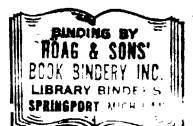
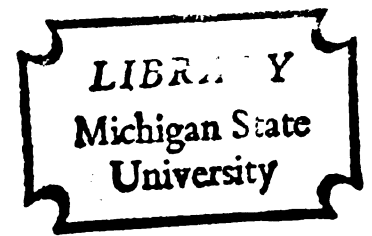


THE DYNAMICS OF RECREATION IN THE
LANSING MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

Thesis for the Degree of M. S.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
ROBERT HENRY McKENNA
1973



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ABSTRACT

THE DYNAMICS OF RECREATION IN THE LANSING MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

By

Robert Henry McKenna

In response to the progressively deteriorating urban situation evidenced by civil unrest in the early sixties, the federal government initiated the "Title I-- Comprehensive City Demonstration Programs," commonly referred to as the Model Cities Program. The recipients of this pilot project were envisioned to be the multi-expert developers of new methods for urban problem-solving.

In subsequent years, as a result of the lessons learned in the various Model Cities, the concept of local determination of federal fund allocations was expanded and the Planned Variation and Revenue-Sharing Program developed. The intent, of both new programs, was parallel with the selected Planned Variation Cities becoming simulations and testing grounds of the local capability for administering the much more widespread follow-up revenue-sharing.

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The city of Lansing, Michigan became one of twenty elite cities to be the recipient of both the Model Cities and Planned Variation Programs, affording an excellent opportunity to study the various moving forces affecting new urban project development both as an analysis of past actions and a foundation for future urban program formulation.

Further, within the broader context of these two innovative programs, Recreation, as a categorical consideration, not only had to contend with the heretofore ignored technique of Citizen Participation in the recreation planning process, but also demonstrate its relative worth within the framework of a multitude of urban necessities.

Therefore, this thesis concerns itself with the delineation and analysis of the moving forces, be they decisions, actions, events, or characters that determined the direction of recreation within the unique Lansing Model Cities and subsequent Planned Variation Programs, thus establishing a basis for future urban recreation systems and strategy formulation.

The information contained herein, the product of both a research study of various model cities related documents and the personal experiences of the author during his two-year association with the program, indicates that recreation was retarded in its development by these various and often conflicting interacting forces.

Although ostensibly a citizen-oriented program, the resident task force members were hampered by poor technical assistance, a dominant professional staff, and an unwieldy planning and review process. Therefore, Citizen Participation became a relatively minor determinant of the actual role of recreation in the total program.

It was the City Demonstration Agency staff who became the prime movers in recreation program development; this situation fostered inter-agency intrigue, political maneuvering, and eventually, program manipulation.

Further, in light of the difficulties of obtaining adequate recreation staff expertise, and the continued efforts of the Model Neighborhood residents to relegate recreation to a subservient role, some doubt is shed on the advisability of having included this particular program category in the original Model Cities enabling legislation.

In summation, although recreation in the Lansing Model Cities was a dismal failure, it did illuminate a number of factors that affect urban recreation program development. Granted these forces might exist to varying degrees in most urban situations, however, they gained prominence, visibility, and finally documentation due to the unique nature of the Model Cities Program.

THE DYNAMICS OF RECREATION IN THE
LANSING MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

By

Robert Henry McKenna

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Park and Recreation Resources

1973

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1973

DEDICATION

To Ellen, Marie, and Joan, who endured much
and benefitted less from my association
with the Lansing Model Cities Program

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. Ronald Hodgson of the Department of Park and Recreation Resources for his continued technical assistance and cooperation during thesis preparation.

I would also like to extend my thanks to my wife, Ellen, whose constant help, encouragement, and support facilitated the completion of this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Men come together in cities in order to live.
They remain together to live the good life."
--Aristotle

The Model Cities Program

While the decade of the fifties was exemplified by a massive influx of urban dwellers, seeking the good life, the early sixties tolled the death of this promise. Major urban centers were racked with civil unrest and most cities were faced with decay and obsolescence, the good life was accompanying the affluent in their migration to the suburbs. Those unable to afford this suburban escape were literally left holding the dismal urban bag, and "burn baby burn" became the popular form of urban renewal.

It rapidly became obvious that although we know more about the history of the cities than of the moon, we know less about their future. Therefore the federal government began pouring financial and human resources into a somewhat haphazard attempt at revitalizing urban life. One such program emanating from this situation

was the "Title I--Comprehensive City Demonstration Programs," commonly referred to as the Model Cities Program:

The purposes of this title are to provide additional financial and technical assistance to enable cities of all sizes (with equal regard to the problems of small as well as large cities) to plan, develop, and carry out locally prepared and scheduled comprehensive city demonstration programs containing new and imaginative proposals to rebuild or revitalize large slum and blighted areas; to expand housing, job, and income opportunities; to reduce dependence on welfare payments; to improve educational facilities and programs; to combat disease and ill health; to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency; to enhance recreational and cultural opportunities; (*italics mine*) to establish better access between homes and jobs; and generally to improve living conditions for the people who live in such areas, and to accomplish these objectives through the most effective and economical concentration and coordination of Federal, State, and local public and private efforts to improve the quality of urban life.¹

The recipients of this Model Cities Program were lauded as pilot plants for urban progress, demanding a wider spectrum of expertise than had been assembled in previous renewal efforts. It was believed that the study of the various processes used in this multi-faceted attack on urban problems would start urban strategists on a "learning curve" which would progressively reorient, innovate, and improve urban research methods.

On October 15, 1968, the city of Lansing, Michigan became one of a select assemblage of 150 cities to be awarded a "Model Cities Grant." Then Lansing embarked on

¹Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, Public Law 89-754, 89th Congress, S.3708, November 3, 1966.

the difficult mission of fulfilling the promise of this new program and improving the quality of urban life.

Concurrent with these local efforts the Republican White House was closely scrutinizing this product of the previous Democratic Administration. On September 24, 1969, the President established a Task Force on Model Cities, chaired by Edward C. Banfield, Professor of Government at Harvard University, whose charge was to "review the current status of the Model Cities Program, evaluate its operations to date, and make recommendations concerning its future direction."¹

The conclusions of this Task Force were encouraging to the embryonic programs; it found that, "the model cities program was--in its conception--a long step in the right direction" but unfortunately the program had been "both over-regulated and under-supported."² This somewhat lessened the threat of Model Cities extrication but in an effort to Republicanize these demonstration grants the Administration looked to the Task Force recommendations, the principal one being that: "Most federal aid should go to the cities by way of revenue-sharing rather than by categorical grants-in-aid."³

¹The Report of the President's Task Force on Model Cities, Model Cities A Step Towards the New Federalism (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, August, 1970).

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

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Thus based on this and other Task Force recommendations regarding consolidation of categorical funds, model cities continuance, and local determination of fund allocation, two new and similar plans were formulated--the Planned Variations Program and the Federal Revenue-Sharing Program.

The concepts of both plans were parallel, with the Planned Variations Program superimposed over the existing Model Cities as a simulation or testing ground for the much more widespread follow-up revenue-sharing. Both contained the basic elements of: precommitment of an annual funding level; consolidation of categorical programs; city Chief Executive responsibility for federal fund allocation; and elimination of federal review and requirements. The former would test the local capability for the latter.

In July, 1971, the President and HUD Secretary Romney announced the Planned Variation Program and Lansing's inclusion as one of the twenty elite Model Cities participating. This uniqueness of the city of Lansing's Model Cities Program, the recipient of two federally funded pilot demonstration grants, became the primary motivation for its use as the object of study for this thesis.

The Learning Curve

If indeed the term "Model" Cities were to be taken literally, it would follow that these demonstration

programs were to be the subject of imitation. However, the originators of the Model Cities concept viewed the program from a more imaginative perspective. These demonstrations rather than being solely the subject of imitation, would be the vehicle of clarification of the capabilities of new urban systems and the interactions between them, exposing flaws in the methods and means men are using to revitalize old cities and build new ones.¹

Therefore, both the successes and failures of this program would provide needed information in the effort to redirect the course of urban research and eventually urban redevelopment. This learning curve of mistakes, redirection, progress, and hopefully success was somewhat hastened by the institution of the Planned Variations--Revenue Sharing Programs. Both of these concepts evolved from the correct and mistaken actions of Model Cities.

Further, since the specific projects or programs developed for and by any given Model City have limited application to other and perhaps dissimilar urban centers, perhaps the value therefore lies in the sequence of events leading to program development. Therefore, the particular aspect of the Lansing Model Cities Program studied for this thesis is those moving forces, be they decisions, actions, or events related or ostensibly nonrelated,

¹U.S., Department of Housing and Urban Development, Science and the City (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967).

affecting project development both as an analysis of the past and a foundation for the future, in urban program formulation.

Recreation

Although urban recreation has been the subject of various studies both in its planning and implementation phases, Model Cities employed a heretofore ignored technique, worthy of scrutiny, that of Citizen Participation in the recreation planning process. It was hypothesized that citizens working with technicians and professionals could forge needed solutions. The Model Cities elected representatives were, therefore, placed in the position of making decisions on a shared basis with the professional staff during the entire process of program development. Further, demands for performance and production were, theoretically, not to be permitted to mitigate this citizen participation.¹

Recreation, rather than being the sole concern of either the staff or citizens, had to demonstrate its relative worth within the broader context of the multi-purpose Model Cities Program. This final dimension of the Model Cities concept isolates the specific subject of study, "the Dynamics of Recreation in the Lansing Model Cities Program."

¹U.S., Department of Housing and Urban Development, Citizen Participation Today (June, 1968).

Therefore, the thesis material concerns itself with the delineation and analysis of the various decisions, events, actions, characters, successes, and failures that determined the direction of recreation within the broader context of the unique Lansing Model Cities and subsequent Planned Variation Programs, thereby establishing both a positive and negative basis for consideration in the formulation of future urban recreation systems and strategy.

Method

Chapters II through IV provide a chronological delineation of the aforementioned sequence of events relating to recreation within the broader context of the development of the Lansing Model Cities Program. This commentary is presented in a manner to coincide with each of the Model Cities fiscal years and the extensive treatment of general Model Cities Program development is provided in order to establish a framework within which to view recreation. The final chapter presents the author's summary and conclusive comments regarding the stated subject matter.

The information contained herein is the product, of both a research study of various publications, documents, reports, memos, and letters relative to the Lansing Model Cities Program and of personal experiences. The author, for a period of approximately two years

served in the Continued Planning Division of the City Demonstration Agency in the various capacities of "Physical Planner," "Chief Physical Planner," and eventually "Chief Planner," directing said division. During this interim the author was either directly or indirectly responsible, in cooperation with the elected "Citizens Planning Task Forces," for recreation program development within the Lansing Model Cities Program.

Therefore, much of the data contained in subsequent chapters emanate from personal involvement and participation in the actual events, with the supplemental material gathered from various model cities records assembled during this period.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANSING MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

Historical Perspective

Community Renewal Program-- City of Lansing

In order to properly set the sequence of events leading up to the establishment and implementation of "Lansing's Model Cities Program," it is necessary to begin with the authorization by the Lansing City Council on June 28, 1965, of the "Community Renewal Program" (C.R.P.). Although the research and planning activities involved in the CRP actually predate the Model Cities enabling legislation, (Federal Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966), its operations and conclusions were a critical prerequisite to any future action-oriented program such as was to be the intention of Model Cities.

Financed on a cooperative basis with local funds and a federal grant from the "Urban Renewal Administration of the Housing and Urban Development Department (H.U.D.)

under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended," there were five basic elements of the proposed CRP:

- (1) identify the concentration of physical and social blight
- (2) determine present efforts, and resources available to correct problems
- (3) define goals for physical, economic and social improvement
- (4) determine policy and program approaches necessary to attain goals
- (5) program projects and activities in a unified and coordinated attack on the social, economic and physical problems.¹

The Lansing Planning Department, specifically its Community Renewal Division, therefore began an intense though macro-oriented investigation of the city, using such accepted planning techniques as "wind-shield" surveys of physical structures, employment and population profiles and projection, identifying planned development etc. and retaining Adley Associates, Gladstone and Associates and R. L. Polk and Co. as program consultants.

The Corporate City of Lansing was divided into thirty-four separate but not exclusive "Study Areas," based upon natural, economic, land use or social boundaries. Each area was then subjected to the entire spectrum of CRP research and planning activities both as an autonomous unit and as an integral part of the greater

¹Community Renewal Program, Community Description and Neighborhood Analysis (Lansing, Mich.: Lansing Planning Department, 1967), Preface.

Lansing community. Through this procedure a pattern emerged of what is generally termed, concentrations of physical, social, and economic blight. The abstract boundaries of these "blighted areas" were later to become the actual boundaries of the initial Model Cities Program, encompassing the worst, by city-wide standards, that Lansing had to offer, and the identified problems were to become the Program's justification.

With concrete evidence of Lansing's varied problems there came an apparent realization that there were not enough local resources to solve them. The CRP, therefore, addressed itself to the recently passed "Federal Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966" as a possible alternative resource. Through subsequent investigation it became evident that a Model Cities Program might be the only opportunity to reverse some of Lansing's deteriorating conditions. As a result of these conclusions, an intra-governmental political campaign, with the Planning Department at its focal point, was begun for authorization to prepare a "Model Cities Application."

The Application Phase

The campaign was successful and authorization for application preparation was garnered. By March, 1967, the "Planning Grant" application was in full progress by an expanded Planning Department with minimal involvement of

nonagency personnel. The justification for no citizen involvement in this early phase was based on the fact that the then current activities were aimed at obtaining planning funds and no efforts were being made, at neighborhood problem solving and therefore citizen input would be premature at that time.

Regardless of the lack of citizen involvement, by mid April, 1967, the proposed program had received widespread agency and institutional support. Offers of support and help came from such varied sources as the tri-county Planning Commission, the Dean of the College of Social Sciences, Michigan State University (M.S.U.) and the Department of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, M.S.U.; in any case the application was realized through the accelerated efforts of departments and fifteen quasi-public and private agencies within the city.¹

Finally on May 1, 1967, with City Council Authorization, city officials submitted Lansing's application proposal for a federal Model Cities planning grant to the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (H.U.D.). The proposal called for a total funding level of \$160,582.00, \$128,466 of federal funding and \$32,116 local contribution. These funds would finance a

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Mid Planning Statement (Lansing, Mich.: 1969).

ten-month planning study to set the objectives for the implementation of a Model Cities Program.

The target area, evolved from the 1966 CRP studies, was approximately three square miles of Lansing's core with an approximate population of 15,000 people, the boundaries resulting from the identified "blight" patterns.

HUD promised to announce the seventy winners, out of the 193 applicant cities, by July 1, 1967; but by September, 1967, no announcements had been made and even though the number of applicants had dropped to 189 (four cities withdrew their applications) no date for announcement was set. Lansing was still in contention along with such other Michigan cities as Detroit, Grand Rapids, and Highland Park.

Finally on November 16, 1967, Lansing received disappointing news; Senator Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii, had disclosed the list of sixty-six cities to share in Model Cities Planning funds and Lansing had been rejected. Detroit and Highland Park were the only Michigan cities receiving approval (Flint and Saginaw were later added). Immediate optimism was voiced by City Planning Department officials that Lansing could qualify for funds set aside by Congress for second-year planning grants.

By the end of November, 1967, Lansing City Council was calling for a second bid for funds, to be more aggressive and buttressed by Washington lobbying.

Through subsequent months the second application gathered steam and support. In response to a letter from Senator Philip A. Hart, D-Michigan, urging Lansing to make a second application and voicing support for it, the then Mayor Max Murningham and the Planning Director traveled to Chicago to meet with HUD officials; the political wheels began to propel the second application.

By February, 1968, the Mayor had established a task force of community leaders to coordinate the efforts of more than fifty public and private agencies working together in the preparation of the second application. An all-out political and technical push to have Lansing selected as a second-round Model City was underway, and through the efforts of the media, by early March, 1968, there was public announcement of citizen support.

This pressure policy of selling the Model Cities Program was not without pitfalls. With the April 15, 1968 submission deadline nearing, charges by residents that they were not being given adequate voice in the preparation of the second application surfaced at a public hearing, and since such widespread support had been courted the old justification that the application was just for a planning grant was no longer an adequate response. Therefore, last-minute modifications were made in the application to reflect the concerns voiced by the public. The proposed Model Cities Program, out

of necessity, was no longer the sole property of city government or other agencies; the element of citizen participation had become a very real driving force.

Thus on April 15, 1968, amid some confusion and criticism, Lansing's second application proposal was submitted to HUD. The request was for \$133,300 in federal planning funds with a \$33,400 local contribution and was in competition with some 200 other applicant cities. Pressure for approval continued both at the local and federal level during the intervening months, through periodic public meetings, announcements, and trips to Chicago and Washington by city officials.

October 15, 1968, and the headlines on page one of "the State Journal" read "Lansing Awarded Model City Grant." Lansing had received a \$128,000 planning grant to become the sixth Michigan city to join the Model Cities ranks. This approval entailed the future creation of a City Demonstration Agency and a viable citizen participation structure.

Transition Phase

During the period between application approval and formal initiation of the mid-planning year a number of activities was carried on concurrently. The Model Cities was divided into ten districts, or as they were later to be called, areas, and the process of "Community Organization" was commenced.

Field study students from Justin Morrill College, M.S.U., organized study groups of residents and interested persons in order to familiarize the Model Neighborhood residents with the scope, goals, and concepts set forth in Lansing's Model Cities application. Then with funds provided by "Ransom Fidelity," a local charitable trust, the first thrust of the Justin Morrill student volunteers was supplemented by staff supervisors and paid resident community organizers.

These personnel were subsequently formed into ten teams of three, a supervisor, community organizer and student volunteer, and a team was assigned to each of the ten Model Neighborhoods (MN). It was through the efforts of these teams working in the community and the support and cooperation of the residents themselves that elections were conducted and the Model Neighborhood representatives were chosen to serve within the Model Cities Citizen Participation structure of Policy Board and Task Forces.

Simultaneously, a Model Cities Director was appointed by the Mayor and an embryonic staff retained. Meetings were held with top level officials of Michigan State University, state government, city departments, local quasi-public and private agencies, and community-based individuals. From these meetings evolved an atypical consortium of professional and technical agency involvement, resident participation, and government

involvement, which was to supplement the Model Cities staff and help Lansing's Model Cities through the upcoming Mid Planning Year.

Also the seeds of a power struggle over city control of the new program began between the Mayor and City Council.¹ The question of the need for Council confirmation of the Mayor's appointed Director was raised and Council was later to wrest the sole right of the Mayor, to not only appoint the Director but also make any appointments within the Model Cities participation structure, and require City Council confirmation of all appointments.

Thus, on January 13, 1969, one year eight months and thirteen days from the date that the original application was submitted, the stage was set for formal City Council creation of the "City Demonstration Agency."

Article IX City Demonstration Agency

Sec 2-89 Created; general powers and duties

- (a) Pursuant to Public Law 89-754 of the Federal Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, Sec. 117.4 (j) of Compiled Laws '48 and Chapter 7, Sec. 7.24 of the city charter, there is hereby created an agency to be known as the "Lansing City Demonstration Agency," which shall hereinafter be referred to as the "agency."
- (b) The agency shall have the powers, duties and limitations set forth in the Program Guide, Model Neighborhoods in Demonstration Cities, the

¹"Mayor Forwards 10 Appointees for Model Cities Task to Council," Lansing State Journal, March 3, 1969.

Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966; the agreements between the Department of Housing and Urban Development, known as "HUD" and the City of Lansing; and the Model Cities Application as submitted to HUD, approved and granted by HUD to the City of Lansing. (Ord. No. 185, 8, 1, 1-13-69)¹

Mid Planning Year

City Demonstration Agency Structure

At its inception, the City Demonstration Agency (C.D.A.) structure was composed of two complementary components, the CDA staff and the Citizen Participation component, with each dependent on the other for support, cooperation, and information in order to make Model Cities succeed.

CDA Staff Component.--The CDA administrative staff during the Mid-Planning year can be best termed as a "jury-rigged bureaucracy," composed of a core of five professionals, and five secretary and clerk-steno employees. Of the five professionals, three were on loan from other agencies or organizations, the Assistant Director-Planning (from the City Planning Department), the Community Organization Specialist (from Fisher Body Division General Motor Corporation), and the Public Relations Officer (from the Information Services Division, Michigan

¹Lansing, Mich. City Charter, Ord. No. 185, 8, 1, 1-13-69 (1969).

State University). Only the Director and the Assistant Director-Citizens Participation were what might be termed full-time professional CDA employees.¹ However backing up this small core staff was an over thirty member temporary staff composed of Field Study, Work Study, and Volunteer Students from Michigan State University and Model Neighborhood Resident Community Organizers. This was the staff element which initiated and facilitated the formation of the body of elected representatives in the Citizen Participation component.

Another staff element was also responsible for the implementation of the mid-planning process, and consisted of some thirteen professionals of varied disciplines. Though in the full-time employ of outside agencies, these individuals additionally became part-time employees of the CDA, in reality if not in fact.

The need for these professionals was based on the premise that we are living in an expert-oriented society. Most experts/technicians felt, at that time, as one Model Cities director did when he stated, in the 1971 Municipal Yearbook, that he seriously doubted the competence of citizens, in making the decisions necessary for determining their own future. With this in mind, the

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Mid Planning Statement (Lansing, Mich.: 1969).

CDA embarked upon an effort to try and determine the citizens' decision-making capabilities "with technical assistance."

Lansing was in a situation where the staff experts/ technicians no longer had the answers to the problems confronting the city and regardless of technical competence, perhaps the citizens were a source of new ideas. It was also apparent that the entire operation could not be summarily turned over to the citizens. Therefore, a technician-citizen relationship had to be developed.

Such an association was realized through the use of the aforementioned thirteen professionals as technical staff support to each of the citizen based planning task forces, thereby enabling the citizens, with the aid of the expertise and experience of the technicians, to articulate problems, causes, objectives and search for technical, programmatic, and pragmatic remedial action.

Citizen Participation Component.--The face on the other side of the CDA structure was that of the Citizen Participation Component. The primary element of this component was the 100-member Citizens Congress, made up of the totality of model cities elected representatives. It was these representatives, chosen from each of the ten MN areas, that served on the nine planning task forces and on the policy board.

With the passage of the city Enabling Ordinance those ten representatives elected to the policy board in concert with eleven mayoral appointed board members became the only legitimate policy-making body for the CDA with status equivalent to all other city boards.¹

The remaining ninety elected representatives, one from each area serving on each of the nine planning task forces, became the CDA life blood. The ten members on each task force in conjunction with ten appointed members on each were to be responsible for the packaging of the Model Cities program into an action-oriented agency. Those appointed members were chosen either for technical competence in various areas or because of agency association; the former to facilitate citizen planning responsibilities, and the latter to initiate or influence agency reform or change.

The final element of this component was a set of three special interest task forces comprised of unique groupings of Model City Residents: the quasi-legitimate Spanish American, Senior Citizen, and Youth Task Forces had no real power within the planning process; however, they acted as potent pressure groups on the nine planning task forces.

¹Lansing, Mich. City Charter, Ord. No. 185, 8, 1, 1-13-69 (1969).

Therefore, at this stage in the Model Cities development, the sought-after relationship between "Citizens" and "Staff" was one of "Parity." The premise for this relationship was based on the circumstance of having an equally influential bureaucracy and citizen representation. The staff was therefore to be placed in a position of serving two masters, insuring staff support for citizen views on a quasi-advocate basis in order to maintain credibility with the citizen representatives, while maintaining some technician's allegiance to the various parent agencies. The system was to be characterized by a process of shared decisions if successful.

Mid-Planning Process¹

The Model Cities planning process as implemented during this mid-planning year was less than simple in its conception. It was the first dedicated effort at using citizens in such an operation and therefore a complicated system of referrals and refinement steps were incorporated into it to "purify" the "gut reactions" of Model Neighborhood residents to the point that the statements could be used as a reasonable basis for problem-solving situations.

The initial step consisted of each of the nine planning task forces (now divided along program categorical lines i.e., Housing, Education, etc.) being

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Mid Planning Statement (Lansing, Mich.: 1969).

familiarized with such base data as the CRP reports, Lansing School District pupil information, State Department of Health and Social Services statistics etc. The task forces, having been given a feeling for general model cities-wide problems as the technicians saw them, then went through a procedure of identifying neighborhood problems as they, the citizens, viewed them. Having completed this, the problem statements from each of the ten areas were refined with staff assistance and submitted as Task Force problem statements to a "Coordinating Committee."

The "Coordinating Committee," consisting of the task force chairmen and technical staff support, reviewed the problem statements submitted by the task forces, eliminated duplications and problems statements overlapping task force categorical lines, and decided the proper task force to address each problem statement. The statements were then referred back to the appropriate task force.

Each task force then finalized the problem statements, identified the core causes, set objectives for solving said problems, and developed a task force priority ranking.

The priority rankings of problems from each task force were then submitted to a "Ranking Committee" of representatives and alternates from each of the ten MN

areas. This committee ranked each task force according to the importance of its categorical thrust (i.e., Education, Health etc.), and ranked the problems within each category according to task force recommendations.

These final statements, along with a staff developed problem-solving strategy, based on the voiced citizen concerns, were then sent to the Policy Board for review and action. After Policy Board approval, the statements went to the total Citizen Congress and then the Lansing City Council for approval. With these final approvals the combined statement or the "Mid-Planning Statement," as it was technically named, was submitted to HUD for action program funding.

Recreation--Mid-Planning Year

During the next months, operating on a "letter to proceed" from HUD and with funds from the city treasury, Model Cities, as a program, sputtered and stalled amid controversy, skepticism, and the mechanics of organization. Residents underwent a battery of elections for Model Cities representatives and voiced skepticism regarding the value and credibility of the program; one MN area even petitioned City Council to be excluded from Model Cities.¹ The CDA staff, to what

¹"Model Cities Steps Slated Tonight," Lansing State Journal, March, 1969.

extent there was one, was retained and the search for experts to serve with the various task forces was completed.

Therefore, although the "official" signing of the Planning Grant Contract with HUD was not to take place until July 5, 1969, a delay of some six months, work began. On May 27, 1969, the Environment and Design Task Force (EDTF) held its first meeting and Recreation, or the lack thereof, emerged as a concern of the resident representatives, along with fourteen other items.

The enhancement of recreational and cultural opportunities had been publicly stated as one of the Model Cities program objectives during the media exposure subsequent to formal announcement by HUD that the second application had been approved. During the interim period, between October and May, any references to recreation as an important segment of the Model Cities program was absent from public announcements and media coverage; recreation as a categorical program area was suppressed. This was not necessarily a product of intentional action; the program, as has been previously stated, was undergoing a period of growth with all the accompanying pains of threatened death. Given this situation, the logical course of action was to concentrate media coverage, public presentations, and all public pronouncement on those problem areas

most prevalent in the minds of the Model Neighborhood residents, i.e., Housing, Health, Employment, Social Services, Crime, etc. Recreation, as a result, was relegated to the role of a silent, nonpublic, and in many instances nonexistent issue during these intervening months.

This apparent subjugation of Recreation to other categories, although born out of political necessity, was the first indication of what was to be its subservient role throughout the early years of the program. It is, therefore, difficult to fault the early political architects, since subsequent priority rankings by the residents themselves were to place Recreation in the lowest position; so by default or intent this particular consideration was placed in its appropriate role during those early months.¹

The situation was different once the task forces became operational. The "Environment and Design Task Force," divested of the responsibilities for such program areas as Housing, Employment, and Social Services, and given the difficult-to-define role of planning for the general model cities physical environment quickly

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, First Year Action Plan (Lansing, Mich.: 1970); Lansing Model Cities Program, Second Year Action Plan (Lansing, Mich.: 1971).

revived the latent recreation issue.¹ Further it was not illogical that, given such vague parameters of concern as, "Air pollution, water pollution, Community Aesthetics, Overhead transmission Lines and Safety, the community-oriented, laymen planners chose the easier to pin down, less conceptual, and more personal, recreation as a high priority item. This view of recreation is of course premised on the low degree of environmental education and conceptual development of the task force representatives at that time, a premise borne out by subsequent overly simplistic treatment of the subject.

During the months of June and July, 1969, the EDTF underwent an education and familiarization process in the techniques and information surrounding their adopted trade. The sole information disseminated regarding recreation, though not specifically mentioned as such, was the meager collection of statements contained in the CRP reports.² These statements were physically oriented and laced with vagueness and only repetitively proclaimed the inadequacy of "parks and open space" in the model neighborhoods. In any case,

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Minutes of the Environment and Design Task Force, Meeting of 1969-1970.

²Community Renewal Program, Community Description and Neighborhood Analysis (Lansing, Mich.: Lansing Planning Department, 1967).

the task force orientation at this time was totally physical in content and minimal in recreation.

The physical orientation was in itself appropriate in light of the categorical thrust of the EDTF, but it proved to be detrimental to recreation since it nurtured a rather narrow perspective on the subject. The latter, however, was critical and the fault for this lack of comprehensive recreation education must be laid at the feet of both the staff support and appointed technical personnel on the task force. Of the ten appointed technicians only one was chosen specifically for his recreation background, a representative of the "State Department of Natural Resources."

He was in attendance during these early stages but the task force minutes contain no reference to his active participation; he was later dropped from the task force for inattendance.¹ There was some involvement by the Deputy Director of the Lansing Parks and Recreation Department but this was later, in the planning process and ostensibly in response to the then current mini-park application, and, therefore, was of little value during the first formative months of the task force.

¹City of Lansing Interoffice Communication from Alan Tubbs, Task Force Support Model Cities Environment and Design Task Force, to Walter Sowles, Model Cities Director, August 13, 1969.

Finally, the task force staff support were Urban Planners and their recreation orientation was minimal and physical in concept.

Thus during this period, regarding recreation, the EDTF was unprepared for any comprehensive consideration of solutions. The task force was "park-oriented," and whether or not it should have been considering any other aspects of recreation is questionable, but nevertheless given that the EDTF was the only planning unit dealing with recreation it was definitely limited; only a "gut-knowledge" of the need for programs survived.

Concurrent with this education process, the initial neighborhood problem statements were being accrued, reviewed, and discussed. A statement of "Problem Identification Guidelines" was prepared by the staff and distributed to the various elected task force representatives. The representatives were to meet with neighborhood advisory groups, and through personal observation respond along said structural guidelines. Those dealing specifically with recreation were:

Parks and Open Space¹

- (1) type of park in relationship to need
 - (a) playground--tot lots
 - (b) neighborhood
 - (c) community

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Minutes of the Environment and Design Task Force, Meetings of 1969.

- (2) type of facilities
 - (a) active recreation--playground equipment, basketball courts, etc.
 - (b) passive recreation--benches, scenic view, etc.
- (3) Adequacy of site--ratio of people to acre
 - (a) adequate
 - (b) inadequate
- (4) Location in relationship to population served
 - (a) central location easily accessible
 - (b) central location--physical barriers preventing accessibility
- (5) Maintenance of Facility
 - (a) good
 - (b) fair
 - (c) poor

These criteria were adequate perhaps for an area containing a semblance of a park system, but the residents of Model Cities had difficulty evaluating the, for the most part, nonexistent facilities (at that time there was only one active park in Model Cities). Therefore, the repetitive responses from the various MN areas simply pointed out that Model Cities was nearly devoid of park and recreation facilities.

Further, in spite of the structure facility orientation of the problem identification guidelines, the lack of recreation programs and activities once more surfaced as a concern of the EDTF. This resurgence of interest was to eventually push the task force, at least in discussion if not in action, over the line into a wider view of recreation.

Mini-Parks.--It was at this point in the EDTF development that, on August 12, 1969, a letter from HUD concerning the availability of immediate impact open space funds, was presented by the staff. Acting on staff recommendations the task force set up a working committee to select preliminary sites in cooperation with Parks and Recreation staff.

As a result of the combined work of this committee and the Park and Recreation staff some eleven sites were selected in the Model Neighborhood for use as mini-parks. Then using open space standards developed by the CRP, an analysis by park and recreation staff of the service of existing parks and school-playground sites was made, narrowing the number to five sites within the Model Neighborhoods.¹

Finally, amid controversy and objections from the Model Cities Policy Board the final choice of four sites within Model Cities and one outside (its limits) was made.² On November 24, 1969, a "Letter of Intent" to file an application for the immediate impact open space funds was filed with HUD. With surprising promptness on December 2, 1969, a "Letter of Assurance" was

¹City of Lansing, Open Space Grant Application (Lansing, Mich.: 1970).

²Lansing Model Cities Program, Minutes of the Policy Board, Meetings of 1969.

received from HUD and the preparation of the application began, a process that was to carry through the submission of the Mid Planning Statement.

The Mini-Parks became extremely important, not only as projects for recreation facilities, but also because they were viewed by the staff and citizen structure as a prime opportunity to gain "visibility" in the "Model Neighborhoods" and thereby reinstitute the faith of the residents in the program.¹ Therefore, the Mini-Parks were to take on the image of a crusade and were sought, as a matter of principle in subsequent years, long after their political value as recreation facilities had diminished.

This attempt at acquiring open space funds had some beneficial effects on the EDTF over and above the potential of the parks themselves because it also (commenced) the active involvement of the Assistant Director of Parks and Recreation in task force meetings and affairs. It was through his expertise that the EDTF began to receive a much wider perspective, not only the physical aspect of recreation, but also the other factors in a well-balanced park and recreation program.

One such step in the process was the presentation, to the EDTF, of a "Space-Location Study," (organized by

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Minutes of the Environment and Design Task Force, Meeting of November 4, 1969.

the author while in the employ of the Lansing Parks and Recreation Department) which attempted to identify future park needs, sites, and maintenance facilities in light of the Socio-Economic-Physical-Recreation factors affecting the city of Lansing Park System. Further, the Deputy Director lent his technical experience to such task force discussions as those concerning the merits and deficiencies of Drop-In Center in Lansing, thereby providing the EDTF with a much more rounded, if not still embryonic, background in recreation.

Preparation for Plan Submission.--By late September-early October, 1969, the pressure was on to facilitate the mid planning process and to meet a December filing deadline. The categorical problem statements from each of the ten MN areas had to be received by the EDTF and there remained the task of crystallizing the various problem statements into a task force position for submission to the Coordinating Committee.

The EDTF composed some eight succinct problem statements in the area of Environment and Design and ranked them according to priority (a slight divergence from the original process but necessitated by time constraints). The problems dealing with Recreation received a priority ranking of five and stated:

5. The Model Neighborhood is nearly devoid of neighborhood parks and recreation facilities. Programs and activities for all groups are lacking. Preservation of open space and historic sites is of little concern to the City in view of tax returns from a private venture.¹

This statement was to survive the Coordinating Committee process of finalization intact and be included verbatim in the "Mid Planning Statement" and indeed remain as the basic problem statement in recreation for all submission during the next two years of the Model Cities Program.

Simultaneously, as a result of "Ranking Committee" actions, the Environment and Design Category was placed as number six of the nine program categories, therefore, recreation, due to its low over-all ranking (sixth in the ninth category), was not even considered during the search for core cause of model neighborhood problems (only the top ten overall problem statements were treated in this respect).² Finally in the staff-prepared program objectives, recreation was once again excluded from consideration and relegated to a relatively unimportant role in the plan.³

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Mid Planning Statement (Lansing, Mich.: 1969), Problems and Priorities, p. 53.

²Lansing Model Cities Program, Mid Planning Statement (Lansing, Mich.: 1969).

³Ibid.

The only remaining reference to recreation in the "Mid Planning Statement" was contained in the journalistic commentary on neighborhood conditions. The text described conditions at the drop-in centers regarding fights, takeovers by older men, and the meager number of activities planned for girls.¹

Although no records were kept, these staff-prepared statements were the apparent product of input from the special interest Youth Task Force, and no attempt at addressing these problems was made in the published "Strategy Statement."²

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE LANSING MODEL CITIES

FIRST ACTION YEAR

Plan Preparation Phase

Plan Development

Upon the completion and submission of the Mid-Planning Statement, the Lansing CDA concentrated its efforts on the preparation of Model Cities' first-year plan of action. This comprehensive plan was to translate the information gleaned during the mid planning year into service-oriented projects and programs. Further, it was to serve as the basis for coordinating all available human and financial resources into a cohesive attempt at solving model neighborhood problems. The aforementioned financial resources available through existing agencies, organizations, and governments were to be supplemented by an approximately 1.8 million dollar appropriation from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Employing the same basic administrative and citizen structure established during the mid planning year, the CDA immediately moved to implement a four-month

planning process aimed at meeting an April 30, 1970 submission deadline. The process was progressively hampered by selective deterioration within the "Citizen Participation Component" of the CDA structure.¹ Some task forces either steadily reduced meeting frequency or ceased operations entirely, thereby crippling work in some categorical areas.

This apparent breakdown could be attributed to a broad spectrum of reasons, from inadequate staff support, loss of interest by citizens and appointed personnel to simply poor task force direction and a scanty work load. Regardless of the reasons for this deficiency in the Citizen Participation Component, it precipitated an increasingly dominant staff role in the compilation of the First Year Action Plan and signified a minor setback for the concept of shared decision making.

In addition, due to the highly "political" nature of allocating such a large expenditure of funds, both from the community standpoint and the governmental perspective, such an influential staff was therefore placed in the injudicious position of having to contend with this extra-CDA pressure. The community and governmental interests were, in some cases, in conflict with each other and the CDA, and this staff situation provided

¹Conversations with E. Brown and J. Spackman, City of Lansing Planning Department, on loan to Model Cities during this period.



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them with a heretofore unacceptable avenue of expression. An implication of this condition shall be discussed in the First Year Action Plan.

The planning process as propounded during this interim, although not entirely dissimilar to the mid planning activities, was more narrow in direction and sought detail previously overlooked. Ostensibly, project or program proposals could emanate from only three primary sources: the private citizen, the individual planning task forces, and participating agencies or institutions.

The CDA staff and agency personnel were then responsible for both the preparation of each proposal in the established "Model Cities Project Proposal Format" for clarity, and according to categorical thrust, referral of each proposal to the appropriate planning task force for consideration.

It was then within the jurisdiction of each task force to expand, consolidate, or otherwise modify proposals until they were either found acceptable or totally rejected. For those profferings selected, implementing agencies were identified and funding sources determined (the CDA could not operate any project; it could only act as the Model Cities contracting agent in the provision of any services).

The segmented project proposals of each task force were then referred to the established "Coordinating Committee" for consideration within the wider context of a total model cities action program. Theoretically it was at this stage that fragmented task force attempts were consolidated and emerged as a comprehensive action plan; in reality it was necessary for the consequences of the Coordinating Committee to be further refined by the technical staff before a concrete plan was produced.

Thus the final and most technical aspect of this plan development process, the actual writing of the First Year Action Plan, was executed by the CDA staff. The completed document was then submitted to the Model Cities Policy Board, Citizen Congress, and Lansing City Council successively for review and approval, and transmitted to HUD for program funding.

Recreation.--Since the data base used in planning for the first action year was the problems, objectives, and priorities established in the Mid Planning Statement, it was reasonable to expect the inevitable result--recreation once again assumed an incognizant role. The Environment and Design Task Force (EDTF), contrary to the norm, met on an almost weekly basis, but with an increased emphasis on land use, zoning, historic preservation, and

the then critical issue, of Urban Renewal #3 involving the acquisition of Diamond Reo.¹

The EDTF, the dubious assignee of recreation, with staff assistance, was technically beginning to come into its own in most areas, except recreation. The notable exception to this situation was the continuing protestation by the EDTF over the still incomplete Mini-Park application. This reoccurring theme began to take on some aspects of a "crusade" for neighborhood visibility with the Mini Parks as a symbol of accomplishment. In spite of the eventual filing of the "Open Space Grant Application" for Lansing's Mini Parks on March 2, 1970, these frustrated attempts at action were destined to surface intermittently for the next two and one-half years.

Mini Parks.--The original Mini-Park application filed with HUD as part of the federal "Park-in-Cities" program estimated a total project cost of \$103,632. The 50 per cent grant called for \$51,816 in financial assistance from the federal government and a like expenditure in local funds. This local share was to come out of general revenue funds and was programmed as such

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Minutes of the Environment and Design Task Force, Meeting of 1969-1970.

into the 1970-75 "Six-Year Capital Improvements Budget" for the city of Lansing, to be financed during fiscal year 1970-71.¹

Due to the high land costs within the inner city, the largest budget item in the grant application predictably was \$80,648 for the site acquisition of the four Model Neighborhood (MN) parks and the one extra MN park expansion site. The remainder of the project cost was allocated for site demolition, development, inspection, and administrative functions. Finally an additional 100 per cent grant for \$27,100, to pay relocation benefits to displaced residents, was simultaneously applied for bringing the total grant package to \$130,732.²

The final selection of particular sites to be included in this initial application was not without controversy.

Although the Parks Department had worked closely with the model cities citizens during the entire site selection process, the MC Policy Board strongly objected when in the final stage it was decided that the number of MN parks would be narrowed from five to four and an extra MN expansion site would be included. The source of this

¹City of Lansing, Six-Year Capital Improvements Budget (Lansing, Mich.: Lansing Planning Department, 1969).

²City of Lansing, Open Space Grant Application (Lansing, Mich.: 1970).

opposition was not from within the Policy Board itself, but was precipitated by a member of the CDA staff, the Assistant Director--Citizen Participation. In retrospect, if later actions by this staff member are any indication, his comments prompting exception to the final sites, were more influenced by personal aims than overall program concern. The issue was finally resolved through personal dialogue between representative of the Parks Department and the Policy Board and Model Cities acquiesced to the four and one package.

Both the Kingsley Court and Lenawee Street sites, P-1 and P-2 respectively, were located on Lansing's west side in the predominantly black residential community. These MN residents had been progressively isolated from most recreation facilities through the development of the I-496 freeway on the south making the later to be discontinued, Scott Park inaccessible, and by a rapidly expanding State Capitol Complex on the north and east. This situation left the inhabitants of a rather high-density community with long distances to travel and physical barriers to surmount in order to enjoy any of the perimeter, Scott, Durant, or St. Joe, parks. Therefore, it was reasoned that the placement of these two compact park sites in the community would somewhat alleviate the recreation problem.

The Cady Street site, P-3, was chosen for similar reasons. Although the residents of this MN were within the service range of the existing Oak Park facility, access was blocked by three major traffic arteries. Therefore, this residential area on the perimeter of the Spanish-American or Chicano community was also isolated from park facilities.

The final MN site, Massachusetts Street P-4, was directly north of P-3 in the center of the Spanish-American community. Unlike the areas around P-1, 2, and 3 this community was not completely devoid of park facilities, with Grand River School playground five blocks and Potter Park three blocks distant from the proposed site. This mini-park was purported to be an intermediate, immediate-impact park facility servicing the large numbers of Spanish-American children.

The remaining site, P-5 Edmore Park expansion, was justified, due to the inadequacies of the existing facility, and found acceptable to Model Cities due to its location just five blocks from the MN. The environment surrounding this particular park was in the process of deterioration and this selection was meant to serve as an incentive for residents to improve their environment (this neighborhood was later to be included in Model Cities under the Planned Variations Program). Finally it was stated that, "the mini-park," P-5,

"therefore fits into the scheme for a visual impact for municipal concern to its citizens."¹ Apparently the city as well as Model Cities appreciated the value of visual improvements, in developing resident confidence.

Each of the aforementioned sites had some common denominators: their location in areas with concentration of lower income families, the assurance that the neighborhoods would remain residential and in most cases the existence of physical barriers and long distances precluding the use of existing facilities.

Thus the described Mini-Park application was a significant product of this phase of the Model Cities Program, an accomplishment which somewhat compensated for recreation being ignored in the other aspects of action plan development.

First Year Action Plan

Regardless of the relative absence of recreation during the plan preparation activities, it did emerge again in the First Year Action Plan. The portion of the "Plan" dealing with projects was divided into three categories: "Supplemental Projects," "Non-Supplemental Projects," and "Non-Cost Projects."²

¹City of Lansing, Open Space Grant Application (Lansing, Mich.: 1970).

²Lansing Model Cities Program, First Year Action Plan (Lansing, Mich.: 1970).

The Supplemental section contained those projects funded either totally or in part with allocations from the Model Cities 1.8 million dollar supplemental funds provided by HUD. This section was predominantly the product of the aforementioned task force planning activities and projects therein supposedly in response to resident needs. The Non-Supplemental section described projects having an impact on MN residents, basically in conformance with Model Cities objectives, but being funded entirely by outside agencies or institutions. It was within this portion of the Plan that the Mini-Park application was listed as a nonsupplementally funded, Model Cities impact project.

The third or noncost section was in reality not an action project listing but denoted those activities with which the CDA anticipated becoming involved. Although listed as noncost activities these predominantly physical planning functions, varying from developing a Model Cities Land Use Plan to Historic Preservation Planning, did obviously have an inherent staff or administrative cost.

NARC

It was at this point that the North Side Athletic and Recreation Club surprisingly appeared as a recreation project in the Supplemental Projects section of the First Year Action Plan. Although proposed by a staff

assistant as a project for possible funding in the EDTF there is no evidence that it was extensively discussed or recommended, by that or any other task force, for inclusion in the First Year Action Plan. In discussing this apparent circumvention of the citizen task force with the then Model Cities Director, his recollection was that NARC "came out of the Spanish community."

This statement was further corroborated in the plan itself:

While recreation and crime and delinquency were low on the list of resident priorities, the CDA will fund a recreation project operated by a non-profit corporation. The organization deals primarily with Spanish speaking youths, and has been operated by volunteers for the past few years. By funding this project the CDA will be insuring that a program started by residents and sustained by their own¹ efforts is able to continue to exist and expand.

Ignoring NARC's relative worth as a project and its obvious support within the Spanish-American community, it should be noted that it was included without Model Cities-wide representative consideration or support. This program might or might not have received such endorsement but apparently due to the aforementioned citizen participation deterioration--staff dominant situation, the CDA staff had the latitude and opportunity to include this politically-ethnically expedient project. Further it was unlikely that the black and white members

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, First Year Action Plan (Lansing, Mich.: 1970), pp., 11-16.

of the Model Cities Policy Board would risk offending the Chicano community by removing NARC during the plan approval process.

NARC, therefore, became the first recreation project to be funded by Model Cities with a total budget of \$40,447, the sum being an allocation of \$22,367 from supplemental funds and \$18,280 from outside sources.

The NARC program was oriented solely toward children in the 7-15 age group who, because of prejudice, family circumstances (i.e., parents working, separated, or indifferent) or income, could not participate in regular school or community activities. The three-man staff supplemented by ten MSU student volunteers supervised a wide range of recreational and educational activities such as midget football, junior baseball, swimming, and museum visits. Where necessary the staff acted as surrogate parent sponsors for children wishing to join the scouts, Y-Indian Guides, and like organizations.

NARC received assistance, both financial and human, from an alliance of institutions. MSU and the Lansing School District (LSD) provided needed facilities for the programs in combination with transportation furnished by the Eaton-Ingham Parochial System (at nominal cost). Complimentary tickets, group admission rates, and various services were forthcoming from such sources as MSU, LSD, Christo Ray Community Center, Northside

Lansing Lions Club, and private individuals. In spite of its bastard birth as a Model Cities Project, NARC was and during subsequent years continued to be a successful community-based institutionally supported operating project.

The funding of NARC by Model Cities was not without drawbacks, however; because of the obvious Chicano orientation and identification of this particular project, subsequent recreation programs took on a definite semblance of ethnic orientation and support, in defeat of many attempts at Model Cities-wide comprehensive recreation program development. This obviously was not the fault of NARC, as much as it was a symptom of segmentation and division within the Model Neighborhood residents.

The only other project worthy of note in the First Year Action Plan, because of its future association with recreation, was "Community Centers Planning." Listed as a supplemental project, it was simply an allocation of \$40,000 to the CDA itself to finance the research and staff activities necessary to plan and seek funding for one or more Comprehensive Community Centers to provide yet to be identified health, social, and recreational services. The proposed inclusion of recreation with the "socially" oriented services in each center received mixed reactions within the community, and resolution of

this question was later sought as part of a recreation research study conducted in the model neighborhood.¹

CDA Structure-First Action Year²

In adherence to the changing thrust of the Model Cities Program, from primarily planning activities to a combination of planning and action operation, both the Citizen Participation and CDA staff components underwent multivarious changes in the First Year Action Plan.

CDA Staff Component.--The jury-rigged bureaucracy which had sufficed during the first eighteen months of Model Cities life could no longer sustain the progressively more complicated program in a satisfactory manner. Therefore, a full-time multi-professional staff had to be assembled.

The new staff structure, which was to survive in concept throughout the program, consisted of five divisions. The Administrative division was the realm of the CDA Director and was the staff component responsible for overall program policy (in conjunction with the Policy Board) and agency operation. In addition to the Director this division consisted of a Deputy Director,

¹Recreation Resource Consultants, Recreation in the Lansing Model Cities Area (East Lansing, Mich.: 1972).

²Lansing Model Cities Program, First Action Year Plan (Lansing, Mich.: 1970).

Finance Office,¹ Office Manager, and various clerical support personnel. Each of the other four divisions were administered through three Assistant Directors and the Chief Planner. With the exception of the office manager and clerical personnel, these individuals comprised the Directors' Cabinet and were totally at the disposal of the Policy Board as technical staff support.

The Program Management Division which was to be responsible for contract preparation and continued communication with all operating agencies was staffed by an Assistant Director for Program Management and three Project Managers. As the Model Cities Program matured, the three Project Managers each took sole responsibility for programs according to the social, economic, or physical thrust of each project. This division was to be the target of much criticism both from within the CDA staff and from outside agencies and was at times singled out as being the weakest link in the CDA chain. It should also be noted that of the five CDA divisions only Program Management did not have to deal directly with MN citizens.

The next division, Program Information and Evaluation, was responsible for data collection, evaluation, and program monitoring in cooperation with the newly

¹Note: Contracted under a cooperative agreement with the City of Lansing Comptrollers office.

created Evaluation Task Force. Although only staffed with an Assistant Director for Program Information and Evaluation and a Data Analyst, the division was assisted by staff from Systems Research Incorporated (SRI) a local consulting firm. Though ostensibly an overall program consultant, SRI's major contribution in the early stages of Model Cities was technical training of evaluation staff and to a greater extent their almost total dominance, and responsibility for the performance, of this particular division.

The Continued Planning Division, unlike the other four, was technically not part of the CDA staff. Established through a cooperative agreement with the City of Lansing Planning Department, the members of this division performed as regular CDA staff but, at least on paper, were responsible to both the CDA Director and the City Planning Director. This dual allegiance, at least in the early stages of Model Cities, caused no apparent complications but was an ever-present source for administrative friction. The Chief Planner, who performed also as an Assistant Director in the CDA, coordinated the efforts of the three, Physical, Social, and Economic, Planners. These individuals were the primary staff support to the three citizen planning task forces of the same name. This division was responsible for the ongoing planning activities for Model Cities, in addition to preparing

such grant applications or working papers which might become necessary. It was also the duty of this staff to prepare and publish each year's action plan, an endeavor which was accomplished through the technical and writing assistance of the entire CDA staff.

The remaining division, Community Organization, continued those activities begun by the early volunteers working in the various neighborhoods. The Assistant Director for Community Organization and the three Community Organization Specialists, set up neighborhood meetings, maintained community communications, facilitated the formation of community groups, and above all organized and were responsible for, each year's Model Cities representative elections. Each of the aforementioned divisions, with the exception of Continued Planning, drew upon administration for clerical support and all divisions were dependent upon each other's performance and cooperation for total CDA operation.

Citizen Participation Component.--As the CDA Staff component was expanded, the Citizen Participation Component was streamlined. The Policy Board was retained as the overall policy-making body for the program (with administrative staff support), but its membership composition was modified. One representative was elected from each of the ten MN areas to serve on the Policy Board and also act as Area Chairman for that particular neighborhood.

Six members were elected "at large" from Model Cities, as representatives of all areas and ten members appointed by the mayor and confirmed by council. The one member appointed by and representing City Council completed the board composition of twenty-seven.

The original nine planning task forces were reduced to three and the various categorical considerations were consolidated and assigned to the Physical, Social, or Economic Task Force. These task forces continued to perform planning activities, but now with full-time technical support from the Continued Planning Division staff planners. Two representatives from each of the ten MN areas and ten appointed members served on each of these task forces.

The three "Special Interest Task Forces" were temporarily discontinued, but in response to a different need, the Evaluation Task Force was established. With three representatives elected from each MN area and no appointed personnel, this group of thirty citizens were to continually evaluate the effectiveness of all Model Cities programs and recommend modifications where appropriate. This task force was supported by the Program Information and Evaluation staff and SRI personnel.

The project flow process developed with this new staff and citizen structure was simple. Proposals were initiated within the Planning task forces, approved or

rejected by the Policy Board and City Council, contracted through the Program Management Division and once in operation monitored and evaluated by the Evaluation Task Force. Thus it was within this structural and procedural framework that implementation of the First Action Year Plan began August 1, 1970.

First Action Year

The momentum of Model Cities was temporarily lost during the initial stages of Action Plan implementation. Beset with the arduous tasks of re-organization, staff build-up and like afflictions, symptomatic of budding bureaucracies, it was not until the Fall of 1970 that CDA operations were fully underway. As a result, many of the projects proposed in the First Year Action Plan, and budgeted for a full year's operation, were not created, contracted, or funded until three to four months into fiscal year 70-71. This tardy project start-up created a surplus of supplemental funds, which would have to be re-programmed and committed prior to the termination of the first action year. This condition was later to be simultaneously a boon and detriment to recreation and indeed to the Model Cities Program.

Mini-Parks.--As Model Cities was tediously setting about project implementation, the City Parks and Recreation Department was proceeding with follow-up public hearings on

the proposed mini park site locations. On September 25, 1970, the Chief Planner of the CDA, concerned about the loss of Model Cities initiative, and convinced that the Parks Department was advancing in a direction contrary to MC interests, requested the CDA Director's aid in regaining some semblance of project control.¹

The attempt was successful and when public hearings were held during the week of October 12, 1970, it was with full Model Cities participation and Parks Department cooperation. Both hearings, on Lansing's west side regarding P-1 and P-2 and in the north end for P-2 and P-3, were moderated by members of the Policy Board and attended by representatives of the community and city government.

The two west side park sites, Kingsley Court P-1 and Lenawee Street P-2, emerged from the public hearing relatively unscathed. Receiving general support from those present at the hearing, the prevalent concern regarding park site location was addressed to which specific houses were to be acquired for mini-parks. Both general locations were approved but actual site composition was revised to facilitate the acquisition of either condemned or unoccupied housing and the retention of reasonably good houses. The Kingsley Court site was adjusted to

¹Speed Letter from Alan Tubbs, Chief Planner, Continued Planning Division, to Walter Sowles, CDA Director, Lansing, Michigan, September 25, 1970.

allow for park access from Washtenaw Street on the north and a wider frontage on Kingsley Court, an area with more prevalent sub-standard housing. The Lenawee Street park site was simply moved three plots west.

The Cady Street, P-3, and Massachusetts Street, P-4, sites did not fare as well as both were dropped as mini park locations. Cady Street was withdrawn in favor of an expanded and more centralized Ballard Street P-6 site. This particular action was in response to the Chicano community which to a large extent centered around the Christo Rey Community Center also located on Ballard. Therefore, the proposed P-6 was intended to be a supplement to those neighborhood activities already provided in and by Christo Rey, and as such, received the necessary community approval.¹

The loss of the Massachusetts P-4 site had an entirely different outcome. The residents voiced mixed reactions to this proposed park site; the statements criticizing P-4, mostly revolving around lack of supervision in the proposed park, were sufficient to provoke its withdrawal; but there were also community indications that instead, the existing Potter Park should be improved to increase its usefulness to neighborhood residents. This withdrawal of P-4, without replacement, resulted in

¹City of Lansing, Open Space Grant Application (Lansing, Mich.: 1970).

the reduction of Model Cities Mini Park sites from four to three and with the eventual approval of the Edmore Park expansion P-5 there was a total package of four proposed sites.¹

In an obvious effort to maintain CDA involvement and control, the services of the Physical Planner were offered to revise the now incorrect Open Space Grant Application.² The application was updated by this individual in cooperation with members of the understaff of the Parks Department, however in doing so, decisions were made with almost total disregard of the Assistant Director of Parks and Recreation. This blatant ignorance of procedure had a somewhat detrimental effect on CDA--Parks Department relations, provoking some less than cordial communications. The dispute was finally resolved, mostly through the understanding of said Assistant Director and in middle December, 1970, the revised application was submitted to City Council, having received Model Cities, Park Board, and Planning Board concurrence.

According to standard operating procedure, the application was summarily referred to the Council Parks Committee, Councilman William Brenke, chairman, where

¹Ibid.

²Note: It was at this point that the author assumed the position of Physical Planner in the Model Cities Continued Planning Division.

it ran into immediate opposition. This resistance arose from an unforeseen event.

During the Fall of 1970 Lansing was the location, as were many other cities, of a prolonged automobile workers strike against the Oldsmobile Division of General Motors. This extended loss of resident income was accompanied by many predictions of a severe depletion in tax revenues for the city, and precipitated a careful look at city expenditure. As a result, the funds allocated in the Capital Improvement Program as the local share of the "Open Space Grant" came under close scrutiny. In addition, a cut-back in the number of temporary winter ice skating facilities was under consideration amidst citizen protests.

Therefore, in early January, 1971, the Parks Department and CDA became aware that the Mini-Park application was in jeopardy and that an attempt was being made to siphon approximately \$35,000 from the open space match funds for use in the ice skating program. It was within this setting that in mid January, 1971, representatives of the CDA and Parks Department met with Councilmen William Brenke, Roger May, and Joel Fergurson of the Parks Committee.¹

¹Note: The author was in attendance as one of the CDA staff representatives.

The discussion was long and often heated. Councilman Brenke adamantly opposed re-submitting the grant application disclaiming any reason other than a desire to save the Lansing tax payers money. Councilman Ferguson, on the other hand, a long-time supporter of both Model Cities and the Mini-Parks, tenaciously fought for retention of the matching funds in the CIP, proclaiming the importance of permanent facilities over interim ice skating. The staff of both the CDA and Parks Department emphasized the need for the mini parks, and the detrimental effect their loss would have on MN residents, further pointing out that this action would constitute a total loss of their funds to the MN residents since there was not a single ice skating site within Model Cities.¹

The target of most of the debate was Councilman May, who held the swing vote in the three-man committee. It was emphasized by the Assistant Director of the Parks Department that even with immediate re-submission, accounting for the usual Federal delays, the funds would probably not have to be expended during the present fiscal year. Further it was pointed out that even if HUD moved rapidly on the now latent application, council still had an opportunity to withdraw after federal approval

¹City of Lansing, Lansing Recreation Plan (Lansing, Mich.: Department of Parks and Recreation, City of Lansing, 1969).

if deemed necessary. Finally it was impressed upon the Committee that failure to act would precipitate Lansing's placement at the bottom of HUD's priority list for new Open Space applications.

The arguments were successful. Councilman May, who incidently had two of the Mini-Park sites in his ward, acquiesced and voted with Councilman Furgerson. Re-submission of the Open Space Grant Application was recommended out of Committee two to one over Chairman Brenke's objections, eventually approved by City Council and transmitted to HUD. This was the final action taken toward Mini-Park implementation during the first action year and for some time to come.

Recreation Research.¹--During this period a communication from Recreation Resource Consultants (RRC) dated November 20, 1970, had been ignored and it was not until March, 1971, that initial contact was made between representatives of RRC, an East Lansing firm, and members of the Model Cities Continued Planning staff. Discussion evolved around the potential of the CDA sponsoring a recreation-oriented research study in and for the Lansing Model Cities.²

¹Recreation Resource Consultants, Recreation in the Lansing Model Cities Area (East Lansing, Mich.: 1972).

²Note: The author was in attendance at this discussion.

As has been previously stated the sole basis for Model Cities recreation planning, to what little extent there was any, was the now outdated and inadequate Community Renewal Program reports. Therefore, if Model Cities was to engage in any practical recreation planning and indications from current task force actions (the Summer Recreation Program) dictated that the agency would be, then a substantial, reliable, and relevant recreation data base had to be assembled. Such a study also provided an excellent opportunity to resolve the still controversial issue of whether recreation was to be included as a component of the proposed Community Centers.

A series of follow-up meetings were held with the Continual Planning staff, Recreation Resource Consultants (RRC), and eventually the CDA Director. It was decided to finance such a study with funds from the Continued Planning Division consultant budget, thereby necessitating only City Planning Board approval and circumventing the unwieldy Model Cities process.

The Physical Planner was given the direct responsibility of working with RRC in order to iron out the service details of a contract. Due to his past association with members of RRC, the author requested that the Chief Planner conduct final contract negotiations and in late May, 1971, acting on recommendation from both the

Physical Planner and SRI staff, the final contract draft was agreed upon. The substance of the contract included survey interviews to determine recreation behavior, needs, and attitudes of MN residents from the perspective of the citizens, Community Organization, and Recreation Service Agencies.¹

The questionnaire was developed concurrently with contract negotiations, due to the rapidly approaching summer, and the need to have all funds for conducting the study committed prior to the July 31, 1971, end of the fiscal year. No attempt was made to include any citizen input in the questionnaire's preparation in order that its integrity as an objective research study might be maintained.

The actual question, content, and research methods were a product of discussions and meetings between Recreation Resource Consultants, the Physical Planner, and technical experts from the Systems Research Incorporated staff. A purposeful effort was made during the initial stages of development to completely exclude the City Parks and Recreation Department from any involvement or knowledge of the impending study. Those involved were not entirely sure of the type of reaction such a study sponsored by Model Cities without the

¹Contract between the City of Lansing Planning Board and Recreation Resource Consultants, East Lansing, June 17, 1971.

necessity of Park Board review might evoke, therefore, every effort was made to produce a substantially complete questionnaire prior to including Park Department personnel.

However, the Assistant Director of the Parks Department became aware of the proposed research, once more putting a strain on CDA-Parks Department relations. Amid apologies, the Assistant Director was brought up to date and with his review and involvement the final document was completed and the contract signed on June 17, 1971.

Within a month after contract approval and signing, members of Recreation Resource Consultant, with the aid of the SRI and CDA Community Organization Division staff, had trained and fielded interviewers. This began a research process that would take some thirteen months to come to fruition in a completed report.¹

Scott Park.--Also early in 1971, the Lansing City Council once again began considering a request, from the Oldsmobile Division of General Motors, to acquire Scott Park for an employee parking ramp site (an issue which

¹Note: Although never publically voiced, the questionable decision to exclude the Parks Department staff from early negotiations was borne out of a prevailing CDA planning staff opinion that, with the exception of the Assistant Director, the Parks Department's staff capabilities in such an endeavor were severely limited and indeed might prove detrimental.

had been carried since December 10, 1969, when the Parks Board had recommended approval of such action). Though ostensibly a park serving MN residents, this particular site had become inaccessible due to the development of the I-495 freeway, Oldsmobile plant expansion and the Grand River. Model Cities was not opposed to the sale but it was obvious that this provided an excellent opportunity to acquire more funds for inner-city park development; therefore, certain concessions had to be sought prior to the exchange.

The Physical Planner was requested to prepare a Model Cities position statement. Time was of the essence since there were already indications that the funds would be re-used for a proposed development in southwest Lansing.

An attempt was made to have the funds, received in the sale of Scott Park, approximately \$84,000, earmarked for use only in inner-city park development. The basis of this position was a policy statement in the Parks Department's "Land Policy":

Where park land must be taken for another public use, such as highway or bridge construction, or for any other reason in the public interest, the Park and Recreation Department shall insure that the park and recreation services in that immediate locality of the City served by the park facility so taken shall not be diminished. This means obtaining enough land and/or sufficient funds to replace equivalent services. . . . ¹

¹Department of Parks and Recreation, City of Lansing, Land Policy (Lansing, Mich.: revised, 1970), p. 5.

Therefore, although the MN residents were not realistically losing anything but an inaccessible facility, Model Cities and the West Side Neighborhood Association proclaimed a loss of recreation opportunity and demanded inner-city park development as compensation. It was difficult to dispute the need, in spite of the somewhat faulty logic.

The case was brought before representatives of the federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation during their subsequent visit to Lansing Model Cities and after an extensive tour of Model Cities their aid in influencing the city was enlisted.

After much political maneuvering and pressure the sale was consummated with not too concrete promises from city government that the monies would be held in abeyance for inner-city use.

It should be noted that during this entire episode, citizen involvement through Model Cities was at a minimum and the staff either proceeded unilaterally with perfunctory citizen approval or worked through the vocal West Side Neighborhood Association. This type of action, although moderately effective, was an additional circumvention of the process of shared decisions and was nurtured by a somewhat overly dependent confidence in the staff's ability to determine the citizens' best

interests. This reoccurring staff dominance regardless of the issue was becoming a weakness in the Model Cities concept.

Reprogramming

As has been previously stated, due to the tardy start-up of many Model Cities projects, it became evident in February, 1971, that somewhere between 200 and 400 thousand dollars of supplementary funds had to be reallocated and committed or spent prior to the July 31, 1971 termination of the Model Cities Fiscal year.

In response to this situation the CDA sent out requests for "one-shot" proposals, the contingency being that any project so funded would not be refunded as part of the second action year. Therefore, proposals had to be an entity within themselves and have a foreseeable completion date, or have all funds committed prior to this July 31, 1971 deadline.

Summer Recreation.--March, 1971, ushered in many inquiries and proposals for funding recreation programs out of reprogramming monies. One of the first on the scene was the Michigan State University, Center for Urban Affairs (C.U.A.). The CDA Deputy Director and Assistant Director for Program Management met with staff from the CUA to discuss the possibilities of a recreation program

being developed and sponsored jointly between the CUA and Lansing Model Cities.

The CDA representatives were assigned the task of investigating potential Model Cities funding and the availability of physical facilities. In pursuing this information the Deputy Director requested that the Physical Planner (within whose task force any recreation proposal would have to be developed) attend a subsequent meeting on March 4, 1971, with the CUA staff and explain the procedures for requesting Model Cities funds.

The initial discussions focused on the CUA's desire to develop a year-round program and the difficulty in funding anything but the summer segment out of MC reprogramming monies. It was recommended that total funding be approached in two phases, the first from one-shot funds and the remainder from fiscal year 1971-72 funds.

The CUA expressed a willingness to provide some matching funds to complement allocations from Model Cities and as such presented an enticing relationship for the two agencies and possibly a substantial recreation program. This was not to be the case, the final proposal did not arrive at Model Cities until 4:00 P.M. of the same day it was to go before the task force for review.

The proposal as submitted, contrary to the advice given the CUA staff, was heavily oriented toward education,

and leadership development with recreation as a secondary consideration and its funding period spanned the entire fiscal year 1971-72. Therefore, the Physical Task Force summarily rejected it for one-shot funding and immediately referred the proposal to the Social Task Force for second action year funding as an educational program. The Social Task Force did not consider the proposal due to its late arrival and the project was dropped.

There were some outright and veiled accusations that the Physical Planner had purposely blocked consideration of the CUA proposal. These intimations met with an angry response from the planning staff and after the reasons for the task force action were made known and it was pointed out that it had been citizen task force action, the critics were quieted but not finished. At a special meeting of the Social Task Force the CUA proposal was accepted and placed as a second priority for funding.

During this process the CDA planning staff was subjected to increasing pressure to facilitate the allocation of funds to the CUA. A pressure precipitated again by the staff's undue influence on fund allocations, however in this case the pressure came from within the CDA Administrative and Cabinet staff and was unsuccessful, the CUA project was never funded.

Recreation project proposals continued to arrive until there were twelve proposals with funding requests of between \$500 and \$10,000 each. Due to the segmentation of these proposals, limited funds and the time constraints the Physical Planner recommended that the Task Force prepare a loose summer recreation program consisting of a series of sub-contracts for services. This avenue would permit earmarking of reprogramming funds for recreation and allow for the identification of specifics during subsequent months.

The Physical Task Force endorsed this approach and during their March 24, 1971, meeting reviewed, approved, and recommended for funding a Summer Recreation Program, PN-30R, prepared by the staff in some thirty minutes. This inadequate preparation was to have a telling effect on program implementation.

Summer Recreation Program-
PN-30R

Although the actual program preparation time was severely limited, there had been some staff consideration of it during the month prior to task force approval. In response to a letter from the Physical Planner sent to twenty-six different agencies and organizations providing recreation services a "recreation summit" meeting was held on March 17, 1971.

This meeting provided an opportunity both for these recreation agencies to express their views and for the CDA planning staff to attempt to identify existing services and potential areas of cooperation. The result was a somewhat interesting dialogue, but it provided little aid in avoiding duplication of services and maximizing MN resident recreation opportunities and was therefore of small value in program preparation.

During the same period, the Physical Planner was approached by the Assistant Director for Program Management regarding the summer recreation program. This planner was instructed to provide jobs for MSU athletes in the proposed program. These instructions allegedly emanated from discussions between the Assistant Director and the CDA Director. A heated argument ensued since the Task Force had made no indication that they wished to employ athletes; on the contrary, they had expressed a desire to provide at least some employment for MN youth through this vehicle. The argument ended with the Physical Planner's adamant refusal to include any such provision unless instructed to do so by the Physical Task Force. This incident, however, did not end the issue; it only postponed the final outcome.

Thus within this framework the loosely worded recreation composite was prepared, without identifying operating agencies, under ten general funding categories to:

1. Provide a summer 5-week Performing Arts workshop within the Model Neighborhood covering those aspects of the art appropriate and consummating in a theatrical production of 25-30 participants.
2. Provide a summer 5-week arts and crafts workshop for all ages within the Model Neighborhood. This program is anticipated to serve some 300 residents.
3. Provide fund allocations for tickets and other fees necessary to bring concerts and other recreational and cultural activities within reach of Model Neighborhood senior citizens. Participation varied.
4. Provide fund allocation for Neighborhood outdoor movies at varied locations. Movie content to be varied to appeal to all ages. Participation varied.
5. Provide adequate fund allocation for facility rental. These facilities would be used for such activities as dances, meetings and operational bases for such components as the Performing Arts and Arts and Crafts workshops.
6. Provide fund allocations for a summer music program, both for music instruction and retaining necessary amounts for concerts.
7. Provide fund allocation for varied athletic activities such as clinics, equipment and assorted programs.
8. Provide fund allocation for camping expenses for Moden Neighborhood youth.
9. Provide fund allocation for a recreation coordinator to manage the technical scheduling, etc. of all activities.
10. Provide fund allocation for general program categories and needs not accounted for in previous statements. . . . 1

An additional aspect of this program though not identified in PN-30R was transportation. Realizing the

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Submission for Categorical Budgeting and Reprogramming (Lansing, Mich.: March, 1971).

limited fund drawing power of recreation and the costly need for transporting residents to programs, an alternative but complementary funding vehicle had to be found. Model Cities was currently subsidizing the Metropolitan Lansing Mass Transportation Corporation (MLMTC) in order to assure its continued existence, a necessity for the federal funding of a pending small-bus system.

Therefore the residents were receptive to a proposal of "bought services," and funds were allocated for the simultaneous approved "Secondary School and Recreation Transportation Program for Model Neighborhood Residents, PN-35R. This project provided for:

1. Two (2) buses five (5) days per week with a run of four (4) hours per bus to provide transportation services to Model Neighborhood residents to and from community recreational and cultural services and facilities as specified by the CDA.
2. One (1) bus weekly for charter transportation service for Model Neighborhood residents to and from community recreational and cultural and facilities outside the Lansing Metropolitan area as specified by the CDA.¹

It was supposed that this loose composite of \$18,550 for recreation and \$7,000 for transportation would allow for maximum detailing by residents themselves prior to implementation. Thus began a chain of events which would eventually enmesh Model Cities in public controversy with the Mayor.

¹Ibid.

March 17, 1971.--The Physical Planner met with the Assistant Director of Parks and Recreation to discuss the possibility of that department becoming the overall program operating agency. The action was taken out of necessity, since HUD had a long-standing policy of approving only an agency that had some experience in a program category, and not without some reservations among the CDA staff. The proposal received some encouragement and subsequently went to the task force on the aforementioned March 24, 1971, date.

April 14, 1971.--The Director and Assistant Director of Parks and Recreation and the Physical Planner discussed the proposed program, and began to work out the details of administering the cooperative agreement. It was decided that the best avenue of citizen-input and expert guidance in program detailing would be through the establishment of a seven-man Advisory Board made up of six citizens and one representative of the Parks Department staff.

This board, responsible to both the CDA and the Parks and Recreation Department would in cooperation with the Program Coordinator make all policy decisions. The Program Coordinator would in turn actually supervise the Administration of the various recreation programs and sub-contracts (see Figure 1).

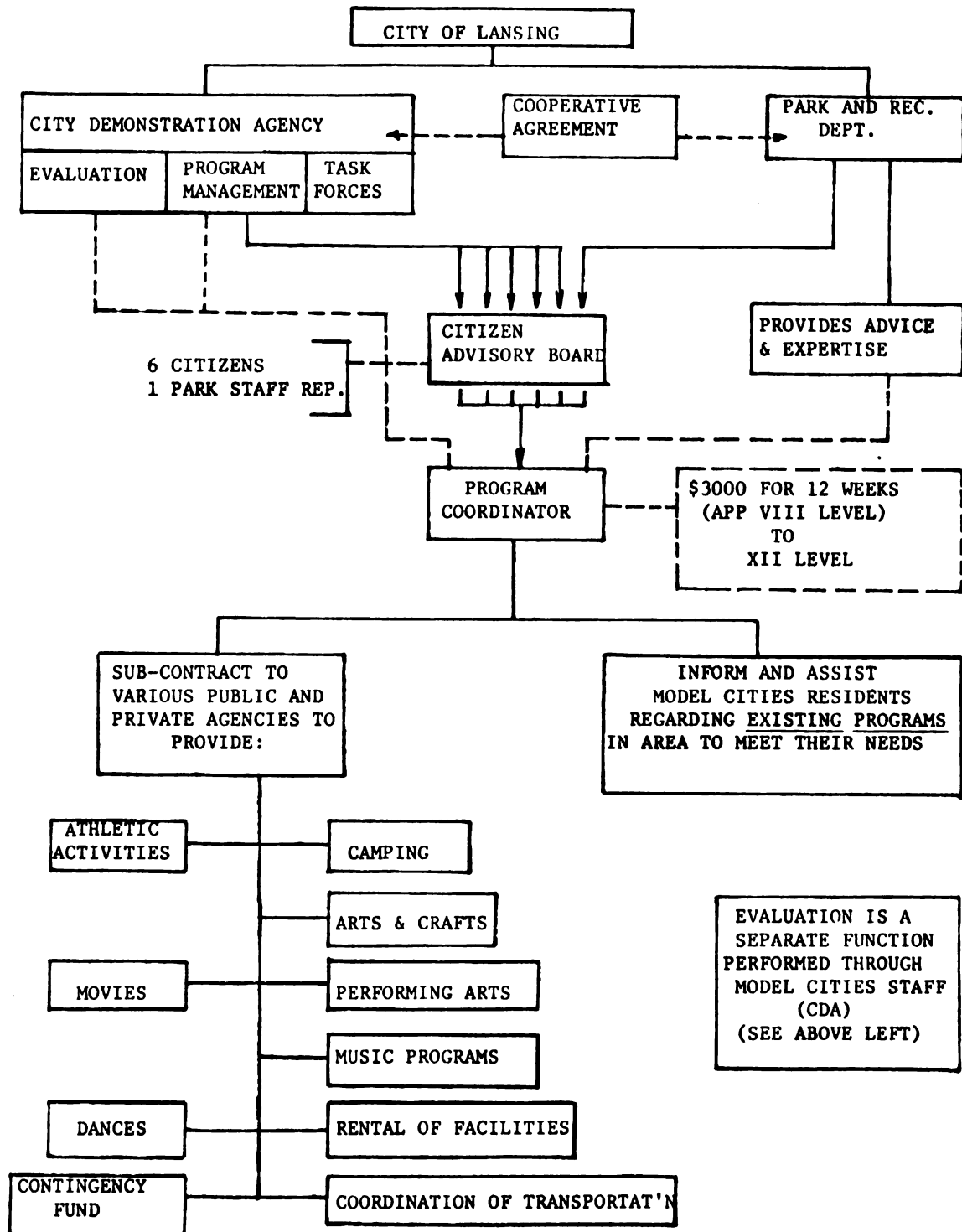


Figure 1.--Administrative Structure, Summer Recreation Program-PN-30R.

The final but critically related responsibility of the Program Coordinator was the scheduling of the transportation services provided through PN-35R.

May 19, 1971.--The cooperative agreement between the CDA and the Lansing Parks and Recreation Department was signed, having been approved by City Council two days before. The program was now officially under implementation.

June 7, 1971.--The Citizens Advisory Board, composed of representatives chosen from the Physical, Social, and now active Youth and Senior Citizens task forces, met. Of the two applicants, Mr. F. Martin, an MSU graduate student, was chosen by the board as Program Coordinator. Subsequent inquiries by youths for employment were then referred to Mr. Martin to allow him to interview and fill his own four part-time staff aide positions.

June 11, 1971.--A special meeting, attended by the CDA Director, Assistant Director for Program Management, Physical Projects Manager, Physical Planner, Recreation Program Coordinator, and the Head Football Coach of Michigan State University, was held at the CDA office.

The subject of discussion was a proposal to hire disadvantaged MSU football and basketball scholarship

athletes in the Summer Recreation Program. As proffered, Model Cities would essentially lend the Summer Recreation Program the money to cover the salaries of ten athletes during the project's life, and the MSU coach would raise money from private business to repay these funds.

When queried regarding the expected salary level, the coach's response was that they should be comparable to what might be earned working at Oldsmobile. The final consensus was a wage of \$150 per week, which automatically created a problem; this was the salary level of the Program Coordinator. Therefore, to rectify this condition, the Coordinator's salary had to be raised to \$200 per week.

An additional \$13,000 would be necessary to implement this project and it also signified a substantial change in the original contractual scope of services. The program staff was to be expanded from five to fifteen and the athletes were to be a prime "drawing card" and example for the MN youth. They would act in the capacity of leaders and through this pilot project develop close associations with the MN youth. Such programs involving athletes had been in existence for years within the Parks Department itself, though not at this scale, therefore, this was not a precedent-setting move.

It was, however, a move made completely in isolation of the Physical Task Force, the originator of PN-30R. The proposal was brought directly to the Policy

Board by the CDA Director and its approval was another illustration of the dominant role the CDA staff was beginning to play not only in the Summer Recreation Program but in Model Cities. This additional allocation brought PN-30R's funding level to \$31,550 for recreation staff and programs.

June 25, 1971.--The Public Relations Department of the Oldsmobile Division at General Motors released a news statement that:

Aided by a \$12,000 contribution from General Motors, the Lansing Model Cities Agency Monday will launch a summer recreation program aimed at reaching 5,000 disadvantaged youngsters residing in the Model Cities area.

The GM grant boosts to \$30,000 the Model Cities summer recreation budget and permits the hiring of 20 supervisors who will oversee a variety of athletic and cultural activities at numerous indoor and outdoor locations in the greater Lansing area.¹

There were a number of disparities in this press release; if this donation was indeed to be the coach's community repayment of the Model Cities fund transfer then the total \$30,000 funding figure quoted was substantially correct, however, as of October 22, 1971, no monies had been received by Model Cities on the coach's behalf.²

¹Oldsmobile Division of General Motors, Public Relations Department, News from Oldsmobile (Lansing, Mich.: June 25, 1971).

²City of Lansing, Interoffice Communication from Harlan Rowe, Financial Officer, to Jacqueline Warr, Acting Director CDA, October 22, 1971.

If, however, these additional funds were to supplement the existing \$31,550 Model Cities fund then the hiring of twenty additional supervisors was more or less accurate. The latter was apparently the case, since the number of employees in the program was soon to exceed the Model Cities specifications. This fund was later supplemented with an additional \$1,200 from the Lansing Motor Wheel Corporation.

The press release stated that the contribution was "presented to Kinsey," CDA Assistant Director for Program Management, "by John B. Beltz General Manager of Oldsmobile. . . ."¹ However, these funds apparently remained in private bank accounts.

Therefore, there came into existence two groups of employees working in the one summer recreation program. The first was being paid through the offices of the City of Lansing out of the \$31,550 budgeted from Model Cities. The second was being paid from private bank accounts consisting of the \$12,000 from Oldsmobile and the \$1,200 from Motor Wheel. These two funding sources were to become the core of future controversy.

The Oldsmobile press release further stated that Mr. Martin would coordinate the summer program and that

¹Oldsmobile Division of General Motors, Public Relations Department, News from Oldsmobile (Lansing, Mich.: June 25, 1971).

he had "already recruited his 20-member supervisory team."¹ Parks Department records show that as of June 23, 1971 a total of thirteen employees had been hired, four aides and nine leaders, approximately the total Model Cities complement. Therefore, these additional personnel if indeed recruited must have been for the other programs' account.

It was also at this time that the Program Coordinator began working with the Center for Urban Affairs to utilize approximately forty-two CUA part-time leaders in the recreation program. Some summer programs such as the music concerts were later advertised under joint Model Cities and CUA sponsorship, although funded only by Model Cities.

July 2, 1971.--In the interim the staff had been trained, subcontractors identified and some activities under implementation although some problems began to arise due to wide disparity between MN resident salaries, \$37.50 per week (1/2-time aides) and non-MN residents' salaries of \$150 per week. Nevertheless, three additional employees were hired now bringing the staff to two over budget.

¹Ibid.

July 19, 1971.--By this date an additional nine people had been retained and the staff complement was now eleven over budget. The Assistant Director of Parks and Recreation was not notified of the last eight hirings due to office clerical error.

July 28, 1971.--The Assistant Director of Parks and Recreation met with the now acting CDA Director, Mrs. Warr, and the Physical Planner regarding the now critical budget situation. The weekly payroll had mushroomed to approximately \$3,000, and some program categories were spending in the deficit column; the program was rapidly running out of money.

August 10, 1971.--The Acting CDA Director, the Program Coordinator, and Physical Projects Manager met and made the decision to terminate the Summer Recreation Program, effective August 11, 1971. Upon announcement of the termination, those involved in the program staged a demonstration in the CDA offices demanding continuance and further funding of the recreation activities by Model Cities. The demands were rejected and official Model Cities sponsorship ceased.

5

CHAPTER IV

THE LANSING MODEL CITIES

SECOND ACTION YEAR

August 10, 1971.--The acting CDA Director, the Program Coordinator and Physical Projects Manager met and made the decision to terminate the Summer Recreation Program, effective August 11, 1971. Upon announcement of the termination, those involved in the program staged a demonstration in the CDA offices demanding continuance, and further funding, of the recreation activities by Model Cities. The demands were rejected and official Model Cities sponsorship ceased.

Summer Recreation Program-PN-30R

Despite this official withdrawal of Model Cities sponsorship from the Summer Recreation Program, extricating the CDA was somewhat more difficult as subsequent events were to point out.

Transfer of Funds

August 13, 1971.--Although the recreation program continued with the staff being paid from the second set of private accounts, the \$31,550 Model Cities budget accounts had to be balanced. In order to accomplish this, funds were provided from the various unexpended line items within the original \$18,550 program budget as well as

surplus funds from the now terminated Secondary School and Recreation Transportation Contract, PN-35R.

September 3, 1971.--Upon returning from his vacation, the Assistant Director for Program Management was notified that the private accounts used to pay personnel, after Model Cities ceased sponsorship, were overdrawn. He met with various private citizens to determine if additional funds could be obtained but had no immediate success.

Therefore, in a letter to Mr. Robert Williams, Executive Director, Capitol Area Economic Opportunity Committee Inc. (CAEOC) dated September 3, 1971, Mr. Kinsey requested a \$8,600 loan to compensate personnel for services provided. Claiming an increase in client participation in the program had necessitated a 50 per cent staff expansion and community pressure had prompted program continuance even after the budget had been depleted, the Mr. Kinsey stated that:

We are requesting this loan for a thirty-day period. I have committment from industry to cover these expenses in a very short period of time.

I will be personally responsible for the repayment of this loan. . . . ¹

¹Letter from Mr. Morris Kinsey, Assistant Director for Program Management CDA, to Mr. Robert Williams, Executive Director, Capitol Area Economic Opportunity Committee Inc., Lansing, Michigan, September 3, 1971.

In response the Executive Director of CAEOC acquired this \$8,600 from PN-1 and PN-2 (two Model Cities projects for which CAEOC was the operating agency), charged them to an accounts receivable item, and awaited repayment from the private citizens.

However, the private accounting firm responsible for keeping PN-1 and PN-2's books notified the Acting Director of the City Finance Department of this irregular transfer of funds, who in turn apprised the Acting CDA Director and eventually the mayor's office of these actions.

October 12, 1971.--As a result of a meeting of all the individuals involved in the fund transfer, the Assistant Director for Program Management repaid the \$8,600 on October 12, 1971. Despite demands from the mayor's office, Mr. Kinsey refused to divulge the source of these repayment funds beyond stating that they were collected from various members of the group (presumably the Volunteer Committee to Assist the Model Cities Cultural Summer Program).

October 14, 1971.--A reporter from the Lansing State Journal began asking questions about the Summer Recreation Program, and as a result of his investigation, among Park Department employees displeased by the excessively high salaries paid Summer Recreation Program

staff, in the city Finance office and among the CDA staff, the entire transfer of funds story was made public October 15, 1971.

The immediate reaction in the CDA came in the form of a memo from the Acting Director, instructing all staff to make no comments, statements, or releases to the press or anyone else without prior approval of the Director. Both in their dealing with agencies and during the concurrent public meetings regarding the new Planned Variation Program staff was to make no comment.

October 25, 1971.--Amid straining relations between Model Cities and the mayor's office and in response to inquiries from the latter, a special committee was appointed from the Policy Board to investigate and report on the Summer Recreation Program.

The committee report substantially contained most of the facts heretofore described but since the issue, by this time, had unfortunately deteriorated to the level of a vendetta between the mayor and Model Cities, there were some indications of both support for Mr. Kinsey and rationalization for his actions.

The report pointed out that:

. . . Model Cities is allowed to transfer funds from one project to another for projects within the same category without authorization from HUD. Model Cities

can also transfer funds from one category to another up to 5% or \$25,000 whichever is greater without authorization from HUD.¹

The mayor was aware of HUD regulations and most likely knew this interesting rule, however it was totally irrelevant to the transfer of funds issue at hand. First PN-1 and PN-2 were not in the same funding category as the Summer Recreation Program and second Mr. Kinsey did not have the power to unilaterally authorize any such transfer within Model Cities projects no less a transfer of funds into a private account.

The inclusion of this statement can therefore be only viewed as a somewhat futile attempt on the part of the committee to cloud the issue. Finally the concluding paragraphs of the report were obviously aimed at supporting the Assistant Director for Program Management and criticizing public statements in the press attributed to the mayor.

Regarding Mr. Kinsey's involvement in the transfer of funds, while it was an irregular and unauthorized act, he is to be commended for having the personnel in the program at heart. He is also to be commended for taking the responsibility for the replacement of the funds which were transferred.

The Auditing Department is also to be acknowledged for their accounting procedures. We find it most unfortunate that this incident has gained such

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Special Committee Report on the Summer Recreation Program, Lansing, Michigan, 1971.

widespread negative publicity rather than a needed emphasis on the positive aspects of the Model Cities Program.¹

October 26, 1971.--The Acting CDA Director transmitted the Auditor's report of the entire Summer Recreation Program and in the cover letter to the mayor described the events surrounding the fund transfer as outlined in the committee report.

Finally two letters from the then present Policy Board president and the prior president echoed almost verbatim the comments of the special committee regarding the incident, and in the case of the past Policy Board president's communication included a blatant barb at the mayor:

It is most unfortunate that the incident in reference to the transfer of some \$8,600 in funds to a Model Cities project² had been blown totally out of proportion concerning the intent of its use in this program.

It is also unfortunate that there are certain individuals who will gladly grasp any negative aspects of the Model Cities Program and so totally expand it in such a manner that it will nigh overshadow all the positive aspects of Lansing's excellent Model Cities Program.³

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Special Committee Report on the Summer Recreation Program, Lansing, Michigan, 1971.

²Note: It had been previously established that this transfer was not to a Model Cities project but to a private account.

³Letter from Mr. William H. Smith, Policy Board Member, Lansing Model Cities Program, to the Honorable Gerald Graves, Mayor, City of Lansing, October 27, 1971.

Thus, the chain of events, which began in the early spring of 1971, leading through the establishment and implementation of a summer recreation program, and into public controversy, culminated in these final communications. The Assistant Director for Program Management was not subjected to disciplinary action and remained with the CDA through July, 1972, and the original \$13,000 allocated for athlete wages was not replaced. Model Cities spent approximately \$31,000 for a program planned at \$18,500 and recreation in the Lansing Model Cities Program was dealt a severe public blow.

Second Year Action Plan

Concurrent with the preparation of the aforementioned "Reprogramming Package," during the months of March and April, 1971, the Model Cities staff and citizens also undertook the arduous task of compiling the second-year plan of action.

Model Cities was entering a critical stage in its development, most of the second-year projects had become operational and any surplus funds from the 1.8 million supplemented allocation were being reprogrammed as one-shot projects. Therefore, with a static level of supplemental funds and second-year project funding requests in the neighborhood of 2.5 million, Model Cities either had to resign itself to existing as a funding agent for

ongoing projects or eliminate projects, trim budgets, and thus realize some money for new project development. Model Cities chose the latter course of action.

Within this framework, and using both the structure and process established for the first action year, the three planning task forces began meeting two and three times a week to review all the second-year proposed project budgets. Due to the time constraints and work pressure this necessitated reviewing many complicated documents each meeting and precluded anything but cursory citizen review. The Citizen Task Force members vehemently objected to this pressure process but when faced with the April 30, 1971, submission deadline and the staff insistence that it must be met they acquiesced.

This situation precipitated perfunctory review and approval of almost all project proposals and task force recommendations arrived at the Coordinating Committee with relatively little fat trimmed from the proposed second-year budget. Therefore, the responsibility fell upon this committee, composed of the Chairman and Co-Chairman of each task force with the Chief Planner as staff support, to reduce the proposed budget allocations and carve out funds for future development. During a battery of late night meetings this committee closely scrutinized individual projects and finally

hammered out a final second-year budget with some \$200,000 in unallocated fund for new project development, over the objections, inadvertently, of many operating project directors. This package was then submitted to the Policy Board for review.

Just prior to the April 21, 1971, Policy Board meeting, slated to review the final "Second-Year Action Plan" an editorial appeared in the "Westside News" deriding the Black Policy Board members for not insuring that an adequate amount of funds were being spent specifically for the Black Community.¹ Therefore the staff attended this Policy Board meeting anticipating some move to reallocate funds prior to plan submission.

The action came in a completely unexpected theater; an at-large member of the Policy Board began criticizing the Physical Task Force recommendation of \$60,000, for a federally assisted "Concentrated Code Enforcement Program." Despite repeated explanations from the Physical Planner and despite the high priority of this type of program in the task force, the proposal was sent back to the Physical Task Force for further work and the funds moved into the unallocated category.

¹Note: The editorial was written by the Assistant Director for Community Organization, who had raised the original objections to the Mini-Parks in December, 1969, and who was now under suspension from the CDA for his involvement in a student takeover of Sexton High School.

The next move had a more injurious effect on the CDA, the Project Director of PN-1 and PN-2 which had been severely cut amid criticism, addressed the Policy Board, a courtesy not extended to all project directors. In the ensuing verbal battle between this Project Director, the CDA Director, and members of the Policy Board the funds were replaced in the PN-1 and PN-2 budget.¹ As a result of this and other heated exchanges, the CDA Director announced his resignation.²

This episode had the effect of driving a wedge into the CDA staff and bred a distrust which was never totally overcome.³ Further the arrogant changing of the Second-Year Action Plan by the Policy Board severely strained task force confidence in the Model Cities process and especially the value of their recommendations in the process. This and similar subsequent Policy Board actions were to eventually culminate in open conflict between the Planning Task Forces and the Policy Board with the operating projects and CDA staff in the middle.

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Minutes of the Policy Board Meeting of April 21, 1971.

²Note: The CDA Director officially resigned some two months later.

³Note: It was opinioned by some staff members that certain Black staff members had engineered the episode. Further this situation prompted the staff to meet the subsequent problems of the Assistant Director of Program Management with reactions varying from unequivocal support to amusement.

This period denoted a turning point in the program; much of the staff drive and cooperation that had keynoted early program development was lost and the CDA suffered an interim of apathy. Nevertheless the Second-Year Action Plan was finally approved and submitted to HUD.

Recreation--Second-Year
Action Plan

The "Second-Year Action Plan" did little to alleviate recreation's inconsequential role in the Model Cities program development. The still pending mini-parks were carried as a more supplemental project and NARC was refunded with a budget increase of \$13,850 to a second action year funding level of \$36,223.

However, the ascending role of recreation in Model Cities affairs was not reflected in the citizen priorities, it was ranked number eleven of eleven program categories by the Planning Task Forces. Thus, due to its bottom ranking and the aforementioned scarcity of funds, recreation received no consideration in new project development.

Though the same basic recreation problem statement, developed during the mid planning year, remained, the Second-Year Action Plan contained the first stated Recreation and Culture Program Objectives:

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1. A comprehensive recreation and cultural program with the necessary supportive facilities being initiated during this action year and fully implemented within 3 years.
2. To ensure, within a 3 year period, that recreational and community facilities are brought within effective reach of all residents of the Model Neighborhood.¹

But without financial support for implementation, all plans to accomplish these objectives would be useless. Thus the Model Cities Program, burdened with paying on-going project expenses out of a static 1.8 million dollars, and recreation, was rapidly approaching stagnancy.

Planned Variation Program

This untenable financial situation was alleviated, when in early August, 1971, the CDA received official notification that the Lansing Model Cities Program had been chosen along with nineteen other cities to participate in the newly instituted Planned Variation Program (PV).

Emerging from the Nixon Administration's concept of New Federalism, PV was regarded to be the initial testing ground for the federal "Revenue Sharing Proposals" then under legislative review. With a precommitted annual funding level of an additional 3.3 million dollars, Model Cities was to begin instituting plans and programs

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Second-Year Action Plan (Lansing, Mich.: 1971).

with city-wide application while maintaining its emphasis on an expanded target area.

Further in keeping with the concept of local determination of programs and activities, a process of Chief Executive Review and Comment (CERC) was to be instituted to facilitate local awareness and control over all federal funds coming into the city. Finally, there was a promised simplification and elimination of most federal submission and reporting requirements for Model Cities, and, where not otherwise regulated by statute, other federal programs.

Lansing had not simply fallen into the PV program; work had been initiated in September, 1970, when local officials first learned of the proposed PV demonstration. At that time a delegation of the Mayor, Mayor Pro-tem, two members of City Council, the Federal Programs Director, and the CDA Director presented a prepared position paper, outlining Lansing's willingness, and ability to participate in PV, to HUD Secretary Hyde.

Based on the discussions held during this presentation, the position paper was revised during subsequent months and in November, 1970, it was approved by City Council and submitted to HUD. In addition to the approaches, strategies and methods Lansing proposed to adopt in order to implement Planned Variation, three alternative expansion boundaries were proffered for the

existing Model Neighborhood which would result in a total population of: (1) 40,000 persons; (2) 50,000 persons; and (3) 67,000 persons, respectively. The number one expansion proposal was eventually approved.

During the winter of 1971, there was little conclusive word regarding the status of Lansing's proposal. The decision which was to be made originally by a committee of federal department officials, due to the high political value of such fund allocations, was to be made by the White House. The most influential members of Michigan's Congressional Delegation were contacted and their aid enlisted to lobby for Lansing's inclusion in the new program.

Little further word was received from Washington until July, 1971, when President Nixon and HUD Secretary George Romney finally announced the Planned Variation Program and Lansing's acceptance as a demonstration city.

Therefore as a result of this program, the Lansing Model Cities was to have a target population of approximately 40,000 persons, a total annual supplemental budget of approximately 5.1 million dollars and in many respects was to become a City-Wide Model Cities Program.

Implementation¹

The most immediate action taken, in response to this increased role of Model Cities, was to double the CDA staff. The same divisional structure was maintained but additional personnel were hired in every section to meet the needs anticipated under Planned Variation. Simultaneously, the CDA staff began preparations for the organization, education, and finally the inclusion of the PV expansion areas into the Citizen Participation Component of the Model Cities structure.

These PV areas were those sections of the city identified in the CRP as needing major treatment (allocation of local, state, and federal resources) to maintain a desirable living environment for residents. Where the original Model Cities boundaries encompassed the worst concentrations of physical social and economic blight, the PV areas were those residential neighborhoods undergoing transition. If properly treated, deteriorating conditions could be reversed, if not the incidence of various blight conditions would rise and yet another portion of the city would need major redevelopment.

Community Organization.--Beginning in October, 1971, the top CDA staff began holding informational meetings in the various PV areas, and immediately felt

¹Lansing Model Cities Programs, Third-Year Action Plan (Lansing, Mich.: 1972).

the repercussions of poor intra-governmental communications. In consecutive meetings, residents were given conflicting information regarding why their neighborhoods had been chosen, their opportunity to refuse the Model Cities Program, and what representation they would have in the Citizen Participation structure.

This communication breakdown bred distrust of and opposition to the Model Cities Program, with many residents feeling that there was a stigma attached to being associated with a "poverty program." This distrust grew when the new PV residents realized that they would not have representation equal to that in the original Model Cities and the staff frequently relied on "no comment," or "don't know" when queried about such items as the then public Summer Recreation controversy, the proposed PV representation, and the official procedure to withdraw an area from Model Cities.

Finally, amid threats of lawsuit and letters to Washington, on November 16, 1971, a special meeting was called of City Council, the mayor's office, the Policy Board, and the CDA staff. An ordinance was drafted classifying the city's position regarding the new target areas. It stated that they were now part of Model Cities, but also set up a petitioning procedure should an area wish to withdraw. Two PV areas petitioned City Council

and qualified for a withdrawal election, and on December 11, 1971, the residents went to the polls and voted to stay in the program.

Then on January 17, 1972, elections were held for a total of ninety interim PV representatives; nine to the Policy Board, twenty-seven to the Education Task Force, and fifty-four to the Planning Task Forces.

This protracted procedure for seating PV representatives in the Model Cities structure, in addition to embroiling the program in further public controversy, delayed the release of the additional PV funds. HUD regulations required new area representation prior to any fund allocations.

Thus, in the spring of 1972 Model Cities was in a situation similar to that which prompted the reprogramming activities of the First Action Year. Some 2.5 million dollars (Administrative staff cost had already been deducted from the 3.3 million dollar allocation) in supplemental funds had to be allocated and spent or committed prior to the July 31, 1972, termination of the Model Cities Fiscal Year.

Recreation

Concurrent with the aforementioned PV activities, Model Cities' normal operations continued with renewed life in anticipation of the additional PV supplemental funds. The planning task forces met, to some extent

oblivious to the various controversies around the program, but, acutely aware of the opportunities provided by this new infusion of funds and showing little reticence in planning for new expenditures.

On September 21, 1971, the Physical Task Force received a request from a west-side group for \$1,000 to buy equipment for a children's football team. Fortunately, the reception of the now terminated Summer Recreation Program had established a frame of reference for recreation need and in the ensuing discussion the task force decided to reject any segmented recreation program allocations and recommend instead that work be begun to plan a more comprehensive recreation program for all ages.¹

Although the Policy Board reversed the Physical Task Force with regard to buying the requested equipment, it did agree and instruct the task force to proceed with planning the larger program. However, without the results of the recently conducted recreation needs survey and due to the limited physical orientation of recreation in the task force, these instructions seemed premature. Therefore, in anticipation of the survey results the Physical Planner began setting the groundwork necessary to "educate" the task force for a broader awareness of recreation.

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Minutes of the Physical Task Force, Meeting of September 21, 1971.

Recreation Workshop.--Fortunately the vehicle to accomplish this was already available. In discussions between the Federal Bureau of Outdoor (BOR) Recreation staff, State Department of Natural Resource (DNR) staff, and the Physical Planner, the possibility of holding a "Recreation Workshop" for Model Cities had been raised and well received. During subsequent meetings, both in Lansing and in the Ann Arbor Regional Office of the BOR, a December 4, 1971, date was finalized and an agenda agreed upon by the participants.

An invitation was extended to members of all planning task forces and the Policy Board to attend the workshop on an informational basis and announcements were circulated in the MN to inform interested residents. In spite of these efforts attendance was low, and if the intent was to increase recreation awareness the workshop was a failure. The lecture hall was large and the scattered seating of the participants precluded any personal contact between the agency staff and residents, and evolved into a series of staff lectures with little resident feedback. Further, the information provided by the agency personnel, though an excellent summary of the various sources of recreation funds and technical assistance, provided little to aid a group of laymen in initiating plans for recreation programs. Finally, most of the material and funds, regrettably, were for

physical facilities, and in this respect the workshop served to reinforce the already narrow task force orientation.

West Side Community Center

This recreation workshop did have one advantageous by-product for Model Cities, for it was at this time that the citizens and CDA staff were informed of the impending allocation of Second Round State Recreation Bond monies.¹ Although the city parks department staff had been aware of this program, no information had been transmitted to the CDA. Further the DNR representative stated that there was a December 10, 1971, deadline for application, which placed severe time constraints on Model Cities should they wish to apply (the date being Saturday, December 4, 1971).

Nevertheless, the Physical Planner, believing that 100 per cent state funding was too great an opportunity to allow pass, called a special meeting of the Physical Task Force Tuesday, December 7, 1971, to consider the issue. The Task Force, many of whom had attended the workshop, was given all the information the staff had and as a result of considerable staff prompting recommendations were sent to the Policy Board (in spite of the lack of a quorum).

¹Note: It was later clarified that the actual funds were from the "25 million in or near urban area bond program." State of Michigan Act No. 108 Public Act of 1969 approved by the Governor July 24, 1969.

It was the belief of the members present that there was a need for four community centers in and around Model Cities. Two of these centers had already been tentatively funded from First Round Recreation Bond monies, one to be located at the existing Gier Park, the other at an undetermined location in the west side of Model Cities. At this time, however, due to lack of progress, the city was in danger of losing this first-round funding.

Therefore, the first task force recommendation was that the Policy Board take some immediate action in regard to specifying a location for this west side facility. This action would put the site in an area being considered by Model Cities for Urban Renewal. However, in discussions with the DNR and Parks Department staff, the Physical Planner had been given to understand that land could be acquired at a designated site, thereby showing progress to the State and if, at some future time this site was shown to be inadequate or badly located, that State DNR would, in all probability, have no objections to a land trade within a one-block radius of the original site. Despite and because of the number of unknown factors affecting the west side site, this was the only apparent cause of action open.

The second task force recommendation was in regard to the State Recreation Bond monies now open for application. The Task Force proposed three sites for

two additional centers, requesting the Policy Board to set the final priorities on the site selection.¹ Further, it was suggested that the Policy Board take immediate action in order to meet the December 10, 1971, application deadline.

On Thursday, December 9, 1971, the Policy Board met and waived agenda rules to consider the recommendations from the Physical Task Force.² All task force recommendations were approved and transmitted to City Council. Regarding the site selection for the proposed additional centers the first suggestion of a site in the existing Urban Renewal Number Two Riverfront Park area was rejected due to its inaccessability to MN residents, the river being on the west, the Cedar-Larch road corridor on the east, Saginaw on the north, and commercial development to the south.

Therefore, the initial application was to specify a center for Hunter Park, the site of an existing pool and park facility and servicing the new and incidentally well-organized and vocal east side PV area. This selection had obvious political benefits in addition to alleviating the need for a centralized community facility in that area.

¹Letter from Mr. Robert H. McKenna, Physical Planner, Continued Planning Division to Mr. Cullen Dubose, President Model Cities Policy Board, Lansing, Michigan, December 8, 1971.

²Note: Items for Policy Board consideration had to be placed on the agenda the Monday prior to the meetings.

The second site was proposed for Park Department owned land at the intersection of Logan and Jolly in the south-west portion of the city, incidentally this center would also service one of the new PV areas vocally criticizing the program. With the PV elections to decide whether or not the new areas would stay in the Model Cities Program scheduled for December 11, 1971, these two site selections were quite apropos and well timed.

On Friday, December 10, 1971, the Physical Planner prepared a brief justification and transmission letter for the two sites selected and met with the CDA Director.¹ Impressed with the necessity for meeting the submission deadline, the Director agreed to sidestep normal procedure and sent the package, to the State Department of Natural Resources, prior to and pending City Council approval. Nevertheless the application deadline was met and Model Cities "bought time" to detail the actual proposal. This irregular procedure was rectified with the subsequent City Council concurrence with the submission.

However, under close scrutiny, the Physical Planner found that the funding level for the Westside Neighborhood Activities Center B-271-AD, was only \$113,500, financed on an 80 per cent 20 per cent basis between the State and local government. This relatively low level of funding

¹Note: Mrs. Jacqueline Warr formerly Acting CDA Director had been appointed Director by the Mayor.

for both acquisition and development precluded the construction of anything but a minimum sized facility, approximately 4,500 to 5,000 square feet. This size did not constitute a community center and due to the increasingly bad reputation attached to the West Side Drop-In Center (drugs, fights, etc.), this new facility would have met resident opposition.

Therefore, in a subsequent meeting between the CDA Director and Physical Planner it was decided that the initial proposal should be amended to include a west side center and one of the two original sites dropped. The choice was simple. The east side PV areas were politically cohesive and vocal plus this was the ward of Councilman May who sat on the City Council Parks Committee; therefore, the southwest, Jolly-Logan site was dropped. The revised application was prepared by the Physical Planner in cooperation with the Assistant Director of Parks and Recreation, to be presented to DNR staff at a meeting scheduled for Tuesday, December 28, 1971.

Armed with preliminary facility plans, neighborhood data profiles and graphic displays from the yet incomplete Doxiodes Study,¹ the Assistant Director of

¹Note: Doxiodes and Associates was conducting a research study and formulating recommendations concerning the implications of the proposed State Capitol Complex expansion. The Physical Planner was the Model Cities Coordinator for this project.

the Parks and Recreation Department and the Physical Planner met with the staff of the Recreation Services Division, State Department of Natural Resources. Early in the discussions, it was made clear by the DNR staff that only one facility would be considered, but it was also obvious to the city representatives that they could not make the choice between two such politically sensitive areas. However if the state decided which site was most acceptable and so informed City Council, thereby taking the decision out of local hands, a controversy could be avoided.

The subsequent presentation was then slanted toward the west side, an economically deprived, physically deteriorating predominantly black and by most criteria a socially unendowed area. This was coupled with the possibility of a replacement school facility being constructed within the same general area by the Lansing School District (LSD). Finally it was emphasized that Model Cities planned to make application under the HUD "Neighborhood Facilities Program" using the recreation component as part of the local share.¹

Therefore the project was proposed as a part of a larger complex providing education, health, and social services as well as recreation, keynoted by citizen

¹Note: Preliminary results from the RRC Recreation survey in MC indicated citizen concurrence with multifaceted centers, including recreation.

participation and multi-governmental cooperation. The presentation was well received by the DNR staff and the application was subsequently received by both the DNR Review Committee and the Governor's State Recreation Advisory Committee.

On January 10, 1972, the CDA received the results of this application review:

. . . the State Advisory Committee and the Department's Review Committee recommended that the city consider only the west side facility in this program and that a total of \$300,000 be used for the development of a community center on the west side as proposed by Model Cities Agency and the city.¹

This recommendation included two conditions. First, that the city acquire an adequate site within eighteen months of the date of legislative appropriation and second that the city withdraw B-271-AD. Finally since neither the Policy Board nor City Council had approved the staff revisions the concurrence of the two bodies had to be gotten prior to the January 20, 1972, deadline for proposal submission to the Legislature.

Since the state had solved the problem of choosing the final site for a facility, Council and Policy Board approval came relatively fast. The first condition was agreed upon but in lieu of withdrawing B-271-AD, the city

¹Letter from Joseph Seavey, Chief Recreation Service Division, State Department of Natural Resources to Ms. Jacqueline Warr, Director City Demonstration Agency, Lansing, Michigan, January 10, 1972.

requested that it be amended from acquisition and development to solely acquisition.¹

It should be noted that during this period the major decisions and actions were taken by agency staff and after initial citizen approval neither the task force nor Policy Board was consulted until final concurrence was needed. The CDA staff was both willing and able to bypass the unwieldy citizen participation procedure and assume a dominant role in the decision-making process in order to accomplish an objective. This was indicative of the changed relationship between the two Model Cities components.

Nevertheless for \$16,800 of general revenue funds the city was able to receive a total of \$396,700 in State Bond monies for the acquisition and development of a Community Center.

After the announcement of final Legislative approval, the Assistant Director of the Parks Department began meeting with Task Force, Policy Board, and resident representatives from the west side to select a specific site. Although a detailed site configuration was tentatively agreed upon, the LSD was contacted to coordinate its school development with the Center and funds were

¹Note: It was at this point, as a result of Planned Variation staff build-up in January, 1972, that the author became Chief Physical Planner and two new Physical Planners were hired as staff.

allocated in the third-year relocation budget to compensate displaced residents, by the Fall of 1972 no action had been taken to acquire the site. The entire project seemed to be traveling the same road as the still latent mini-parks.

Fifteen-Month Budgets

As a result of the January 17, 1972, Planned Variation elections, the citizen participation component of Model Cities was expanded by a total of ninety new representatives, nine to the Policy Board, twenty-seven to the Evaluation Task Force, and eighteen to each of the three Planning Task Forces. These new members were officially seated in February, 1972, and the various task forces became increasingly difficult and cumbersome to work with, both because of their size, forty-eight members and because of the friction between the old and new members. Verbal battles frequently broke out among task force members and between staff and task force members prompting resentment and accusations that the staff was setting one segment against the other. Finally in a controversy over the allocation of money by the Policy Board over the Economic Task Forces objections the Task Force and Policy Board came into open conflict, which often degenerated into shouting matches at Board meetings.

Coupled with this was a deterioration of relations among the top CDA staff and an increased prevalence of frustration, distrust, and silence between key CDA personnel. Communication and cooperation in the Model Cities structure was rapidly reaching its nadir. Therefore amid "polite" cooperation among the staff and limited truce among the citizens work began on allocating approximately 7.8 million dollars in three- and twelve-month budgets, and preparing the Third-Year Action Plan.

Although HUD had waived many of the plan submission requirements relative to detailing proposed expenditures, Model Cities was still required to submit categorical budget totals and strategies for plan implementation. The CDA Director had presented a position paper to the citizens recommending the concentration of resources in the four top priority areas of Employment, Education, Health, and Housing. This was an obvious attempt at reversing the segmented project funding symptomatic of the program up to this time, but in light of the many ongoing projects requesting expansion funds and third-year budget increases it appeared useless.

Nevertheless the staff prepared strategy papers in each of the four priority areas, simply putting down on paper the concepts, ideas, and objectives which had guided them during the prior stages of the program. These strategies were then reviewed, discussed, criticized, and

modified by "experts" in each of the categories during day-long seminars. The resultant revised strategy statements were then submitted to the various Task Forces for review, modification, adoption, and eventual inclusion in the Third-Year Plan. The critical question was to be whether the Task Force and Policy Board fund allocations continued to follow a perceived approach or they conformed to the adopted strategy statements.

Therefore in three meetings on Tuesday, March 28, 1972, Thursday, March 30, 1972, and Monday, April 3, 1972, the three Planning Task Forces were faced with the task of reviewing budget requests of approximately 15 million dollars, recommending allocations, setting funding priorities, and recommending categorical allocations to the Coordinating Committee.

The budget requests were presented to the task forces in two phases. The first, three-month budgets, to be allocated from the approximately 2.5 million dollars of unspent second-year PV supplemental funds, had to be committed or spent prior to the end of the Model Cities 71-72 fiscal year. Most of the requests in this area were for ongoing project expansion to serve the now larger Model Cities. The second set of budget requests were twelve-month third action year proposals, for both ongoing and new projects. These were to come from the approximately 5.3 million dollars of third action year supplemental funds.

Recreation and Culture.--As a funding category recreation and culture was ranked eighth in priority out of twelve, a significant increase in importance over past years. Further as the budget recommendations went from the task forces to the Coordinating Committee the categorical funding was increased from \$36,323, the second year grant level (for HARC) to a new high of \$984,375.

Further this high categorical budget allocation signified both a divergence from the adopted concentration of resources position, since recreation and culture was not in the top four program categories, and ran contrary to the revised Housing and Community Development Strategy which did not even mention recreation. Therefore the Physical Task Force at least was continuing to allocate funds according to personal preference in ignorance of any stated positions or policies.

This was quite understandable since neither the Directors position paper, nor the Housing and Community Development Strategy Statement, prepared by the Chief Physical Planner, were the product of Task Force thinking. Both were staff prepared and staff championed statements and to a great extent, simply accepted but not adhered to by the task forces.

Nevertheless, this concern for recreation carried through the Coordinating Committees recommendations and

although slightly reduced, the categorical allocation was relatively abundant (see Table 1).

TABLE 1.--Lansing Model Cities Coordinating Committee, recreation recommendation for fifteen-month budget allocations^a

	Budget Period		
	3 Month	12 Month	Total
1. NARC	0	\$ 45,867	\$ 45,867
2. Historic Preservation	\$ 75,000	0	75,000
3. Open Space	150,000	0	150,000
4. Neighborhood Facilities	380,000	0	380,000 ^b
5. Comprehensive Recreation Program	0	100,000	100,000
TOTALS	\$605,000	\$145,867	\$750,867

^aLansing Model Cities Program, Coordinating Committee Recommendations, Lansing, Michigan, April, 1972.

^bNote: This recommendation was for an East Side Recreation Center as had originally proposed in the state 25 million in or near urban area program. This unilateral funding by Model Cities was in response to the desires of the east side PV residents and the Task Force and was politically wise.

These recommendations were later approved by the Policy Board and an additional \$50,000 tacked on for a Summer Recreation Program. Therefore past recreation funding problems were overcome but Model Cities was immediately faced with a major problem of implementation. Of the approximately \$800,000 in funds \$655,000 had to be expended or committed in less than three months.

Annual Arrangements

NARC presented no implementation problem since it was simply a matter of refunding an ongoing project at an increased level, however items two, three, and four were major allocations all facing the fiscal year deadline.

HUD had conveniently provided a method of circumventing this deadline through the "Annual Arrangements Package." Officially called a management-funding agreement between HUD and the city of Lansing, it was essentially a program "shopping list" submitted as part of the third-year plan. From this, HUD would notify the city which program applications it would support, thereby precluding application preparation at the local level being met with unequivocal refusal at the federal level.

Since the package was for the entire city and not just Model Cities, its preparation was the product of a Task Force of City and CDA staff personnel, but the final document emanated from the City Planning Department of which the Model Cities Continued Planning Division was part. Therefore items two, three, and four were included in this document and thereby listed as committed funds and able to meet the July 31, 1972, fiscal deadline.

Historic Preservation.--Although only \$75,000 had been allocated for this program, the "Annual Arrangements" specified \$125,000 in CDA funds being used as local match for the preservation of the original Dodge Family Homestead

and the establishment of an Old Town business area in north Lansing. Both of these projects had been long considered and desired by Model Cities with both project areas in the MN. Application was eventually to be prepared in September, 1972, as part of an "Application to Acquire and Develop Open Space."¹

Of the two projects only some \$117,500 of CDA funds, to be matched by the same amount of federal funds, were requested for acquisition of the Dodge mansion; the old town proposal was bypassed. The additional \$42,500 needed for CDA local match was transferred from inactive projects within the same funding category.

Open Space.--The \$125,000 allocated for additional Model Cities open space was simply carried as such in the Annual Arrangements Package with no specific project mentioned. However, in the same aforementioned Open Space Application the CDA committed \$157,700, and the city \$60,000 (funds from the sale of Scott Park) to be matched with \$102,500 in federal funds to acquire additional recreational open space around the proposed West Side Community Center. The additional funds necessary to meet the CDA \$157,700 total were also gleaned from other project allocations.

¹Note: In the interim, in July, 1972, the author was appointed Chief Planner of the Model Cities Continued Planning Division.

Neighborhood Facilities.--Both the \$380,000 allocated by the CDA for an East Side Recreation Community Center, in compensation for its exclusion from the previously discussed State facility package, and the West Side State funded center were carried in the Annual Arrangements Package. However, neither was pursued to the point of application under the HUD Neighborhood Facilities Program, due to a lack of federal funds in this particular program area.

Further, by the Fall of 1972 no progress had been shown toward expending the local and state funds for these two centers and implementation of these projects seemed stalled.

Both the Annual Arrangements Package and especially the September, 1972, Application for Grant to Acquire and Develop Open Space, were compromise documents between the city and the CDA. This situation was especially critical in the latter due to the limited funds available at the federal level to support local projects.

Therefore, although Model Cities had little trouble producing local match the MC desired projects as specified by the Physical Task Force had to compete with the desire of the LSD, the City Parks Department, and some personal preferences of City Council.

With this squeeze on federal funds, in anticipation of Revenue Sharing, Model Cities could no longer

buy its way into any program. Its needs were now placed on an even basis with city-wide needs and only future fund dispositions by the city would delineate CDA success.

Recreation Programs.--The \$50,000 allocated for a summer recreation program, however, could not be included in the Annual Arrangements Package and, therefore, had to go into almost immediate implementation.

Two proposals for summer programs were submitted, the first being from the Michigan State University Center of Urban Affairs, to be operated from the downtown extension. Although specifically for west side residents and to a great extent ethnically oriented, in view of the existence of NARC in the Chicano community, and the possibility of a wider Model Cities program being prepared, it passed easily and was funded for approximately \$9,000 but did not distinguish itself as a major recreation contribution to Model Cities.

Capitol Complex Park.--The second proposal rather than being the initiation of new activities was in reality the termination of much Model Cities staff work.

During the Fall of 1971 State Government had undergone a minor scandal regarding the allocation of funds for the Capitol Complex expansion. In the resultant controversy, funds were severely cut back for the

construction of a new State Capitol. However, the land--one square block on either side of Michigan Avenue just west of the complex--had been acquired and cleared. Therefore the capitol site would in all likelihood remain empty or be used as parking lots for some years.

Model Cities had unsuccessfully been trying to convince the state to allow this land's use as an interim park for west side residents. The state was reluctant to allow any temporary use, anticipating trouble in the future, where that use had to be terminated for Capitol Construction. However the Lansing City Council, notably Councilwoman Belur, began requesting that this land be put to some utility other than for more parking lots.

Therefore, one of the CDA Physical Planners contacted Lansing's State Representative Nelson to enlist his aid in breaking state government roadblocks. In addition, the Community Design Center, one of Model Cities operating projects, was requested to prepare preliminary designs for a recreation facility on this two-square block site.

Work progressed well and in late May, 1972, a meeting was held in the office of Representative Nelson attended by the Director of the State Administrative Division, Councilwoman Belur, Parks Department staff, Community Design Center staff, the CDA Chief Physical Planner, and Physical Planner, and Mr. Nelson. The discussions revolved around the proposed site design,

the technical avenue for allowing local use of state land and funds for construction and supervision of the proposed facility. The various details of police protection, street closure, maintenance, lighting, and site design were either agreed upon at this meeting or during subsequent negotiations so that on June 19, 1972, the package went to City Council as a three-year lease agreement with the appropriate recommendations of the Traffic Board (street closing), the Park Board, the Policy Board, the City Attorney's office, and the Board of Water and Light.

Here, during the presentation by the Physical Planner and the discussions in the committee of the whole, it was understood that Model Cities would pay for the park construction. This was not the case; up to this point the CDA staff had been operating on a vague direction given by the Physical Task Force some eleven months before, which direction did not include the allocation of funds. Therefore, due to this misunderstanding the Chief Physical Planner was instructed by the Director to personally continue negotiations.

The Chief Physical Planner attended two breakfast meetings with Representative Nelson, the Director of the State Administrative Division, the City Council Parks Committee, and the Parks Department Director, to resolve the issue. In addition to the question of construction

funds, and long-term supervision and maintenance an additional problem had developed, an influential business man whose store abutted the north west corner of the proposed park was objecting strenuously to its construction.

Although construction funds could not be found in the state, in Model Cities, or even from the federal B.O.R. due to the park's short life, the Lansing Junior Chamber of Commerce volunteered to build softball backstops, horseshoe pits, and basketball backstops from donated material. The state agreed to rough mow the grass and the Parks department agreed to assign some supervisors on the site. Finally through the second of the Model Cities summer recreation proposals some \$8,000 was allocated to the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) for supervision and programs on the park. Therefore, despite the absence of long-term commitments of personnel or programs it was decided to proceed.

The proposal went back to City Council and was passed with one notable amendment; there was to be no basketball in the park. One city councilman claimed that this particular activity brought in the troublesome element of the community. This amendment obviously was aimed at soothing Mr. Letts, whose objections, when set against the Council Chambers, packed with pro-park west side residents, were not sufficient to stop the park's

passage. However, due to delays in signing the state agreement the summer passed with no actual implementation.

These two project proposals, the CWA and YWCA, still left approximately \$33,000 for a wider summer recreation program. A preliminary proposal was prepared and submitted to the Parks Department to elicit their cooperation as an operating agency. However by this time it was early July; having previously suffered repercussions from the poorly planned and hastily implemented 1971 Summer Recreation Program and due to the offensive behavior of a CDA project manager, dealing with the Parks department on another program, CDA-Parks Department relations were once more strained. The Parks Department refused to operate the program and the Chief Planner was so advised. The decision was made by the Chief Planner to quietly forget the summer program and carry the unused funds into the third-year comprehensive recreation program.

In August, 1972, the Model Cities recreation study done by Recreation Resource Consultants was finally published. Titled "Recreation in the Lansing Model Cities Area: A Study of Spare Time Behavior and Attitudes," it was the first rational basis the staff and citizens had for recreation planning. However, by late Fall, 1972, due to administrative blocks the Physical Task Force had not ever seen the report and the approximately \$133,000

allocated for a comprehensive Year-Round Recreation Program was both unplanned for and unspent.

Therefore, of the approximately \$800,000 allocated for Recreation and Culture in the "Fifteen-Month Budgets" only about \$32,000 had actually been spent some eight months later. Model Cities, no longer faced with a recreation fund scarcity, was now stalled on implementation.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Development of the Lansing Model Cities Program

The first "operational" year of "Lansing's Model Cities," (January 1969-December 1969), began with Recreation being excluded from any active consideration as a program category during the political-public selling and organization of the program. In light of the lack of public questioning or outcries regarding this subservient role, it apparently was placed in an appropriate position in relation to the other problems confronting the inner-city Model Neighborhood, at least in the minds of the residents.

With the institution and operation of the Environment and Design Task Force, recreation as a program category came to the forefront within the context of that body's responsibilities. However, there was an apparent breakdown of the task force concept during those early stages of development. Technical recreation assistance was not forthcoming either from the staff or appointed

personnel, in anything but the physical aspects of recreation development, thereby fostering a rather tunnel view of recreation as a concept.

This situation was somewhat alleviated with the involvement of the Assistant Director of the Lansing Parks and Recreation Department in Model Cities. But this new-found expertise was too late, and possibly too limited by time, to institute any widespread change in the thinking and understanding of the task force.

The Mini-Parks were born during this period but by the time of the submission of the Mid Planning statement a formal application had not been submitted. Rather than solely being the vehicle for providing needed park facilities, the Mini-Parks became a political issue of providing "neighborhood visibility" to shore up waning resident faith in the Model Cities Program, somewhat compromising the concept.

However, this situation did little if anything to improve the overall position of recreation in the total Model Cities Program. During the preparation of the Mid-Planning Statement the citizens in the Model Cities structure only ranked Recreation as number five priority problem in the sixth priority program category. Here again in light of the poor housing, unemployment, health, and education problems besetting the MN residents, this cursory consideration of recreation was appropriate and perhaps an absolute necessity.

The final blow came to recreation by way of its total placement in the Environment and Design Task Force. Had the Coordinating Committee operated as anticipated, the program portion of recreation consideration would have been assigned to one of the social-activities oriented task forces for treatment. But due to the time constraints in the latter stages of the mid planning year, the Model Cities planning process broke down and the staff took an increasingly dominant role in plan development and the Coordinating Committee simply regurgitated the recreation problem back to the Environment and Design Task Force. This action permanently placed recreation in a physical task force and bred an orientation that was to diminish the scope of recreation project development for the next eighteen months.

The Lansing Model Cities First
Action Year

The transition of Model Cities from a planning to an action-oriented program signified no dramatic change in its approach toward recreation. Since projects were based on mid planning guidelines and task force placement, recreation retained its early physical thrust and relatively low profile consideration.

This period did herald the final submission of the "Open Space Grant Application" for Lansing's Mini-Parks, in spite of some opposition within city

government. During the process Model Cities lost one of the proposed facilities, and no further action was taken to actually acquire or construct any park. This fact lent credence to the claim of Model Cities' ineffectiveness in visibly improving the Model Neighborhood physical conditions.

The CDA staff continued to acquire increased influence in the decision-making process, precipitated by early Citizen Participation deterioration and persistently aided by citizen willingness, either through ignorance, or inability to prevent such action, to accept staff-imposed views.

The first evidence of this situation in recreation was the irregular procedure used in the inclusion and funding of NARC as a first action-year project. Although not the result of the citizen-staff decision-making process, NARC became Model Cities' first supplementally funded recreation project and distinguished itself as one of the better first-year programs.

This unilateral staff direction was further carried on as efforts were made to earmark funds from the sale of Scott Park for inner-city use. Here again the Citizen Participation Component was treated in a perfunctory manner and the major thrust was made either by the CDA staff or extra Model Cities organizations. The concept of shared decisions between citizens and

staff was beginning to suffer periodic, but nevertheless severe setbacks, the most dangerous one being from the Summer Recreation Program.

Although the product of the citizen task force structure, it was prepared by the staff, wrought with administrative problems and the victim of staff manipulation. The rapid inclusion of MSU athletes in the program just prior to implementation, though condoned by the Policy Board, was staff initiated and staff facilitated and would not have been possible without staff pressure.

However, this inadequately planned Summer Recreation Program emerged as a moderately successful alternative summer activity for many MN residents.¹ Through the efforts of the program staff, Parks Department staff, and a group called the "Volunteer Committee to Assist the Model Cities Cultural Summer Program," support was garnered from approximately seventeen varied institutions and business organizations. Forthcoming provision of funds, facilities, and products expanded the program scope of services beyond what had been originally anticipated, but it also set the stage for a controversy

¹Lansing Model Cities Program, Lansing Model Cities Summer Recreation Program Evaluation, Lansing, Michigan, August 20, 1971; "Recreation Program Defended," Lansing State Journal, October 18, 1971.

that would not only jeopardize Model Cities but also shed a somewhat dubious light on the accomplishments of the Summer Recreation Program itself.

It was during this period that the Model Cities staff and Recreation Resource Consultants formulated and began implementation of a research study to establish an adequate data base for future recreation planning. Although relations between Model Cities and the Parks Department were somewhat strained as a result of the methods used in both this study formulation and the rewriting of the Mini-Park application, they finally evolved into a more realistic, productive, and cooperative association.

Thus recreation began to gain in prominence within the Lansing Model Cities Program, but it was more as the result of staff and Policy Board imposition than from citizen task force initiation.

The Lansing Model Cities Second Action Year

Despite its tenuous beginnings amid the repercussions from the Summer Recreation Program and the spectre of no funds, recreation in the Lansing Model Cities Program advanced considerably during the second action year.

A somewhat disappointing recreation workshop for Model Cities citizen representatives began a chain of

events which came to fruition in the form of an approximately \$400,000 grant from the State Department of Natural Resources for a West Side Community Center. This provided local matching funds for future applications under the HUD Neighborhood Facilities Program, an opportunity unfortunately still uncaptured.

Surviving both public and private confrontations, the CDA staff and Model Cities citizens managed to find their way through the early stages of the new Planned Variations Program, and break the funding lock that had threatened the Lansing Model Cities Program with stagnancy.

Recreation metamorphosized from the appearance of the first statement of program objectives in the Second-Year Action Plan to the eventual allocation of approximately \$800,000 in that program category. Therefore recreation seemed to have finally been assured a good measure of prominence in the overall Model Cities Program. But with this prominence also came problems; many projects and programs were planned, initiated, and funded but only two meager summer recreation programs were to actually see implementation.

Progress stalled on the Community Centers and Mini-Parks, and although the data base was available, planning was not even begun on the much sought after "Year Round Comprehensive Recreation Program." Therefore, though much was accomplished in the form of

grants, applications, and plans, Model Cities still had to look to the future for action.

Model Cities' Recreation in Retrospect

Perhaps the primary inquiry to be made of this thesis is whether or not the Lansing Model Cities Program fulfilled the promise of its conception:

. . . to plan, develop, and carry out locally prepared and scheduled comprehensive city demonstration programs containing new and imaginative proposals
 . . . to enhance recreational and cultural opportunities; . . . ¹

Regardless of the value of Program endeavors in other areas of concern, for recreation at least the Lansing Model Cities Program has been a dismal failure. Although the relative importance of recreation and the degree of consideration it received in financial allocations went from a position of subservience to prominence, actual recreation project implementation was meager. This lack of implementation, however, cannot be isolated as the sole cause of program failure; deficiencies in the project planning and development stages, MN resident attitudes, and recreation itself must all be considered contributing factors to this situation.

It is, however, the study of these contributing factors or moving forces that prompted the composition of

¹Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, Public Law 89-754, 89th Congress, S.3708, November 3, 1966.

this thesis and from which future urban recreation system and strategy formulation might evolve. Therefore, based on the foregoing text, the following observations are offered concerning this aspect of recreation in the Lansing Model Cities Program.

Observations

Perhaps the most salient impression gleaned from the chronological commentary of the travails of the Lansing Model Cities is that Recreation as a mandatory program category should not have been included in the original Model Cities enabling legislation. Beset with such pressing problems as deteriorating housing, high unemployment, poor health facilities and services, and low educational attainment with a limited amount of financial resources available to attack these problems, serious doubt must be shed upon the advisability of requiring the Model Cities dispersal of finances throughout the many complementary categories such as recreation. The broad scope of the original enabling legislation precluded the concentration of resources by the local Model Cities in those areas it deemed most critical.

An inclination toward rectifying this situation was reflected in the consistently low priority position recreation was given by the MN resident representatives, a position which somewhat successfully relegated recreation to a subservient role during the early

stages of the Lansing Model Cities Program. This resident attitude, however, regarding the necessity of recreation, was countered by an increasingly dominant staff, concerned with the adherence to federal guidelines even to the detriment of resident desires. Regardless of this situation, recreation did not finally gain prominence until some action had been initiated in the critical program areas and supplemental funds had been increased through Planned Variation.

Further, both the physical orientation and the ethnic segmentation of the Lansing Model Cities Structure retarded comprehensive program development. The placement of the recreation category in the Environment and Design Task Force, and subsequently in the Physical Task Force, coupled with the "physical" training of the technical staff support precluded extensive consideration of "activities" in early program development. This problem was compounded by the ethnic association superimposed on the emerging recreation program development.

Therefore, these conditions fostered a preponderance of concern over the acquisition and development of parks, open space, and buildings, with the consideration of comprehensive recreation programming emerging only late in the second action year, and then being beset with ethnic competition for program benefits.

Hampered by insufficient technical support from both the CDA staff and appointed task force personnel, and deprived of a knowledge of recreation which might be gleaned from exposure to programs, the citizen task forces were neither able to implement their convictions regarding recreation's relative importance much past the First Action Year Plan, nor exert control over program development once the staff-prompted projects began to emerge.

This citizen impotence was compounded by the elaborate system of review, referral, and processing developed in the Lansing Model Cities Program. Faced with constant pressure for decisions with inadequate time or knowledge to make them, the task force simply relied on staff integrity and accepted staff recommendations with minimal comment or review, thereby mitigating valid citizen's participation. The CDA staff on its part, faced with similar performance deadlines (although theoretically secondary to citizen's participation), willingly circumvented the time-consuming model cities decision-making process and increasingly dealt with the citizens in only a perfunctory manner.

As a result of their superficial involvement in recreation program development only a minimum of resident opinions and views were gathered and these were often mere reflections of staff recommendations and technical reports. Therefore, the MN residents as a "theoretical

source" of new and innovative ideas in recreation was left untapped and the Citizen Participation Component of the Lansing Model Cities Structure became a relatively minor determinant of the actual role of recreation in the total program.

Perhaps the concept of "Citizen Participation" could have been better served had the task force been instituted solely as a reviewing and commenting body, thus relieving the citizens of the pressure of meeting recommendation deadlines. This would have encouraged the CDA staff to spend more time eliciting resident views without saddling them with a cumbersome decision-making process. Further, this would have lowered the level of technical knowledge needed by the citizens to actively participate in recreation program planning, since such decisions would be, as they were in reality in the Lansing Model Cities Program, at the discretion of the technical staff personnel.

This would of course necessitate a reorientation of staff operations, for although the CDA staff was the dominant determinant of the direction of recreation in the Lansing Model Cities Program, this influence was not, however exercised in a rational, factual manner to the exclusion of outside influences. From its inception the CDA staff grew increasingly influential in guiding, and eventually making the decisions regarding recreation

program content, and specific project direction, but these CDA staff decisions were often based on their political implications both in city government and in the model neighborhoods.

This was in all probability a foreseeable and unavoidable occurrence due to the political sensitivity of both the Lansing Model Cities Program and the various characters involved, but it did, however, serve to diminish the factual integrity upon which much action was taken.

What should have been foreseen and was avoidable was the use of inter-agency intrigue and manipulations resulting in inter-CDA divisional pressure regarding recreation decisions and eventually in program contamination. This compromise of CDA integrity must be viewed as an evolution of the relationships and connections between the CDA staff and agencies which might be the recipient of Model Cities funds and as such could have been halted at its inception.

However, on the contrary, the credibility of the Lansing Model Cities Program with the citizens, agencies, and city departments suffered a severe blow from the over protection of those involved in such actions. The danger from this was only exceeded by the repercussions from CDA staff frustration with this permissiveness. Finally, the continued agitation between the CDA and

the mayor served as a smokescreen, diminishing the importance of such staff involvements and precluding the necessary CDA change.

Regardless of outside influences, the CDA staff, responsible for many areas of expertise, were not capable of providing the expertise and innovation necessary to fulfill the promise of the original Model Cities concept. Further, due to staff prejudice against existing city departments, fluctuating inter-departmental relations, and no administrative provisions for enlisting the periodic full-time aid necessary, the City Department of Parks and Recreation remained a relatively untapped source of needed expertise and was never utilized to the fullest extent possible in recreation program development.

Thus the entire Model Cities approach toward recreation development was haphazard, limited by time constraints, retarded by staff capabilities, and often simply reactive to the availability of state and federal funds. This resulted in hastily planned programs leaving little time for adequate employment screening, administrative controls, and detailing actual program content.

The problem of reoccurring deadlines was subsequently rectified to some degree under Planned Variation as the federal government endeavored to reduce administrative guidelines, modify deadlines, and through

Annual Arrangements provide adequate lead time for application preparation. However, the lack of staff recreation expertise is a continuing problem which necessitates alternative CDA staff compositions if it is to find solution.

Such an alternative CDA structure could include a system of ad hoc expertise, contracted from local agencies and city departments, replacing the lower level CDA technical staff. Thus, when faced with recreation program development, City Parks and Recreation Department expertise could have been utilized on an interim full-time basis, thereby providing the quality of expertise necessary to facilitate citizen participation and thereby relieving the pressure on the core CDA staff.

In retrospect such a structure could only nurture a more realistic, and perhaps innovative approach to recreation program development than has been prevalent in the Lansing Model Cities Program. These personnel, inured from the experience of working as part of a multidisciplinary CDA team and the exposure to the problems of the MN, would be better prepared to address responsible program implementation and facilitate agency and departmental change upon their return.

A commensurate benefit of this revised structure would be the better utilization of the Lansing Model Cities Program as a training ground for building local

governments' capabilities in handling "Revenue-Sharing." Although the expansion of the CDA staff, in response to the Planned Variation Program, could not provide the large variety of expertise needed, it could, and indeed did, serve to perpetuate the isolation of local experience in allocating large blocks of federal funds in said agency. This was probably foreseeable in light of the tenuous hold Model Cities had on existence but this effort to guarantee agency life ran counter to the intent of the PV program. The proposed revised CDA staff structure would provide the expanded revenue-sharing experience, to personnel outside of said agency, necessary for future local governmental operations.

The core CDA staff must of necessity also undergo a complementary re-organization; the emphasis must shift from the retention of a select group of career supervisors, to the development of a cadre of urban generalists, modern renaissance men. This could be accomplished through the inclusion, on a rotating basis of personnel from various local state and federal organization, for periods of twelve to eighteen months. These floating staff supervisors would bring a needed awareness to the Lansing Model Cities, regarding the problems and operations of the various contact agencies. Further, such cross exchanging of personnel would facilitate broader staff development and enhance the quality and

thereby the value of these staff members both to the parent and adopted organizations. Obviously some CDA continuity must be maintained, thus the rotation would, of necessity, be on a staggered basis with the staff option to return to the CDA in subsequent rotations.

This type of CDA structure if perpetuated through Revenue-Sharing has obvious implications in the current pattern of University training. It would necessitate a two-pronged approach to the education and development of future urban professionals. First the traditional technically educated professionals must be adapted to working with, and understanding other disciplines, while still maintaining an in-depth knowledge of their own field. Second educators must be prepared to identify and develop the renaissance men, who will fill the top-level ranks of organizations, men sufficiently adept, in a wide spectrum of disciplines, to supervise, coordinate, and fully utilize the aforementioned technicians. Until the universities produce such personnel, their identification and development must come from within the existing professional ranks and through their exposure to the conditions described herein.

Finally, expertise should be the dominant criteria for the retention of any staff personnel in the Lansing Model Cities Program. If dedication were the determinant of success, the Lansing Model Cities Program would have

constituted a transformation in urban problem solving, but the technical nature of today's society necessitates a high level of technical knowledge and, therefore, dictates that dedication be viewed only as a desirable supplement to ability.

Epilogue

The relative priority placed on recreation in the Lansing Model Cities and subsequent Planned Variation Programs is an indication of problems to be faced under "Revenue-Sharing" competition.

There was an apparent ignorance on the part of local citizens regarding the very concept of recreation, and a tendency for other disciplines to view it as "icing on the cake," not worthy of extensive consideration. Therefore recreation professionals will have to seek and develop a recreation educated populace capable of lobbying on their behalf.

Further, recreation should bury its add-on image and emphasize the need for integrating recreation as a component part of urban redevelopment programs such as Urban Renewal, Juvenile Delinquency Control, Social Services, and Community Organization. Although this has been done on a limited basis in Lansing, it has received little widespread publicity and, therefore, is of minimal import in enhancing recreation's relative value.

The City of Lansing should also conduct more competent research into the recreation needs of its residents. The data available for anything other than facility location are practically nonexistent. Such questions as the appropriateness of existing programs, the present and future location of services, and the equanimity of fund allocation throughout the total city population must be answered if future recreation planning in the City of Lansing is to have significant impact.

Therefore, although the various outside influences aforementioned were the major determinants of Recreation in Model Cities, it is apparent, however, that some of these forces will also act in the revenue-sharing process. Recreation will be faced with strong competition for these federal dollars, a competition, if Model Cities is any indication, for which it is unprepared.

In summation the Lansing Model Cities Program, despite its limited successes, has rendered a valuable service to "Recreation Professionals" through the delineation of the myriad of interacting forces which influence urban recreation development. If the Recreation Professional is to be successful in meeting the demands of increased urbanization he must be prepared to identify, evaluate, and cope with these factors as well as employ the scientific techniques of his vocation.

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