THE INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL AND URBAN PLANNING IN URBAN RENEWAL

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ABSTRACT

THE INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL
AND URBAN PLANNING
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by Edward John Ward

There is a growing awareness that critical social problems of low-income people in many urban slums are not being effectively met, either through urban renewal or social planning. A major reason for this is that present efforts represent segmented and partial solutions. This applies equally to both social and urban planning. Differing conceptual bases have led both approaches to deal with only segments of the total problem, inhibiting a common understanding of the interrelatedness of the elements being dealt with.

Effective programs to improve the quality of living of slum dwellers will require a concerted effort of many and a holistic approach to urban problems. A movement in this direction is taking place in several cities across the country. Plans of action have been developed with the coordination and cooperation of various public and private agencies and professions, representing concerted attempts to meet social problems. The approach is one of guiding low-income people toward a higher social status by increasing their social and economic mobility. Efforts are made

to integrate programs for physical renewal and for meeting social problems. These emerging programs and the federal anti-poverty program are likely to exert a strong influence toward the emergence of a more clearly defined profession of social planning. The potential is high for a broadened approach in urban renewal.

To achieve this potential will require the integration of social and urban planning in two major ways. One is through a common planning process incorporating social and urban planning into a single planning function on a hierarchy of levels, from community-wide to an urban renewal project level. The planning process would represent a decision system through which community-wide efforts would be channeled. Goal, policy, and plan alternatives would be developed and tested at various levels or scales. Decisions made within this unified decision-making structure would guide the operations of the many public and private agencies that would be involved in plan implementation. The interrelatedness of the problems dealt with at the renewal level with the larger community and, subsequently, effects of policies and plans on potential solutions, necessitates no less an approach than this.

The integration of social and urban planning will also require efforts to establish a common conceptual base as a framework for common understanding of conditions and problems, filling of gaps in knowledge, and preparation of plans and policies. This would allow the development of a holistic approach to the understanding of urban life by removing the constraints

that separate not only social and urban planning but other fields of knowledge as well, A possible start toward a common conceptual base lies in viewing the community as a cultural system in terms of culture, society, institutions, and the community with a hierarchy of systems. Institutions, and their role in society, are viewed as subsystems that are essential to meeting human needs and to the functioning of the cultural system. Exploration into the cultural system brings a clearer understanding of why the distinction and separation made between social and urban planning and between social and physical problems is artificial and inhibits integration.

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INTRODUCTION

Criticism has been leveled at present urban renewal efforts as not being adequate to overcome social problems. Many feel that a broader approach must be developed, one which would represent a concerted comprehensive effort to meet the total problem. Much of this criticism stems from the growing realization of the great complexity involved in community renewal areas to which action programs must be totally geared if they are to be effective. This is reflected in the charges that urban renewal, as now practiced, is destroying the social structure of lower income groups and dispossessing them from preferred habitats, inflicting psychic disturbance in the process; and that urban renewal is defeating its purpose by forcing low-income groups into neighboring substandard areas, speeding up the process of blight and the formation of new slums. Or where new housing and facilities are provided for these groups, many major problems still remain; i.e., individual and social pathologies, hopelessness and despair, and the ramifications of this for the community as a whole.

There is a growing appreciation that the chronic despair of many renewal area residents is accentuating their plight. "For, when expectations for betterment are low, so too are aspirations - and thus, job shortages, senseof personal insufficiency, poor performance in school,

deficient cognitive, occupational, and social skills, rejection by the larger society, and a range of other disabling conditions resonate upon each other in self-perpetuating waves."[1] On the other hand, there is a growing realization that cultural diversity, including diverse values, is a characteristic of our society. Needs and desires can vary considerably among residents of different renewal areas and should be reflected in action programs.

Thus, while urban renewal has been largely successful in other areas, including the redevelopment of slums (but not for the slum dwellers), it has not succeeded, except to a limited degree, in improving the life of low-income slum dwellers. Social planning has traditionally dealt with the problems of low-income people, primarily through the efforts of social workers, but it too has not been very successful, largely because of the approach taken. To fill this gap new approaches are emerging, respresenting concerted efforts by many public and private agencies to overcome social problems and improve the living conditions of low-income slum dwellers. These approaches are beginning to give the approach of social planning more meaning and direction then it previously had. As these approaches are attempts at comprehensive solutions, the integration of social and urban planning is occuring to some extent.

Social planning is not just concerned with the lower-income groups. Its function has spread to the point where now it covers, directly

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[1] Melvin W. Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (Vol. 29, No. 4, Nov., 1963), p. 233.

and indirectly, the entire population of a community. This is largely in the form of many types of services provided by both public and private agencies. Attempts are now being made to do long-range planning for these services with respect to metropolitan areas. This too is exerting an influence on social planning.

These two influences are actually separate and distinct, and as such represent two different directions social planning appears to be taking at the present. However, this is just emerging, and the dominant approach is a more traditional one. Social planning is still rather loosely defined as it covers a wide range of activities and incorporates many different organizations. In a more correct definition, social planning means planning by any formal organization (public or private) directed toward improving the welfare of people. In this sense, urban planning would be social planning, as would the activities of legislators, administrators, and judges, as well as social workers and others providing services. The term then, designates the process of community (or county, state, or national) policy formulation (planning) in respect to social goals and programs (and purposes). However, the term has come to mean the planning of services involving individual and social behavior, eduction, etc., including bringing deviants into conformity with community behavior standards, and prevention of certain types of behavior. This thesis will use both connotations - the former with respect to proposals, the latter for descriptive and evaluative

purposes.

The criticism that has been leveled at urban renewal has in effect been made against urban planning which is the major profession working in urban renewal. It is felt that urban planners do not have an adequate understanding of the social aspects of planning. Too often this is glossed over in their plans. For this reason, this thesis emphasizes the human components of planning rather than the physical to gain a better understanding of what social planning is doing and how it can be coordinated with the function of urban planning. In these terms, emphasis is placed on the lower-income slum dwellers, largely Negroes, whose condition is becoming increasingly more critical as witnessed by the racial conflicts occuring in our cities. Solutions for meeting their problems have to be found. This does not mean that it is proposed here that urban planners should take on the function of social planners, only that they develop a greater awareness of the social aspects so that both can be brought together to form a comprehensive and concerted effort to meet the problems of the lower-income slum dweller. This would also require that social planners develop a better understanding of the physical and natural components that urban planners deal with. There is an additional reason for these emphases. Urban planning is considerably more organized into the government structure on a hierarchy of levels and more sophisticated in its planning process than social planning is. It is felt that urban renewal does offer the means for meeting problems

if its approach is broadened. But the meeting of all problems of the slum dweller can not take place within the confines of a renewal area - both the problems and the solutions must be related to the larger community. This suggests the possibility of a single planning function which would take advantage of an organizational structure already in existence.

This relates to the approach of this thesis with respect to the integration of social and urban planning in urban renewal. Rather than dealing with the topic in a detailed context, the approach is one of attempting to establish a broad framework to show not only how they may be integrated, but also incorporated into a common and comprehensive planning function. Proposals are built upon an evaluation of the major strengths and weaknesses of both social and urban planning in their approaches to both urban renewal and the problems of slum dwellers, and to the total community. They also reflect some of the ideas being advanced to improve the urban planning function, and the ideas contained in the emerging programs mentioned above. In this context, the integration of social and urban planning is dealt with on a total community basis as well as for the more detailed urban renewal level; but as a unified planning process. This essentially is the direction given to Chapters II and III. From Chapter I, however, it is clear that social and urban planning operate from separate conceptual bases. Thus, while proposals are made for the integration of social and urban planning, it is the contention of this thesis that this integration will occur to only a

limited degree unless a common conceptural base is developed. Chapter IV is a suggestion in this direction. Obviously this will only occur gradually. As such, the proposals are based on this awareness and also the contention that a common conceptual base could be achieved if initially social and urban planning are brought together in an effort to better understand our environment and how to deal with its problems, not only with respect to the lower class, but all the people in a community.

This thesis expands on what appears to be the major directions the emerging social planning profession is heading, but with the notion of integrating it with urban planning to allow the development of a much more comprehensive approach than now exists with respect to problems that have defined solution for many years (that is, since concern for them has been exhibited). It requires efforts on the part of both urban and social planners to broaden their horizons. As this thesis is written for urban planners it is an attempt to point out the areas where their knowledge and awareness needs to be expanded.

CHAPTER I

PRESENT CONCEPTUAL BASES FOR SOCIAL AND URBAN PLANNING

Background

The social reform movement of the late 1800's and early 1900's was a common source of inspiration for both social and urban planning. Both movements were stimulated by deep concerns for the poor conditions of urban life that were then prevalent, primarily in big city immigrant tenement areas. To some degree, a common concept was, for some period of time, shared by both. Essentially this was the belief that the physical environment was a direct determinant of an individual's welfare (especially with respect to housing). The different conceptual bases, though, have led in different directions with respect to planning approaches and emphases. These different bases were actually apparent before the social reform movement (at which time, social and urban planning were probably more closely aligned then any time since, despite a somewhat limited and narrowly-shared concept). The evolution of the two planning movements since the social reform period has led to considerably different approaches to the problems of urban life. However, this is not to say that a great gap separates the two, but rather that in the concentration of efforts to build up knowledge, skills, methods, and procedures peculiar to each, the common bonds, objectives, etc., have been largely neglected, resulting in segmented approaches.

Urban planning has been built upon a conceptual base essentially technical in nature. Early planners were drawn from the engineering and architectural professions. This is still reflected in urban planning today. In its evolution, urban planning has greatly expanded its approach and area of concern, from location and design of public facilities (or civic design) to the notion of comprehensive planning. Despite the great increase in knowledge and professional competency, urban planning still views man's environment predominantly through artifacts, i.e., man-made components. This is understandable when it is realized that the urban planner's responsibilities have always related primarily to the physical and locational aspects of development within a particular government's jurisdiction. And "having accepted professional responsibility for the physical environment, the urban planner was thus accorded a key role as agent of human welfare."[1] However, this key role has been interpreted to mean that the cure for social problems is through improvement of the physical environment. This concept, as mentioned above, getting its greatest impetus from the social reform period, is still largely prescribed to by many urban planners as reflected in many urban renewal plans.

Social planning had its early beginnings in charity organizations, primarily in the form of religious groups organized to aid depressed or needy families; this expanded to a fairly large scale in the last quarter of

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[1] Melvin M. Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (Vol. 29, No. 4, Nov., 1963), p. 233.

the 19th century. The prevailing concept, following the social philosophy of the times, was that moral defects, illness, drinking, and gambling were the essential causes of poverty. "Their attempts of rehabilitation; therefore, were directed toward a behavior reform of the individual -- they sought to achieve this goal by personal visits, advice, aid -- in each case the rehabilitation of an individual was to be carried on after a careful investigation of his conditions--. This was the beginning of casework."[2] This approach then was based on the assumption that an individual was in a particularly poor condition or situation due to some fault in his behavior (this belief is still held by many persons). In time this approach became questionable when it was realized that frequently the causes of distress were not character defects of the poor but the social conditions in which they lived. Such conditions were illness, unsanitary and over-crowded housing, low wages, inadequate education, etc. It was during the social reform movements that recognition of the environmental influence on the individual was supported, through exposing the social evils of the emerging industrial society and stressing the need for fundamental social reforms. There have been instances where settlement houses and social reformers have initiated interest and action in city planning, particularly where a city lacked leadership or adequate staff facilities for this purpose.[3] The effect of these

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[2] Walter A. Friedlander, Introduction to Social Welfare (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 168.

[3] National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Neighborhood Centers Today. Action Programs for a Rapidly Changing World (New York: 1960), p. 11.

influences brought a recognition to social workers that social reform did not solve all individual problems. This recognition resulted in a continuing expansion of community services, such as clinics, employment bureaus and adult education. Accompanying these changes was a shift in emphasis toward "family welfare work," and the formalizing of welfare "institutions" (previous organizations having lost, in many instances, their religious and charity affiliations).[4]

It was also during the social reform period that the settlement house movement was developed, exerting a strong influence on the conceptual base of social planning. This movement had a major concern with the well-being and development of the neighborhood, "emphasis being placed upon the self-organization of the residents of a community to bring about the needed changes through direct efforts, mobilization of local resources, and democratic social action."[5] It was through the settlement programs that the notions of community organization and social group work had their beginnings.[6] Inferred in this approach is that while poverty, sickness, suffering, and social disorganization have always existed throughout the history of mankind, only the industrial society of the 19th and 20th centuries had to face so many social problems that the older institutions - family, neighborhood, church, etc. - could no longer adequately meet them. This relates

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[4] Ibid., pp. 167-176.

[5] Arthur Dunham, Community Welfare Organization: Principles and Practices (New York: Thomas G. Crowell Co., 1958), p. 74.

[6] Ibid.

to the changes taking place in our society, and the assuming of greater responsibility for the well-being of people by both government and private organizations. While social planning, in its present stage of development has been organized on a hierarchy of levels -- community, state, national -- most of the planning that would deal directly with solutions for overcoming problems is still handled at the individual, family, and neighborhood level (settlement houses are now called neighborhood centers). This emphasis was reinforced, especially with respect to the individual, by the later development of psychiatric theories (influence of Freud), giving new insights to social workers who have attempted to incorporate these theories into their concepts. This has exerted a very strong influence on social casework. But as in urban planning, social planning draws from a wide variety of disciplines, especially sociology, psychology, and education.[7] The resulting effect has been different types of social planning carried out at different levels, as described in the section to follow.

Vestiges of past concepts and influences, as well as more recent and still evolving ones, are all reflected in the conceptual base of social planning. As in urban planning, social planning has come a considerable way, with respect to knowledge, methods, procedures, from its early beginnings. However, even in its advanced stage, it too is still largely a segmented approach to the larger social problems, for social planning deals

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[7] Friedlander, op. cit., pp. 173-175.

with these problems primarily in terms of only their human components.

In viewing the historical development of social and urban planning, there is evident a common bond in the efforts of each to bring about social change - to convince people and government of the need to recognize certain conditions and the necessity for new or expanded functions. The effort to bring about social change can be considerable indeed in that it is quite difficult to go against dominant values and concepts. The process of recognition of need and the forming of institutions to meet them can be very slow. This effort to bring about change applies to the notion of planning itself. If there are to be effective solutions to meet today's social problems, then one of the requirements is likely to be a change in the conceptual bases of both social and urban planning. As Gans points out, "social planning as it developed in response to the emerging urban problems of a newly industrialized nation (social reform period) -- is actually the comprehensive predecessor of today's more formalized planning processes. However, as diverse disciplines were brought to bear on urban problems, each tended to apply its own concepts and methods. The result has been a fractionated attack. City planners sought to attain the 'good community and the good life' by physical change; public health officials, by clinics; and social workers, by settlement houses. Each method became institutionized in some physical form, each tending to be separate from the other."[8]

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[8]George Schermer, Meeting Social Needs in the Penjerdel Region (Penjerdel, April, 1964), p. 7.

Organization and Functions

The concept of urban planning has evolved through various stages of public and private responsibility including planning by contract, planning by civic improvement clubs, planning by the independent planning commission, and planning through an integrated planning department within the structure of government. It has only been relatively recently that urban planning has become established as a distinct process within the framework of government, carried out by an agency for that purpose. This process is still evolving, especially in government at higher levels than local.

Social planning has experienced a similar shift in emphasis as government has gradually assumed the basic responsibility for the maintenance of the social welfare of the people. However, while government at all levels has greatly expanded its field of activities in social welfare services and planning, much of the organization and coordination of social planning is outside the framework of government; what actually might be termed voluntary social welfare. A large part of the financial support for the various functions performed is, consequently, through voluntary public contributions. The resulting pattern of services and agencies is of such great complexity that it probably defies detailed description.

In viewing the organization and functions of social and urban planning, considerable difference can be easily seen. Urban planning

throughout its development has always attempted to work through government in some manner. From the earlier notion of "selling the plan" to government and citizens to the present trend of incorporating the planning function within the government structure itself, reliance is placed on public action for plan implementation and also for financial support. Social planning, however, is organized and carried out by both government and independent private organizations.

As far as being organized on a hierarchy of levels is concerned, social and urban planning are similar - local, metropolitan, regional, state, and national. However, social planning is also usually organized below the local level -- district and neighborhood -- which urban planning is not (although it certainly works at these levels, especially in urban renewal areas). As the pattern of organization is much more complex for social planning than urban planning, it would do well here to briefly view the former in what appears to be the more common form.

In the public sector there is a mixture of services and programs that are local, state, and federal financed and administered. In the private sector services and financing also vary widely with many combinations. Such organizations as United Funds and Community Chests perform what is called "central services," a term used to describe central fund raising, social planning, information, research and referral services. These two organizations,

as they control monies on which private agencies are dependent, are in a position to influence the shaping of functions, policy and standards.[9] Within each sector of public and private control there exist many independent agencies carrying out a multitude of services and programs with varying areas of jurisdiction. This fragmentation is largely the result of agencies being organized to meet some particular problem, such as in the areas of child welfare, old age and health. The result of this is that there exist "a large and confusing array of specialized or limited purpose health and welfare agencies (public and private) that have emerged and grown in response to recognized specific needs of human beings. The viability of function, the quality and standard of service, and the adequacy in relation to total need for the particular service are so varied that no generalization can be made, except that in the area of mental health and emotional and social maladjustment the services are much more deficient than in the area of physical illness and handicaps."[10] The pattern of organization also varies from one city and region to another. A further implication of this is that social planning has a much looser and varying connotation to it - it depends, essentially, on one's frame of reference - than urban planning has ever had. However, there have been in more recent times attempts to coordinate efforts and activities, in the form of various

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[9] Ibid., p. 29.

[10] Ibid., pp. 23-25.

federations, which have the purpose of giving direction to social planning. As such, it would be more beneficial to view more closely these federations, as well as to look more closely at the specific kinds of social planning, rather than particular programs and services. Chapter II will take up the latter in more detail as represented in latest attempts at comprehensive social planning.

Before viewing these federations and their functions, it would be of value to briefly list the major functions of metropolitan planning agencies for comparison purposes.

1. Research and Analysis -- those areas and those fields of study necessary to obtain a comprehensive representation of metropolitan-wide conditions and problems. This responsibility might also include the distribution of relevant data and research findings to pertinent public agencies, or as requested by others. This would extend also to the presentation to local communities major findings on conditions, problems, needs, etc. of the metropolitan area.
2. Data-Bank and Clearinghouse Function -- purpose here is usually to establish a strong relationship with all local planning functions in the metropolitan area to

facilitate communication for the exchange of data, possible coordination of studies wherever desirable, pooling of efforts and resources for joint studies, etc.

3. Coordination -- in addition to above types, this would include coordination with respect to relating local plans and policies to metropolitan plans and policies. In some cases, this responsibility might extend to operating departments - but this is usually a stronger function on the city planning function level.

4. Formulation of Policy -- assist metropolitan planning representative body and hence, local communities, in formulating comprehensive long-range policies (including goals) for the metropolitan area - such as development patterns, recreation, etc.

5. Plan Preparation -- this can range from comprehensive plans and policy plans, to detailed plans for specific elements, such as recreation.

6. Assistance - this might consist of providing technical assistance to local communities in a metropolitan area with limited planning functions.

These functions are similar in many respects to those performed by the federations referred to above, aside from the different type of planning, of

course. The major difference is the function of administering and provision of services and programs which is peculiar to social planning and has no counterpart in urban planning. This is reflected in the internal organization and the ways in which both types of planning are carried out.

"Councils of Social Agencies," "Health and Welfare Councils," "Social Planning Councils" are some of the names given to the federations referred to above, which are now present in many metropolitan areas, either organized at this level or at the local level. These councils state their major function to be planning for the prevention and solution of social and health problems. The more specific functions relate to what was described above as "central services," similar, to some degree, to United Funds and Community Chests. Actually the latter would be members of the councils, as would other public and private agencies.[11]

Specific functions that are common to most of these councils are as follows:[12]

1. Research -- includes collection and compilation of data and special studies. Urban renewal appears to have stimulated the directions this research has taken as more emphasis is being placed on slum areas and problems involved.

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[11] Ibid., pp. 25-28.

[12] Friedlander, op. cit., pp. 602-609.

2. Planning -- performance of this function varies from specific plans of several agencies for cooperative solutions in some particular field to joint planning and action, coordination, and program development for a metropolitan area. This function is also interpreted as meaning the council serves as a "clearing house" for information, experience, ideas, etc.

3. Administering Common Services -- this relates to services to agencies or to the general public, which are not direct "consumer services" - examples would be information or public relations, referral, etc. They represent agreement within councils that these types of services are better organized under cooperative auspicies than under the auspices of a specific agency.

4. Consultation and Assistance -- this is provided to individual agencies and organizations to assist in finding solutions to problems in such areas as services, policies, programs and standards.

5. Joint Budgeting -- while councils do not have any powers here, they do work closely with financial federations (Community Chest, etc.) and with local

governmental appropriating bodies simply because councils usually are the best central depository of knowledge about local social needs, and also because they are involved in a higher level of social planning.

6. Promoting or Developing Local Community Organization -- this represents an attempt to carry out social planning at various levels in a community or metropolitan area (districts, neighborhoods, suburban areas), and to develop relationships between local geographical units and the council.

The functions performed by these councils and their voluntary status makes them quite similar to most metropolitan planning agencies. However, with respect to comprehensive planning, social planning, as now practiced, falls short of urban planning in the stage of maturity reached. The type of planning done by the councils is usually of great value to the member agencies, but as far as a comprehensive plan or policies plan is concerned, to guide all the social planning and programming and to provide an effective solution to social problems, the councils are particularly weak. Essentially the planning done is too internally and service-oriented with the result that there are no directed and focused program toward effectively

overcoming social problems.[13] Probably the largest barrier to comprehensive social planning through these councils is that their member agencies are largely independent of each other. Each agency is responsible for some particular welfare or health service(s) - including administration, budgeting, financing (private) and planning. In this situation planning can be easily relegated to a secondary position; when this occurs the purpose of the service(s) in the first place is overlooked, and perpetuating or administering the service becomes the important objective. Another apparent barrier relates to services. Schermer states, "services come into existence in response to recognized needs. However it appears that many services have emerged in response to narrowly-defined needs, resulting in an overly-specialized and fragmented approach to highly complex problems."[14] In much of the literature in which comprehensive social planning is discussed in relation to the councils, an apparent issue is now ensuing - mainly revolving around whether the councils should remain without powers and whether public and private efforts should be consolidated or coordinated.

There is prevalent in social planning considerable confusion with respect to terminology (same problem to some degree in urban planning), heightened by loose and conflicting use of terms. Friedlander offers what appears to be generally accepted definitions of three most common terms

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[13] United Community Funds and Councils of America, Inc., "Community Welfare Councils-What They Are and What They Do," Community Organization In Action, Ernest B. Harper and Arthur Dunham (ed.) (New York: Association Press, 1959), p. 385.

[14] Schermer, op. cit., p. 16.

as used in social planning -- social welfare, social work, and social services.

> Social welfare is the organized system of social services and institutions designed to aid individuals and groups to attain satisfying standards of life and health. It aims at personal and social relationships which permit individuals the development of their full capacities and the promotion of their well-being in harmony with the needs of the community.
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> Social work is a professional service, based upon scientific knowledge and skill in human relations, which assists individuals, alone or in groups, to obtain social and personal satisfaction and independence. (Implied here is that the term "social welfare" has a broader implication than "social work").
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> Social services is often used in a very broad sense -- defined as those organized activities that are primarily directly concerned with the conservation, the protection, and the improvement of human resources and including as social services: social assistance and insurance, child welfare, public health, education, recreation, etc.[15]

Social planning is implicit in all three terms; actually each term refers to a particular type of social planning. To use the same terms, social welfare planning would represent comprehensive social planning, which might consist of policies or a plan for a coordinated approach to meeting the total social welfare needs of a metropolitan area or a community, or to meet social problems in a particular area, such as a slum. Social service planning would consist of administration, financing, carrying out, etc., of

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[15]Friedlander, op. cit., p. 4.

some service(s). Social work planning would entail the implementation of a comprehensive social plan at various levels, and also planning with respect to particular problem(s). All would be part of the social planning process which essentially is a problem-solving process, as is urban planning. This is discussed more fully later in the chapter.

As a critical element in the social planning process, it is necessary to view social work more closely. Social workers conceivably could deal with all levels of social planning - from establishing policies and developing comprehensive social plans at a social planning council level (or a higher level in the hierarchy), to planning at a social service level, and to actually applying a service (and hence policies or plans) to people - individuals, groups, or in neighborhoods. In performing the function of social planning, social workers are now assisted by many other specialists (as are urban planners in performing the function of urban planning) -- doctors, lawyers, teachers, nurses, psychologists and psychiatrists, sociologists, counselors, and others.[16]

Essentially there are three processes involved in social work -- casework, group work, and community organization. The focus of casework is with individuals and families - here the relationships are primarily interpersonal. Social group work seeks to help people participate in the

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[16]Friedlander, op. cit., p. 6.

activities of a group. Community organization is the process of planning and developing social services in order to meet the health and welfare needs of a community or larger unit.[17] "All the processes of social work deal with human beings, social situations, and social relationships. All of them deal, in one way or another, with the problems of adjustment and growth."[18]

Approach To Planning - The Planning Process

As mentioned earlier, urban planning has largely been built upon a conceptual base essentially technical in nature. This is still reflected, for the most part, in the present approach to urban planning. The planning process consists of three major steps -- survey, analysis, and plan design -- with the end product being a "master plan." Facts are gathered in the survey and analyzed for some purpose, relating to land use, population, or urban blight. Plan design consists of applying planning concepts to the situation built up in the survey. The concepts consist of tested or theoretical solutions such as the neighborhood unit, green belts, land use zones, super-blocks, etc. Over the years urban planning has drawn upon many disciplines and professions for additional concepts that have been drawn into the planner's "pool of knowledge." As Daland points out,

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[17] Friedlander, op. cit., p. 10.

[18] Dunham, op. cit., p. 38.

"this model of the planning process fits well with the concept that planning is basically a technical problem of producing a physical plan for the city."[19]

With the incorporation of the planning function into the governmental structure, implementation of the plan has largely shifted from "selling" it to government by a lay commission, to implementation through capital improvement programs, land regulations, urban renewal, action programs by various government line departments, etc. While changes are constantly taking place with new concepts continually being brought forth with respect to approaches to the planning process - such as the notions of policy plans, a planning process common to all types of planning - the conceptual base of urban planning as reflected in the predominant present approach to the planning process is still essentially as described above.

In viewing the dominant urban planning approach, there are implied two basic assumptions that have critical relevancy to the relationship between urban and social planning. The first of these assumptions, as mentioned earlier, is the belief that change in the physical environment can bring about social change. The validity of this assumption has been questioned in recent years, and actually, the use of so-called "social planning" is one expression of this questioning.

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[19]Robert Daland, "Organization for Urban Planning: Some Barriers to Integration," p. 201.

The second assumption is that this more traditional approach is method-oriented. This means that it has developed a repertoire of methods and techniques which have become professionally accepted, and which distinguish urban planning from other types of planning and professions.[20] Gans feels, as a result of this, the urban planner concerns himself largely with improvements in these methods --- "he loses sight of the goals which his methods are intended to achieve, or the problems they are to solve."[21] This concern with method might work adequately enough if the goals are traditional or the problems being dealt with are routine ones. But when confronted with new problems, such as are reflected in renewal situations, this approach does not work well.[22]

It is not very clear from the available literature just what the planning approach is in the social planning efforts of the various councils or federations. It is not evident that these councils attempt to achieve any meaningful coordination or relationship between the functions they perform (that is, within each council). Dunham, in discussing the problems of councils, brings this out when he states, "one of the most frequent defects in councils is the lack of a directed and focused program -- often a council flounders in a welter of well-intentioned miscellaneous activities rather

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[20] Herbert J. Gans, "Social and Physical Planning for the Elimination of Urban Poverty," Address before 1962 Conference of American Institute of Planners.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

than carrying forward an ordered program. There may be too little selection of projects and establishment of priorities -- frequently a lack of sound planning, conscious direction -- many councils lack a sufficiently dynamic concept of their function -- may be more concerned with coordinating what already exists than planning and working to achieve what ought to be."[23] It appears that planning is more internally oriented, probably being applied to relatively specific problems or situations. However, there have been some notable exceptions to this, which are reviewed in Chapter II.

Social work, however, does present an effort to define the procedure or process that is gone through in attempting to select a course of action to meet a particular problem or situation. However, it is doubtful that this is viewed as a planning process. Dunham lists the steps involved in the processes of casework and community organization.[24]

For casework:

1. defining the general nature of the problem presented,
2. psychosocial study (factgathering),
3. diagnosis and formulation of treatment plans,
4. treatment,
5. evaluation.

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[23] Dunham, op. cit., pp. 148-150.

[24] Dunham, op. cit., p. 39.

For community organization:

1. the recognition of the community organization problem,
2. analysis of the problem (may involve factfinding),
3. planning what to do about the problem,
4. action to meet the problem,
5. evaluation of the action and its results.

Essentially both processes involve the same procedure though worded differently. Each begins with a problem - each involves analysis of the problem. While a study of some kind would be involved in both processes, it appears that factgathering is more an integral part of the casework process than of the community organization process - that is, factgathering or survey is not necessarily a step in the planning of every community organization project.[25] Both processes also involve plan preparation, action or treatment, and evaluation (feedback).

The major difference between the above approach to planning and the urban planning approach is that the former is rather strongly problem-oriented. This is more in line with the notion of planning as a "problem-solving process." However, as mentioned before, problems are narrowly-defined and specific, but this is probably not the fault of social work at this level, for the function of applied social work centers around working at the

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[24] Dunham, op. cit., p. 39.

[25] Dunham, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

individual and group level. Rather it is the absence of a coordinated and comprehensive program or plan at a higher level that is at fault, i.e., councils - one that would provide a guide for specific social work planning - and one that would be geared to meeting and overcoming basic causes of social problems, which are usually far beyond the individual and group levels. As in urban planning, social planning, at least as performed by social workers, also relies heavily on methods, such as conference in community organization; and interview in casework.[26] Whether social work is as strongly method-oriented as urban planning, however, is not clear. In viewing the planning processes of both it becomes clear that a similar procedure is involved, and as such a common process, based on a common definition of planning, could easily be developed. In this sense planning would be viewed as a problem-solving process and a process for establishing and meeting goals. This is taken up again in Chapter II.

Rose, in discussing the experience of attempts to integrate urban and social planning in metropolitan Toronto, views one of the major shortcomings of social planning as being the lack of long-range planning, in fact, there is even very limited thinking along these lines.[27] With some notable exceptions this appears to be the prevalent situation. In line with this, it can be inferred that, with respect to social planning, the planning process

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[26] Dunham, op. cit., p. 41.

[27] Albert Rose, "Co-ordination In physical and Social Planning in a Metropolitan Area," Paper presented at the Eighty-fifth Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare at Chicago, May 16, 1958.

has not been as nearly thought out as in urban planning - i.e., viewing the procedures social planners go through to arrive at courses of action as being a definite planning process.

Shortcomings - Changing Directions

The previous discussion of the present conceptual bases of social and urban planning emphasized the weaknesses and shortcomings of both as reflected in their basic concepts and subsequently in their planning approaches. These shortcomings become quickly apparent when action in the form of urban renewal is taken, especially when aimed at the lower class in slum areas. Urban planning, perhaps by virtue of its more sophisticated planning process and approach and its incorporation into government, has assumed a leadership role in urban renewal efforts. This role could also be due to the problems of the physical environment being the easiest to see, and hence, to improve. Because of its role, urban planning has largely been the target of criticism leveled at urban renewal efforts, especially its effects on the lower class. Social planning, on the other hand, has not yet exerted any real strong influence on urban renewal planning. This is due, in part, to its efforts being fragmented and the peculiar situation where social planning is carried out by both private and public agencies, with the agencies within each sector being largely independent of each other. Another important factor is that social planning, the term planning,

and all its connotations, is not yet fully perceived or understood by those responsible for it as being a process or a concept in the same sense as urban planning is. Where social planning has been carried out in an effort to meet social problems, it has been at the individual and group level through social work - but where there is no effective and comprehensive program or plan, the best efforts of social work are likely to be dissipated. In addition, social work services are "based largely on client motivation,"[28] but the very people they are intended to help, the lower class, are largely without sufficient motivation. Also, "while the systems of public assistance are designed to provide relief for all the poor, there is little provision for helping the poor to become self-sufficient."[29] Similarly, "while thoughtful leaders in the social work field have often suggested that more of the services should be directed to correcting inequities in the social and economic system, and to altering the environmental factors that cause poverty, dependency, and maladjustment, practically none of the money or effort invested in the health and welfare services, per se, is actually directed to that end."[30] Inferred here is that social planning is mainly directed at keeping "heads above water," However, assuming the evolution of social planning to urban planning's stage of development with respect to the term "planning,"

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[28] Schermer, op. cit., p. 10.

[29] Schermer, op. cit., p. 10.

[30] Schermer, op. cit., p. 48.

there still would be the question of different conceptual bases that would have to be faced if social and urban planning are to be effectively integrated.

While the shortcomings and weaknesses have been emphasized thus far, this does not imply by any means that recognition of them does not exist on the part of both social and urban planners, or even that efforts to bring about a more effective solution are not being made. Some social planners are beginning to think about the larger physical and economic urban area which so greatly affects the conditions they must deal with; and some urban planners are beginning to turn to sociologists and social workers for knowledge about the people for whom they should be planning. "In the face of changes in the nature of urban problems, the separate planning disciplines are beginning to realize the limitations of a specialized approach."[31] There have been some recent attempts by social planning councils to apply planning at the metropolitan level; attempts to integrate social and urban planning in community development programs. There are also efforts to develop a comprehensive program to overcome problems of poverty, with implications of being incorporated into a community renewal program. In several of our larger cities, efforts are being made to establish some form of planning and coordinating council, committee, or organization that will represent all the major aspects of a

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[31] Schermer, op. cit., p. 7.

community, and both social and urban planning. The passing of President Johnson's Poverty Bill by Congress has, potentially, far-reaching implications for urban renewal and present approaches to it. These are some of the changes that are appearing on the scene, and which are explored further in Chapter III. However, as Schermer points out, "the steps toward genuine planning in the health, education, and welfare field as toward integrated urban and social planning are still in the embryonic stage."[32]

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[32]Schermer, op. cit., p. 29.

CHAPTER II

INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL AND URBAN PLANNING: PART I

In this chapter, the integration of social and urban planning is dealt with on a larger scale - namely, metropolitan or city-wide - under the contention that they must be integrated in a hierarch of levels. Chapter III deals with the topic at the more detailed renewal level.

A review of the latest efforts in social planning (recent and on-going) reveals the probable directions these efforts are increasingly likely to take. Essentially this can be pinned down to two major directions. One is the attempt, on the part of federated social planning councils, to determine existing and future needs and demands for services on a metropolitan scale, and to develop a comprehensive plan to meet needs and demands at this level. Primarily these plans represent coordinated thinking and decision-making on the part of the various public and private agencies, with respect to desirable general and specific programs and coordination of activities. Thus, these plans do represent an evaluation or analysis of current programs and an effort to redirect them into some more desirable pattern.

The other major direction is the efforts of some public and private agencies and organizations to overcome critical social problems of lower classes in slum areas, these efforts taking the form of concerted

and concentrated programs or projects in specific areas. These programs, for the most part, are developed and implemented almost entirely within the confines of specific geographical areas. The underlying concept of all these efforts, regardless of major differences in approach, is the notion of "self-help," supported by coordinated public and private services. While these programs or projects are not yet in their advanced stages, and as such it is still too early to evaluate results, it probably can be said that they represent the most effective action yet taken in social planning to overcome critical social problems.

The major reason there are two directions, and not what would seemingly appear to be one direction, is that these efforts are largely separated and independent. Welfare or social planning councils are beginning to develop comprehensive social plans for health, welfare and recreation services at the metropolitan level. Social plans are being developed at the neighborhood level by semi-public organizations to overcome poverty of the lower-income population.

The integration of urban planning with these latest social planning efforts has been achieved to some degree. However, a large gap is still apparent, especially with respect to the metropolitan or city-wide scale. There is no indication of any trend toward attempting to integrate social and urban planning at this level, such as establishing common goals, policies,

etc. Social planning does appear to be moving away from a primary emphasis on the coordinating function for a select group of agencies to an emphasis on total community planning for all health, welfare and recreation services. Thus, there is a very definite trend in social planning to incorporate the notion of "comprehensive planning" much as it is used in urban planning. Further, the planning process or approach can easily be seen as being quite similar for the two.

However, it is in the incorporating of social and urban planning in some hierarchy of levels - i.e., from the metropolitan or city-wide level to a renewal level - that a critical problem exists. What is likely to develop is that a city would have a "comprehensive social plan" and a "comprehensive physical plan" with little connection between the two. While allowing for differences necessitating some separation, this does not represent integration of social and urban planning except in a limited manner. There are also signs of emerging "social planning commissions" (social welfare councils with policy-making powers). The question can be raised whether there should be one "plan" and one policy making body or some other alternative. Also, what relationships should exist between public and private bodies with respect to final decision-making? Where should the planning function be placed (social-urban) - what responsibilities should it have? These questions

relate to organization and structure of planning and policy and decision-making, assuming social and urban planning should be integrated and incorporated in some form. Equally important is the question of establishing common goals, policies, and plans that would provide guides to social and urban planning and which would express the interrelatedness of social and physical factors. There is a need to relate detailed renewal planning with the more general metropolitan or city-wide planning. Specific renewal areas cannot be treated as entities unto themselves with respect to plans and programs.

The above suggests that a need exists to integrate social and urban planning along with social and physical development policies and goals at various levels or scales rather than just one level - i.e., renewal. In other words, a continuing, coordinated planning process should be established on a hierarchyof levels and which would represent a more comprehensive approach to overcoming social problems and achieving desired positive directions than either urban or social planning has achieved, or could achieve, separately. The remainder of this chapter is directed toward establishing a framework for integrating social and urban planning along these lines. Essentially this consists of the organization and structure of the planning function related to a common planning process. This framework is presented in a general, schematic form, owing to the obvious complexity involved.

The Planning Process

The planning process as it is used in urban planning is beginning to take on new dimensions and concepts through research carried out by urban planners and other students of urban affairs. This represents a continuing effort to make planning more of a "comprehensive and continuous process." As such the concept of the planning process has expanded considerably in recent years as traditional views and procedures have been challenged, resulting in much rethinking on the function and scope of planning. Much more concern is exhibited with respect to the bases of plan development than has previously existed. This is in contrast to the method orientation of urban planning discussed in Chapter I and which is still dominant. The use of these evolving ideas allows a clearer expression of the integration of social and urban planning through a common planning process. The question could be raised here as to what extent in this planning process urban and social planning should be integrated. While this will be expounded on throughout the remainder of this chapter, it can be stated here that it is the contention of this thesis that the two should not only be integrated but incorporated as well into one planning function and process extending into a hierarchy of levels - i.e., from a metropolitan or city-wide level to a renewal area level.

Planning in its broader meaning is not only a method or technique, it is a social process that has become an institution. In this context planning can be defined simply as goal-oriented human action adjusting to, and bringing about, social change. By comprehensive planning is meant taking into account all the relevant purposes of a social unit (city, renewal area, etc.) in carrying out the function of the institution of planning. The planning process refers to the "carrying out of this function," or more specifically, a sequence of action for the development of plans for achieving desired goals. The concept of process is used here in a behavioral sense rather than a technical meaning which would relate to stages of planning in some defined work program of a planning agency (this is beyond the scope of this thesis). With respect to the development of a framework for a common planning process for social and urban planning, the concept of planning is used to mean "social planning" as defined in Chapter IV.

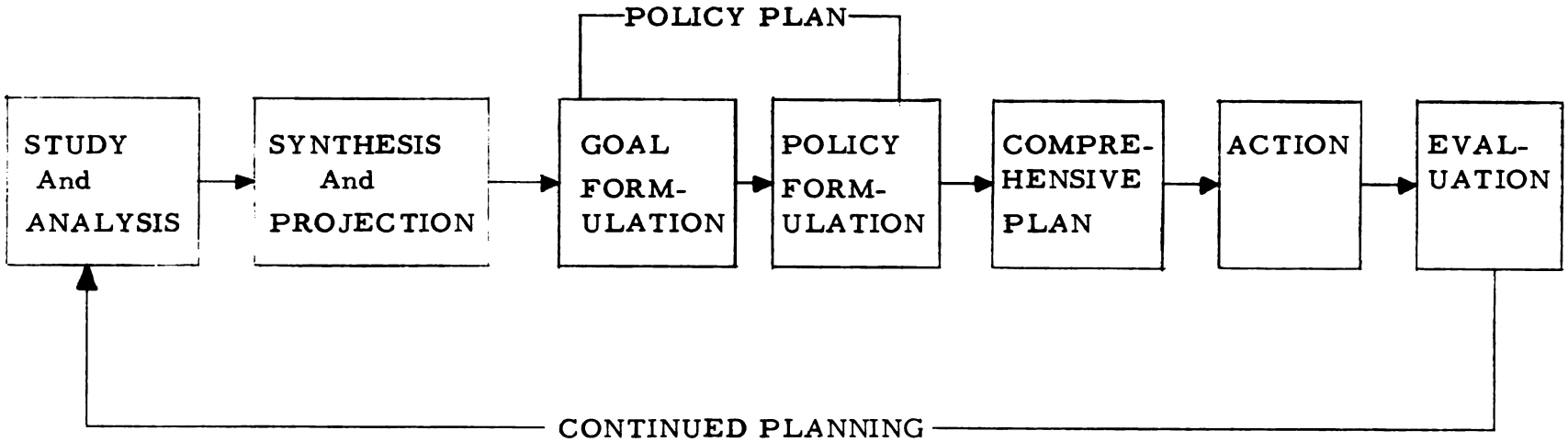
The planning process consists of stating problems and goals (included here also would be the whole program of research), development of plans (of what to do and how to do it), action or implementation, and evaluation. It is useful to view this process as a decision system as planning is actually one form of decision-making. The major parts, namely goals, policy plans and end plans, will be discussed first and the various parts of the planning process will then be brought together in the

form of a decision-making model. This model is then related to a suggested organizational structure incorporating social and urban planning into one planning function.

Figure 1 depicts, in a schematic manner, the general steps involved in the planning process. Based upon study, analysis and synthesis of the characteristics, problems, needs, values, policies, and resources of a social unit (we can express this as "understanding the situation" - an initial statement of problems and objectives that would guide the research program), goals are formulated. From the goals a set of policies are developed which set the courses of action for decision-making and for the development of the comprehensive plan (and other end plans, such as renewal plans). After action takes place - application of plans and policies to the social unit - the last step in the planning process is evaluation with respect to plans and policies contributing to solving social problems and achieving the stated goals. It is important to point out that these stages occur in cycles which proceed in a circular rather than a straight-line sequence, with one sequence of action moving into a second, and a second into a third, and so on.

THE PLANNING PROCESS

FIGURE 1



Adapted from an unpublished thesis entitled, The Policy Planning Approach in Urban and Regional Planning, by Stephen Craig Nelson, (School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, Michigan State University), 1964.

Goals

While goals have been in the forefront of both social and urban planning since their earlier beginnings, it has only been in relatively recent times that the explicit identification of goals has been made an integral part of the planning process. Also until recently, at least in urban planning, goals specified in the course of the planning process were identified on the basis of the planner's perception of community goals. His sources for goal statements were, in part, a combination of observation, experience and intuition. Present efforts are attempting to move away from this method.[1] But what constitutes a valid base for the identification of community goals? "The nebulousness of identifying goals that have one and the same meaning to both the average urbanite and the decision maker is difficult enough, but how are goals to be arrayed and given meaning in combinations that have never been articulated or viewed before by the general public or even the decision maker?"[2] This becomes even more critical when the implications of combining social, physical, and economic goals into one set of goals is realized.

Present directions toward identifying goals appear to be turning

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[1] F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., "Foundations of Urban Planning", Urban Life and Form, Hirsch (ed.), (New York: holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), pp. 225-26.

[2] Ibid., p. 226.

to the use of various survey research methods in the study of attitudes and values. These studies attempt to focus on less obvious and sometimes hidden problems which are not fully understood or perhaps not recognized by people in a community. The difficulty of goal formulation lies, essentially, in values which are implicit in goals. As Lindbloom points out, people have a multiplicity of values -- unstable and fluid values -- and conflicts among values and combinations of values.[3] However, these studies can be very helpful and probably will become more so as more experience and knowledge is gained. As mentioned earlier, goals are directed toward problem solution and to desired positive directions. It is with respect to the latter that the surveys have not been very helpful in eliciting any meaningful response regarding future states or directions with which people have had no direct experience. Thus, the planner must still make value judgements in making up the goal combinations and in devising alternative goal forms from which decision makers can make a choice. Regarding alternatives, it has only been in very recent times that the specification of goal combinations in the form of alternatives has come about. This often involves a variety of other goals, with ramifications of one goal leading to others. In addition, the formulation of goals in terms of alternatives

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[3] Stephen Craig Nelson, The Policy Planning Approach in Urban and Regional Planning, unpublished thesis (School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, Michigan State Univ., 1964), p. 110.

means greater complexity in the entire sequence of action in the planning process. Thus, goal formulation is very complexly inter-woven throughout the planning process and as such, should not be thought of as taking place in only one "stage." Difficult as it is to formulate goals, it is a necessity if planning is to have any ultimate meaning.

With regard to the planning process goals can be thought of as general descriptions of desired outcomes and actions toward which a community strives. They are directed at overcoming social problems and promoting social change, and as such, can have both negative and positive characteristics - that is, be stated in either a negative or positive sense. More specific purposes of goals are as follows:[4]

--delineate decision-makers' areas of concern.

--utilized as guides for action; especially in providing a framework for making unique non-programmed decisions.

--set criteria or standards for "good system performance:" major value of this is with respect to evaluating alternative plans and policies.

--Explicate and clarify the role and purposes of the public and private sectors within the major social unit.

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[4] Ibid., p. 114.

Policies

It was mentioned in Chapter I that emphasis in urban planning at the present is on the development of end, or comprehensive plans - that is, concern lies with the "plan-development process" rather than with a continuous "planning process." As a result, a large gap can exist between the present situation and the future state depicted in the comprehensive plan. This is one of the major reasons for the case of policies and policy planning being suggested in the urban planning field. In social planning efforts there does not appear to be any significant use of policies, at least as defined here. The use of policies and policy planning offers a key way of bringing social and urban planning together in a common planning process, both for short range plans and action and for long range plans. Policies may be defined as establishing courses of action - that is, they set the framework for group action and decisions. Within this context, policies may be used to guide repetitive decisions and as such would persist over a period of time; or they may be used to guide decisions toward some desired outcome. "Policy planning can be defined as the initial steps of planning in which it is determined what kind of community is desired, and what courses of action are necessary to attain it. It is the stage at which the basic purposes and directions of the planning process are decided upon."[5]

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[5] Ibid., p. 4.

The major purpose of policy plans then, is to provide a framework to guide the development of a comprehensive plan and how it is to be accomplished, and as an instrument for operational decision-making. As shown in Figure 1, the policy plan is made up of goals and policies. Goals set the criteria for measuring the effectiveness of all subsequent planning; and they describe what is desired as an outcome of planning. After goals are determined, policies are then developed which when carried out would contribute to the attainment of the goals. "Policies then, point the directions for action and the rules for making them manifest."[6]

Policies and the Comprehensive Plan

The urban planning profession generally views the comprehensive plan as a device to enable local government to carry out is responsibilities - namely, the formulation, control and coordination of all major public policies needed to govern the physical development of a community. Thus, one of the basic functions of the comprehensive plan is the determination of policy, i.e., what should go where and when, in addition to the functions of communication and coordination. It is also usually felt among urban planners that all other types of planning - urban renewal, capital improvement programming, urban design, etc. - can be accomplished successfully only with a comprehensive plan as a basic foundation. What this implies is that

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[6] Ibid., p. 6.

more detailed, shorter-range planning should be guided by comprehensive long-range policies which are directed toward desired goals. These policies take the form of a comprehensive plan which expresses them in some spatial form - the shorter-range plans and projects can then help to implement the comprehensive plan.

However, what actually happens is that comprehensive plans, developed in the above manner do not effectively guide decisions regarding short-range plans and projects. This situation arises largely because policies are only inferred or implied in most comprehensive plans which show some "end state" at some point in the future. This is the gap referred to earlier that now exists between the present and near future, and the more distant future depicted in comprehensive plans. Policy plans have been suggested by some to fill this gap. Also, most importantly, is the notion that the policies be carefully developed with respect to goal attainment and as such, serve as a guide for plan development (all types of plans). In addition, alternative policy plans would be developed, tested and evaluated with respect to consequences, goal attainment, etc. This is in contrast to the usual approach of comprehensive plans in which only a limited set of policies is considered.

Urban planners view the policies inferred in the comprehensive plan and the recommendations contained in it primarily in terms of physical

development. While these plans usually state a "consideration of social factors and needs," the plans and the policies inferred in them actually reflect mainly economic and design considerations relating to physical development. Social implications of these "physical development policies" are too often overlooked simply because of a lack of awareness of them. As will be discussed in Chapter IV this is a result of artificially separating artifacts or man-made components from the human components in the cultural system. Policies and decisions are made with only a limited understanding of their full implications. This is true of other professions and decision-makers in both the public and private sectors. A few examples of this are listed below - they are hypothetical but are common to most comprehensive plans. As the notion of comprehensive plans is much more developed in urban planning than in social planning, the examples apply primarily to the former type.

--The comprehensive plan, in determing relative residential densities, by area and in the total community - taking into consideration the existing housing stock - can determine who will live where, by numbers, by income and to some extent by race. Yet communities have very rarely assumed much responsibility for determining broad housing policies which in turn establish population policies. However, it seems apparent that we are moving into an era in our urban life when we can no longer avoid at least

understanding what we have done and what we are doing in terms of housing supply and its social implications. An example of this, effecting a whole metropolitan area, is the adoption (or avoidance)of a policy as to how much of the central city's poor and minority population it is going to continue to house and can afford to house and what share can be or should be directed to what are presently suburban areas.

--What are the implications of any proposal with regard to the building up of vacant areas or the changing of areas to be rebuilt or modified as to use or occupancy, i.e., what are the needs, opportunities, potential hardships, "impossible situations" and political difficulties involved in any specific proposal.

--Regarding employment the comprehensive plan shows land set aside for manufacturing and other commercial - industrial uses, by general types of activities, by economic linkages, by transportation requirements, including employee densities, marketability factors, and the revenue-producing aspects from the point of view of the city. But what of the problem situations in unemployment and underemployment which should probably receive as much study as any other factor in industrial land use planning. Assuming a city undertakes a program to overcome the disadvantages of the unemployed; what is, or should be, the relationship between it and the city's physical development and economic policies regarding industrial and commercial

uses (location-attracting new industry) - or between the types of jobs available and the retraining and eductional aspects of the employment program.

--Physical elements that a comprehensive plan deals with serve some social purposes (Chapter IV)- thus what physical expression (location, design, etc.) serves these purposes best (urban planners view this in only a limited way).

Comprehensive plans developed by social planners such as prepared by the Community Service Council of Metropolitan Indianapolis and by the United Community Funds and Councils of America (a guide for local council comprehensive planning) are oriented toward health, welfare and recreation services. These attempts represent efforts to meet social problems in a more dynamic and effective way. The planning process is quite similar to urban planning - in fact, as mentioned earlier, social planning has drawn from urban planning in this respect. However, objectives are rather limited in scope, that is in a sense of being related to just a few types of services and their areas of concern. Policies are only inferred in the plans, emphasis is oriented toward the end product of the planning process - i.e., jumping from analysis of present situation into plan development - implications of proposals are not thought out except in limited sphere of services. Thus, much the same situation exists as in urban planning.

The above points up the necessity for greater understanding and awareness of the implications of proposals and that these implications can

have ramifications far beyond major areas of concern. Comprehensive plans are not developed or used in a manner that recognizes, except perhaps to a limited extent, the existing cultural framework and the effect of changing it with respect to proposals contained in such plans. This in turn, is a reflection of incomplete approaches to the understanding of the urban community which, as mentioned before, applies to both urban and social planning. But even assuming a better understanding by both, there still is the question of making decisions regarding the best policies to follow which implies policy alternatives. This is not possible if policies are only inferred in comprehensive plans. That is, it is not only a case of using policies, but stating them explicitly. This is where the notion of policy plans enters - i. e., development of policy alternatives with evaluation of implications involved in each and selection of the one that would best achieve desired goals. The selected policy alternative then would serve as a guide to plan development - both comprehensive and more detailed, shorter-ranged plans such as for renewal areas. This allows a clearer role of plans translating policies into specific recommendations. With the integration of social and urban planning the concept of a comprehensive plan as now held by urban and social planners would have to undergo considerable change if it is to be a truly effective instrument in achieving social goals.

Policy Planning[7]

With the integration and incorporation of social and urban planning into one planning function that is proposed in this thesis - that is, using planning in its broader meaning - it becomes critical that goals, policies and plans be more inclusively developed, not only more so than in either social or urban planning alone, but also more than the mere bringing together of the two would entail. This is related to a greater understanding of urban life and leading from this, a greater awareness of what we want to accomplish and how to accomplish it. This applies from the broadest metropolitan or city-wide level down to the most specific renewal area. Within this context then, our desires, efforts, decisions, and actions would be expressed through common goals, policies and plans tied together within this hierarchy. This makes it all the more necessary to state and evaluate intentions clearly before final action takes place. The use of policies within the planning process contributes to achieving this.

Fagin points out that the word plan has several different meanings. "As used it serves as a general term for a coordinated system of some kind intended as a guide to action. For example, a plan expressing desired space relations (as used here such a plan would also express desired aspatial

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[7] Sections entitled, "Policy Planning" and "A Planning Decision System," were largely drawn from Nelson, op. cit., Chapter III, "Policy and the Planning Process."

relations) is called a comprehensive plan. A plan expressing desirable fiscal relationships between projections of resources and of service requirements is called a financial plan. A plan proposing a coordinated system of activities is called a plan of action."[8] A plan which comprehends all three types and which, moreover, brings physical, social, and economic considerations into a common focus would be a policies plan.[9]

The planning process is made up of outcome and action decisions which occur at various levels becoming continuingly more refined and detailed as development of plans proceeds - i.e., from the general to the specific. Outcome decisions refer to what is desired (goals) and action decisions refer to how to achieve the outcomes. This process, beginning at the highest level (or first-level decision) and continuing at various lower levels, is what is termed as policy planning. Decisions made at the first-level precipitate and condition decisions at the second-level, etc. At each decision level policy plans are developed in the form of alternative solutions. Selection is made on the basis of evaluation against goals - goals then, serve as the evaluative criteria. This relationship is depicted in Figure 2. In this sense then, goals are more than just statements of planning intent. They also have the function of providing a guide for the development of policies and

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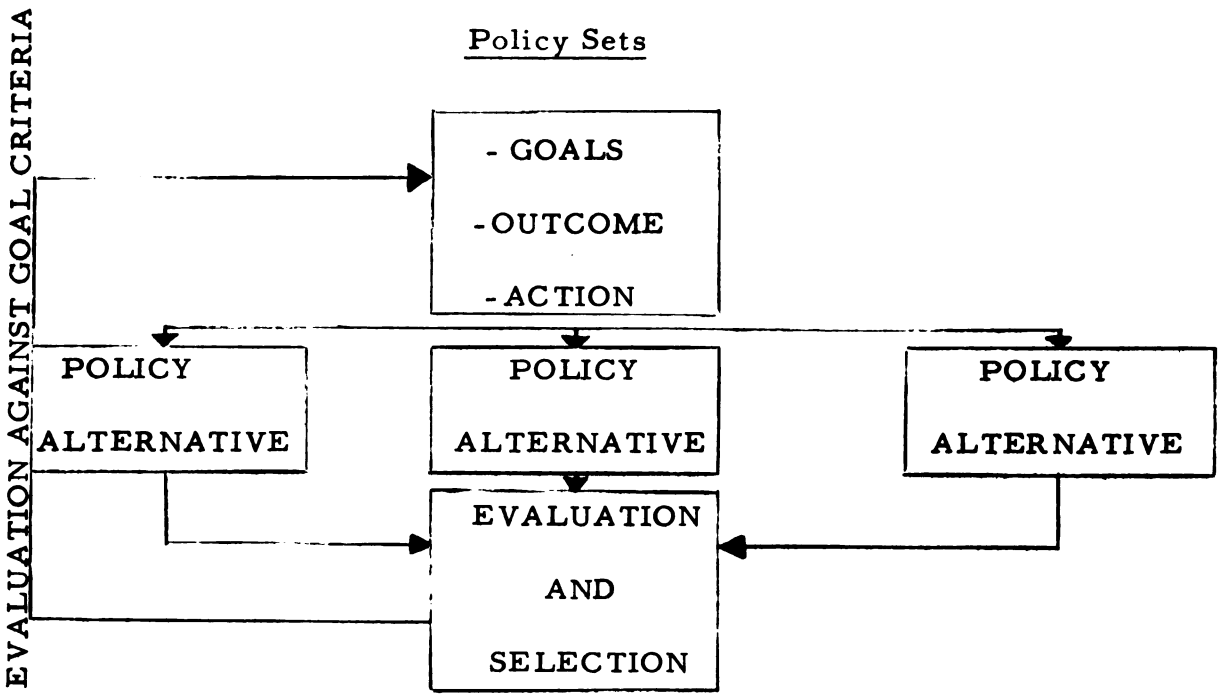
[8]Henry Fagin, "Organizing and Carrying Out Planning Activities Within Urban Government," Journal of the Institute of Planners (Vol. 25, No. 3., Aug., 1959).

[9]Ibid.

plan recommendations by stating criteria which the results of planning activity must satisfy and for achieving desired outcomes.

FIGURE 2



Adapted from an unpublished thesis entitled, The Policy Planning Apprach in Urban and Regional Planning, by Stephen Craig Nelson, (School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, Michigan State University), 1964.

As shown in Figure 2, policies are grouped into sets of alternatives, Each alternative contains policies relating to the levels of decisions - that is, defining the courses of action which will lead to goal attainment. First, policies would identify outcomes which potentially meet the criteria prescribed by the goals. Next policies would be formulated regarding actions necessary to promote and create the outcomes.

A third level of policies would be concerned with more specific methods of procedure for achieving higher-level policies. Nelson terms these strategic outcome policies, strategic action policies, and tactical policies, to differentiate the various levels. Essentially, they are all strategic policies extended down the hierarchy to the operational level where they can be directly translated into action. Each alternative set is then compared and evaluated against the goals and, on the basis of maximum goal-attainment, one alternative is eventually selected. It then becomes necessary to formulate specific recommendations for effectuating the selected policy alternative. This is where the planning process moves from the policy plan into the comprehensive plan. This reveals the hierarchial relationship involved in moving through policy decision levels to the comprehensive plan and the interrelationships between them. Viewing the various decisions in this manner would aid in showing decision-makers why a particular decision is necessary and what effect it would have upon higher level decisions. The importance of this is stressed all the more when it is realized that the bringing together of social and urban planning would mean involvement of many agencies, both public and private.

A Planning Decision System

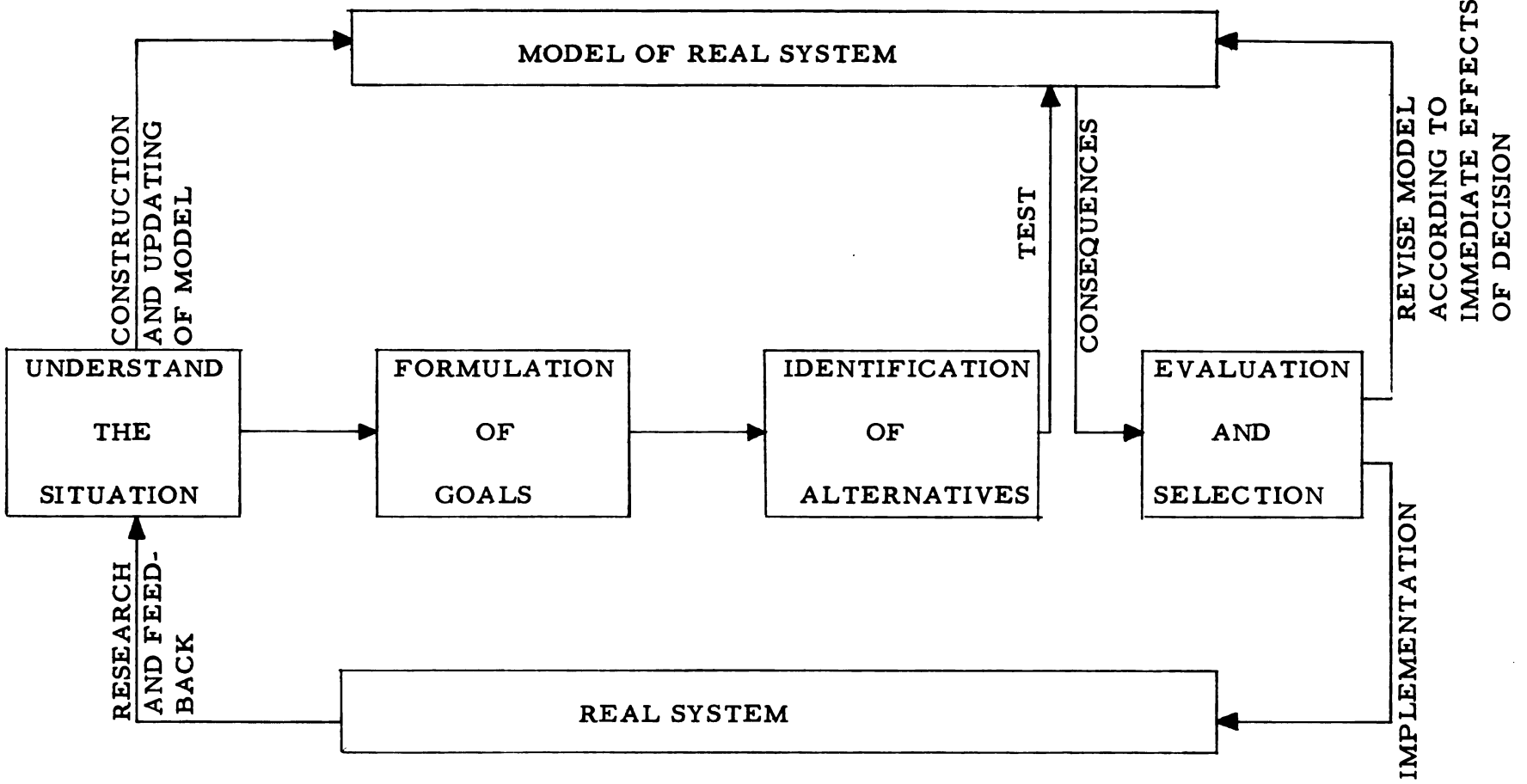
Because of the increasing complexity in meeting problems and formulating effective policies, efforts are being made in urban planning and

in many other field of knowledge to develop more scientific models of the decision process. Incorporating social and urban planning into one planning function has implications of furthering this complexity, primarily because the scope and content of such a function would be considerably greater than now prevails in urban planning alone. Thus, a clear expression of the decision process that would be involved in such a planning function would become mandatory if it is to be at all effective. The implication involved here is that decisions would have to be made from a metropolitan or city-wide scale to specific renewal areas - they would also have to represent a coordinated, concerted effort to overcome social problems and to move in positive agreed upon directions.

Basically, there are four elements in a planning decision system: understanding the situation; setting goals; identifying alternatives; and evaluation and selection. Figure 3 shows schematically how these four basic decision components can be fitted together in the form of a decision system. "Understanding the situation" (study, analysis, etc.) is shown as a continuous process from which a simulation model of the real system is developed, and from which goals are formulated (based on continuous information concerning issues, values, etc.). Thus, neither the model nor the goals are static because they are connected to continuous information from the real system.

FIGURE 3

A PLANNING DECISION SYSTEM



Source: Stephen Craig Nelson, The Policy Planning Approach in Urban and Regional Planning, an unpublished thesis, (School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, Michigan State University), 1964.

After alternative plans, solutions or proposals are identified they are tested in the simulation model and projected so that long-term consequences can be determined. The alternative consequences or implications are then compared against the goals, and the alternative providing the most benefits is selected. This represents a decision with respect to selected plans which is implemented in the real system. Results or effects are fed back to the existing situation component so that evidence can be gathered for subsequent decisions. Effects on the real system model, where some part becomes modified because of the decisions, can then be incorporated as part of the model.

The system depicted in Figure 3 also applys to the policy plan development process - alternatives simply become policy alternatives rather than plan or proposal alternatives. However, the steps involving the identification of alternatives and evaluation and selection would take place at each level of policy decision. Also, each decision would feed back to the next higher decision in order to test consistency and compatibility. Thus, not only would each policy alternative be tested, but also each policy level within the alternatives, i.e., strategic outcome and action policies and tactical policies. The final selected policy alternative would become an important component of the simulation model in all subsequent consequence testing.

The above emphasizes the use of a decision model in plan development. Yet policies are much more than just elements of a plan. Once formulated, policies become operational tools for guiding and coordinating action. Thus, policies not only set the framework for the comprehensive plan, but they also act directly as implementation devices.

A brief further word on the major components of the decision system would be of value here. The above discussion in assigning a function of goals beyond what goals are generally used for - i.e., more than a statement of planning intent - necessitates use of relatively detailed goals as the planning process proceeds through the various decision levels. That is, general goals at the highest level must be related to goals further down the hierarchy. Also, at each level goals and policies must relate with respect to degree of detail so that policy alternatives can be compared against the goals. In order to make full use of the notion of policy planning it must be kept in mind that choice permeates the entire planning process. A continuous effort then, should be made to define areas of choice and to identify alternatives whenever appropriate or necessary. The real system model in the decision system relates to Chapter IV regarding "viewing the community as a system" and the proposed model. The difference between the two models is simply one of scale - the proposed systems model in Chapter IV relates to

a renewal area, while the model inferred in the decision system would relate to an entire metropolitan area or city. Actually both would be part of the planning process, and hence the decision system, but at different levels. They would both serve as means to enlarge the "understanding the situation" component, (that is, understanding a social unit) and to simulate consequences of policy alternatives. Knowledge with respect to building such models is increasing rapidly - there are already examples of planning agencies using such models. These are usually thought of as being used with computers which requires considerable resources. In addition, such models are still only in a rudimentary stage due primarily to insufficient model development techniques. However, non-computerized conceptual simulation models could be used. This would involve a more conscious and objective effort to anticipate effects of decisions on the existing and future state of the system.

With the integration of social and urban planning one of the major reasons for using a policy planning approach as discussed above is that not all planning policy would be able to be portrayed spatially in a social unit. Implications or consequences of plans (of various kinds) must be viewed comprehensively.

Organization - Incorporation of Social and Urban Planning

Figure 4 shows a suggested organization representing the incorporation of social and urban planning into a single planning function, which is tied into a decision structure of a social unit of some level. It is implied that this social unit would represent at least a city-wide level. The major point to be emphasized is that, to be effective, this planning function must be at a larger scale than, for example, just a renewal area. An additional inference is made here regarding the scope and content of such a planning function being broadened more comprehensively and effectively with a social unit as a cultural system. This relates to the concepts that will be expounded on in Chapter IV - namely, a more holistic approach and concerted effort is needed with respect to the urban community if social problems are to be overcome and desired positive directions are to be achieved. As such, these efforts would involve both the public and private sectors. However, in keeping within the scope of this thesis, only welfare councils are shown as representing private efforts - other elements of the private sector are only inferred.

The organization depicted in Figure 4 represents one possible way of incorporating social and urban planning at a higher level. As such, it is not the intention here to imply that there are no other ways. The actual

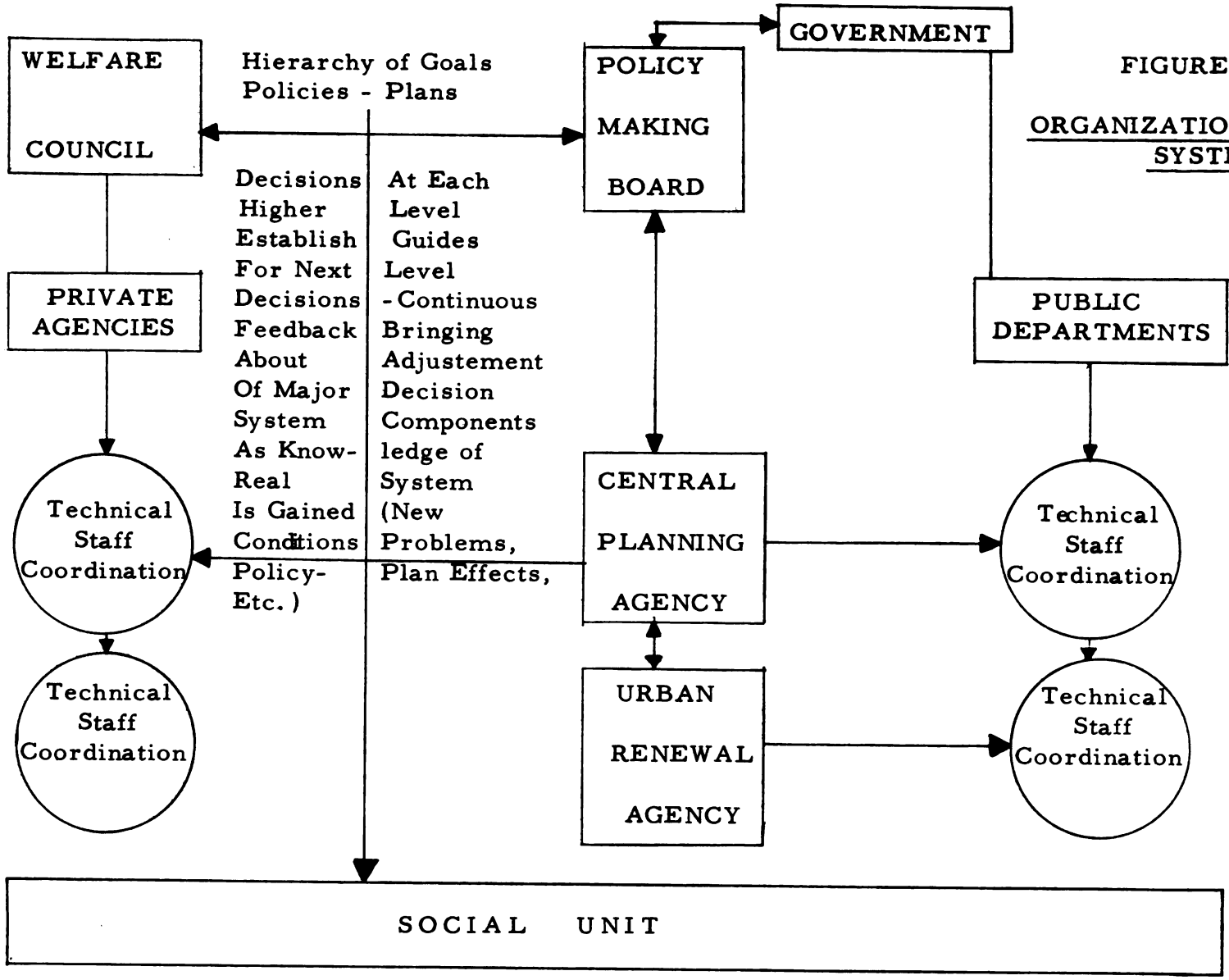


FIGURE 4

ORGANIZATION OF DECISION SYSTEM

expression of this incorporation would depend on the circumstances and characteristics of a particular social unit which vary considerably in organization and decision-making structure, at least with respect to carrying out the responsibilities of social and urban planning. But regardless of how the planning function is organized and fitted into a decision structure, a planning decision system would be common to all. That is, development of plans and their implementation into the real system would be guided by common goals and policies for the total social unit and its various parts.

The responsibilities and functions of the various components of a decision structure as shown in Figure 4 are briefly expounded on below to give a general idea of how the planning process would be carried out. In this case the planning process is viewed as being the same as the decision system discussed in the previous section. Thus, the planning process becomes something considerably more than just the steps a planning agency goes through in developing policies and plans. It involves all public and private functions or institutions that would participate in goal defining, policy-making (and hence, decision-making) and plan development, or contribute to the implementation of policies and plans.

Policy Making Board. - as the major element in the decision system in terms of high-level decision-making this board would have representation

from both the public and private sectors. It would have the responsibility of stating goals and selection of policies for the total social unit at appropriate or relevant levels of decision making. These decisions on goals and policies would extend, at relevant levels, within a hierarchy of the social unit - from the largest scale of comprehensive planning to urban renewal. The board would also have review powers regarding relevant public and private proposals with respect to services and facilities. The central planning agency would be closely tied here in submitting reports on such proposals. In addition the planning agency would have review powers as well, covering service and facility proposals at a lower level, which would not go through the policy board. Basically the board would establish the framework for carrying out the planning function. In this capacity it would seek to gain support for planning efforts and committment to goals and policies in both the public and private sectors. Final decisions, of course, would rest with the local government as it would have the major responsibility for carrying out plans and programs. This suggests committment by government to goals and policies. This raises the question as to what extent the board should be tied to the government structure. Perhaps it could be made a "super" committee of the mayor's office or city council but with some degree of power with respect to final decision-making. However, both the

mayor and council would be an important part of the representation (and other public decision-makers if at metropolitan level). The welfare council represents another problem area. It would also have representation on the board, but though it would be an important contributor to the provision of services, it could not be given final approval powers similar to government (except with respect to its role). Since it is private, it would be independent and as such its committments to goals and policies would be voluntary. However, these councils usually have a strong sense of public responsibility and thus would cooperate closely with public agencies (a more real problem probably would relate to the degree of control these councils would have over member agencies).

Central Planning Agency. - essentially would be responsible for "comprehensive planning" for total social unit. This would encompass the identification, testing and evaluation of goal and policy alternatives, and responsibility for conducting and coordinating research, the study and analysis of the social unit, and the development of a comprehensive plan. Thus, this agency would be the major source of knowledge regarding the social unit and the major component in the decision system for the preparation of policies and plans to meet needs and problems and to achieve desired positive directions. In this capacity it would be closely tied to the Policy

Making Board and the local government, and would have a working relationship with the Welfare Council. The agency would be responsible for the coordination of public and private agencies regarding policies, plans, projects, etc. As a community renewal program should properly be an element of the comprehensive plan, this would fall within the realm of duties of the agency. The inclusion of this element would establish the framework for the more detailed renewal planning. As it is proposed here that the comprehensive plan would represent a "single plan," this would mean that the central planning agency would have to assume to some degree some of the present planning functions of the welfare councils. This probably would be related to determination of long range needs and types of services and how to meet them. The separation of urban renewal from the central planning agency does not indicate a break in terms of goals and policies - it simply represents recognition of the different types of duties between the two agencies. To carry out its function the central planning agency would have a staff composed of different disciplines and specialists, including social scientists and counterparts of social planners on welfare councils. This is a direction many large city planning staffs are beginning to take. While this is a single unified planning agency, the basic organizational subdivisions within it should probably be primarily along the lines of professional specialization.

Urban Renewal Agency. - this agency would have the responsibility of preparing and implementing detailed renewal action plans and programs to meet social problems and needs relating to both social and physical factors. The agency would be responsible for the coordination of whatever private and public agencies are needed at this level to develop and carry out plans and programs. Renewal planning throughout the social unit would be guided by higher level goals, policies and plans where relevant. However, as will be discussed in the next chapter, planning at this level has to be flexible due to different problems and characteristics of particular renewal areas, thus plans and programs would vary. The renewal agency then, would be responsible for detailed studies, goals (reflecting the needs and desires of people of the area) policies and plans. This would necessitate continuous feedback between the renewal agency and other components of the decision structure. As with the central planning agency, the renewal agency would have a staff composed of different disciplines and specialities appropriate to its function, including, among others, urban planners and social workers. Essentially then, the agency would work directly with the people of renewal areas in developing, and helping them develop, plans and programs to meet their needs in addition to meeting needs for the total social unit.

Welfare Council. - as these councils are at least potentially strong organizations and an important source for social services and financial support,

they represent an important contributor to planning for a social unit. It was mentioned above that some of their planning function would be assumed by the central planning agency, but this would be terms of producing a "single" comprehensive plan. The councils, through their representation on the Policy Making Board and their working relationship with both planning agencies, would contribute by participating in the defining of goals and selection of policies. The main idea here is that the planning process would arise from a common study and research base - that is, a common base for understanding the social unit as a cultural system. The councils and their member agencies would contribute to this. As with the central planning and renewal agencies there should be a separation based on different duties. Thus, the councils would be responsible for policies and plans for financing, administration, operation, and coordination of total services provided by member agencies, all of which would be directed toward the common goals, policies and plans established within the hierarch of levels.

The level of this proposed planning function is one in which relatively little thought has been given at present as to the integration of social and urban planning. Most integrative efforts have been aimed at urban renewal which is the obvious level, especially in trying to bring together efforts at overcoming poverty and physical deterioration. Yet a renewal area cannot be dealt by itself in terms of defining problems and

devising programs to overcome them. The problems are related to larger issues and conditions of the social unit, and policies and actions implemented throughout the larger system will likewise exert strong affects on the renewal plan and programs. This statement brings out two key points relating to planning. One is the necessity for greater understanding of the workings of the social unit as a cultural system. The other is the necessity for directing our aims and plans and awareness of their relationships and implications, based on this greater understanding, toward the total social unit and its various parts.

Regarding the latter it is proposed here that the planning process be thought of as a decision system in which policy planning becomes a key component, and that this decision system be organized for the total social unit. Both urban and social planning are presently organized at the larger scale but are separated. Figure 4 represents one way in which they can be brought together in a unified decision-making structure where not only those agencies dealing directly with planning are included, but also all public and private agencies that would contribute to the planning process. Policies selected within the hierarchy of decision levels would guide the operations and actions of these agencies. As urban planning is more

strongly organized at the larger social unit level and is tied in within the structure of government, the proposed organization, except for the addition of the welfare council, is quite similar to what presently exists in most of our larger cities. But the notion of placing this organization in a decision system and the expanded role of the planning agencies is not common. Inferred here is that the mere bringing together of social and urban planning as presently approached is not very likely to result in a holistic approach to the social unit. Considerable efforts would still have to be made continually to increase understanding of the social unit. This is likely to occur more easily where an integrated planning function exists, such as depicted in Figure 4, in which studies and research can be oriented in needed directions.

Related to this factor of greater understanding is the question of what should be the scope of planning. Because of the obvious complexity this has largely only been inferred in the proposed organization. However, the intention is to impart to this planning function a scope as broad as that suggested in the full meaning of social planning as defined in Chapter IV. This would include the scope of urban planning dealing with the physical and economic factors of a community and social planning dealing with the social factors. But the incorporated planning function would reflect not

simply the scope of one added to the other, but also the recognition of the false break between the two - i.e., the scope of this incorporated function would reflect that all planning is social planning which takes place in a cultural system. Thus, goals, policies and plans would be expressed not just spatially, not just aspatially, but both. Urban renewal action would be directed not just to physical components, not just to the human components, but both. Rather than centering attention upon the symptoms and results of cultural system activity, the planning function would focus upon the reasons, the causal relationships, and the processes which underly the cultural system. This involves greater understanding of the social unit as a dynamic and ever-changing system, including the cultural implications of values. Admittedly such an approach is probably a long way off yet, but we are moving towards this, indicating an awakening awareness of the great complexity planning is attempting to deal with in terms of social units, and the necessity for developing a more holistic approach. This also might require a change in concepts by those carrying out the planning function. "Any concept that holds city plans as idea devices in a social vacuum has only random-chance probability of survival. All planning is, by its nature, rooted in cultural history: it arises from inadequacies of the present; it attempts to predict and mold the future."[10] Thus no action so important, for example, as the

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[10] Anthony N. B. Garvan, "Culture Change and the Planner," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, "Urban Revival: Goals and Standards" (Vol. 352, March, 1964), p. 34.

determination of future living patterns can fail to be affected by the existence of present and past cultural systems. Only though such an understanding can our goals be couched in more precise and comprehensive terms, and policies and plans to achieve them be evaluated more fully in terms of social costs and social benefits, including economic benefits, sociological implications and physical impact.

CHAPTER III

INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL AND URBAN PLANNING: PART II

In this chapter the slum as a culture with its implications for urban renewal are discussed as a common focus for social and urban planning. Related to the problems of the lower class slum dweller are new emerging programs that are appearing in several cities, representing community-wide approaches to meeting the social problems of the slum. Three of these approaches and the concepts they entail are reviewed. These programs in turn are related to the new federal anti-poverty program in terms of influences on the emerging programs and the direction of social planning. The proposals of Chapter II are then carried down to the renewal level in the form of community renewal programs and the urban renewal agency, drawing, in part, from the approaches of the emerging programs. There are many ramifications involved and only a few can be dealt with here, but essentially the whole chapter has many inferred implications for the integration of social and urban planning and the ways this can be achieved. All the implications can be brought out only through continued study and analysis.

The Slum Culture - Its Nature and Problems

Many studies have been made over the years in attempts to understand the causes of social problems relating primarily to slum behavior

exhibited by the lower class. In recent years urban renewal action has instigated not only studies of various kinds but also many hypotheses and opinions regarding the nature and characteristics of slum dwellers and their environment. For urban renewal, through its direct effects on the lower class, has forced a deeper look at slum behavior to understand the situation or condition that urban renewal efforts are trying to change.

Most thinking on this subject at the present tends to view the slum with its lower class inhabitants as a subculture, emphasizing those aspects which tend to frustrate its assimilation into the wider society. Slum dwellers are made up of both recent in-migrants to the city - Negroes from the south, country people from the Southern Appolachians, and Puerto Ricans - and people who are not newcomers to the city. For the latter, studies have shown that once they reach the city, migrants seem to settle there as permanently as most Americans, suggesting that slum dwellers are if anything less mobile than most other Americans. If most slum dwellers are not newcomers to the city, then their failure to make good cannot altogether be explained by their unfamiliarity with urban society.[1] As Marris points out, it is a mistake to think of the assimilation of migrants in terms of two cultures: the dominant urban culture and the culture of the rural society from which they came.

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[1] Peter Marris, "The Social Implications of Urban Redevelopment," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (Vol 28, No. 3, Aug., 1962), pp. 183-184.

"The city contains sub-cultures as stable and viable as the conventional norms, and it is to one of these sub-cultures that the newcomer is first introduced. The more successfully he becomes integrated in it, the more difficult it becomes to interest him in the values of the dominant culture."[2]

While there are considerable differences among these sub-cultures, the people living in them are likely to share common characteristics relating to their economic and social status. They are usually the poorest, least educated, and lowest in status of the city's population. Marris points out that our society is competitive, and we maintain (when convenient) that everyone enjoys an equal opportunity. Some slum dwellers accept the challenge, but for most, the chances of success are remote, and now heavily weighted against them by social discrimination. "So they can only protect themselves against a sense of failure and inferiority by denying that the opportunity is open, and by decrying the rewards for which the more hopeful compete."[3] Marris offers additional insights into the slum. The slum sub-culture characteristically divides the world into "we and they" - "they" being the agents of the dominant culture, official and unofficial, anyone who carries the stigma of the successful middle-class. All these are held to discriminate against the people of the sub-culture, and to exploit them. The

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[2] Ibid., p. 184.

[3] Ibid.

sub-culture exacts close conformity and an overriding loyalty to the group; those attempting to break out of it will be discouraged and ridiculed (that is, someone who goes against sub-culture values and norms and repudiates conceptions). It follows then that the sub-culture cannot easily accommodate conventional ambition.[4]

It must also be recognized that the slum is a "social necessity" not only for the social outcasts (and the many illegitimate activities for which the slum provides a cover), but also those who need the protective cover of the slum against the dominant society.[5] In other words, there are many types of people who live in slums for a variety of reasons, and conversely, there are different types of slum sub-cultures. These cannot all be viewed "undesirable" by the dominant society in all ways. Gans reminds us of this when he distinguishes between the lower class and the working class as the two major segments of the low-income population. The latter essentially consists of semiskilled and skilled blue collar workers, who hold steady jobs and are thus able to live under stable, if not affluent, conditions. Their ways of life differ in many respects from thoseof the middle class; for example, in the lesser concern for self-improvement and education, and the

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[4] Ibid., p. 184-185.

[5] John R. Seeley, "The Slum: Its Nature, Use, and Users," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (Vol 25, No. 1, Feb., 1959), pp. 10-11.

kinds of status that are important to middle class people. Although their ways are culturally different from the dominant middle class norms, these are not pathological, for rates of crime, mental illness and other social ills are not significantly higher than in the middle class.[6] Urban renewal plans, however, have not usually been developed to allow for differences such as these.

The lower class is the most critical in urban renewal efforts with respect to social problems. Allowing for differences in lower class areas, it is possible to generalize on their problems. The lower class consists of people who perform the unskilled labor and service functions in the society, and many of them lack stable jobs. Partly because of occupational instability, their lives are beset with social and emotional instability as well, and it is among them that one finds the majority of the emotional problems and social evils that are identified with the low-income population. Unlike past generations, when the American economy needed considerable unskilled labor thereby giving European immigrants enough occupational stability to rise out of the lower class, today's slum dwellers are faced with a constantly decreasing need for unskilled labor.

As Gans points out, the nature of the problem is not difficult to

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[6] Herbert J. Gans, "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (Vol 25, No. 1, Feb., 1959), pp. 17-18.

identify. For economic reasons, and for reasons of race as well, the contemporary lower class is frustrated, if not barred, from opportunities to hold well-paid, stable jobs, to receive a decent education, to live in good housing, or to get access to a whole series of choices and privileges that the white middle class takes for granted. In addition, some lower class people lack the motivations and skills needed not only to participate in contemporary society, but more importantly, needed for accepting the opportunities if and when they become available. Moreover, the apathy, despair, and rejection which result from lack of access to crucial opportunities help bring about the social and emotional difficulties.[7]

There are many reasons for these reactions - such as when men are long unemployed, they feel themselves to be useless, and eventually become marginal members of their family. This in turn has many consequences - desertion and broken homes, illegitimate children, etc. In addition, the children must learn at an early age how to survive in a society in which crisis is an everyday occurance, and where violence and struggle are ever present. Also, many children grow up in households burdened with mental illness, which affects their emotional and social growth. Out of such conditions develops a lower class culture with a set of behavior patterns which

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[7]Herbert J. Gans, "Social and Physical Planning for the Elimination of Urban Poverty," Address before the 1962 Conference of the American Institute of Planners.

is useful for the struggle to survive in a lower class milieu, but which makes it almost impossible to participate in the larger society. And since the larger society rejects the lower class individual for such behavior, he can often develop self-respect and dignity only by in turn rejecting the larger society.[8]

The above brief analysis is at present mostly hypothetical, for as Gans points out, we do not yet know exactly what it is that creates the lower class way of life. "We know that the nature of family relationships, the influence of peers, the kind of home training, the adaptive characteristics of lower class culture, the high prevalence of mental illness, and the need to cope with one crisis after another are all important factors, but we do not yet know exactly which factors are most important, how they operate to create the way of life that they do, and how they are related to the lack of opportunity that brings them about."[9]

One point that stands out and which is of critical relevance to planning is that social problems, of the lower class at least, are highly interrelated. On this point there is little doubt. In addition there is the question of the actual physical environment. Here too, there is little

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

knowledge of the precise relationships between substandard physical conditions and social problems. Even assuming the physical environment is only a consequence rather than a cause of slum behavior, it is still likely to add an overburden to already oppressive social conditions.

Implications For Urban Renewal

The shortcomings of urban renewal in meeting the social problems of the lower class through improvement of the physical environment have been expounded on elsewhere and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that too often people have simply been relocated in blighted areas adjacent to the renewal project, only to be moved again in the next project. It is also being realized that there are indeed "hidden costs" when renewal projects displace lower class groups and the area is redeveloped for "higher uses" - these costs being both social and economic. Thus, while urban renewal has been successful in many types of projects, it has not helped the lower class in terms of critical social problems even when people are adequately rehoused. This is simply because urban renewal, as now used, is not adequate for the task - it deals with only the obvious aspects of slum conditions. Welfare programs, as discussed in Chapter I, are equally inadequate for the task , as the failure of settlement houses, social workers, and other helping agencies to reach the majority of the lower class population would

seem to indicate.

What is likely to be required is the more fundamental change of dissolving the sub-culture, in so far as it is a self-frustrating defense against a sense of inferiority. It is felt by many that this can only be achieved when the real disadvantages of racial discrimination, low wages, and high rates of unemployment are removed. But there are probably at least two major alternatives. That is, it may be possible to break into the so-called "vicious circle" at one of two points: either by making upward social mobility easier or by reducing the incidence of social problems at the current socioeconomic level. However, little is known at the present time about methods of reducing the incidence of social problems. The causes, outside of the probable effects of socioeconomic status, are little understood. Low economic status in turn is associated with all the variables which are usually identified as social problems.[10] But again a question arises as to what extent the rate of social problems in lower class sub-cultures can be explained in terms of low socioeconomic status. Answering this question is inordinately difficult. However, while recognizing that socioeconomic status is not the whole answer, latest efforts toward improving lower class conditions are oriented toward breaking into the "vicious circle" at the point of increasing social mobility. This approach rests on the contention, which

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[10] Lee Nelken Robins, "Social Problems Associated with Urban Minorities," Urban Life and Form, Hirsch (ed.), (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), pp. 206-207.

appears to be supported by most social scientists, that social problems tend to be self-perpetuating: those who have them fail to rise, and produce children who will also demonstrate a high rate of social problems and fail to rise. Low social status then is probably, in part, both a consequence of social problems and a factor in the production of social problems. Thus, increasing status by opening up opportunities appears as the logical starting point to alleviate critical social problems.

In light of the incorporation of social and urban planning into one planning function, the nature of lower class life has considerable implications for urban renewal. As a result of the sparsity of knowledge, much research, experiment, and evaluation of experience will be necessary in order to learn what kinds of programs will be successful. This relates to the proposals in Chapter II for stating problems in a more comprehensive and holistic manner - of understanding the processes involved in the emergence of social problems. Policies and plans must then be related to the total social unit if goals are to be met effectively. The obvious complexity involved warrents no less than this approach. The urban renewal activities themselves, the clearances and new developments, relocation, rehabilitation and conservation programs, devised as remedies seem to have raised as many questions as they have solved. It is becoming increasingly clear that, if these activities are to produce lasting gains, they must

be shaped by a new kind of knowledge and accompanied by a new kind of activity, both broadly characterized as "social." The problem confronting the decision makers is not that of incorporating into current activities an already developed body of knowledge and an existing structure for implementing it. Rather, the decision makers are being forced, as a matter of necessity, to tackle problems where knowledge is at best scanty and the apparatus for enlarging and implementing it quite inadequate.[11] A substantial start has been made toward providing the structure for increasing knowledge and for meeting social problems of lower-income groups. But until social and urban planning are integrated there are not likely to be effective long-term solutions to problems facing urban renewal.

Emerging Programs

In Chapter I, it was mentioned that in the early reform periods one of the major aims of the fledgling city planning movement was to fight urban deprivation, and to maintain the existing social order by doing so. While this aim has probably been less important in recent decades, it has never been entirely absent from city planning ideology. Recently, however, many planners (among others) have become concerned over the fact that

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[11] Elizabeth Wood, "Social-Welfare Planning," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 352, March, 1964), p. 120.

urban renewal was not contributing sufficiently to the improvement of the living conditions of slum dwellers. This led to the gradual recognition that rehousing people in decent low-rent dwellings, public or private, and improving other physical facilities did not solve other and equally pressing social problems such as unemployment, low income, illiteracy, family disintegration, mental illness, or do away with deviant behavior. It is now quite obvious that urban renewal through physical project planning by itself is not enough. However, urban renewal experience has sharpened insight into social, economic, and psychological problems as well as physical problems of the city, and emphasized the need for programs of greater depth, imagination and innovation.

Planners then began to turn to other professions who were concerned with the low-income population, such as social workers and various welfare agencies. But, as also mentioned in Chapter I, programs of these social planners, except for a few specific problems, were oriented to just keeping "heads above water." This situation is now changing. Within the last year or two new programs have begun in several cities across the country that represent a concerted attempt to improve the living conditions of the low-income population. The approach is one of guiding low-income people toward a higher socioeconomic status by increasing their social and economic mobility. These programs, or plans of action, have been

developed with the coordination and cooperation of various professions and public and private agencies. A review of three of these programs follows, each in a different organizational context, and each with differing emphasis.

Pittsburgh.[12] The program is this city is on a five-year demonstration basis under the direction of Action-Housing, Inc., and with the assistance of the Allegheny County Health and Welfare Association. Financing is through the Ford Foundation and local matching funds (public and private).

The approach is based on the concept of "neighborhood urban extension." Basically extension is aimed at helping people help themselves. In a neighborhood it begins with the needs of the people, as they see them, or as they come to see them as education takes hold. Extension moves from the recognized problem, to a desire to do something about it, to an understanding of what caused the problem, to an understanding of what might be done to improve the condition, to a desire to take the necessary action, to taking the action. Finally, having taken the necessary action and derived satisfaction from the new way of thinking and behaving, the new ways replace the old ways of thinking and doing.

At first glance, this concept appears no different from the old

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[12] Action-Housing, Inc., Plan of Operations For Neighborhood Urban Extension (Pittsburgh: Action-Housing, Inc., 1963).

approach of neighborhood or community organization. However, while the concept of "self-help" is still held to be valid (if programs are to be directed toward improvement of living conditions of people, then the people have to be directly involved in them if maximum benefit is to be attained), the Pittsburgh approach far exceeds the old methods. Here extension brings universities, school systems, government departments, health and welfare agencies, and other resources of the city into a working relationship with neighborhood people. It is not occupied exclusively with the underutilized, but also seeks to enlist citizens regardless of status whose talents would be important and useful.

A "Plan of Operations" was developed which provides the framework for the detailed neighborhood planning. This plan was prepared under the guidance of an advisory group, the key representation being the city planning and renewal agencies and health and welfare agencies. Neighborhoods were selected by the city planning department for detailed planning. Each was studied and analyzed to determine major problem areas, and characteristics. Based on this, strategy for each neighborhood was worked out. While similar problems were common to all, the degee of criticalness in specific areas varied widely. Thus, for one neighborhood, strategy consisted in bringing to bear a comprehensive program including both physical renewal and programs for poverty, retraining, welfare services, and so on. In another area, emphasis was placed on employment and re-

training. Thus, an attempt is made to have the programs reflect the conditions of a particular neighborhood. This plan, prepared by professionals, establishes the direction that neighborhood planning is to take, at least initially - that is, to meet the critical problems first (as much as possible) before moving on to other problems.

The neighborhoods are organized under councils directed by local leadership which serve as the working instrument for neighborhood residents for developing programs of action. A neighborhood extension worker with his staff performs a key function in initiating action, guiding this in the directions established by the Plan of Operations. He serves also a communication and coordination function within the neighborhood and between the neighborhood and the larger community.

In the original demonstration neighborhood both a social plan and a physical plan were prepared in accordance with common goals and common recognition of needs and conditions. The physical plan was prepared by a city planner, hired by the council, in cooperation with the city planning department. The social plan was prepared with the assistance of the county health and welfare association. It contains detailed recommendations relating to problems, such as family life, employment and education. The recommendations are in terms of needed programs and professional assistance. It is the residents, through their council, which work up these program recommendations (with professional guidance). Requests are then

made to appropriate public and private agencies to help carry them out.[13]

Action-Housing's extension approach leaves largely to neighborhood people the determination of their own neighborhood goals, and decisions on what resources of the city can assist them in developing a revitalized neighborhood. It offers them no direct services to solve their problems - only a process for identifying and utilizing services largely on their own. This approach appears to be unique from others discussed here in that it offers neighborhood people a large planning and decision-making role.

Action-Housing since its beginning has been concerned with the improvement of older neighborhoods and in this concern has usually cooperated with city planning and renewal agencies. In Pittsburgh this relationship has been extended to a working one. An example of this is shown through a community renewal program which the city planning department is preparing. This will include general plans for all neighborhoods in the city. The extension demonstration is being integrated with the community renewal program; in addition the demonstration will serve as a laboratory where some of the concepts and hypotheses developed in the community renewal program can be tested.

The Pittsburgh extension program does attempt to integrate social

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[13] Health and Welfare Association of Allegheny County, A Social Plan For Homewood-Bruston, (Homewood-Bruston Citizen's Renewal Council), March, 1963.

and urban planning to implement a full-scale program affecting all aspects of neighborhood life. Provision is made for continuous evaluation of efforts, both by the individual neighborhood councils and the total program by Action-Housing and the advisory group.[14]

New Haven.[15] - Unlike Pittsburgh, New Haven's program is under a new kind of community agency, in which both government and private agencies are represented. This agency (Community Progress, Inc.) is organized as a nonprofit organization. It is governed by a board of directors consisting of persons appointed by the mayor, board of education, renewal agency, community council and Yale University. The board of directors is the policy-making body, selecting an executive director who in turn selects other staff to administer the operations of the organization. The board of education is responsible for educational programs and most phases of employment opportunity, with Community Progress, Inc. being responsible for the remainder of the total program. The latter agency established an Inter-agency Council consisting of the major public and voluntary agencies with responsibilities related to the total program - this council meets regularly to consider aspects of the program affecting the respective agencies. The council also seeks means for the coordination of services between Community

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[14] Action-Housing, Inc., A Report on Neighborhood Urban Extension -- The First Year, June, 1964.

[15] City of New Haven, Opening Opportunities: New Haven's Comprehensive Program For Community Progress, (Community Progress, Inc., April, 1962).

Progress, Inc. and the Community Council of Greater New Haven. As in Pittsburgh, implementation of the program is at the neighborhood level. Responsibility for each neighborhood is placed under a neighborhood services director and his staff who work within the framework provided by Community Progress, Inc. and its council.

In the New Haven approach the notion of "self-help" is emphasized far less than in Pittsburgh. Neighborhood plans are prepared at the agency level with the assistance of the neighborhood directors. But the people are organized and are encouraged and aided to help themselves, allowing them to participate in the problem-solving process in a manner in which they can contribute best. While emphasis is placed on the need for community-wide action to overcome social problems, action is carried out at the neighborhood level. The reasoning here is that this provided a manageable administrative unit, not too distant from individual and family needs, but large enough to develop group participation. The neighborhoods selected all correspond with urban renewal projects (which are in various stages of planning and action). To give neighborhoods more meaning, attempts are made to create a central focus through the concept of community schools. An extensive school-building program is being tied into the physical renewal plans and the social plans for each neighborhood. The schools are designed to express their expanded function as community service centers in addition to being

educational institutions. In this capacity the schools serve to bring together a variety of agencies at the neighborhood level - that is, they are the neighborhood locations of such services as health clinics, family counseling, legal aid, employment and counseling. As a focus of neighborhood life, the community school assists residents in considering neighborhood problems and in initiating solutions. It seeks to develop an awareness of common interests, and demonstrate the importance of working together.

The uniqueness of New Haven's approach, in addition to organization, lies in its comprehensiveness such as examplified by its research efforts in which the agency's staff participates. This research is directed toward bringing in various new ideas and program proposals relating to the comprehensive program for community improvement. The program's staff works closely with other agencies. Encouragement is given to the research personnel of public and private agencies and the university to originate and develop new programs. One of the vehicles for this is a rather extensive community seminar involving many agencies at all levels of organization (local, state and national). The primary research emphases have been in goal formulation; data-collection and analysis (involving computer analysis); and devising instruments of measurement for evaluating program results (net impact of the total program and the effect of specific programs). In addition the report states an intention of conducting

special studies beyond the needs of fact-finding and evaluation so that the total program will benefit from a continuous search for new ideas. Special effort will be made to apply the knowledge of related disciplines to the problems of community change and opening opportunities, in an attempt to obtain a broader systhesis so that all variables in the complex urban community will be better understood.

The report also states the intention of developing a long-range social plan, which would complement the city's master physical plan and community renewal program. This would be undertaken jointly by Community Progress, Inc., the Community Council, and the City Planning Department. The social plan would contain a statement of social goals and policies for the New Haven area, programs needed to achieve these goals, personnel required to implement the programs, financial requirement, indication of priorities, and a general time schedule for achievement. It would consider the inter-relation of program items and the social implications of economic and physical development policies. The social plan would also contain the various types of programs to meet social problems such as are now being directed to the neighborhoods, but taking in a longer time span. There is also a strong awareness of the need to recognize the metropolitan community as a new form of human settlement. As such the report states the intention of developing programs at this level in cooperation with the regional planning agency and the metropolitan community council.

The New Haven approach certainly appears to be the most comprehensive of those reviewed here (although Detroit's program is still in its formulative stage). While it is still too early to evaluate it fully, the approach does appear to come the closest to the proposals in Chapter III. The proposed social plan far exceeds anything else in this direction such as the comprehensive social plans for health, welfare, and recreation services discussed earlier. While it remains to be seen how closely it will be tied in with the City's master plan, this does represent a pioneering effort that could serve as a point of departure for other cities in developing social plans.

Detroit.[16] - This city's program is in the form of a comprehensive poverty program. Its preparation originally was based for potential support on the President's proposed legislation known as the "Economic Opportunities Act of 1964" (anti-poverty bill). As this Act has recently been passed by Congress, Detroit will probably be the first city in the country to submit an application to the federal government. This program is still in its formulation stage and there are likely to be changes in its content. The review below is based on the present situation as reflected in the Detroit report.

Unlike Pittsburgh and New Haven, the organization responsible for Detroit's program is incorporated into the government structure. A

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[16]City of Detroit, Total Action Against Poverty - Detroit's Proposal For A Community Action Program, June, 1964.

policy committee, composed of leaders in business and industry, education, labor, government, religion, and welfare, will serve a policy-making function. It will be a committee of the Mayor's office. This committee will be at the same level as the existing Mayor's Committee For Community Renewal which serves the policy function for the city's community renewal program. Whether these two committees will eventually be brought into one is not yet clear. The Community Action Program has been named "Total Action Against Poverty." This means that the program will include both the community renewal program and the new poverty program. As such, the staff for the latter will be organized at the same level as the community renewal program staff, each with its own director, but with an overall director who, as a coordinator, will have overall responsibility for the ongoing and emerging program.* (In Detroit, the community renewal program is separated from the City Planning Department). An advisory group to the staff and policy committee will also be established (similar to Pittsburgh). This will consist of representatives from all public and private agencies who will contribute to the program in addition to representation from the state Departments of Social Welfare and Public Instruction.

As in Pittsburgh and New Haven, Detroit's program will be

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*Organizing the poverty program with the community renewal program is not mentioned specifically in the quoted report. The assistant director of the community renewal program states that this has come about from additional thinking with respect to the total program.

implemented at the neighborhood level, or what the program terms "Target Areas." Several of these target areas have been selected for initial action; these areas being identified as containing disproportionate concentrations of low income families, public assistance recipients and unemployed males. Emphasis is placed in the program on the areas where poverty, high rates of unemployment, under-education, delinquent behavior, problems of health, general social disorganization, and dilapidated housing conditions are concentrated. Two of the selected Target Areas correspond to urban renewal projects, but where there are no plans to displace the people. With respect to emphasis placed on "self-help", Detroit is more similar to New Haven than to Pittsburgh.

Detroit's approach differs somewhat from those of the other two cities. At the total program level a general plan will be developed as a framework for the detailed Target Area program which will vary depending on the needs and characteristics of each particular area. This plan will be under the direction of the overall coordinator and his assistants, the director of the poverty program staff, and the policy committee. Here efforts would also be directed at coordination,not only within the Detroit area, but with federal and state agencies as well. Responsibility for an on-going evaluation of the total program is placed here. An area coordinator and his staff for each target area will have major responsibility for bringing together

people and projects into a workable whole. Program coordinators would assist the area coordinators in developing new programs and making use of existing ones in areas of employment, education, health, recreation, social service, and training. In addition community aids would be selected from the local resident population to work cooperatively with the professional staff in various aspects of the program. These would be persons with skills that will be developed as training in various aspects of social and job skills progress. Community Action centers are proposed for each target area to serve as communication links between the staff and residents of the target areas and the larger community. But unlike New Haven's school concept, the programs would not be centralized in one physical location, but rather the entire target area will be utilized for programs, services and activities. In the Detroit approach, reliance will be placed on participating public and private agencies to develop specific and detailed programs in cooperation with the staff for each target area, within the framework of the general plan.

Other similar programs are being developed in Boston, Philadelphia, and Oakland, California. Their approach is similar to New Haven's with respect to new community agencies organized to be responsible for program development. They are also similar to the three reviewed approaches in that the agencies seek tohave public and private

resources and services better utilized and better coordinated at the neighborhood level. Emphasis is placed on experimental activity which, when proven successful, can be permanently absorbed into governmental and private budgets and operations.[17]

Summary of Major Points

While the approaches of these emerging programs differ in several ways as pointed out, there are major points which they all reflect, and which in fact are emphasized.

1. Efforts to meet social problems of the low-income population and raise the standard of their living conditions must be comprehensive and coordinated. To achieve this requires the bringing together in a concentrated attack a vast array of programs and services carried out by community-wide and neighborhood agencies and organizations, both public and private.
2. The need to coordinate a community-wide approach through one responsible organization; through which goals, policies and programs can be established and expressed in a plan of action; and through which direction can be given to the total program.

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[17] Action-Housing, Inc., Plan of Operations For Neighborhood Urban Extension (Pittsburgh: Action-Housing, Inc., 1963).

3. The need to implement plans of action at the neighborhood level, in the lower classes' own environment, rather than from a city-wide base. The necessity for this is based on the concept that if programs aimed at the lower class are to be effective, then people have to be helped to help themselves by being brought into the total process at their level. This applies especially to the high proportion of low-income people who usually refrain from community contact (influence of sub-culture) - the neighborhood approach is a means of reaching them.

4. The need for continuingly striving for understanding of the causes of social problems and how they can best be met. Related to this is the need for continuingly devising new methods and techniques to be incorporated into programs and tested out. This research to be in concert with responsible agencies, looking toward increasing the effectiveness of policies, programs and facilities and toward the development of new services.

5. Strong conviction that it is possible to combine the physical rebuilding of a city with the lifting of human

hopes and commitments so as to not only arrest decay but succeed in providing a better social environment for human work and living. This is reflected in all three approaches being oriented to urban renewal projects, potential and on-going. Close ties are established with the renewal agencies in terms of working relationships to allow communication between residents and the agencies with respect to project plans and their implementation, and to coordinating housing programs with these plans. Also the planning function at the city-wide level is an important contributor in all three reviewed programs. This contribution being largely in the form of data, studies, research, and in formulation of the plans of action.

Detailed analysis of the actual types of activities contained in these emerging programs is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it would be of value here to indicate what appears to be the major program emphases of the three reviewed approaches.

1. To develop new methods of education for children from low income and culturally deprived homes, so as to reduce functional illiteracy, school dropouts and learning disabilities which would prevent such children from

competing in the modern job market in adulthood.

2. To reduce unemployment by new forms of job training among the young, by the retraining of adults, and by the creation of new jobs in the community.

3. To encourage self-help on an individual and group basis through community organization methods that stimulate neighborhood participation.

4. To extend the amount and quality of social services to the low-income population. Among these are traditional casework services, new experiments for given professional help to the hard-to-reach multi-problem family, and the provision of modern facilities and programs of public recreation, public health and community center activities.

Education plays a very important role in these emerging programs as it reaches into nearly every phase of different programs - from children in schools to retraining of adults. The employment programs seek to employ young people and adults in useful community projects as well as in private industry and business. While priority is given to low-income slum dwellers, all three cities state intentions of moving eventually into other types of neighborhoods that are showing signs of deterioration - physically and socially.

As these programs are just emerging, it is too early to evaluate their effectiveness. There are no illusions in the reports regarding the complexity of the task. There is also a sense of urgency about these programs as well there might be, as our society is beginning to see the visible effects of long-neglected conditions and problems. They represent a new direction, one that is likely to spread over more cities, for these emerging programs represent approaches that are comprehensive and in sharp contrast to the traditional approaches discussed in Chapter I.

As mentioned earlier, all the emerging programs, with the exception of Detroit's, are placed in organizations that are semi-public and which "float" somewhere between the public and private sectors. This new type of community agency probably represents a stage of evolution at this particular point in time with respect to the placing of their function within the political community. A parallel can be drawn here with the city planning movement. As discussed in Chapter I, both urban and social planning are quite similar in terms of the organization of their functions moving from private interest and support to gradual incorporation into governmental structure. Urban planning has moved faster in its evolution to the point where its function is now predominantly part of government operations. Social planning is still between the public and private sectors with its function being carried out by both - the social planning councils have now reached the state where they can be termed semi-public. And while the emerging programs

represent quite new approaches encompassing community-wide efforts, they are still largely conceived, organized, and carried out by what may be generally termed, social planners. Their function is still housed in organizations that are semi-public, as reflected by the new types of community agencies (in Pittsburgh, the organization is more private and independent, but the other cities mentioned are similar to New Haven).

The question is what direction will the social planning function move, or should it move? Should it remain where it is or be incorporated into the government structure? With respect to this, consideration must be given to the point raised in Chapter I regarding the two directions social planning appears to be taking. Social planning councils oriented to a metropolitan context where programs and services are largely directed to the dominant culture, and responsibility for the emerging programs directed at the lower class housed in new community agencies (the councils, of course, contribute to these programs, but they have not been forces behind their innovation).

Federal Poverty Program

The federal poverty program is likely to be a major influence in the direction the new community agencies will take. At the present, these programs are financed by the Ford Foundation (major source) and local sources, however, this support is for limited time spans. At the end of

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these time spans, the total programs would have to be evaluated and a determination made whether or not to continue them. Should they remain semi-public or be incorporated into the local government operations? The major parts of the poverty program would provide support for the very same type of programs that the reviewed approaches encompass. As such it would be of value to review the critical parts of the federal poverty program (taken from the poverty bill).[18]

Title I - Youth Programs

Work Training Programs (one of three types) - provide full or part-time work experience and training in state and community public service jobs. Administered by the Department of Labor.

Title II - Community Action Programs

Federal grants of up to 90 per cent of cost be available to qualified state and local agencies to carry out community programs aimed at assisting low-income families and eliminating poverty. Administered by the new Office of Economic Opportunity.

Title V - Family Unity Through Jobs

Provides funds for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to make payments for experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects aimed at expanding opportunities for

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[18]Robert Groberg, David Hedberg, and Mary Nenno, "Washington Report," Journal of Housing (No. 3, Aug., 1964), pp. 117-118.

work, training, and basic education among those unable to support or care for their families.

Title VI - Administration and Coordination

The Office of Economic Opportunity, established in the executive office of the President, has the function of coordinating existing federal agency programs related to poverty and carrying out the new program. Except for analysis and review of Community Action Programs (Title II), and administration of a Volunteers for America Program (domestic peace corps), nearly all operating functions of the anti-poverty program will be performed by other departments and agencies, with the director formulating guidelines as to their over-all shape and content.

This anti-poverty program is quite likely to have as strong an affect on social planning as the federal housing acts have had on urban planning. It could well serve as the impetus in a movement to bring the whole concept of social planning into a much sharper focus than now exists. The effects on the emerging programs probably will be to place their functions within the structure of government. Community Progress, Inc. very conceivable could become the Mayor's Committee For Community Progress. This is based on the assumption that the Title II provision will become the responsibility of local government rather than semi-public or private agencies. Apparently

this was anticipated in Detroit's program. The potential for tieing the urban renewal program to the anti-poverty program will depend, of course, on the policies established at the federal level, and the type of relationships established between the new Office of Economic Opportunity and the Housing and Home Finance Agency (here there is the precedent of HHFA and the Bureau of Public Roads). These two programs have the potential of presenting a truly comprehensive and concerted attack on the social problems of the lower-class, but only if planned and carried out together. The emerging programs do reflect a good possibility that the integration of social and urban planning will occur, at least at this level. They also present an encouraging sign that social planning may learn from the experience of urban planning and not make the same mistakes with respect to a narrow defining of problems and approach to overcome them - i.e., just as much a mistake will be made if problems are defined in only social terms (human) as when defined only in physical terms. It can only be hoped that past experience will be taken advantage of at the federal level as well.

Efforts to bring about the integration of social and urban planning are most likely to be directed initially toward urban renewal largely because of these programs. Integration with respect to the total social unit such as in the direction proposed in Chapter II will probably come about more slowly. The implications involved in bringing to bear on a city both physical renewal

and anti-poverty programs will require careful consideration of goals and policies developed at a higher level to guide such a comprehensive approach. Both factors will force renewal action to be carried out in a total community framework which will require the contributions of both urban and social planning.

The following two sections deal with the integration of social and urban planning at a more detailed level. This largely relates to the organization and functions of the proposed single planning function in Chapter II.

Community Renewal Program

As mentioned in Chapter II with respect to the proposed organization, the community renewal program (CRP) would be an element of the comprehensive plan. As an element, the CRP would consist of a plan for action in urban renewal for selected areas. This would include all necessary physical and social programs (thus, as used here, urban renewal would include both present physical renewal and social programs along the lines of the emerging programs). The CRP would similarly be guided in its development by higher level goals and policies and subsequent decisions. It would be part of the total planning decision system. By the time the decision level relating to treatment determination is reached, higher level decisions

would already have been made defining the limits for subsequent detailed decisions, such as establishing the land use pattern. The studies, data collection, etc. that would be done in the preparation stage of the CRP would, of course, contribute to the understanding of the total social unit from which goals and policy alternatives would be defined.

The planning process in developing the CRP would have to integrate social analysis with physical and economic analysis (with respect to the latter two, several city planning agencies are developing quite advanced methods, but they are very weak in social analysis - this is a gap that would have to be filled). Thus, studies would not only include physical blight factors and housing market studies for example, but also analysis of the various subcultures (the CRP and urban renewal are of course, involved with total renewal needs, including non-residential areas - concern here is with residential renewal). Through analysis then, the CRP would define social and physical problems not only for the lower-class areas but all residential areas warranting further consideration for renewal action. Such studies would contribute to decision making at higher levels. Thus, policy plan alternatives relating to redevelopment of a slum area for different land uses, or residential use for higher income groups, or whether it should be re-built for the same people, would be tested in part to determine implications or consequences of each alternative with respect to costs and benefits as well

as achieving goals. These costs and benefits would be in physical, economic, and social terms. This would be based on a thorough "understanding of the situation" with regard to the potential renewal areas and their relation to the total social unit.

The CRP as a plan for action would establish the priorities for renewal action, residential and non-residential. This, of course, would be based on many factors, but the more important would be the degree of criticalness of physical and social problems and the opportunity to coordinate different renewal projects to obtain greatest benefits. An example of the latter is where the plan for action coordinated clearance in one area with completion of construction in another area so people would have the real choice of new housing to go to without intermediate moves. Employment opportunities are critical in overcoming poverty. Another example then, might be where it is decided to give higher priority to renewal in an industrial area that would have the potential for providing employment for low-income people in another renewal area. This priority would be in terms of physical renewal - i.e., first priority for physical renewal of the industrial area and a lower physical priority for the slum area. A high priority would be given to a social program for the slum area where education and retraining could commence. The point is that, through the CRP's plan for action, efforts should be made to obtain maximum benefits within the constraints of limited resources. With the

bringing together of physical renewal and social programs, the potential for expanding opportunities is considerable to say the least. But this will also increase the complexity of operations for planning by bringing into the decision-making system many additional factors and issues (i.e., racial integration) that are largely neglected in urban renewal at the present. This will require careful evaluation of alternatives.

In addition to the above, the plan for action would provide a framework to guide the detailed planning for each renewal area as action is scheduled to take place. Basically this would consist of establishing the direction renewal efforts are to take with respect to the types of social programs and services and the type of physical treatment. Examples of this might be as follows:

Area A -- changed from predominantly white to predominantly Negro. Low-income - full gamut of social problems, high crime and delinquency rates, broken families, unemployment, etc. Housing sub-standard in spots, but basically sound in most of area, although deteriorating. Inadequate public facilities, in poor condition. Mixed land uses, some of which are detrimental to area. Based on the factor that enough of the housing can be brought up to at least minimum standards, with spot clearance, a decision might be made to strive for a sound neighborhood with sufficient stability, maintaining enough of the people as a base and relocating others from necessary clearance. The plan for action might specifiy a comprehensive

program to meet the critical social problems and to improve physical conditions. With respect to the latter, a decision might have been made to maintain the area as an interim neighborhood because of its dominant minority composition and the factor of the life span of the housing being feasibly extended only a relatively short period of time. Higher-level decisions relating to long-range plans might depict the area as eventually being redeveloped. The plan for action would then place emphasis on the social program to raise the socioeconomic status of the people, with physical improvements oriented to eliminating the worst conditions and to bring housing conditions just up to minimum standards. Because of the considerable degree of apathy and hopelessness that would have to be overcome initially, the plan might direct the social program to proceed first with physical improvements being phased in when conditions would allow them to be incorporated without major difficulties and when the people would gain the most benefit from them. Thus, both the physical and social programs do not necessarily have to start and proceed together - whatever course appears to offer the greatest benefit to the people should be followed (assuming that at this level, selected courses would not be in conflict with higher-level decisions),

Area B -- predominantly lower middle class. Neighborhood image has undergone change - from one of pride to discouragement and decline. Area beginning to experience some racial transition. Problems of crime and delinquency (but not critical), unemployment, low educational level and over-

crowded schools. Housing conditions range from well-kept modest homes to sub-standard dwellings. Stores generally old, small, provide little or no off-street parking, congested streets, little recreation space. Here the plan for action might emphasize education for employment and human development - physical improvements might emphasize rehabilitation and full improvement of public facilities to eliminate detrimental conditions. Both the social and physical programs might be started after initial organization of the residents--in this case, both programs might be equally emphasized.

Area C -- outlying city neighborhood, nearly all white, low-middle to middle income; beginning to show signs of decline in commercial section. Some of the housing in need of modernization. Many problems with city services; inadequate recreation space, traffic problems in places. No major social problems. Has active community organizations. Here the plan for action might call for conservation program, emphasizing physical improvements.

The plan for action would be developed by the CRP staff of the central planning agency assisted by all public and private agencies that would contribute to its implementation at the renewal level. The planning staff would have the responsibility of bringing together all resources necessary for studies, analysis and development of the plan and for its continuing updating and evaluation.

Urban Renewal

The urban renewal agency, as mentioned in Chapter II would have the responsibility of carrying out urban renewal under the guidance of the community renewal program. With respect to its function much could be learned from the emerging programs discussed previously. Urban renewal as now carried out has as a requirement the promoting of citizen participation. Many examples exist where residents have been successfully organized and taken part in the planning process at the renewal level. With the tieing together of social programs and physical renewal, however, considerably more would have to be done along these lines. These programs are directly aimed at the individual and the family and as such require direct participation especially in efforts to meet social problems of the lower-class slum dweller. As in the emerging programs, emphasis would be placed on the neighborhood on the assumption that one of the causes of urban deprivation is to be found in the poor quality of neighborhood life. This takes on a different meaning than when the main intent is the upgrading of the physical neighborhood. This assumption appears valid with respect to the slum sub-cultures. For other areas where social problems would not be critical this emphasis on the neighborhood would probably not be as valid.. In such areas, boundaries of renewal projects could be more flexible. It is not possible here to determine to what extent the concept of "self-help" should be employed - but there is

little doubt that it should be employed because of the nature of the social program. In fact present renewal efforts have found this useful in bringing about physical improvements. New Haven and Detroit would probably be the best guides for this.

The renewal agency would have the duty of developing detailed plans within the framework of the CRP plan for action. Each renewal area would have its own staff with a coordinator in charge. Their responsibility would be the organization of the residents into a working relationship with the city in improving living conditions. Organization of the residents along the notion of "self-help" might in some instances result in conflict with the community renewal's plan for action in terms of goals, policies and plans. However, this is not likely to be critical as the CRP plan would be general enough to allow flexibility in detailed planning at the renewal level, which is necessary to meet varying and unique conditions. The differing views and values of the residents need to be built into the whole renewal process as they would tend to view opportunities and constraints differently than the professional staff at another level. The staff in each renewal area would be responsible for coordinating and directing all public and private agencies participating in the program. It would consist of various professionals, including social workers and urban planners, working directly with the residents. The number and composition of the staff would vary with each renewal

area depending on the type and complexity of the program - i.e., Area A would require considerably more staff participation than would Area C. The coordination of the total renewal program would be handled at the renewal agency level. This agency would supply specialized services to the various renewal projects such as in the realm of housing for the benefit of the residents.

Whether the integration of social and urban planning will occur in the manner proposed in this thesis, at least for urban renewal, will depend to a considerable extent on the policies established at the federal level. If both urban renewal and the anti-poverty programs are dealt with by the responsible federal agencies in too separate a context with little working relationship between them, then the constraints placed on local communities will be unduly restrictive, despite attempts at innovation. Considerable flexibility will have to be provided by the federal agencies to allow new ideas and concepts to be expressed in efforts to bring the two programs together in a relationship that would allow maximum benefits to be derived from each, and thus achieve the common goal of improving the living conditions of people.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARD A COMMON CONCEPTUAL BASE FOR SOCIAL AND URBAN PLANNING

The emerging approaches discussed in Chapter III represent a considerably more comprehensive approach than has yet been devised in bringing both social and urban planning efforts to bear on the problems of living conditions of people. Yet the question of two different conceptual bases still remains unanswered. If this separateness remains, solutions in the form of plans are still apt to deal with only segments of the total renewal problem. There must be a common understanding of the interrelatedness of the elements being dealt with. Otherwise, the extent to which social and urban planning can be integrated will be limited. Much of the gaps in our knowledge of our environment, such as the causes of social problems or the influences of the physical environment on behavior, for example, are not apt to be filled in adequately enough unless those contributing to the understanding of our environment do so through a common conceptual base. This becomes all the more critical when it is realized that today, more than ever before, many disciplines and professions are becoming increasingly interested in the whole process of urbanization. Here, of course, reference is made to much more than just urban renewal. However, to remain within this thesis, this chapter

will deal with the question of a conceptual base as primarily related to urban renewal.

There is an underlying proposition of urban planning that the locational and physical aspects are major determinants of behavior and social welfare. Prescribed treatment then for the various social pathologies is improvement of the physical setting. While this concept is not stressed as in the past, it is still dominent in renewal plans and is reflected in many urban planners' actions and words. Thus, urban planners rely heavily upon efforts to manipulate the physical element influences on behavior, rather than seeking to deal with behavior more directly.[1] In other words, the artifacts of a city are not ends in themselves, they serve as a means to accomplish certain social purposes, and therefore, plans for the physical elements have utility only as a step in a concerted effort to overcome renewal problems. This does not mean that this emphasis is not justified - it is simply a case of overestimating the roles that physical elements of the city play in shaping individual and social behavior.

Social planning, in the present connotation of dealing only with the interaction of individuals and groups, views the renewal problems to be overcome in terms of the individual or social group. Here everything

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[1] Melvin M. Webber, "The Prospects for Policies Planning," The Urban Condition, Duhl (ed.), (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1963), p. 226.

is a psychological problem inherent in the individual, or a social problem inherent in the social structure (or in the case of social psychology-modification of individuals by institutions and culture). Social planning then, leaves the rest of the environment, outside of individual and social behavior, largely undifferentiated.

Both social and urban planning then, represent partial approaches to renewal problems. The implication of this is that such efforts as the emerging programs might not achieve their potential if social and urban planning efforts are simply coordinated and brought to bear on a particular renewal area. To achieve the potential will require a common understanding of the problems - not just stating this as a "physical" problem and that as a "social" problem. This represents too much of a division of labor that would prevent the viewing of problems in a "holistic" manner which in turn would prevent comprehensive solutions. Similarly, the viewing of the planning process as a decision system, proposed in Chapter II, would require a common conceptual base. Essentially this chapter suggests an approach toward this.

The framework for defining a common conceptual base lies in viewing the community as a system. But with regard to stating renewal problems more comprehensively, this would not be a total system in the sense that would be necessary in studying and planning for the total community.

In other words, subsystems and components would be those critical to urban renewal. However, before a model can be built of a community system it is necessary to place the community in its larger system - in this case, the cultural system. This chapter then also includes an exploration into the cultural system, using generally the concept of systems analysis as a tool. This initial approach is felt to be necessary in order to find a higher-level common conceptual framework for viewing the notion of social planning (term includes urban planning as defined later) and for viewing problems in a more comprehensive manner. We need to step back and view this larger cultural system to understand more clearly why the distinction and separation made between social and urban planning and between social and physical problems is artificial, and that we are really talking about something else.

The cultural system is explored in terms of culture, society, institutions, and the community with respect to a hierarchy of systems. Institutions, relating to their role in society, are viewed as subsystems in that they are essential to meeting human needs and to the functioning of the cultural system. Within the cultural system, social planning is defined and the notion of problems as social problems is explored. The concepts that are developed are related to the ultimate community system model with respect to potential use. A general framework is then developed for the model. While this chapter is an exploration, it is felt that the approach and the concepts developed in it will provide a more meaningful framework for

viewing the community as a system and to gain a clearer understanding of what planning is dealing with when we speak of man and his environment.

As mentioned in the Introduction, greater emphasis is placed in this thesis on those facets of urban life that social planning deals with, because this represents a weakness in urban planning theory. While the common conceptual base is intended for both social and urban planning, the concepts developed are discussed largely in terms of human components. Urban planners need to obtain a greater understanding of the human components of a community system. The converse is true of social planners, who need a greater understanding of the physical and natural components. Perhaps if this were achieved, full potential could be realized from the attempts to integrate social and urban planning.

The Total System

The study of a community, if viewed comprehensively, would involve the study of man's total environment with respect to the community and its region - the total system. Such a complicated system can not be viewed with a very low-level of abstration, narrowly restricted. The proper functioning of analysis, synthesis, and reduction to practice would lead one to think of the whole situation. While this thesis is concerned with the way problems are being handled through the process of urban renewal, they still are problems of a larger system. This total system is comprised

of a natural system and a cultural system - man is part of both.

NATURAL SYSTEM → organic (including man) and inorganic subsystems and components

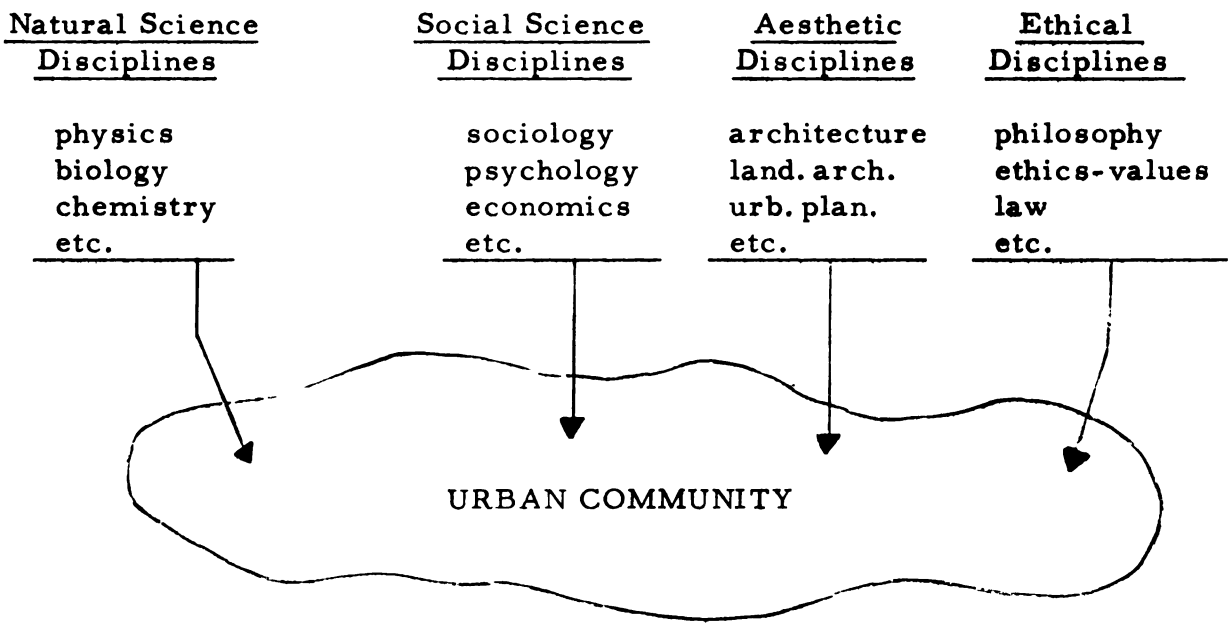
CULTURAL SYSTEM → human, man-made and man-modified subsystems and components

Thus, when speaking of problems as being problems of total systems, reference is actually being made to both of the above systems; i.e., relationship of man to himself (cultural system) and to his environment (cultural and natural systems). This suggests that there is a need to treat the environment as a unity - to achieve new kinds of concepts and designs. It suggests further that we no longer can separate communities from their sustaining regions. That we have not reached this level of unity in studying the community goes without saying - it shows that there still exists considerable confusion about functional relationships. Figure 5 is a reflection of this. The many disciplines that study the urban community in some manner do so through either the natural system or the cultural system and then only through a limited set of components. However, there is discernible a current shift toward perception of dynamic processes of "systems of activity" in man and nature rather than a primary focus on static "objects." This transition in general mode of thought is now transforming research methods including those of urban planning; and it is quite likely in the relatively near future that the concepts and practice of urban planning will

be greatly affected. It also requires that planners become generally familiar with the various fields of knowledge because of the growing inter-disciplinary character of urban research.

FIGURE 5

Present Ways of Studying the Urban Community



Cultural System

For the purpose at hand of viewing urban renewal problems as problems of man and his society, the cultural system is the more meaningful, as the critical subsystems (institutions) are part of culture. The natural system has more direct meaning to the total community. Thus, examining the cultural system is more relevant for the problem but keeping in mind

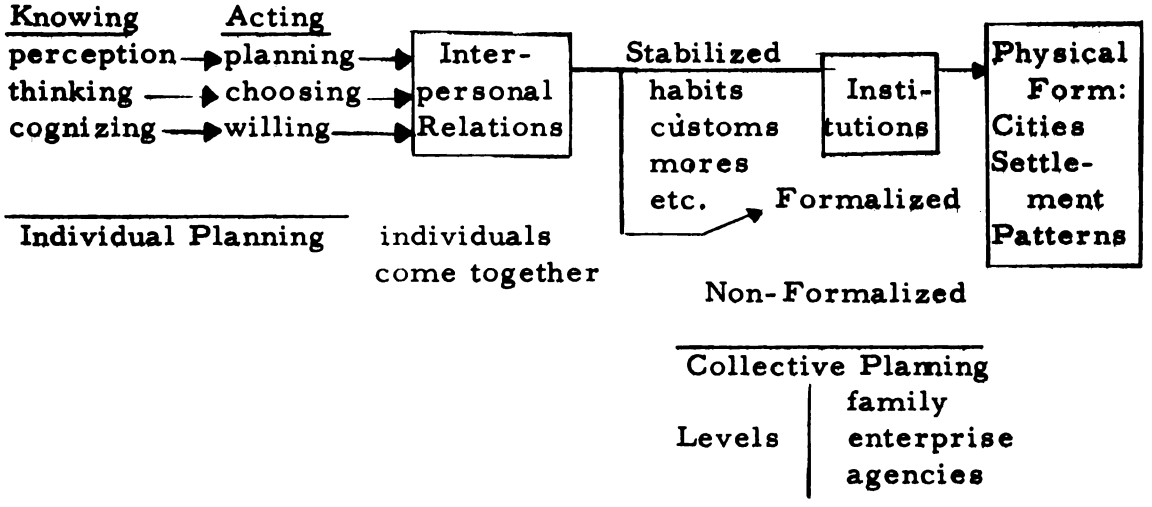
that this system has natural components as well as human and man-made. Feibleman views the cultural system as being composed of the following major subsystems, which at a lower level become systems.

Culture ---- Society ---- Institutions ---- Social ---- Individuals

This suggests a hierarch of levels from individual to culture, and it is in this total cultural system that man plans and acts - in essence, carries out life's functions - shaping his culture and in turn being shaped by it. A more dynamic way of expressing the cultural system is through the following (Figure 6):

FIGURE 6

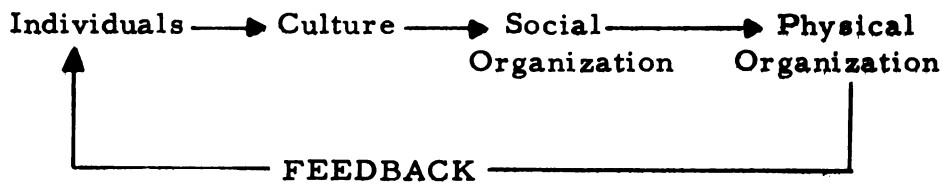
Psycho - Social Theory of Cultural Systems*



This relationship expresses the physical environment of a community as reflecting culture. Artifacts (those relevant to the physical form) of a

*Adapted from lecture notes; Professor Sanford Farness, Urban Planning 820 - Research Methods, Michigan State University; Winter Term, 1964.

community are physical manifestations of the dominant culture. Knowing and acting of individuals in relation to other persons result in habits, customs, mores, etc., which when formalized become institutions. Institutions appear as the key elements through which humans plan and act, both collectively and individually. Culturally then, we live in a man-made environment in which it is human ideas that create problems and patterns, not just natural forces. Figure 6 simplified becomes:



This shows explicitly that the social and physical organizations are the two main expressions of culture (and society as another level) - or the total man-made environment in which individuals function (in relation, as mentioned, to the natural environment) - the physical form being expressed explicitly, i.e., in visible form and the social form being expressed implicitly.

There is a reciprocal or feedback relationship involved here which affects the cultural system and its hierarchy of major systems in both directions. By hierarchy is meant that culture is dominant, or the larger system - i.e., American culture - social organization and physical organization would be of a lower level and expressed differently for particular areas, while at the

same time reflecting the dominant culture. At its broadest context, this is what social and urban planning is concerned with. (To avoid confusing terms, social organization and physical organization are considered here as major subsystems of the cultural system. Later in the section on "The Community as a Social System," these two subsystems are viewed as components of a community social system. The difference is simply a matter of different levels of abstractions in a hierarchy of systems. In both levels, the cultural system remains dominant). Before viewing institutions in more detail it is first necessary to define more fully culture and society to better understand the role of institutions.

Culture

Feibleman defines culture as "the works of man and their effects (including their effects on man). A culture is thus the widest unit of social organization: it includes all the others yet is not limited by them."[2] Shibutani views the concept of culture as "designating the perspective that is shared by the people in a particular group. As it is used by Redfield, it refers to those conventional understandings, manifest in act and artifact, that characterize societies. Since the understandings which make up such perspectives constitute some of the premises of action, those with the same

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[2]James K. Feibleman, The Institutions of Society (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1962), p. 21.

cultural background engage in similar patterns of activity."[3]

Both definitions express the predominant meaning applied to the term. One is that culture is the major system with respect to social organization and as such, society would be a subordinate part. The other implies the common sharing of the elements of culture by all the people belonging to a particular culture, which in turn is reflected in their functioning. There is also the implication that there is a hierarchy of levels of culture - i.e., subcultures. Tieing the two definitions together is the notion that common understandings are what binds societies, and hence people, together, these understandings being reflected in their actions and artifacts.

Kuhn offers a more comprehensive definition - he views culture as a system. "Culture is both a body of content and a set of relationships - the relationships act as a system - the system aspect of culture is the set of relationships that makes it possible for human beings to create a society, to pass the accumulated learning of the species from generation to generation, and to continue to make the accumulations of learning which compose the crucial distinction between human beings and the most advanced of the lower animals."[4] By learning, Kuhn means all concepts and values learned by man which comprises the content of culture. Transmission of culture

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[3] Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups and Social Control," Human Behavior and Social Processes, Rose (ed.), (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), p. 131.

[4] Alfred Kuhn, The Study of Society: A Unified Approach (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., and The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1963), p. 205.

takes place through communicational, transactional, and organizational relationships.[5] Behavior, artifacts, and norms, then, manifest these concepts and values.

Society

Weinberg views the function of society as providing social organization and meeting human needs and wants; this function being carried out through its institutions. The ability to solve problems depends on society's capabilities for constructively forming and changing its institutions to meet changing conditions imposed through the interactions of people themselves and with their environment. With respect to equilibrium, Weinberg says, "society becomes a dynamic process with continual changes to meet its altering needs."[6]

Society is the major system for providing social organization and meeting human needs and wants. But this is accomplished, in fact possible, only because of the common understandings (habits, customs, concepts, etc.) as expressed in the culture system.[7] The key in turn to achieving the function of society is in the form of institutions. Thus, the concept of institutions as subsystems becomes important for viewing social organization and disorganization.

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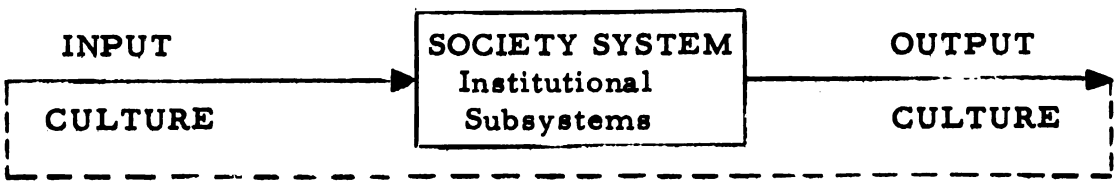
[5] Ibid., pp. 206-207.

[6] S. Kirson Weinberg, "Social - Action Systems and Social Problems," Human Behavior and Social Processes, op. cit. pp. 401-402.

[7] Kuhn, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

Viewing society as a system reveals the reciprocal relationship of all parts of the total cultural system. The outputs of the society system is culture, while the inputs would also be culture, Culture is the product of society - the symbolization of the concepts and motives held by its people. At the same time, the culture created by the society is part of the environment in which its people live - the human environment which delineates the opportunities and molds the preferences of its members. It is because culture is both an input and output that most societies are stable and self-perpetuating.

This suggests a closed system, which it could be in some cultures, such as Redfield's Folk Society which is static - i.e., always in equilibrium. But in our dynamic society, cultural change is constantly occuring as a result of changes in the society systems (interaction of people) which are expressed as outputs, this cultural change then being fed back into the society system, bringing about additional shifts or changes.



The fact that our cultural system is certainly not static is brought out by Deutscher who states -- "In a sense all Americans are socialized from early childhood to believe that change is both inevitable and good. The

notion that things will not remain the same - politically, economically, or socially - is an integral part of our national ethos -- change apparently is accepted as something both natural and inevitable by the vast majority of the members of our society. Such a value provides a general conditioning for the acceptance of new and different situations regardless of their specific nature."[8] Thus, change is part of our cultural system.

Institutions

Feibleman defines an institution as "that subdivision of society which consists in human beings in groups established together with their customs, laws and material tools, and organized around a central aim or purpose. The institution is the social function in a steady state. But the steady state does not preclude dynamism. To maintain a consistent flow of power, a more or less reliable structure is required. An institution organizes folkways and usually laws into a unit which serves a number of social functions."[9] This definition is consistent with the notion, stated earlier, that institutions are the key subsystems of the cultural system in which to view the problems of urban renewal. The elements of institutions, as viewed by Feibleman, are directed toward social order and artifacts.

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[8] Irwin Deutscher, "Socialization for Postparental Life," Human Behavior and Social Processes, op. cit., p. 510.

[9] Feibleman, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

These elements are those structural parts that all institutions have in common. They can be referred to as the components of institutions. They include equipment, procedure, personnel, and organization.

1. Equipment (artifact): Artifacts which include everything made and used by man.

2. Procedures: Action according to a pattern, having a particular course of human behavior with an established manner of moving.

3. Personnel: Human individuals who participate in an institutional operation that affects them.

4. Organization: The way a group of persons, together with their tools and prescribed rules of behavior are put together and are able to work toward a central purpose.

A hierarchy also exists with respect to levels of institutions. The highest level refers to aggregates (family, economy, education, etc.) that could have meaning on any organizational level, such as community, nation, or in terms of viewing culture. However, it would be more meaningful to select some lower level of institutions as being critical subsystems with regard to urban renewal. These subsystems would be in the sets that go to make up the aggregate institutional systems.

In viewing aggregate institutions their order must also be considered, for institutions do not exist in society on the same level but arrange themselves in a hierarchy (thus, there is a hierarchy between aggregate institutions and a hierarchy within each set). At the lower level, Feibleman

designates "service" institutions, whose functions are to serve the others - among these he includes; transportation, communication, economics, education, and politics. These "service" institutions exist to make possible the smooth functioning of the others."[10] Institutions at the upper end of the hierarchy then furnish the service institutions with a purpose - here Feibleman includes religion, philosophy, the pure arts and the pure sciences - this purpose would be in the form of goals or aims. Institutions within the middle are regulative of the others. Feibleman's hierarchy of aggregate institutions are listed below.[11] The sets have been added to give

		AGGREGATE	SETS
	PURPOSIVE	religion the pure arts the pure sciences	Roman Catholic Church painting sociology
FUNCTIONAL-MECHANICAL		the applied arts the applied sciences	architecture social and urban planning
SERVICE INSTITUTIONS	REGULATIVE	politics education economic	local government board of education industrial firm
	EXPEDITIVE	communication transportation	newspaper office traffic department
	CONSTITUTIVE	family	families within a local community

[10] Feibleman, op. cit., p. 246.

[11] Feibleman, op. cit., p. 257.

examples of the types of institutions within sets that go to make up the aggregate institutions. Viewing a city then, the total number of families would comprise a set - for an urban renewal area the families within the defined boundaries would comprise a set also, but at a lower level - i.e., would be part of the larger set for the city. The Roman Catholic Church would represent part of a set (along with other denominations) for the city, made up of churches of the Catholic denomination - for a renewal area the area of concern would be a particular church. Planning deals with institutions at various levels - i.e., families as a set for the total city, and as a set for a renewal area. . Social planners would deal with individual families.

Functioning of Institutions

If institutions are to be viewed in systems analysis terms, then they must be looked at in terms of structure (static sense) and the processes involved in carrying out the functions (dynamic sense - operations). If urban renewal problems are problems of human beings and their society, then it is also the institution rather than just the individual per se, which calls for examination when we try to understand society. Society as a system operates in terms of institutional interaction, but not always in harmony, there is also inter-institutional conflict which is one source of problems.

Peterson and Zollschan view the functioning of institutions in terms of processes. These processes link the population aggregate with the institutional subsystems - this then, constitutes the essential operations of the society system. The institutional subsystems "attract a population and that the need for new institutions arises from the attracted population."[12] Three sets of processes are dealt with:[13]

1. The Allocation of Persons to Positions - involving essentially basic life processes. An allocation or distribution of persons to positions in families, homes, educational institutions, occupations, voluntary associations, and in ethnic groups, subcultures, and deviant segments. It includes the socialization and education of the young, the operations of the labor market, and the spatial distribution of human beings in the urban environment. This allocation is dependent upon the supply of persons, positions in groups and organizations, and upon the supply of services. In a more general sense, Peterson and Zollschan refer to this allocation as channeling persons to positions in social classes.

2. Institutionalization of Needs - the essential difference between this process and the one above lies in the difference between persons and needs. Persons participate in instituions, institutions serve needs, or provide services to persons. The institutionalization of need as a process embodies social interaction, the defining of situations, and the "incubation and activitation of need from a substratum of exigencies."[14]

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[12]Warren A. Peterson and George K. Zollschan, "Social Processes in the Metropolitan Community," Human Behavior and Social Processes, op. cit., p. 253.

[13]Ibid., pp. 254-265.

[14]Ibid., p. 260.

> In other words, with respect to problems of urban renewal, recognition of the need to do something about them spreads when those who were aware of the need, interacted with others - but consciousness of the need in the community as a whole, especially those not directly affected, depended on publicity through communications (need arousal). Institutions outside the community, such as the federal government can "initiate, promote, or support local change when they come to recognize need, potential demand or demand in a local population."[15] Urban renewal again, would be an example of this, as would welfare problems.

3. Accomodation of Interests - this has a direct relationship to the above two processes. This process is one of meeting different definitions of need as expressed by different segments of the population; this represents class-conflict issues with regard to the differences in definitions of the importance of certain needs and services.

The functioning of institutions when viewed in terms of these processes offers a way of looking at the operations of the community social system, showing over time how persons and groups have been allocated and how needs have been met (formally recognized and action taken to meet them). When functions of institutions are placed against this, the outlining of problems could be developed (i.e., where needs have not been met - gaps in functions, problems involved in the allocation that has taken place, etc.). By viewing the process of accomodation

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[15] Ibid., p. 261.

of interests that has taken place in renewal areas, insight could be gained into uncovering what dominant interests are represented and how they are expressed and to what extent other interests are or are not expressed. This relates directly to the other two processes. The results of these three processes are reflected in the human environment, both implicitly (aspatially) and explicitly (spatially). This ties in with the notion of human and man-made components of institutional subsystems and would help to define the relationships between the two by requiring the explanation of the meaning behind man-made components, and conversely, how the interaction of people, the meeting of interests, values (subculture and culture) are expressed in the physical environment.

Changing Functions of Institutions

Warren views the great change in American communities as "involving increasing orientation of community units toward extra-community systems (beyond control of community) and corresponding decrease in community cohesion and autonomy."[16] He views these changes in terms of the following:[17]

1. Division of labor,
2. Differentiation of interests and associations,
3. Increasing systemic relationships to the larger society,

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[16] Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963), p. 54.

[17] Ibid.

4. Bureaucratization and impersonalization,
5. Transfer of functions to profit enterprises and government,
6. Urbanization and suburbanization,
7. Changing values.

Warren points out that these changes are taking place throughout the American society and as such are not confined to the community level. This relates directly to viewing renewal problems as being part of the larger society, and social action in the form of planning being aware of these changes and how they are reflected in the problems for which the planning is to provide solutions. With respect to the above list of changes, it is probably more relevant for the purpose of this thesis to view mainly the changing functions of institutions and changing values.

The family as a basic institution is representative of the shifts in functions of major institutions that have taken place. The change toward individual interdependence and the accompanying increasing number of individualized functions has resulted in fewer of these functions being performed within the individual family. "Thus, the family becomes less significant as a focus for recreational and service functions, as well as for those of economic production -- within American communities, functions formerly performed within the family have now become the specialized prerogative of functional specialists (repairmen, psychiatrists, counselors, nurses, etc.) -- under these conditions, the family looks out

to the community as the significant social grouping within which such functions are available to it as needed."[18] The planner must be careful when viewing these changes in terms of families in slum or renewal areas. Often a strong subculture exists, in which the family plays a strong role, performing functions that might have been lost by other classes of families. In addition, institutions operating within this subculture might well function differently than the same institutions in other areas of the community.

As Warren points out, society is confronted with the choice of which type of institutional structure it wants to entrust with the performance of various functions. Using housing as an example, he lists five possibilities of allocation in the American community: individuals (families); special ad hoc groupings larger than the family; voluntary associations; business enterprise; and government. "Viewed this way, the change is from the performance of functions by individuals and by simple barter agreements among neighbors to functions performed by business and government involving a direct or indirect payment of money."[19] This type of thing characterizes our society today and is related to the division of labor in that the individual depends on others to perform functions he formerly performed himself. While this has benefited our society and ourselves as individuals, it has also reduced the vitality of family and neighborhood for the individual

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[18] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[19] Ibid., p. 73.

by taking away some of their meaningful functions and thus, some of their reasons for being. (Relating to Chapter III, the slum neighborhood in contrast to other types of neighborhoods does fulfill a unique function, but as a sub-culture. But communities are attempting to dissolve these sub-cultures through urban renewal and social programs). The rather extensive range of services and facilities communities provide for families is indicative of this shift in functions - dealing with such problems as family relationship, health, economic, employment and adjustment. This shift then is taking place from primary groups to secondary groups. In viewing functions of institutions critical to renewal, much of this shift between institutions with respect to responsibility for performing functions would be uncovered. This relates to the question of what institutions (and the persons participating in them) define particular problems or recognize existence of needs, and what institutions, if any, meet the need or attempt to handle the problem.

The changing of values, as it reflects cultural change is of considerable interest to planning for social action. Warren lists some major changes regarding values:[20]

1. Gradual acceptance of governmental activity as a positive value in an increasing number of fields. This is occurring primarily in two of the three processes of the functioning of institutions -

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[20] Ibid., pp. 89-94.

institutionalization of need and accommodation of interests. Functions which only a relatively short while ago were considered outside of government activity, are now accepted as perfectly appropriate. Evident in such areas as industrial development, health and welfare services, housing, education, etc., and in settling industrial disputes, protecting consumers, etc.

2. Gradual change from a moral to a causal interpretation of human behavior. "Growing tendency to react to socially unacceptable behavior as a purely natural product of causes -- and an increasing tendency to act toward such behavior not with indignation and punishment, but rather with an attitude of changes in the physical or social environment, or in the individual which will remove the cause of the behavior."[21]

3. Change in community approach to social problems from that of moral reform to that of planning - this is recognition of need - need to apply rational planning to the community's problems. Tied with this acceptance of planning is the acceptance of the specialist, the professional, in public health, housing, planning, etc. As Warren points out, the setting of special agencies to confront many types of community problems is another instance of the flow of functions away from the primary group and individuals to the direction of voluntary associations and goverment as appropriate secondary groups to deal with the problems.

The other major changes listed by Warren also have considerable significance for planning. Problems of urban renewal can be viewed in terms of those changes to see what degree they reflect them; such as

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[21] Ibid., p. 62.

changes in differentiation of interests in which people tend to identify themselves with various interest groups as opposed to interests based on locality. Or the increasing systematic relationships of institutions to the larger society, again weakening locally-oriented institutions in the community.[22]

Social Problems

If problems of urban renewal are to be thought of in terms of human beings and their community and its larger society, then they must be stated more comprehensively than they presently are. The solutions to these problems in the form of planned action will not be adequate if they are formulated in terms of human components taken separately, or in terms of physical components in isolation to the community system and the larger society. The inference that has been made to this point, and which is to be expressed more fully, is that these problems are actually all social problems, regardless of whether they occur in the form of human behavior or artifacts, for they are all part of man's environment. These elements must be taken together and we will probably find that it is the qualitative bonds by which they are held together and made to work that seems to contain the essence we seek.

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[22] Ibid., pp. 62-64.

As part of society, it is necessary to gain some understanding as to the processes involved in the emergence of social problems. Burgess feels that the conception of social problems as a process "recognizes their essential constructive function in the adaptation of a society and its culture to social change."[23] As mentioned before, change, whether as an cultural output or input of the society system is constantly occurring - and change in the cultural system means that the emergence of social problems is inevitable. Resolving social problems is necessary to prevent potential breakdown of individuals and institutions from occurring. Burgess' concept of process transcends while it includes the concepts of disorganization and conflict of values - the latter two, in isolation, having been refuted as the major explanations of emergence of social problems.

Burgess views the emergence of social problems in terms of three types of processes - cultural, societal, and political (the cultural process needs to be analyzed as it affects the rise and continuance of social problems in the context of change). The cultural process is an organized system of values which tends to be non-adaptive to change. This produces cultural lag. A technological invention might be favorable to innovation in a particular institution (i.e., economic), but its introduction may be hampered

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[23] Ernest W. Burgess, "Social Problems and Social Processes," Human Behavior and Social Processes, op. cit., p. 383.

and delayed by the prevailing cultural values. "This is one of the situations that leads to a conflict of values between the standpatters and innovators who are endeavoring to establish the new values which will facilitate and sanction the adoption of the innovation."[24] In every society or group there are those who are in control of the process of defining the situation. The institutions of a society - economic, educational, religious, political - act, in general, to maintain the existing values. Burgess makes the point that new values are generally promoted by voluntary associations, established for this purpose. This situation becomes one of cultural conflict. "The mores are the dominant values of a society. They are accepted as the conduct making for the welfare of a society -- deviations from them are condemned and usually entail penalty. Deviations from the mores are regarded as the problems of society"[25] - that is, by the majority of the members, which explains essentially why slum areas, for example, are considered problems. These reflect dominant values of the society, but in the study of social problems it is necessary to point out the many sub-cultural groups within American culture. "These values control the behavior of its members even when they conflict with those of the larger society"[26] - this suggests that solutions be made in terms of toleration of

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[24] Ibid., p. 388.

[25] Ibid., p. 389.

[26] Ibid., p. 391.

differences, something that renewal planning has been criticized for not doing.

Burgess uses societal process to denote the organization, disorganization, and reorganization of a society, community, or institution. This process is maintained by the interaction of persons within institutional subsystems and by the interaction of each subsystem with other subsystems which results in change. The three phases of the societal process are as follows:[27]

> 1st Phase - organization of previously unorganized persons into an organization to work together for a desired goal.
>
> 2nd Phase - begins with evidence of disorganization - manifest in the unrest of those who either are under the greatest pressure and burden of the demands of the existing organization, or who are temperamentally or emotionally unstable. The developing unrest may lead to personal disorganization or some other form. These manifestations are held to be pathological by members holding dominant values.
>
> 3rd Phase - reorganization which usually results in an established social order - usually makes for the greatest welfare. This new social order in turn is subject to disorganization and reorganization as change continues.

Social problems arise, become defined, remain unresolved, or are solved in the processes of adaptation to, or control of, change. "Society now, in ever increasing degree, is directing its own destiny."[28] Burgess

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[27] Ibid., pp. 385-388.

[28] Ibid., p. 394.

points out that through scientific discoveries and technological inventions, society is now engaged in making changes to which it must adapt or which it must subject to social control. "It has, however, far less effective means for working out solutions to the social problems resulting from change."[29] One of the major reasons for this lag in solution is the single-discipline approach - i.e., assigning a problem to one particular field. That this approach is largely ineffective is because a process with its component problems is a continuous flow of interaction and intercommunication of persons, institutions and society, which calls for an inter-disciplinary approach.

When Burgess speaks of social problems emerging from processes, he is speaking primarily in terms of the human components of the community system. However, these processes can be extended to physical components as well, for as Feibleman points out, all institutions have the same elements; these being grouped under social order and artifacts.

With regard to individual behavior, Feibleman remarks that society produces strains for which the individual is not entirely prepared and this pathology appears in an interpersonal way. Individual frustrations are set up when the institutions offer no satisfaction to the needs, hence

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[29] Ibid.

there is a greater distance between need and satisfaction; along with ambition and achievement. The family is a good example here, when a member of a nuclear family does not have his needs fulfilled regarding "belonging" and has to resort to devious means for satisfying them.[30]

There is a considerable increase in the studying of social and individual stress in the form of mental illness. "Because of its pervasive presence, the community is a major source of mental health and mental illness for its inhabitants. The physical environment, the institutions, the modes of social interaction, and the social adjustment process that comprise the social mileau of the community combine to develop a set of circumstances that affects the risk of becoming mentally ill."[31] This reflects the growing concern that the spatial distribution of people and activities, largely density, has much to do with mental health problems, that is, making for stressful conditions. However, it must be kept in mind that social problems, when viewed in a broad context, can refer to anything in a man-made environment, whether in terms of human or man-made components. Thus, in this sense, problems defined in just human terms would be only one side of the coin, for individuals and their physical environment interact also and not just individuals and groups. As stated earlier, it is because of change

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[30]Clifford R. Bragdon, Urban Dysfunction, paper prepared for graduate seminar, School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, Michigan State University, 1964, mimeo.

[31]E. Gartly Jace, "Social Stress and Mental Illness in the Community," Community Structure and Analysis, op. cit., p. 256.

that social problems emerge (whether change always results in social problems is not clear). Social problems can emerge through at least five forms as listed below; for any problem to emerge, change must be present in some manner. Thus, a gap may exist in the function of an institution, such as providing a particular service to meet some need - unless there is a change on the part of individuals or the community with respect to recognition that a need is not being met by this institution, then there is no social problem. One of the reaons why renewal efforts are largely inadequate is that the solutions for overcoming social problems deal with them as two distinct types -

Social Problems Can Emerge Through:

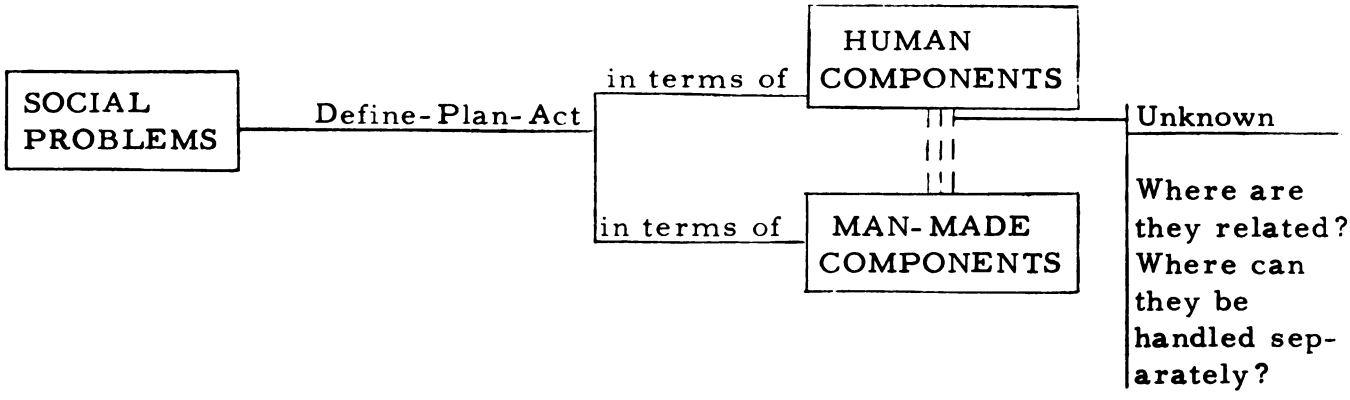
1. Institutional disfunctioning,
2. Shifts in functions of institutions - leaving gaps in ones losing functions,
3. Social interaction,
4. Stress elements and processes,
5. Breakdown in social adjustment process.

as they affect individuals and groups, and as they affect physical elements (artifacts). There obviously are types of problems that need only be defined, and solutions planned for, in terms of only human components, or man-made components- but most of these social problems (especially in urban renewal) can not be handled in isolation. But these relationships are the gray areas of renewal efforts and in fact, of present knowledge (Figure 7). The contention of this thesis is that if social problems are defined within an institutional sub-system framework, in human, man-made, and natural components, then they are defined or stated in a more comprehensive manner, allowing a clearer

understanding, at least to some degree, of the complex relationship involved, especially the relationships between humans and their artifacts.

FIGURE 7

Segmented Approach To Viewing Social Problems



The Community As A Social System

The concepts developed in the previous sections of this chapter form the basis for this section in which it is suggested that a common conceptual base could take the form of viewing the community as a social system. The framework for such a model actually has served the purpose in this thesis of providing a clearer insight into the present split between social and urban planning. As an additional element in this common conceptual base, social planning is defined on a more comprehensive and truer basis than presently exists. This relates to the whole notion of planning.

Before developing the framework for a model of the community as a system, it is first necessary to place the community in the total system described previously and to develop a basic model of the community social system and what the major parts represent. This builds on the concepts developed previously, reflecting that in dealing with the community (and hence, renewal areas) we are dealing with a man-made and man-modified environment. Thus, in calling the community system a social system, a broader inference is made then when the term is used by social scientists (and planners), who use it in terms of only human components. The sections dealing with social problems, social system and social planning are tied together by the following concept, implying a common conceptual base (Figures 8, 9, and 10).

FIGURE 8

Basic Elements For A Common Conceptual Base

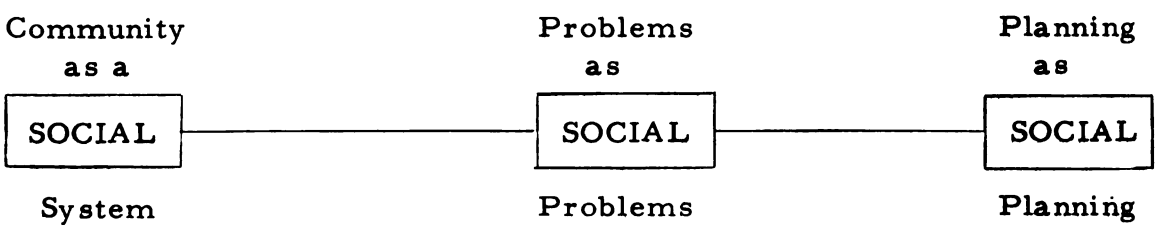
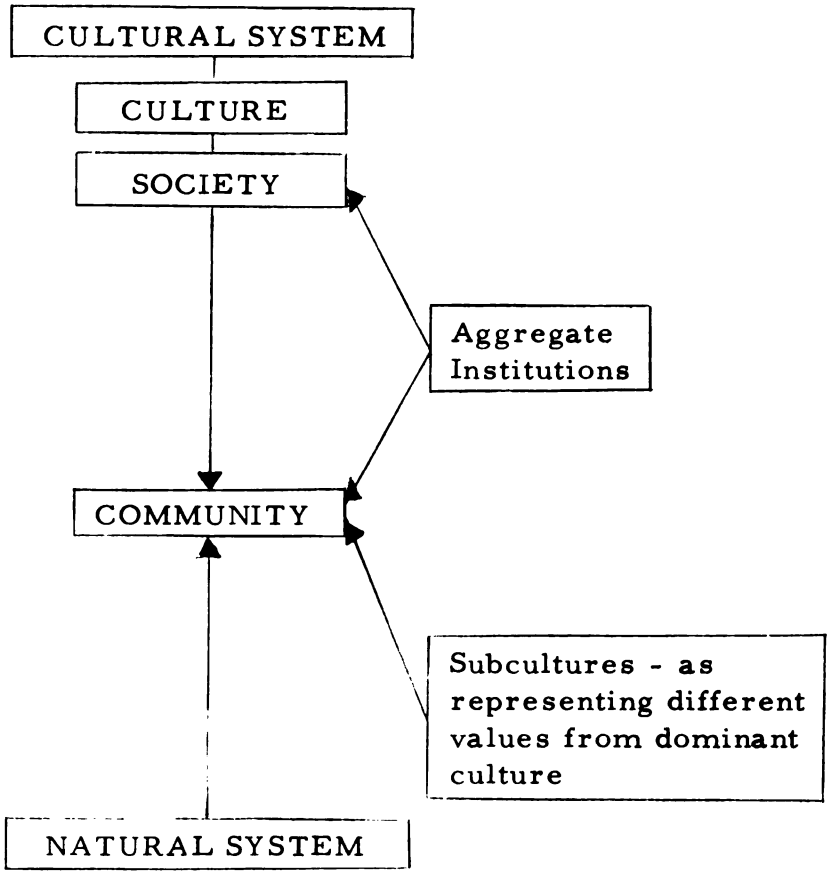


FIGURE 9

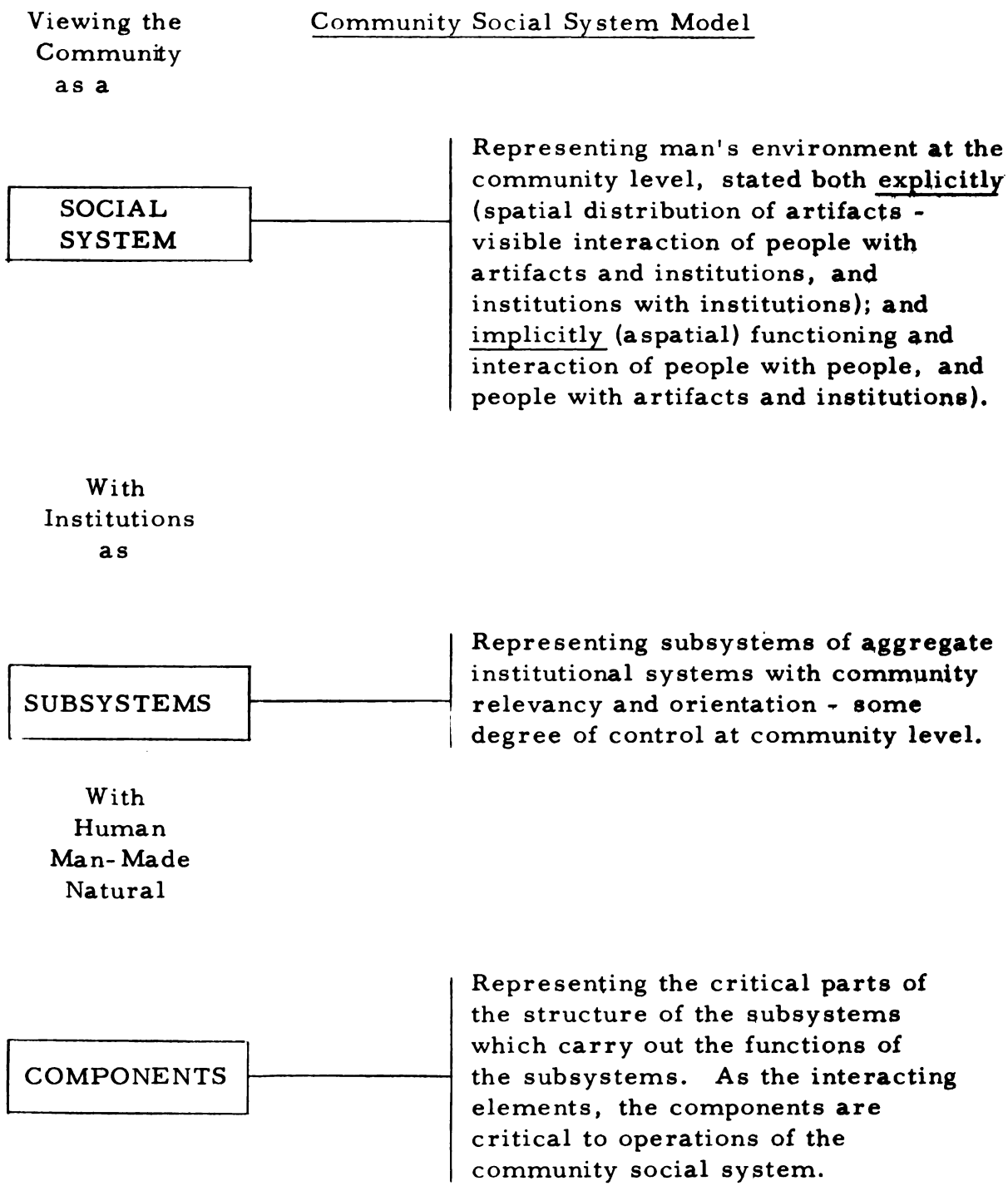
The Community Within the Total System



Social Planning Defined

In the discussion of the present conceptual bases for social and urban planning in Chapter I, it was stated that both have developed along separate lines. There are many disciplines that study the urban community through a limited set of components within either the natural system or the cultural system. The present split between social and urban planning is one

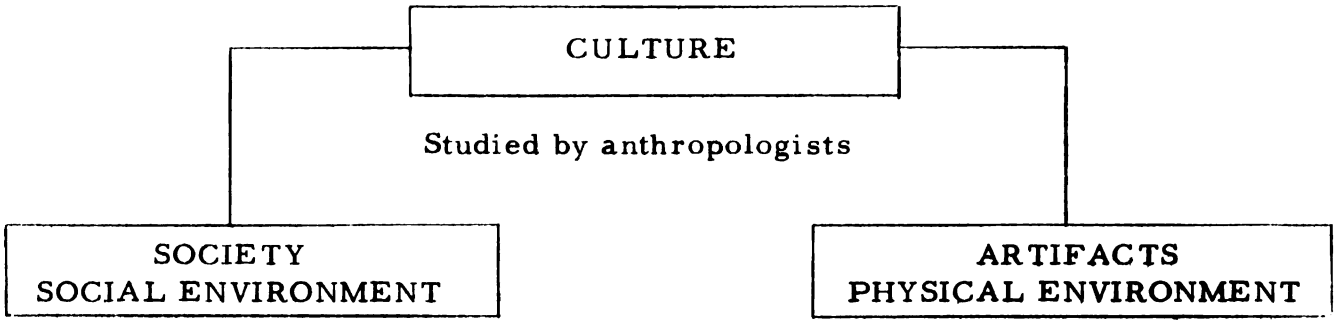
FIGURE 10


Viewing the Community as a
Community Social System Model
SOCIAL SYSTEM
Representing man's environment at the community level, stated both explicitly (spatial distribution of artifacts - visible interaction of people with artifacts and institutions, and institutions with institutions); and implicitly (aspatial) functioning and interaction of people with people, and people with artifacts and institutions).
With Institutions as
SUBSYSTEMS
Representing subsystems of aggregate institutional systems with community relevancy and orientation - some degree of control at community level.
With Human Man-Made Natural
COMPONENTS
Representing the critical parts of the structure of the subsystems which carry out the functions of the subsystems. As the interacting elements, the components are critical to operations of the community social system.

reflection of this. Figure 11 depicts this present split.

FIGURE 11

Isolating Culture Components

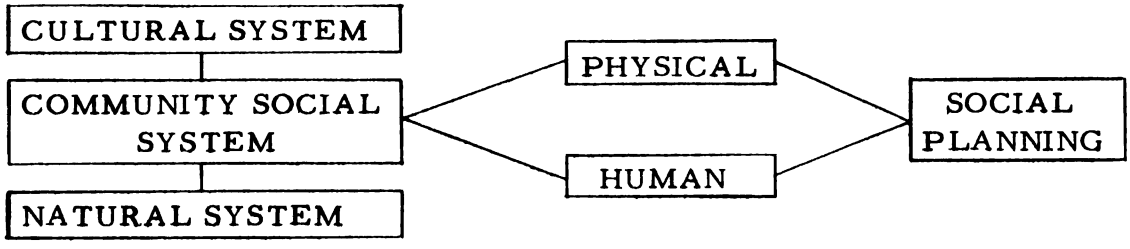


Anthropology views culture as being composed of society and its artifacts (both expressive of their culture). The separate studying of the two by various disciplines has tended to isolate them. Yet the two go together, as artifacts exist to serve some social purpose and are not ends in themselves. This split has led to a narrow definition of social problems and an artificial spliting - this has the inference that either can exist without the other. Too frequently the relationship between the two has become one of social planning versus urban planning, when actually the resulting dichotomy is neither meaningful nor desirable.

Social planning was defined earlier in the Introduction, as "planning by any formal organization directed toward the welfare of people." This becomes a more meaningful definition when viewed in light of the preceding discussion on the cultural system and viewing problems as social problems and the community as a social system. In a very real sense all problems created by man are social in that they are expressive of a cultural system and as such take place in a man-made or modified environment. Subsequently, any actions taken by man to overcome these problems are social actions, regardless whether they take place in terms of man-made components or human components, or in relation to the natural system (inferred here also, is that problems are problems only because man states them as such). This is all part of the cultural system; planning itself is an institution, formed because people felt a need for it.

FIGURE 12

Social Planning Defined



Perhaps then, we should drop the word "urban" from planning and call all planning, social planning, as shown by Figure 12, regardless of the level at which it takes place, or the kind of planning it is. This would still essentially be of two types; one concerned with physical components and one with human components, but both in relation to the natural system and the cultural system. The implication here is that the cultural system, and viewing the institution of planning in relation to it, offers a common conceptual framework to the notion of social and urban planning - that is, this is where true integration of the two lies. The actual words used are not as important as the notion that it is all the same planning -- i.e., we could call it cultural planning, but this places it at a more abstract level, for it is in the society system that action and control occurs through institutions which in turn has elements grouped under social order and artifacts.

This allows recognition of the fact that since all planning activities affect people, (also planning is only done by people) they are inevitably social, and the dichotomy between urban and social planning turns out to be meaningless.

This definition does not imply that one planner would deal with both types of social planning. But the definition does allow social planning to mean both public and private planning (any formal organization -- i.e., institutions).

Framework For Community Social System Model

This model is suggested as a possible tool to allow the problems of renewal to be stated more comprehensively and to provide a common conceptual framework for social and urban planning. A common conceptual framework at a higher abstracted level was previously suggested. The development of a community social system model would provide a more specific concept, but keeping in mind that it is only part of the larger system that was developed previously.

As the elements of the model would be oriented to urban renewal (essentially the lower class as representing most critical social problems) it would not represent a true model of the total community simply because all the elements of the latter would not be especially critical for renewal - that is, the elements would be limited because of the purpose of the model. In Chapter III, mention was made of a model of the real system for simulation purposes which would apply to the total community. The use of institutions as subsystems would be as applicable at this level as for potential renewal areas to allow for a greater "understanding of the situation."

The many problems that urban renewal was designed to meet and overcome are quite complex and varied. Solutions in the form of planned action, if they are to be comprehensive, require considerable knowledge and effort by many disciplines and professions. Before we can truly coordinate

and integrate present separated approaches, we will need new coordinated and integrated ideas. The model is a suggestion toward this direction. Obviously, to actually achieve this will require considerable effort by many - we are not likely to arrive at such new ideas all at once - it will happen gradually and slowly.

Essentially the model builds from the following basic concept of comprehensively viewing the system (Figure 13) which is expanded on in Figure 14.

FIGURE 13

Basic Concept of Community Social System Model

Institutional Subsystems

(Defining the system both vertically and horizontally)

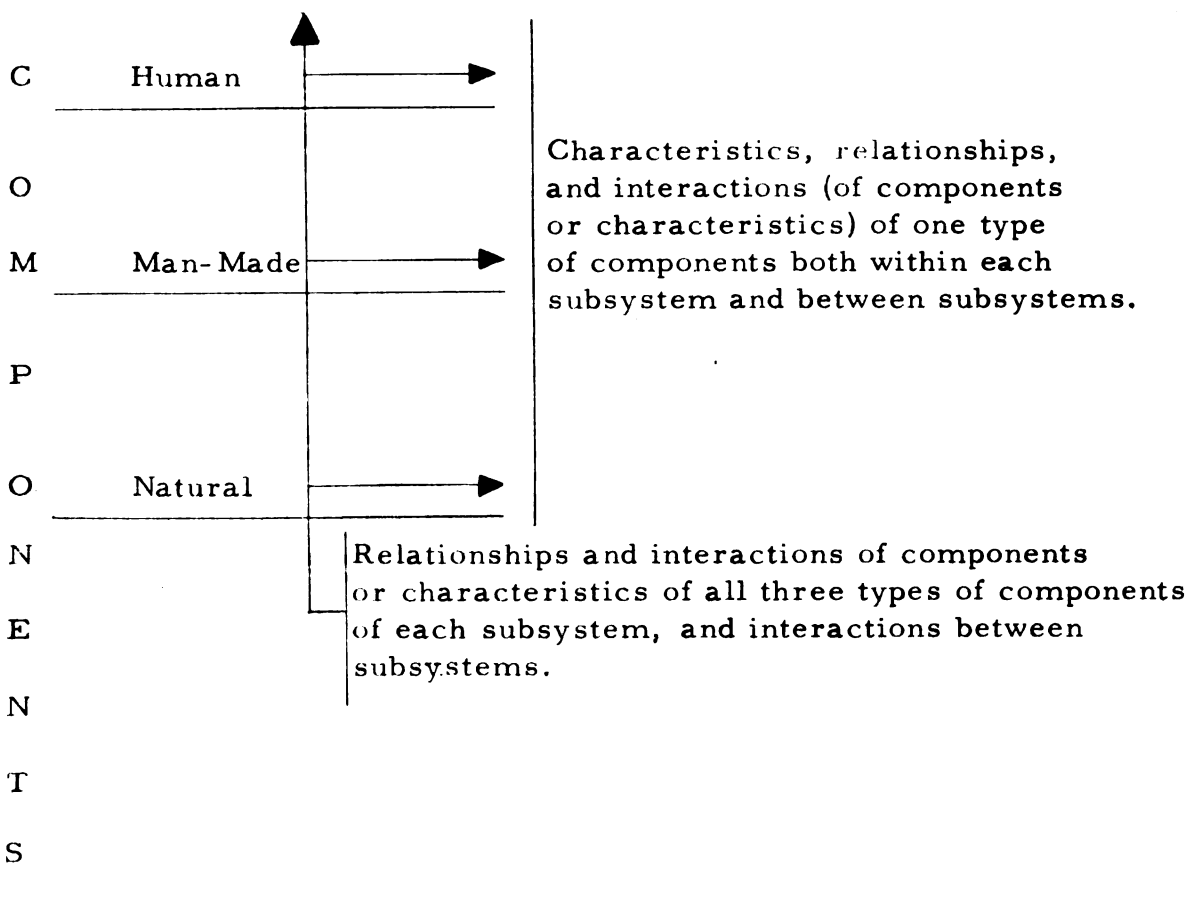
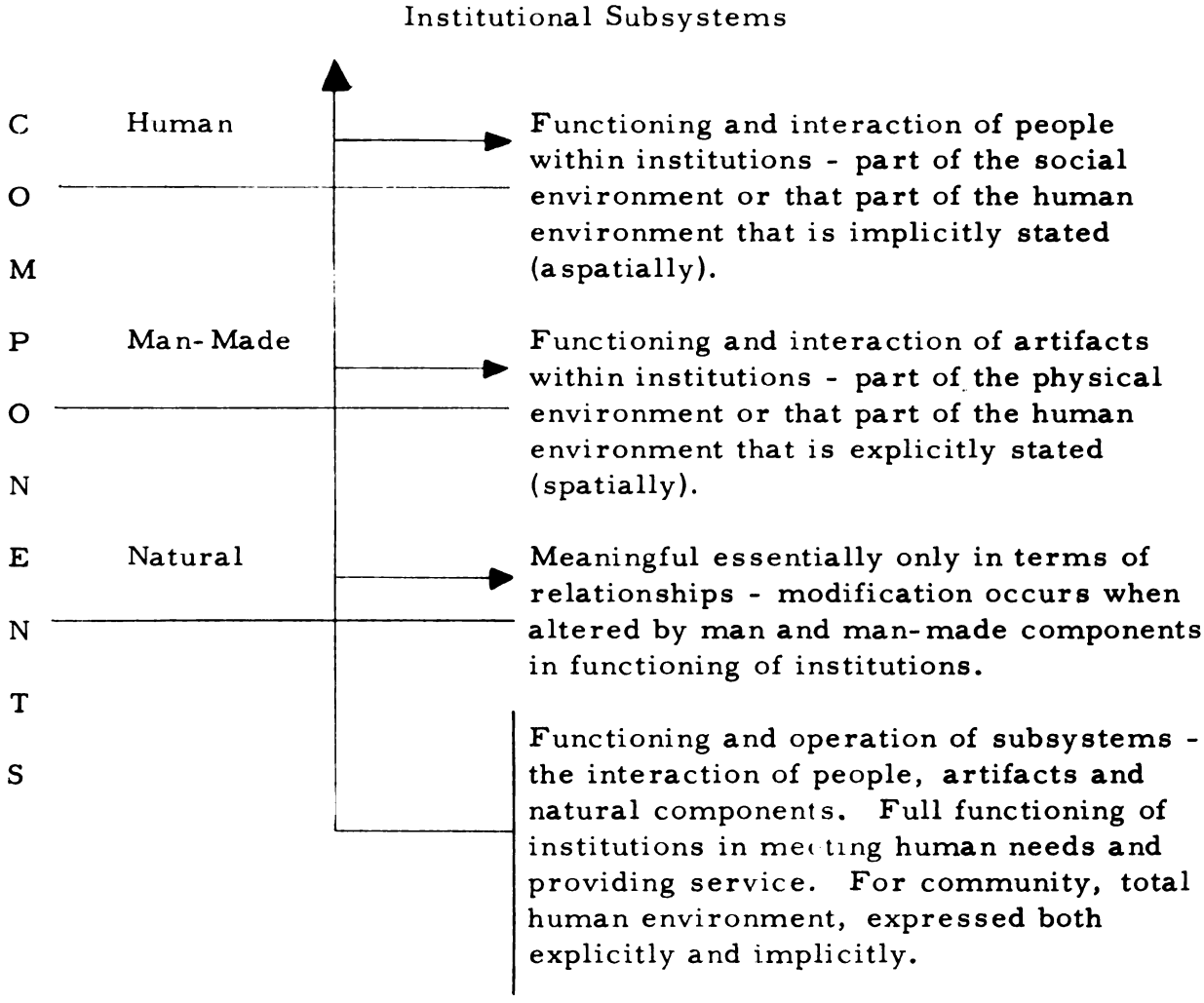


FIGURE 14

Framework for Community Social System Model



System Structure

Subsystems - those institutions that are parts of sets of aggregate institutions - i.e., family, economy, education, government, etc. Components,

characteristics and relationships would express the functions of the institutions - that is, essential to carrying out the functions.

Boundaries of System - determined by critical subsystems and components relevant to urban renewal. This would represent considerably less than a total community social system, but defined subsystems and components would be common to both. Probably to some degree the total community would serve as the environment as well as larger systems.

System Operations

Characteristics of the interaction flows could be viewed in terms of the processes involved in the functioning of institutions, and with respect to the emergence of problems, as discussed previously. With respect to inputs and outputs of the system, the larger cultural system would be dominant - change, at whatever level in the cultural system it is viewed, would be both an input and output. It probably would be more critical as an input in analyzing its effects on the system as both the structure and operation of a particular subsystem or several subsystems could change because of the inputs. This would be in addition to the subsystem inputs and outputs of materials, people, energy and information.

CONCLUSIONS

The present dominant approaches of both social and urban planning represent segmented and partial solutions to complex social problems. What started as a common concern and effort evolved into separate approaches. It now appears that the cycle is moving in a full circle, eventually bringing social and urban planning together, each with a considerable increase in knowledge and experience. Related to this is the growing interest by other disciplines and professions in the study of urban life. There is a growing awareness of the interrelatedness of all facets of urban life and that independent, partial approaches are not likely to arrive at effective solutions to social problems. Eventually, this might lead to a "science of urbanization" whereby greater insight would be gained into the city, and subsequently, providing a sound base from which better plans could be developed.

The integration of social and urban planning will have to take place in two major ways to obtain the greatest benefit:

A. Through the establishment of a common conceptual base as a framework for common understanding of conditions and problems, research needs, exchange of knowledge, and preparation of policies and plans. In short, to allow for the development of a holistic approach to the understanding of urban life by removing as much as possible the constraints that separate the

two fields. This also would provide a framework for contributions from the various disciplines not directly involved in planning.

B. Through a common planning process incorporating social and urban planning into a single planning function. This planning process representing a decision system through which community-wide efforts could be channeled. The interrelatedness of the social problems of the lower class with the larger community and the efforts of both public and private policies and plans on potential solutions necessitates an approach that takes this into consideration. This would require the incorporation of social and urban planning on a hierarchy of levels rather than just one specific level.

The newer programs and social planning efforts at the metropolitan level represent the potential emergence of a more clearly defined profession of social planning. The federal anti-poverty program will enforce this by stimulating development of social programs, this influence may be similar in magnitude to that of the Housing Acts upon urban planning. The ramifications of this lies in two major areas:

A. Professional registration - if this comes about it could have the effect of restricting the integration of social

and urban planning. By defining a body of knowledge (directed at man made components) constraints would be placed on urban planning limiting the development and incorporation of new ideas and approaches that would be aimed at making the field more effective and comprehensive in performing the planning function. Planning as it is carried out at all levels should be defined broadly enough to allow the inclusion of both urban and social planning. If not, then we are likely to continue to have only partial approaches. Lessons should be gained from past mistakes - here urban planning can contribute with regard to the planning process and the need to make it a more dynamic instrument for decision making.

B. Education - considerably more exposure is needed to the social sciences, particularly sociology. Urban planners need a greater understanding of the relationships between man-made components and human components. This would apply not only

> to urban renewal but also to the total community. Efforts should be directed toward a greater awareness and understanding of the social aspects of urban life.

The emerging programs represent a potential direction that could be taken to overcome gaps in present urban renewal efforts, not only with respect to slum dwellers, but all residential renewal areas. The public money and programs that will be forthcoming represent the first time that efforts of this magnitude have been directed toward social problems. In the broader perspective then, assuming compatible policies at the federal level, urban renewal in its suggested expanded role holds the promise of creating a new environment and life for low-income people.

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