William I. Goodman

EDITOR

Professor and Chairman
Department of Urban Planning
University of Illinois

Eric C. Freund

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Associate Professor
Bureau of Community Planning
University of Illinois

Principles and

Practice of

Urban Planning

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Social Welfare Planning

THE APPEARANCE for the first time in LOCAL PLANNING ADMINISTRATION (as this book was formerly titled) of a chapter on social planning and its relation to city planning reflects significant changes within the United States since publication of the third edition in 1959. In the interim, the nation has recognized the tremendous disparity in opportunities available to different members of society.

The United States is noted for its continuous efforts to reduce inequalities. The first drive, culminating in the Civil War, was toward freedom, an open society, and political equality. The next, embodied in the labor union movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, strove toward economic liberation, and held as its goal the widespread distribution of material affluence. The third drive, gaining momentum a decade after World War II, was a combination of the former strivings toward both political freedom and economic justice. "The Movement" personifies this most recent thrust toward social welfare, including, most notably, civil rights and other activities to organize and educate the poor.

It was not without embarrassment that the American people acknowledged the existence of basic problems such as poverty in their midst. Once the problem was recognized, its elimination gained the status of a "national purpose," strengthened by congressional and presidential commitments to action, notably the War on Poverty, announced in 1964. But the distance to be traveled before American society provides all its citizens with a reasonable opportunity to develop and participate in

society is great. Moreover, for good reason, many people still criticize the government's commitment as being nominal. Therefore, a major social question is *when* the conditions of a just society will be achieved. This is of particular importance to the planner, concerned as he is with the time dimension, to estimate both the costs and the benefits of measures and of different rates of movement over time toward social goals.

Other social problems also confront American society; although often closely related to poverty, these affect members of all economic and social classes. Included are racial discrimination, criminal behavior, drug addiction, alcoholism, the high divorce rate, mental illness, and indifference to environment and society.

The Planner's Approach

Physical and social problems are interrelated. Having realized this, city planners have begun to change their profession's approach to both physical and social problems. There has long been an acceptance, albeit unconscious, of the doctrine of physical environmental determinism. Professor Melvin Webber characterizes this doctrine as follows:

For generations it had been generally understood that the physical environment was a major determinant of social behavior and a direct contributor to individuals' welfare. Having accepted professional responsibility for the physical environment, the city planner was thus accorded a key role as agent of human welfare: the clearly prescribed therapy for the various social pathologies was improvement of

the physical setting. If only well-designed and well-sited houses, playgrounds, and community facilities could be substituted for the crowded and dilapidated housing and neighborhoods of the city's slums, then the incidence of crime, delinquency, narcotics addiction, alcoholism, broken homes, and mental illness would tumble. Acculturation of ethnic, racial, and other minority groups to the American, middle-class, urban ways-of-life but awaited their introduction to the American, middle-class, physical environment. . . .

As the findings of systematic research into the relations between social-and-physical aspects of environments and social behavior have been accumulating, however, what were once stable pillars of understanding are melting down to folklore, heartfelt wishes, and, more typically, partial truths embedded within complex networks of causes. . . . The simple clarity of the city planning profession's role is thus being dimmed by the clouds of complexity, diversity, and the resulting uncertainty that seem to be the inevitable consequences of scientific inquiry and of the deeper understanding that inquiry brings.[1]

Social problems greatly increase the intensity of physical problems. Such problems as racial discrimination, and the concomitant fear of whites by Negroes, encourage ghetto dwellers to express their hostility in antisocial ways rather than through procedures like voting or appealing to political leaders. Thus, for example, ghetto dwellers have been known to throw empty bottles from windows and to participate in large-scale physical destruction through rioting. When a group of people is limited to occupying a neighborhood whose land and buildings are owned by absentee landlords, it is naturally less concerned with physical conservation. The result of emotional indifference, or even hostility, toward society and its physical structure is, in part, physical deterioration.[2] This, in turn, discourages those individuals who do own property (including landlords) from trying to improve the condition of their property. Physical deterioration prompts the more responsible citizens to move away if they can, or, if they cannot, to become less responsible. A vicious circle results.

Statistics show that physical problems do correlate with social problems: Robert Weaver, as Housing Administrator, estimated in 1964 that there were still nine million substandard dwelling units in the United States, of which over five million were occupied by families earning less than $3,000 a year. The income of a large portion of the remaining four million or so families who live in substandard housing is also at, or barely above, the poverty line.[3]

City planning grew from the same roots as social welfare planning: from protests by segments of the middle class over the emerging problems of the industrial city. Between 1910 and 1940 the two fields separated as a result of specialization.[4]

As a logical expression of the doctrine of physical environmental determinism, mentioned above, early city planning efforts focused attention on the architecture and pattern of cities and towns: this concern culminated in the City Beautiful movement. But concern for layout was also seen as a means for fostering better social and economic conditions, because the land use pattern of communities was considered to be a means for establishing viable local economies. These should be capable of providing employment opportunities for the residents of the communities and a local tax base sufficient to support the public services and facilities required.

Similarly, city planners were concerned with the physical conditions of slum dwellers. Planners who played an active role in planning new housing and eliminating slum and blight through urban renewal, sought physical means to improve social conditions.

Recent emphasis on the central city, rather than on peripheral growth, has brought the more acute social problems of slum dwellers to the forefront. However, the problems of peripheral growth remain crucial in the city planner's attempt to solve the problems of slums and central-city blight, for the fractionation of

[1] Melvin Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXIX (Nov., 1963), p. 233. Reprinted by permission of THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, Nov., 1963, Vol. no. 29, No. 11.

[2] Charles A. Silberman, CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 47.

[3] George M. Raymond, "Prologue," in PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1964 ANNUAL CONFERENCE, Newark, American Institute of Planners (Washington: American Institute of Planners, 1964), p. 148.

[4] Robert Perlman, "Social Welfare Planning and Physical Planning," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXXII (July, 1966), p. 237.

suburban governmental jurisdictions allows those techniques at the disposal of city planners in peripheral areas—namely zoning, subdivision regulation, and building codes—to be used for exclusive and selfish purposes. Central city problems cannot be solved if poor and socially rejected people remain concentrated in the central city.

During the last few years two positions have developed within the city planning profession concerning the planner's responsibility for helping solve major social problems. The discussion revolves around whether the responsibility should be by direct confrontation with social issues or through the more traditional and indirect means of controlling the physical environment.

Proponents of the latter approach feel that planners can offer the most expert assistance to cities by dealing primarily with physical factors affecting urban conditions. They recognize social and economic means as important but consider them largely outside the competence of city planners. This position has traditionally been held by the American Institute of Planners. The AIP's Constitution presently defines the scope of the city planner's work in the following words:

(The) particular sphere of activity shall be the planning of the unified development of urban communities and their environs and of states, regions, and the nation, as expressed through determination of the comprehensive arrangement of land uses and the land occupancy and regulation thereof.[5]

In recent years uneasiness at this position has been growing. Some planners have believed that the social, economic, political, and physical factors affecting urban development are so interrelated that successful planning requires a more complete view of the community than is permitted under the definition of the planner's function adopted by the AIP. Proponents of this position, including an AIP committee recently appointed to study and recommend the proper scope of the professional planner's work, have suggested that the AIP amend its constitution to broaden the scope of the field

beyond the present limits. The proposed amendment would eliminate the words underlined in the section quoted above.

A number of years ago the New York Chapter of the AIP contrasted the two alternative views of the planner's role discussed here. The language in the alternative proposals is useful in understanding the choice now (1967) being considered within the profession[6] (Figure 11-1).

At this time it is not possible to state with assurance the direction the city planning profession will select. With the greatly increased allocation of public expenditures to combat poverty, however, it seems assured that the profession will find it desirable and expedient to include the planning of socially oriented programs within its domain. This should occur at least to the extent that greater attention will be given to coordination of the planning of facilities with the planning of services conducted within them.

Even if some or all members of the city planning profession limit their concern to the traditional area of physical development, all city planning will probably come to reflect increased public concern with the social issues of poverty, ill-health, and poor housing. In addressing a special meeting of the AIP a number of years ago, Webber set forth some propositions which provide a common base for all planners, no matter how widely they define the scope of their profession. He asserted that:

We are coming to comprehend the city as an extremely complex social system, only some aspects of which are expressed as physical buildings or as locational arrangements. As the parallel, we are coming to understand that each aspect lies in a reciprocal causal relation to all others, such that each is defined by, and has meaning only with respect, to its relations to all others.

As one result of this broadened conception of the city system, we can no longer speak of the physical city versus the social city or the economic city or the political city or the intellectual city. We can no longer dissociate a physical building, for example, from the social meanings that it carries for its users and viewers from the social and economic functions of the activities that are conducted within it. If distinguishable at all, the distinction is that of constituent components, as with metals comprising an

[5] Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXXI (Nov., 1965), p. 336.

[6] These statements, prepared in 1954–55, by Henry Fagin are shown in Figure 11-1.

NEW YORK CHAPTER, AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS
Proposed Alternative Statements

A More Traditional Approach

The American Institute of Planners is the professional organization of persons engaged in planning comprehensively for the development of urban communities, regions and the nation, as expressed through the determination and regulation of the use and occupancy of land.

This activity has an important influence on economic and social conditions; and it entails many considerations, techniques, and insights taken from the related fields of economics and sociology. Nevertheless, the professional work characteristic of AIP members is distinguished from those planning activities that may directly undertake to give direction to the economy or to influence social organization by its essential orientation around physical development and its main emphasis on physical means for improving the environment.

In short, the planner is a specialist in dealing with the physical development aspects of questions, and he has a responsibility for bringing his special skills to bear wherever public decisions are being made that involve physical development or affect it. His specialized competence centers on the physical planning considerations that enter into such decisions.

A Modified Approach

The American Institute of Planners is the professional organization of persons engaged in planning, the broad purpose of which is to further the welfare of the people in the city, region, state, and nation by aiding in the creation of a more efficient, healthful, and attractive environment. The means for accomplishing this purpose are manifold, but most of them are related, directly or indirectly, to the determination and regulation of the use and occupancy of land.

This activity has an important influence on economic, social, and aesthetic conditions; it entails many considerations, techniques, and insights taken from economics, engineering, sociology, architecture and other physical and social sciences and design professions. The planning profession is essentially concerned with the coordination of the knowledge and skills of all of these groups in order to achieve long-range, comprehensive and general solutions to environmental problems related to efficiency, health, and aesthetics. Although a planner may have a detailed knowledge of one or several of the sciences and design professions, his special interest, skill, and competence as a planner is expressed in terms of his knowledge of the general and interrelated application of the knowledge and skills of all of the sciences and design professions . . .

In short, the planner is a specialist in dealing with the interrelationships of social, economic, design and other considerations related to the long-range, comprehensive, and general development of environments, and he has a responsibility for bringing his special skills to bear wherever public decisions are being made that involve these considerations.

FIGURE 11–1. *Proposed alternative policy statements, New York Chapter, American Institute of Planners*

NEW YORK CHAPTER, AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS
Proposed Alternative Statements

A More Traditional Approach

The planning professional must recognize, however, that physical considerations are only a portion among many factors which enter into the determination of policy. He has an obligation to clearly limit the contribution he makes in the mantle of an expert to those planning aspects and implications that actually are within his competence. He should not pretend to expertness with regard to the many other elements that enter into the choice of legislation, action programs or other public activities. He should refrain scrupulously from vesting his lay views with the prestige of the planning profession when he weighs the other aspects that enter the determination of policy against physical planning considerations . . .

A Modified Approach

The planning professional must recognize, however, that his knowledge of the general interrelationships and application of the sciences and design professions will not be sufficient for the determination of policy. Often detailed economic, engineering or other considerations, with which only experts in the respective fields are familiar, will be essential to sound policy formulation. The planner has an obligation, therefore, to clearly limit the contribution he makes in the mantle of an expert to those planning aspects and implications that are actually within his competence. He should not pretend to expertness with regard to the many other elements that enter into the choice of legislation, action programs or other public activities. He should refrain scrupulously from vesting his lay views with the prestige of his public position when he weighs those other aspects that enter the determination of policy against his specialized knowledge . . .

The Institute, therefore, properly limits its expressions regarding public policy to physical development aspects; both the anticipated effects of policy on physical development and of proposed physical development on other things. The Institute may propose legislative enactments, action programs and other public activities, or it may review measures initiated by other bodies. At all times, however, it must recognize the presence of considerations beyond its competence that also must be weighed. The final determination of public policy involves the balancing of physical needs against political factors, operational requirements, and the other tangibles and intangibles of the social and economic scene; and it entails an ultimate choice among all the contending needs. This last step is beyond the proper scope of the Institute.

The Institute, therefore, can properly concern itself with . . . questions . . . related to civil liberties and industrial location, housing, etc. (They) should be and can be discussed in an objective and constructive manner. If such discussions should yield conclusions, the public should be informed of the nature of those conclusions. In order to insure the widest possible dissemination of information, it is essential that the conclusions be embodied in programs, resolutions, etc., and be submitted to legislative bodies at all levels of government.

FIGURE 11–1. *(continued)*

alloy. . . . Planning for the locational and physical aspects of our cities must therefore be conducted in concert with planning for all programs that governmental and non-governmental agencies conduct.[7]

Webber did not say that the city planner had to coordinate the planning of all programs. His statement implied this but also the alternative, namely that city planners could work in concert with other planners. Under either of these circumstances city planners would be required to understand certain social, economic and political conditions within their communities.

It appears quite likely that a growing number of city planners will become engaged in the future in one or more aspects of social planning. The exact nature of their work cannot now be precisely defined for the field is evolving. There is a great demand for social planning, but little consensus at this time as to what it involves from the technical point of view.

Current and Emerging Role

Professional city planners presently participate in aspects of social welfare planning in a number of ways: (1) in land use planning and zoning; (2) by giving advice to those various line agencies of a city government such as recreation, public aid, and police; (3) through the focus of their data collection and research; (4) in urban renewal and public housing;[8] (5) as advocate planners for private groups that wish to change government planning proposals.

PHASES OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

Planning typically passes through several phases: (1) goal formulation, (2) data collection and research, (3) plan preparation and

programming, and (4) implementation. The field of social welfare planning is fairly new, and planners have not yet articulated these four phases with respect to this field. Nevertheless, we can cite examples of professional work related to these areas and attempt to draw inferences from them.

Because American society has not yet reached complete agreement on the goals of social welfare, planners must treat the phase of goal formulation delicately. One recourse is to encourage citizen participation, in order to learn what the client desires. Thus, for example, the Social Plan of Providence, Rhode Island, provides for a phase of "neighborhood organization" to begin two years prior to urban renewal action, during which time private social work agencies, the Division of Community Services under the Department of Urban Renewal, and the Redevelopment Agency, are to assist citizens' groups to react to the government's tentative plans and to formulate counter-proposals if necessary[9] (Figure 11–2). The federal government has made the requirement of citizen participation one of the strictest parts of the Workable Program component of a Community Renewal Program.

Social welfare planning requires collection of data on both needs and resources. The first of these can be fairly straightforward—for example, data about income levels; about consequences of urban renewal on families by socio-economic characteristics; about the incidence of crime and disease correlated with socio-economic characteristics, etc. The second kind of data, on resources, is more complex, because it requires not only a listing of available resources, but an evaluation of the effectiveness of each, correlated with the various socio-economic groups and with various geographic areas.

Philadelphia's Community Renewal Program Technical Reports No. 11 and No. 16 make a start here. Report No. 11 describes a survey made of 11 kinds of areas in West Philadelphia to determine how social rank, family

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[7] Webber, op. cit., pp. 235–36.

[8] Highway planning often has the same effect on social welfare as does urban renewal, although as yet highway planners have not formally recognized the social-welfare consequences of highway construction. For example, the highway department is not required to relocate displaced residents. Nevertheless, highway departments often contract to use the relocation services of urban renewal agencies, for since 1962 relocation advisory assistance and payment has been authorized for people displaced by federally aided highways.

[9] Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., A SOCIAL PLAN FOR COMMUNITY RENEWAL OF THE CITY OF PROVIDENCE, R. I. (Providence: The Council, 1964), p. 35.

This list describes the separate but related pieces of work comprising the study of social foundations of urban renewal. Each piece of work is a limited study in itself and was designed to supplement and to complement all other pieces of work.

1. **The Social Goals of Urban Renewal Actions.**—This document briefly treats the historical background of the City and outlines and explains four social objectives for urban renewal actions: rehousing, the provision of social utilities, integrity of neighborhood units, opportunity for participation in community change.

2. **Delineation of Planning Districts for the City of Providence.**—Planning districts were formulated as the units within which inter-organizational forms of citizen participation and administration of human services could best take place.

3. **Theoretical Framework for the Effective Concentration of Human Services.**—This document presents a set of principles and hypotheses to be used in formulating the plans for services and for citizen participation.

4. **Social Pathology Index.**—This component documented the incidence of some forty-five health, standard of living, family and child rearing, educa-

tional and behavior problems in the City of Providence by the residence of people facing such problems.

5. **Analysis of Program Areas for Human Services.**—Program areas are multiple enumeration districts which are delineated according to the degree of social problem concentrations they contain. Four types of areas were formulated and delineated.

6. **Problem Perceptions of People Living in Program Areas.**—An analysis was made of the difference between documented problems (by means of the S.P.I.) and perceived problems (by means of individual and group interviews).

7. **Inventory of Services Rendered by Agencies.**—The purpose of this document was to examine the services offered by agencies in sufficient detail to match those services to documented and perceived problems.

8. **Attitudes toward Service Agencies in Program Areas.**—The purpose of this component was to point up how acceptable a given agency appears to residents of program areas.

9. **Delineation of Providence Neighborhoods.**—In 1950 the Council and the Providence City Plan Commission

jointly mapped out the boundaries of Providence's neighborhoods. These boundaries were reviewed in terms of how the residents of neighborhoods view them by means of group interviews in neighborhoods.

10. **Description of Action Modes in Neighborhoods.**—In order to determine the kind, volume and intensity of community organization services needed in Providence, the ways in which neighborhoods solve problems were analyzed by means of group interviews.

11. **Attitudes toward Providence's Urban Renewal Program.**—By means of group interviews in neighborhoods.

12. **Analysis of Social Treatment Types.**—Four types of treatment were developed for tying in human services with urban renewal treatments.

13. **Board Members' Attitudes toward Participation in Urban Renewal Activities.**—An opinion questionnaire was sent to approximately 350 members of voluntary and tax-supported agency boards of directors.

14. **Analysis of Urban Renewal as a Social Process.**—The development of the urban renewal program in Providence was traced as abstracted from newspaper accounts since 1947.

FIGURE 11-2. *A social plan for community renewal, Providence, Rhode Island*

rank, and race can be used to predict neighborhood sentiment (i.e., commitment and evaluation), neighborhood behavior (i.e., use of local resources like stores and doctors), and orientation toward urban renewal.[10] Thus a beginning was made in collecting data on those social factors that should be considered in the development of a long-range physical and economic urban renewal plan. The data collected were (1) social resources, (2) residents' attitudes and actions in different types of areas in reference to key items related to urban renewal decisions, and (3) social structures in differing geographic areas. Report No. 16 suggests the additional data needed before a scheduling of renewal program "mixes" can be developed for each of the significant, identifiable geographic sections of the city.[11]

Providence has tried somewhat the same kind of analysis as Philadelphia's CRP Report No. 11, but on a more restricted basis.[12] Providence chose only one area, Lippett Hill, and compared the residents' attitudes (correlated according to race and occupancy type) toward their neighborhood and its rehabilitation, rather than comparing the potential for urban renewal among various neighborhoods (correlated by demographic Census data).

Reiner, Reimer, and Reiner have also developed a method for analyzing needs and resources within a single framework.[13] They call it "client analysis." The method is to examine existing programs and to deduce the various goal positions of sectors of the community from the number and behavior of people confronting these programs and participating in or rejecting them. Information on the effectiveness of agency operations as well as on the changing size of the social commitments of government are important products of the analysis. The analytic steps go from data on needs, eligibility, and services rendered to clients, to data on benefits resulting from service rendered.

To the extent that the goals and data have not yet been finalized, the programming stage is still in flux. But two other forces are also keeping it fluid: (1) the fact that older bureaucracies are reluctant to take on new responsibilities or adapt to new needs means that whole new departments or bureaus must be created to perform these functions, notably the function of overall coordination and programming, and (2) the impact of new social welfare activities which often changes the whole context of the problem as, for example, when it awakens a particular group or neighborhood from apathy and provokes counter-organization, sabotage, or, on the other hand, active cooperation, on the part of the residents.

George Schermer, studying the Penjerdel region in 1963, found that:

planning in the health and welfare field is largely a process of coordinating existing services, preventing overlapping and the like. In the larger cities there is liaison with city planning, urban renewal, and public housing. (But) woefully little social planning is done at all.[14]

Certainly in 1963, when Schermer made the statement, it was true, even in Philadelphia, where the Community Renewal Program was pioneering in this field by developing a model to describe the full range of public and voluntary actions necessary to impact the problems found in housing and the physical environment.[15]

A problem of timing remains in the pro-

[10] Donna M. McGough, SOCIAL FACTOR ANALYSIS, Philadelphia Community Renewal Program Technical Report No. 11 (Philadelphia: The Program, 1964), passim.

[11] Richard H. Uhlig, PLANNING IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT, Philadelphia Community Renewal Program Technical Report No. 16 (Philadelphia: The Program, July, 1965), passim.

[12] Urban League of Rhode Island, A STUDY OF THE RESOURCES, CAPABILITIES FOR REHABILITATION, AND PREFERENCES OF FAMILIES LIVING OR OWNING PROPERTY IN THE LIPPETT HILL REHABILITATION AREA AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD AND ITS REHABILITATION (Providence: Providence Redevelopment Agency, 1962), passim.

[13] Janet S. Reiner, Everett Reimer, and Thomas A. Reiner, "Client Analysis and the Planning of Public Programs," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXIX (Nov., 1963), pp. 270–82.

[14] George Schermer, MEETING SOCIAL NEEDS IN THE PENJERDEL REGION (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania-New Jersey-Delaware Metropolitan Project, 1964), p. 48.

[15] Philadelphia Community Renewal Program, COMMUNITY RENEWAL PROGRAMMING, Technical Report No. 4 (Philadelphia: The Program, 1962), passim; Health and Welfare Council, Inc., Research Department, A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY RENEWAL PROGRAM, Philadelphia Community Renewal Program Technical Report No. 5 (Philadelphia: The Program, n.d.), passim.

gramming phase. It is difficult to get social and physical planners to coordinate their efforts, for the former usually follow one-year budget schedules, while the latter plan for at least five-year time periods.[16] However, Philadelphia has devised an "Annual Development Program" which schedules targets for accomplishment over a five-year period, but reviews and revises the schedules annually.[17]

The implementation phase is often the primary responsibilty of an agency other than the planning department, which has advisory functions in this respect. In order to develop a closer connection between planning and implementation, however, a considerable degree of administrative reorganization is occurring or being discussed in many cities. The culmination is frequently a tie or a merger between the various municipal functions that relate to land: planning, development, control, and management.

In this respect, the reader is referred to the closing section in Chapter 17 on Demonstration and Model Cities. This is a relatively recent program, still waiting to be tested, but it provides perhaps the greatest potential of any tool available to urban areas for combining physical planning with economic and social planning in an action-oriented context.

FUNCTIONS AND PHYSICAL SYSTEMS

Planners are concerned directly with housing, education, health, and recreation, because these aspects of welfare require careful location, extensive land areas, and expensive facilities, all of which are central considerations in physical planning.

Housing. This constitutes a welfare problem because it has generally been left to the free market to provide, whereas the American market fails to meet housing needs for many reasons.[18]

It is not feasible for the inflation-prone private housing industry to build single-family

homes (which dominate the housing market) for families with less than $5,000 annual income. Even rehabilitation and apartment building is often too expensive to house the large number of families with incomes below $5,000.[19] Even with eminent domain and subsidy provided by government, profits from rehabilitation have often not been high enough to attract private capital into the lower-income housing market.[20] Moreover, inflation tends to steer investment away from the mortgage market in residential construction; under such conditions, interest rates remain high despite substantial government intervention.[21]

Members of minority groups, against whom discrimination is practiced, are restricted to ghettos where landlords have an incentive to raise rents to an artificially high level and to keep improvements artificially low. These incentives are enhanced by "guaranteed rents" from welfare payments, usually Aid to Families with Dependent Children and by low taxes on slum property.[22]

Present financial arrangements do not take into account the fact that families reach their greatest space needs before they reach their greatest earning power, and thus often do not satisfy their needs until after these needs have disappeared[23] (e.g., they acquire their biggest house after the children have grown and are ready to leave home). The "stickiness" of the market discourages older people from renting or selling their large houses, and discourages all homeowners from adjusting quickly to their needs. The poorest families can afford the least percentage of their budgets for housing, and yet often have the greatest space needs in terms of family size.

[16] Harvey S. Perloff, "Pomeroy Memorial Lecture: Common Goals and the Linking of Physical and Social Planning," PLANNING 1965 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1965), p. 183.

[17] Philadelphia Community Renewal Program, Technical Report No. 4, *op. cit.*, second page of foreword.

[18] Raymond, *op. cit.*, p. 49, indicates that this is definitely not a problem of lack of manpower.

[19] Bernard J. Frieden, "Toward Equality of Urban Opportunity." JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXXI (Nov., 1965), p. 326; and Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., *op. cit.*, p. 24. Frieden quotations reprinted by permission of THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, Nov., 1965, Vol. no. 31, No. 11.

[20] Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[21] Nelson N. Foote and others, HOUSING CHOICES AND HOUSING CONSTRAINTS (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 18-19.

[22] Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[23] Foote, *op. cit., passim.*

The government, on the one hand, has not adequately compensated for deficiencies in the private housing market. Local governments restrict housing construction often without intending to do so, by means of outmoded building codes (which discourage cost-saving innovations) ; "fiscal zoning"; decisions about utilities and transportation networks; and lax enforcement of building codes (permitting landlords to crowd in many more families than their buildings were intended to accommodate, and thereby making unsafe, unhealthful buildings profitable) .

When the federal government has intervened, for example to clear slums, it has not always provided for replacement of an equal number of dwellings at prices that the displaced persons can afford. This is partly due to allowing neighboring cities, both of which are engaged in urban renewal, to cite each other's vacant housing as being available to their own displaced citizens. Some cities consciously try to replace their existing poor residents with those of higher income or with commerce and industry, through clearance and relocation.[24] But in determining the acceptability of dwellings for relocation, urban renewal relocation services have been known to use standards lower than those used for determining the need for clearance![25] The paradoxical result is that a family may be displaced from a building that is of better quality than the building in which it is relocated. Government programs such as highway building cause displacement of poor residents without conscious intent, but these programs often provide no relocation services at all.

Robert Weaver noted that:

urban renewal too often seemed to be an instrument for wiping out racially integrated living in one area at the same time that it failed to provide for an equal degree of racial integration on the site or in another section of the city.[26]

On the other hand, eligibility for public housing is highly restrictive, in both monetary and psychological terms, and such housing is often not suitable for accommodating large families.[27]

The deficiencies must be corrected before housing can become a beneficial aspect of social welfare. Planners play a varied role in the arsenal of governmental tools that deal with housing, in some instances making a primary contribution, in others playing secondary or no roles. Planners make their most significant contribution in the area of urban renewal. Urban renewal is used partly to reduce the price of land that is needed for new residential development.

Requirements for and inducements to metropolitan-wide planning, together with planning proposals for metropolitan-wide housing inventories, can help to reduce the double-counting of housing available to UR displacees. Attempts have been made to build public housing on vacant land prior to demolition of neighboring blighted residences. Some cities have improved their relocation services and coordinated them with case work. Attempts could be made through education to make poor people more effective housing consumers, as Alvin Schorr suggests.[28] But as Bernard Frieden correctly points out, what is needed most crucially is not counseling but rather a larger supply of low-cost housing.[29] The Social Plan of Providence, R.I., suggests that a Housing Authority could sell dwelling units to tenants, thus encouraging self-sufficiency and homeownership, and freeing public funds for more housing for still other slum residents.[30]

In their role as land use planners, urban planners can also affect the price of land and thereby its availability for housing the poor. Wise policies of utility extensions and zoning help to discourage land speculation, and thereby reduce the price of land. Passage of modern building codes should also help to-

[24] Frieden, op. cit., p. 325.

[25] U.S. General Accounting Office, INADEQUATE POLICIES AND PRACTICE RELATING TO THE RELOCATION OF FAMILIES FROM URBAN RENEWAL AREAS (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1964) , passim.

[26] Robert C. Weaver, THE URBAN COMPLEX: HUMAN VALUES IN URBAN LIFE (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1964) , pp. 53–54.

[27] Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., op. cit., p. 24.

[28] Alvin L. Schorr, SLUMS AND SOCIAL INSECURITY (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963) , p. 59.

[29] Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., op. cit., p. 27.

[30] Frieden, op. cit., p. 325.

ward this goal.

Zoning and utilities and transportation facilities are sometimes planned to encourage new residential development, and can be used to control the type of development in accordance with the needs and financial abilities of housing consumers.

To achieve social welfare through housing, planners must be supported by actions taken by other government authorities. The following measures have been implemented or suggested as being requisite to achieving housing welfare:

1. Government-insured mortgages have induced the housing industry to build for families of lower income than previously, although a $5,000 minimum is still too high to meet the housing needs of the population.

2. Open-occupancy laws and building code enforcement being initiated in several cities will discourage ghettos and thereby reduce incentives for price discrimination.

3. Tax policies can be used to discourage real estate speculation and thereby to reduce the price of land for housing the poor.

4. Government subsidy to house the poor has been used ever since public housing subsidies were introduced by the New York state legislature in 1926 and by Congress in 1933. A rent subsidy provision, finally passed in the Housing Act of 1965, is the most recent effort to help house the poor.

5. Through a direct requirement of the Federal Highway Program, through bonuses under the Open Space program, and through administrative policy under the Water and Sewer programs, the federal government has encouraged metropolitan-wide planning, which can be used to discourage "fiscal zoning." Movement toward various types of metropolitan consolidation and concomitant tax equalization will also reduce the stimulus for fiscal zoning and alleviate its consequences. Another partial solution to the problems that give rise to fiscal zoning is the growing reliance on state and federal taxes and on equalization formulas for distributing revenues; this tendency will proportionately decrease the reliance on local property taxes, although it will not eliminate the conditions conducive to fiscal zoning, since property tax rates have been increasing in absolute amounts.

6. The management of public housing has sometimes been persuaded to make restrictions less onerous to occupants of public housing, for example, by eliminating the cyclone fences that had prohibited the enjoyment of patches of grass. However, abusive restrictions are still rampant. Some public housing planners have attempted to disperse public housing units throughout a community, but have usually met with overwhelming opposition. Financial limitations sometimes prevent the "more humanitarian" low-rise public housing from being any more attractive than the much maligned high-rises; however, public education could help to overcome those design limitations that are imposed by a public morality that insists on punishing the poor merely for being poor.

Education. In recent years, mainly due to the inception of New Frontier legislation, the traditional system of education has become a prime target of attack in an attempt to break the circle of poverty. Education of the culturally disadvantaged, job training, government anti-poverty loans to college students, and adult education are all a part of the increasing concern at the role of education in achieving social welfare.

The urban planner's responsibility toward education is becoming more complex. His role as planner of physical facilities now leads him into fundamental questions of educational policy. For instance, in regard to the grade system, should it be 6–3–3, 6–2–4, 8–4, 3–3–3–3, and with or without kindergartens? And in regard to the size of school districts should there be "neighborhood schools" or "educational parks"? Urban planners are now also being consulted about higher education, involving policy questions relating to the population to be served such as: Should colleges be for commuters who are generally poorer, or for away-from-home residents, who are generally more well-to-do? They are also being consulted about the location of junior colleges. Should they be in high schools or on separate campuses? What should be the vertical (age) and horizontal (functional) separation of higher educational institutions, and what might be the effect on

neighborhoods of new campuses or campus expansions?

The planner has a responsibility for gathering relevant data, above and beyond the traditional age-relevant demographic projections. And now that the Poverty Program has begun to obtain cooperation between educational authorities on the one hand, and various government and public agencies on the other hand, the city planner will probably be given increasing opportunities to influence education, as a coordinator between agencies and budget requests.

Health. Health is a traditional field of social welfare, and is probably the least controversial. Schermer found that in the Penjerdel region 60 per cent of expenditures for "health and welfare services" was for health.[31] However, of this portion, 90 per cent was for hospitals and clinics, and only 10 per cent was for what might be considered preventive health.[32] This seems to reflect a *lack* of policy, and the human characteristic of responding to problems only after they develop, instead of anticipating them and planning for their prevention.

In the field of health, the city planner selects sites, allocates space, and advises on budgetary allocations.

Recreation and Leisure. "The value of leisure-time activities, play, and recreation is usually conceded to lie in a nervous release which the social order imposes upon us."[33] As such, the provision of recreational facilities and opportunities is clearly important to the whole society. However,

so common is the identification of leisure and recreation with 'going somewhere' and 'spending money' that the lack of money clearly excludes the family with a low income from many outside associations and activities.[34]

Recreation and leisure thus also become functions intimately connected with planning for social welfare in the narrower sense of the term.

Planning for recreation and leisure includes the provision of large land tracts, such as parks and playgrounds, and of specific facilities such as assembly rooms and lounges in a housing project for the elderly, swimming pools for ghetto children, and bicycle paths for sophisticated New Yorkers. Parks require long-range land-use planning and foresight; they are traditionally the responsibility of physical planners. Budgetary planning is necessary as well as the cooperation of social scientists to show which kinds of facilities are needed by what kinds of people.

A caveat must be introduced here. George A. Lundberg writes that:

leisure or recreation of a certain type is neither leisure nor recreation in any basic biological or psychological sense. Slavish pleasures and mechanical leisure are contradictions in terms. That the shorter working day necessarily means more leisure of a desired or desirable kind is a *non sequitur* which is almost universal but is palpably false. All it necessarily means is more time for other pursuits, or for simple boredom. Boredom is receiving increasing attention as a factor in mental disease. As Edman has said: 'Leisure is an affair of mood and atmosphere rather than simply of the clock.'[35]

Thus, the city planner should direct his efforts towards variety of, and opportunity for, recreation and leisure, while maintaining some perspective vis-à-vis the results of his efforts.

SELECTED OBJECTIVES FOR CITIZENS

The following areas in which planners play a role affect the economic, social, and psychological welfare of the community's residents in more intangible ways than by the building of facilities. These areas of public policy involve: (1) the restriction or provision of opportunities, for example, for residence and business; (2) the attainment of financial security, both collective and individual, through rational public expenditures and taxing policies, through financial aid to the unemployed, the poor, and those displaced by urban renewal and through job training; (3) the enhancement of psychological security, through well-advertised urban renewal relocation services, through policies regarding the phasing of urban renewal and the placement of public

[31] Schermer, *op. cit.,* p. 48.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] George Andrew Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McInery, LEISURE: A SUBURBAN STUDY (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934) , p. 17.
[34] *Ibid.,* p.187.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 18.

housing, through job retraining and job placement, through psychiatric counseling, and through participation in community affairs.

INCOMES AND THE ECONOMY

According to Webber,

there are no more direct routes to human betterment than improvements in the educational systems and stimulation of the regional economies. No other public activities are likely to be more effective in equipping individuals for self-dependency and growth.[36]

The opportunities and responsibilities of regional planners are indeed numerous, and have grown immensely within the last five years, due mainly to federal legislation such as the Appalachian Program, the Area Redevelopment Act, and the War on Poverty.[37]

Through the activities of the city planner, economics has taken on a new significance. Here, the field can be divided into three interrelated categories: (1) the general economic viability of the whole community; (2) the fiscal condition of the community's government; and (3) the economic condition of the residents. Urban planners have been traditionally, though sometimes peripherally, concerned with the first and second of these, and only recently with the third.

Decision by government to accept responsibility for economic conditions came slowly, and involvement is still at quite an elementary level. However, where a *local* government does consider itself responsible for improving local economic conditions, it often takes measures that are indirectly harmful to neighboring communities:[38] for example zoning out all nuisance industries, zoning out low-income people, temporarily or drastically lowering taxes on certain "desirable" industries; providing no public housing and only minimal welfare services; or clearing slums without providing relocation for those displaced.

City planners can work in ways that have a positive, constructive influence on the local economy without harming neighboring communities, e.g., by carrying out feasibility studies that would encourage the growth of diversified industry; or by suggesting the most economical patterns for land use zoning. In advising on budget schedules and in programming capital improvements, the city planner can influence the fiscal condition of the local government without influencing neighboring governments adversely.

Only recently, with the advent of the Community Renewal Program have city planners been forced to turn their attention more directly to the question of the economic condition of the residents, because urban renewal activities were having a greater impact on those people with economic problems than zoning, subdivision regulation, and land-use planning. With the Community Renewal Program the federal government began to show what was meant by "creative federalism" by requiring, for example, metropolitan-wide planning, and relocation of urban renewal displacees. This last requirement made even more visible than before the fact that many of those displaced by urban renewal cannot afford an economic rent. However, new federal requirements have been tempered with inducements such as rent subsidies, 100 per cent federal grants for urban renewal relocation, area redevelopment funds, and War on Poverty funds.

Today the urban planner's responsibility, vis-à-vis economic problems, has widened to encompass the gathering of economic data needed to carry out economic-rehabilitation programs related to physical rehabilitation and capital improvement programs.

SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS

Since many social welfare problems stem from the apathy resulting from discrimination and other forms of social injustice, from a lack of knowledge of opportunities, and from emotional problems caused by poor living conditions and poverty, the planner should be familiar with programs to alleviate these problems. He can encourage such programs through coordination, research, budget advice, provision of service facilities where available, and Community Renewal Program recommendations.

[36] Webber, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

[37] William L. Batt, Jr., "Planning for the Unemployed, the Underemployed, and the Poor," in PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1964 ANNUAL CONFERENCE, Newark, American Institute of Planners (Washington: The Institute, 1964), pp. 253–56.

[38] Frieden, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

Service facilities can involve counseling on mental health problems or can involve marriage counseling, vocational guidance, assistance on job interviews, help in filling out job' applications, and group discussion sessions in preparation for job training.[39] Counseling can be undertaken at one level by doctors in mental health clinics and hospitals, at another level by case workers, and at still another level by the non-professional residents of a ghetto.[40]

The urban renewal planner can affect the social rehabilitation of families crucially, for it is precisely at the time that rehousing becomes mandatory that many needy families are first brought into contact with the community's social agencies. Urban renewal programs can be materially assisted through the Poverty Program and others such as the Ford Foundation's "grey areas program." A program of housing code enforcement provides this same opportunity to work with the residents of poor areas.

Improvement in social relations was the intention of President Kennedy's 1963 Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, which prompted the Urban Renewal Administration to require every new or amended Community Renewal Program to include studies of the extent of housing discrimination and segregation in the community. Recommendations were also to include an affirmative program of local action to end discrimination and to establish a truly free market in housing and related facilities.[41] Providence's Social Plan, for example, recommends that neighborhoods into which urban renewal displacees are to be moved should be prepared to receive the newcomers.[42]

ADVOCATE PLANNING

The ways in which city planners participate in

social welfare planning, discussed earlier, involve the planner as an employee of, or consultant to, local government. The role discussed here—that of advocate planning—involves him as a citizen, often as a protagonist against the local government.

The role of advocate planning has developed only in the last few years. It is based on the thesis that not all city planning proposals must be developed by a public agency and its consultants; that citizens holding special sets of values about community development might call upon the assistance of a professional planner to prepare a plan advocating their views. The essence of advocacy planning is the encouragement of organization on the part of those people who are most often the objects of planning activities—that is, those most often "planned for."

Some planners feel modest about their ability to plan for others, in recognition of the fact that others may have goals differing from their own. Professor John Dyckman feels that the caretakers' interests and the long-run interests of the client often conflict, and that it is legitimate to ask whether expert judgments made by planners are inherently better than individual free choices made by clients.[43] It is obvious, at any rate, that some planning activities undertaken with the intention of helping the underprivileged were actually more painful than the conditions the planners were trying to alleviate; and since these planning activities were only partial solutions, the supposed beneficiaries were unable to make positive use of them. For instance, a family is moved into public housing; the father remains unemployed; and thus, to support the family, the father must leave so that his wife can collect Aid to Dependent Children payments.

Some planners have also felt that certain planning activities specifically disregarded the interests of the underprivileged.

The Canadian planner Adamson feels that J. S. Mill's statement of a hundred years ago still

[39] Allegheny Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods-Housing, Inc., ACTION FOR EMPLOYMENT; A DEMONSTRATION NEIGHBORHOOD MANPOWER PROJECT TO Nov. 30, 1964, Midway Report (Pittsburgh: The Council, 1965), p. 29.

[40] Ibid., pp. 11–23.

[41] William L. Slayton, "Impact of the Community Renewal Program on Urban Renewal," in PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1964 ANNUAL CONFERENCE, Newark, American Institute of Planners (Washington: The Institute, 1964), p. 155.

[42] Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., op. cit., pp. 33–34.

[43] John W. Dyckman, "Social Planning, Social Planners, and Planned Societies," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXXII (March, 1966), pp. 70–71. Reprinted by permission of THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, March, 1966, Vol. no. 32, No. 3.

holds true that "the concessions of the privileged to the underprivileged are seldom brought about by any better motivation than the power of the underprivileged to extort them."[44] As we have already seen, the underprivileged in today's society, as always, are at a disadvantage in two particular ways in attempting to obtain concessions: the first is their apathy, their sense of powerlessness,—they do not even try to exert power; the second is their lack of knowledge about what is going on and of government plans that will affect them. Frequently, the first time those in urban renewal areas become aware of the government's intention to clear sites is when they receive a notice to evacuate—sometimes within 48 hours.

Advocacy planning could provide professional services for those people who are affected by planning activities. At one time a planner would have had difficulty in giving such services for he was in the position of having to initiate and organize opposition to the plans his own agency was developing. More recently, however, the task of organizing such opposition has been assumed by minority groups themselves, so that now an "advocate planner" can recognize the legitimate claims made by these groups, and urge the agency to accede to reasonable requests on grounds of political expediency.

In addition to these practical arguments in support of advocate planning, there are more theoretical arguments. Advocate planning seems most adaptable to what John Dakin calls the "process theory" of planning, which holds that planning is "dynamic, not static, and is part of an on-going process; . . . that goals are really less important than the process of moving towards them, for in accomplishing goals, we change them . . ."[45]

Advocate planning groups, usually representing themselves as sympathetic to the needs of low income families, have been established in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. A national planning organization,

Planners for Equal Opportunity, was created in 1964. At present, advocate planners working to assist low income neighborhoods frequently do so without pay or at very low salaries, often provided through foundation support. Advocate planning may become an important part of city planning in due course, but its future depends on whether resources can be found to support professionals who work for indigent clients. It is possible that in the future financial support may be forthcoming for such assistance in the way that legal aid is now provided.

Planning by Social Welfare Workers

SOCIAL WELFARE COUNCILS

The most common type of social planning in urban areas is that of social welfare planning carried out by councils of health and social work agencies. These councils act either on behalf of their constituent agencies or as consultants to planning and anti-poverty groups.

Health and welfare councils began in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee in the early 1900s.

Through exchange of information about programs and policies the early councils sought to eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort and thus to move from a collection of unrelated individual programs toward a coherent community program.[46]

The health and welfare councils also generally took on the responsibility for administration of the funds raised annually through the united charitable fund drives. In spite of drives toward development of coordinated welfare services aimed at filling the needs of the community in a systematic way, the work of health and welfare councils has tended to remain largely coordinative in nature. In effect, their role has been to coordinate the various services already being carried out by member agencies such as social work counseling, group work, soup kitchen operation, Girl Scout clubs, and homemaker services. Consequently, although such councils may have definite goal orientations, their achievements tend to be condi-

[44] Anthony Adamson, "Physical Planning and Social Planning," PLANNING 1965 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1965), p. 192.

[45] John Dakin, "An Evaluation of the 'Choice' Theory of Planning," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXIX (Feb., 1963), p. 26.

[46] Harry L. Lurie, ed., ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL WORK (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1965), p. 802.

tioned by the kinds of services they can coordinate. Elizabeth Wood, in an essay for the Pratt Community Education program, noted that "The social planner is concerned with those resources and institutions which society offers to enable people to meet their personal goals."[47] It is the resources, not the goals, that are the focus of social welfare planning. Most social plans, prepared by social welfare councils are based on an assumption that the client population of various welfare programs is inadequately served. This may or may not be true as, without coordination, each agency may be ignorant of the others' methods and purposes. Some plans have moved from this assumption to the formulation of a set of recommendations for greater coordination and communication among the staffs of social work and social improvement agencies both public and private.

Although the assumptions and recommendations are to a large extent true and helpful, they may be criticized on the grounds that they fail to specify (1) the nature of the client population and its goals, together with the goals the social agencies have set for their clients and themselves; (2) the ways in which these sets of goals can be reconciled; (3) the changes in services that would implement the revised goal statement.

Thus the failings of these social plans mirror those of the physical plans prepared by city planning agencies. They lack techniques for ascertaining facts about the client population, and for determining democratic and open processes for setting goals. The possession of such techniques would make their recommendations useful for achieving personal goals.

Another example of social welfare planning by social work councils is that of the Health and Welfare Association of Pittsburgh for ACTION-Housing, Inc., through study of the social needs of a Pittsburgh neighborhood, Homewood-Brushton.[48] The Health and Wel-

fare Association (HWA) worked with the Homewood-Brushton Citizens Renewal Council, a neighborhood association which had been at the forefront of planning for physical rehabilitation and renewal. The HWA was assisted by the community organizer that ACTION-Housing, Inc., had supplied to the Council. Using information supplied by the Community Council, by the organizer, and by other social agencies operating in the neighborhood together with census data, school board information, and other resources, the Association prepared a social plan for the neighborhood. The plan specified the levels of schooling, job training, counseling, and other social services and facilities needed over a 20-year period. The plan's assumption was that since the neighborhood's residents were at a disadvantage with respect to that of the city as a whole, extraordinary efforts by the city government were needed to reduce the levels of unemployment, family instability, and other factors that existed in the Homewood-Brushton community.

A third type of social planning carried out by social work agencies is that of social survey work in areas that have been designated for renewal, rehabilitation, or other kinds of project action by city planning agencies. The social work councils here act in their capacities as expert judges of the needs of the client population. An example of this type of planning is that carried out by the Health and Welfare Council of Philadelphia for the CRP program of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. Here the Council carried out an extensive series of interviews—one set with a random sample of household heads,[49] and another with a number of individuals in the target communities known to be 'community leaders' by the local social work agencies.[50] The findings were incorporated in the CRP's recommendations on the types of project action such as clearance, rehabilitation, and the purchase of housing by the public housing authority, which might be appropriate in a given community.

In the Philadelphia case, the social work

[47] M. Miller, "Book Review—Social Planning: A Primer for Urbanists, by Elizabeth Wood," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXXII (July, 1966), pp. 248–49.

[48] ACTION-Housing, Inc., SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL PLANNING EXPERIENCES IN THE HOMEWOOD-BRUSHTON NEIGHBORHOOD OF PITTSBURGH 1960–63 (Pittsburgh: ACTION-Housing, Inc., May, 1964), passim.

[49] McGough, op. cit., passim.

[50] Mary W. Herman, COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF IDENTIFIABLE AREAS IN PHILADELPHIA, Philadelphia Community Renewal Program Technical Report No. 9 (Philadelphia: The Program, 1964), passim.

council was acting as aide to the staff of the planning commission in the processes of fact-finding and goal formulation. Thus the Council was not engaged in "global" social planning, but merely the partial process of adding a social dimension to physical planning.

WELFARE-RELATED FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Some kind of planning, even if it amounts merely to annual budgeting, is carried out by all the welfare-related units of local governments and special districts, for example the park departments, public aid departments, police departments, and school boards. However, the various line agencies and special districts have not, in the past, attempted to integrate their functions in such a way as to stimulate needy people to overcome their economic or social handicaps successfully.

The local public agency most directly responsible for helping people to overcome such handicaps is the public welfare agency, whose main activity is casework.

Eligibility for casework assistance has been, until recently, limited by arbitrary income formulas and budgets imposed on the agency. Agencies have tended to be essentially custodial, and eligibility highly restricted. Casework has also been traditionally handicapped by low salaries and inadequate staff. Finally, because of the self-imposed passiveness of welfare agencies vis-à-vis their legally eligible clients, "intake" has been limited to recipients who come on their own initiative, and who apparently appear, disappear, and reappear at unanticipated times—"testimony to the fragile nature of their situation and to the failure of our conventional public welfare programs to alter their life chances decisively."[51] It is not surprising that welfare recipients should call public aid "welfare colonialism."[52]

But new social values have been expressed in the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1961, the Social Security Act of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and the Housing and Education Act of 1965. These acts presage a redefinition of public welfare away from custody by passive welfare agencies over a limited number of eligible clients, and toward social reform. Public welfare units have not been found in the vanguard of this social reform. Very few have lobbied for higher minimum wages, have become engaged in shaping the municipality's response in those cities experiencing organized Negro protests, or have forged links with human relations groups or with urban renewal relocation services.[53] It appears that public welfare agencies had become too staid and bureaucratic in their custodial functions and were reluctant to expose the inadequacies of their former practices. Nevertheless, the new currents of social action aimed at institutional change promise to carry welfare agencies in their wake.

This is indicated by the fact that progressive welfare agencies have replaced terms of eligibility and income maintenance with theories of "case movement." They have replaced the term "assistance" with the term "investment." They now emphasize "prevention." They are more willing to admit that dealing with the individual has its limitations, and thus have turned also to group counseling. Plans are now being carried out on a neighborhood basis, which is uniquely suited to social action efforts.[54]

Under the pressure of identifying case movements, measured by objective indices such as income, occupation, education, and housing, welfare agencies are increasingly subjecting recipients to statistical classification and research, physical and mental tests, and case management by abstract principles. In Hartford, for example, persons tested and found by the Connecticut State Employment Service to be capable of further education are forced to attend classes or forfeit assistance. Day care attendance may become mandatory for children on Aid to Dependent Children, with the mother required to work or attend school, on the principle that this might be the best way to subsidize the ADC family—a good example of the application of the theory of preventive social

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[51] Edward A. Lehan, "The Municipality's Response to Changing Concepts of Public Welfare," in THE REVOLUTION IN PUBLIC WELFARE: THE CONNECTICUT EXPERIENCE, ed. by R. Levenson (Storrs: Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, 1966), p. 47.

[52] Silberman, op. cit., p. 313.

[53] Lehan, op. cit., p. 48.

[54] Ibid., p. 49.

work. Hartford now plans to include day care centers in new schools and routinely applies housing code standards to general assistance recipients, through cooperation among welfare, housing code, and relocation personnel. In appropriate cases a homemaker-teacher is assigned, furnished through a contract with the Family Service Society.[55]

In addition to the change in outlook and values that have helped to provoke a rejuvenation of public welfare, a second factor—that of physical urban renewal—is bound to have a similar impact on the administration of public welfare, for now municipalities will no longer be able to limit their intake of welfare clients.

The relocation function of urban renewal alone brings public administrators face-to-face with 'problem people' in a context which involves every nook and cranny of the locality and focuses responsibility on a wide spectrum of public officials in a way never felt before. . . . Hartford's urban renewal plan, for example, is founded on the idea that every family to be moved will be the subject of intensive efforts to modify its status upward long before the act of relocation.[56]

Here welfare workers will play a leading role in the interagency neighborhood field organizations, working without close departmental supervision, in harness with planners, redevelopers, relocators, policemen, housing inspectors, and employment counselors assigned with them to a particular neighborhood. Each field organization will work under the direct control of the city manager's office.[57]

Yet, as a strategic matter, the municipality must limit and subdivide its intake over the short run; thus, the need for planning and coordination among agencies, to establish priorities.

The Federal Establishment

A third major area of social planning includes the federal agencies directly responsible for social welfare programs and the agencies and other lobbies for congressional and executive action to alter present programs or create new ones. The primary agency responsible for social programs is the Department of Health, Educa-

tion, and Welfare. Its constituent parts, e.g., the Office of Education, Social Security Administration, and Public Health Service each administer major segments of social service and social change goals. Additional agencies involved in the social welfare field are the Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Housing and Urban Development, and Department of Labor.

The planners' roles in these agencies consist of developing programs to implement federal legislation, and programs upon which new legislation may be based. Research sections of the federal agencies carry out extensive research and demonstration programs designed to test and gain acceptability for new departures in social legislation.

At the national level, goal setting for the federal social agencies is carried out by the staffs of the agencies themselves, working in conjunction with the Office of the President, and by national lobby groups representing major public and private groups with an interest in the fields of legislation under consideration. Innovations in social welfare legislation are reached through congressional compromises among the interests of the various groups opposing and favoring new legislation.

This national goal-setting and implementational process has been attacked as inadequate for the needs of new social legislation because it inadequately represents the clients of many of the social-welfare programs—the poor, the elderly, and the minority groups. These are seen as relatively helpless to express their interests through national lobbying and other influence-wielding devices available to the wealthier and more powerful groups. This criticism has led to a recent innovation in goal-formulation techniques, as exemplified by the citizen participation requirement of the Urban Renewal program and the "maximum feasible participation" provision of the poverty program. The innovation consists of the provision for goal formulation at both the federal government and the local neighborhood levels.

Once a general goal such as slum elimination or poverty elimination is established, machinery is set up for accomplishing this goal, which includes that of consultation with the popula-

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 52–53.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

tion most directly affected by the actions stipulated in the law.

ANTI-POVERTY PLANNING

A very specialized type of planning, the planning of programs to combat poverty, represents the final and most recent major type of social planning by people other than city planners. At the outset it should be noted that this type of planning might entail the broadest type of planning—the planning of national social policy to eliminate social and economic injustice. But the meaning given here to anti-poverty planning is a narrower one. The social planning referred to here is that planning associated with the growing number of programs arising out of the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) as well as other federal legislation associated with what Gans called policies of "guided mobility."

The need for planning arises in the various training programs on which much of the anti-poverty fight is based. These programs include those intended to give a "headstart" in education to children from poor families and those intended to offer new vocational opportunities to teenagers and to adults. Another anti-poverty program which will increasingly call upon the help of planners is economic development. The federal Economic Development Act, successor to the Appalachia Bill, establishes federal support for local development programs, particularly those favoring communities or sectors of population in great economic need. This program will direct economic expansion away from general expansion, as is frequently the goal in commercial and industrial urban renewal, and toward more direct assistance to areas in greatest need of help.

But the major area for planning work is in the development of Community Action Programs (CAP) established under Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act. The CAPs are devices established specifically for the purposes of obtaining local support through planning for programs aimed at reducing poverty.

One of the great and unsolved problems associated with Title II of the EOA is just how much its requirement of "maximum feasible participation" by the poor will seriously handicap efforts of professionals to assist in the planning of programs. Many strong arguments both pro and con have been put forth concerning the exclusion from the CAPs of non-poor, particularly, technicians representing middle-class oriented professions. Professional planners can play a strategic role in assisting these programs, but it may be a role which will have to be played from a distance so that the wishes of the poor may be respected and their power developed.

The Community Action Programs of the anti-poverty program have adopted a variety of techniques for meeting the participation requirement. One technique is that of special elections in poverty-stricken neighborhoods, with a requirement that the income of those elected to poverty boards shall be below a certain level. Another technique is that of including on decision-making boards the board members of neighborhood social-service groups who have had long experience in working with social service staffs and upper-income board members of charitable organizations.

The anti-poverty program differs in significant ways from other social welfare programs that originated in the New Deal era. Like the public housing program, it is designed to affect only selected parts of the population—those living in slums and other urban and rural "poverty pockets." This is in marked contrast to the New Deal programs, which were designed to offer various forms of social security to the entire population of the nation, regardless of income level. The second major innovation is that it does not rely only on national decision-making processes for the formulation of social goals, but rests on an assumption that the clients of the program must be involved in second-level goal setting and in implementational decisions.

This assumption brings us back to the local action groups discussed in the section on advocacy planning. Local political action groups are not planning groups, but they are crucial ingredients in the accomplishment of planning goals. First, in pursuing goals such as decent housing and individual economic self-sufficiency, planning and welfare agencies are blocked by the pervasive apathy of their

"clients." Local action groups are a means for overcoming this apathy, through education and *involvement*. Secondly, local action groups characteristically have such by-products as self-education, clean-up, fix-up, and school improvement campaigns, among others, all of which involve the mobilization of private resources towards the very goals that planners are trying to achieve.

Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation is the best known effort to organize local action groups. The democratic basis on which Alinsky creates mass organizations allows the so-called "little man" to "gather into his hands the power he needs to make and shape his life."[58] Alinsky's stimulus wrought amazing results in private urban renewal in Back-of-the-Yards, Chicago, during the late 1930s. Since then his nonprofit IAF has organized some 44 groups across the nation, including, most notably, Mexican-Americans in California and Negro-Americans in the Woodlawn neighborhood of Chicago.

The Anti-Poverty's Community Action Programs should regard such local private initiative as a valuable tool, and should encourage the organization of local action groups.

Resources and Level of Operation

It is difficult to separate funds from personnel when speaking of social welfare resources. However, it is safe to say that government provides more financial than manpower resources. In the first place, the government contracts with private agencies and universities to carry on research and to implement social welfare projects. In the second place, many cities carrying out Community Renewal Programs prefer to rely as much as possible on existing voluntary welfare agencies.[59] Not only private agencies but also private citizens can be used on a volunteer basis in social welfare planning and programming and, of course, implementation. For example, Pittsburgh's Action for Employment (a demonstration neighborhood manpower project) used nonprofessional, "in-

digenous" ghetto residents to recruit and counsel unemployed people in relation to a job training and job placement program; the planning directors in this case felt that such tasks required native ability more than advanced skills.[60] Several of the more successful experiences in social welfare planning have shown the importance of using the energies of the "grass roots." New Haven concludes that "the people who are going to be called on to put a program over, to support it, or even to cooperate with it had better be involved from the beginning in putting it together."[61]

An important source of funds for pilot or demonstration projects has been various large private foundations, notably the Ford Foundation, which, for example, gave $3.2 million between 1960 and 1963 for a series of educational experiments focused on the needs of culturally disadvantaged children, and $12.1 million between 1961 and 1963 for Community Development Programs in the "grey areas" of four cities and one state.[62]

The Penjerdel Study reports the following financial sources of five counties in southeast Pennsylvania for health, welfare, recreation and "central services related to health and welfare":[63]

local government	15.2%
state government	21.0
federal government	9.1
fees from users	41.1
contributions	7.7
investments	2.8
all other	3.1

Schermer points out that while private contributions and investments represent less than one-seventh of the dollar volume of health, welfare, and recreation expenditures, nevertheless a very high ratio of what is invested in planning and preventive work, and those ser-

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[58] Silberman, *op. cit.*, pp. 321–28.

[59] Rhode Island Council of Community Services, Inc., *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[60] Allegheny Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods-Housing, Inc., *op. cit.*, pp. 19–23.

[61] Gregory R. Farrell, A CLIMATE OF CHANGE: COMMUNITY ACTION IN NEW HAVEN (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, Urban Studies Center, 1965), p. 58.

[62] National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, AMERICAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, PRELIMINARY REPORTS BY DIRECTORS OF PROJECTS ASSISTED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION IN FOUR CITIES AND A STATE (New York: Ford Foundation, 1963), p. 1.

[63] Schermer, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

vices that can be individualized, comes from private sources.[64]

There is not total agreement among planners about the use of existing institutions, however. Schermer found them only partially useful, because of "institutional inertia."[65]

GEOGRAPHIC SCALE FOR SOLUTIONS

Needless to say, both private and governmental resources are available at all geographic levels. The particular geographic scale at which funds and personnel are recruited becomes a more crucial question when governmental rather than private voluntary action is sought, because government schemes are more restrictive then private resources. Even so, Schermer feels that the geographic scale of private social welfare activity can help to determine the geographic scale at which the government attempts to solve welfare problems, because private charity fosters in citizens a sense of commitment to the area served by the charitable organization.[66] Thus, if a regional (interstate or intercounty) charity can be organized, there is more likelihood that the same region will develop intergovernmental cooperation, and thus provide a presumably more logical jurisdiction for solving welfare problems.

The jurisdictional level which provides the funds and personnel for social welfare is not necessarily the same jurisdictional level at which the solutions are actually administered. This is to be expected, since solutions are naturally administered at the level which has the closest contact with "the people," whereas such local levels are unable to levy the taxes needed to cover welfare programs and other activities of local government. Moreover, taxes can be collected more efficiently (i.e., for less cost per $1 collected) at the higher levels than at the lower levels of government.[67]

There are two main reasons for the inability of local jurisdictions to cover their own costs: (1) they are in competition with other local

areas to attract taxpayers and to repel welfare clients; thus, local jurisdictions have an incentive to lower taxes and to cut down on welfare programs and other governmental services; (2) welfare problems often occur at unpredictable times and in unpredictable places, but not continuously nor nationwide; thus, a locale that is suddenly hit by a welfare problem, e.g., unemployment, is unable to assume the unexpected burdens, just as individuals are unable to assume unexpected financial burdens without sharing these burdens through a collective insurance program.

For the above reasons, many leaders, notably the economist Walter Heller, have proposed plans for tax-sharing among levels of government. The grant-in-aid programs presently used, are criticized for destroying the autonomy of local governments. Automatic tax-sharing plans avoid this "strings attached" criticism. Automatic sharing plans could distribute according to any number of criteria, e.g., inversely according to income levels, which the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 includes in its formula; or directly according to population; or directly according to the amount of taxes contributed by each state, although such a formula as this would probably never gain political acceptance, since the American polity has come to favor a certain degree of income equalization.

Preference among fund distribution systems depends mainly on the accepted hierarchy of values: as between, for example, local self-determination and equality of opportunity. Those who are concerned with social welfare would tend to place equality of opportunity above local self-determination, since the latter value is of primary benefit to the local power structure and not of benefit to welfare clients who, for subjective psychological reasons or for objective economic and educational reasons, have almost no political power with which to help determine local decisions.

This is not to say that welfare recipients would not welcome the opportunity for self-determination. In fact, ghetto organizations have actually rebuffed offers of stepped-up governmental aid, precisely because the decision to extend this aid was not determined by the

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[64] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 42–51.

[67] Sam M. Lambert, NINE QUESTIONS ON FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS (Washington: National Education Association Legislative Commission, 1960), pp. 1–2.

ghetto residents themselves.[68] However, as long as the governmental structure remains as it now is—that is with local politicians making decisions for entire heterogeneous cities, largely unhampered by the objectives or nominal policies of other elements of the polity (e.g., federal representatives and civil servants lacking effective authority; or the "disenfranchised" poor and uneducated), an automatic tax-sharing plan would not solve the welfare recipients' desires for self-determination.

The geographic level at which physical planners attempt to deal with welfare problems may differ from the level at which social planners choose to solve these problems. One reason is that each has traditionally worked on a different geographic scale: social planners traditionally focused on neighborhoods, while physical planners focused on larger areas. However, urban renewal is now bringing the physical planner down to the neighborhood level, while the previously mentioned obstacles to social welfare planning will, hopefully, cause social welfare planners to become more cognizant of the need to work on a much larger geographic scale.

There is no one geographic scale at which it is preferable to attack all social welfare problems. In the first place, no one jurisdictional level could handle the problems alone; thus, there must be cooperation among levels. Usually it is the federal government and the states that provide a large portion of the financial resources, while the local government decides what it needs and how it will go about meeting its needs, and then actually carries out the program.

Cooperation is needed not only among governmental levels, but also among neighboring jurisdictions at the same level. Frieden makes this point very strongly:

Conflict between local governments arises from a context of intergovernmental relations in which considerations of municipal finance join with social prejudices in creating incentives for public officials to prevent the poor from living within their jurisdictions, or at least to hold their number to a minimum. A fundamental objective for all groups concerned with human welfare in urban America must be to change the intergovernmental setting in

ways that will provide greater incentives for socially responsible policies. Until the legal and political context of local government is changed in this direction, city planners alone will be able to accomplish little in enlarging the choices available to the poor or opening the gates for a freer movement of all people throughout urban areas.[69]

Wherever the conflict between governmental units at a given level is insoluble, it is likely that a higher governmental jurisdiction will intervene to resolve the conflict. .

NATIONAL

Regarding the level of government best suited for various social welfare functions, it must be said that not all planners are agreed on this matter. They differ, for example, on the degree to which they would expect to be able to rely on the national level of government. John Dyckman states that most social gains will be engineered from Washington, D.C.[70]

Anthony Adamson says that:

. . . planning, as the vital concept in government for the formation of social policy, for the formation of public institutions, and for the formation of good physical environment is now recognized at the top.[71]

Although he believes that it is mainly the local level that harbors the inhibitions to planning that arise from vested economic interests and beliefs, from rigid governmental institutions, from bigotry and uncharitableness, Adamson is nevertheless optimistic in thinking that these inhibitions are currently "giving way at a time when we are very prosperous indeed."[72]

Applied to the United States, Adamson's statement should be modified to state that the local governments are still poor, while the nation as a whole is wealthy, and it is the national wealth that is not only *allowing* us to overcome our inhibitions against planning, but is now *forcing* these inhibitions to give way.

However,

enlightened federal policies will not produce better results in practice if local governments continue to use programs to attract middle-income

[68] Silberman, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 and 344.

[69] Frieden, *op. cit.*, pp. 322–23.

[70] Dyckman, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[71] Adamson, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[72] *Ibid.*

families rather than to give fresh opportunities to the poor.[73]

INTERSTATE

The interstate regional scale was studied specifically by Schermer in the Penjerdel area. He found that this scale would be the best at which to approach the following aspects of social planning:

1. Expensive and specialized facilities such as hospitals, clinics, post-high school training, college and postgraduate institutions;

2. Economic development, promotion of employment opportunity, job recruitment, and on-the-job training;

3. The alleviation of inequities, racial restrictions in employment and housing, and overconcentration of low-income and nonwhite population in the central cities;

4. Major recreational and cultural facilities.

STATE

The state level is often a good scale at which to attack certain economic problems, but as can be seen from the Area Redevelopment and Appalachia programs, their solution usually requires a regional approach of interstate dimension.

For those social welfare problems that can be approached at a smaller-than-interstate scale, the role of the state government is usually one of coordinating efforts and the provision of financial aids and incentives to yet smaller "problem areas." North Carolina established the first statewide agency in the United States with the explicit purpose of making an all-out assault on the problems of poverty; but even so, it was felt that significant results were likely to come from experimental educational programs in *a number of carefully selected communities* rather than from mere per capita or "equalized" income-maintenance funds distributed throughout the state.[74]

METROPOLITAN

In general what has been said of the regional scale applies also to the metropolitan scale, but it seems that as the constituent governmental units become more local (from states to coun-

ties to incorporated suburbs), so the forces of authority seem to become more provincial and exclusive. This would seem to indicate that metropolitan areas will find it more difficult to plan for social welfare than regions. However, they do have the advantage of being specific entities, recognized both by the people (which Schermer thinks is a crucial ingredient for success)[75] and by the higher levels of government (e.g., the federal government, Bureau of the Census).

COUNTY

Health problems are currently being attacked most energetically by the county which also provides some recreational and educational facilities. The county's role varies according to whether it is near a metropolitan area or not. It is often in a strategic position to provide an opportunity for alleviating the results of the racial and ethnic discrimination that is often found in the exclusive suburbs of a metropolis, for open occupancy laws passed by county boards of supervisors might help to discourage massive invasions by minority groups into those suburbs that might pioneer in policies of non-discrimination in housing.

CITY

The level at which urban planners have traditionally worked is the city, and this is the scale at which social welfare problems are most visible. It is at the city level that most private, voluntary social welfare agencies exist, social casework is organized, the school system is directed, a park and recreational service is provided, public housing is built, and urban renewal is carried out. It is also, of course, the level at which most public facilities and services such as water, sewerage, streets, sidewalks, street lighting, and garbage collection are provided, and the level at which zoning, subdivision, and building code regulations are most common—all of which relate to the social welfare of the immediate residents and neighboring communities.

The city has been assisted by recent national legislation in many areas of its responsibility, including water and sewage treatment, high-

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[73] Frieden, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
[74] National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[75] Schermer, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

ways, schools, public housing, urban renewal, and in regard to the War on Poverty. However, in metropolitan areas, federal aid is increasingly being made contingent upon intergovernmental cooperation and planning, so that while the city within a metropolitan area is perhaps the most important implementer of social welfare within its jurisdiction, and while it is being forced increasingly to engage in general planning, nevertheless its role in general and social planning tends to diminish as governmental units of wider jurisdiction assume greater responsibilities.

While much significant work could be done at the city level, the power structure tends to be conservative. It is likely to oppose ordinances that prohibit racial or ethnic discrimination. Reinforcing this situation is the fact that some "liberals" might not support very progressive legislation at the city level through fear of attracting undue numbers of persons with social problems.

NEIGHBORHOOD

Social welfare at the neighborhood level, even more than at the city level, has traditionally made use of private resources, such as settlement houses and neighborhood improvement organizations. It is at this scale, of course, that any existing social welfare problems are most patent, since residential areas tend to be grouped according to economic and racial characteristics.

There has been growing interest among planners in the neighborhood as a focus for the implementation of specific social welfare programs for it is here that the obstacle of apathy can best be attacked. Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Providence, New Haven, and Hartford, for example, have strongly emphasized the neighborhood. Philadelphia is using this as the basic unit of research to determine what kinds of neighborhoods react best to given urban renewal activities.[76] Eventually the Community Renewal Program in Philadelphia will differentiate between neighborhoods on the basis of the readiness of the residents to work at particular programs aimed toward general goals

for the neighborhood.

Hartford has worked out a program for integrating services at the neighborhood level. Here experiments have been carried out with a field organization which at various times combined the welfare department, the Connecticut State Employment Service, housing code enforcement, the police department, and public works personnel, all working together within a limited geographic area. Based on lessons learned from this experiment, Hartford is now setting up a series of interagency field organizations, each working under the direct control of the city manager's office.[77]

Interest in the neighborhood is not, of course, new. It has been popular in regard to the design and administration of school systems ever since Clarence Perry introduced the concept of "neighborhood schools." The idea has been widely adopted, but now that desegregation has become an important factor in the eyes of those concerned with social welfare, the neighborhood school is now considered by many as an obstacle that must be eliminated. Thus, recently, the idea of the "educational park" has gained prominence, and this may inhibit the use of the grade school as a community center or neighborhood center, for stimulating self-help activity and organization among the apathetic residents of ghetto areas.

Adjustments in Dealing with Social Welfare Problems

Since physical and economic development and planning are merely means of achieving human and social objectives, it would seem fair to limit this discussion to a definition of social objectives, even though urban planners are often preoccupied by immediate physical and economic considerations.

Methodologies for the definition of objectives are undergoing change. Two opposing philosophies can be identified which, to some extent, correlate with the philosophical differences between what Dyckman calls administrative rightists and leftwing social planners,[78]

[76] See footnotes 4 and 5, under section on social welfare councils.

[77] Lehan, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
[78] Dyckman, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–74.

and also between traditional comprehensive planners and those who would like to be "advocate planners." These two philosophies also conform somewhat to the political philosophies of "idealism" on the one hand and "democratic pragmatism" on the other.

One approach to the definition of objectives postulates that a given community has common interests and that these can be ascertained by some knowledgeable persons (presumably planners) and action based upon them. The second approach states that "there are no neutral grounds for evaluating a plan; there are as many evaluative systems as there are value systems";[79] and because of the need for value determinations in science (in regard to criteria and measures), a scientific decision model must resemble a democratic decision model.[80]

Examined in relation to the whole society at this point in time, it is difficult to accept the first approach, namely that there are identifiable common interests. Experience seems to suggest that at this level the second approach is followed almost entirely; that is, very little directive planning is done other than that made legitimate through *political contests* among different interest groups.

In 1964 Perloff argued that in the field of social planning, it is less a matter of the "non-existence" of community objectives than an "operational non-recognition" of them; . . . that there was agreement on the following goals:[81]

1. Maximizing the proportion of families who are self-supporting, thus reducing dependency;

2. Increasing the lifetime earning power of individuals, through such expediencies as reducing mortality and morbidity, preventing mental illness, providing useful work for the handicapped and the aged, and encouraging individual entrepreneurship;

3. Providing at least minimum support, either monetary or psychological, for those who cannot provide it for themselves;

4. Seeking to make the social services as effective and as economical as possible;

5. Enlarging the scope for individual and small-group decision and action, since individuals and local groups are in the best position to determine what contributes most to their own welfare.

Such goals are meaningless, however, unless they are implemented by a government or private voluntary program, and unless they are quantified. Most of these goals are currently being pursued by one government program or another, but with standards so low that the services either do not benefit the needy or are rejected by them. To accomplish these goals would require more money than any private voluntary agency has, and more money than the effective political forces in our society are currently willing to spend via the government.

In going from goal-formulation by a society to goal-formulation by specific agencies involved in social welfare, a concern for "coordination of efforts *toward* known objectives" becomes more justified. In 1965 Perloff argued that at the local bureaucratic level the lack of coordination resulted from the fact that physical planners and social planners each define their goals too narrowly, and that the following "integrating concepts" would help make their goals coincide:[82] (1) a decent home and suitable environment for every family; (2) jobs for all and a minimum family income; (3) adequacy and equality in public services and facilities.

These integrating concepts could easily prove to be points of political controversy. For example, what is decent, suitable, minimum, adequate, and equal? And more important, what would achievement of such standards cost? While standards remain unquantified, analysis and policy-making can only be considered as remedial; they move *away* from ills rather than toward known objectives, and it is therefore difficult to pursue comprehensiveness. Only after *political* decisions have been made—that is, how much will be spent on social welfare—is it meaningful to speak of a coordination of efforts such as might exist

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[79] Davidoff, *op. cit.,* p. 333.

[80] Paul Davidoff and Thomas A. Reiner, "A Reply to Dakin," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXIX (Feb., 1963), p. 27.

[81] Harvey Perloff, "Social Planning in the Metropolis," in THE URBAN CONDITION, ed. Leonard J. Duhl (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 335.

[82] Perloff, in PLANNING 1965, *op. cit.,* pp. 171–74.

among the various departments of a city government.

Professor Dyckman has suggested three definitions of social planning which, in effect, distinguish societal goal-formulation from agency goal-pursuit. Rather than being competing ideas, these definitions might be viewed as compatible concepts appropriate to different levels of social intervention. They are:

1. At the societal planning level, social planning means the *selection of the social goals* of the nation or state, and the setting of targets for their achievement. It requires a ranking of these goals, and assessment of the cost (in terms of other objectives) of achieving them, and judgments of the feasibility of such programs.

2. Social planning, in a closely related meaning, involves the application of social values and action criteria to the assessment of programs undertaken in the pursuit of economic or political goals. Thus, it can mean the *testing of consequences*—in terms of intergroup or interpersonal relations—of everything from broad economic development programs to specific redevelopment projects.

3. Social planning can mean specifically 'social' programming arising from the broad social goals of the community. The traditional welfare activities of public and private agencies have been the principal focus of such planning in the United States. The *coordination of programming* for and by the multitude of caretaker agencies that have grown up in our free enterprise economy is a popular task for this type of social planning.[83]

Dyckman, quite properly, warns of overemphasis on the third category "without an adequately specified set of objectives at the first and second levels."

Returning to the tactical distinction between the "idealist" philosophy of "authoritarian justice" and the "democratic pragmatic" philosophy of "equalitarian justice," there are two further arguments for favoring the latter. First, a recognition of *conflicting interests,* rather than belief in a *community interest* both (1) forces the planner to relate the range of public activities to the diverse groups of the population having distinct preferences and aims,[84] and (2) makes more apparent and explicit the values underlying plans. Paul Davidoff feels that advocacy planning achieves this second purpose because its "legal brief" nature would upset the tradition of writing plan proposals in terminology which makes them appear self-evident.[85] Dyckman feels that "client analysis" (mentioned earlier) presents this same advantage because it avoids subsuming the clients' interests in vague categories of public interest, and avoids ascribing the prejudices of the bureaucracy to the long-run best interests of the poor.[86] Dyckman believes that social scientists cannot supplant the goal-making role of ideology or the political decision-makers' responsibility for setting goals.[87]

If this second approach is accepted, then the planner's main concern in the stage of goal formulation is to stimulate meaningful citizen participation and broadened political participation.

Second, Gans suggests that perhaps "authoritarian justice" is, after all, the goal that social welfare planning is expected to pursue. In addressing himself to those programs, such as Mobilization for Youth, which preceded federally sponsored Community Action Programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, he wrote:

From a sociological perspective, such programs might best be described as schemes for *guided mobility,* since they propose to induce mobility among people whom sociologists describe as lower class . . . Social planning is a harmonious euphemism for the attempt to alter the class structure.[88]

INFORMATION AND SURVEY

In the task of information collection and analysis, planners will have to cooperate more closely with other specialists on whom they will rely for the provision of data.

Examples of new techniques for research and data collection include:

1. Providence's Social Pathology Index: a survey of residents and leaders to ascertain their concepts of the neighborhood; central records and data system.[89]

2. Philadelphia's "Model of Human and Social Needs and Resources";[90]

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[83] Dyckman, *op. cit.,* pp. 67–68.

[84] Reiner, Reimer, and Reiner, *op. cit.,* p. 271.

[85] Davidoff, *op. cit.,* p. 333.

[86] Dyckman, *op. cit.,* p. 69.

[87] *Ibid.,* p. 75.

[88] Herbert Gans, "Social Planning: A New Role for Sociology," speech, 1962.

[89] Shown in Figure 11–2.

[90] Health and Welfare Council, Inc., *op. cit.,* pp. 8–11.

3. Reiner, Reimer, and Reiner's "Client Analysis Model";[91]

4. Melvin Schneidermeyer's "Metropolitan Social Inventory" which "receives informational inputs that measure the condition of human well-being or that facilitates this measurement," e.g., census data, magnetic tapes containing metropolitan origin-destination study findings, records of local utility companies, or questionnaire responses obtained for a market analysis, plus any original data gathered by the staff of the MSI.[92]

There are several advantages in processing such data automatically. Information can be updated quickly and thus retain maximum utility; it can be speedily converted to graphs, gradients, matrices, and distribution percentages. The information is cumulative; it builds on itself and increases in quantity without the attendant disadvantages of undue storage space being needed or of information retrieval being slow. Automatic data processing can change the scale at which planning is attempted, because information can more easily be held and distributed from a central data bank. When a data center is set up, there is usually a strong accompanying motivation to centralize data, due to the technical requirements of ADP both in equipment and professional skills.

5. Perloff's "elements in direct human resources focus," i.e., family income and consumption submodel; individual submodel ("personal development" and life cycle); group and institutional support submodel; manpower submodel; regional economic submodel (e.g., economic accounts) ; neighborhood situation (location and ecology) ; and summary institutional component (agency effectiveness and institutional performance within the framework of the broader power structure) .[93]

The major issues which Perloff would wish to have social planning confront are: (a) "jobs and incomes of families"; (b) "Financial support to those who cannot become economically self-supporting"; (c) "Emotional support for

[91] Reiner, Reimer, and Reiner, op. cit., passim.

[92] Melvin Schneidermeyer, THE METROPOLITAN SOCIAL INVENTORY: PROCEDURES FOR MEASURING HUMAN WELL-BEING IN URBAN AREAS, (thesis, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 1966) , pp. 45–76.

[93] Harvey Perloff, "Social Planning in the Metropolis," in Leonard J. Duhl (ed.) , THE URBAN CONDITION (New York: Basic Books, 1963) , pp. 340–45.

SUBJECTS OF MAJOR CONCERN TO SOCIAL PLANNING

REGIONAL
ECONOMY
Manpower ——————HOUSEHOLDS——————
Job opportunities
Skill requirements

PHYSICAL
LOCATIONAL
PATTERNS
Housing and renewal
Neighborhood conditions and
requirements
↕
POLICIES—PROGRAMS
GOVERNMENT

SOCIAL
STRUCTURE
Metropolitan ecology
Social groups
Neighborhoods

VOLUNTARY
AGENCIES
Levels, costs, and effects of
social services

Levels, costs, and effects of
social services
Resources available
Requirements for
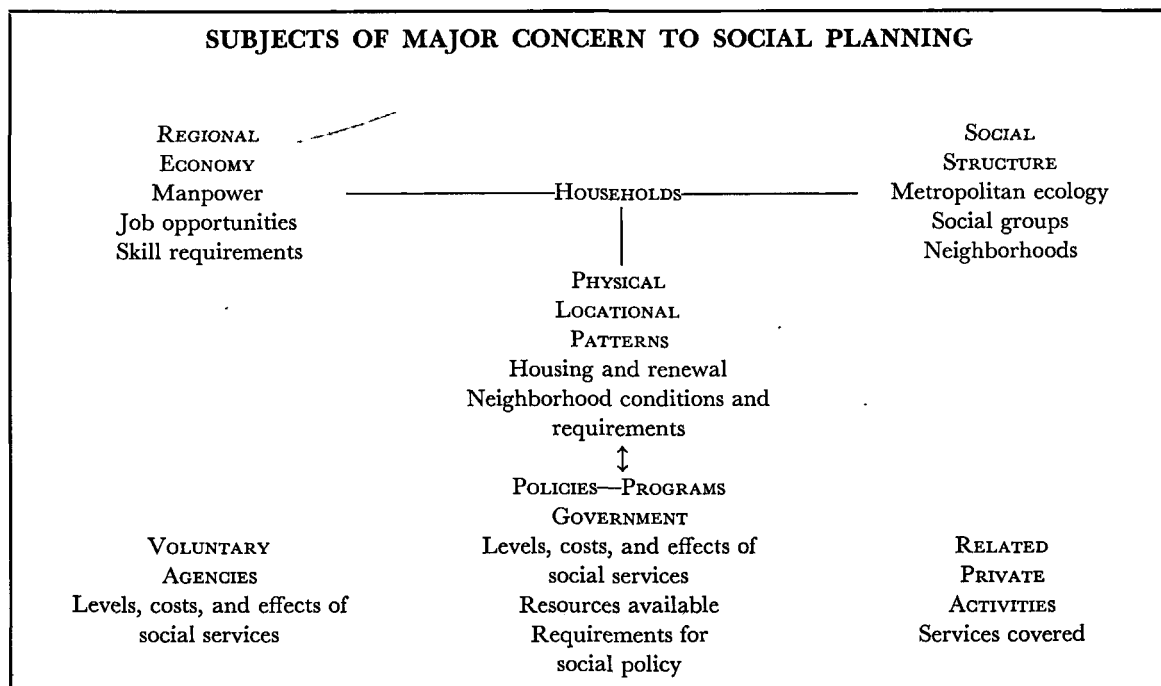social policy

RELATED
PRIVATE
ACTIVITIES
Services covered

FIGURE 11–3. Subjects of major concern to social planning

individuals and family groups who need it";
(d) "A high level of social services, particularly education and health"; (e) "Decent housing and a satisfying physical environment for all families"; and (f) "Elimination of racial discrimination."[94]

Recognizing that "the long-term welfare of the individual and the family are the main concern of social efforts" Perloff recommends making the "household the central focus and key testing ground of social service activities."[95] But as can be seen from Figure 11–3, households are closely related measures of the regional economy and the condition of the social structure and the physical environment. In dealing with each of the major subjects of concern to social planning, Perloff has identified the types of tools required to measure social progress. The tools and their purposes are shown in Perloff's Table 11–1 reproduced below.

Perloff's "Household Welfare Indices" are measures:

aimed at evaluating the extent of realization of community objectives, such as self-support, more jobs, better income situations, and the provisions of a support floor. . . ."

For example, "The self-support index should show the number of families who are financially self-supporting, partially self-supporting and totally supported by the community.[96]

6. Schermer recommends the establishment of a Regional Data Service in the Penjerdel area.[97] This should be done for all regions.

7. In August, 1966, Senator Edward Kennedy introduced a joint resolution in Congress to authorize the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to study the feasibility and design of a comprehensive information service system that would make use of automatic data processing equipment and other forms of advanced information technology to inform the states and localities about federal programs, aids, and projects that might be use-

[94] Harvey Perloff, "New Directions in Social Planning," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXXI (Nov., 1965) , p. 297.

[95] Ibid., p. 300.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Schermer, op. cit., p. 51.

Table 11–1

Proposed Social Planning Tools

Major Purpose	Category	Tools
1. To permit a sharper focus on objectives and achievement	Households	Annual State-of-the-Region Report: showing household welfare indices
2. To permit a periodic review of changing conditions and emerging social problems and to suggest possible ways of dealing with the problems	Regional economy	Annual State-of-the-Region Report: showing (a) major changes in regional economy and in job situation (b) Regional accounts including manpower and income accounts
	Social structure	Group and neighborhood profiles
	Physical locational patterns	Neighborhood betterment programs
3. To permit improvements in social service programs and better coordination among activities	Policies and programs	Community policies plan Long-term capital and operating budget for social services

Source: Harvey Perloff, "New Directions in Social Planning," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, XXXI (Nov. 1965), p. 300.

ful to them. Data would include socio-economic data involving such elements as income distribution, education, law enforcement, health, and welfare; community resource data involving such items as labor force and employment, industry and trade, transportation, housing and community facilities, and finance; programs reference data, including the nature and purpose of assistance programs, conditions of eligibility, information contact, authorizing legislation, and administering agency; programs status data involving the nature and extent of usage of various aid programs, the status of obligated funds, and the names and numbers of communities involved.

8. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has recommended that each local governmental unit and agency within a metropolitan area, whether central city or suburban, should ascertain, analyze, and give recognition to economic and social disparities affecting its programs.[98]

9. Census data can be tied to individual parcels of land and thus worked into a comprehensive, automatically updated record system based on the revenue, planning-zoning-subdivision, and building code departments of a municipal or county government in a metropolitan area. The Census promises bright prospects for doing this, as in 1970 it plans to collect and release block statistics on developing suburban areas where data had not formerly been available on a block basis. The Census will provide this service if the suburban government undertakes to delineate the blocks. This is a challenging task inasmuch as fringe areas have not developed on the logically numbered, rectangular, small-block bases that most cities have followed.

10. The use of demonstration projects, such as those sponsored by the Ford Foundation in its "grey areas" program, and those sponsored by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

PROGRAMMING

The Community Renewal Program has provided an excellent opportunity for integrating social, physical, and economic planning, and

has caused some propitious changes in municipal administrative and decision-making structures. For example, Providence's Social Plan proposed a change in the local administrative structure; the maintenance of a central records and data system; the phasing of the social plan to complement urban renewal activities; the use of a special "Social Treatment Model" in those areas described as most needy by the Social Pathology Index; and the establishment of various levels of citizens' organizations, to which the Redevelopment Agency and others contribute staff advice. In Providence, the Neighborhood Information Service agent, who works under the "A" Area Social Treatment Model, has a responsibility for finding gaps in services and for recommending remedial changes to appropriate bodies.[99]

Social planning is adaptable to programming techniques such as PERT (Program Evaluation and Review Technique) and Willard B. Hansen's "Two-level Task Roster for Comprehensive Metropolitan Planning."[100] However, success with such techniques will demand a great deal more basic research on social problems and their possible solutions.

On the regional scale, Schermer suggests that special purpose planning is the most likely and promising interim step toward comprehensive regional planning and thus should be pursued. He exhorts the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Housing and Home Finance Agency (now the Department of Housing and Urban Development) to foster region-wide integrated social planning. He also recommends that a type of "brainstorming" operation should be carried out in the form of a continuing forum at the regional level on the problems and resources of social welfare.[101]

IMPLEMENTATION

While many cities have expressed a desire for using existing social welfare agencies as far as possible, most planners have come to the con-

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[98] Frieden, op. cit., p. 330.

[99] Rhode Island Council for Community Services, Inc., op. cit., passim.

[100] Willard B. Hansen, PROCEDURAL FRAMEWORKS FOR COMPREHENSIVE METROPOLITAN PLANNING: AN INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT (Urbana: University of Illinois Bureau of Community Planning, 1966), mimeo.

[101] Schermer, op. cit., pp. 46, 51.

clusion that social welfare planning cannot be successfully implemented by tradition-bound and stagnant agencies and thus strongly recommend the establishment of some *new* comprehensive agency.

The extent to which "city planners" take the lead in such new comprehensive planning agencies may well depend upon the direction which the American Institute of Planners chooses to follow: AIP's traditional direction of physical planning or, alternatively, the Wetmore Committee's direction of comprehensive (social-economic-physical) planning.

In some instances the local anti-poverty office might be the vehicle for comprehensive planning, since it often appears to have the closest contact with "needy" residents and a direct financial link with the federal government.

The need for a *new* comprehensive agency is also suggested by the proposal that social welfare planning subsume the other forms of planning under it, since the criteria of social planning (welfare, opportunity, security, and knowledge, for example) are more inclusive than the criteria of pure physical planning (space, location, physical condition) or of economic planning (monetary cost). However, existing social welfare agencies are not suitably equipped or authorized to undertake the responsibility for comprehensive planning.

Use of the neighborhood unit is a relatively recent innovation in implementation. Providence goes a step further: through its Neighborhood Information Service, the city attempts to integrate all the services used by a particular *family*, so that the *family* becomes the focus for implementing plans.[102] To some extent this was always done by caseworkers, but they never had

access to the authority of the several different agencies whose actions impinged on their clients' welfare. New Haven, Connecticut, focuses this kind of attention on the *individual*, through both professional and voluntary guidance and follow-up services.[103]

Part of the process of implementation should be the education of citizens to encourage them to take some initiative in distributing social welfare benefits (i.e., reducing the necessity for the agency to "reach out"). At the present time, certain welfare agencies follow the policy of waiting for the needy to come to them; however, the most needy are often not even aware of the existence of services for which they would be eligible. Other needy people reject welfare services because of the stigma of "charity" attached to them. Citizens' organizations can help to overcome the reluctance of the needy in this respect; they can also be channels for education, both by making people aware of opportunities and by making them more qualified to take advantage of given opportunities.

The city planner can encourage such organizations in four ways: (1) by recognizing organizations that have already been formed to protect the rights of "needy" people; (2) by specifying, as in Providence's Social Plan, the establishment of a neighborhood organization two years prior to urban renewal action in that neighborhood;[104] and (3) as a private citizen interested in social welfare, by helping to organize "needy" people.

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102 Rhode Island Council for Community Services, Inc., *op. cit.*, p. 38.

103 Farrell, *op. cit., passim.*

104 Rhode Island Council for Community Services, Inc., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

EDITORS' NOTE: Special contributions were made to some of the sections of this chapter by Miss Virginia Blake.