy.
4. On going training for higher positions on the job; and through training sessions scheduled during the released time allowed during the working day.
5. A close link with educational institutions which generate accredited courses on the job site and on campus.
6. The employer should assume the responsibility for organizing the total training programs____or subcontracting it to a training resource.
7. There should be planned upgrading all along the line among the presently employed workers so that the new worker is not promoted at the expense of presently employed personnel.

Experiences with new careers in New York City reveal four conditions which must be met by those agencies desiring to implement new programs. First, there must exist a shortage of manpower in the particular agency; secondly, indigenous community residents must be employed to promote good community relations; thirdly, there should exist some unfilled professional vacancies; and fourthly, federal funds should be available and community pressure to provide employment opportunities for indigenous residents.

The philosophy behind the development of new careers should not be merely the creation of jobs but to seek ways in which members of the disadvantaged communities can make a constructive contribution both to themselves and the well-being of society.

Because New careers and the Model Cities program are geared

to the development of disadvantaged communities and its residents they pair together quite well in attacking the problems of the poor and their communities. And because of this emphasis, it seems most appropriate that the soundest new careers programs are those which are planned to fit as components in programs of community development such as the Model Cities program. These programs provide the key to the effort to recreate institutional and social arrangements so that they will make real community development possible. It is also incorporated in the objectives and performance standards for citizen participation (in the Model Cities Program) that "neighborhood residents will be employed in planning activities and in the execution of the program with a view toward development of new career lines of occupational advancement, including appropriate training and modification of local civil service regulations for job entry, and promotion."¹¹

"THE UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "INDIGENOUS" WORKER"

In defining the term "indigenous," the dictionary gives "native" or "of the locality in question" as a synonym for "indigenous," and as a definition of native "_____an inhabitant, as distinguished from a visitor or temporary resident. In the New Careers Program the definition has been stretched to mean persons having the cultural, social and economic characteristics of a given group, even though all do not necessarily live within the same geographic area."¹² Thus, indigenous is tending to take on a meaning akin to "peer group," rather than being related to a given locality. There is also a tendency to narrow its application to low-income groups, a specialized meaning resulting from currently intensified efforts to serve such groups more extensively and effectively.

For the purposes of this paper the term "indigenous worker" has been adopted. In the past, a chief problem in the new careers development has been in the nomenclature, and titling of the new careerists, and how they would be designated. Several designations (general) have been used by different authors and

programs. Nonprofessional has been used by most as a general all inclusive term which include all those persons hired under the new careers program who had less than the required skills for a given job position. The indigenous preprofessional has been used to denote those positions held prior to professional status and employment. The indigenous semi-professional position requires even fewer professional skills than those required of the preprofessional. The indigenous subprofessional's position is the least concerned with professional standards.¹³ Other terms have been used in designated the indigenous worker such as para-technicians, para-professional and the like. The nomenclature and titling of a job is just as important as the job itself. They reflect much about the job's meaning and significance. They also reveal much about the employers attitudes about the new careers concept and their willingness and commitment to its efficacy.

WHY IS THE "INDIGENOUS WORKER" EFFECTIVE?

The essential value of the indigenous worker representing the disadvantaged community is his capability of acting as a "bridge" between the middle class professional and the low-income client. Professionals representing the institutional agencies are normally rejected by members of the low-income communities. They are accused of not representing the interest of the poor and unsympathetic to the plight of the poor. Unfortunately, past experience and present conditions characterizing the poor communities are evidence of the validity of this indictment. Thus, most institutional leaders are being challenged to reassess their programs and approaches geared to the disadvantaged community. In the meantime such programs as new careers provides an alternative. Through the "indigenous worker", the agencies can establish a line of communication to the community and its residents.

The "indigenous worker" is in a unique socio-cultural position to be effective in providing an alternative through which the bureaucratic professionals can gain access to and entrance

in to the community. He possess special communication skills and peer status attributes which the middle-class professional lacks. He is thus able to function in a social class mediating function; interpreting the community, its life style, values, and interests to the professional as well as providing a similar service (in reverse) to the community residents. Through the indigenous worker, the agency is able to establish and gain legitimacy in the community as well as establish a reasonable base and atmosphere for operation.

The indigenous worker is uniquely qualified for the above functions because he is, first, a peer of the client and shares a common background, language, ethnic origin (in most cases), style and group interest. In other words, he is not a "middle-class square", he belongs, he is a significant other, and is one of us." The indigenous worker, however, should not be recruited primarily on the "glory" of his indigenous status. If he is selected without an attempt to probe further into the sources of his personal strengths and weaknesses, it is quite possible that the qualities needed in such a person as well as his eventual success may be sacrificed.

Charles F. Grosser, cites other recruitment factors which should influence the selection of the indigenous worker. First, those persons with qualities endemic to the local population (ethnicity, social class, welfare status, residence and contact with public agencies); secondly, he looks for those individuals among the poor who have successfully mastered the intricacies of urban slum life and are able to subsist or "live with their problems." A third factor is the ability of the selected individual to communicate (objectively and constructively) with the middle-class professional; while maintaining a militant attitude and commitment to advancing the desires and interests of the community's residents.

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Those characteristics and attributes which serves to enhance or insure the indigenous workers effectiveness in dealing with the client-community and the institutional agencies at

the same time can be listed under three major categories: his social position which mirrors that of the community; his know-how or natural knowledge in dealing with the problems of the low-income community and its residents; and his "style-of-life" which identifies with that of the residents. The militancy he projects in dealing with the agencies and also with the rest of the area residents plays a significant part in his effectiveness also. 15

SOCIAL POSITION:

Because the indigenous worker is a representative element of the disadvantaged community he can establish and maintain rapport with the other residents in the area more effectively than professionals. His basic "likeness" to the residents facilitates this rapport. He is able to establish a dialogue and communicate with the local residents on a level that would be inappropriate or against most professional canons and codes. The indigenous worker is able to relate on a "first name" basis to the community's residents____ something the professional has found it difficult to accomplish, or feasible to do. "Even professionals who have excellent human relations skills are limited by the nature of their function as an expert." This definition of role which the professional and the poor both hold, prevents the development of a fully rounded, everyday relationship between them. Yet, it is this very type of relationship that is the key to effective program participation on the part of the poor.

KNOW-HOW

Because of his social-class identification with the low-income residents the indigenous worker possesses a significant natural knowledge of the local community and the "things" that make it "tick." This special knowledge is important because it developed as a result of the indigenous resident being on the inside ("He has lived in it") and not from the outside or above. He is, therefore, able to interpret and transmit to the professional the attitudes, life styles, desires, and interests of the residents in the community; as well as share this knowledge with

the residents themselves. This ability certainly signals a positive influence in the process of decision-making and plan-making among the various agencies. It also has an effect on the response that these agencies get to their programs by members of the client-community.

"STYLE-OF-LIFE"

The overall style of the indigenous worker is also quite important to his success in the new role. It matches that of the local residents for the most part. Generally, he is able to be less formal in his relations and contact with other residents in the community. He can approach the residents on an informal basis; he can speak their language. Thus, in most instances, he is able to establish a better bargaining position. He is more directive, active, and partisan in his overall projections. He is militant in his dealings both with the agency and the community. He exhibits his true style in his constant demands for action. He is less accepting of delays and "talk," that usually characterizes the professional style of operation. Another indication of the indigenous workers style is his continuous introduction of new demands___such as: changing rules and requirements, hiring and firing of ineffectual or unsympathetic professionals, etc. There may be some significant questions that can be raised regarding this aspect of the indigenous workers' style___and it may be deemed unrealistic, but it does signal a desire of the nonprofessional to get something done. The style match is seen again in the indigenous workers tendency to externalize the causes of problems rather than look for internal ones. This is a common tendency among low-income people in general.

MOTIVATION:

The social position, know-how, and style are characteristics that enable the indigenous worker to do an effective job with the low-income client. Just as important to his effectiveness is what the job does for him. There is special satisfaction that he gets from, 1) the respect gained from per-

forming a meaningful job in cooperation with and alongside professionals; 2. the pride he gains in learning a useful skill; and 3. a feeling that he is helping others,

Implicit in the theme "hiring the poor to serve the poor," is the "helper therapy" principle which has been used quite extensively in solving the problems of special problem groups, (i.e., drug addicts, chronic alcoholics, and psychologically disturbed people). The principle suggests that people with a particular problem are better suited to help others with the same problem. There seems to be two important implications for the indigenous worker of lower socio-economic background: 1). since many of the nonprofessionals recruited for new careerist positions in the Model Cities program and in other anti-poverty programs will be school drop-outs, former delinquents long-term ADC mothers and the like, it seems quite probable that placing them in a helping role will be highly therapeutic for them; 2). as the indigenous worker benefits personally from their helping roles they should become more effective as workers and thus provide better help at a higher level of skill. Such a cycle is seen as an important positive force in a depressed community.

The foregoing does not mean to suggest or imply that helpers selected must always represent special problem groups. This is only one way in which the motivation to help others has been functionally utilized.

In summary, "this closer relationship with a peer nonprofessional worker may prove to be the most effective way of reaching and involving the poor. It provides a human link to the professional service and makes possible new kinds of programs that are better designed for those who need them and better utilized by them." The possible ways of using the indigenous worker in the Model Cities arena are varied and numerous. It represents an almost ideal situation in which the full potential of the indigenous worker can be realized and effectively utilized.

JOBS FOR THE INDIGENOUS WORKERS

NEW CAREERS AND THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM:

The Model Cities Program is a deliberate attempt to mix social and environmental components across many federal lines in a comprehensive program of human resource development and overall neighborhood improvement. Similar to the Community Action Programs administered by OEO, The Office of Economic Opportunity, the Model Cities Program includes a very broad program checklist embracing many systems of services; education, employment, family welfare, health services, housing, economic development, consumer information and credit, and legal services. The primary focus is on human resource development.¹⁶

"The carrying out of a comprehensive program (such as Model Cities) will require the concentration of Federal, State, and local public and private resources. Available talent and skills must be joined together. Local leadership, private initiative, and the citizens of the Model Neighborhood will have to be mobilized to develop and implement such a program."¹⁷

Due to the special problems and character of the Model Neighborhood, the critical tasks, initially, involves developing an understanding as to what has caused the problems of the model neighborhood and its people and developing an action program which evolves from this understanding. It is necessary (therefore) for all feasible avenues of dialogue, communication, confrontation and involvement with respect to the area residents, the community of the poor as a unit, as well as additional resources inside and external to the community_____be pursued as a means of developing a mutual understanding of the problems of the community and its people and possible solutions that are satisfactory to both the "served and the servers."

"New Careers" seem to provide one channel through which a dialogue for communication and understanding is facilitated, in such a way that both the agencies and the residents can receive maximum benefits. And the new careers concept appears particularly appropriate for the Model Cities situation because

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of the wide range of opportunities (in the public services) for developing meaningful career positions which can be effectively occupied by the indigenous workers.

The extent to which these opportunities are exploited and meaningful positions are developed (for the new careerists) depends largely upon four important factors: 1. "the willingness of the various social service agencies to provide new career opportunities;" 2. "the scope of services (or work activities) of the agency;" 3. "the characteristics of the community being served;" and 4. "the training capacity of the agency and/or the community."¹⁸ Also, the agency and its leadership must be willing to analyze its professional functions to the extent necessary to determine how the indigenous worker (the nonprofessional) can be feasibly and constructively brought into the total organizational system. Melvin B. Mogulof, Director, Model Cities of the Regional HUD Office (San Francisco), states: that "the initial failure (of the new careers programs) is in the way organizational analysis has been done as the basis for creating new positions; thus, rather than analyzing the job function and creating new positions within these functions, merely assistance level jobs vis-a-vis the professional are created."¹⁹ What is needed, he continues, is a systems redesign.

This redesign should focus on analyzing the structure of the organization and the functions of long-established work positions; hopefully to cleanse professionals of those functions which do not require professional skills___and can be adequately performed by individuals who are considerably less skilled. This kind of self revitalization of old line, self-serving and self perpetuating organizations must be accomplished by all agencies directly or indirectly involved in the Model neighborhood.

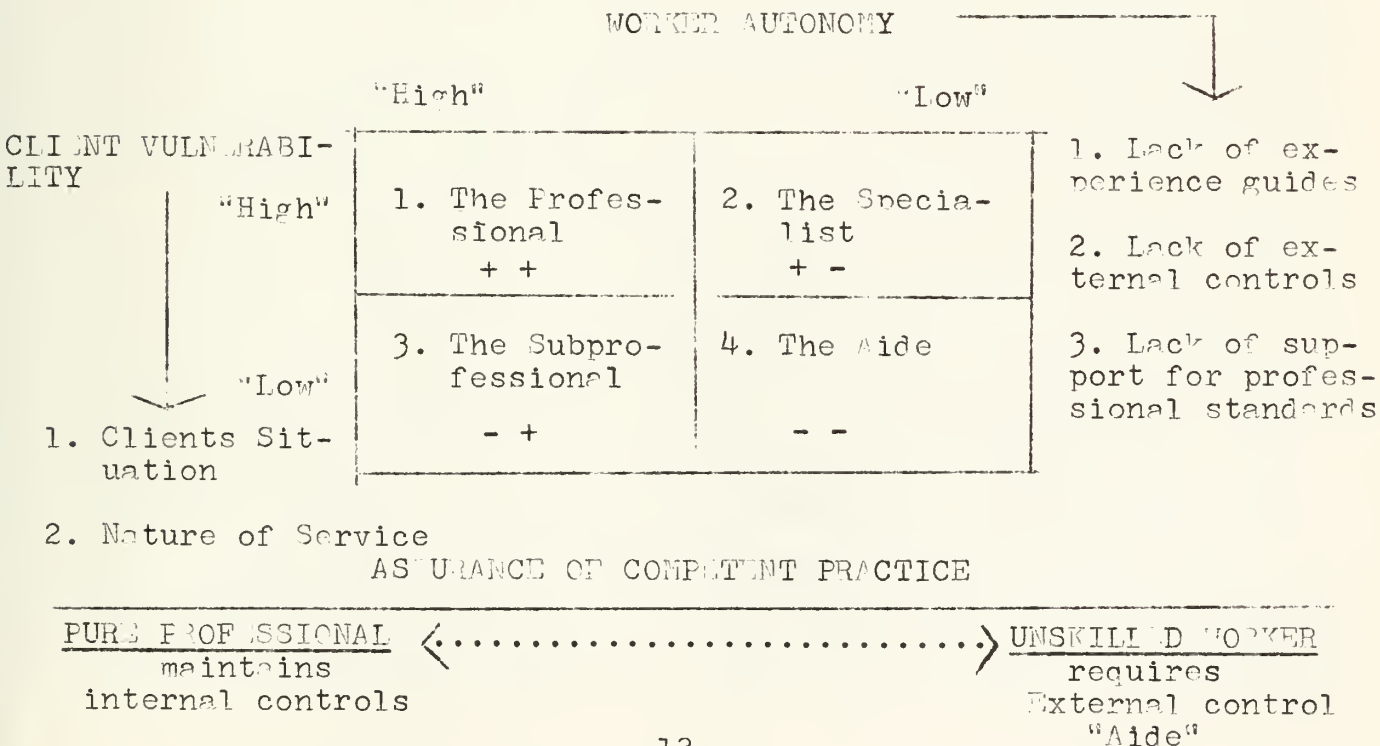
The emphasis must be placed on the development of 'career line positions' as opposed to simple 'dead-end', meaningless jobs which are void of dignity, job integrity, and work identity.

A THEORETICAL SCHEME FOR DETERMINING WORKER ROLES FOR PROFESSIONAL AND NONPROFESSIONAL POSITIONS:

William C. Richan, has developed a theoretical scheme for use in determining worker roles for both the professional and non-professional worker. His model is based on the very simple and explicit assumption that: in the series of functions and work task performed by a particular agency there are those which call for professional skills and those that can be feasibly executed by less skilled individuals.

The scheme attempts to establish some means for assuring that adequate professional standards and practice are achieved and maintained. This is necessary for any service agency in order to maintain its credibility and the confidence and support of its clientele, and also the sources of its financial support. The scheme was developed primarily for use in the social welfare service agencies but it has important implications for most professional organizations. The scheme recognizes that in the hiring of both professional and nonprofessional staff personnel a level of professional competence must be maintained.

To insure this level of competence, two categories of controls over the behavior of workers are developed in the scheme. (See the scheme below)



These controls fall into two categories: 1. Organizational or external controls and 2. Professional or internal controls. 21 Organizational controls are those measures which are incorporated in the operational structure of the organization itself. They attempt to spell out those "correct" actions for the worker and ethical behavior which is reinforced by direct observation of the worker by his supervisor, administrative reviews and other overt personnel controls. While some of these type controls are necessary at all levels of work positions, they are most needed at the lower level positions where built-in or internal controls are least developed. On the other hand, professional controls are based upon "a generalized body of knowledge and generalized skills assimilated over an extended training period. Ethical standards are instilled in the individual during the course of his educational training; and reinforced by pressures within the professional community, organizations, the professional literature and sometimes through legal sanctions. The need for these two specific types of controls has a definite influence on the various methods of recruitment, selection, screening, and the type positions assigned to personnel accordingly. The model on the preceding page identifies those factors or variables that must be considered in determining the kinds of roles that should be assigned to those individuals who are professionally qualified to perform high level tasks, and to those individuals with lesser skills who must be placed in lower sub-professional positions. 22

The two variables established in the model which are used to determine (a) the relative need for controls on worker behavior and (b) the kind of controls appropriate to a particular situation are: CLIENT VULNERABILITY AND WORKER AUTONOMY. Client vulnerability refers to the "relative susceptibility of persons using (the services) to harm or deprivation resulting from the failure to provide competent and responsible service based upon social work principles." 23 Two questions or sub-variables are presented here. 1. To what extent is the client vulnerable due to the nature of his (physical, mental and emotional) situation.

(i.e., social status, age or sex status). 2. To what extent is the client vulnerable due to the nature of the services provided. "Vulnerability arising directly or indirectly from the impact of the agency and its services upon the clientele." Factors in such impact might include the goals of services in relations to the clientele; the degree of authority and control of the agency worker and scope of the clients' lives dealt with by the agency; and the effects on social status of recipients of the service. "Worker Autonomy reflects the degree to which the worker is called upon to function autonomously depending on his 'built-in' professional controls."²⁴ It is concerned not with the nature of the client or the nature of the service (directly) but is instead concerned with the degree to which the behavior of the worker can be influenced and determined by outer as opposed to inner controls." Obviously, the need for workers with professional education is heightened where major dependence is on inner controls. Conversely, if supervision, explicit guides, and the like, can result in a service of quality, the need for professional education is diminished. There are three sub-variables that bear upon the major variable of "worker autonomy."²⁵

A. Explicit Guides to Worker: "Rules, regulations, and routines can lead to speed, efficiency, and productivity. They tend to insure standard performance even though personnel changes."

B. Visibility of Practice: "Confidentialness and privacy of worker-client contacts which are necessary for effective services also offer hazards to the client. This fact, so often ignored, is particularly true in a field where so many individuals employed do not have professional identity or preparation. The secrecy that insures help for some clients may hid the harm done others. There are, however, important differences in the degree to which social work practice is visible."

C. Organizational Support for professional standards: "The third factor influencing worker autonomy has to do with the degree to which the worker practices in a setting in which there is understanding and support for professional standards." The worse the standards of the agency, the greater the need for practition-

ers with full professional education who can protect the clients and work toward higher standards. This responsibility cannot be placed on the shoulders of the untrained."

Despite its direct orientation to the social work fields of practice, the scheme that was developed above has some important implications for the hiring of the indigenous (nonprofessional) worker in the various aspects of the Model Cities Program. Because of the very nature of the tasks involved in the program, the differences in the services provided in the Model neighborhood (to its residents) and the services normally found administered in the social work profession are almost nil.

JOBS FOR THE INDIGENOUS WORKER IN THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM:

In the Model Cities programs, the indigenous worker may be employed by the central planning or coordinating agency or by cooperating service organizations. Many job definitions for the indigenous nonprofessionals have been developed independently by a number of Community Action Programs, (an antecedent to the Model Cities Program), such as Mobilization for Youth, Lincoln Hospital Project of New York City, the Dixwell Legal Rights Assn of New Haven, the Community Apprentice Program developed at Howard University and others. Some of these job descriptions are,²⁶

Community Action Aide: to do the "leg-work" for the community action agency through canvassing and other activities so that the program can become a potent force in the community; establish close relationships with local organizations, churches, schools, civil rights groups, etc. A similar function is quite appropriate in the Model Cities experience.

Housing Service Aide: to help organize neighborhood improvement groups; collect and give out information about available housing; talk to groups about home financing and maintenance; refer tenants to other community services.

Homemaker: to work with families or single persons in their homes to help them become more competent in home management; counsel on the use of community resources, such as eligibility for welfare or housing; offer companionship and psychological support; escort to community agencies when necessary or provide baby sitting service during appointments.

Child care Aide: to work in day care centers as aides to administrative and teaching staff--take attendance, maintain profiles on the children, help with eating and toilet routines, participate in the educational program under the supervision of the teacher, etc.

Parent Education Aide: to work with the parents to increase their understanding of how their children's performance in school is related to conditions in the home; work with teachers and school administration to help them understand the nature of the children's home life and cultural styles; participate in individual meetings between parents and the teacher.

Other positions relevant to the Model Cities Neighborhood are:

Home Visitors: needed most in low rent housing, orienting new residents, counseling and educating with regard to housekeeping standards and identifying special needs of individual families.

Monitors - a person needed in low-rent housing. He would live in an apartment within the housing development and there should be a sufficient number of these individuals so that, in high-rise development at least, there would be one person for every one or two buildings. He would not be a policeman or assistant custodian but rather would focus on the general conditions within "his" building.

Family Counselor: work directly with families who are having problems, assisting them in such areas as family relationships, care of children, financial and employment difficulties, health problems, etc. In the case of a renewal program he would also help to expedite the relocation or rehabilitation process, including helping the family "adjust" and become a part of their new environment. In all instances he would involve and work closely with all relevant community agencies.

Neighborhood Coordinator: Applicable to both housing and renewal areas. This person would be responsible for stimulating and guiding resident organizations, aiding them in the development of a wide variety of social, educational and "self-help" programs. He would emphasize the discovery of local indigenous leadership, working with them and others toward their gradual assumption of more civic responsibility and participation.

Home Economist: needed in both housing and renewal. This person would focus on providing services in the areas of money management and budgeting, nutrition, clothing, maintenance, etc. In general, work with widows and through classes would help residents get the most value out of their limited resources.

Legal Services: those functions which lawyers perform but which do not require legal expertise or which require only readily acquirable skills. Such jobs as:

1. Contact or Referral Agent - whose responsibility it may be to find and interview witnesses and encourage residents to turn to legal aids office for assistance.
2. Receptionists.
3. Interviewers
4. Post-Trial Processers

Planning Activities: There are any number of functions which the Urban Planner finds himself performing which need to be and can be done by individuals with less than college training.

1. Planning Assistants.
2. Research Specialist; data collecting, surveys inventories, etc.

Depending on the imagination of the developer, the list of jobs that could be developed under new careers headings could go on and on. But something else is needed over and above broadening services if the overall Model Cities programs are to be successful. Simply making more services available in the community will not guarantee their use. In the Model Cities Program there is a critical need for a worker whose primary concern is the service relationship between the agencies and the client; who takes the responsibility for putting the client and the agency in touch with each other. This person would function in an overall communications role which consist of expediting and facilitating a smooth line of communications between the agency and the client.

For the purposes of this paper, this person has been designated as a Community Worker. Ideally, this person would function in a role detached from the operating line organization of either aid or service units, as a bridge between the agency administration and the community. The term community worker is an adaptation of the formal Neighborhood Worker.

THE COMMUNITY WORKER

Implicit in much of the foregoing material has been the roles of the indigenous worker as a facilitator, contact agent and communicator as well as a bridge between the community and the various agencies established in the Model Cities area. There are other functions which the indigenous worker can perform.

"The fragmentation of services, both public and private throughout various communities is generally recognized as a major deterrent to their effective use by those in greatest need of them. The blue-collar worker or low-income person faced with scattered facilities, hampered by barriers of language, and embittered by the impersonal, officious and institutionalized manner with which he is frequently met often is overwhelmed and to often rejects, or is rejected by, the only sources of aid available to him. His problem worsens and multiplies. Only at the point of crisis does he or his family turn again for help."²⁷

The situation depicted above is tragically typical of such areas normally designated for Model Cities grants. Because of the nature of the areas which qualifies for Model Cities assistance, by the time a program is established the situation above has multiplied to tremendous proportions____especially having a headstart before positive efforts are made to attack such problems in the area.

To correct and deal with such problems as the fragmentation of services, many community planning programs have been developed aimed at some administrative centralization of services. In most cases this solves only a minute aspect of the overall problem. The problem (in many cases) is not in the administration. There is a dire need for a human link between the community and the various service agencies. A person who intervenes in the situation corrects it and is permanently hired to see that the situation does not occur again. Extending this individuals function there is need for an expediter of services. The Model Cities Program aims to provide a full range of services and to insure continuity of services to residents in the community. This can be accomp-

lished by making available a variety of services under a unified service and administrative program, and by establishing a clear and workable pattern of interchange and cooperation among various community facilities and programs. Unfortunately, in the past most service agencies have been content in making a host of services available to the poor and leaving it to the client to make use of them. Yet, the experiences with lower-socio-economic groups is that they are generally not sophisticated in maneuvering within the multitude of public and private service agencies. They become lost in the process of referral and re-referral. Sooner or later they become disenchanted and finally gives up.

More and more, the agency is finding that they must take upon themselves the responsibility for seeing that the client gets to the service, or gets from one service to another, or even from one agency to another. Without the agencies assuming this responsibility the idea of continuity will become a meaningless programmatic objective. These problems cannot be solved simply through administrative improvements or modifications alone. There must be a human link provided.

The Community Worker (indigenous) representing the community is admirably qualified and suited to function as an expeditor of services. He is seen as an appropriate intervener needed. He would be the liason between the client and the agency and outside resources. He would be the individual to whom the client could appeal for help in finding the appropriate service, or in negotiating the service jungle.

WHAT IS THE COMMUNITY WORKER'S JOB?

In his capacity as expeditor of services, the Community Worker provides a link between the client and community resources. He may work independently or as a member of a team. His function will be geared to the provision of services and not to providing healing functions. This is a major distinction between his position and those which may be filled by other indigenous workers. As such he or the team of which he is a part will: 28

1. Maintain a complete roster of service agencies and organizations within the Model Cities area. He knows what type of services they provide and what their rules and regulations are.
2. Establish and maintains contact with these community facilities. He gets to know the proper administrative personnel who can facilitate referrals, and he keeps up a cordial relationship with them.
3. He is the instrument through which interagency referrals are made and consummated.
4. He exercises tracer and follow-through procedures to see that the client makes and keeps his appointments. He continually checks to see that the client is receiving the maximum potential service of an agency with minimum delay.
5. He receives complaints from the client about the lack of service or quality of service and investigates them in the client's interests.
6. He provides the professional members of the service team with information about what resources are available which might meet the needs of the client as defined by the professionals. He takes responsibility for facilitating whatever disposition the team makes.
7. He interprets his role to all agencies and services and to the community generally.

There are other functions which the Community Worker(s) may perform that are geared to promoting general community programs in education, self-help and community action. Again, these kinds of jobs are suited for indigenous workers who have direct contact, access to the community's constituency, and the necessary credentials for performing in the disadvantaged communities. Some of these additional tasks are listed below, 29

1. Increasing the competency of residents to cope with stressful situations.
2. Fostering an attitude of service to others and to the neighborhood.
3. Supporting, whenever possible, resident organizations dedicated to improving community conditions. The support may take the form of offering consultation services, recruiting members for an organization. Where feasible providing residents with meeting spaces.

4. Stimulating social and fraternal organizations to take interest in community affairs.
5. Where necessary, organizing residents into groups to tackle specific community issues.
6. Where community councils exists, a community worker along with a designated professional will be assigned to become active in these organizations, to seek broader grass roots representation,, to feed into the council and its appropriate committees information on unmet needs, to assist it in developing a strategy of action, to assist it in developing a voice that can be heard and that really speaks for the neighborhood.
7. Assisting the neighborhood-based agencies to more adequately fulfill their purposes. This may take the form of offering professional consultation services, engaging in joint ventures, recruiting volunteers, helping them write grant proposals, providing special workshops and training opportunities for their staff, helping them develop in-service training program, etc.

WHAT ARE HIS ROLES:

In performing these jobs, the expediter plays many roles.³⁰
He may be an

Interpreter -- called upon to interpret to the professionals the particular meanings or attitudes expressed in various subcultural ways of thinking and speaking; or to explain class patterns, values or biases. He may do the same kind of interpretation to the resident of a professional attitude or action. He may on occasion have to act as a translator for the various nationality groups present in many communities.

Negotiator -- interceding for the residents with a particular community agency in order to break through red tape, to get appointments or benefits. He may negotiate for more expeditious service.

Attorney -- required to act as a lay attorney to argue a case for a client who is not receiving the benefits to which he is entitled under the regulations of a specific agency.

Educator -- informing the residents of the kinds of services available to them, and their rights and responsibilities in receiving these services.

Instructor -- teaching the client, if necessary, how best to go about getting a particular service. For example,

he might suggest to someone who is going to apply for a job how to dress or how to talk to the interviewer.

Helper -- called upon simply to help in the problem of getting a client to or from a particular service. He may personally go with the client, or he may provide an escort or a babysitter.

WHERE IS HIS BASE

As representative of the client, the job definition of the Community Worker raises some significant questions, such as: who is to employ him; where is his base; how can he develop sufficient 'muscle' to be effective with the various agencies within the community and with the local residents. Because of the general rejection of the bureaucratic style by the poor, how does he maintain rapport within his constituency in the community, while working with the various community agencies. How does he maintain his legitimacy? These are questions which the agency hiring the "indigenous worker" and the worker himself must give considerable attention to. His ultimate success or failure both in the community and in the agencies is contingent upon the degree to which these problems are satisfactorily resolved.

There are several models for hiring individuals functioning in similar roles of the Community Worker. At a comparatively higher level of operation is Sweden's ombudsman. He is a government official who checks on the various service bureaucracies when complaints are received. His source of power is directly political and official. There are others such as the union counselor (usually a volunteer) who has his base in the union and it is unofficial. However, the group he works with has ties to city, state and national organizations. His power is unofficial but lies in his affiliation with an important political interest group.

The most desirable model would seem to be that in which the power of the worker is official. However, this has obvious drawbacks for the "indigenous worker." He is not a politician nor a trained professional and thus, he is not in a position to

handle those positions which require that he exhibit or perform a political role.

The above model has the worker functioning outside of the agency or service he wishes to influence. His power derives from their position in other structures and the power emanating from these. They use this power, in a sense, against other agencies to influence them to perform services more efficiently for the agency's clientele___who are also the clientele of the indigenous worker's organization.

A second model has the Community worker based within a particular service agency which he wishes to influence. His main function is to facilitate services among the various departments and offices within the Model Cities area and the larger community.

To insure the effectiveness of the "indigenous worker" in this situation, the agency must have a clear and deep commitment to serve low-income clients. It must recognize the intrinsic difficulties of agencies serving this function. More importantly, the "indigenous worker" should have an independent or somewhat independent source of power and authority in the agency; otherwise, his function may be completely subverted by other needs of the agency. The job demands in this model are much too overwhelming for the kind of worker suggested here. Again, it is a question of whether the indigenous worker has the political and professional 'muscle' to survive the kind of forces that he will face in this situation. This particular model suggests a person who can hold his own in the agency as well as sustain himself in his community. Working inside of the agency places him in an awkward position for dealing with his constituency.

Perhaps the most relevant model to our situation here is that in which the "indigenous" community worker functions as part of a "complex of services." He is employed in an autonomous agency within the community which acts in the role of the community's advocate. Such functions are typical of many Community Action Agencies, Model Cities Planning agencies and the Neighborhood Service Center, the mechanism selected as the most desirable

for the functions being outlined in this paper. The Neighborhood service center represents a common mechanism to which local residents turn in the time of crisis. "The neighborhood center is in a unique position to document specific needs of a neighborhood and thus can stimulate the development of, or initiate on its own new patterns of services and new service models. It can also provide the base from which community self-help and social action activities can be mounted."

The neighborhood service center__provides an umbrella for a wide array of local community services and functions. It has in most cases direct access to other agencies inside or outside of the community. The "indigenous" community worker hired into the center functions in it to influence a variety of other agencies__relative to the various services available to the Model Neighborhood (e.g., health, education, welfare, employment, legal aid).

The Community Worker is employed by the Neighborhood Service Center and his source of power is in the center's ability to reciprocate in the form of offering services in return to other community agencies for cooperation with the Community Worker. The Cross-referral system is a good example of how the center and various agencies can benefit each other.

Other sources of power which the Community Worker must rely upon are 1. his own personality and strengths; 2. his human relations skills; 3. his inside knowledge of agency's functioning; and 4. his personal relationship with people in other agencies. This is not to imply that the Community Worker functions autonomously__but given the support in resources of the professional personnel and other nonprofessionals, he is able to exert a reasonable influence on those agencies he wishes to affect. As he gains more experience in his job he will be able to function independently.

This model is most appropriate for poor communities where the problems are multiple and so are the agencies to handle them__and where the people shy away from the bureaucratic style and functioning of these agencies.

WHAT DOES HE "DO" FOR THE AGENCY:

The community worker (hired by the Neighborhood Service Center) serves as a symbol of the agency's acceptance of the responsibility for the clients receiving the full benefit of its potential to help, not only within its own facility, but in the community generally.

Whether he works directly out of the Neighborhood Service Center suggested or in some other agency in or outside of the immediate locale, he can play an effective role in improving the agencies efficiency and functioning. Many times he will be able to clarify for the agency behavior reactions that may seem incomprehensible or peculiar and that fost harassment and tension in various administrative and professional personnel. The Community Worker can also explain procedures, regulations and proposals of the agencies which may seem unnecessary or unsympathetic to the community's interests. Thus, the Community Worker can intervene in the vicious cycle of misunderstanding, mutual rejection and despair that so typically characterizes the relationship that builds up between the community and agency. Ineffect, he functions as a "buffer," absorbing the strains from both sides (the community and the agencies). He is a two-way facilitator. Also, in explaining the work of professionals to the community's residents, he makes the work of the agency move along with very little complication. The agency is thus allowed to function more smoothly in achieving its goals and objectives.

Another significant gain for the agency is that the relationship between the agency and the community is improved. "Low income workers and poor families must be convinced that the new planned programs are different, and that their past experiences with the service agencies will not be repeated, and that the agencies are serious about wanting to help them.

In summary: 31

1. The Community Worker provides a bridge between the various services of a comprehensive program.
2. By the very act of placing the Community Worker on

its staff, with sanctions to intervene in scheduling and procedures on behalf of the community, the agency provides itself with a form of "quality control" to insure against the dangers of institutionalized practices and procedures.

3. The Community Worker makes the work of the agency with low-income people and the poor smoother. He functions to aid both the agency and the client by providing a human link, a line of communication. He symbolizes to the low-income clients the agency's break with past practices and its sincere intentions to provide service to them.

ISSUES IN TRAINING THE "INDIGENOUS WORKER"

Selection and training methods have been referred to throughout the paper as important means to acquiring and maintaining the "indigenous worker." They constitute two major tasks for agencies desiring to implement New Careers Programs. Implicit throughout the discussion has been the need for a redefinition (on the part of the agency) of professional and nonprofessional roles in addition to the specific training of both personnel. A memorandum prepared in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by the Task Force on Separation of Assistance and Social Services emphasized this point: "The development of any new system or change in agency organization policy or structure will involve a retraining of all staff, with particular emphasis on the provision of assistance and social services."³²

METHODOLOGY:

With regard to training methodology, Pearl and Riessman stress the following seven points:³³

- "1. continuous on-the-job training and almost immediate initiation to work;
2. an activity rather than lecture approach (do rather than write) with a heavy emphasis on role playing and role training.
3. an intensive team approach aimed at building strong group solidarity among the nonprofessional workers in any given project;
4. informal individual supervision at any time on request, supplemented by group discussion and group supervision.
5. a down-to-earth teaching style, emphasizing concrete tasks presented in clarity and detail, which recognized that concepts and theory, if properly presented, are definitely within the reach of indigenous workers.
6. utilization of the 'helper principle.' Whenever possible more experienced nonprofessionals should assist and teach their less advanced colleagues in dealing with various tasks;
7. freedom for the nonprofessional to develop his personal style."

Obviously the content of the training program for the indigenous worker will depend largely on the particular task they will be performing in the agency. Most of the experience indicates, however, that role playing and "learning by doing" seems to be the preferred orientation technique.

PROBLEMS IN TRAINING THE "INDIGENOUS WORKER"

Pearl and Riessman also emphasize certain problems to be considered in general training of nonprofessionals. "The training of the nonprofessional will call for the recognition and solution of many problems; however certain issues should be anticipated in the course of training; Some of these are:

1. Confidentiality: (the establishment of basic trust in the agency on the part of the indigenous worker)
2. acceptance and use of authority: (Many indigenous workers, because of their personal experiences and class standing, are reluctant to assuming authority).
3. over-identification with the institution and under-identification with the community, or client population. (Very often the indigenous worker, being pleased with his new status, feels in debt to the institution or agency, thus he feels indebt to the institution or agency. He responds by wanting to be very obliging and adopts what he believes to be the agency's point of view regarding the "poor," etc).
4. Over-optimism and defeatism;
5. relationship of the nonprofessional to professionals both within and outside the organization."³³

Says Carmen Noronadio, (an indigenous worker hired in the educational field) has said that: "the indigenous worker should be trained to become an effective advocate for his community. Part of this training should focus on better understanding of the existing power structure, with emphasis on how to deal with it without losing his identity. He should be trained to be articulate, informed, and militant."³⁴

CONCLUSION

A Strategy for Change

It may be argued by many that the role of the "indigenous worker" in the Model Cities Program, its constituent agencies and in other institutional organizations may be merely "pasted on to existing practices without forcing any changes in them," that the tactic of using indigenous workers does not readily answer the ideological issues of the changing ends and goals of social services today and tomorrow." (Miller and Rein).

There is no question that if an agency is committed to the New Careers Program in a negative fashion, it could (quite easily) use such an approach to effectively destroy the purpose of new careers programs___and , it might indirectly defeat its program for working with the poor.

But given the current background of the manpower shortage, the antipoverty climate, and the criticism of social planning agencies with regard to their treatment and programs for the poor, it is argued that the utilization of indigenous personnel in existing and future programs is likely to be quite strategic in the process of social change.

The position taken in this paper has been that the introduction of indigenous nonprofessional workers in the Model Cities Programs can be an effective strategy of change in its approach to effecting change in the Model communities. It can meet many of the present needs in the field of human services and human resource development.

1. It can reduce manpower shortages in social service fields.
2. It can help make professionals' role definitions more flexible, creating an alliance between professionals and non-professionals with which will allow the professionals to more fully play their technical roles.
3. It can provide more, better and 'closer' service for the poor.
4. It can rehabilitate many of the poor through meaningful employment; and 5. It can provides millions of new jobs for the unemployed in social service positions.

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SIMULATION: POSSIBLE TECHNIQUES FOR FACILITATING COMMUNICATION

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January 9, 1969

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INTRODUCTION

PREFACE

Simulation, as it relates to the social sciences, has been defined as the construction "of an operating model of an individual or group process and experimenting on this replication by manipulating its variables and their interrelationships."¹ The scope of this paper is to examine several of the techniques involved in simulation and to develop a proposal which will relate these techniques to the specific problem of externalizing and identifying the values, opinions, and attitudes of the disadvantaged persons one encounters in the Model Cities areas.

For the planner, this essentially becomes a problem of developing techniques to help facilitate a more effective means of communication between the planning agency and those for whom the planning is being done. While it is realized that such a development may be desirable for all sub-groups of society within a city, due to the time available and the particular emphasis of this seminar, the emphasis of this paper is directed towards the disadvantaged people within a city who happen to be a part of a Model Neighborhood, as designated by the Model Cities Program.

The format of this paper consists essentially of two main sections: the first being the Introduction, and the second part consisting of the actual Proposal. Within the introduction several sub-sections are contained which begin to provide a general understanding of the paper's focus, the contextual elements involved, and some of the advantages and limitations of possible existing

simulation techniques. The proposal, on the other hand, attempts to synthesize the elements of the introduction and apply them to the specific problems encountered in the Model Cities Program. This proposal is divided into two stages of development, which vary depending on the needs and the situation within a particular community, and a conclusion. The conclusion, in turn, attempts to analyze some of the benefits and restraints of the proposed system, some of the implications it might have in relation to the professional planner, the disadvantaged persons, and the rest of society, as well as some of the possible directions and areas still requiring further study.

ELEMENTS OF CONTEXT

The minority public, the planner, and the Model Cities Program are three contextual elements of an important problem: How to accomodate more effective and accurate communication of attitudes, opinions and ideas between the planner and his clients--in this case, the disadvantaged groups within our cities? The following discussion will examine each of these elements and explain their particular relationships in more detail.

The Minority Public

The groups of people to whom I am referring by the term "minority public" are generally those who, due to their social or economic position in society, are not able to command the influence or respect which those not in their particular position may take for granted. As a result of this lack of status and influence these disadvantaged persons have encountered particular difficulty first in making their particular desires, needs and opinions known, and second in having someone take an interest in their plight. While an attempt is being initiated to solve the second problem, by such developments as the Model Cities Program, the problem of accurately identifying the context which these programs should respect and within which they should be developed, is still an area requiring much work.

The Planner

The planner has a special interest in the possibility of facilitating communication between himself and his clients; for his very existence is predicated on the notion that he can help the society

whom he serves by suggesting possible solutions to problems of either a physical, economic, or social nature and how these solutions might be effected. To accomplish this task, Henry Fagin identifies six roles in his paper entitled, "The Profession and the Discipline of Planning" which he feels the planner must assume; these are the roles of an analyst, a synthesizer, a collaborator, an educator, a mediator, and an advocate. As such, these roles tend to emphasize the importance which adequate and correct communication have for the planner. As an analyst, for example, he is vitally concerned with obtaining all information which will help his analysis be as accurate and representative as possible.

To a large degree his other roles are at least indirectly affected by his ability to comprehensively understand a given problem. For example, the implementation of his proposals is often directly related to the degree of the public's acceptance--which in turn is related to how well the proposals are in harmony with the public's values and priorities. Thus, with the difficulty of identifying minority values, attitudes and opinions with the present methods available (as indicated in the discussion of the minority public), the planner is definitely in a position where he desires more effective techniques with which he can work to alleviate these problems.

The Model Cities Program

The previously mentioned elements of context, the minority public and the planner, assume a special significance when we discuss the contextual element of the Model Cities Program itself. For it is

this specific program which has as its major purpose a "comprehensive attack on social, economic and physical problems in selected slum and blighted areas through the most effective and economical concentration and coordination of Federal, State, and local and private efforts."² Now this is a mighty ambitious undertaking and one that requires a tremendous amount of coordination; it is one which also implies the need for efficient and effective means of communication. This not only refers to the communication system which our advancing technology has provided for us, such as telephones, teletype, short wave, and the like--it also refers to the more basic or fundamental types of communication, such as between social or economic classes whose differing contexts may cause conflicts and misunderstandings. This becomes an especially pertinent problem when largely middle class institutions are attempting to handle lower class problems, as in the field of planning.

The Model Cities Program realizes this problem and specifically states that within the standards set by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966,

"Programs should provide mechanisms for a flow of communication and meaningful dialogue between the citizens of the area and the demonstration agency. Voice should be given to all elements of the local population from all parts of the area. Existing neighborhood organizations which have already established close ties with the area population, as well as new organizations developed by grass-roots organizational efforts, should be utilized. Full information should be made available to area residents concerning the demonstration program, the planning decisions to be made and alternative courses of action. Expression of residents' concerns, desires, and needs, individually and in groups, should be solicited and incorporated in appropriate fashion in the planning and execution of the program. Means of introducing the views

of area residents in policy-making should be developed and opportunities should be afforded area residents to participate actively in planning and carrying out the demonstration program as volunteers as well as wage earners."³

In an effort to guarantee that these factors are indeed considered, an application for a Model Cities grant requires the submission of a written proposal which essentially contains four elements:⁴

1. Problem Analysis--An analysis of the social, economic and physical problems of the model neighborhood area, with not only a description of the conditions as they now exist, but also an awareness of how these conditions came about.
2. Goals and Priorities--What steps must be taken to overcome these deficiencies and which ones need the most immediate attention.
3. Program Approach--An outline of the proposed program and how the problems might be solved.
4. Administrative Machinery--This section begins to describe the machinery which might be used in planning the comprehensive program, resolving conflicting goals and plans of participating agencies, and the means for coordinating the whole program.

Thus it is evident that in order to effectively and actively utilize the area residents as described above in the program standards, and in order to adequately fulfill the four requirements of the program proposal, the techniques of communication become one of the most important instruments affecting the success of the Program.

TECHNIQUES OF SIMULATION

Though the people within a delimited Model Cities area may be described as a "neighborhood" they are not necessarily a homogeneous group; differences may exist due to racial and ethnic background, age and education, or orientation to middle-class, working-class, or lower-class values. The interaction of these many factors makes the task of understanding and working with a Model Cities area, or any sub-area of the city for that matter, a very complex problem.

At present there seems to be two primary methods in which information concerning the values, attitudes and opinions of these minority groups is obtained; I have termed these as the active and passive methods. The passive technique describes the planning agency's role as that of essentially a receiver; the public is encouraged to come to them and there is little effort expended to actively become involved in determining the public's actual needs. Rather it tends to be assumed that the desires of the agency (largely middle-class) are generally representative of the public's. One such passive method is the public hearing in which people with complaints are given a chance to voice their views and ask questions of the personnel present.

While some individuals might consider this to be more of an active method, I maintain that this is not so since no strong attempt is made to obtain a truly representative opinion of the public involved. A public hearing generally attracts only those who have some complaint and are brave enough to stand up and express their particular opinion. By the hearing's very nature it may even instill a feeling

of futility on the part of the public since often it seems that the whole affair is merely a formality through which a proposal must pass, with actually little hope of being altered by the "voice" of the people.

Another factor which may limit the response heard at a public hearing is the apathetic feeling such as, "what can my presence or voiced opinion do--I'm only one person of many". Of course the planning agency can also rely on the public coming to their office, but again this usually does not occur at such a scale that a representative view can be obtained in regard to a particular situation.

The second method for obtaining information concerning the minority public, the "active method", has the potential at least of being what I feel is the most promising technique. Unlike the passive method, it involves the active participation of the planning agency in the determination of the public's attitudes and their opinions. Of course this method requires a greater involvement on the part of the agency, but I believe that the increased returns in the form of greater public interest at perhaps a more sophisticated level, an increased understanding of and sympathy to the agency's objectives, and a greater acceptance of the agency's proposals would more than compensate for the initial increase in efforts and resources.

One such active technique which has been used in the past is that of the interview. However when this is used with the lower-classes it may encounter several difficulties:⁵ For example, they (the lower-class) may be hard to locate or contact; they may be suspicious or hostile of the group (ie, whites or social workers)

from which the interviewer comes; they may be indifferent and unmotivated to cooperate; they may simply lack information on the subject under inquiry; they may wish to present themselves in socially desirable terms, or perhaps in socially expected terms; or they may want to conceal damaging information.

These factors begin to indicate that our methods of identifying and understanding both the needs and desires of the lower-class, disadvantaged persons, as well as the general framework we work within to accomplish these objectives seem to be inadequate. In an attempt to help solve this deficiency I am proposing the use of simulation. For by this method it is possible to construct a representation of a social process for the purpose of determining the parameters, examining the interaction of variables, and receiving some form of feedback regarding the initial input.

Murray Geisler and Allen Ginsberg have stated that, "There are usually two system characteristics which lead to the use of simulation: a) many factors and decisions which interact in a complex manner, and b) a number of stochastic or random variables. When combined with a goal or objective of utilizing a controlled experimental condition to answer various questions about the system such as the effects of policy decisions, the sensitivity to the values of various parameters, or the feasibility of the system as a whole, these characteristics point strongly to the use of simulations techniques."⁶ Thus it appears that simulation may, indeed, be of some aid in helping to establish more effective means of understanding the disadvantaged people as well as helping to facilitate more effective communication

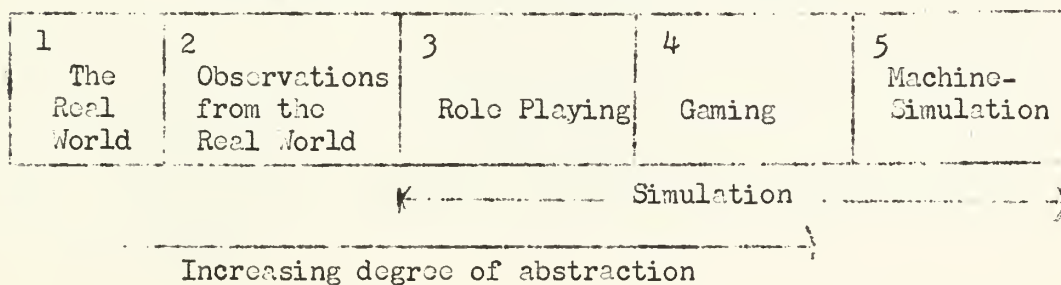
between this group and other people within the city.

Figure 1 illustrates a spectrum of possible techniques which could be used for such purposes as analyzing social systems. The first technique, that of the "Real World", is probably the easiest to achieve since it consists of using as our social laboratory the world as it presently exists; as such then, there is no simulation involved. While this technique may have an advantage in that the cost is probably lower than for other methods, there are also disadvantages present; one such limitation would be the problem of limiting or attaining some degree of predictable control over the variables involved.

The second method, "Observations from the Real World", again used the existing real world situation as its laboratory. Essentially the same advantages and disadvantages are introduced, and again no simulation is involved. One additional limitation does occur, however, and this is the element of subjectivity (on the part of the observer) and the consequences resulting from the introduction of the observer into the system. Some of these consequences were discussed earlier in relation to the technique of interviewing, which

FIGURE 1

TECHNIQUES FOR ANALYZING SOCIAL SYSTEMS



incidentally is an example of this method.

Since the last three methods shown in Figure 1 concern themselves directly with the process of simulation, the intent of the remainder of this section is to provide some discussion of each of these techniques in order to provide an understanding of what relative advantages and limitations each method has in relation to helping facilitate communication with the disadvantaged people in our society.

Role Playing

Role-playing has been defined as a "flexible acting out (doing) of various types of problems in a permissive group atmosphere."⁷ It is a technique which relies on group participation, and as such helps to foster social interaction; the result can be facilitation of communication in verbal, physical, or symbolic terms. Depending upon the context within which this process occurs, then, it may be possible for a trained observer to gain a better understanding about both the group actions and reactions as well as individual behavior by observing such an exercise in progress.

Frank Riessman has noted in his work at Mobilization For Youth that where in the past role-playing may have been rejected, as in social work, education, and other related fields of the "helping professions", it now appears that "role-playing may have particular application for practioners working with the economically disadvantaged...the poor."⁸ Several elements compatible to both the lower income groups and the technique of role-playing provide the basis for this thought.

1. Compatability with the Life-Style of the Poor

Compatability with a particular group's style of life is one of the single-most important aspects to consider when working with a sub-group of society. With regard to low-income people, Miller and Swanson⁹ concluded on the basis of their investigations that an outstanding characteristic of their life-style is their emphasis on physical action; "low-income people tend to work out mental problems best when they can do things physically."¹⁰ And role-playing seems well suited to this style since the process itself requires a holistic doing or acting out of situations rather than merely talking about them.

A further aspect of this technique, which compliments the life-style of the disadvantaged, is their natural tendency to solve what problems they have in a communal atmosphere. It has been noted in several articles related to social class differences that generally the lower class tends to have a greater propensity than the middle or upper classes towards developing and maintaining relatively strong friendship ties with other persons in their same social class. For "Frequently, one low-income individual has successfully dealt with (or is capable of dealing with) problems which are overpowering to another disadvantaged person."¹¹ Role-playing helps to promote this group feeling and cooperation by its very structure, its informality, and its easy pace.

2. Informality

The informal atmosphere of role-playing is another

important aspect in its potential use with the disadvantaged. Low-income groups generally do not like the traditional test or interview format which is typically used; these methods tend to have an office or institutional atmosphere which in turn begin to reinforce the social, physical, and mental distance between the interviewer and the person being interviewed. "The entire office fabric rooted in face-to-face verbalization about things not present is inappropriate for the low-income person who verbalizes best in response to things he can see and do and physically relate to."¹² On the other hand, role-playing with its informal nature permits easy and relaxed relations within a group; an atmosphere which allows its members to contribute as they desire, without tension, and encourages them to become emotionally involved.

3. Development of Verbal Ability

Disadvantaged persons are often characteristically diffident and inadequate in their ability to verbalize their thoughts. However, as previously mentioned, by the emphasis which role-playing places on concrete situations, this technique enables these people to respond more naturally, thus relieving them of the tension which they may feel in more abstract verbal discussions (ie, such as those which typify most formal meetings). In relation to this aspect, Riessman has observed in his work with deprived children that after a role-playing session the verbal performance of these children is markedly improved. "Ask a juvenile delinquent who comes from a disad-

vantaged background what he doesn't like about school or the teacher and you will get an abbreviated, inarticulate reply. But have a group of the youngsters act out a school scene in which somebody plays the teacher, and you will discover a stream of verbal consciousness that is almost impossible to shut off."¹³ Apparently, then, deprived children do not verbalize will in response to words alone--rather, it is much easier for them to respond to some action they have seen.

The ability of these persons to verbalize their feelings is further enhanced by their increased self-confidence, which in part can result from the relaxed and informal atmosphere, as well as the person-to-person relationships which begin to develop. Such a setting where an informal, friendly and active atmosphere is created will tend to be much more conducive to the verbal development of these people than the continued use of formal techniques (such as the interview).

4. Education

A major advantage of the role-playing technique is its educational quality. For by this method it is often possible to discover how a person or a group of persons feel about particular situations or events. It is also educational in another aspect; written reports or lectures may present a group of disadvantaged persons with much useful information, but whether or not they can understand it, as well as its implications, is another question. Thus, the fact that information is presented to the group through the medium of words immediately limits its

usefulness with respect to the lower class persons. If, however, role-playing techniques were used to describe it, it would probably be much easier for them to understand this information, especially as it relates to them personally. In this way, then, information would be imparted through a medium which respects the abilities and needs of the people being addressed.

Role-playing might also be felt to have an educational value from the standpoint that it is one method which allows many attitudes and feelings to be brought out in the open. These may actually be fundamental opinions or feelings of an individual or group, but which are often repressed for various reasons previously discussed in connection with the interview technique. Furthermore, role-playing can help people to understand and gain insight into their own as well as other's feelings; it has long been recognized as a technique by which a person can begin to see things from the point of view of the other people involved. Thus, a major value of role-playing is that it "can serve as a method for illustrating and objectifying many of the casual and dynamic factors in a group process and human relations that are frequently ignored."¹⁴

Despite the seemingly abundant positive aspects of the use of role-playing with disadvantaged groups there are several limitations which must be kept in mind. One particular aspect which may cause specific negative consequences, particularly with the lower-class participants, is the theatrical connotation which role-playing may

have. This connotation is reinforced largely by the terminology used: role-playing, audience, director--and by the process itself, which is often described as an "acting out" of a certain situation. The apathetic and alienated lower class, however, may resist performing before an audience because they lack confidence and verbal fluency. To meet these negative aspects with regard to lower class people, it may be necessary to change the terminology used--such as "working out" instead of "acting out" and "discussants" instead of "audience". Furthermore no stage should be used; instead relatively small groups of five to ten persons might form a semi-circular seating pattern. In addition, in order to minimize the feeling that the participants are "on the spot" they could remain in their seats wherever and whenever desirable.

Another limitation that has become apparent with the use of this technique is the problem the lower class people encounter when they are not able to identify with the role they are supposed to work out. Since they may lack the ability to empathize with a role which seems abstract or unreal, the result may be that they tend to stereotype it. Bruce Young and Morris Rosenberg in their article entitled "Role Playing as a Participation Technique" state that their experience with the role reversal situation has been that, in general, anarchic people cannot accept the changing of roles. When asked to they become bewildered and try to withdraw."¹⁵ It becomes evident then that people should not be forced into a role and that these roles should be appropriate with respect to the knowledge and ability of the people who will be involved.

Up to this point I have been mentioning limitations which have been essentially directed towards the procedural aspects of the technique. There are, however, other limitations which apply to role-playing and are directed towards the validity of the method as it might be used to provide an indication of either a group's or an individual's opinions and attitudes. For example, one limitation which has been stressed in both the reading I have done as well as the interviews I have had concerning this method and its potential use for identifying attitudes is that it tends to modify an individual's beliefs. For as a particular situation is role-played often the opposing sides begin to reconcile themselves as each begins to understand the other's position. Of course this is not a limitation at all, but rather an asset when one is using this technique for the purpose of helping to resolve a conflict or difference in opinion. Furthermore, if this simulation technique is being used specifically as an aid in identifying attitudes it must be realized that in order to obtain a reasonably representative sample many of these role-playing groups must be set up and used.

To summarize this discussion of role-playing, it might be said that this simulation technique seems to compliment very well, indeed, the life-style of the disadvantaged, lower-income persons. That by its informal nature and action-orientation it helps provide a more natural way for these people to communicate their feelings; it tends to exhibit a tendency to increase their ability to express themselves verbally, largely by developing their self-confidence and interest; and it provides a technique by which often repressed attitudes may be

expressed, thus offering the potential for better communication within this group as well as for those outside the group who wish to gain a better understanding of those within.

Gaming

For the purposes of this paper, I am using the term "game" to refer to a "representation of processes operating in the urban environment."¹⁶ As such, the distinction between gaming and role-playing is indeed very slight, since both techniques involve the use of people as players. Nevertheless, I maintain that there is a difference and that this difference exists essentially by category rather than by degree. For example, I consider role-playing to be a one-to-one simulation; this consists of a rather loose representation of a particular situation under study with each role involved being analyzed and discussed in a rather informal and relaxed atmosphere. On the other hand, I am using gaming to denote a higher-order simulation exercise. The main objectives of such a method, as they have been used in the past, apply mainly to abstracting the critical structure or processes involved and to specify the components and their interactions.

The game developed by Richard Duke and the Cornell Land Use Game, for example, are representative techniques that are presently being used as a means of examining the complex structure of our urban areas. However, as is the case with most "urban games" developed so far, both of these examples concern themselves mainly with the physical growth of cities. As of this moment I have only been able to find one game¹⁷ which has been developed and used for the specific purpose

of understanding attitudes or facilitating the communication of ideas and opinions. Though this has not been done to any great extent so far, I nevertheless feel that type of game is desirable and beneficial.

The realism which games offer appears to be particularly effective when one is interested in studying decisions which involve allocating resources, examining the feasibility of a proposed system, and determining or demonstrating its effectiveness. While a gaming simulation is more highly structured than a role-playing exercise, it is still flexible in that an opportunity is made to allow the human players involved a chance to innovate or suggest new rules or policies. Indeed this aspect of a game is one of the elements which helps to maintain the realism in the simulated exercise. In addition to gaining a better understanding of a system, however, the technique of game simulation can also be used as a tool for obtaining measurements and/or predictions regarding a specific proposal.

Jerry Berger has recently developed, in collaboration with Lionel K. Walford, the only game I have been able to find which is directed specifically at helping the disadvantaged persons in the ghettos. The game is called "Trade-Off" and has as its main objective the dual functions of educating the residents and collecting data. In this game the players are asked to build the best possible community with a certain sum of money. "They use styrofoam blocks to represent the various physical improvements. Point values are assigned beforehand to each project, by the game designers; priorities are then given to the projects by the players, on a scale that relates each improvement to all others. A grid represents hypothetical--or actual--

streets and block."¹⁸ After the players have spent the allotted sum for their chosen improvements, they are then told that they must replay the game, however this time with a smaller amount of money. This is where it really becomes hard; one must choose, for example between a new park or a clinic. "What the game achieves is a spontaneous involvement that 'addresses itself to the psychological problems of the powerlessness and anomie felt by the poor'... The game increases a neighborhood's sense of community and a resident's personal identification with the neighborhood."¹⁹

The reaction to "Trade-Off" has generally been mixed; while ghetto residents have seemed to be serious and enthusiastic about the game, most of the planners, according to Berger, do not see its value. "Although the ghetto residents use the game as a part of their continuing participation in planning, planners seem to prefer having it used as a single day's novelty for the ghetto, a way of leaving residents with the thought: 'Now you can see how hard it is to make decisions. We will go off and make them for you.' This, obviously, is the opposite of what the game designers had in mind."²⁰

Nevertheless, gaming does have several definite limitations, which these people who doubt the value of games probably are well aware. For one, we are generally concerned here more with evaluating the exercise than was the case in role-playing; and in order to achieve this evaluation, there must be some degree of experimental control. However, it is not easy, or even possible sometimes, to attain this control in a game; indeed, in some cases too much control may even be undesirable. Thus the matter of control becomes a

critical concern--how much, when, and how? Nevertheless, without some degree of experimental control it is generally very difficult to interpret the results of a simulation, either qualitatively or quantitatively.

Another limitation which this particular simulation technique has is imposed by the number of "real life" variables which can adequately be considered in each run of the game. Furthermore, the accuracy of this method also depends upon the accuracy used in determining these variables in the first place. Thus, this essentially becomes a problem of determining what the significant variables are in the "real life" system, and then limiting these to the most significant which can then be used in the simulation. Add to this the fact that games generally take longer than any other simulation method, and as a result their cost of operation is high, and one can see that the use of this particular technique would probably only be warranted under certain circumstances; when the most important variables can be determined and with relative assurance be limited to the most significant, or when reactions are desired to certain relatively fixed variables in order to test their feasibility and/or effectiveness.

Despite these limitations, however, I feel that the experience gained in St. Louis provides a basis to continue the development of this gaming technique for the purpose of helping to facilitate the communication between the residents of the Model Cities areas and the planners. The fact that the ghetto residents expressed interest and enthusiasm with Berger's game, reinforces my feeling that this

active involvement, which respects the context of the situation involved, is a direction to pursue further.

Machine Simulation

Synonymous with "machine simulation" is the term "computer simulation" since to date the computer has been the primary machine used in the simulation process. Computer simulation essentially represents a higher development in the evolution of game simulation; rather than allowing decisions to be made by human players, all decisions are made by the computer based on the particular circumstances and the variables which have been considered in the program. While the success of this method has been clear in the physical sciences its use in the social sciences, however, has been more restricted. There have been several reasons²¹ for this and my research found these to be quite applicable to the particular problem this paper is addressing itself to.

1. The traditional use of optimization techniques tends to oversimplify the complexity of goals represented in a large system.
2. Such systems may contain decisions for which mathematically precise rules are not as yet developed.
3. The degree of abstraction of a system requires that one know a great deal of difficult-to-obtain information about the system, such as what is important and what is not important, the relations among the activities, the amount of aggregation to use, etc.

Thus, while computer simulation may offer several advantages relative to role-playing and gaming, I have reservations as to its present ability to adequately simulate the intangible aspects of a social system. Furthermore, it is quite apparent that any proposal I would make towards achieving better communication with the disadvantaged should be possible to implement with a minimum amount of effort and expense. The use of computer simulation would probably require more time and a greater initial expense than either of the other simulation techniques, and as such would lend itself to more of a long-term solution. It is for these reasons that my proposal will mainly concern itself with role-playing and gaming as the simulation techniques to be employed.

Before discussing the proposal, however, it might be best to summarize what has been discussed so far concerning the various techniques of simulation. Figure 2 compares the techniques of role playing, gaming, and machine-simulation with respect to some of the key characteristics; the principal differentiating characteristic being the purpose to which the technique is put. With regard to this element, participation and education (for role-playing) are at one end while at the other extreme are the quantitative answers to specific questions, obtainable by machine simulations. In between is gaming which, while it cannot perform the rigorous statistical tests that the computer can, it does provide the investigator with an evaluation of the effects of possible policies or the feasibility of possible systems.

The player's roles in the various types of simulation are to a

FIGURE 2
TYPES OF SIMULATION

	Role-Playing	Gaming	Machine-Simulation
Purpose	Participation, Education, and Limited Investigation	Investigation of Values, Policies and Feasibility	Quantitative answers to Specific Questions
Player's roles	An Integral Part of the Study	An Integral Part of the Study	None
Level of detail	Broad	More Detail and Structure	Highly Structured
Analysis	Little or None	More Structured	Quantitative and Formal
Time compression	High	Medium to High	Very High
Cost	Low	Low to Medium	Medium

large extent, determined by the purpose of the simulation. In role playing, the participant's roles are determined by the particular objectives of the exercise; they may either be their real-life roles or roles assumed for the purpose of the simulation. Particular emphasis is placed upon the interaction which is created, and not so much in the outcome of the exercise. Likewise, this interest with the structure and activity of the simulation is also a characteristic of gaming. Here "the players are very often drawn from comparable real world roles. Identified with specific jobs and/or tasks, they are more deeply involved in the tactical decision-making process, and their decisions and interactions are of prime importance in determining the outcome of the game."²²

The different kinds of simulation can also be compared on the basis of technical characteristics, such as time compression and the cost of designing and running the simulation. Role-playing, because of its broad level of detail and the nature of its structure, has a high time compression. On the other hand, since the level of detail for gaming is somewhat higher and more structured than for role playing, this tends to lower the time compression and thus increase the cost. Similarly, the cost of a completely machine-simulated exercise tends to increase as the level of detail and analysis increases. While the cost of running the computer simulation is relatively low compared with the other techniques of simulation, the development costs of designing and programming such a simulation are relatively high. However, there is hope that these costs can be

substantially reduced in the future as new developments are made in simulation programming languages. Thus, as mentioned previously, for the purposes of the following proposal (which it is hoped would be possible to implement with the least delay) the primary techniques of simulation to be considered will be role-playing and gaming.

THE PROPOSAL

While it has been the purpose of the first part of this paper to describe the context for the eventual proposal and to examine some of the available techniques of simulation which might be applicable, the specific objective of this section is to develop a proposal which will provide a possible technique to help facilitate communication by means of simulation. In the discussion relating to the contextual elements, it was noted that the program standards established for the Model Cities Program explicitly call for widespread citizen participation--"Expression of resident's concerns, desires, and needs, individually and in groups, should be solicited and incorporated in appropriate fashion in the planning and execution of the program."²³ Furthermore they state that "Means of introducing the views of area residents in policy-making should be developed and opportunities should be afforded area residents to participate actively in planning and carrying out the demonstration program as volunteers as well as wage earners."²⁴

It has been recognized for some time now that citizen participation plays a very important role in the success of any program. However, little has been done to actively accommodate this local participation. The program standards, themselves, of the Model Cities program call for this participation, but leave the development of the means for accomplishing this objective up to each local area. Thus, it is the purpose of this section to suggest the format of one possible technique by which this local dialogue between the planner and his disadvantaged clients might be accomplished in a more comprehensive manner.

GENERAL FRAMEWORK

Starting with the realization that this local participation is a product of its environment, it is logical to begin such a proposal by first considering the framework within which it is to take place. Both Jim Steele and Mike Szunyog are considering key elements in their papers to the establishment of the groundwork for my proposal. Recalling an earlier discussion in this paper, it was noted that one of the difficulties with the present methods used in communicating with the disadvantaged people is that it often occurs unnaturally and in an environment which tends to stifle the flow of true feelings. In view of these disadvantages with the present procedures, I believe that the Neighborhood Service Center, as Mike's paper relates to, offers a location which would tend to minimize the existing limitations and help to promote a feeling of neighborhood unity, which in itself might help to solve some of the internal problems of these areas and which would surely help to establish an atmosphere conducive to an active and meaningful exchange of ideas.

Jim's paper extends this framework with its direction towards developing the role of the community worker within the Model Cities Program. For as important as having a place to meet is, some type of agent is also needed to link the disadvantaged community and the planning agency together so that this communication can occur. Certainly Jim's consideration of the indigenous, non-professional provides one such tie, and the one towards which this proposal is oriented. As Jim notes, however, there are difficulties which must be overcome in establishing such an intermediate position (this

person will hereafter be referred to as the Facilitator). Several of these are the problems of being able to maintain rapport with both sides (the disadvantaged community and the planning agency), where he should be located (in the agency or in the community), and how he would be chosen? Nevertheless, assuming Jim has solved these and other problems I will utilize the Facilitator (working within the Neighborhood Service Center) as the important mechanism of my proposal who, after utilizing the communication techniques I am about to propose, will help to bridge the planning agency with the Model Cities Neighborhood.

So far, throughout this paper I have referred to its main objective as being a proposal which will help to facilitate communication between the planner and his clients. However, subsumed within this general objective are other objectives which begin to describe some of the specific ways in which this communication might be facilitated. Of these, the objective of being able to provide information to the planning agency, and other "helping" agencies involved, in an accurate manner must be one of the primary ones. For as noted previously in the discussion relating to the basic context of this paper, it was noted that Model Cities Neighborhoods are generally not homogeneous communities. Thus, we as planners must understand their special attitudes and desires, and not subject them to what we (representing essentially middle class attitudes) believe they should want. It is hoped that this proposal will provide a technique by which this information can be more easily and accurately obtained than by the methods presently available.

Another problem which the planner seems to be plagued with is that of over-coming misconceptions. Essentially this involves educating the public and keeping them informed. One of the best ways to meet this problem is to work with the public in the planning stages, thus keeping them continually involved and eliminating prejudicial attitudes along the way rather than meeting them all at the end. This is the "active" approach to planning, to which I referred earlier, and which is actually called for in the Model Cities Program. Again it is hoped that this proposal will provide a technique whereby this active participation of the public can occur.

Though not one of the specific objectives of this proposal, I can nevertheless visualize that one of its consequences will be a beginning of neighborhood unity among the heterogeneous mixtures of people found within the Model Cities areas. This is a valuable outcome, for in itself this may help to solve some of the problems which otherwise might not be possible to solve. Certainly it would be valuable from the standpoint of beginning to create a true neighborhood.

Along with the objectives, however, the limitations and restraints within which this proposal will be operating must also be identified and recognized. Certainly one of the most important variables is the attitude of the planning agency; it must be sympathetic to the needs and the predicament of the disadvantaged persons and have a true desire to help them. For a half-hearted effort here will seriously jeopardize any positive actions that might otherwise be made. Perhaps equally important, is the ability to understand

the true context of the situation. To help the agency in this matter I am proposing that this technique be used by the community worker (the Facilitator) whose specific role is developed in Jim Steele's paper. However for this to work effectively, the Facilitator must be able to maintain rapport with both sides; otherwise his effectiveness will surely be limited. And as indicated, the attitude of the community is also important; for there must be a willingness on the part of these disadvantaged persons to participate and accept help, otherwise the techniques to be proposed will be useless and the effectiveness of the Facilitator seriously hindered.

Having described the objectives and the context, with its resulting limitations and restraints, it may now be desirable to briefly outline the structure or format which the actual proposal assumes. In recognition of the fact that the inhabitants of a Model Cities area are not alike in their abilities, I have divided my proposal into two stages, thus respecting these differences. Each of these stages may then be further subdivided to attain certain objectives which respect the abilities and background of the participants.

STAGE 1

The primary purpose of this stage is to arouse the interest and opinions of the persons within a minority subculture, such as the apathetic and alienated, and begin to create an active interaction among these people. It would also serve to help all people gain confidence in working with a group, and as such would be a required

preliminary step to Stage 2. For as was noted earlier, one of the problems which is frequently encountered when working with people of disadvantaged groups is that they often lack the ability to verbalize their thoughts, and much less, the confidence to express themselves in front of a group. Thus, the attempt is made in this first stage to create a relaxed and friendly atmosphere where this desired interaction might occur more easily. Furthermore, the structure of the communication technique used relies almost exclusively on role-playing; for as also previously noted, role-playing is well adapted for use in this particular situation since it relies on group participation and is well adapted to the particular lifestyle of the lower-income, disadvantaged persons.

Participants

There would be five types of participants in Stage 1: the Facilitator, the Moderator, the active participants, the audience, and the observers.

1. The Facilitator

This role would be filled by an indigenous worker. While training in the technique of role-playing might be helpful, this would not be mandatory requirement, for essentially his job would be that of a coordinator, observer, and recorder. As such, he is the key man to the whole operation. For as a coordinator he decides the situation and particular circumstances to be role-played. This, in turn, is largely determined by his role as an observer; the fact that he is an indigenous person allows

him the opportunity to meet with these people individually (on an informal, personal basis) and observe them daily as they interact naturally within the community. From this observation he is able to detect what problems and complaints exist within the area. As a recorder, he attends the role-playing sessions at the Neighborhood Service Center and records the proceedings by a method appropriate to the particular group (ie, mentally, written, or mechanically). From his recordings and observations he is able to make further recommendations as to possible situations to be role-played by the group. This information might also be evaluated by the Facilitator and observers to provide information concerning the general attitudes and desires of these people. As such, this information could then be used as a basic input for the policies and proposals concerning these people. It will also be the Facilitator's job to determine when the outside observers may be brought in to view these exercises without having a negative effect on the participants.

2. The Moderator

The Moderator is also an indigenous worker, or at least a person with whom the particular minority in question can easily identify. He is specifically trained in the technique of role-playing, and as the person in charge of conducting the session, his main responsibilities are in helping to maintain spontaneity and reality, to protect the players, and to stimulate the discussions so that insight and knowledge may be gained. The Moderator works closely with the Facilitator in planning

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

In addition, the document highlights the need for regular audits. By conducting periodic reviews, any discrepancies can be identified and corrected promptly. This proactive approach helps in maintaining the integrity of the financial system.

Furthermore, it is advised to use standardized accounting practices. This includes following established guidelines for recording income, expenses, and assets. Consistency in reporting is crucial for providing reliable information to stakeholders.

The document also touches upon the role of technology in modern accounting. Utilizing software solutions can streamline the recording process and reduce the risk of human error. However, it is important to ensure that the chosen software is secure and compliant with relevant regulations.

Finally, the document concludes by stressing the importance of staying updated with the latest tax laws and regulations. Tax requirements can change frequently, and being aware of these changes is essential for accurate reporting and compliance.

Date: _____

The second part of the document provides a detailed overview of the company's financial performance over the past year. It begins with a summary of the total revenue generated, which has shown a steady increase compared to the previous period. This growth is attributed to several key factors, including market expansion and improved operational efficiency.

A significant portion of the revenue is allocated towards research and development, reflecting the company's commitment to innovation. This investment is expected to yield long-term benefits through the introduction of new products and services.

The document also details the company's cost structure, showing that while operating expenses have increased, they remain within budget. This is a result of careful cost management and the implementation of various optimization strategies.

Overall, the financial statements indicate a healthy and growing business. The company's strong performance is a testament to the hard work and dedication of its employees. Looking ahead, the management team remains optimistic about the future and is confident in the company's ability to continue its upward trajectory.

the sessions; when the Facilitator has decided on the particular situations to be role-played, it is the Moderator's job to prepare these ideas into a usable form for the exercise.

3. The Active Participants

These are the members of the community who assume the roles to be played in the exercise. The actual number needed would of course depend upon the number of roles involved in each particular situation.

4. The Audience

The audience would consist of those members of the community who are present but not playing a role in the exercise. The audience could presumably be any size, but keeping in mind that one of the main objectives of this stage is to attain active participation among all members, it would probably be desirable in the first part of this stage to not have an audience, or at least to keep it to a minimum. Then, as this stage progresses and the persons involved begin to gain self-confidence, verbal ability, and participate freely, it may be possible to utilize the audience as more of an active participant; in this case the role-playing exercise would act as a stimulus for the discussion which would follow. Here the audience might criticize the way in which the roles were played and offer their own interpretations.

5. The Observers

The observers would be any individuals from the external world who might wish to observe these exercises; as such, they could be individuals from various agencies, such as the planning

agency, who would want to make first-hand observations. However, due to the potential which these observers might have for disrupting these exercises, they would not be permitted during the first part of this stage. The Facilitator would make the final decision as to when he felt the observers could attend.

Method and Procedure

Since the success of Stage 1 depends largely upon proper preparation, the following three steps, which are the job of the Moderator, will describe the procedure necessary to prepare for the role-playing exercise.

1. Establishing the Situation

This step consists essentially of describing each role that is to be played and then describing the context in which these roles occur and interact. The degree to which these roles and the situation are firmly established, in turn, depends on several factors. For one, it varies with the people involved and the progress they have made in this stage. Some people, for example, may find these exercises very stimulating and soon desire to establish their own context relating to the roles and the situation--and of course this should be encouraged for it is not only enlightening to the Facilitator and any observers which might be present, but it also serves to create more interest within the group and a more meaningful participation.

Furthermore, their own establishment of the situation should especially be encouraged when the intent of the exercise

is specifically aimed at enabling the Facilitator or observers to understand the context and underlying motives for certain actions and attitudes. Regardless of which way the situation is established, however, it must be specific and clear to all participants; clarity is of great importance. This may mean that repetition and an opportunity for people to ask questions are necessary. If the situation is simple, the briefing may be accomplished orally; however, if it is the least bit involved, the instructions should be given in written form as well.

2. Casting of Roles

The casting of roles is generally best accomplished by letting the people volunteer for the roles rather than to assign them. For people find it hard to perform in a role with which they cannot identify. If this happens, the reality is lost and the other participants are generally thrown off stride. With a new group or one not familiar with the technique, it is usually a help to start with roles that are not too complex and with which the participants are familiar. Then as the group becomes more adept and accustomed to one another, roles can be cast which will begin to make the participants extend themselves. Of course this is all considered by the Facilitator and Moderator when they are initially planning these exercises.

3. The Warm-Up

This step is usually included to make sure that each participant knows his role. However, where the people involved will be assuming roles that are already familiar to them, this step

may be neglected. When it is used, it may be done either publicly or privately as the particular situation warrants.

Action

This is the time when the actual role-playing exercise takes place. During this phase it is the Moderator's job to see that the situation does not get out-of-hand, as it well might when emotional issues are being dealt with. There should be as few interruptions and instructions given during this time as possible, for the main desire is that the participants act as they would naturally. It is also the Moderator's job to cut the action when an appropriate stopping point is reached. For it is possible to defeat the purpose of the exercise by letting the action continue beyond its usefulness. Generally there are several places where the halt may occur: when in the opinion of the Moderator, enough has been seen for an analysis of the problem; when the audience is stimulated and ready for discussion; when the participants are beginning to repeat themselves; or when the situation has reached its natural end.

The Discussion

The real value of role playing is not in creating a show for entertainment, but rather in stimulating everyone present in preparation for an active discussion. In this way it is possible to involve the audience as well as the active participants. Of course during the first part of Stage 1 these discussions may be minimal or non-existent, depending upon the particular circumstances; but as each individual becomes more accustomed to role playing and participating

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in a group, it is hoped that their ability and willingness to participate in a discussion will increase. Again the Moderator would be in charge of leading the discussion with the help of the Facilitator who might also ask questions and direct the discussions in directions which would help him understand certain problems better. Depending upon the progress of the group (as determined by the Facilitator and Moderator), it might even be possible at this point for the Observers to enter into the discussion. However, their participation should mainly be limited to questioning and clarification of what they have seen, rather than defending their own positions (their particular agency's priorities, policies, or proposals). This clarification would occur in Stage 2.

The Final Output

The desired final output of Stage 1 would be the introduction of the participants to a group simulation exercise, the stimulation of their opinions, the determination of some of their particular opinions and attitudes, and the preparation of the people for active participation in Stage 2. The change-over (to the second stage) will occur on an individual basis, but within a given time limit; for at the end of a certain time period, everyone who has participated in Stage 1 will be passed on to Stage 2. There is a chance, however, that some people will be ready for this stage before others; the Moderator and Facilitator will make these decisions. They will be based essentially on each individual's interest, participation and progress.

STAGE 2

This stage will continue and expand the techniques available for these people to actively participate in the planning process. Whereas Stage 1 relied on role-playing, Stage 2 will rely essentially on gaming; of course it is entirely possible that within the second stage role-playing will still be used, possibly as a tool for solving some of the problems or decisions in the game. As the participants progress farther into the second stage, the games will gradually become more complex (the complexity of the game would depend on the number of variables being considered at any one time). The specific objectives of this stage would be the further determination of the attitudes, opinions and priorities of the disadvantaged persons. Also there would be an educational objective, which would apply for both the minority groups and the planners; through the techniques of gaming an attempt would be made to have these disadvantaged persons actively experience some of the problems and limitations that the planners must operate with. It would be educational for the planners in the sense that through this technique they would become more aware of the particular priorities which the lower-income people have and how they differ from the middle-class priorities, and their reactions and opinions regarding proposals of the planning agency.

Participants

1. The Facilitator

He would be the same person as in Stage 1 and his duties would essentially be the same as before; he would, however, know how to play the games. His main roles would still be

those of a coordinator, observer and recorder. As a coordinator he will work with the planning agency to establish the particular input for each game (ie, proposals, their cost, etc.--to be discussed under a later section entitled "Input"); he will arrange for the observers to attend these gaming sessions; and he will coordinate the various games which may be occurring simultaneously. In the role of an observer he will watch to see that the games proceed smoothly and he will note the specific abilities of each participant and recommend the complexity of the game in which they should participate. As a recorder, he notes the progress of each game and the specific proposals and priorities involved in each.

2. The Moderator

He is the same as in Stage 1 and his job is to supervise the game, answer questions and observe the proceedings. He would be trained in the technique of gaming and would know the rules for the particular game being used.

3. The Observers

These would be any individuals from the external world who might want to observe the proceedings of the games (ie, people from the planning agency).

4. Game Participants

There would be no set number of participants for these games since the actual composition of types of players (ie, teenagers, housewives, persons over 65 years of age, etc.) would vary with each game (they would vary with the proposals

being considered and the desired objectives for the particular game).

Procedure

1. Introduction

This would be the point where each of the selected players would be introduced to the game; its purpose, how it is played, and its rules. The game I am proposing to use is somewhat similar to "Trade-Off" in the way it is actually played, but it is initially set up in a different way. First, depending upon the ability and experience of the players there are a series of games, all of which follow the same set of rules, but have differing degrees of complexity; the more variables there are (ie, the more proposals and programs there are to be considered and the more conflicts that must be resolved) the more complex the game will be considered. This varying degree of complexity will help the game maintain its interest, even among the people who have played it often and are quite skilled at it; a challenge should always be present.

Secondly, the composition of the types of players (ie, teenagers, housewives, etc.) may be determined for each game, depending upon the types of proposals being considered or the particular types of players from whom a reaction is desired.

As for the actual playing of the game, each group of players will be presented with a list of proposals (see the following section discussing "Input") each of which have a dollar value attached to them. Each group is also given a

fixed sum of money and the instructions to build the best possible neighborhood they can. It is up to the group to decide what proposals or programs they want to implement. One element which I believe that Jerry Berger's game did not include, but which I would have, would be the possibility that some of the proposals would be considered as "hard" or unchangeable. These proposals would be considered as firm in the sense that they would be built in a certain location regardless of what else might be desired. It would be possible, however, for the group to appeal their particular case to an "Appeals Board". This is where the ability to role play, as learned in Stage 1, would be utilized. For this Appeals Board would consist of game participants picked specifically for this job. After hearing the appeal, this board would make a ruling as to whether a substitution or change could be made; it might be in terms of additional cost or the forfeiture of certain facilities. While before this Appeal Board, it would also be possible in some games (when desired) for the group to suggest additional proposals, projects or services in addition to the ones provided at the outset of the game.

Once all the money had been spent, the group would play the game again, this time with less money. The same right of appeal would be granted. The determination of how much money and what proposals and programs to give the group initially, as well as how much to cut back on the second run through the game, would be determined by the Facilitator and Moderator in

regard to the skill and ability of the players involved; in each group an attempt would be made to have individuals of comparable ability and skill. To increase the player's interest still further, the neighborhood which the group would be planning for would be the one in which they actually reside. The area of play could be expanded as needed though, (ie, due to key proposals) to include areas outside or adjacent to their neighborhood. The game would be played on a board with the streets marked off and labeled; buildings would be represented by wooden blocks.

2. Division into Groups

Each group of players who play this game would consist of a variety of people. The composition of these groups would be determined by the Facilitator (based on his knowledge of the particular area) in an attempt to obtain a group which is representative of the community; the composition of the group may also vary with the type of input being considered. The following are possible sub-groups of a Model Cities area which might be considered: teenagers, housewives, persons owning their own business, male employees, unemployed men, women who are heads of households, and persons over 65 years of age. Each of these sub-groups may also be further subdivided as desired.

3. Presentation of Input

The input which has been referred to in past sections would consist of proposals, programs, and services which would

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The text outlines the various methods and systems that can be used to ensure the accuracy and reliability of financial data.

Very truly yours,
[Signature]

The second part of the document provides a detailed overview of the company's financial performance over the past year. It includes a comprehensive analysis of the revenue, expenses, and profit margins, along with a comparison to the previous year's results. The text also discusses the various factors that have influenced the company's financial success and offers insights into the challenges that have been faced.

Very truly yours,
[Signature]

The final part of the document concludes with a summary of the key findings and recommendations. It reiterates the importance of maintaining accurate records and provides a clear path forward for the company's future success. The text expresses confidence in the company's ability to overcome any challenges and achieve its long-term goals.

be pertinent to the particular neighborhood where the game is being played. These elements would be determined before the game with the cooperation of the Facilitator, the planning agency, and any other service agencies who might be involved with some of the proposals being gamed. This input could consist of many possible types, of which the following are examples: more medical services, a new park, a new supermarket, employment counseling, job training, new housing, demolition of old buildings, more frequent garbage collection, better equipped schools, night classes for adults, and a baby-sitting service. Each of these elements would be broken into quantities (ie, employment counseling for 100 persons) and given a dollar value for this improvement. Though it is recognized that some of these elements are hard to quantify in terms of dollars, this measure is used for lack of another which is as readily understood by these disadvantaged persons.

Final Output

The final output of this game would be an increased awareness and understanding on the part of the disadvantaged as to some of the problems planners must face. It would also, hopefully, create an active interest among these people to help solve some of these problems; for here is a group of people who may have some valuable ideas for the professionals regarding how some of these problems might be solved. After all, they have been living with the problems, and this may provide them with a constructive direction towards which they can divert

their energies.

Perhaps equally as important as educating these disadvantaged persons, is the information which it is possible to gather from such an exercise. For example, by observing what programs and proposals these groups of players select and the priorities they give them, it may be possible for the planners to assess the structure of the priorities within the Model Cities area and in the end, make plans and proposals which are more in line with the actual needs and desires of these people.

The use of the Appeals Board is another way in which their priorities may be assessed as well as a way towards beginning to understand some of the reasons associated with these priorities. It would also be possible, in this way, to assess their reactions to certain proposals and programs, as well as to discover what additional ones, that were not included on the original list, they might also desire.

CONCLUSTION

Any proposal, in order to be successful, must recognize the context in which it will be operating. In this proposal, which was directed towards the development of a technique by which communication may be facilitated between the planner and the disadvantaged people, the life-style differences between the lower-class and the middle-class were recognized as a basic element of this context. An examination of several simulation techniques indicated that role-playing and gaming offered the active participation which these people desire and to which they are most apt to respond.

Due to the wide variance of abilities, skills and background of the people found within the Model Cities areas, it became quite apparent that any proposal for facilitating communication must respect and accommodate these differences. This was accomplished by a series of stages and sub-stages which hopefully will offer the degree of flexibility needed, as well as a challenge for everyone who participates.

To insure that the proposed techniques will offer a means by which a greater understanding and a more active participation will occur between all groups concerned, it was further suggested that the indigenous, community worker (the Facilitator) and the use of the Neighborhood Service Center be considered as the framework within which this proposal would occur. Furthermore, in order to have the maximum influence possible, this participation must occur on a regular basis and be organized.

A primary element which will have a strong influence on whether this participation and interest continue once it has been

developed, is the degree to which these disadvantaged persons can see tangible results. The information and understanding gained by these techniques should be used by planners wherever possible; and when it has been used the disadvantaged should be informed of such. Thus, by being able to see that their efforts and participation are having some effect, the future utilization of these proposed techniques will be greatly enhanced.

FOOTNOTES

¹Richard E. Dawson, "Simulation in the Social Sciences", in Simulation in Social Science, ed. by Harold Guetzkow, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 3.

²U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Program Guide: Model Neighborhoods in Demonstration Cities (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 1.

³Ibid., p. 14.

⁴Ibid., p. 3.

⁵Carol H. Weiss, "Interviewing Low-Income Respondents", Welfare in Review, 4(October, 1966), p. 2.

⁶Murray A. Geisler and Allen S. Ginsberg, Man-Machine Simulation Experience (The Rand Corporation, No. P-3214, August, 1965), p. 6.

⁷Frank Reissman, "Role-Playing and the Lower Socio-Economic Group", Group Psychotherapy, XVII (March, 1964), p. 36.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Daniel Miller and Guy Swanson, Inner Conflict and Defense (New York: Henry Holt, 1960), p. 24.

¹⁰Reissman, op. cit., p. 37.

¹¹Ibid., p. 38.

¹²Ibid., p. 40.

¹³Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper, 1963), p. 77.

¹⁴Grace Levit and Helen H. Jennings, "Learning Through Role-Playing", How to Use Role Playing, Adult Education Association, Pamphlet #6, 1955, p. 7.

¹⁵Bruce F. Young and Morris Rosenberg, "Role Playing as a Participation Technique", The Journal of Social Issues, V (Winter, 1949), p. 44.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

Furthermore, it is noted that regular audits and reviews are necessary to identify any discrepancies or areas for improvement. This process helps in maintaining the integrity of the data and ensuring that all procedures are followed correctly.

In addition, the document highlights the need for clear communication and collaboration between all departments. This ensures that everyone is on the same page and working towards the same goals.

It is also stressed that the organization should have a strong risk management strategy in place. This involves identifying potential risks and implementing measures to mitigate them, thereby protecting the organization's assets and reputation.

The document concludes by stating that a commitment to excellence and continuous improvement is key to the organization's long-term success. By following these guidelines, the organization can ensure that it remains a leader in its field.

Overall, the document provides a comprehensive overview of the key principles and practices that should guide the organization's operations. It serves as a valuable resource for all employees and management alike.

The information presented here is intended to provide a clear understanding of the organization's policies and procedures. It is hoped that this will help to foster a sense of shared responsibility and commitment among all staff members.

For more information or to report any concerns, please contact the relevant department or the compliance officer. The organization is committed to addressing any issues promptly and effectively.

Thank you for your attention and cooperation. We look forward to continuing our journey towards a more successful and sustainable future.

Yours faithfully,
[Signature]

The above information is provided for informational purposes only and does not constitute an offer or recommendation. It is subject to change without notice.

For further details, please refer to the full document or contact the relevant department. We appreciate your feedback and suggestions for improvement.

¹⁶Ellen Perry Berkeley, "The New Gamemanship", The Architectural Forum (December, 1968), p. 59.

¹⁷Jerry Berger's game which is called "Trade-Off" and was developed for use in the St. Louis, Missouri Model Cities program.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹M.A. Geisler, W.W. Haythorn, and W.A. Steger, Simulation and the Logistics Systems Laboratory (Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation. RM-3281-PR. September, 1962)

²²Geisler and Ginsberg, op. cit., p. 5.

²³U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, op. cit., p. 14.

²⁴Ibid.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze the data. This includes both manual and automated techniques. The goal is to ensure that the information gathered is both reliable and comprehensive.

The third part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the results. It shows that there is a significant correlation between the variables being studied. This finding is supported by statistical analysis and is consistent with previous research in the field.

Finally, the document concludes with a series of recommendations for future research. It suggests that further studies should be conducted to explore the underlying causes of the observed trends. This will help to refine the current model and provide a more complete understanding of the phenomenon.

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