COMPREHENSIVE POLICY PLANS FOR THE LANSING TRI-COUNTY REGION: A NEW DIMENSION IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

Thesis for the Degree of M. U. P.

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Keith Max Honey

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ABSTRACT

COMPREHENSIVE POLICY PLANS

FOR THE LANSING TRI-COUNTY REGION

By Keith Max Honey

This thesis attempts to assess the risks, potential, and implications of policy planning. A policy planning program is viewed as an integral and necessary part of comprehensive plan preparation—a process which promises a new planning dimension by keying plan-making to the decision—making process of government.

Historical data was relied upon to trace the origins of the planning movement within the United States and to determine the early influences which shaped and molded present planning theory and philosophy. The reform movement at the turn of the century is credited with creating the needed emotional framework for public planning and also for planting the seeds of weakness which still plague effective planning. Today, the quest for a new and more effective planning approach is hampered by the past heritage of an independently established planning board preoccupied with physical plans and legislatively separated from political decision-making.

Regional planning, in particular, has been handicapped by its advisory function within a fragmented institutional framework. Without the benefit of any formal relationship to the power structure of the metropolitan community, the regional planning effort has often been limited to an ineffective and frustrating exercise. A program of policy planning is suggested as a promising, if unproven, technique for bridging the wide gap

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between plan-making and plan-effectuation within metropolitan areas.

The case method was utilized to document the author's experience in undertaking a policy plan program for the Lansing Tri-County Regional Planning Commission. Area growth trends and development problems were identified to emphasize the need for policy solutions to Regional planning problems. The history and program development of the Tri-County Commission was also reviewed to indicate the evolution of and conceptual framework for a policy planning program. A unique part of this program was the wide use of citizen groups in developing and reviewing Regional growth objectives and development goals.

The Tri-County experience reveals the many pitfalls and risks which are inherent in a policy planning undertaking. The complex physical and social needs of a metropolitan Region presented a web of tangled interrelationships which made clear statements of goals and policies a difficult and demanding technical task. The wide participation of citizens in the goal formation process also revealed problems in planner versus citizen values, in articulation of goals in terms which could be grasped by the layman, and in conflicting attitudes toward the legitimate functions of government. These problems, along with the serious political ramifications inherent in policy formulation, indicate the serious and critical limitations of policy planning.

These limitations are balanced, however, by increasing evidence of enlightened attitudes toward government and by encouraging signs of more responsible citizen concern with the urban environment. The use of new and more sophisticated analysis techniques, such as systems analysis and operations research undertakings, would enable the policy planning process to

expand its scope and direction into the fruitful areas of decision theory, political science, and other related disciplines which could foster a wider range of knowledge and understanding than has been possible under the traditional planning process.

This thesis concludes that the potentials and implications of policy planning can result in a new and vital leadership role for the professional planner—a role in which the planner becomes an urban generalist placed in a unique position of public trust. Before he can assume such a role, however, the planner must change his attitudes toward the democratic process of government and must develop an enlightened concept of his professional role within an urban society.

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Keith Max Honey

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A SEARCH FOR EFFECTIVENESS

In his search for a more effective role in urban society, the professional planner is struggling through a period of critical self-appraisal and objective re-examination of purpose. Serving as a catalyst for such self-conscious introspection is the accelerated rapidity of social, physical, and technological change presently occurring within the United States. Rapid change has resulted in equally rapid urbanization, leaving a residue of physical and social problems desperately in need of solution.

Charged with a growing responsibility for finding solutions to these problems, the urban planner suddenly realizes the need for more refined research, for more wisdom, and for more effective planning techniques. Today, as perhaps never before in its history, the American planning movement is in a position to influence and shape the urban physical environment. "And yet, never has the path of righteousness been less clearly marked out."

In his search for self-betterment, the planner is investigating new and complex technical processes which will hopefully light the path to more sophisticated and realistic planning proposals. Mathematical growth models, electronic data processing, operations research techniques, systems analysis, and a host of other highly complicated research and

lMelvin M. Webber, "Comprehensive Planning and Social Responsibility: Toward an A.I.P. Consensus on the Profession's Role and Purpose," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29, No. 4 (November, 1963), p. 232.

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analysis methods are exerting a revolutionary influence upon the technical phase of the planning process.

As important as these new analytical tools are to the technical aspects of the professional planning operation, they do not remove the Archilles heel of the planning process—implementation of plans. Throughout its relatively short history, the long step between plan-making and plan-effectuation has never been effectively taken. This missing link in the chain of activities known as the planning process must be found if the professional planner is to meet the increasing challenges of urban growth.

Past attempts to utilize various legal "tools" for effectuating plans have been only partially successful. The convential approach of implementing plans through soning controls, subdivision regulations, capital improvement programs, or urban renewal projects have often been found lacking in "real power to design the domestic environment." Despite the past planning advancements afforded by these legal tools, "fully appropriate legal mechanisms are yet to be devised to implement land policies"

Deficiencies in conventional implementing procedures are especially apparent at the level of metropolitan or regional planning. The nation's unprecedented expansion of urban populations has occurred mostly within

²James E. Lee, "Role of the Planner in the Present: A Problem in Identification," <u>Journal of the American Institute of Planners</u>, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1958), p. 153.

³Charles M. Hear, Lend Use Planning: A Casebook on the Use, Misuse, and Re-use of Urban Land (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1959), p. 137.

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the suburban areas surrounding large central cities. Today, America is almost 70 per cent urban and nearly one-half of these urbanites reside in metropolitan areas with populations of over one million. Urban growth within metropolitan areas has spilled into the fragmented jurisdictions of numerous local governments. With each local unit of government enacting and administering its own land use controls, uncoordinated and inefficient development is often the result. Moreover, regional or metropolitan planning commissions which have been formed to provide some guidance to metropolitan development are usually only advisory in nature with no real legislative power to implement rational planning proposals. 5

There is a need, then, for new and bold approaches if regional plans are to influence physical development. Somehow methods must be devised to provide the missing step between plan-making and planeffectuation, a step which will influence the multiplicity of public and private decisions and actions which form the basis of growth within urban regions. For "all growth is simply the sum of decisions made individually by thousands of persons, few of whom were considering the effects of their decisions upon the metropolitan pattern."

¹⁴Scott Greer, The Emerging City: Myth and Reality. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 1.

⁵In Michigan, for example, the Regional Planning Commission Act (Act 281, Public Laws of 1945, as amended) does not allow such commissions to enact or administer soning regulations or subdivision controls.

Regional Plan Association, "Hitting Tomorrow's Targets," Goals for the Region Project, New York, Regional Booklet No. 5 (May, 1963), p. 2.

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This thesis outlines the advantages and risks of using "policy plans" as an instrument to develop a more effective planning procedure within urban regions. The Policy Plan process is based upon the assumption that some kind of community-wide consensus of planning goals and development pelicies must be arrived at before realistic plans for future growth can be prepared. It further assumes that once growth goals have been agreed-upon, a comprehensive plan for future growth will be more readily used by community leaders because it reflects previously accepted policies and goals.

Policy Plans can also serve other purposes. They can be new instruments which guide the evolution of a particular community by bringing the social, physical, economic, and political considerations into more meaningful focus. For the articulation of planning goals and the policies necessary for their attainment forces the community to decide upon such basic questions as "what would we like to achieve and how can we best achieve it. Policy Plans can also become "usable" master plans consisting of policy statements which guide the day-to-day decisions of government.

The formation of Policy Plans is therefore a potentially new dimension in the art and philosophy of planning--a dimension which places

Thenry Fagin, "Organising and Carrying Out Planning Activities with Urban Government," <u>Journal of the American Institute of Planners</u>, Vol. 25, No. 3 (August, 1959) pp. 109-114.

⁸E. A. Levin, "The Planner, the Council, and the Citisen's Organisation", <u>Planning and Civic Comment</u>, Vol. 4 (September, 1962), p. 56.

⁹Dennis O'Harrow, "New Techniques for Shaping Urban Expansion," Planning Advisory Service, Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, Information Report No. 160 (July, 1962), pp. 4-5.

the planning process squarely in the public decision-making arena. For if "the planning process must play an important role in supplying policy alternatives and pressing for decisions from the earliest and broadest level of policy formation," then this places the planning process and the professional planner in the hallowed halls of politics where policy decisions are ultimately made.

This kind of political involvement, in turn, opens a Pandora's box of implications relative to the planner's role in a democratic society. If policy decisions at the political level do indeed influence and shape physical growth, how far should the planner venture into the political framework to influence the decisions which are made? Does he, as a public servant, have a basic responsibility to society to present alternatives of choice and to press for enlightened decisions on physical development issues which may run counter to the mainstream of public thought? What advantages and risks are involved if, indeed, the planner does enter into policy-forming activities? What should be his limitations, his guide-lines of operation, his end objectives?

These and similar questions call for a critical re-examination of the role of the professional planner as an agent who serves the public interest. Yet these are the kinds of philosophical ramifications which are raised when the formation of Policy Plans are undertaken as part of the planning process.

¹⁰Stuart F. Chapin, Jr., Urban Land Use Planning. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 268.

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This thesis attempts to assess the professional and ethical implications involved in the formation of public policies relating to physical growth. Experience in Policy Plan procedures, however, is limited to a few tentative programs undertaken mostly by metropolitan or regional planning commissions. Because of this limited experience, very few guidelines are available concerning the problems, the advantages, or the risks involved in carrying out such a program. The main body of this thesis, therefore, will set forth the unique approach being utilised by the Lansing Tri-County Regional Planning Commission in undertaking the formation of Policy Plans. It is hoped that such an identification and analysis can add to the present limited body of knowledge concerning the formation and implementation of this process.

The scholarly limitations of the case method are well-known. Case studies describe events occurring over a given period of time and, as such, are limited in their significance by the capacity of the author to objectively interpret these observations in a meaningful way. In addition to these inherent difficulties in method, the analysis presented in this thesis may have been biased by the author's involvement in preparing policy plans for the Tri-County Region. In order to partially minimise some of these problems, strict adherence to the case method will not necessarily be followed. Rather, an attempt will be made to concentrate upon the background of thinking and philosophy which influenced

Press, 1961), p. 18.

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the Tri-County Policy Plan approach. Specific delineation of desirable policies and needed development goals will also be given to illustrate the complexity of policy plan formation. Prior to such delineation, trends influencing regional growth along with development problems needing policy solution will briefly be reviewed so that the need for specific policies can be identified and supported.

In a further attempt to minimise personal bias, the Tri-County Policy Plan program will be related to the broader universe of current planning theory. Hence, the first portion of the thesis will trace the evolution of the planning process within the United States and will attempt to relate this evolution to the need for new concepts involving planning activity in the public decision-making process. The importance and advantages of public policies as they relate to physical development will also be described.

Finally, the experiences of the Tri-County staff in reviewing goals and policy statements with citisen groups and with the Commission itself will be documented to illustrate the difficulties and problems involved with this type of procedure. The concluding portion of the thesis will attempt to summarise the implications of Policy Plan preparation upon the traditional concept of advisory regional planning and upon the role and function of the professional planner. In this section of the study, the many penetrating questions which confront the planner when he attempts to enter into the field of policy formation will be identified—questions which need sound and wise solutions if planning is to become a guiding force in shaping the physical environment of the future.

The remaining pages of this thesis, then, will be devoted to the documentation of a regional agency's search for more effective and realistic planning procedures—procedures which will hopefully bridge the wide gap between the making of plans and the implementation of plans. Such a search has led to the embracing of policy planning as a new dimension to the planning process.

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CHAPTER I

PLANNING IN EVOLUTION

From its crude frontier beginnings to its present-day industrial complexity, the United States has been characterized by rapid physical growth and dynamic economic expansion. Indeed, growth and change—complemented by a free and democratic society—is part of the American tradition.

These growth changes have had a profound effect upon the nation's attitudes toward the physical environment. The change in man's cultural attitudes, in turn, was in response to the vast technological changes of the industrial revolution. One of society's most significant reactions to the urban chaos created by the industrial revolution was the grass-roots reform movement at the turn of the Century. Out of this movement was born the feeble beginnings of city planning within the United States.

A knowledge of the historical evolution of the changing characteristics of the nation is perhaps basic to an understanding of the forces which molded the contemporary attitudes toward urban planning. This chapter, therefore, briefly outlines the evolution of the nation's development from a predominately rural to an almost completely urban society. Interwoven within this documentation is the response of the planning movement in meeting the changing needs of an urbanising people.

Utilizing this historical data as background, an identification will be made of the contemporary theories of the planning function.

Finally, the critical need for a change in planning emphasis and the desirability of planning involvement in the decision-making process of government will be set forth.

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The Early Years

Since the first white man set foot upon the uncharted wilderness of America, the development and use of land has been intimately linked with man's welfare. The democratic form of government within the developing republic soon became involved and concerned with the use of the nation's land resource. "As the slow, painful process of creating a Nation unfolded, the land and its control and use became the main focus of national concern."

Federal concern with land development was a guiding force in shaping the nation's early settlement policies for the Northwest Territories and resulted in the rectangular survey system which divided lands into sections of 640 acres each.² The Northwest Ordinance also set forth the principle of disposing of the public domain by sale to private individuals and the reservation of certain lands for educational purposes. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 reinforced these provisions and, in addition, initiated the procedure of federal grants-in-aid to the states for public schools.³

Land settlement policies were periodically amended by Congress throughout the early 1800's, with much debate and conflict resulting from the issues of land payment provisions, the size of tracts to be

U. S. Department of Agriculture, Land: the Yearbook of Agriculture. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 29.

²Benjamin H. Hibbard, <u>A History of Public Land Policies</u>. (New Yorks Doubleday and Company, 1962, p. 32.

The Report of the President's Commission on National Goals, Goals for Americans. (Columbia University, 1960), p. 268.

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sold, and purchase price of acreage. The outgrowth of these issues led ultimately to the "free land" policy and the 160 acre settlement unit as established by the Homestead Act of 1862. Early land settlement policies were designed to encourage rapid settlement of an unchartered frontier so that the nation's basic wealth--land--could be quickly put into productive use. 5

As the settlers migrated to the vast western territories, various federal policies were emacted to encourage internal improvements for transportation purposes. From the early 1830's to about 1870, lands were granted to the states, railroad interests, and private development companies for the building of wagon roads, canals, railroads, and other transportation imprevements. Many of the first settlements on the raw frontier were born along these transportation lines and prospered into full-fledged cities during the industrial revolution.

With the rise of industrialisation during and after the Civil War, cities grew and expanded to meet the new demands of an industrial age.

Between 1850 and 1910, the percentage of the nation's population living in cities increased from 15 to 45 per cent. Cities flourished as the nation urbanised in response to industrial needs. The individual worker's dependence upon walking or horse-drawn vehicles necessitated erowded living areas in close proximity to the factory. Cities therefore expanded

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Hibbard, Op. Cit., p. 35.

⁵V. Webster Johnson and Raleigh Barlowe, Land Problems and Policies. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954), p. 18.

6Tbid., pp. 63-68.

⁷Homer Hoyt, "World Urbanisation: Expanding population in a Shrinking World", <u>Urban Land</u>, Washington, D. C.: Technical Bulletin No. 43, (April, 1962), p. 14.

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in a compact form, with cheap tenement housing located within the shadow of the factory smoke stack.

The chaos of urbanisation during the later part of the 19th 6entury caused a gradual shifting of national attitude toward land development
policies. Widespread dissatisfaction with the urban environment resulted
in many indictments against the city and against the urban way of life.
Society nostologically recalled better days when a simple and uncomplicated rural environment held the promise of a good life. These past
attitudes toward the city are still engrained in our culture, as illustrated by the following statement by Rachael Carson.

There was once a town in the heart of America where all life seemed to live in harmony with its surroundings. The town lay in the midst of a checkerboard of prosperous farms, with fields of grain and hillsides of orchards where, in spring, white clouds of bloom drifted above the green fields.... So it had been from the days many years ago when the first settlers raised their houses, sank their wells, and built their barns.

The city of the 19th Century was the product of rapid industrialisation accompanied by uncontrolled speculation. The new urbanism had
nutured technological advances, fostered a new industrial economy, and
produced lavish material rewards. Yet the free-enterprise system had
also produced confusion and chaes of they physical environment. Shocked
by this environment, society rebelled and demanded reform.

The Wave of Reform

The late 19th and early 20th Century was a period of upheaval, civic awakening, and reform. Society saw life in the industrial city

⁸Rachael Carson, <u>Silent Spring</u>. (Boston: Haughton Mifflin Company, 1962), pp. 1-2.

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leading to physical and moral decay. Misery and squalor darkened large sections of many of the larger communities. Boston and New York, for example, contained "congested slum areas where the latest and poorest immigrants massed in densities unrivaled even by European cities."

There was a depressing consistency about the 18th Century factory town which "bred mediocrity in every aspect of life...."

Reform became the by-word which swept a pervasive atmosphere of the Renaissance over America.

The Land Reform Act of 1891 reflected the national temper of the times. Besides repealing many of the previous laws pertaining to federal land policies, this act reflected a significant shift in philosophy by authorising the President to set aside forest, mineral, and park lands. 11 Thus the first tentative step was taken toward a new and growing movement—conservation. This movement grew out of the recognition that the frentier period was ending, that private control over natural resources needed curbing, and that large public advantages could be secured through multiple purpose development of resources. 12 Through the efforts of the Theodere Roosevelt administration, and his dynamic Chief Forester Gifford Pinchet, numerous national policies were enseted to regulate, control, and manage the nation's resources.

The seal for reform was further demonstrated by a group of journalists using a new shock technique called "muckraking." Powerful and

⁹Blake McKelvey, <u>The Urbanisation of America; 1860-1915</u>. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963), p. 14.

¹⁰Arthur B. Gallion, The Urban Pattern, (Princeton: D. Van Mostrand Company, Inc., 1950), p. 80.

¹¹ Johnson and Barlowe, Op. Cit., p. 65.

¹²Hans H. Landsberg (and others), Resources in America's Future, (Baltimore: Resources for the Future, Inc., Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 42.

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hard-hitting literature set forth a moral and ethical indictment of the inhuman corruption and decay which marked the industrial city. 13 Out of this indictment arose an increasing concern with the sociological effects of urbanism upon the behavior of man in mass society.

While the muckrakers focused upon the political and moral corruption of the city, another group of humanitarians were dealing with housing and social conditions. A series of studies and reports were subsequently published which deplored the slum conditions of the large metropolis. It Public concern with the use of private property soon became an issue as a result of these writings.

During the late 1800's another reform group became concerned with furnishing park facilities within urban areas. The Boston park Study in 1893 led to the creation of the first Metropolitan Park Commission and set the stage for a new pattern of park planning by other large cities. 15

Out of this public dissatisfaction with the urban environment arose a new concept of the city. Through the active participation of numerous citisens and leading architects, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition transformed the maddy-scrub-oak wastes along Chicago's lake front into a gleaming "white city." Accustomed to urban ugliness, millions of people saw for the first time "a splendid example of civic design and beauty in

The group of journalists known as the "muckrakers" were personified by Lincoln Steffins, The Shame of the Cities, (New York: McClure, Phillips and Company, 1904).

Progress and Poverty. (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1902); Jacob Ries, How the Other Half Lives, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890; and the various reports of the New York Tenement House Commission during the late 1800's.

¹⁵McKelvey, Op. Cit., pp. 190-193.

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the classic pattern and on a grand scale, and they liked it."16 Visitors to the Exposition took the impressions of the "white city" back to their home communities and began to wonder why their cities could not be as orderly and as beautiful. 17

The Exposition marked the feeble beginnings of city planning within the United States. 18 Every large city planned to become the "city beautiful." During the next twenty years, many community plans were prepared by architects and landscape architects emphasising city beautification.

The roots of the planning movement were thus sunk deeply into the fertile soil of civic design and physical beautification. It took many years for these roots to spread into a concern for the social and economic factors which also help shape the human environment.

The Expanding Scope

The origins of planning sprang from a city beautification revolt against urban ugliness. While this revolt was the strength which promoted early planning acceptance, it was also the shackles which bound the planning movement to a pre-occupation with the "grand plan." For the heritage of the city beautiful is still deeply entrenched in the planning operation of today.

¹⁶Robert L. Wrigley, Jr., "The Plan of Chicago: Its Fiftieth Anniversary," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 26, No. 1 (February, 1960,) p. 31.

¹⁷ Jessie Heckman Hirschl, *Chicago Exposition-1893,* The State Journal (Lansing: March 1, 1964).

¹⁸Robert A. Walker, The Planning Function in Urban Government, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2nd Ed., 1950), p. 1.

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During the early 1900's, it became the civic vogue to have a city plan. Such groups as civic leagues, women's clubs, merchants' clubs, Commercial clubs, and various civic improvement associations sponsored plan-making by private consultants. All of this activity was performed in something of a vacuum and because of its intangibility, most of these early plans were unsuccessful in influencing urban development. 19

An exception was the Chicago Plan prepared by Daniel Burnham in 1909. Sponsored by the Commercial Club of Chicago, the "Plan of Chicago" became the standard "comprehensive" approach of an emerging planning prefession. Prepared by design-oriented professionals, the plan dealt with a regional park system, rapid transit, street improvements, and a "civic center." The plan was implemented by an aggressive selling program which covered not only civic groups but also the schools. Much of Chicago's present physical character can be directly traced to the public works program which carried out many of the plan's proposals.

ment. "Its influence is manifest in the grand perspectives sketched in every important planning report..." The success of its public works orientation stimulated an atmosphere of hope as to the potentials of planning to re-shape cities. Yet the very strength of the Chicago Plan's public works orientation proved to be its weakness. In subsequent years the plan was not updated and the Chicago Plan Commission steadfastly

¹⁹ Cellion, Op. Cit., p. 81.

²⁰ Walker, Op. Cit., p. 19.

²¹Wrigley, Op. Cit., p. 33.

²²⁹alker, Op. Cit., p. 223.

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refused to become concerned with slum clearance, took only mild interest in soning as an implementing means, and failed to grasp the view that planning should be concerned with controlling the use of private property.²³

The city beautiful movement as personified by the Chicago Plan did, however, plant the fertile seed of city planning within the public's conscience. Planning slowly became accepted as a public function. Hartford created the first city planning commission in 1907, followed closely by Chicago in 1909 and Detroit and Baltimore in 1910. The problems of inadequate housing were debated at the first national planning conference in Washington, D. C. in 1909, and an urgent call was sounded for improved housing codes, for soning ordinances, and for mere basic planning. 25

From 1915 until the depression years, planning gradually shifted its emphasis. The new idea of soning, fostered by laws relating to nuisances, began to be debated and explored. The nation's first soning ordinance in New York City in 1916 was followed by a rash of similar regulations within large and small cities during the 1920's. The advent of soning also served as a stimulus for the creation of public planning commissions and by 1922 there were 185 official planning commissions in the United States. 26 However, these "official" commissions were placed carefully in independent positions outside of the political process. The reform movements' exposé of "dirty" politics and the need for an "objective" visupoint seemed to indicate the wisdom of an independent administrative structure.

²³ Ibid., p. 273.

²⁴F. L. Clustead, "The Town Planning Movement in America," The Annuals, (January, 1914), p. 181.

²⁵McKelvey. Op. Cit., p. 125.

²⁶Walker, Op. Cit., p. 26.

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During the 1920's the scope of planning widened to include not only urban esthetics and public improvements but also transportation, soning, parks, and subdivisions of land, The influence of the "garden city" movement, set forth in England by Ebeneser Howard during the late 1800's, began to be felt in America and was reflected in the increased planning concern with subdivisions of land. Radburn, developed during the late '20's, was the first American version of the garden city, although it was primarily a commuting satellite rather than a self-contained community. However, the basic significance of the garden city movement, the decentralisation of urban population and the limiting of growth, was not grasped or articulated by the American planning movement.²⁷

The 1920 period was therefore marked with a pre-occupation with the physical aspects of planning and, in particular, an emphasis upon soming as a legal "tool" to implement planning proposals. The "Euclid Case" gave the legal blessing of the Supreme Court to the control and regulation of private land through soming ordinances. Rany states during this period adopted the Standard City Planning Enabling Act and the Standard Zoning Enabling Act developed by the U. S. Department of Commerce. These acts further solidified the separation of the planning function from the griny hands of politics. Also during this period consultants, rather than planning staffs, carried on most of the "one-shot" developments of master plans for the official citisen planning commissions. Since most of these consultants were from design-oriented professions, housing or

²⁷Walker, Op. Cit., p. 23.

²⁸ Village of Euclid, Chio v. Ambler Realty Company, 272 U. S. 363, November 22, 1926.

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other social and economic factors were conspicuous for their absence in most plans.

Between 1920 and 1930 there was not much change in the actual scope of planning, although the emphasis shifted from the "beautiful" to the "practical." The engineer became the agent who personified the practical planning man free from impractical dreams. 29 The common "comprehensive" plan during this period was divided into the six main elements of soning, streets, transit, transportation, recreation, and civic appearance. 30

Were not conducive to any deep appraisal of social problems, the shattering advent of the depression awakened interest in sociology and economics. Social and welfare problems were the focus of numerous agencies created by Congress during the early 1930's, giving national emphasis to social and economic problems. City planning, however, was in a poor postion to provide guidelines for this national emergency for it had emphasised physical improvements in the plans of the 1920's. While planning was not prepared for the depression, planning did become more comprehensive during this period for it began to include social, housing, and financial problems as well as the physical problems of the community.

The depression years, then, influenced planning by causing (1) an awakened interest in slums and housing, (2) policy and financial assistance from the Federal Government in undertaking sociological and economic research, and (3) interest in public income and costs as related

²⁹ Gallion, Op. Cit., p. 84.

Theodora K. Hubbard and Henry V. Hubbard, Our Cities Today and Tomorrow, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), p. 109.

³¹Walker, Op. Cit., p. 36.

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to public services. 32

The depression years also marked the significant entrance of the Federal Government into the previously untouched field of local government. The 1934 National Housing Act created the Federal Housing Administration and their housing policies and standards were to have profound effects upon the character and quality of urban areas. Huge sums were also expanded for "pump-priming" the local economy in the form of public works, highways, and public buildings. Unfortunately, many of these federal projects were not done according to a preconceived city plan. The "city beautiful" plans of the 1920's were either out-dated or plain impractical for the public works needs of the city. 33

Other federal agencies were formed during the 1930's which were to have a profound impact upon the planning function. The Resettlement Administration engaged in experimental "greenbelt" towns in Maryland, Ohio, and Wisconsin which were patterned after Howard's Garden City. These towns set forth design principles which were later utilized by many large tract private developers. The 1937 Housing Act created the U.S. Housing Authority with lending power to local cities for the purpose of constructing low-income public housing. As part of this program, it was required that one sub-standard dwelling must be removed for each

³²Mabel Walker, <u>Urban Blight and Slums</u>, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. vii.

³³Gallion, Op. Cit., p. 158.

Four projects were planned, three of which were actually built in Greendale, Wisconsin; Greenhills, Chio, and Greenbelt, Maryland.

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low-rent unit built within the city. 35 Out of these beginnings came a comprehensive housing program which was to be an important force in shaping the development and redevelopment of urban areas.

These formative, adolescent years established and molded the present character of the planning movement within the United States. The independent planning commission composed of citisens and separated from the governmental function, the pre-occupation with physical forms of land use, and the legal "tools" to implement planning programs are all a heritage from plannings' formative stages. Many of the profession's present limitations, perhaps, stem from this past heritage.

The Modern Era

Since World War II, the nation and the planning function have struggled with an exploding population and an expanding industrial economy. A spectacular rise in birth rates has caused the population to spiral from 132.5 million in 1945 to almost 180 million in 1960.³⁶ The number of private automobiles in the nation increased from 25.7 million in 1947 to 65.7 million in 1962, an increase of 156 per cent.³⁷ An automobile-oriented mobility enabled many Americans to flee the central city and establish themselves in new single-family suburban homes. Between 1947 and 1962 some 14.5 million single family houses were constructed in the United States, of which approximately 10 million were located in the suburbs.³⁸

³⁵Robert M. Fisher, Twenty Years of Public Housing, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 65.

³⁶Homer Hoyt, "The Effect of the Automobile on Patterns of Urban Growth," <u>Traffic Quarterly</u>, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April, 1963), p. 295.

^{37&}lt;u>Ibid., pp. 294-295.</u>

³⁸ Ibid., p. 296.

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Since the War, a growing and vibrant America has become more urbanised. By 1960, about 70 per cent of the 180 million people within the United States were living in urban situations. Technological advancements have encouraged both the trend toward urbanisation and the mechanisation of agriculture. Refined agricultural techniques have enabled farmers to produce larger amounts of crops with fewer workers. One hundred years ago it took one farmer to feed five people, whereas today one farmer feeds thirty-two. At the same time, industrial mechanisation has increased output per man-hour by 35 per cent over the past ten years, enabling the nation to produce four times as many goods today as it did fifty years ago. 11

The accelerated rapidity of change and urban growth sime World War II has brought a growing recognition of the need for urban planning and for plans which will guide growth into desired patterns. Adequate plans for post-war growth, however, were generally not in existence at the end of the War. Where plans did exist, the master plan or soning ordinance of the municipality was limited to the arbitrary boundary of the governmental unit. The post-war tract developer, meanwhile, was encouraged by F.H.A. and V.A. lending policies to continue scattering his products over the countryside. Plans and a planning program generally did not exist within the suburban areas which were experiencing the brunt of the post-war housing boom. Rapidly-developing urban areas, then,

³⁹U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1960).

hOThomas J. Watson, "Technological Change," Goals for Americans, Op. Cit., p. 197.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 194.

were not being molded by pre-conceived plans but rather by "a random consequence of separate and unrelated decisions of subdivider, municipal
engineer, soning board, speculative building, ... "42

The sprawling and uncoordinated growth which has occurred within metropolitan areas since World War II served to emphasize the fact that "the cornerstone of the urban political system....is primary reliance on the forces of the market place, with comparatively minor reliance on governmental controls and guidance." These post-war market decisions were producing increasing imbalances and distortions within metropolitan areas, prompting greater activity and concern by both local and federal governments.

Federal concern, in particular, has resulted in increased activities since the War which have promoted local and regional planning programs. Federal interest in housing, first indicated during the depression, was expanded in purpose and scope during the post-war years. The Housing Act of 1949 established the principle of public condemnation of private lands which were blighted for redevelopment purposes. These principles were extended to public interest in neighborhood rehabilitation and code enforcement by the Housing Act of 1954. A significant part of this latter act was the "workable program" requirement which necessitated a comprehensive planning approach as a qualifying condition for federal aid. 45

⁴² Haar, Op. Cit., p. 60.

¹⁴³York Willbern, "Urban Regions: The Challenges and Achievements in Human Values," <u>Planning 1962</u>, (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1962), p. 167.

hhRobert K. Brown, Public Housing Legislation-An Interpretation.
(Atlanta: Bureau of Business and Esonomic Research, 1949), p. 110.

⁴⁵ Fisher, Op. Cit., p. 253.

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Section 701 of the 1954 Housing Act also provided grants-in-aid for planning purposes to local communities and further required the active cooperation of all governmental units within a metropolitan area. The funds provided by Section 701 were instrumental in encouraging the formation of metropolitan and regional planning commissions. By 1963, some 126 county, metropolitan, or regional planning commissions were in existence in the United States. 46

A number of other federal legislative provisions were enacted during the late 1950's and early 1960's which were aimed at achieving a more orderly and efficient planning program for metropolitan areas. Before communities can qualify for assistance under the Area Redevelopment Act, for example, they must prepare a regional economic development plan. In order to qualify for federal open space grants, a program for comprehensive planning must be in effect and the proposed land acquisition must contribute to the plan's implementation. 47 Under the recent amendments to the Federal Aid Highway Act, a comprehensive transportation planning program must be underway in an urban area after July 1, 1965 before federal aid highway monies will be released to local communities. 48

The post-war years, then, have been marked by the sprawling expansion of urbanisation within metropolitan areas. This expansion has

⁴⁶Committee on Government Operations, National Survey of Metropolitan Planning, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office (1963), p. 2.

⁴⁷Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, U. S. Senate, Metropolitan Planning, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office (1963), p. 2.

^{48&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 3.

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spilled into vast suburban areas surrounding central cities, thereby creating problems in planning control because of separate governmental jurisdictions. Spreading and growing metropolitan areas, in turn, have caused an increased interest and concern with the physical environment on the part of government. The federal government has responded to this concern by enacting policies which will encourage the formation of regional or metropolitan planning commissions. These policies have been supplemented by various acts which encourage coordinated urban development through federal grants to local communities. During the past ten years, federal payments of tax funds to state and local governments has nearly quadrupled. 19

The dynamic growth of urban areas during the modern era has firmly established planning as a necessary and continuing process. Planning staffs and planning commissions have expanded, new research techniques are giving greater breadth and sureness to the planner's analysis, and planning has received the public recognition which it so ardently sought during its formative years.

Tet new responsibility has brought new problems to the planning profession, problems which have their roots in the sterile soil of the profession's adolescent beginnings. For planning's adolescent strength of being independent from the governmental process may yet prove to be its fatal weakness.

⁴⁹ Local Leaders Tire of Federal Ties, " Nation's Business, Vol. 52, No. 2 (February, 1964), p. 36.

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The Planning Process

During the formative years of the planning movement, designoriented professionals were hired by citizen groups to produce the "grand
plan." Planners thought of themselves as designers, makers of plans,
oreators of the city beautiful. Early planning was "interested in preparing a plan and not in establishing a new activity of government."

The end product—a plan—was the objective rather than a process integrated into the governmental function. Hence, when "official" planning
commissions were formed they were composed of individual citizen commissions
set up as independent boards which advised the local legislative bodies on
planning matters. This trend was given national impetus in the 1920's by
the adoption of state enabling legislation for planning and soning. 51

The lack of effectiveness of early planning gave rise to the plea to make planning a "continuing process." The one-shot planning approach of consultants during the 1920's and 1930's was cited as the basic reason for planning ineffectiveness. A continuing and permanent planning staff, therefore, could not only update the masterplan as needed but could also administer the legal tools of soning and subdivision regulations to implement the plan's proposals. The classic dictum of the "planning process", however, still followed the basic concept that planning was primarily a technical problem of plan-producing. The model

⁵⁰ Walker, Op. Cit., p. 136.

⁵¹A legal framework for land planning was suggested by the U. S. Department of Commerce, A Standard City Planning Enabling Act (rev. ed. 1928), and A Standard City Zoning Enabling Act (rev. ed. 1926).

⁵² Walker, Op. Cit., p. 120.

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of survey, analysis, and plan design fits well with the concept that "while the plan must be discussed and accepted through a political process, this is not held to be a part of planning." While part of the function of the planning commission was to "sell" the plan, this was to be done as part of a public relations program and not through political involvement.

Gradually the planning emphasis shifted from a technical concern with the making of plans to an action program which would exercise rational control over the development of the physical environment. Increasing emphasis, especially since World War II, has therefore been placed upon plan implementation through soning, capital imprevements, subdivision controls, and urban renewal.

The rapid urbanisation of recent decades has stimulated the actionoriented concept of planning. Moreover, the rapid social and physical
changes caused by urbanisation have generated a realisation of the complicated economic, social, and technological forces which cause urban
growth. This realisation, in turn, has fostered a growing awareness of
the planner's responsibilities to the public if he is to set rational
guidelines to control certain aspects of the social and economic environment which spawn physical growth. 56

⁵³Robert Daland, "Organisation for Urban Planning: Some Barriers to Integration," <u>Journal of the American Institute of Planners</u>, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1957), p. 201.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 202.

⁵⁵Norman Williams, "Planning Law and Democratic Living," Law and Contemporary Problems, Duke University Law School, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring, 1955), p. 317.

^{56&}lt;sub>Ibid. p. 318.</sub>

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This new sense of responsibility has stimulated additional concern with the rational control of expanding metropolitan areas. Federal land development policies have given added impetus to the serious problem of wisely utilizing the machinery of government to shape urban patterns. 57 Out of this concern has come numerous theoretical proposals for making planning more effective in guiding urban development. These searches for more sophisticated and effective procedures, in turn, point up many of the basic weaknesses of the present planning process.

The handicaps and barriers to a more effective planning process can be summarised as follows:

- (1) The independent planning board, set up to keep planning out of politics, keeps the planning function outside of the main stream of governmental decision-making where action programs are initiated. 58
- (2) The traditional master plan is a weak tool for coordinating urban growth for it rests upon the assumption that a desired pattern of development is "best"--but "best" cannot be proven. 59
- (3) The use of legal implementing tools as presently administered, leaves much to be desired as a method of effectively shaping the urban environment. 60 In addition, there is a

⁵⁷Haar, Op. Cit., pp. 756-57.

Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29, No. 3, (August, 1963), p. 157. This view is subscribed to by many others, including Walker, Op. Cit., and Daland, Op. Cit.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁰A view subscribed to by many critics, including Lee, Op. Cit., Walker, Op. Cit., O'Harrow, Op. Cit., and Fagin, Op. Cit.

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- sharp and severe division between the goals of planning and the tools available to implement those goals.
- (4) While the traditional master plan embodies many decisions relative to public policy, these policies are not understood or articulated as policies for public consensus. This weakness is expressed by Catherine Bauer as follows:

It is the very nature of the enlightened American City Plan—with its emphasis on a single overall scheme—that all the big decisions will have been made in advance, all conflicting interests compromised and alternative possibilities resolved, before the plan comes out for public approval...What is missing is public understanding and debate of the big alternatives. Moreover, it is the lack of this step which, I think, keeps city planning feeble and ineffective in this country.

(5) The separation of the public planner from the administrative functions of city government causes a lessening of planning influence in the day to day administrative decisions of government.

These handicaps of the present planning process present difficult barriers to the effective pursuit of a planning program which will better man's environment. Such handicaps have, in the past, been at least partly responsible for planning's lack of effectiveness. It is therefore fitting and necessary that new approaches be seriously explored.

^{61&}lt;sub>Lee, Op. Cit., p. 154.</sub>

⁶²Catherine Bauer in a paper delivered at the Columbia University Bicentennial Conference on the Metropolis, New York, January 9, 1954 (mimeo).

⁶³Walker, Op. Cit., pp. 165-67, and Daland, Op. Cit., P. 200.

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The Quest for a New Approach

The new urbanism in America; and the prospect of more of the same for the future, has served to make government in general and planners in particular acutely conscientious of the physical environment. The ways in which urban areas develop, grow, and prosper is becoming perhaps the nation's most important domestic issue. "It is now clear that the design of environment will be a major domestic issue for at least the remainder of the 20th Century." The search for an improved and more effective planning process, then, is a real and critical need if the issues which shape the human environment are to be realistically solved.

Because of its critical importance, much of the recent urban planning literature has been devoted to discussions of new approaches to the art and science of planning. While many of these discussions tend to be highly theoretical, from these proposals, or a combination of proposals, may be forged the magic key which will open the door to planning effectiveness.

In 1960, Hoover⁶⁵ summarised four modern concepts of the planning process. These were set forth as (1) planning as an advisory instrument, (2) planning as a fourth power, (3) planning as an executive function, and (4) planning as an impermanent constitution.

The first concept embodies the traditional approach to planning process. Under this concept, planning is strictly an advisory function

⁶⁴ Sanford S. Farness, Preliminary Outline Toward a Prospectus for Humanistic and Environmental Studies, East Lansing: Michigan State University (unpublished research paper, May 1963), p. 6.

⁶⁵Robert C. Hoover, "On Master Plans and Constitutions," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 26, No. 1 (February, 1960).

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in which the master plan should not be passed by any legislative body. It is a coordinated plastic map or plan which a commission can... use in its written advice to the legislative body.... One of the chief tools of the (planning) commission is the master plan, the advisory purpose of which, in distinction to its use as a vehicle for legislation, cannot be too often repeated. This viewpoint sees many advantages to keeping the planning function at an advisory level so that the subjective ideals of the professional will not be forced upon society and so that the plan's flexibility to change is maintained. 67

that planning needs a legally-based power of decision and enforcement to become really effective. Under this proposal, all public matters relating to physical development are passed upon by commission which is placed as a "fourth power" of government next to the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The planning function would be empowered to legislate development policy, subject only to a veto power of the legislative body. 68

The third concept of the planning function would place planning within the administrative staff for use of the chief executive in formulating development policy. 69 Planning under this concept would, however, still be advisory to the executive.

⁶⁶Edward M. Bassett, The Master Plan (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1938), pp. 63-64.

^{67&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 66-72.

⁶⁸For a discussion of this premise see Tugwell's article on "The Fourth Power" in Haar, Op. Cit., pp. 715-722.

⁶⁹Walker, <u>Op. Cit.</u>, and other public administration advocates favor this approach.

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Planning as an impermanent constitution would place the planning process within the political arena. Onder this concept, the master plan is seen as an instrument which is made up of policy judgements concerning man's use of the environment. Since the plan involves basic value judgements of a social, economic, and physical character, it should be adopted by the legislative body as an "impermanent constitution" which would supplement the city charter.

It will be noted that in all of these concepts, planning is conceived as a policy instrument which, in one form or another, must be meshed into the democratic function of government.

More recently the planning concept has further broadened as planners began to recognise the need to relate more closely to the decision-making process of government. "Thus we find that the end-directions toward which the planning job is oriented are of first importance...."

Slowly the realisation has come that "the plan itself sets goals, embodies decisions; if it is to have practical effect, procedures must be established to see that these decisions have an effect upon land." Conversely, it is becoming more apparent that if planning is confined to technical or non-political decisions, then it must be admitted that the major decisions on development will occur outside the planning process. 73

⁷⁰See Charles M. Haar, "The Master Plan: An Impermanent Constitution," Law and Contemporary Problems, Duke University Law School, Vol. 20. No. 3 (Summer, 1955).

^{71&}lt;sub>Hoover</sub>, Op. Cit., p. 7.

⁷²Charles M. Haar, Land Use Planning, Op. Cit., p. 357.

⁷³Daland, Op. Cit., p. 202.

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The thinking of many contemporary planners can be summarised by the following statement from the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Planners:

...wherever (physical development) is involved in matters of public policy, (the planner) has an obligation to exercise his special skills so that the best possible decisions can be made. In addition to purely physical considerations....this involvement will entail clarifying the likely consequences of social or economic proposals....?

Out of these contemporary attitudes has come, perhaps a new understanding and awareness of planning as a process which must become involved

⁷⁴Martin Meyerson, "The Planning Future," Planning 1959 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1959), pp. 12-16.

^{75&}lt;sub>Hoover</sub>, Op. Cit., p. 22.

⁷⁶ Walker, Op. Cit., p. 362.

⁷⁷Donald H. Webster, Urban Planning and Municipal Public Policy (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 4.

⁷⁸Policy statement of the New York Chapter, American Institute of Planners, as quoted in Haar, Land Use planning, Op. Cit., p. 49.

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in formulating goals, specifying pelicies, and influencing decisionmaking. For if planning is a pre-condition to rational action, it is
then inseparable from deciding and, therefore, inseparable from involvement in the governmental process. Planning, in fact, becomes "policy
planning", an activity totally involved and totally concerned with the
broad objectives of democratic government.

The Policies Plan

The concept of "policy planning" has evolved in response to the exploding urban growth which has occurred within metropolitan areas since World War II. While numerous metropolitan and regional planning commissions were formed to cope with this growth, their efforts were hampered by the fragmented local governments making up the metropolitan area. Moreover, these regional and metropolitan commissions were generally formed under state enabling legislation which gave them little power to influence growth. They often had no mandate from the local units of government to adopt regional plans or even to review and comment upon the planning proposals of local government. Regional Planning agencies, therefore, had very little real power. Whatever influence they were to exert had to come from their ability to persuade through suggestions and recommendations.

The lack of institutions and procedures through which metropolitan area growth could be controlled gave impetus to the theory of policy involvement in governmental decisions. For perhaps the only method through

⁷⁹ Committee on Government Operations, Op. Cit., p. 7.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

which development could be influenced and coordinated under these circumstances was through some kind of area-wide concensus as to growth goals and policy. Such concensus could be obtained, it was reasoned, if the policy-making bodies of local governments could agree upon an area-wide plan.

The early years of planning activity had, however, proven the ineffectiveness of the "grand plan" approach. What was necessary was an intermediate step between the plan and efforts of implementation, a method which would hopefully provide the "missing step" identified by Catherine Bauer. Sl Perhaps the only way this could be accomplished was by the identification of the goals, policy implications, and development alternatives which made up the proposals set forth in the plan itself. If local area governments could understand and agree upon these proposals, then certainly the recommendations of the plan would be accepted and utilised to guide local land use decisions.

From such reasoning, then, was born the concept of "a unified document expressing the general goals, specific policies, and programs for urban growth and change." This document has come to be called a "policies plan." It is made up, generally, of development goals, policy statements, development standards, and sketch plans setting forth alternate patterns of growth.

Present experience with policy plan formation is primarily limited to regional or metropolitan planning agencies. Among the more advanced policy planning programs underway are those in the Washington, D. C.

⁸¹ Bauer, Op. Cit., p.

⁸²Fagin, Op. Cit., p. 114.

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area, 83 Hartford, 84 Twin Cities, 85 and Santa Clara County California. 86 In addition, many of the more recent sophisticated studies relating to a land use transportation analysis, such as the Penn-Jersey study, are utilizing policy alternatives as part of their determinations for the most appropriate transportation system. 87

While perhaps sound in theory, policy planning presently lacks the wide experience which would establish guidelines and techniques for policy formation. There is likewise no substantial evidence of the success or failure, advantages or disadvantages, and potentials or risks of this undertaking. Is policy planning really the answer to effective regional planning? If so what are the risks and difficulties presented by policy involvement in governmental decision-making? What kind of administrative and procedural organisation is necessary to carry out this new kind of process? Is the planner competent and experienced enough in the political field to undertake such a program?

⁸³National Capital Planning Commission, A Policies Plan for the Year 2000, Washington, D. C. (1961); The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission published a subsequent policy instrument based upon the Washington proposal called On Wedges and Corridors, Silver Spring, Md. (1962).

⁸⁴ Capital Regional Planning Agency, Regional Plan Alternatives, Hartford, Conm. (November, 1961).

⁸⁵ Twin Cities Metropolitan Area Planning Commission does not have a completed policies plan but have set forth preliminary policy proposals in various publications, including The Ten Elements of the Joint Program, Design Paper No. 6 (June, 1963).

⁸⁶The Santa Clara County Planning Commission is presently emphasizing a policy planning program which is outlined in "Policy Planning," Plans, San Jose, California (December, 1963).

⁸⁷Penn-Jersey Transportation Study, <u>Alternative Transportation</u>
Systems and Associated Sets of Policies, P.J. Paper No. 10, Philadelphia, Penn. (September, 1961).

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Subsequent chapters of this thesis will suggest some tentative answers to these questions by examining the experience to date of the Lansing Tri-County Regional Planning Commission in undertaking a policy plan program.

CHAPTER II

REGIONAL TRENDS AND

PROBLEMS NEEDING POLICY SOLUTION

The formation of policy plans is undertaken with the hope that public consensus on development goals and policies will provide the framework for a general plan which is more likely to be acceptable. This acceptance will occur, in turn, because the plan has been based upon the agreed-upon development goals and policies articulated by a Policy Plan.

The Policy Plan itself must therefore be a comprehensive and technically correct document which reflects the values, desires, and growth aspirations of a given region. It must be soundly based upon existing trends in growth and must attempt to provide solutions to present development problems and to minimize future problems. It must, moreover, be a document which sets forth in clear understandable, and diplomatic terms the growth goals and policy actions which are desirable to attain a better living environment.

The techniques and approaches utilized in the policy planning process are therefore of critical importance if the document is to have the desired impact upon the regional leaders who make decisions. As a background to presenting the techniques utilized by the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission in policy formation, this chapter outlines the critical trends of growth occurring within the Region and the physical problems which need policy solution.

In order to illustrate the scope of needed policies for the Region, the discussions in this chapter will be broken into two parts.

The discussion in Part I will be devoted to an identification of growth

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trends which need policy recognition. Part II will deal with development problems within the Region which require some sort of policy solution.

This material will be used as a framework to indicate goals and policies which should be incorporated within the Policy Plan for the Tri-County Region. It will also be used to indicate the scope of activity and analysis which has been undertaken as part of the Tri-County policy plan program. Finally, the identification of regional growth trends and development problems is felt to be necessary for the understanding of the eventual policy program formulated by the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission. For the scope of the program, to be discussed in Chapter III, was greatly influenced by the growth trends and development problems within the Region.

I. GROWTH TRENDS NEEDING POLICY RECOGNITION

The Tri-County region is located in the geographic heart of Michigan's lower peninsula, roughly mid-way between Detroit and Lake Michigan. It is classified as a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area by the U. S. Census Bureau. The region is composed of the three counties of Clinton, Eaton, and Ingham and contains the cities of Lansing, East Lansing, Charlotte, Eaton Rapids, Mason, Grand Ledge, St. Johns, and Williamston. In all, some 78 separate governmental units are contained within the Region's boundaries.

¹Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Annual Report: 1962-63, Lansing, Mich. (August, 1963), p. 1.

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As characterised on a national level, the first settlers to Michigan were seeking agricultural opportunity. However, the first pioneers found the vast wooded areas of the Northwest Territory to be a frustrating hindrance to the pursuit of farming. Nevertheless, the virgin forested areas of Michigan proved to be economically valuable sources of wood products for a growing nation, and many of the first settlements in the Tri-County area were grouped around crude sawmills.²

As the State's forest resource became depleted, the national movement toward industrialisation and mechanisation encouraged a gradual shift from an agricultural-oriented economy to an economy dependent upon manufacturing. The beginning of the automobile industry within Michigan during the early 1900's solidified the movement toward manufacturing and, in addition, set an economic framework for the state which relied heavily upon the production of durable goods.

Today, Michigan is an important part of a group of industrial states which comprise the "manufacturing belt" of the Nations. This belt consists of a fairly narrow strip extending roughly from Boston and New York on the east to Chicago and St. Louis on the west. Concentrated within this area are over two-fifths of the Nation's people, half of the country's income, and two-thirds of the manufacturing employment in the United States.

The League of Women Voters of the Lansing Area, Today and Tomorrow in the Lansing Metropolitan Area, Lansing, Mich. (February, 1961), p. 19.

William Haber (et. al.), The Michigan Economy: Its Potentials and Its Problems, The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, Kalamasoo, Michigan (1959), p. 6.

The state is even more closely associated economically with the east North Central States (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) which contain only 20% of the Nation's population, but which produces some "50% of the entire Nation's nonelectrical machinery, 44% of its transportation equipment, 42% of its fabricated metal products (and) 41% of its rubber products....

Wealth and high incomes have accompanied industrialisation on a state as well as a national level. Michigan is one of the highest wage states in the United States and its median per capita income has risen from \$2,419 in 1950 to \$3,381 in 1960.5 The manufacturing economy of the State has historically generated a higher rate of population growth than the rest of the United States, its percentage of the Nation's total population increasing steadily from 3.06 in 1910 to 4.36 in 1960.6 Numerically, the State's 1.4 million increase between 1950 and 1960 was exceeded by only five other states in the Nation.7

Most of Michigan's growth increase during the past decade occurred within the urbanised areas of the state, resulting in some 73.k per cent of the population being classed as urban in 1960 as compared to 40.1 per cent being so classified in 1950.8 In spite of the trend toward

⁴¹bid., p. 7.

⁵U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960,--General Social and Economic Characteristics, Michigan, Final Report PC (1)-24C, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. (1962), P. 209.

Michigan State University, Population of Michigan Counties: Projections to 1970, Institute for Community Development, East Lansing, Michigan, Technical Bulletin B-24 (March, 1962), p. 7.

⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁸Michigan State University, Michigan Population 1960, Agricultural Experiment Station, East Lansing, Mich. Special Bulletin 438 (1962) p. 5.

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increasing urbanisation, the major central cities within the state either declined in population during the 1950's or barely managed to maintain their existing population levels. The "urban fringe" around these cities, however, more than doubled between 1950 and 1960, 10 paralleling the mational trend of mushrooming suburban growth.

While Michigan's population growth has been significantly strong for the past 50 years, the changes which have occurred in the State's population characteristics are just as significant. Again reflecting national trends, spectacular birth rates coupled with declining death rates have radically altered Michigan's age-group composition. A record 1,912,443 births were recorded in the State during the decade of the fifties and today Michigan contains a higher proportion of young persons under 20 and older people over 60 than it did in 1950.12

In general, then, Michigan has followed the growth and development trends which have been characteristic of the nations as a whole. The Tri-County Region, in turn, has been affected by these national and state growth forces, and in particular has many growth characteristics which are typical of Michigan.

Michigan State University, Michigan's Population Changes During the 1950's, Institute for Community Development, Technical Bulletin B-7 (June, 1960), p. 5.

¹⁰ Michigan State University, Michigan Population 1960, Op. cit., p. 5.

llMichigan State University, Michigan's Population Changes During the 1950's, Op. Cit., p. 1. (Note: While birth rates of the state between 1950 and 1960 were a record high, the number of new live births has "leveled off" since 1957.)

¹² Michigan State University, Michigan Population 1960, Op. Cit., p. 18.

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Growth, development, and change within the Tri-County Region are to a large degree a reflection of State growth trends. For example, the proportion of the State's population residing within the Tri-County Region has been a constant 3.8 per cent of the state's population for the past two decades. The state's changing population composition is reflected within the Region where an increasing portion of the Region's population is composed of young persons under 20 and senior citisens. In 1960, these two age groups composed over 50 per cent of the Region's total population.

The Region reflects other trends which are characteristic of the State and Nation. In 1960, 67.3 per cent of the Region's population was classified as urban, while 73.4 per cent of the State and 69.9 per cent of the nation was so classified. Within the three counties making up the Region, however, a wide variation exists regarding urban-rural relationships. Ingham County has 82.1 per cent urban dwellers, whereas Eaton County has 38.8 per cent and Clinton County 21.8 per cent of their population living in urban situations. 16

¹³U. S. Bureau of the Census. Op. Cit.

Libra-County Regional Planning Commission, Summary of General Economic and Population Information for the Lansing Tri-County Region (unpublished report), Lansing, Michigan (February, 1963), p. 3.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 2.

¹⁶U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960.

Number of Inhabitants, Michigan, Final Report PC(L) - 24A, U. S.

Government Printing Office (Washington, D. C., 1961), p. 14.

The national trend toward higher family incomes and more formal education is also readily apparent within the Region. The median number of school years completed for the Region is 12.0 years, well above the 10.8 median school years completed for the state as a whele. 17 On the other hand, the median family income for the Tri-County Region is slightly lower than the median for the State, the Regional median family income being \$6,177 as compared to Michigan's \$6,256.37.

Within the Region, however, the individual counties vary considerably regarding income and education. Moreover, these variations are related to urban-rural characteristics of the county. Ingham County, the most urbanised county in the Region, has the highest median family income and the greatest number of school years completed. Conversely, rural Clinton County contains the lowest median incomes and the least number of school years completed. 18

The past growth and development of the Tri-County Region has been largely attributable to three fortuitous accidents: (1) the decision of the State Legislature in 1847 to locate the State Capitol in a remote wilderness area which later became the City of Lansing, (2) a similar decision in 1852 to establish the Nation's first land-grant college, now Michigan State University, near the new capitol, and (3) the determination by R. E. Olds, near the turn of the century, to base his

¹⁷Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Op. Cit., p. 2.

¹⁸U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Michigan, pgs. 180 and 185.

automobile enterprise in Lansing rather than in Detroit. 19 Other industry, along with the supporting services and work force needed for these enterprises, has been attracted to the Region to serve the expanding needs of these three industrial complexes. More than most other areas, the Tri-County Region "owes its significance to human initiative rather than to the exploitation of any natural advantage."

From its wilderness beginnings as a heavily forested area dependent upon farming, grist mills, and saw mills for an economic base, the Region has developed into its present sophisticated economic form containing manufacturing, government, and education as its dominant employers. Of these "big three" economic influences, the manufacturing sector is the most influential in determining the health of the Region's economy. Of the total 115,776 persons in the labor force during 1960, some 29,554 (26%) were engaged in manufacturing. Perhaps more significantly, the motor vehicles portion of the manufacturing sector employed 17,129 or 14,8% of the Region's total labor force.²¹

Despite the Region's heavy dependence upon manufacturing, and in particular the manufacture of motor vehicles, it is becoming relatively less important to the Region as an employer. Manufacturing made up 34 per cent of the total Tri-County employed labor force in 1949. By 1960, however, only some 27 per cent of the employed persons within the Region

¹⁹Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Op. cit., p. 1.

²⁰Michigan State University, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Economic and Population Base Study of the Lansing Tri-County Area, East Lansing, Michigan (1960), p. 1.

²¹Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Op. Cit., p. 1.

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were working in manufacturing industries.²² In addition, the total number of persons employed in manufacturing both State-wide and within the Region, has declined since 1956. And, more specifically, this decline has occurred within the motor vehicle segment of manufacturing employment.²³ Technological changes coupled with the decentralization policies of automotive manufacturers, appear to be the prime causal factors behind this drop.

Because of the relative and absolute decline in manufacturing, services, government, and education are becoming increasingly important to the Region's economy. In 1960, the educational sector of the economy employed some 11,247 persons or 9.7 per cent of the Region's total labor force. The public administration sector composed primarily of State government employees, employed 7,236 or 6.3 per cent during this same period. The national and State trends toward decreasing proportions of manufacturing employment will probably make the services sector of the economy more important locally. "It seems quite probable that employment in various service occupations will increase both absolutely and relatively in the future as increasing efficiency in agriculture and manufacturing reduces relative employment requirements in those industries..."

As might be expected from national trends, the importance of agriculture to the Regional economy is declining. While agricultural production

²²Derived from U. S. Census information, U. S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Michigan.

²³Haber, Op. Cit., p. 181.

^{21/}Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Op. Cit., p. 2.

²⁵Michigan State University, Economic and Population Base Study of the Lansing Tri-County Area., p. 35.

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occupies about 86 per cent of the Region's land area, only 5 per cent of the area's workers were employed in agriculture during 1960 and only 2 per cent of the total economic output of the Region was in the form of agricultural products. 26 Again reflecting national trends the number of farms within the Region has been consistently declining and the average farm size has been increasing. 27

In summary, the factors and trends affecting Regional growth have generally followed the same trends at work within the State and Nation. The residents of the Region, are becoming better educated, have higher incomes, and are blessed with higher birth rates and longer life spans than their forefathers. They are turning more to professional and service occupations and less to manufacturing and agriculture as a means of live-lihood. They are also a mobile people, moving increasingly from rural situations to an urban environment to take advantage of the economic opportunities offered by the Region's urbanised areas.

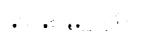
II. DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS REQUIRING POLICY SOLUTION

While many of the trends identified in Section I of this chapter hold much promise for the future, there are many deep and disturbing growth issues which must be resolved if the promise of an enriched physical environment is to become a reality. These issues and problems, in many instances, are the physical manifestations of the social, economic, and cultural forces at work within society.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 37.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 37.

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A particularly apparent characteristic of most growing urban Regions is the social and economic "costs" being extracted by the present form of urban growth. The stubborn rise in tax rates within areas where urban growth occurs is beginning to be recognized as a symptom of modern growth and progress. Today, considerable public investment in utilities and other public services are necessary to encourage private developers to finance commercial, residential, and industrial facilities. Adding to this cost is the present inefficient, sprawling form of urbanizing areas which are expensive for the public to service and maintain.

Another disturbing symptom of intensive urban development is the rise in social conflicts. Juvenile delinquency, racial tensions, disease-ridden slums, crowded schools, low-income ghettos, and many other social problems are becoming intimately identified with an urban way of life. These problems are especially apparent within the blighted "core" of central cities, where disadvantaged low-income groups are becoming a dominant social force. Increasing social problems, in turn, also have economic remifications, resulting in a steady rise in public health and welfare costs.

A third symptom of urbanisation is the general ugliness of the physical environment which has resulted from uncontrolled growth. Since World War II, land near and around central cities has been consumed at a prodigious rate. Local governments have been hard pressed to provide the most basic community services, let alone purchase land areas for parks, epen space, or other amenities. The general result has been a blotting out of the natural landscape by a sea of homes and automobiles, creating the well-known urban by-products of traffic congestion, smog, noise, inconvenience, and formless monotony.

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Modern growth and progress, then has its "price"—a price which is extracted in both economic and social terms. One of the basic and growing responsibilities of planning and of government is to so shape future physical growth that social and economic costs are minimized. To reach the objective of minimizing these "overhead" costs requires a critical and objective appraisal of our present urban environment as well as the identification of possible growth policies which would encourage more economical, efficient, and esthetically pleasing growth patterns.

The following portion of this section, therefore, will attempt to briefly outline the major problems within the Region which have an effect upon the physical environment. It is hoped that a critical analysis of these development problems will result in added insights into the kinds of goals and policies needed to minimise these development issues.

Sprawl and Scatteration

Advances in the efficiency of transportation, rising incomes, increased leisure time, and rapid population growth have contributed to the 20th century phenomenon of the sprawling metropolis. In addition, today's urban developments consume much more land area per unit of use. For example, the average single family house during the 1930's was built upon a 4,000 square foot lot, whereas the average new home today requires about 19,000 square feet of land.²⁸

The result of these trends has been lower and lower population densities sprawled over greater and greater land areas. During the short

²⁸Homer Hoyt, "The Urban Real Estate Cycle - Performance and Prospects", Urban Land Institute Technical Bulletin No. 38, Washington, D. C. (1960), p. 14.

span of ten years, average densities within the urbanised areas of the United States have decreased some 31 per cent, causing urban uses to consume almost twice as much land by 1960 as they did in 1960.²⁹

The Tri-County Region, like most urbanizing areas throughout the country, has experienced a radical transformation from a compact form of land use to a sprawling pattern of urban development. At the end of World War I, the principal Regional City, Lansing, exhibited a compact form of development primarily contained within its city boundaries. Even the smaller, unincorporated settlements within the rural areas were clustered along inter-urban railway lines and other transportation routes. Relatively few hard surfaced roads and low automobile registration placed emphasis upon mass transit as a transportation mode.

By the late 1930's the influence of the automobile was beginning to be reflected in the area's settlement patterns. The "core city" of Lansing was beginning to spread south and west, suburbs were being born in Meridian Township adjacent to the City of East Lansing, and scattered non-farm development within rural areas was occurring along main country roads.

It was after World War II, however, when mass-produced home building techniques and rising automobile ownership made its greatest impact
upon the land use forms of the Regions. Rapid urbanization was concentrated within the five township area around the cities of Lansing and

²⁹Ronald R. Boyce, "Myth versus Reality in Urban Planning," Land Economics, Vol. 34, No. 3 (August, 1963), p. 242.

East Lansing.³⁰ The overspill from these two cities resulted in a spreading, scattered growth pattern which relied more and more heavily upon the automobile for transportation of people and goods. Thousands of acres of rural land were converted to low-density, single family subdivisions housing middle and upper income commuters. This land use pattern, in turn, necessitated huge public investments in new freeways, wider major streets, more schools, and extension of water and sewer lines.

By 1960, the earlier compact development pattern of the Region had been completely replaced by a sprawling and fragmented pattern of land uses. Commercial and industrial uses were following this movement to the hinterlands in order to more readily serve suburban shoppers and workers. In the short span of one decade, the five township area (including Lansing and East Lansing) increased from 158,293 persons in 1950 to 198,142 persons in 1960, an increase of almost 30 per cent. The most rapidly developing areas in the Region were to the west and south of the City of Lansing, where Delta Township experienced a ten year increase of 85 per cent in population and Delhi Township increased 65 per cent. 31

Today, the creeping fingers of sprawl have scattered urban growth patterns from the core city of Lansing into all three counties of the Tri-County Region. Urban conglomerations have extended north to DeWitt Village, east into Williamston Township, south beyond Holt, and west to

³⁰ The five township area consists of Lansing, DeWitt, Meridian, Delhi, and Delta Townships and includes the cities of Lansing and East Lansing plus DeWitt Village.

³¹ Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Analysis of Population Characteristics and their Distribution in the Lansing Tri-County Region (uspublished report), Lansing, Michigan (March, 1962.)

in the production of a grant to be gifted in Mindage (Alice Fig. 1) which does give in the

the City of Grand Ledge. Additional scattered growth has extended beyond the five township area into the ten township fringe³² around Lansing. About four-fifths of the total population increase in the Region between 1950 and 1960 occurred within this ten township area.

The Region, then is experiencing the scattered and spreading pattern of growth called "urban sprawl". In many ways, these sprawling patterns personify the individual citisen's desire for a better way of life. Suburban living, which has fostered and nursed the sprawl pattern, is associated with clean and new housing, better and less crowded schools, fresh and pure air, and open, attractive countryside. In short, suburban living has come to mean a desirable atmosphere in which to raise children and a better environment for family living.

However, as more and more mass subdivisions are developed and as once open countryside is invaded by additional urban growth, much of the original enchantment with suburban living is being destroyed. The indictments against sprawling suburbia are growing and they are serious. Some critics of the contemporary urban scene have "a feeling of uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the urban situation." From every large urban center the suburbs spread out and out, without shape or grace or any centered form of civic life." Other critics feel that "by spreading and

³²The ten township area is composed of the previously identified five township area plus the townships of Bath, Watertown, Alaiedon, Windsor, and Oneida. It also includes the City of Grand Ledge and Dimondale Village.

³³Sigfried Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 4th Ed., 1962), p. xxviii.

³⁴Adlai Stevenson, "National Purpose: Part II, Extend Our Vision... to all Mankind", Life (May 30, 1960), p. 36.

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scattering rather than concentrating jobs, goods, services, and homes, we fail to build communities, and we have poorer access to and so less choice of jobs, friends, recreation, goods, services, types of housing, and modes of travel. **35* As urban areas continue to sprawl and scatter and grow, our metropolitan areas are becoming "scarred by congestion and decay, speculation and ugliness. **36*

Of the many disadvantages of sprawl, perhaps the most serious indictments are (1) the huge land areas consumed by this process; (2) the expensiveness and difficulty of providing these developments with water, sewer, police protection, fire coverage, and other community services; (3) the transportation problems and lengthening journey to work caused by this form of land development; and (4) the formless monotony of the physical environment and the restriction of housing choice resulting from the sprawl pattern.

Without some kind of land development controls within the Region, the present scattered and sprawling land patterns are likely to continue in the future. The land forms of the Region are relatively flat and contain no natural barriers to continued spreading growth. Corrective measures, then, must be of a "policy" nature—policies which would not prevent urban decentralisation but which would channel such decentralisation into a more efficient and compact pattern.

³⁵Regional Plan Association, Inc., Spread City, New York, Bulletin No. 100, (September, 1962), p. 3.

³⁶Gallion, Op. Cit., p. 165.

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Blight and Deterioration

Closely associated with and intimately related to the problem of urban sprawl is the curse of urban blight and deterioration. As metropolitan areas spread and grow they leave behind a legacy of older, obsolete structures and deteriorating, festering neighborhoods. As the pace of growth and change increases, so does the rapidity of blight accelerate. As a result, the older, developed communities are more and more becoming the abode of the poor, the disadvantaged, and all types of minorities. 37 The outward migration of middle and upper income families to the suburbs adds to and complicates the plight of the older central city.

The forces of urban blight and deterioration cause not only social problems, but economic problems as well. For as once fine neighborhoods decline, the assessed valuations and tax resources of that neighborhood also decline. Conversely, more "services" in the form of police protection, fire protection, health and welfare services, etc., are necessary within deteriorating areas. As blight spreads and encompasses more and more of the city, the community is faced with rising "service" costs and a declining tax base with which to meet this demand.

Fortunately, the Tri-County Region is characterised by moderate growth and slow but steady physical change. It does not presently contain vast and festering slum areas which are so predominant in larger metropolitan areas throughout the country. Blight and deterioration,

³⁷The President's Commission on National Goals, Goals for Americans, Op. Cit., p. 231.

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however, does exist within the Region and it will become an increasing problem unless preventative measures of correction are instituted.

Deterioration of housing units is a Region-wide problem encompassing rural as well as urban development. In 1960 there were 91,083 housing units within the Tri-County Region of which 14,618, or 16 per cent were classed as deteriorating or dilapidated. Of this amount, some 7,174 sub-standard units, or 49 per cent of the total, occurred outside of the highly urbanized five township area.

The blight occurring within the urbanised five township area is perhaps more serious because it occurs in concentrated "pockets" which affect the value and desirability of adjacent neighborhoods. A total of 7,444 deteriorating or dilapidated housing units existed within the five township area during 1960.39

In addition to housing blight, commercial deterioration is in evidence in the older, central areas within the cities and villages of the Region. The city of Lansing, for example, is undertaking an extensive program to renew an obsolete portion of its central business district along North Washington Street. The City of East Lansing is developing plans to renovate and improve portions of its commercial center. The cities of St. Johns and Grand Ledge are studying plans which would make their business centers more efficient and attractive. Smaller villages and cities within the Region need to critically examine their community centers and to assess the possibilities for renewing and improving their

³⁸U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Op. Cit.

³⁹ Ibid.

functional role.

Industrial obsolescence and deterioration is also of serious concern within the Region. Much of the industrial obsolescence is concentrated within the central portion of the City of Lansing, extending from the Red Cedar River northward to Grand River Avenue. In addition to this type of structural obsolescence, there are scattered areas throughout Lansing, as well as other cities and villages in the Region, which contain industries which are locationally obsolete. Efficient service and access to these industries is hampered because of poor location. A more serious locational problem occurs when the industrial uses are "mixed" with residences or when the industry imposes their smoke, noise, and traffic upon an adjacent residential area.

Blight and deterioration, then are Region-wide problems which are of Region-wide concern. Policies should be instituted and programs undertaken which have as their objective the renewal and rejuvenation of obsolete commercial, industrial, and residential areas throughout the urban and rural areas of the Region.

Uncontrolled and Uncoordinated Growth

Spreading and scattered and uncontrolled urban development has invaded the quies rural areas and "the countryside....has been left as the prey of the bulldozer, the billboard, and indiscriminate commercial exploitation." Present evidence indicates that a growing and urbanizing

⁴⁰August Heckscher, "The Quality of American Culture," Goals for Americans, Op. Cit., p. 128.

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America is apparently indifferent to speculation and exploitation of the once-virgin countryside. Are we placing a distorted emphasis upon "growth" and "prosperity" and "development" to the long-range detriment of our physical environment? Have we indeed, developed a "ruthlessness toward the (physical) environment in the name of material progress?"

The implication here is <u>not</u> that all new development is poor or undesirable or unnecessary. Expanding birth rates, a growing economy, and greater family prosperity all point to the fact that future urban growth will occur and must be accommodated. The need, however, is for growth policies which will allow an <u>orderly</u> and <u>planned</u> expansion of urban uses, thereby eliminating many of the past ills of uncoordinated and uncontrolled development.

The Region contains many physical manifestations of poorly planned or unplanned development. Lack of coordinated development policies has resulted in the spreading and scattering of urban uses indiscriminately over thousands of acres of once vacant or rural lands. Ready examples of strip commercial development are found along US 27 north and US 127 south of Lansing, M-78 south-west of the core city, and along M-43 east and west of Lansing. Strip residential uses are also occurring along major highways and main county roads. Haslett road between East Lansing and Haslett, Sherwood road east of Meridian road, and portions of College, Sandhill, and Holt roads in Alaiedon Township are illustrations of this trend.

Strip developments, whether residential or commercial, create many serious development problems. They are difficult or impossible to serve

⁴¹Alan Jarvis, The Things We See, Indoors and Out, (Middlesex, England: Penquin Books, 1947), p. 24.

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with urban utilities, they create traffic congestion and safety hazards, they often make community "service" costs prohibitive, and they can block logical development of interior and adjacent lands.

Still other development problems are born when new subdivisions are platted within natural flood plains, when residential communities around artificial lakes are created without adequate engineering and health safe-guards, when new industrial or commercial buildings are allowed to "mix" with existing residences. Future servicing and utility problems are created when low-density subdivisions containing septic tanks are allowed to "leapfrog" beyond existing fringe development into rural areas. In most cases, these plats are either too far from water and sewer facilities to ever be serviced or, if within range of future services, are of such low densities as to make utility installation uneconomical.

These and many other physical manifestations of uncontrolled development can be rectified by sound and practical development policies.

Such tools as soning, subdivision regulations, and wise programming of public facilities and utilities can be utilized to alleviate and minimise future development problems.

Unwise soning policies, inadequate subdivision controls, and poor utility extension policies can, however, be as harmful as non-existant regulations. Most of the townships, villages, and cities within the Tri-County Region have either enacted local soning ordinances or are covered by county-wide zoning regulations. While many benefits have resulted from these existing soning ordinances, some do not provide workable and economic development patterns which are related to community or natural resource needs. *Many ordinances, in fact, encourage lack of coordination....,

Existing ordinances also vary widely in their density standards, some district requirements, and legal language. In many cases the ordinances are not based upon a practical and realistic set of facts or upon a long-range development plan to substantiate soning proposals. Therefore, "over-soning" for industry, commerce, and other intensive uses is a frequent occurrence. For example, the total amount of land within the Region which is somed for industry is approximately 12,000 acres-enough industrial land for some 200,000 manufacturing employees. 13 It would require a total population of almost 2,000,000 to supply this many employees.

Subdivision regulations, either formally or informally applied, are utilized within some of the major cities in the Region but are conspicuously lacking in townships and villages. Adopted policies on water and sewer service extensions are spotty and generally lacking. While East Lansing and Meridian Township have arrived at a common agreement on sewer services, other governmental units have followed their own individual policies.

To adequately and intelligently guide future growth patterns into some semblance of order and efficiency, coordination of all development policies affecting physical growth is badly needed. Yet this task is not a simple one. Each local governmental unit within the Region is empowered

⁴²Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Functional Organization of the Lansing Tri-County Region, Lansing, Mich. (1959), p. 32.

⁴³Tbid., p. 37.

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by law to enact local development controls and to service its community with public facilities such as water and sewer. The multiplicity of these units, each with its own separate and individual regulations, makes coordination impossible unless a common consensus is reached regarding the objectives and goals and desirable patterns of development which are appropriate for the Region.

This kimi of policy determination must somehow be made before the ills of uncontrolled and uncoordinated physical development can be alleviated.

Rural and Urban Conflicts

One legacy of uncontrolled, sprawling, and scattered growth patterns is an increasing conflict between rural and urban interests. As rural areas are invaded by urban non-farm uses, demands begin to be heard for improved roads, schools, and other services. Moreover, many local tax policies are such that valuation of adjacent farm land rises because of the future possibility of additional urban development. As taxes rise, the individual farmer finds himself faced with two alternatives: lower net income because of rising tax bills or selling his land to a developer for platting.

Such conditions as these bring about financial hardship, land speculation, demands for relaxation of soning regulations, and, finally, a continuation of urban encroachment upon rural areas. Usually this spread occurs out of context with and without consideration for the natural resource characteristics of the area. Rural townships within commuting distance from Lansing, for example, are finding some of their best and

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most productive agricultural land being pre-empted for urban uses.

Rural areas, like their neighboring urban counterparts, are in a state of change and adjustment. Shrinking farm prices require the farmer to turn to management methods which will increase his operational efficiency. This usually has meant larger farms, highly mechanized operations, and increasing use of fertilizers to raise unit production. As a result of rapidly changing farm technology, the traditional family farm is disappearing and is being replaced by large, factory-like production centers. Technological change has also brought about the "marginal" farmer who works part time on the farm and supplements his income in the city. Diminishing farm incomes have also left a number of small farm operators who barely eke an existence from agricultural pursuits.

Rural areas are likely to continue to change in the future. The small farm operator and the part time farmer will perhaps be forced to make an ultimate choice between agriculture or other forms of employment. Trends point to a continued decrease in the number of farms, larger farm acreages, and continued food surplus. If urban uses continue to sprawl and scatter over the countryside, urban-rural conflicts are also likely to continue.

Land development policies within rural areas should seek to preserve the best agricultural land for agricultural use, should prevent scattered and uneconomical intrusion of urban uses within areas which cannot be serviced with urban facilities, and should recognise the need for additional sources of rural income by encouraging private recreation facilities or other uses compatible with agriculture.

Water and Natural Resources

The Tri-County Region is situated in the relatively flat land area of central Michigan. Although located in the heart of the "water wonder-land" state, the Region does not have an abundant supply of surface water. The Tri-County Region, in fact, is one of the most "water-short" areas in the state. This natural resource characteristic has potential ramifications upon the type, intensity, and extent of future urban development.

The Region has a total of 111 small lakes and ponds which harbor about 2,494 acres of water area. Most of these lakes are too small and too shallow to support any extensive water-oriented uses. Lake Lansing, for example, is the largest water body in the Region but contains a surface area of only 452 acres. 45

The Grand and Red Cedar Rivers are the prime Regional water source for industrial cooling and sewer waste disposal. The useability of the Grand and Red Cedar Rivers for these purposes, however, is limited because of their extreme stream flow fluctuations. The Grand River at Lansing, for example, fluctuates between an average monthly low flow of 1.90 cubic feet per second to an average monthly high of 2,237 cubic feet per second. 46

The lack of sufficient surface water flow, combined with continuing and increasing industrial and sanitary waste demands, can be an important

Inventory, Lansing, Michigan (January, 1962), p. 18.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴⁶Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Physical Development Factors, Lansing, Michigan (March, 1961).

limiting factor in future Regional growth. Comprehensive watershed planning, cooperative stream management, and extensive stream improvements may therefore be necessary before the Tri-County area can realize its growth potential.

Another possible limiting growth factor within the Region is the ground water resource. Ground water, obtained principally from the Upper Saginaw sandstone sub-surface formation, is the main source of water supply for the Region. While the underground water resource has been adequate to meet present needs, the extent of this resource has not been delimited and its capabilities to meet anticipated concentrations of urban growth has not been determined.

Complicating the ground water resource picture is the lack of any adequate or extensive surface water facilities within the Region which would supplement the ground water supply. The closest source of extensive surface water supply for the Region is either Lake Michigan or Lake Huron, both of which are of such distance that pipeline costs might prove to be prohibitive.

There is a serious need, then, to identify the extent of the Region's ground water resource and to relate the limitations of this resource to future settlement patterns.

Other resource problems exist within the Region which are in need of solutions. Soil capabilities and characteristics need detailed identification so that the future extent and direction of urban and rural development can be more logically related to land resource capabilities. Such

¹⁷ Engineering reports in Meridian Township, for example, have stated that sub-surface well supplies in the Township will only be sufficient for a peak population of 55,000 inhabitants.

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information would also help determine lands which should be preserved for agricultural or other open space uses. A careful evaluation of other natural surface features of the Region should also be undertaken so that lands which are desirable for future recreational pursuits can be identified.

Regional land development policies should point to the need for additional factual analysis of the Region's natural resources and should consider the relationship of natural resource limitations to the future growth potential of the Tri-County area.

Parks and Recreation

In the recent past most Americans lived in rural situations where the nearness of woods, streams, and open spaces afforded them unlimited opportunities to satisfy their outdoor recreation interests. Today, our society has become more complex and more urbanized, creating more intense demands for conveniently located recreational facilities.

Changing social and technological trends indicate that future demands for recreational space will increase. Expanding population growth, increased family income, more leisure time, and greater mobility all point to persistent and increasing needs for outdoor recreation. Nationally, for example, outdoor recreation activity is expected to triple by the year 2000. 48

The problem of providing suitable and adequate outdoor recreation space to meet the future needs of the inhabitants of the Tri-County Region is one which is not easily resolved. Most of the cities within the Region

⁴⁸Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, Outdoor Recreation for America, Washington, D. C., January 1962, p. 47.

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have active programs of acquiring and developing recreational lands, but the townships and villages where most growth is presently occurring have a serious shortage of public parks and playgrounds. The Ingham County Road Commission has acquired and maintained attractive parks, but none of these can be classed as large Regional parks. In fact, the largest publicly-owned park site within the Tri-County area is the 155 acre Priggoris Park owned by the City of Lansing. This park, however, is presently undeveloped, leaving the Region without a single large Regional park to serve the recreational needs of Tri-County residents.

One of the most critical deficiencies in the Tri-County Region is the lack of adequate water-oriented recreational areas. Natural lakes and rivers suitable for recreational use are in short supply. In addition, many of the lakes and rivers which could offer some recreational opportunity are either polluted or public access is prevented because of extensive private ownership and development of the shoreline.

Development policies are needed which will correct the present recreational deficiencies within the Region and which will produce plans and programs of sufficient scope to provide for adequate facilities for the future. Such policies and programs must consider changing population and age-group trends as they affect the type and location of future recreation facilities. They should also consider the varying natural resource demands of different types of recreational facilities. Regional parks, for example, normally require relatively large land areas which are at least partially wooded and, ideally, also include lakes or streams. Identification of these resource demands could, for example, point to the feasibility of utilizing man-made reservoirs for the multiple purposes of Regional recreation, low stream flow augmentation, and flood control.

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In short, a complete and comprehensive policy regarding the acquisition and development of recreational and open space lands should be developed which will meet the pressing and particular needs of the Tri-County Region.

Transportation and Traffic Congestion

A growing population possessing higher incomes and more leisure time has resulted in a phenomenal increase in travel. More people are using their increased incomes to purchase more automobiles, and the increase in leisure time has allowed these vehicles to be used more extensively.

Increased mobility and travel have influenced, and have been influenced by, the trend toward suburban living. As urban areas spread and
decentralize into the suburbs, more traffic is created because people must
travel further to work, to shop, and to play. And as traffic is increased,
demands arise for additional freeways and arterial streets to carry the
increased traffic load. The building of more streets and freeways, in
turn, makes the countryside more accessible and encourages further movement of homes, shopping centers, and industries to the suburbs.

The mobility created by the automobile, then, has fostered the suburban movement and has resulted in increased traffic and increased transportation costs. Today, the total national expenditure for non-military transportation is roughly \$100 billion a year. ¹⁹ The time and costs of commuting have mounted, traffic congestion is overwhelming in larger metropolitan areas, and a few poorly located freeways are becoming destructive elements in the communities they are designed to serve.

⁴⁹Wurster, Op. Cit., p. 238.

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Land use and transportation are intimately related. Sprawling, low density suburban areas contain more automobiles per dwelling unit, necessitate more travel, and are more automobile-oriented than closer-in, high density areas. Oconversely, intensively developed areas closer to the centers of major cities will make heavier use of mass transit facilities. In addition, practical economics precludes mass transit service for low-density, scattered areas on the fringes of cities.

More compact or clustered land use patterns would not only make mass transit service economically feasible but would also, perhaps, facilitate the accomplishment of other planning objectives. A more compact and controlled settlement pattern could provide for a closer relationship between homes and jobs, a wider variety of housing choice, and greater amounts of usable open space near population concentrations. 51

Many of the Tri-County Region's present traffic problems are caused by inadequate past allowances for transportation-land use relationships.

For Example, turning movements and on-street parking in strip commercial areas has resulted in traffic congestion; using local residential streets for one-way pairs or for major traffic arteries may contribute to neighborhood blight; placing shopping centers or other high volume traffic generators at freeway interchanges and major street intersections has decreased the traffic capacity of these facilities.

The spreading form of Regional growth has increased both the occurrence and length of Regional commuting patterns. Some 37,720 workers

⁵⁰ Detroit Metropolitan Area Traffic Study, Part I, Detroit, Michigan (July, 1955), p. 79.

⁵¹Wurster, Op. Cit., p. 239.

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within the Region live outside of Lansing and 68 per cent of these commute daily to work in the core city. 52 Practically all of these commuters utilize the automobile in their work trip. The 1960 census indicates that 84% of all employed workers within the Region used automobiles as a means of getting to work, and that only 3% utilized bus transportation. 53

The trend toward automobile-criented transportation is likely to continue in the future. Automobile registration within the Tri-County area increased 31% between 1950 and 1960. The 110,000 vehicles registered within the Region in 1960 was almost 25% above the vehicles-per-thousand-persons average for the United States. Following these trends, the number of registered automobiles within the Tri-County Region may reach 150,000 by 1980. 55

A comprehensive and penetrating study is needed of the Region's transportation system before sound plans and proposals can be instituted. Past traffic studies for the area have been limited in scope and are woefully out of date. 56 Any new study should utilize the latest techniques in identifying traffic generating characteristics of various types of land use and should relate future land use patterns to transportation needs.

Any consideration of policies dealing with transportation for the Region, then, must be integrated with policies relating to uses of land.

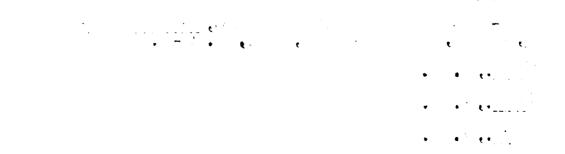
⁵²Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Transportation: An Inventory, Lansing, Michigan (January, 1962), pp. 18-23.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 24.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

⁵⁶The Michigan State Highway Department conducted the last origin and destination study for the Lansing-East Lansing area during 1946.



Such policies should state the principles through which these relationships can be accomplished and should outline the administrative methods by which coordinated transportation planning can be undertaken. Policy consideration should include not only alternate modes of transportation but also the alternate land use patterns which may be mecessary to accomplish a more balanced and efficient transportation system.

Economic Base and Changing Functions

Society is living in a period of rapid and accelerated technological change. Physical manifestations of this change are personified by the one-story, landscaped industrial plant, the integrated shopping center, the graceful new freeway, and the gleaming facade of the glass-walled office building.

Progressively changing technology also has an impact upon cultural life. Automation, for example, is reducing the relative number of unskilled industrial jobs and is increasing demands for skilled and highly educated workers. Added emphasis is therefore placed upon higher education and upon adult vocational instruction. This same technology has elevated per capita incomes and has increased individual leisure time, thereby changing personal buying habits and placing added emphasis upon recreation.

Changing economic functions are evident in the Tri-County Region where the economic base is slowly becoming less dependent upon durable goods manufacturing and agriculture as a provider of jobs. Conversely, employment opportunities are increasing in such economic pursuits as government, education, and services.

Indications are that fewer jobs will be available in the durable goods sector of the manufacturing economy during the coming decades. This

trend may be especially pronounced in the Tri-County Region where the manufacturing of transportation equipment is the dominant employer. Projections of future automobile production within the United States have assumed an annual production rate of between 9 and 10 million vehicles by 1980. 57 With modern technology, this production rate can be sustained with little or no increase in the work force. Indeed, "the chances are that fewer (future) auto industry jobs will be available. **158*

It appears, then, that development policies for the Region should encourage diversification of the economic base with emphasis placed upon development goals which would help attract additional non-durable manufacturing and service industries. The economic health of the Tri-County Region requires that every effort should be made to give it better industrial balance...further relative increases in its durable goods manufacturing sector would only make the local economy more susceptible to wide fluctuations in income and employment. The economy more susceptible to wide

The Region's present industrial "mix" of manufacturing, government, and education provides an advantageous basis for the accomplishment of such a goal. Of further advantage to the local economy is the presence of Michigan State University. Michigan State has been one of the fastest growing income sources for the Tri-County area and is perhaps the institution most likely to provide the stimulus for future growth. 60 The

⁵⁷Haber (et. al.), Op. Cit., p. 25.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁹Tri-County Population and Economic Base Study, Op. Cit., p. 58.

⁶⁰John L. O'Donnell, "The University and Local Growth," <u>Michigan</u> Economic Record, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, Vol. 5 (October, 1963), p. 7.

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University, for example, can serve as a catalyst for the attraction of new research and development industries in the Region.

The changing functions and shifting economic needs of the Region need to be fully and objectively assessed to determine the possible types of new industry which should be encouraged to locate within the Tri-County area. Development policies should reflect the goal of further diversification of the Region's economic base. Any policies adopted should also recognize the changing land and locational needs of modern industry.

This chapter has presented an overview of the Region's emerging development trends and problems. The identification of these Regional characteristics serves to emphasize the need for a planning program which will incorporate policy solutions as part of a functional program to meet the challenge of urban growth. For if a planning program within the Tri-County Region is to have real purposes and effectiveness, it must recognize and solve the complex physical, social, and economic problems fostered by a rapidly changing society. And perhaps the only realistic way that an attempt can be made to solve these problems is through complete involvement in the policy-making process which generates decisions on development.

The following chapter will document the influence of these Regional trends and problems upon the program concepts of the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission.

CHAPTER III

POLICY PLANS FOR THE TRI-COUNTY REGION

The ability to solve the complex problems generated by an expanding and changing urban society depends in part upon the means which are chosen to cope with these problems. This chapter outlines the means, methodology, and conceptual framework utilized by one regional planning agency, the Lansing Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, in attempting to solve the staggering problems of fragmented and uncoordinated metropolitan growth.

The previous two chapters have identified the national forces influencing the evolution of the planning process and the developing growth
trends which have contributed to present physical problems within the
Region. These matters have been covered in some detail since both of these
factors were instrumental in influencing the philosophical approach of the
policy plan program developed by the Tri-County Planning Commission.

For example, the review of evolving and changing planning concepts has served to identify the mistakes of the past and has, hopefully, yielded valuable insights as to a more effective planning approach. The past weaknesses in the planning process of utilizing an independent board of lay citizens is especially significant to regional or metropolitan agencies, for regional planning groups represent a continuation of this procedural form of operation. A basic reason for the reliance upon an independent planning board is, of course, the fragmented and multi-jurisdictional character of metropolitan areas. Therefore, even if a theoretically more effective administrative framework for urban planning could be accomplished by incorporating the planning function within the

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executive or legislative branches of government, the present lack of metropolitan or regional governmental framework within metropolitan areas of the
United States eliminates this alternative.

While the multi-jurisdictional framework of the regional planning operation as well as existing state enabling legislation may pre-empt any real alternative to the organization of an independent regional planning body, other lessons learned from the evolution of the planning function can be recognized and applied. History can perhaps indicate the futility of preparing grand and comprehensive master plans which, although technically competent, are not thoroughly understood by government or the general public. Also in need of recognition is the weakness of the "missing step" in the planning process1—the failure of the planner to articulate the important alternatives and to recommend to the general public the development choices which are available.²

But perhaps the most significant lesson to be learned from the past is the need for the planning function to become involved in the decision-making process. For without access to the political forces and the public opinion which ultimately forms public policy, little can be expected in the effectuation of plans once they are developed. The interest and concern of the federal government in solving the national problem of urban growth has given impetus and recognition to the need for political action to control and guide metropolitan development. Such recognition has resulted in a growing number of new federal "tools" which can not only

Bauer, Op. Cit.

²Grady Clay, "Planning Design and Public Opinion," <u>Planning 1960</u>, (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1960), p. 137.

supplement many of the traditional legal tools of the past but can hopefully guide growth in a more positive way.

The need for political involvement, in turn, has given rise to the concept of policy planning-planning which attempts to separate, identify, and promote the kinds of area-wide policy commitments which are needed to guide physical development into more logical and efficient patterns. Aside from its political implications, the very nature of policy planning presupposes a clear identification of growth trends and development problems needing policy solution. For if "metropolitan problems are political problems (which) demand binding public decisions on public issues, "" then the problems themselves must be specifically identified before policies for their correction can be intelligently articulated. Chapter II has, therefore, been devoted to a discussion of regional development problems within the Tri-County Region which must be resolved as part of policy plan formation.

The development trends and problems set forth in Chapter II are important for other reasons. The identification of these problems indicates the complex nature of the policy plan undertaking. For if Regional growth goals and policy statements are to have any real meaning, they must recognise trends which will influence future development as well as set

William C. Dutton, Jr. in "Planning in the United States," Planning 1960, (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1960), p. 10, describes many of these newer federal tools, which include highway and transportation programs, open space programs, urban renewal projects, land use controls such as scenic easements and purchase of development rights, and, in particular, "policies planning" to develop a more effective procedural instrument.

⁴Greer, Op. Cit., p. 172.

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forth policies which will help correct existing development problems.

Hence, the trends and problems identified in Chapter II had an intimate affect upon the detailed types of goals and policy statements which were eventually formulated for the Tri-County Region.

The Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, from the time of its formation late in 1956, has always been problem-oriented. The problem-solving philosophy of the Commission, along with numerous other influences, was an important ingredient in their acceptance of a policy plan procedure for the Region. This chapter will document the evolution of the policy plan program of the Commission and will identify the most important influences which shaped the concepts of that program.

I. THE SEARCH FOR A CONCEFTUAL APPROACH

Basic to an understanding of the evolving concepts which influenced the Tri-County policy plan program is a knowledge of the historic development of the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission. Therefore, interwoven with this account of the conceptual evolution of the policy plan program will be the documentation of the expanding function and program of the Commission.

Early Program Influences

Through the activities and persuasive power of a number of interested citizens and public officials, the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission was formed during July, 1956 by resolution of the Clinton, Eaton and Ingham County Boards of Supervisors. 5 The Commission was

⁵Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Annual Report 1962-63, Op. Cit., p. 5.

organized under Michigan state enabling legislation for regional planning commissions.⁶ Its first meetings were held during the fall of 1956 and were devoted to election of officers, compilation of by-laws, and financing investigations.

Significantly, the Commission from the beginning was concerned with solving the complicated problems of metropolitan growth and one of their first aims was "a correction of accumulative problems." Many of the Commission meetings during the spring and summer of 1957 were devoted to a series of discussions by local governmental officials on regional problems which needed solution. During this early exploratory period, the Commission operated as a lay group without staff direction.

Late in 1957, an executive director was hired and soon thereafter a concrete program of operation was set forth. The Commission's first work program⁸ emphasized the necessity for basic research information, adequate base maps, and outlined the scope of needed regional studies. Also contained in the description of elements needed for a comprehensive Regional Plan was the first tentative reference to the importance of public policy-making as part of the regional planning process.

When the research, analysis and map work...has been sufficiently developed, the preparation of preliminary plans can proceed, This phase brings the planning process into assisting in "policy-making"—the determining and recommending to local governments various plans, policies and standards for future development.

⁶Act 281, Michigan Public Acts of 1945, as amended.

⁷TCRPC Minutes, March 28, 1957.

⁸Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, <u>Preliminary Outline</u>, Long-Range Planning Program, Lansing, Michigan (March, 1958).

^{9&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 4.

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Based upon this program outline, federal grants for various program phases were requested under Section 701 of the 1954 Housing Act, as amended.

With a positive work program finally underway, the Commission again turned its attention to the development problems within the Region and the possible role which they should play in solving those problems. During the summer of 1959, the Commission held a series of meetings with various representatives from Clinton, Eaton, and Ingham Counties to review the problems and needs of each county area. The objective of these meetings was to provide the Commission with background material which would guide their work into "a more effective role." Of the impressions which came out of these meetings, perhaps the most important was the nature of the problems which were identified. Rather than strictly agricultural problems, the most important concerns of these counties related to roads, soning, schools, taxes, business, and industry. Problems, in other words, which reflected the urbanising nature of the Region. 13

¹⁰The Commission's first federal grant for \$13,830.00 was approved by the Housing and Home Finance Agency in March, 1959. These funds permitted the completion of an economic base analysis, a base mapping program, and land use and physical geography studies. A second federal grant for \$34,750.00 was approved in June, 1959. This grant was for the purpose of preparing a community pattern study and inventory surveys on public utilities, transportation, land use, and recreation. Both grants were on a *50-50 matching* basis, with one half the funds provided by the Commission and one half by the federal government.

¹¹ TCRPC Minutes, August 27, 1959.

^{12&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

¹³An example of the impact of urbanization upon a primarily rural area of the Region is contained in a publication by the Long-Range Planning Committee, Eaton County Extension Service, Eaton County Challenge, Eaton County Extension Service, Charlotte, Michigan (1959).

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These activities provided important solidification to the problemoriented philosophy of the Commission for they prompted the notion that
"the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission should try to unite the area
in working on common problems (by working out) suggested answers to the
problems...and providing advisory recommendations to local units."

The
first Commission report published for public consumption reviewed areawide physical problems and their resulting impact upon the social and
economic framework of the Region. 15

Despite their problem orientation, the Commission during these early years did not yield to the temptation of providing an extensive advisory service on detailed problems to local units of government. Partly, this was because a limited staff and budget would not permit such detailed services. More importantly, the Commission realized the necessity to complete the basic factual studies of the Region before engaging in an extensive advisory service program.

It is hoped that the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission can provide region-wide studies and foster working together on a coordinated basis on problems which will be common to all governmental units. 17

¹hTCRPC Minutes, August 27, 1959.

¹⁵Tri-County Regional Planning Commission. The Functional Organisation of the Lansing Tri-County Region: Needs and Problems, Lansing, Michigan (1959).

¹⁶During 1958 and 1959, only the executive director and his secretary were full-time employees of the Commission. They were supplemented by part-time student help from Michigan State University.

¹⁷TCRPC Minutes, December 2, 1959.

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Paralleling this concern with Region-wide problems was the early beginnings of citizen participation in the Region's planning program.

While solutions to many of the area's problems were not immediately forth-coming in the way of specific plans and programs, citizen involvement in the planning process could, perhaps, foster a wider recognition of regional problems which needed solution. Thus was created the strong heritage of citizen participation in the Tri-County program.

Citisen involvement, however, began slowly. By early 1960, only two citisen committees were in operation. These committees were instituted to review specific problems upon which studies or research reports were presently being prepared. 19

Urban growth and change within the Region were creating mounting problems and a broad citizen awareness of the need for region-wide action could, perhaps, foster inter-governmental cooperation relating to Regional development. Early in 1960, the executive director proposed the formation of a Citizens Advisory Group which would have the following functions:

¹⁸ The Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Progress Report, Lansing, Michigan (January, 1960) states that during 1959 two citizen groups had been formed; (1) an Economic Advisory Committee of 15 members to review and consider critical economic problems, and (2) a Subdivision Advisory Committee to consider subdivision problems and recommend procedures to local units of government.

¹⁹⁰ne Citisen's committee reviewed the findings of the Michigan State University, Economic and Population Base Study of the Tri-County, Op. Cit., and the second committee reviewed two subdivision manuals which were eventually published for Regional distribution: Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Subdivision Manual: Part I - Procedures, Lansing, Michigan (November, 1961); Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Subdivision Manual: Part II - Standards, Lansing, Michigan (February, 1962).

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(1) Provide a badly needed forum for review and discussion of regional problems; (2) define the conditions essential to continuing livability and prosperity of the region; (3) inspire and organize interest and financial support for studies and action programs on identified regional needs and problems; (4) mobilize the technical and organizational resources of the region for cooperatively solving regional problems and accomplishing goals; (5) recommend solutions to regional problems in public policy terms to the regional community and to local government agencies. 20

Here again was an important reference to "policy" solutions for the Region's development problems. Also worthy of note is the notion of an expanded base of citizen participation, not only for specific problem solving but for involvement in the analysis of factors "essential to continuing livability and prosperity." This concept would involve the intimate participation of citizen groups in the planning process itself. Conspicuous for its absence, however, was any mention of participation by political decision-makers or public administrators who, in final analysis, would be responsible for the implementation of the policy terms set forth by such a citizen's organization.

While the Citizen Advisory Group idea was discussed at subsequent Commission meetings, the proposal was to lay dormant until early in 1961. Initially, the Commission delayed action until the details of the program could be integrated with a similar program proposed at that time by the Lansing Chamber of Commerce. 22 Then, in September of 1960, the executive director resigned and the Commission was left without staff direction until early in 1961.

²⁰TCRPC Minutes, February 25, 1960.

²¹ Ibid.

²²TCRPC Minutes, March 24, 1960.

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With the advent of a new executive director, the idea of some sort of Regional citizen's group was revived and discussed. In April, 1961 the Commission approved a modified version of the 1960 proposal. 23 The new proposal, however, reverted to utilizing various citizen advisory committees for the specific purposes of reviewing Commission inventory studies then underway rather than for the broader purposes envisioned in 1960. Nevertheless, this proposal did result in an important emphasis on wide citizen participation in the Commission's planning program. For example, the Battelle Memorial Institute, a consulting firm engaged for the Commission's Water Use Study, utilized over 100 lay and technical people in the Lansing Area Water Advisory Council. This organization was divided into working committees which reviewed water and water-related problems for agriculture, industry, commercial uses, etc. The experiences gathered from using this group, as well as the other advisory committees for various Commission studies, was to give valuable insights as to the most desirable organisational form for the policy plan program.

The early planning program, then, was an important determinant of Commission attitude and philosophy. Out of this program came a heritage of problem-orientation, of wide use of citizen groups, and of tentative references to policy guides for solving area-wide problems. The stage was set for wider and more comprehensive visions of a planning program keyed to policy planning.

²³At their April 27, 1961 meeting, the Commission approved a "Regional Advisory Council" made up of separate committees which would review the Water Study, Transportation Study, Public Utilities Study, and Recreation Study. (TCRPC Minutes, April 27, 1961).

The Policy Plan Concept

During 1961 the skeleton staff of the Commission was expanded in order that the basic fact-gathering and inventory programs could be expedited. With increasing technical potential came the recognition that some tentative beginnings could possibly be made toward the long-desired Regional Plan. Accordingly, an application was filed for another federal "701" grant in September 1961 which contained the official beginnings of policy planning for the Tri-County Region. The application requested funds to complete the "inventory" type of studies, such as land use mapping, community facilities, and planning area delineation, as well as "To develop alternative preliminary policy plans for the development of the Tri-County Region." Also included within the grant application was the broad concept of citizen participation in the planning process through the review of alternate "sketch" plans. 25

However, the concept of a policy planning program at this stage was rather limited in scope, as indicated by the requested budgetary allotment for the studies within the September planning grant request.²⁶ The intention was the preparation of some very general "sketch" plans illustrating

²hTri-County Regional Planning Commission, Application for Urban Planning Grant, form H-6702, Housing and Home Finance Agency, (September 28, 1961), p. 3.

²⁵The application, which subsequently became Mich. Project P-21, stated: "In order to provide for public acceptance and action, several alternate preliminary plans will be prepared, and a regional citizens advisory council will be developed to test...citizen reaction. The alternate 'sketch' plans will constitute preliminary goals and policies which will materially assist in the preparation of a comprehensive development plan....," Ibid., p. 3.

²⁶The entire budget for completing alternative preliminary policy plans for the Region was estimated at \$21,000.00, <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 5.

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alternate future growth possibilities which could be reviewed with citizen groups for their reaction. Once reviewed, these sketch plans would constitute preliminary possibilities as to the most "desirable" patterns of land use within the Region.²⁷

At about this same time the Commission's staff was developing a long-range work program which was to have a significant impact upon the philosophic framework of the policy plan program. Staff thinking upon what form the eventual Regional Plan should take became solidified during the spring and summer of 1962. A central theme was developed in this program for utilizing important new techniques in relating future uses of land to transportation facilities. As this long-range program came into clearer focus, it was realized that governmental decisions relating to both transportation facilities and land use would intimately affect the growth models and traffic models which would be part of a land use-transportation analysis. It was further realized that an important "first phase in the preparation of the plan itself are alternative preliminary policy plans, which begin as written proposals." 29

Staff work on a policy plan concept began in earnest during the summer of 1962. The objective was a Policy Plan instrument that could serve as a series of "inputs" for written and mathematical growth models to be developed as part of a land use-transportation plan for the Region.

^{27&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 3.

²⁸This approach was subsequently developed in detail and outlined in a staff prospectus entitled Joint Program for Land Use and Transportation Planning, Lansing, Michigan (February 17, 1963).

²⁹TCRPC Minutes, May 24, 1962.

Since federal, state, and local governmental decisions were involved in constructing transportation facilities, the Policy Plan program would need to contain specific goals and policy statements which could be agreed-upon by the various decision-makers involved. Moreover, if local governmental decisions on land use would affect the type and location of future transportation facilities, the Policy Plan document should also suggest development goals and policy statements which would be capable of guiding local governmental land use decisions. In other words, the "wouldn't it be nice if" kind of sketch plan proposal had to be replaced by a down-to-earth document which could be justified and supported—a document which contained alternatives spelled out clearly enough and logically enough to be adopted in principle by Regional decision-makers.

Another basic need which required solution within a Policy Plan document was the articulation of policies to aid in solving area-wide development problems. The Commission's historic concern with problemsolution indicated the importance of this program element. In addition, the Commission's commitment to the utilization of citizen groups was a factor needing recognition in any program of policy formation.

Given this basic program criteria, the staff began the search which was to lead to a conceptual framework for the Policy Plan undertaking. It soon became apparent that any policy program that was proposed? had to proceed on a continuing basis from the general to the specific. Chapin's thinking on policy planning contained the key to such a procedure.

As policy decisions are reached of a broad and general nature, planning solutions can be developed in generalized form. As these solutions are reviewed and decisions are

reached of a more detailed order, the planning process picks up from there to carry the solution to a more detailed stage. Thus both policies and plans are progressively refined to the point where an acceptable plan proposal emerges. 30

The policy program, then, was conceived as a continuing process to be carried on in intimate relation with the land-use-transportation postion of the Regional Plan. The Policy Plan could begin as a general statement consisting of written goals and policy statements and illustrated by sketch plans showing alternate patterns of growth. As the Regional Plan for land use and transportation evolved, and as more sophisticated analysis indicated additional growth policies, the Policy Plan could be supplemented by more detailed policy statements. These statements, in turn, could guide local decisions on both land use and transportation facilities. If such statements were agreed to by local decision-makers, they could then become part of the criteria used in finalizing the Regional Plan itself. This procedure, hopefully, would make the Regional Plan a politically dynamic concept, influencing the governmental decision-making process and responsive to it. 32

Once the general criteria or objectives of the Policy Plan document had been arrived at, the next step involved a decision on the basic elements to be contained in the Plan itself. The contents of this document should contain "not a detailed plan for the physical development of

³⁰Chapin, Op. Cit., pp. 272-73.

³¹ This concept evolved from a series of staff discussions during July, 1962.

³²Stuart F. Chapin, Jr., "Taking Stock of Techniques for Shaping Urban Growth," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 24, No. 2 (May, 1963), p. 80.

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the Region, but rather a set of policies to guide governmental decisionmaking and the preparation of physical plans."³³ Moreover, the contents
of the Policy Plan document should also recognize the particular program
needs of the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission. These needs were
to (1) provide policy statements which were detailed enough to be transmitted to local units of government as advisory suggestions which would
solve particular Regional development problems, (2) identify the need for
direction and research programs which would lead to more specific future
policy statements, (3) serve as an "interim" plan pending the final development of the Regional Plan itself, (4) explore desirable changes in
environment based upon Regional growth trends, and (5) provide a framework and policy guide for the staff in the preparation of a Regional Plan.

To accomplish such a comprehensive purpose, it was soon apparent that the Policy Plan had to proceed from "first order" policy (or objectives), to "second order" policy (or goals), to "third order" policy (or specific policy statements). 34 In addition, these general and specific policies and their alternatives must be illustrated by some form of "sketch" plan showing the effects of the various objectives, goals, and policies upon physical growth patterns. Subsequently, the first tentative outline for a policy program was presented to the Commission in July, 1962 suggesting the basic elements of objectives, goals, policy

³³National Capital Planning Commission, A Plan for the Year 2000, Op. Cit., p. v.

³⁴American Society of Planning Officials, Policy Statements: Guides to Decision-Making, Chicago: Planning Advisory Service, Information Report No. 152 (November, 1961), p. 4.

statements, standards, and sketch plans.³⁵ The stated advantages to undertaking such a procedure was "to give advice to those responsible for decisions so they may work in closer accord with community desires, and to provide levels of agreement upon which more detailed and extensive plans can proceed."³⁶

Once the basic outline of the Policy Plan had been determined, the next step was the development of an administrative procedure for a review of the document. Such a step was of utmost importance for if the Policy Plan instrument was to have any real impact upon decision-making within the Region, then the reasoning behind the goals, objectives, and policies which made up the plan must be thoroughly understood and agreed upon. Such needs indicated the necessity for at least some involvement in the Policy Plan process by both citizens and governmental officials in the Region.

In formulating a procedural or administrative approach to Policy
Plan formation, the staff soon became aware that the formulation of community goals and policies required a sensitive response to the value
judgements of the urban community.

What makes us formulate certain goals and utilise particular policies and reject others? Underlying the whole process is a nebula of social and environmental values. 37

³⁵TCRPC Minutes, July 25, 1962.

^{36&}lt;sub>Tbid</sub>.

³⁷Twin Cities Metropolitan Planning Commission, Values and the Planning Process, The Joint Program: Design Paper No. 8 (July, 1963), p. 2.

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It was also realized that the formulating of development objectives and goals by the professional planner ran the risk of personal bias which could create plans for planners rather than for the public in general. This, in fact, had happened in the early days of the "city beautiful" movement when the grand designs created by planners had often been out of context with community goals and values. A soundly conceived Policy Plan, then, would require the combined knowledge of many informed people who could aid in setting the social goals for the Region. 38

A tentative administrative and procedural approach to Policy Plan formation was set forth in a staff report during the fall of 1962.³⁹ This report envisioned the wide use of a Citizens Advisory Council to aid in the preparation of Policy Plans for the Region. The recommended procedure was based upon the premise that "only when the citizens of the community have participated in the selecting of goals which will shape their environment can they be expected to support the action necessary to accomplish these goals."

This publication set forth the following benefits to the utilization of citizen groups:

- (1) A clear picture of the values and objectives of the community (as expressed through these citizen organizations).
- (2) At least partial community consensus as to the goals, policies, and standards applicable to the future development of the Region.

³⁸ For further discussion on the planner vs. public ideas relating to physical development, see Levin, Op. Cit.

³⁹Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, General Approach and Suggested Staff Procedures for Policy Plan Formation, An Intra-Staff Report (October, 1962).

⁴⁰President John F. Kennedy's special message to Congress on Housing and Community Development, March 9, 1961.

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- (3) Provides a needed forum for free discussion of the kinds of Regional problems which can be solved by a sound planning approach.
- (4) Aides the planner in identifying conditions and forces within the Region which help shape future growth patterns.
- (5) Can assist in the determination of impartial and objective recommendations to local governmental units for adoption of public policies encouraging sound Regional development.

The Citizen's Advisory Council proposed by this report recommended a "policy" committee and a number of "subject" committees made up of lay citizens as well as technical and professional people. 42 As the planning program moved from the Policy Plan stage to the Regional Plan stage, it was anticipated that the committee structure would change by adding an "implementation" committee made up of governmental decision-makers within the Region. 43 This outline of administrative and review procedures for the Policy Plan undertaking was reviewed with the Commission at its October meeting and the Commission approved the general principle of utilizing a Citizen's Regional Advisory Council.

Upon Commission approval of the Advisory Council idea, the staff prepared a publication for public distribution which set forth the general proposals for Policy Plan formation and review by a Regional Advisory

⁴¹Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, General Approach and Suggested Staff Procedures for Policy Plan Formation, Op. Cit., p. 3 (emphasis contained in the original).

⁴² Ibid., p. 7.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 9. This committee structure, however, was changed later on in the Policy Plan undertaking.

hitCRPC Minutes, October 25, 1962.

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Council. 45 This report was primarily a public relations document to encourage Regional awareness of the policy planning idea and to create citizen interest in serving upon the Regional Advisory Council.

When this report was presented for review before release to the general public, the Commission had second thoughts about the notion of creating a Regional Advisory Council. They were concerned not only about the interrelationships of this Council with other citizen committees already in existance but also were unsure of the value of such an organization to the planning effort. Release of the publication and the formation of the Council was therefore delayed pending further detailed discussion.

During the latter part of May, 1963, a weekend meeting of the Commission was held to delve deeper into the Policy Plan program and to informally discuss the ramifications of a Regional Advisory Council. Out of the long and sometimes tedious debate afforded by this conference came the final version of a Policy Plan program.

Most of the debate during this conference centered upon the function and make-up of the proposed Regional Advisory Council rather than upon any real concern with the question of the Commission entering into the policy arena. A consensus of opinion was reached whereby the structure of the Regional Advisory Council would be broken into three basic committees. These committees were to be (1) a Citizen's Committee made up of lay people, (2) a Technical Committee of professional personnel which would aid the staff in formulating development proposals, and (3)

⁴⁵Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, The Regional Advisory Council: Its Purpose and Function, Lansing, Michigan (March, 1963).

⁴⁶TCRPC Minutes, April 25, 1963.

a Governmental Coordinating committee made up of elected and appointive officials. All of these committees were to review various phases of the Policy Plan and were to make suggestions to the Commission as to the desirability of policy proposals.

The prime goal of this kind of structural framework was the separation of lay citizens, technical people, and governmental officials by the use of three separate committees. The Commission's experience with the Lansing Area Water Advisory Council, created in conjunction with Battelle's Water Use Study, indicated the desirability of this separation. The Water Advisory Council had been made up of a mixture of lay citizens, professionals, and governmental officials. This mixture, the Commission felt, was one of the reasons why the Water Advisory Council had been largely ineffective.

The Commission was also concerned with the proposed procedures which were set forth for Regional Advisory Council review of the Policy Plan document. There was a strong feeling that perhaps the Council could usurp some of the Commission's responsibilities for decisions relating to Regional growth, or at least make these decisions more difficult. The Commission, therefore, desired to review staff proposals for various segments of the Policy Plan before such proposals were released for Council consideration.

A revised Regional Advisory Council make-up and an amended procedural outline embodying the Commission's recommendations was presented in June, 1963, and approved by the Commission. 47 The distribution of the

⁴⁷TCRPC Minutes. June 27, 1963.

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Regional Advisory Council publication was subsequently authorized 48 and the staff proceeded with the preparation of the Policy Plan itself.

Out of the staff seminars and discussions with the Commission which were carried on during the spring and summer of 1963 came an agreed-upon administrative and procedural approach to policy planning. This hammering out of difficult decisions was serious business, for the future planning program and perhaps the future effectiveness of the Commission was at stake. Moreover, by tying the policy planning concept to the land use-transportation analysis pertion of the Regional Plan, a relatively new and untried technique was being explored — a technique which would tie the very content of a future Regional Plan to the policy judgement of the Region's decision-makers.

By September, 1963 the staff had prepared a revised federal grant application which incorporated the preparation of alternate preliminary Policy Plans as part of the first phase of the Region's land use and transportation analysis. 49 This revised grant was subsequently approved by the federal government and secured the tie between policy planning and a land use-transportation analysis for the Region.

II. OBJECTIVES, GOALS, AND POLICY STATEMENTS

With Commission concurrence of the make-up and function of the Regional Advisory Council, the staff proceeded with work on the Policy Plan

¹⁴⁸ The Commission authorized the public distribution of the Regional Advisory Council: Its Purpose and Function at their July, 1963 meeting (TCRPC Minutes, July 25, 1963.)

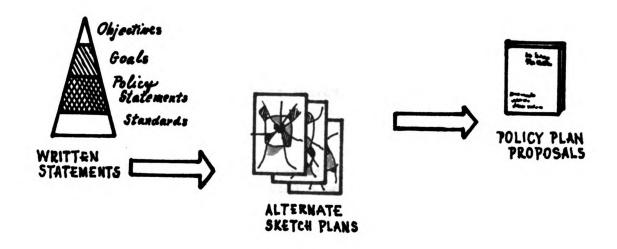
⁴⁹ See revised application, Mich. Project P-21, Description of Work Items, September, 1963.

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during the summer and fall of 1963. In keeping with the theory of proceeding from general to particular policy expressions, the first Policy Plan report by the staff set forth a number of Regional development objectives for consideration. This report was envisioned as the first of a series of staff reports which would begin with broad objectives and end with visual depictions of alternate forms of Regional land development. This procedure is illustrated by Chart I.

CHART I. POLICY PLAN PROCEDURE



Separate staff reports as well as separate review by both the Commission and the Regional Advisory Council were contemplated for each step within this procedure.

⁵⁰Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Staff Report #1 - Regional Development Objectives, Lansing, Michigan (July, 1963).

Objectives

Staff Report #1⁵¹ defined planning objectives as the *identification, in general terms of the growth aspirations and development ideals for the Region.**⁵² These objectives, then, were intended to embody a wide range of general planning principles which could be detailed by the goals and policy statements for the Region.

Some thirteen development objectives were set forth in this report, ranging from "efficient use of land" to "improve social amenities." While these objectives were, by their very nature, general expressions of development goals, they were accompanied by more definitive statements which bordered upon the policy realm. The purpose of these statements was to give the Commission and the Regional Advisory Council some tentative indications of the policy implications and value judgements contained within each general planning objective. The following illustrates the utilization of this technique.

EFFICIENT USE OF LAND - Land is one of the Region's most valuable resources and should be used efficiently and conservatively. Wasteful and inefficient land practices, such as scattered and aimless sprawl development, should be discouraged by public and private policies. Land should be developed to its highest potential based upon its "natural" characteristics - such as soils and location - so that the hereitage of an efficient and livable physical environment can be passed on to future generations. 54

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., p. 2.

^{53&}lt;u>Tbid., pp. 5-11.</u>

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

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The report on planning objectives was subsequently reviewed by the Commission and passed on to the newly-formed Citizens Committee of the Regional Advisory Council. 55 The Citizens Committee held its organizational meeting on September 25, 1963 and spent its next two meetings in a detailed, item by item review of the planning objectives report. The Citizens Committee gave final approval to the proposed planning objectives on December 4, 1963 and transmitted the report back to the Commission. 56

In the meantime, staff work had been completed on a lengthy report covering specific development goals and policy statements for the Region.

Goals and Policy Statements

The goals which society embraces are important determinants of the individual's way of life. In the planning sense, goals are utilized as "aims which will direct a long-range planning effort toward the best possible social, economic, and physical environment." Goals are intimately related to policies for "sound policies cannot be established until clear-cut goals have been determined." In addition, the policies which are developed to attain certain goals should be specific "statements outlining a definite course of action to reach desired objectives."

⁵⁵TCRPC Minutes, August 15, 1963.

⁵⁶ Minutes, Citizens Committee of the Regional Advisory Council, December 4, 1963.

⁵⁷Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, The Regional Advisory Council: Its Purpose and Function, Op. Cit., p. 13.

⁵⁸ Charles W. Barr, Possible Goals for Capitol Center, Lansing, Michigan, City Planning Board (November 30, 1962), p. 1.

⁵⁹Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, The Regional Advisory Council: Its Purpose and Function, Loc. Cit.

Delineation of goals for development accompanied by statements of policies to implement those goals are the central fiber which binds the Policy Plan together into a meaningful instrument. For through these statements are expressed the hopes and aspirations of the urban community. Because of their very nature, the process of identifying goals embodies decisions on the kind of physical and social environment desired by society. Expressing these goals, in turn, presupposes that there are methods, programs, or policies which can implement these goals.

Because of their central importance to the Policy Plan instrument, then, goals and policies must be stated, reviewed, and agreed-upon as a distinct step in the planning process. The Tri-County Regional Planning Commission's Policy Plan program attempted to take such a step with the development of Staff Report #2, which set forth numerous goals and policy statements for the Region. 60

This report attempted to set forth in one document all of the development goals and statements of policy which the Commission's staff felt were appropriate for the Region. They were based upon the factual information which had been gathered by the Commission's staff in working toward a Regional Plan proposal. They were also based upon an interpretation of the most meaningful growth trends which were at work within the nation, state, and Region. They were not, however, intended as final expressions of policies which could serve as a basis for a number of alternate sketch plans illustrating Regional development.

⁶⁰ Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Staff Report #2 - Regional Development Goals and Policy Statements, Lansing, Michigan, (October, 1963).

⁶¹ Tbid., p. 4.

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While the prime purpose of Staff Report #2 was to serve as a policy framework within which alternate Regional sketch plans could be formulated, there were other important objectives which influenced the report contents. As previously identified in Chapter II of this thesis, the Region contained many development problems in need of solution. Solutions to these problems would, perhaps, have a great impact upon the Region's future economic, social, and physical character. Staff Report #2, therefore, sought to identify the types of goals and policies which would recognize and implement solutions to these development problems. 62

The goals and policies contained in Staff Report #2 were therefore detailed in nature and broken down by subject area to facilitate their eventual use as statements which could be used by the Commission to influence future public decisions. The Report contained nine subject categories ranging from residential, commercial, and industrial areas to planning and implementation. Onder each category a number of development goals were stated. Under each development goal a series of policy statements were set forth which would aid in goal implementation. This approach is illustrated by the following excerpt from Staff Report #2 regarding one of the goals for future residential development within the Region.

MORE ORDERLY RESIDENTIAL GROWTH

A. Scattered and disorderly residential developments caused by premature subdividing should be discouraged and prevented.

⁶² Ibid., p. 5.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 14-75.

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- B. Local units of government should be encouraged to enact subdivision controls which would require urban services for residential subdivisions and bonding arrangements for required subdivision improvements.
- C. Agreements should be arrived at with local units of government regarding a coordinated policy of sewer and water extensions to new subdivisions. Urban services should be extended only to new plats which are correctly located, which can be conveniently provided with community services, and which are properly zoned for residential use.
- D. Zoning policies of local units of government should be integrated with the objectives of the Regional Plan and intensively zoned residential areas should only be permitted where factual analysis can substantiate the need for a given amount of residential land.
- E. Land areas designated for future residential development should be correlated with rural zoning policies. Local governments should be encouraged to develop truely rural zoning districts which would prohibit scattered encroachment of urban residential uses.
- F. Once anticipated residential areas have been identified based upon the future growth potentials of the Region, local school officials should be contacted and their aid enlisted in reserving or purchasing land for future school sites within areas planned for future residential use. 64

The goal, in this case "more orderly residential growth," was followed by a number of detailed methods, or policies, by which this goal could be carried out. The detailed nature of these statements, however, resulted in a great number of both goals and policies. In all, some 264 statements of policy were keyed to 47 development goals. A detailed listing of these development goals has been compiled in Appendix A.

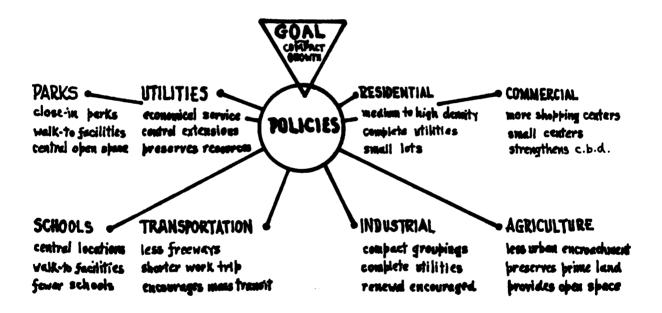
⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 48.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 44-75.

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This amount of detail, while attesting to the comprehensive nature of the study, made it difficult to comprehend the scope and implications of the Report. For each goal and policy statement were intimately interrelated. For example, if a goal of less sprawl and more compact residential growth was eventually adopted and policies were instituted to promote this goal, the policies of each remaining subject area would also be affected. This interrelationship of policies is illustrated by Chart II.

CHART II. INTERRELATIONSHIP OF POLICIES



As illustrated by Chart II, a compact residential growth policy would affect the location, type, and intensity of commercial centers, industrial developments, parks, schools, etc. In addition, a similar interrelationship existed between the broad goals which were identified. Moreover, many of these statements were alternatives which could not

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necessarily be maximized at the same time. The full implications of Staff Report #2, therefore, could not be readily assessed unless the total relationship of one group of policies and goals to another was comprehended. And the detailed format of the Report was not conductive to this comprehension.

The proposed goals and policy statements were reviewed by both the Commission and the Citizens Committee of the Regional Advisory Council from December, 1963 through February, 1964. The detailed policy statements necessitated item by item review and time consuming discussion. The citizen group and the Commission also experienced difficulty in seeing the interrelationships between a given set of residentail policies and policies relating to industry or parks.

Nevertheless, the Citizens Committee adopted the Report in principle 66 and the Commission finished its review of the document in February, 1964.67

Also during February, 1964 a further step was taken toward implementing a policy planning program for the Region. The Commission approved the formation and make-up of a Governmental Coordinating Committee as part of the Regional Advisory Council "to make policy recommendations to local units of government within the Region on matters relating to land use and transportation." This committee was to be composed of various state,

⁶⁶Minutes, Citizens Committee of the Regional Advisory Council, February 6, 1964.

⁶⁷TCRPC Minutes, February 27, 1964.

⁶⁸TCRPC Minutes, February 13, 1964.

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county, and local governmental representatives. This committee would review not only the Policy Plan program but also the various policy recommendations which would come out of the Commission's land use-transportation study of the Region.

The die was cast, therefore, for a commitment to a planning program for the Region which incorporated policy decision-making as a key part of the planning process.

At the date of this writing, the Policy Plan program of the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission had advanced through the goal formation and policy statement phase. Yet to be devised were standards relating to Regional development and sketch plan proposals which would identify different future patterns of growth under alternate sets of policies and goals.

Even with this limited experience, however, difficulties and problems have arisen which may have far-reaching implications to policy planning as a process. The immense technical difficulties involved in formulating logical goals and policies, the problems of utilizing lay citizens in the planning process, and the possible political ramifications of venturing into the policy-formulating field all raise serious questions as to the validity of policy planning. Yet the potential for really effective planning is the beckoning light which draws planners to the uncertain haven of policy plans. If the risks are high, so, perhaps, are the rewards.

Chapter IV will attempt to set forth the problems, risks, and rewards which are a part of policy planning and their implications to the planner and the planning process.

CHAPTER IV

RISKS AND POTENTIALS OF POLICY PLANNING

Policy Planning is based upon the assumption that planning, regardless of the level of government at which it is undertaken, is a function which facilitates the policy formulating process. This assumption has been clearly expressed by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Planning is a necessary tool for many of the technical and administrative judgements, both political and economic, which units of local government in the large metropolitan areas are required to make continually. To be worthwhile and to serve a useful rather than academic purpose, the respective facets of metropolitan area planning must be closely geared into the practical decision-making process regarding land use, tax levies, public works, transportation, welfare programs, and the like. 1

A planning program related to decision-making and policy formation, then, is being increasingly embraced as a more effective planning method, especially within metropolitan areas. In response to this philosophy, an instrument called the "policy plan" has been developed which approaches community decisions on basic policies as a separate and distinct step in the planning process. Under such a procedure, a clear and explicit statement of policies, including goals and objectives, is seen as an integral part of the comprehensive plan.

While perhaps sound in theory, the guidelines for a policy planning undertaking are hazy, unclear, and confused. How can planning goals or policies receive consensus of the regional community when no clear channels of authority exists within the fragmented institutional composition

Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, State Legislative Program of the Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D. C.: (October, 1963), p. 87.

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of metropolitan areas? How can common goals for development be arrived at within the pluralistic value framework of a metropolitan society? Is, indeed, the professional planner qualified by training or inclination to determine the first expressions of goals or policies which may affect the social, economic, and physical environment of society? Even if he is so qualified, does the planner possess enough skill or diplomacy to obtain political agreement upon the policies or goals that he may set forth?

The many unanswered questions which are raised by undertaking policy planning call for definitive answers which are, perhaps, beyond the scope of this thesis. It is possible, however, to come to some tentative conclusions as to the vast scope of implications which confront the planner who undertakes a policy planning program. It is also possible to identify many of the apparent risks, problems, and potentials posed by a policy planning program. Finally, these findings can also be related to the implications and ramifications of the policy planning approach upon the planning process itself.

I. DIFFICULTIES, RISKS, AND PROBLEMS

One of the basic difficulties which confronts a planner who desires to undertake a policy planning program is the lack of guidelines or techniques for such an undertaking. Experience with policy planning programs has been limited to a very few metropolitan or regional planning commissions which have taken tentative steps in this direction. One of the prime objectives of Chapter III of this theses, therefore, was to outline in some detail the conceptual and procedural framework for the policy planning program of the Tri-County Planning Commission.

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Another real lack in current planning literature is any documentation of the problems or risks involved to the planner or to the planning agency in undertaking policy planning. Armed with an identification of the pitfalls which may be concealed along the policy planning path, the professional planner could, perhaps, steer a more judicious course in carrying out a policy planning program.

It is appropriate, therefore, to identify the difficulties and potential risks in undertaking policy planning as well as the benefits of such a program. This section will draw primarily upon the experience of the Tri-County program as a basis for identifying the difficulties and pitfalls of a policy planning operation. These difficulties are serious enough, perhaps, to constitute real "risks" to the success of any program of policy formation.

Technical Problems in Policy Preparation

Usually the planning process has emphasized a general plan expressed as a map of a desired land use pattern for some future date. If goals or objectives have been expressed at all, they have been considered in such general terms that they are almost meaningless. A typical master plan objective, for example, is "the promotion and protection of the public health, safety, peach, morals, comfort, convenience, and the general welfare"—a stern commitment to the better life. The past failure to give any real expression or emphasis to the underlying goals or policies upon which the

²Jefferson B. Fordham, "Planning for the Realization of Human Values," Planning 1960, American Society of Planning Officials, (Chicago, Illinois, 1960), p. 8.

master plan was based has been one of the critical weaknesses of the planning process, a weakness which has led to misunderstood or ineffectual master plans.

The function of the Tri-County Regions' Policy Plan was to separate and identify the tentative objectives, goals, and policies which were to be the basis of a comprehensive plan for the Region. In addition, these goals and policies were to serve as an interim tool which could be utilized by the Commission in recommending policy actions to local units of government. Therefore, the basic objective of the Policy Plan document was to obtain general agreement upon the policy framework of the plan from the Regions' decision-makers. With such agreement regarding its basic premise, the Regional Plan would hopefully become an acceptable and useable document which would guide local decisions relating to the physical, economic, and social development of the area.

This kind of program required the expression of both broad community goals and detailed statements of policy which could be used to influence everyday decisions. It required, furthermore, some discussion and identification of the growth trends and problems which would influence the selection of a wide range of alternative policies.³

This proved to be a difficult task from a technical standpoint.

The comprehension of all of the development goals that needed expression within a complex and urbanizing Region was, by itself, a major problem.

³The impact of alternative policies upon the land development patterns of the Region also needs identification under the Policy Plan approach. In the Tri-County program this identification will occur later in the "sketch plan" phase where the broad development alternatives, and their related policies, will be spelled out.

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When coupled with an attempt to articulate detailed policies which would implement the stated goals, the technical magnitude of the task became almost overwhelming. Each goal had to complement and harmonize with each succeeding goal; the policy statements under each goal also had to interrelate with and complement other policy statements.

The complicated technical problems associated with goal and policy formation are, however, merely a reflection of the complex number of growth forces which are at work within a metropolitan region. "In urban planning and development, we face the problem of planning the relationship of numerous variables for an integrated development to achieve a plurality of goals that are simultaneously operative in a metropolitan area." In simpler terms, numerous policy guides must be formulated to influence the development variables which determine urban growth. These policies, in turn, must satisfy a number of different goals which together will produce a more desirable physical environment.

For example, the amount, shape, and location of open space land will influence the chances of carrying out the recreation goals of the Region. The policies followed in redeveloping the central city areas of the Region will affect the fulfillment of cultural goals. The policies followed by various local governments in zoning regulations will affect the goal of "more orderly residential growth." Also, the stated goals and policies will unadvoidably have implications for much more than just physical

LiRobert C. Weaver, Housing and Home Finance Administrator, in an address before the Operations Research Society of America, Cleveland, Ohio, May 27, 1963 (mimeo, May 28, 1963), p. 2.

⁵Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Staff Report #2 - Regional Development Goals and Policy Statements, Op. Cit., p. 48.

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development, since much of the physical development which takes place is a reflection of non-physical objectives and goals.

Planners, by training and experience, have recognized the multiplicity of changing variables which influence urban development. In their
"comprehensive" approach to urban problems, they have also recognized the
interrelationships of these variables as they affect land use. However,
much of this recognition in the past has been reflected in the master plan
proposal. The policy planning process forces the planner to separate the
various factors which influence growth and requires him to articulate policies which will guide those factors toward a desired end.

The technical demands of delineating goals and policies can be summarized by the following statement by A. Benjamin Handler.

When planning was simply plan-making, the complexities were not so readily apparent. But with planning looked at in the (policy) sense, what emerges is a seemingly hopeless web of tangled interrelations undergoing constant and endless transformations.

In developing goals and in formulating policies, the planner soon becomes aware of the most serious technical problem of all—value judgements. The very selection of Regional goals, and their accompaning policies, "are essentially value judgements; they cannot be deducated by any logical process because they are basically subjective." The planner preparing goals and policies for community decision and action therefore runs the real risk of imposing his professional bias upon society.

⁶Benjamin Handler, "What is Planning Theory?", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1957), p. 147.

⁷Upstate New York Transportation Study, A Statement of Objectives for Transportation Planning, Albany, New York (November, 1962), p. 2.

If goals and policies are to be a realistic reflection of the desires of society, perhaps planners should "deliberatly identify basic and secondary, or instrumental, values and to shape a plan with appropriate sensitivity to those values."

The scope of such a task, however, is possibly beyond the capabilities of the professional planner. Moreover, the typical metropolitan area is a web of "complex persons pursuing a variety of economic and social goals. There is no image of the 'good metropolitan life'....*9 The absence, therefore, of a recognized set of values for the complex social composition within metropolitan areas makes the identification of a collective set of goals for that society extremely difficult. Yet goal formation and a collective package of policies to implement those goals is a basic ingredient in policy planning.

One method to minimize the risk of professional bias in formulating goals is, perhaps, by utilizing representative citizens to review the proposed goals and policies of the planner. This approach was utilized in the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission program but it, also, has ramifications.

Problems in Citizen Participation

Initially, the Tri-County Regional Flanning Commission created the Citizens Committee of the R_{ϵ} gional Advisory Council "for the purpose of soliciting opinions and views on the type and kind of physical development

⁸Fordham, Op. Cit., p. 7.

⁹Charles R. Adrian, Public Attitudes and Metropolitan Decision Making, Institute of Local Government, University of Pittsburg (1962), p. 5.

which is desired or anticipated within the Region. *10 This group was to review all phases of the Policy Plan, including in particular a critical review and appraisal of growth goals and development policies. 11 Another underlying purpose in utilizing a citizen's organization was to develop a broad basis of support for the Regional planning program. *If we want (regional) planning to succeed, not to be a fascinating intellectual exercise, we must make it interesting to people whom we expect to live by, and carry out, our plans.*12

By far the most important purpose of this citizen group, however, was the critical review of proposed goals and policies so that the professional bias of the planner would be checked and corrected. Planners, perhaps more than other professionals, are aware of their limitations and their biases. "The very gap that separates the thinking of the advanced planner from that of his clients tends to lead him to dictatorial measures. For his work teaches him that he can do little to achieve his goals by verbal persuasion..., "13

This kind of Citizen Committee function was, of course, a large and difficult undertaking. Most citizen groups in the past have been formed to participate in the planning program as a sounding board or pressure

¹⁰Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, The Regional Advisory Council: Its Purpose and Function, Op. Cit., p. 3.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 10.

¹²Dennis O'Harrow, editorial in ASPO Newsletter, Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials (April, 1963).

¹³ David Riesman, "Some Observations on Community Plans and Utopias," Individualism Reconsidered (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1954), p. 134.

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group to initiate certain specific action programs. 14 Very few have been formed for the more comprehensive purpose of forming growth goals or aiding the planner to determine the future physical form of the community, as was the purpose in the Tri-County program.

The Tri-County experience to date with the Citizens Committee of the Regional Advisory Council has not been entirely satisfactory. While the membership of this group was carefully selected, 15 there has been a noticeable lack of interest in the Policy Plan program. Difficulties were experienced in obtaining quorums for the meetings and the highest attendance at any meeting found nine of the fifteen members present.

Despite the poor attendance record, however, the first few meetings of the Citizens Committee stimulated encouraging debate and discussion. When the group reviewed the first staff report on broad Regional objectives, 16 for example, the discussion of the broad meaning and intent of these general goals flowed easily and freely. However, the review of the second staff report 17 prompted little debate or discussion. The overwhelming and confusing number of goals and policy statements may have been one reason for such lack of participation. When these goals and policy statements were

lliAmerican Society of Planning Officials, "Citizen Planning Groups,"
Planning Advisory Service, Information Report No. 11:9 (August, 1961), p. 4.

¹⁵ Some 15 citizen members were selected to represent, as far as possible, the geographic and special interest concerns of the Region. Included were representatives from the Region's universities, labor organizations, business community, agricultural organizations, and newspapers.

¹⁶Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Staff Report #1 - Regional Development Objectives, Op. Cit.

¹⁷Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Staff Report #2 - Regional Development Goals and Policy Statements, Op. Cit.

combined with a comprehensive statement of trends and problems within the Region, Staff Report #2 became a bulk and complicated document. If this document had been broken into at least two parts—one on trends and problems and another on goals and policies—a more direct linkage between trends, problems, goals and policies could possibly have been more clearly articulated. A better organized presentation, therefore, might have alleviated many misunderstandings and could have resulted in more fruitful citizen debate and discussion.

More basically, however, there appeared to be no real interest or concern on the part of citizens with the vital policies of government which intimately affect the physical environment. One could almost draw the conclusion that "Americans don't give a damn--or at least enough of a damn to submit to the discipline and controls that would be needed to change the (land use) pattern." Here again is a demonstration that planner's values may be different than the values held by the general public.

As indicated by the Tri-County experience, the unpleasant fact may be that the average citizen is not necessarily concerned with the abstract goals of efficient use of land, a better physical environment, or more orderly growth. His order of values may make other and more personal elements of first importance. Such interests as access to local decision—makers and local control over public school policy are perhaps of prime importance to the citizen. These facts may indicate the desirability

¹⁸ Charles R. Adrian, as quoted in Memo, Newsletter of the Michigan Chapter, American Institute of Planners (Fall, 1962), unpaginated.

¹⁹Charles R. Adrian, Public Attitudes and Metropolitan Decision Making, Op. Cit., pp. 4-8.

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of presenting full sets of policies and goals to citizen groups—policies which contain illustrative examples of the consequences of alternative policy actions upon taxation, economic development, quality of services, etc. In this way it may be possible to more clearly link the more personal value system of the lay citizen to the more general and objective values of the planner.

There are other related reasons why the lay citizen may not be especially concerned with the future physical environment. The average person adapts to his environment by choosing from what presently exists and he "does not envision himself as determining what shall exist." O Moreover, many citizens may be unaware of the undesirable aspects of the urban environment and may be content with life as they find it.

....for the average man the contemporary metropolis is a vast improvement over his share of the older city. Out of the row houses and tenements, the street car and the loft building, he has moved to the ranch house with its patio and two-car garage, the job in the pastel industrial park, the television, the children....²¹

In summary, the Tri-County experience with citizen participation indicates the difficulty of trying to involve the busy, action-oriented American citizen in the philosophical reasoning behind goal formation or in the need for public policies to improve the physical environment. As a result, little contribution has been made so far by the Citizens Committee of the Regional Advisory Council in formulating written goals and

²⁰Celia Vander Muhll, "The Use of Living Patterns and Attitude Surveys in Regional Planning," Research Document No. 11, Washington, D. C., Alan M. Voorhees and Associates, Inc. (n.d.), p. 65 (emphasis in original).

²¹ Greer, Op. Cit., p. 208.

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policies for the Tri-County Region.

And yet the Tri-County experience also indicates a most basic reason for the utilization of citizens in goal formation. For possibly one of the most revolutionary implications of the policy plan approach is that it requires the planner to express planning proposals in terms that make sense to the lay citizen. To be fully understood, often these expressions must break away from a concentration on physical development and articulate the social and economic consequences of urban growth in terms which can be grasped by the citizen.

Conflicting Attitudes Toward Government

One of the underlying causes of citizen reluctance to become involved in any real analysis of goals or policy proposals was, perhaps, a negative and suspicious attitude toward government. Many of the policies which were proposed to guide future Regional growth were, by necessity, controls requiring legislative implementation by local governments. While not explicitly expressed, both the citizen group and some members of the Regional Planning Commission itself were concerned with the creeping and growing influence of governmental controls upon the life styles of society.

The concern, of course, is legitimate and desirable. But negative attitudes toward the legitimate functions of government within a democratic society could have an adverse effect upon planning in general and policy planning in particular. For in policy planning the objective is to influence governmental decisions on matters relating to the urban environment through aggressively proposing policy actions to the governmental unit involved. Persons believing in limited powers and functions for local

governments tend, therefore, to suspect the very nature of a policy planning program. The values which society holds regarding the democratic function of government, then, can radically limit the scope and purpose of a policy plan undertaking.

Man, according to Aristotle, is a political animal. "He lives, not on his own, but in a society. Even at the most primitive level this involves some kind of organization, and from this source the notion of order is drawn." Since the time of the American revolution, however, the typical citizen has been deeply suspicious of the power of government. During the revolution the concept prevailed that "government, even it its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one."

This heritage from the past is reflected by many attitudes toward government today. The inherited ideology from a pre-modern era considers government intervention something necessarily undesirable, something to be avoided. Many Americans today still "tend to create a gulf between themselves and politics, preferring the worst connotation of the word to the best." Such attitudes complicate the very process of policy planning, for such a process involves the conscious seeking of social and physical goals. "To suggest that we canvass our public wants to see where happiness can be improved...has a sharply radical tone. Even public services

²²Betrand Russell, <u>Wisdom of the West</u> (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1959), p. 14.

²³Thomas Paine in "Common Sense" as set forth by Howard Fast, The Selected Work of Thomas Paine (New York: Random House, Inc., 1946), p. 6.

²⁴Ralph McGill, "The Need for Nice Men in Politics," The State Journal, Lansing, Michigan (February 4, 1964.)

to avoid disorder must be defended."25

Conflicting philosophies and negative attitudes toward the function of government, therefore, can constitute a real barrier to effective use of policy plans. For policy proposals require governmental decisions and these decisions spell politics. Moreover, within the present institutional framework of planning, governmental consideration and action upon policies which affect the public welfare is the only effective alternative available to effectuate planning proposals. And planning proposals intimately affect society's needs and wants. "In our society the democratic process is the only proper means for resolving the conflicting value judgements of the community. When experts are entrusted with a multitude of value judgements, sanctions must be available...to insure that experts will conform to the democratically formulated value judgements." 26

For policy planning to become an effective instrument within the planning process, public attitudes toward the democratic process of government must move toward a more enlightened and realistic viewpoint. A wise combination of public and private opinion channeled through the decision-making process of a democratic government is needed not only to promote a more desirable physical environment, but to preserve individual rights as well. For it is "the paradox of this phase of the democratic experiment that only through a resourceful and compassionate use of the instrumentalities

²⁵ John K. Galbraith, The Affluent Society (New York: Mentor Books, 1958), p. 211.

²⁶Peter H. Nash and Dennis Durden, "A Task-Force Approach to Replace the Planning Board," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 30, No. 1 (February, 1964), p. 21.

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of government can individual rights and democratic values be preserved. "27

Risks in Political Involvement

The problems and difficulties which have been identified are perhaps limitations to be overcome rather than reasons not to proceed with policy planning. Political involvement on the part of the planner and the planning agency is, however, a risk to the very function of planning itself. And political involvement is a basic premise of policy planning.

The traditional process of planning has historically been separated from the mainstream of political activity. This heritage dates from the very beginnings of the planning movement and its association with the dogmas of political reform. Nevertheless, politics and planning have over the years developed a limited, if uneasy, relationship. The realization slowly has come that plans, in reality, are fraught with policies which require political action if they are to be implemented. Implementation, however, has traditionally been attempted through the various legal tools of soning, subdivision regulations, and an occasional program of capital improvements. While there were "policies" in a broad sense, they were often acted upon for other reasons than the effectuation of a pre-determined, long-range plan.²⁸ The limited number of master plan proposals which have received implementation have usually been special action programs related to special and

²⁷Walter P. Reuther, "Policies for Automation: A Labor Viewpoint," The Annals, Vol. 340 (March, 1962), p. 109.

²⁸For example, zoning became almost disassociated from planning with its popular acceptance and many zoning ordinances were not based upon a comprehensive plan but, rather, were adopted to set and preserve existing property values (See Walker, Op. Cit., pp. 48-59.)

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specific interests of the community, such as a downtown improvement program or a slum clearance project.

A policy planning program seeks to change radically this past procedure. It attempts to articulate clearly the objectives, goals, and policies as a separate and distinct instrument which will form the basis of the comprehensive plan. After such identification, it seeks to obtain agreement upon these goals and policies by the community's decision-makers. In the Tri-County program, this procedure will be carried one step further and the policies which are articulated will, in appropriate cases, be transmitted to local units of government for their adoption. This is a basic step for "if one reflects back on the process by which a policies plan would be created and adopted, it becomes clear that this can occur only through the workings of a responsible unit of government..." 29

The implications of this concept are obvious. For if planning goals and policies are submitted to the public for review and consensus they also become the subject of political debate. When the sacred elements of the comprehensive plan are set forth for public scrutiny, they may be found lacking or unacceptable. Moreover, the decisions which are made in the public arena may be made on the basis of political expediency rather than on the basis of sound planning. Therefore, the goals, policies, and objectives which are the very basis for a comprehensive plan could become a watered-down group of expressions recognizing only the limited and expedient concerns of the present.

²⁹Fagin, Op. Cit., p. 114.

When planning and politics have mixed in the past, the result has often been failure. Shortly after World War II, the Chicago Plan Commission released a preliminary master plan to the public for review and comment. The plan came under intense attack by citizen groups interested in planning, The charge was that the plan was no plan at all but only a means of preserving the status quo. The principal factor underlying the limited scope of the plan was the domination of the Plan Commission by conservative business and political interests. 30

Folitics not only can affect the content of the comprehensive plan itself but entrance into the field of policy formation can threaten the very life of a public agency. During its existence, the National Resources Planning Board carried major policy proposals to the public through a very active publications program. The philosophy of the Board ultimately conflicted with the opinions and philosophies of Congress. Basically because of this idealogical conflict, Congress eliminated all budget appropriations to the Board and it was disbanded. These and other similar experiences led Walker to the conclusion that "planning agencies at any level are miscast when they assume the function of political leadership." 32

These past failures, however, may have been partly due to a <u>lack</u> of democratic political involvement. The National Resources Planning Board, for example, carried their proposals to people and officials which were <u>outside</u> of the normal political decision-making process. If the policy

³⁰ Walker, Op. Cit., p. 359.

³¹ Toid., p. 365.

³²Ibid. p. 368.

debate had been undertaken through the Congress as a policy-making body, then perhaps policy differences could have been resolved or compromised. This would suggest that the risks involved in non-involvement in politics may be greater than open and direct political debate. Policy planning, then, must follow the democratic procedure if it is to be successful—a procedure which requires submission of policy proposals to a legislative body for debate, modification, and approval.

Nevertheless, political involvement is a serious break from the past heritage of planning which must be cautiously considered in light of the frightening risks involved. Indeed, the risks, difficulties, and problems involved in carrying out a program of policy formation are of such magnitude that the wisdom of undertaking a policy planning program is subject to serious question. Do the potentials of such a program really outweighthe pitfalls inherent in policy formation? Does a policy planning process truly widen the scope and dimension of planning? In addition to the risks already identified, what are the impacts and implications of this kind of program on the planning process? On the role of the professional planner?

These and related questions will need answering before the full impact of policy planning can be judged and assessed.

II. POTENTIALS AND IMPLICATIONS OF POLICY PLANNING

With increased concern for the problems and challenges presented by metropolitan growth has come a greater understanding of the social and economic forces which influence physical development. A greater understanding of these forces has prompted the notion that regional growth cannot really be influenced or controlled unless the dynamic forces which foster

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such growth are manipulated and controlled. The conventional planning process, with its emphasis upon a mapped design proposal, has been found to be an insufficient technique for documenting the detailed interrelationships which cause urban development.

With greater understanding of the process by which urban growth occurs has come an increased awareness that public decision, and in particular public policies, have a great impact upon physical growth patterns. For example, a direct correlation can be found between the extension of water and sewer lines and the direction and density of residential development. Similar relationships can be measured between the location of new schools and parks and the direction of urban growth. While the convential master plan took these factors and relationships into consideration, they were not expressed or articulated as separate and distinct factors that could be controlled to influence growth alternatives.

The master plan emphasis upon a physical design pattern also did not clearly identify the related economic and social factors which influenced growth patterns. The economic dependence of local governmental units upon the property tax as a source of funds has often resulted in "fiscal zoning." This causes small villages or cities within a region to overzone for industrial or commercial activity rather than to base zoning on a sound plan for the future development of the region. The most technically

³³Stuart F. Chapin, "Taking Stock of Techniques for Shaping Urban Growth," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Op. Cit., pp. 80-81.

³⁴Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, Metropolitan Planning, Op. Cit., p. 116.

competent plan cannot solve this kind of economic problem unless the basic taxing policies within the region are adjusted or changed.

It is becoming more and more apparent, then, that public policies and decisions can help shape and influence urban growth. Such recognition has prompted an increased emphasis upon development policies for urban regions which are based upon pre-determined goals and objectives. And the indications are that such a procedure can be effective. In the National Housing Act of 1949, the stated objective of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family was set forth. "Although general in its words, this statement...was far-reaching in its implications" for it helped foster a new era with broader horizons and new opportunities to solve housing problems.

Many other examples of existing or potential policy influences on development can be documented. The influence of F.H.A. standards upon housing development are well-known. In addition to enforcing underwriting standards, F.H.A. policies could have a direct benefit in guiding local land developments if they were coordinated with local land use objectives. 36 Likewise, innovations in residential design concepts have been encouraged by Section 233 of the 1961 National Housing Act by permitting F.H.A. mortgage insurance for experimental housing developments which will improve neighborhood design. 37

³⁵Report of the Policy Committee, American Institute of Planners, National Housing Policy, Washington, D. C. (October, 1963), p. 1.

³⁶Stuart F. Chapin, "Taking Stock of Techniques for Shaping Urban Growth," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Op. Cit., p. 81.

³⁷Urban Land Institute, Innovations vs. Traditions in Community Development, Washington, D. C., Technical Bulletin 47 (December, 1963), p. 101.

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Positive programs of a regional nature have also been influenced by policy considerations. The plan for the Washington, D. C. region³⁸ proposed a development policy whereby a number of new cities spread along major transportation routes would be created. The new town of Reston is presently being developed under this concept.

...the Year 2000 Plan was created as a policy to guide areawide urban development. It is an important attempt to structure metropolitan growth. Significantly, Reston was conceived as a key part of the urban development within the western 'corridor' of the Year 2000 Plan. 39

The potential of a planning program linked to public policy decisions is receiving increased recognition, especially on the part of the federal government. Federal grants under Section 701 of the Housing Act are now requiring that a statement of community goals and policies become an integral part of the preparation of a master plane 10 In addition, metropolitan or regional planning programs carried on with federal aid must demonstrate that there is in existance a representative committee of local elected officials that will participate in the development of planning policies and in the review of planning proposals... 11 Under these requirements, the regional planning function becomes more closely related to the political decision-making process.

³⁹ From an address given by Gordon Edwards, Chief of the Planning Branch, H.H.F.A., before the Fairfax County Federation of Citizen Associations, Annandale, Va., January 16, 1964 (mimeo).

⁴⁰ Housing and Home Finance Agency, Urban Planning Program Guide, Washington, D. C. (September, 1963), Chapter 2, Section 3, p. 1.

⁴¹ Ibid., Chapter 3, Section 3, p. 9.

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New state legislation is also being proposed which would make the objectives and goals of the planning commission a part of public policy. The proposed enabling legislation of the State of Kentucky illustrates this trend.

The statement of goals and objectives is prepared by the (planning) commission and is then presented to the legislative bodies of the cities or counties, which form the planning unit, for their adoption. By the development of a statement and its presentation to the legislative bodies it is hoped that some consensus on planning goals can be reached which will enable planning in the community to be comprehensive in scope. Once the statement of objectives has been adopted by the community, all public building projects which are constructed must be referred to the planning commission for compliance with the comprehensive plan. 42

These, then, are some of the trends which demonstrate the growing potential and desirability of keying the planning function to the policy decisions of government. Such potential holds the promise of truly effective planning which can influence urban growth by proposing development policies for public debate and implementation. Rather than a complete emphasis upon plan-making, the potentialities of policy planning would indicate a new planning dimension where planning would be established mas a way of making decisions (which) may be more important than any single plan produced. The produced of the p

¹⁴² From "A Summary of Revised Kentucky Planning Legislation,"

Newsletter, Ohio Valley Chapter, American Institute of Planners (February, 1964), unpaginated.

¹³Robert B. Mitchell, Metropolitan Planning for Land Use and Transportation, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, (March, 1961), p. 112.

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Moreover, new attitudes are being formulated in an urbanizing society which hold much promise for the wider horizons of policy planning.

Changing Responsibilities of Government

In an age of rapidly expanding technology, human and social attitudes are being re-shaped to meet the needs of an urbanizing nation. "In our new urban age of mass society, mass production, and mass consumption,...urbanism should be viewed as an evolving, ascendant, world-wide mode of consciousness which is creating new attitudes..."

The critical environmental and human problems fostered by urbanism have resulted in an altering of American political patterns and have stimulated changing national attitudes toward government. A rapidly urbanizing and well-educated society can no longer solve the problems created by a technological revolution without utilizing the instrumentalities of government. Democratic government, in turn, is becoming more responsive to a "new technology putting added emphasis upon rational problem-solving, upon a refined decision-making process."

While conflicting attitudes toward governmental purposes still exist within society, as identified in the first section of this chapter, the evidence would indicate these attitudes are slowly changing. **Encouragingly there seems to be strong evidence that the openness of our political structures is increasing. Leadership is more open than it once was to all

Harness, Op. Cit., p. 1.

⁴⁵Thomas L. Whisler and George P. Shultz, "Automation and the Management Process," The Annals, Op. Cit., p. 88.

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segments of the community..., Moreover, a rapidly urbanizing society is turning more and more to the process of government for solutions to metropolitan problems. These increased demands, in turn, are fostering a wider concept of the governmental function.

As new developments take place in science and industry, new demands are imposed upon government. What we may consider to be the legitimate functions of government in the future may be greatly different from our ideas at the present time. 47

Under these wider concepts of government, the slum is no longer a private concern, suburban sprawl is no longer the exclusive responsibility of the speculative developer, and housing quality is no longer controlled by the private builder. "The dispensation of land, while still technically in private hands, now lies in the shadow of government: government power, government regulation, government purchase, government insurance, government subsidy." 148

The widening scope of government, then, provides an encouraging vehicle for policy plans which are geared to implementation through governmental decisions. Under such an allegiance the scope of planning could become as broad as the scope of government and "community planning...

(would) include all of the activities that government has to make decisions about. **19

⁴⁶York Willbern, Op. Cit., p. 169.

⁴⁷Webster, Op. Cit., p. 550.

⁴⁸ Abrams, Op. Cit., p. 223.

¹⁹ Joseph M. Heikoff, Planning and the Urban Community, Op. Cit., p. 123.

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Would the promise of wider planning horizons tied to governmental implementation offset the risks of political involvement by the planner or the planning agency? Perhaps, depending to a degree upon the administrative techniques utilized to present planning policies to respective units of government. If, for example, public administrators and elected officials participated in the actual formulation of planning goals and policies, then the final enactment of policies by the local unit of government could be facilitated and political conflicts minimized. 50

While the widening responsibilities of government can provide the vehicle by which planning policies are implemented, this does not mean that government should control or dominate direction-finding. "As controls are applied, in our cities and elsewhere, the protections to freedom must become in considerable measure procedural protections. The needed protection is against arbitrary control—control exerted without deliberation...."

Rather, government should provide an orderly framework through which the end-directions of society can be channeled.

⁵⁰ Under the Tri-County program, Policy Plans as well as other planning proposals will be critically reviewed by a Governmental Coordinating Committee made up of elected officials representing various governments within the Region. By such a procedure it is hoped that the planning policies which are eventually transmitted to individual governments for adoption will be acted upon favorably, since officials will have had a prior opportunity to review and discuss such policies in Committee activities. Political debate and conflicts therefore could be minimized under this administrative procedure. This kind of framework also assumes that while the planning for the Region must be viewed as an entity, the individual authority and responsibilities of local units of government must be respected and reconciled with Regional interests. Also they are the people who must ultimately act upon policy planning proposals.

⁵¹York Willbern, Op. Cit., p. 169.

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The ends and purposes of government...may be summed up under the term the "commonweal" or the common good. This assumes that there is a community made up of human personalities... (having) purposes, values, and interests in common...52

The policy planning function could, perhaps, contribute to such a democratic governmental framework through the conscious seeking of long term growth directions with the aid of responsible citizens. Through such a procedure, value-oriented goals and policies can be afforded the widest possible public debate and criticism prior to their enactment by political decision-makers. Such participation could solidify the concept "that the democratic system of government is one in which the will of the people is the source of public power, the political order is subordinate to the rights of man, and the free participation of the citizen in collective decisions is assured...."53

Changing Degrees of Citizen Participation

The first section of this chapter documented the problems and difficulties of integrating citizen groups into the policy planning process. Yet "citizen education and participation in the planning process...remains at one and the same time a pious hope, a delusion—and yet a necessary goal in planning." The need for citizen participation in policy planning is

⁵²Charles E. Merriam, Systematic Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), pp. 31-32.

⁵³From the Preamble of the Puerto Rican Constitution as quoted by Reginold Isaacs, Planning 1959 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1959), p. 53.

⁵⁴ Isaacs, Op. Cit., p. 55.

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especially critical for the very process of delineating goals and policies affect the life, liberty, and property of the public.

There are hopeful signs that the future may hold added citizen interest and concern with matters which affect the urban community. The Protestant ethic of work as an end in itself has been altered through an advancing technology which provides a high level of living and increasing leisure time.

The net effect of automation would appear to be a continuation of the already existing trend toward a leisure-oriented society in which work is viewed as an exclusively economic activity and in which activities other than work serve to provide meaningful experiences for the individual and to relate him to his community.

As environmental problems increase in an urbanized society, it seems reasonable to assume that much of the individual's leisure time interests will be channeled into community affairs. Hoover, for example, suggests that the present social and economic trends are leading toward a new orientation of the individual's attitudes toward both work and citizenship. 56

He envisions that the future urban citizen will increasingly be concerned with direction-finding and man increasing number of responsible individual citizens will be engaging in the adventurous game of formulating concepts of end direction. 57

Evidence indicates that the metropolitan citizen is becoming more interested and more concerned with plans which affect his environment.

⁵⁵William A. Faunce (and others), "Automation and the Employee," The Annuals, Op. Cit., p. 68.

⁵⁶Hoover, Op. Cit., r. 6.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 7 (emphasis in the original).

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This is especially true of urban renewal proposals where much of the recent citizen concern has been of a critical nature. St. An increased citizen interest in community environment is also demonstrated by Detroits' experience. Here, a ten-fold increase in the number of neighborhood organizations has occurred during the last ten years. More significantly, many of these groups were "enlarging their sphere of operations to include not only the physical aspects of urban living, but the social and cultural as well."

These trends, then, provide a hopeful indication that citizen's attitudes toward participation in community affairs will change for the better. Here, again, is reason for optimism in undertaking policy planning programs. The exciting potential of policy planning can be greatly aided by dedicated citizens working through the democratic process to formulate development policies, aided by the professional planner and other specialists.

The potentials of policy planning, therefore, contain far-reaching benefits to the planning function and to a more democratic process of government by which end-directions are openly and publicly arrived at. Moreover, policy planning can be a process which provides the framework for a progressively more responsible role for the citizen in public affairs.

Coupled with this exciting potential are the implications and demands which policy planning places upon the scope and function of the planning

⁵⁸ James O. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29, No. 4 (November, 1963).

⁵⁹Michael Parks, "Block Clubs Use a New Broom," The Detroit News (February 23, 1964).

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process. For if the fullest potential of policy planning is to be realized, the scope and knowledge of urban planning must be expanded.

Implications to the Flanning Process

The focus of policy planning is similar to that of the traditional planning process. El It is therefore concerned with the efforts of society to shape and improve the total urban environment. Like the conventional process of planning, a policy plan seeks to influence the social, economic, and technological forces which shape the physical environment. The ultimate goals, therefore, ware clearly social, although the (policy) plans themselves are related to physical things and physical places. **62*

However, development of physical plans in the past has "been worked out without adequate attention to the influences of environment and the other forces that motivate people's actions and desires." In addition, the past criteria utilized by planners in making decisions relating to the physical environment have often been based upon such broad principles as "efficiency" of land use or "minimizing" the journey-to-work. 64

⁶¹ There is debate, however, on the scope of a policy planning function. Fagin, among others, sees policy planning as an activity which encompasses "all of the activities that government has to make decisions about." (Fagin, Op. Cit.) Under such a definition, policy planning would include the municipal budgetary function, the maintenance and serving function, and the welfare function as well as matters which relate to, and affect, the physical use of land.

⁶² John T. Howard, Planning and the Urban Community, Op. Cit., p. 153.

^{63&}lt;sub>Webster</sub>, Op. Cit., p. 552.

⁶⁴John W. Dyckman, "Planning and Decision Theory," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 4 (November, 1961), p. 343.

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The policy planning process forces the planner to separate and clearly and specifically identify the multitude of goals and policies which affect the physical environment. Because of such a process, the planner can no longer fall back upon broad principles as reasons for a certain growth proposal. Those principles or criteria can be used, certainly, but they must be refined into clear statements of policy which logically support the reasons why certain decisions should be made. The increasing complexity of the urban planning process is therefore more adequately recognized through the undertaking of policy plans.

In addition to the complexity of the task, policy planning creates a tremendous need for a widened scope of planning. If policy plans are to suggest goals for the human environment, then planners must learn more about the intricate facets of existing human attitudes, activities, and values. The planning function, therefore, must expand its scope and change its emphasis so that more knowledge is obtained not only of society's value system but of society's preferences for goods and services. For "the more planners can learn about urban behavior and attitudes the more precisely they may be able to evaluate the probable consequence of their proposals, and to assist the decision-makers in making a rational choice among alternatives."

Policy planning, then, indicates a need for knowing more about the values, goals, and desires of the community as a whole. Moreover, the planning process must utilize new techniques to obtain more sophisticated

⁶⁵ Vander Muhll, Op. Cit., p. 7.

and accurate measurements of these human wants and needs.66

More knowledge of peoples' wants and desires presupposes and understanding of social behavior. With policy planning, the planner can no longer make assumptions of what people want or ought to want. Rather, new knowledge must be obtained through the social sciences regarding the problems and differences in social status and race, shortage of job opportunities, inadequate education, and low income. In short, if policies and goals are to be formulated to improve the human environment, then the problems, difficulties, needs, and desires of people must be known.

Our urban society is dynamic, and the planner must be ever seeking to discover what are the factors and the influences that are motivating the activities of individuals. It is possible that much of the motivation comes from social values and intangible influences rather than influences of physical environment. Planning progress for the future should seek to discover what these values are and take them into account.

Policy planning emphasizes rational decision-making through the instrumentalities of government. Yet there is little, if any, emphasis in planning today upon the decision-making process or upon the science of politics. But unlike the conventional planning process, policy planning programs place their primary emphasis upon decision-making and the political process of government.

For such emphasis to be effective, more knowledge is needed in decision theory, political science, and the legal and philosophical basis

⁶⁶ Community attitude surveys may be a step in this direction but techniques in using this process must be refined and improved before sophisticated judgements of values and wants can be obtained.

⁶⁷Webber, Op. Cit., p. 235.

⁶⁸Webster, Op. Cit., p. 554.

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of government. Such a framework of knowledge, moreover, would enable the planning process to expand its scope and utilize more sophisticated analysis techniques. Better techniques, in turn, can foster wiser goals and policies, as well as greater knowledge of the interaction of these goals and policies upon the physical environment.

The newly developing decision models—which rely upon the new data, the new theory, and, equally, upon the goal hypotheses of politicians and planners—are already permitting us to simulate what would happen if given policies were adopted, and thus to pre-test the relative effectiveness of alternative courses of action in accomplishing stated ends.

The realization of such possibilities, however, requires a shift in emphasis in planning to the more sophisticated techniques of system analysis, cost-benefit analysis, and operations research undertakings. Through systems analysis, for example, development of written and mathematical models could possibly "test the implications for land development of putting into effect different policy combinations." The consideration of policies as part of an interrelated system of decisions would also facilitate the use of operations research techniques. "Operations research has been described as an analytic method of studying the operation of a system or an integrated set of actions."

These new techniques, perhaps coupled with more sophisticated benefit-cost analysis and electronic data processing, can apply scientific

⁶⁹Webber, Op. Cit., p. 236.

⁷⁰Stuart F. Chapin, "Taking Stock of Techniques for Shaping Urban Growth," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Op. Cit., p. 82.

⁷¹ Melville C. Branch, Jr., "Planning and Operations Research,"
Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol 25, No. 4 (November, 1959), p. 170.

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methodology in arriving at an objective basis for selecting policies which will benefit the public as a whole. 72 And, hopefully, such techniques will provide an urgently needed "formal process of setting metropolitan development goals as a matter of governmental policy, and a technical capability of demonstrating which course of action will best attain those goals." 73

Policy planning, then, enlarges and to a great degree changes the scope and emphasis of the planning process. To be truly effective as a technique, a policy planning program must encompass a wider range of knowledge, ideas, and analysis than has been possible under the traditional planning process.

If the impact of policy planning upon the planning process is both exciting and demanding, so is its impact upon the role of the planner. For yesterday's planner could "appraise the relatively limited number of alternatives, react intuitively, and in the majority of cases render the 'right' decision. In contrast, the planner of tomorrow may discover that the attributes of 'good sense', intuition, and practical experience are inadequate to cope with the complexity of modern urbanism." 74

The Planner's Role

The synthesizing of many related fields and technical applications

⁷²Russell L. Ackoff, "Op. Search: What It Is - How It Is Conducted - What It Will Do," Chemical Engineering Progress, Vol. 58, (January, 1957), pp. 45-75.

⁷³Upstate New York Transportation Studies, Central Organization for Urban Transportation Planning, Albany, New York (January, 1964), p. 14.

⁷⁴Glenn W. Ferguson, <u>Planning and the Urban Community</u>, <u>Op. Cit.</u>, p. 195.

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places an additional burden upon the knowledge and wisdom of the professional planner. Obviously, any one profession cannot be knowledgeable or proficient in all of the fields of study and research which are desirable for a policy planning approach.

However, the need for an expanded awareness of social science, political science, history, economics, government, decision theory, and related techniques, such as systems analysis, suggests that the planner of tomorrow may need to assume a different role.

In addition to acquiring more knowledge and insight of the complex mechanisms of urban growth, tomorrow's policy planner may be the generalist who coordinates and administers the findings of a number of related professions and channels those findings through the decision-making process of government. Such a role would place the planner in a unique position of public trust which would challenge his wisdom, integrity, and leadership within an urban society.

Policy planning, therefore, could place the professional planner in a new role of leadership, particularly within metropolitan regions. He may become, in Adrian's words, "a kind of group therapist, a community hand holder, and a verbalizer of our ideals." If the planner is to delineate society's goals, he must be a keeper of society's values and wants. If he is to suggest desirable policies, the planner must be sensitive to and aware of human needs. And if he is to implement those policies through government, the planner must possess political ideals which do not encroach upon individual freedoms.

⁷⁵ Charles R. Adrian, <u>Fublic Attitudes and Metropolitan Decision</u>
Making, Op. Cit., p. 14.

This is a role for which the typical planner is poorly prepared. In the past "planners have been mesmerized by their maps, charts, and models and by the physical aspects of planning, frequently overlooking social, economic, and, in particular, political factors." Past professional attitudes toward government and politics must therefore be adjusted or changed if the planner is to meet the policy planning challenge.

Association with the anti-political bias of the reform movement and the protective shadows of an independent planning board have left the professional planner with a heritage of suspicion and fear of politics. Moreover, the planner has traditionally approached urban problems with the assumption that there is a "right" answer or a "right" principle which will reveal a solution. When confronted with a political decision of major consequence, planners therefore are severely handicapped by their inability to surrender the image of a right answer or to engage in political compromise. 77 Yet if planning policies are to be guided through political systems by the planner, he must become adept at political maneuvering and, simultaneously, be true to professional principles.

To undertake leadership in policy planning, the planner must see his role in a new light. He must be willing to take the risks and responsibilities of a public administrator deeply immersed in the democratic process of government. He must, perhaps, look at his profession in the same light as the city manager.

⁷⁶ Clifford Campbell, "Legislators and Planners," Flanning 1959, Op. Cit., p. 32.

^{77&}lt;sub>Martin</sub> A. Meyerson and E. C. Banfield, <u>Politics</u>, <u>Planning and the Public Interest</u> (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 85-86.

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The city manager as a community leader submits policy proposals to the council and provides the council with facts and advice on matters of policy to give the council a basis for making decisions on community goals. 73

Planners have traditionally prized their technical status as planmakers and advisors and have been reluctant to step into the policy-making arena. Indeed, professional participation in policy formulation raises ethical questions. Under traditional theory, the professional simply executes the decisions and policies of government rather than participating in their formulation. The goals and policies of society, however, are perhaps too important to be determined by the legislative body alone. To be a true expression of society's wants and values, the end directions of governmental policy should be subjected to the pressures and controversies of all of the public, including professionals. For within the democratic process of government "decision-making...is most likely to turn out an acceptable end product when the professional bureaucracy is a responsible partner of the political leadership."

Such a role for the planner demands the utmost recognition and respect for the values of the democratic process. It demands that they see their public service careers as instruments within the governmental process rather than as a challenge to their professionalism. It requires that the planner view his job in society as a means to implement the highest ideals of the community, rather than as an observer of the urban scene. S1

⁷⁸The city manager's code of ethics as quoted in Meyerson and Ban-field, Ibid., p. 202.

⁷⁹Fritz Morestein Marx, The Administrative State (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 2-3.

^{80&}lt;sub>Tbid., p. 185.</sub>

⁸¹ Hoover, Op. Cit., p. 6.

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A planner's role tied to political direction-finding has obvious political risks. For when goals and value judgements are debated, political conflict and controversy results. Therefore, to carry out the needed new directions of policy formation requires the moral courage to enter the rough and tumble field of political controversy. "Whether in politics or in bureaucratic and managerial administration...the moral courage of the individual will be called upon with ever sharper urgency to preserve its integrity under the relentless pressure of mankind's material progress." And the arena of politics "imposes special tests of courage" upon all of its participants, including planners.

The challenge of policy planning, then, holds both exciting promises and frightening risks for tomorrow's planner. To meet this challenge, he must develop an enlightened concept of his professional role within an urban society.

Conclusion: A New Planning Dimension

The American centers of metropolitan population face a challenge as exciting as that which confronted the fathers of the Republic. The complexity of urban society places a new demand upon our people to address themselves to the needs of the day with a dedication and sacrifice which will equal if not exceed those of the nation's founders.

The professional planner can become a guiding force in meeting the challenges of an urban age. To do so, however, requires a changed

⁸²Compton Mackenzie, Certain Aspects of Moral Courage, (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962), p. 243.

⁸³John F. Kennedy, Profiles in Courage (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956), p. 246.

⁸⁴Hoover, Op. Cit., p. 23.

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professional attitude coupled with a fresh concept of public responsibility. For if urban growth is to be influenced in any material way, a new planning approach may be necessary—an approach tied to policy implementation of planning proposals.

To be successful, however, a policy planning approach must overcome many obstacles. It must overcome the past heritage of a physical planning emphasis, a past reluctance to associate with the political process of government, and the past bias of a grand plan as the solution to all urban ills.

There are other deep and penetrating problems in policy formation.

The confusing lack of any agreed-upon social goals, the complex value system of an urban society, the discouraging evidence of citizen lethergy regarding the urban environment—all present serious questions as to the validity of the policy plan approach.

other difficulties and limitations must be overcome before really effective policy plans can become a reality. A staggering amount of new knowledge about urbanism and its by-products to society must be obtained. A disturbing number of new techniques must be understood and mastered. A distressing number of attitude changes must take place toward government and the physical environment. And perhaps most serious of all, the basic concepts of planners regarding their professional role and purpose must be re-examined and a new moral direction must be developed. Such a redirection of professional purpose would place the planner in a new position of responsibility for posing the great issues of urban life, for providing the opportunity for wide public debate of those issues, and for recommending courses of public action which would enhance man's environment.

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Yet despite the serious risks, and perhaps because of the challenging problems, the promise of policy planning lights the dim and discouraging darkness which surrounds ineffectual plans. For here is a concept which holds the promise of identifying community values and arriving at community goals; of documenting the forces which influence the urban environment and formulating policies to guide those forces to pre-conceived goals; of developing plans with an agreed-upon framework of public policies which would be acceptable to and utilized by public decision-makers to create a more livable urban environment.

These, then, are the challenges and the promises of policy plans.

Their impact and implications truly present a significant new dimension to the planning process.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

GOALS FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Residential Areas

- I. More Efficient and Economical Settlement Patterns
- II. More Pleasing Residential Design
- III. Development of Neighborhood Units
- IV. Preserve and Enhance Established Residential Areas
- V. A Wider Variety of Housing Choice
- VI. More Orderly Residential Growth

Commercial Areas

- I. Development of Attractive and Healthy Commercial Districts
- II. Separate Commercial Uses from Residential Districts
- III. Restrict Commercial Strips
 - IV. Stabilize and Improve Existing Regional Centers
 - V. A Realistic Allocation of Commercial Land

Industrial Areas

- I. A Broad and Diversified Industrial Base
- II. An Objective Analysis of Regional Industrial Potential

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- III. Provision of Desirable Industrial Land
- IV. A Realistic Allocation of Industrial Land
- V. Rehabilitate or Replace Deteriorating or Obsolete Industrial Areas
- VI. Promote Sound Economic Growth

Agricultural Areas

- I. Continuation of Agriculture as a Basic Regional Industry
- II. A Better Identification of Rural Problems and Needs
- III. Preservation of Frime Agricultural Land
 - IV. Coordinate Rural Planning with Regional Open Space Needs
 - V. Additional Economic Opportunities within Rural Areas
 - VI. Promote Sound Raral Development

Parks and Open Space

- I. A Balanced and Adequate Regional Park System
- II. A Comprehensive Park System which will Shape Regional Growth
- III. A Region-wide Open Space Program
 - IV. Provide Better Recreation Facilities for all Age Groups
 - V. Acquire or Reserve Fark Sites in Advance of Development
- VI. Acquire and Develop Regional Parks

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Water and Natural Resources

- I. Wise and Optimum Use of Water and Natural Resources
- II. Better Flood Control and Flood Prevention Measures
- III. Conserve the Ground Water Resource
 - IV. Stabilize and Improve the Surface Water Rescurce
 - V. Provide a Regional System of Multiple-Purpose Reservoirs
- VI. Effective Control of Artifical Lake Developments

Transportation and Circulation

- I. A Balanced and Efficient Transportation System
- II. A Transportation System to Shape as well as Serve Regional Growth
- III. Better Locations and Improved Design of Major Transportation Arteries
- IV. Encourage Mass Transit Facilities
- V. Implement a Region-wide Transportation System

Schools and Public Facilities

- I. Guide Future Growth by Provision of Public Facilities
- II. More Attractive and Efficient Public Buildings
- III. Efficiently Located School Services
 - IV. Acquire School Sites in Advance of Development

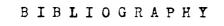
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Planning and Implementation

- I. Better Planning Coordination
- II. Effective Regional and Local Planning
- III. More affective Implementation of Plans

Source: Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, Staff Report #2 - Regional Development Goals and Policy Statements, Lansing, Michigan (October, 1963), pp. 44-75.



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