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ELEVEN
VIEWS

COLLABORATIVE DESIGN IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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Jacob Pearce, Editor

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INTRODUCTION

ELEVEN VIEWS: Collaborative Design in Community Development is closely related to a pair of previous Student Publications that deal with the changing role of the designer. **Response to Environment** (Vol. 18, Nos. 1 and 2) was acclaimed for its comprehensive treatment of perceptual aspects of the physical environment and for its attention to value formulation. **Design and Community** (Vol. 19, No. 2) focused on citizen participation in design at the building level, utilizing reports of experiences of the Community Development Group, directed by Henry Sanoff, Associate Professor of Architecture at North Carolina State University. While no attempt was made to make these related issues dovetail, it is recognized that **ELEVEN VIEWS**, by emphasizing collaborative design primarily at the planning level, is part of that stream of thought and action the central idea of which is social responsibility in design.

The staff of the Student Publication for Vol. 20, No. 2 called upon the experience of Peter Batchelor, Associate Professor of Urban Design in the School of Design, to coordinate an issue which would bring together in one publication the current diverse thinking on collaborative design processes. The resulting anthology (as it is perhaps most accurately characterized) affords the reader the advantage of perceiving eleven distinct points of view side by side; the views range from theory to problems of application, from criticism of professional policy to the methodology of public participation in planning and urban design.

ELEVEN VIEWS springs from experts representing a wide range of design-related disciplines from over the nation. Many of the contributors have multi-discipline experience and interests. It is the intent of the Student Publication to contribute significantly to design literature by publishing this collection.

Jacob Pearce, Editor
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JOHN M. BAILEY is an architect registered in Massachusetts. He served as Assistant Director of Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH), 1965-68. Bailey was for two years Director of the Community Design Center, University of California Extension, and has recently been a Lecturer in the College of Environmental Design at Berkeley. As an active AIA member, Bailey was Director of the Northern California Chapter in 1970, and was Consultant to AIA Task Force on Social Responsibility of the Profession. The article included here is part of a study being carried out under an Arnold W. Brunner Scholarship from the New York Architectural League.

DAVID ROBINSON GODSCHALK is a Lecturer in the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. He is also editor of the **Journal of the American Institute of Planners.** Mr. Godschalk has been involved for some time with explorations into innovation diffusion, conflict theory, gaming and simulation, organization theory, and social systems theory. He has recently designed a collaborative planning game. Other research activities include a computer simulation of negotiation between parties in conflict and case studies of citizen participation in the new communities of Reston and Columbia. The contribution presented in this issue represents an effort to develop a unified theory of collaborative planning.

PETER BATCHELOR is Associate Professor of Urban Design at North Carolina State University and is Director of the Urban Design Program. He is a member of both AIA and AIP. Mr. Batchelor has published in several professional journals, including the **Journal fo the Society of Architectural Historians.** The article included in this publication on socially responsive design processes grew in part from Mr. Batchelor's experience with the Shaw University-Southside (Raleigh) Charette in 1969. He is active in both School of Design and University organizations and served as faculty coordinator for this issue of the Student Publication.

DR. FRANCES FOX PIVEN, Associate Professor at the Columbia School of Social Work, is author of many articles on urban politics, published frequently in scholarly and professional journals. Dr. Piven was closely associated with the founding of the National Welfare Rights Movement, a grass-roots organization of welfare recipients. With kind permission of **Social Policy Magazine**, Dr. Piven's article and the comments by Sumner M. Rosen are presented as a critique of advocacy planning practices.

LARRY B. MORRISON is Model Cities Area Planning Director for Philadelphia and is a member of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. In working with the Model Cities program Mr. Morrison has stressed new practices for providing better community planning technical assistance. These practices include a multi-scaled process for working with community groups on projects from the parcel and block to area-wide and regional levels. He has also established a successful Urban Technician Program for providing on-the-job training and supplementary education for Model Cities area high school dropouts. He reports on the various conflicts and resolutions brought about by an expanding university and a citizenry struggling to preserve the integrity of their community.

HUGH MORLEY ZIMMERS is a partner in the firm of Zimmers and Luquer, Philadelphia. His extensive activities include Instructor, Urban Workshop, (University of Pennsylvania); Consultant to the AIA on Community Development Centers; Member the AIA task force on Professional Responsibility to Society; and co-founder and board member of the Architects Workshop, Philadelphia. Mr. Zimmers in his contribution describes the origins and impact of Community Development Centers and attempts to predict some of their future activities.

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YGS/APC - Young Great Society Architecture and Planning Center - is an independent integrated architectural firm located in the Mantua section of Philadelphia. The contribution describing the activities of YGS/APC was put together by Lawrence A. Goldfarb and Peter H. Brown, both partners in the firm, and by Judson B. Brown, an employee. It is representative of the shifting values within the architectural profession. YGS/APC has the distinction of being independent, public-oriented, and successful.

CHESTER W. HARTMAN is currently on the staff of the National Housing and Economic Development Law Project, is associated with the Center for Planning and Development Research, and is a Lecturer in the Department of City and Regional Planning, all of the University of California at Berkeley. Mr. Hartman is a former professor at Harvard, where he founded and directed the Urban Field Service program of the Harvard Graduate School of Design. His article analyzes the activities and effects of the Service, perhaps the first attempt to include advocacy planning in the planning and design curriculum of a major university.

RANDOLPH T. HESTER is Assistant Professor of Landscape Architecture at North Carolina State University. He has been a consultant and urban designer with the Community Development Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts, since 1968. Mr. Hester presents an analysis and evaluation of some of the activities of the Community Development Center in its attempt to deal responsibly with the public.

BERNARD P. SPRING is Dean of the School of Architecture and Environmental Studies and is Director of the Urban Research Group, both of the City College of New York. Besides maintaining teaching and research responsibilities, Mr. Spring is Senior Consultant to a prominent New York architectural firm and is a Contributing Editor of **Architectural Forum** magazine. He has for several years been involved with research on design methods. His contribution to this issue traces the development of the **Planning and Design Workbook for Community Participation.**

AVERY R. JOHNSON, as President of Ecology Tool and Toy, is dedicated to the development of responsive tools and toys for the broad market. Dr. Johnson joined the Neurophysiology Laboratory at MIT in 1954, an experience that led to a Ph.D. in electrical engineering. Thereafter, he was involved with the Computer Research Laboratory of NASA and with sensory aids for the blind and prosthetic devices for the handicapped. In 1967, Dr. Johnson, along with Warren Brodey, started the Environmental Ecology Laboratory. His contribution to this publication is in part an appeal to young designers to set about enhancing the everyday lives of people in general.

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COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND PROFESSIONAL ROLES: SOME CAUTIONARY NOTES

JOHN M. BAILEY

The practice of community involvement in design is hardly a new one. Before there were architects, the practice was presumably general; since there have been architects, it has become largely a question of who pays them and which community's interests that client represents. The commercial community, for example, has been amply, if not well, represented in the design of our cities. The white middle class has been similarly involved in the development of suburban settlements.

In recent years, planted by the civil rights movement and fertilized by the singularly pacific War Against Poverty, the notion that the poor, too, should have a voice in the design of their environment has taken root. A few architects and planners, sustained by their consciences and the odd foundation grant, began working in urban low-income ghettos in efforts to help their residents acquire that voice. The issue, in their minds, was not merely justice, but how to change an environment which had become increasingly unresponsive to all of its users. They were thought of—not always favorably—as the radicals of their profession.

Lately, the realization that environmental disenfranchisement cuts across class and ethnic boundaries has been added to liberal concerns for social justice and fears of Black uprisings. So-called backlash is more than middle and working class reaction to growing pressures from below; it is also, among other things, a response to the fact that decision-making power has become increasingly remote from all of us and that few Americans any longer have as much choice in the way they live as they once thought they had. The architectural profession has at last begun to react. The A.I.A. is practicing shouts of "right on!" and has established a Task Force on Social Responsibility in the Profession. Architectural schools are reforming their curricula in response to student demands for "relevance". Advocacy planning has become not only respectable but even modish. What results can be expected when and if community involvement in design is extended beyond its present narrow base? Perhaps the recent experience of the poor and their advocates offers some clues.

Community involvement in the design process as it is conventionally conceived cannot, by itself, bring about rapid or extensive improvements in the living conditions of large numbers of people. Indeed, thoughtlessly undertaken, such involvement can postpone substantial improvement or even abet decisions detrimental to a particular community. The important decisions about housing, for example, especially in a community where the shortage or condition of housing make it a major problem, are not the decisions about how *some* housing is going to be designed but the decisions about how much housing is going to be built, where, by and for whom and about what proportion of public resources is to be devoted to providing housing and the schools and other services that go with it and what proportion to highways, parking garages and sports arenas. A community can become involved in design of particular facilities only after the resources necessary to provide them have been allocated. In fact, the decisions allocating these resources are the first, and perhaps the most important, steps in the total design process.

Consider, for example, a community of 30,000 people which becomes absorbed, with a group of well-meaning architects, in a project for the construction of 300 new housing units. They are, and rightly so, determined to be involved in all aspects of the project—site selection, site planning, design, construction and hiring practices, occupancy standards, management. When the process is all over—and it can take years—they will have 300 new housing units. But they may also still have 10,000 substandard units and no programs afoot

to do anything about these because, while they were debating where to put the laundry room in Eldridge Cleaver Homes, other decision-makers, representing other communities (City Hall, the Labor Council, the Housing Authority, the Fair Taxes Committee, the Hotel Owners Association, etc.) were cutting up the capital budget, the parks bond issue, the city's share of various state and federal programs and deciding to build a rapid transit line through the community. All of these decisions will have a greater impact upon the future of that community—upon its design—than will the housing project which involved the residents in all its major decisions.

It may be argued that the various levels of decision-making need not be mutually exclusive of community involvement. In principle, they needn't be, but in practice a tangible local issue can easily dominate a community's attention and absorb much of the energy of its leadership to the exclusion of broader, though perhaps ultimately more significant issues. Also, the poor seldom have enough organized political power, except possibly during periods of social crisis, to compete consistently, non-disruptively and successfully in the policy and decision-making which affects them most profoundly. In order to win a round of the resource allocation game, they, like other minorities, must participate in alliances and coalitions. But this is usually difficult for them because few groups other than liberal intellectuals are willing to ally themselves with the very poor because they generally perceive conflicts, real or imagined, between their own interests and those of the poor. Nobody seems to want welfare mothers living next door.

There are also some more specific systematic constraints which limit areas of effective community involvement. Generally speaking, opportunities for community involvement are practically limited to those development programs which are sponsored, administered or regulated by public authorities. These authorities have political or statutory obligations which can compel them to respond to organized pressures. Private enterprises have few such obligations and their decisions can seldom be influenced by an alien community except through indirect government actions or economic sanctions—both of which are usually difficult to mobilize. Also, the effectiveness—even the possibility—of community involvement often varies with the remoteness, not only of the authority involved, but of the issue itself. A community can generally expect to influence more successfully a program which has originated in their own City Hall than it can a federal or a state program..[1] Timely involvement in critical issues is a particular problem for the poor. People in general tend to react only after a crisis has occurred rather than to attempt to anticipate it. Among the poor, whose lives are a succession of crises, the urgency of present problems seldom leaves much time or energy for analysis of future ones. Thus it is usually not until the bulldozer appears at the end of the block that a community realizes that it is about to be had. But by then the hearings are over, the plans made and the major developers committed. Community involvement at that point may, if it is well organized, mitigate some of the worst excesses of elitist planning but it can rarely eliminate them

In the relatively short time since "community involvement" has become a catch-phrase, several typical models of the practice have defined themselves. They reflect different views of the social process and of the role which professionals and technicians play in it.

Perhaps the earliest to appear was the Citizens' Advisory Committee or Rubber Stamp model. In this model, the public agency concerned forms a quasi-official citizens body. It is usually made up of community "leaders" of proven tractability

and its principal function is to put a pseudo-popular imprimatur on official policies and actions. Such a body is seldom consulted while policies are being formulated. Consultations are *pro forma* and the key word is "advisory"—they have no real power to intervene in the decision-making process. At best, this model represents benign elitism; at worst, it is autocratic. In the former case, the professional does what he thinks best; in the latter, he does what he is told.

A second model takes the Avuncular or User-Needs approach to community involvement. It relies heavily upon surveys and is generally aimed at establishing standards of design adapted to the assumed or demonstrated needs of a particular client community. While it is more democratic than the earlier model, it, too, substitutes mere consultation for genuine involvement. It offers the clients improvements in their environment without necessarily giving them any real control over it. The clients may state their preferences and these may be granted but the power to initiate and to administer change still remains largely outside the community. Depending upon who uses this approach, it can become either patronizing or an artful way to manipulate the poor. In the one case it treats the client as a child who may not really know what's best for him but must be given what he wants because Dr. Spock says he should be; in the other, it is simply used to find out how little the client will settle for. Noblesse oblige, but the peasants still have no land.

Two more recent models are frankly political.

The Liberal model makes the necessity of effective community involvement to sound planning and design an article of democratic faith. It recognizes that the resource allocation process is a complex and technical one in which the poor are inadequately equipped with time, organization and indigenous professional skills to compete on a par with other groups. It assumes that the strategy of community involvement has both immediate and long range objectives. The professional in his role as advocate provides the technical assistance the poor need to participate successfully in a local planning process aimed at relatively short range community improvements. For the long range, this experience is seen as an heuristic one through which the poor build knowledge, organization and skills which then enable them to involve themselves more competitively in other areas of public life and finally to get their fair share of the pie. The key assumption in this model, however, is that the existing mechanisms for resource allocation and consumption are adequate—indeed, were intended—to accommodate involvement of all communities, and that the poor have always been victims of a more or less benign neglect.

The Radical model assumes no such thing. On the contrary, it assumes that the neglect is deliberate and that decision-making institutions are either designed or intentionally manipulated to exclude or co-opt the poor. It is claimed, therefore, that few, if any, substantial changes in living conditions of the poor have ever resulted from attempts at cooperative involvement in decision-making. Rather, such changes as have taken place and these have seldom been substantial—have resulted instead from a process of disruption, confrontation and concession. Social change or redistribution of power and services most often occurs only when very large or powerful elements of a society become dissatisfied with the status quo or when a minority becomes disruptive enough to be construed as a threat to that status quo. In the former case, changes may be deep; in the latter, they typically consist of a minimum concession within the same order of things. In America today, no majority or strong minority yet appears ready to support radical social change.

Therefore, some radical planners maintain that disruptive behavior rather than institutional involvements remains the only tactic which the poor can expect to produce any substantive benefits for them. They further maintain that any concessions obtained are a response to the disruption itself and not to any moral or rational appeals which may accompany it, and that therefore it makes little difference in the end whether or not the poor have professional advocates.[2]

A brief account of some of the experiences of the Community Design Center in San Francisco, which was one of the first organizations of architects and planners established to work with the poor, may help to put these models in perspective.

The San Francisco CDC was established in early 1967 by a group of young architects who, as a result of their own political activities, had received requests for help on matters ranging from home repairs to urban renewal from community groups which badly needed professional services but could not afford to pay for them. The University of California Extension at Berkeley was persuaded to sponsor the Center and helped get it a small grant which provided office space and a part-time director. The CDC recruited what was initially a large number of volunteers from offices in the city and among students in the College of Environmental Design at Berkeley to provide the manpower they needed.

At first, the problems brought to the CDC seemed, if not simple, at least relatively straightforward and familiar. Small homeowners faced with housing code enforcement were assisted in preparing plans to improve their properties. Storefront offices of community organizations were re-designed. A study was undertaken to explore how a 10-acre site which had been used for temporary wartime housing could be redeveloped to provide permanent low-cost housing. Volunteers helped community residents make surveys of housing conditions. The Center became a haven for socially sensitive young architects who were bored or frustrated by the commercial routine of the offices in which they worked. For a while, working on CDC projects had the purposeful cameraderie of a McCarthy campaign.

But the CDC architects soon learned, among other things, that the environmental problems of the poor were not primarily design problems but political and economic problems. They found themselves called upon to spend more and more time at unfamiliar tasks like attending community meetings and dealing with the intricacies of City Hall and the Federal Building and less and less time at the drawing board. They also learned that what their clients wanted, were able to get, or were willing to settle for, often differed from their own notions of an optimum solution to a given problem. They discovered, somewhat to their surprise, that poor clients are no less ignorant, headstrong or corrupted by bad taste than are rich clients and the discovery took some of the romance out of advocacy.

The CDC's experience with the Garfield Square project illustrates some of these problems.

Garfield is a block-square park in the East Mission District of San Francisco, a neighborhood of mixed black, Latin and white working class population. Until recently, it contained trees, grass and a WPA-modern swimming pool. In mid-1967, a local group named the East Mission Action Council (EMAC) heard that city funds were about to be appropriated to improve the park and asked the CDC to help design those improvements, which they thought should reflect the neighborhood's, not the Park and Recreation Department's, idea of what improvement meant.

Initial design work took about four months. It was based on surveys and interviews throughout the neighborhood and involved dozens of meetings with neighborhood organizations. Everyone was finally pleased

with the design. It provided facilities for every age group, including a sunken amphitheatre where teen-agers could gather and feel relatively free from observation and harassment by the police. It also included a proposal to close to all but emergency traffic on a bordering street between the park and an adjacent public housing project and to use its surface for basketball.

There then ensued, over a period of more than a year, a seemingly endless series of meetings between the community's representatives and their architects and what appeared to be every public official in San Francisco. It turned out that closing a street to construct a downtown skyscraper was one thing, closing a street for basketball in the East Mission was quite another. There were negotiations with the Parks Department, the Bureau of Engineering, the Police and Fire Departments, the Interdepartmental Administrative Committee and, finally, with every member of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco.

During this period, the city received a Model Cities planning allocation. One of the city's two designated "model neighborhoods" was the Mission District, which included the Garfield area. EMAC soon joined a number of other community organizations to form an umbrella group called the Mission Coalition Organization (MCO) whose main purpose was to seek an agreement with the city giving the Mission residents a controlling voice in Model Cities planning. Both the CDC and the National Housing Law Project (an OEO-funded research group at U.C. Berkeley) were asked by MCO to become their consultants. Garfield Square now ceased to be just a neighborhood issue because MCO chose to use it as an organizing tool.

Recognizing that they must unite the community to win on Model Cities, they sought, by throwing their full weight behind EMAC, to demonstrate to other potential member organizations that joining the coalition would not mean loss of autonomy but would instead result in broad community support for their local interests.

Finally, almost two years after EMAC first came to the CDC, the issue of the street closing was brought to a vote by the Board of Supervisors. MCO chartered buses and brought some 200 members to the meeting. The vote was unanimous and the street was closed.

The story does not end there, however. The Parks Department then assigned its landscape architect to work with the community to prepare final plans for the park based on the EMAC/CDC design. Some uncertainties developed as to when funds would actually be available and work begun. Coincidentally, a manufacturer with a natty line of plastic play equipment and a sharp eye for promotion opportunities offered to donate some $16,000 worth of his trinkets to the city. The Parks Commissioner in turn called MCO offering to install this equipment in Garfield immediately. CDC pointed out that installing the equipment would preclude subsequent construction of a substantial part of the design for which the community had fought so long. But despite their involvement in it, this plan apparently still remained an abstraction to the community. The Parks Department's offer was a bird in hand and it also offered the MCO leadership a chance to demonstrate that they could produce not just votes but visible results. Thus the outcome of two years of community involvement in design became a mini-Disneyland.

The issue of community involvement in the Model Cities Program still remains unresolved. It was said that the Mission District, which has a large Mexican American population, had originally been designated because the Mayor, who then had gubernatorial ambitions, wished to make brownie points with the state's chicano voters.

Shortly after Look Magazine published an article alleging that the Mayor had had connections with the local Mafia, he announced his decision not to run. Whether by coincidence or not, the city has since appeared much less willing than it once was to conclude an agreement with MCO containing firm guarantees of community control. The city's position has been reinforced by that of the new administration in Washington, which showed even less confidence than its predecessor had in the abilities of poor people to make right decisions. Nixon's HUD made it clear that they expect control of Model Cities to stay in City Hall and not seep out into the street. Social and ethnic differences in the community were exploited by interests which either opposed the program entirely or feared the potential strength of MCO. At this writing, the futures of the Model Cities program in the Mission District and of MCO are very much in doubt.

The experience with Garfield Square and others like it led the CDC to a number of conclusions regarding community involvement and the role which professionals like themselves could best play in it. They learned that at least some full-time paid professional staff is an essential. Volunteers prefer to deal with discrete problems which have a discernable terminal point. Few volunteers have the skill and sensitivity to deal with the political and technical complexities of community involvement and fewer still have the staying power. Even fewer students have the required skills and their usefulness is further limited by their academic schedule. (Fortunately, after a year of operation, the CDC was able to obtain funding through the federal Office of Economic Opportunity which enabled it to hire a small professional staff.) The CDC also concluded that, while the short term results of community involvement in local planning and design decisions were not inconsiderable (after all, several hundred kids are having fun on that plastic equipment), such impact as they had on the future of the community derived less from the decisions themselves than from whatever strengthened community organization and heightened political consciousness had resulted from the involvement. They questioned, too, whether involvement in design decisions was any more effective in these respects than involvement in a host of other issues (education, employment or law enforcement, for example). The CDC felt it should try to use its limited resources for maximum impact and became less and less persuaded that local technical assistance projects were the best way to do this. Although they believed that they must continue to respond to local service requests because they were still the only free architects available, they began devoting an increasing amount of time to projects which they hoped would have more lasting effects in their client communities. One of these was the Citizens' Task Force for a Workable Housing Program; another was a lawsuit against the city's Redevelopment Agency and HUD. Every two years a city receiving federal funds for housing and renewal must submit for HUD approval a "Workable Program for Community Improvement" which outlines the city's past progress and future commitments in the areas of housing, relocation, code enforcement and citizen participation in the application of certain of the federal programs from which the city benefits. Although there exists some relatively precise federal guidelines as to what constitutes compliance with the Workable Program requirement, both its submission and approval had in the past been customarily *pro forma*. The Task Force, which was organized some six months before the city was due to make its biannual submission, saw the federal requirements as a possible opportunity to compel the city to use more federal funds to improve rather than to destroy low cost housing. The Task Force was made up of

representatives from many predominantly middle class civic groups as well as from so-called "grass roots" organizations and included, besides CDC's architects, a number of lawyers from the Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, The National Housing Law Project and the San Francisco Barristers Club. To give a condensed account of its activities over many months, the Task Force first attempted to get the Mayor's Office to involve citizens' groups in the drafting of the Workable Program. When it failed to do this, it prepared and published a detailed analysis of the city's draft, showing how it failed to meet federal requirements. When the city submitted the Workable Program substantially as drafted, the Task Force made formal and informal complaints to HUD which included threats of legal action. By this time, the authorities were sufficiently embarrassed to withhold official approval of the Program until important revisions were made. Although these were not as substantial as the Task Force had hoped to obtain, they represented a step forward in city policies as well as specific community programs. The lawsuit involved the Yerba Buena Renewal Project, a plan to replace some 4000 units of deteriorating low cost housing with new office buildings and a convention center. A local residents' organization, Tenants and Owners Opposed to Redevelopment (TOOR), represented by the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, brought suit against the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency and HUD, charging, among other things, that the project failed to meet federal relocation requirements. CDC architects helped conduct surveys, provided expert testimony and prepared alternate plans demonstrating how residents could be re-housed. The result was that work on the project was halted by a federal court injunction which was lifted only after the plaintiffs obtained an agreement from the Agency to provide an additional 1500 housing units. A small victory but, hopefully, a significant one.

To conclude, the idea of community involvement in design cannot, if it is to have any significance, be limited to involvement in specific design projects. For one thing, involvement in design as such requires a prior involvement in order to make it possible; for another, to the extent that community involvement is seen as a means of improving the quality and pace of environmental change, involvement in design alone has little impact. The design process is not something which takes place at drawing boards and in conferences with clients. The architect and his particular client only enter that process, which really begins in board room and legislative chambers, in its final stages when it is usually too late to have more than a token influence upon patterns of physical development.

Architects as such have little to say in the formative stages of that process. While their professional credentials give their views a certain respectability in public debate, they do not assist them in a material way to intervene in the process when it really counts. Lawyers have a legal system which they can use to compel public or private behavior. Architects have, finally, opinions, which no one is obliged to share.

In order for the profession to play a more effective role, it must make explicit and continuing alliances with other professions (law, business, education) and develop and pursue specific strategies for community development. The successful pursuit of these strategies will require political support from "clients." To get this, there will have to be discernible pay-offs for the latter.

To suggest that architects become lobbyists and advocates of the public interest is hardly new, but perhaps to suggest that the profession become political, in a way that is different from simply hustling government contracts, may be. Community

involvement may not save the environment but at least it may get architects to leave their drawing boards and begin what Rudi Dutchke once called, "the long march through existing institutions," and perhaps that will help.

1 There have been some notable exceptions to this. Federal agencies have sometimes proved more responsive to community pressures than have the local agencies administering Federal programs. Two such cases are discussed later in this paper.

2 See, Frances Fox Piven, "Whom Does The Advocate Planner Serve?," *Social Policy,* (May-June 1970).

COLLABORATIVE PLANNING: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

DAVID ROBINSON GODSCHALK

2

The hallmark of post industrial society is change.[1] Most published observations on current affairs in the U.S. today refer to the pervasiveness and increasing pace of social, economic and technological change. Even in our dealings abroad, American businessmen's ability to innovate has been identified as the key to their successful economic invasion of Europe.[2]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CHANGE

Paradoxically, the innovative ability of private business fails to carry over to American grass roots, public institutions; the unresponsiveness and insensitivity of our local governments, for instance, emerges with singular clarity from the recent case studies of civil disorders.[3] In the opinion of many observers these faults spring from the fact that local government does not have an intelligence system or decision-making mechanism to effectively cope with rapid social change.[4]

With his sensitivity to physical and social problems and his idealistic sense of mission to improve the quality of the environment, one role for the professional planner is that of "change agent."[5] A double-barreled challenge arising from this aspect of the planner's role is to find a way to re-orient traditional governmental processes toward more open and innovative behavior while, at the same time, devising institutional means for a more participatory style of planning. In order to do this, the planner needs to understand organization theory, group behavior, and innovation diffusion, in addition to the technical aspects of land use, urban facilities and services, and other traditional planning knowledge areas.

The purpose of this paper will be to outline a theoretical planning framework, in the form of interrelated concepts for empirical investigation, which attempts to meet this challenge. This framework, to be called *collaborative planning,* is basically a form of mutual adjustment for local government. It seeks to answer the question posed by Talcott Parsons[6] in his "functional" analysis of social systems; how can we make possible an orderly response to environmental conditions (including not only the physical environment, but also individual personalities, behavioral aspects, and other elements external to the system itself)? In Parsons' terms, this is the "integrative" function, mediating between the requirements of structure (institutions) and the external environment.

Perceptions of Change. Because collaborative planning seeks mutual adjustment does not necessarily mean that it attempts to preserve the status quo. On the contrary, inputs of unfiltered information into the system through collaborative channels may demand radical response. If effective, such channels can approximate the sensitivity mechanism of artists, who are often in the forefront of social change movements. As Marshall McLuhan has observed:[7]

> In the history of human culture there is no example of a conscious adjustment of the various factors of personal and social life to new extensions except in the puny and peripheral efforts of artists. The artist picks up the message of cultural and technological challenge decades before its transforming impact occurs. He, then, builds models of Noah's arks for facing the change that is at hand.

Adapting to Change. The collaborative planning approach not only seeks to be sensitive to potential change, it also is concerned with the human aspects of adapting to change. By working with individuals and small groups, it tries to overcome what Eric Hoffer calls the "ordeal of change,"[8]

> We can never be really prepared for that which is wholly new. We have to adjust ourselves, and every radical adjustment is a crisis in self-esteem: we undergo a test, we have to prove ourselves. It needs inordinate self-confidence to face

drastic change without inner trembling.

In dealing with the ordeal of change, the collaborative process begins to substitute the group for the individual planner as the agent of change. This departs from the traditional notion, inherited from architecture, of the planner as the isolated creator. In the traditional approach the planner amasses as much relevant information as possible, and then, like a designer, tries to "discover" a solution through intuitive personal search. It also departs from the notion, from traditional social work and community organization, of paternalism—of the government "knows best" attitude. Planning must be more than the efficient coordination of social services.[9] Within the field of planning apparently new social inventions are needed to mediate between local government and the changing environment.

PLANNING IN A CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

During the past two decades several new public planning approaches have been invented. One type has stressed increased rationality through the systems approach, benefit-cost analyses, cost effectiveness analyses, and planning, programming, and budgeting systems (PPBS).[10] A second type has emphasized the redistribution of social power and rewards. This "distributive justice" group includes advocacy planning,[11] the minority oriented programs of OEO, the Peace Corps, and similar approaches.

These two types of planning can be related to what Dahl and Lindblom have suggested are the two major requirements for rational social action: "rational calculation" and "social control."[12] They list a number of processes for, and aids to, achieving these requirements, but for our purposes at this stage discussion can be limited to two of these. Later some of the others will be introduced. Now we will consider "quantification in comparable values" as an aid to rational calculation, and "reciprocity" as a basic social control process.

Calculation and Quantification. Dahl and Lindblom stated,[13] "The central obstacle to rational calculation is the difficulty of weighing the relevant alternatives and deciding which is most valuable. One common reason for this difficulty is the great number of variables involved; often a person finds himself unable even to hold all the variables in his mind in order to compare them." The new quantitative rational planning techniques do provide frameworks for comparing large numbers of variables and of making explicit their interdependent relationships. However, a critique of these techniques, by John Friedmann, notes that in their attempt to be comprehensive through the use of econometric equilibrium models they tend toward *conservative* outcomes since the models are not suited to large discontinuous changes.[14] Friedmann also suggests that this "allocative" style of planning, which assigns resources among competing uses, is rational only in seeking the most efficient *means,* since *ends* are assumed to be given.

Social Justice and Reciprocity. In discussing social control, Dahl and Lindblom points out,[15]

> In the real world Control is rarely unilateral . . . a bilateral or multilateral relationship, in which two or more people are Controlling one another through command or manipulation of fields or both, we shall call reciprocity.
>
> Given goals such as subjective equality, democracy, and freedom, reciprocity is a control technique of vital importance. If Control of human beings by human beings cannot be eliminated, reciprocity is an alternative to anarchy. And if great inequalities in Control are undesirable, reciprocity is an alternative to tyranny.

Awareness of the vast inequalities in control and opportunity between the majority of Americans and certain minority groups has

inspired several social planning and action techniques. One basis for these new techniques is the realization by underclasses of the uses of what the economists call "countervailing power." Essentially this is the concept of reciprocity, or multilateral control, which has been explosively rediscovered by Black Power advocates, as well as radical university student groups.

Deliberately induced crises and violent confrontations represent attempts to gain a share of power and control. A parallel may be drawn with the potential for revolution arising from rapid urbanization in Latin America. Friedmann has labeled the ensuing political struggles between the traditional elite and the new urban masses a "crisis of inclusion."[16] It appears that advocacy planning, OEO, VISTA, and the like are responses to a North American crisis of inclusion in which the urban poor are demanding to be included in the affluent society. In absolute statistical terms (income and education, for instance) the poor are better off than ever before, but the principle of "relative deprivation" is at work.[17]

The challenge for the "new planning" is to accommodate both rational calculation and reciprocal control. The remainder of this paper will focus on alternative ways of institutionalizing planning to cope with this challenge within the recurrent crises and adaptive demands of a rapidly changing environment. First we will look at advocacy planning and then at collaborative planning.

ADVOCACY PLANNING: THE ADVERSARY APPROACH

Paul Davidoff touched off an important movement in planning with the publication in 1965 of his call for planners to engage in the political process as "advocates" of the interests of various groups, expressed in "plural" rather than "unitary" official plans. In his words,[18]

> Where plural planning is practiced, advocacy becomes the means of professional support for competing claims about how the community should . . . Where unitary planning prevails, advocacy is not of paramount importance, for there is little or no competition for the plan prepared by the public agency. The concept of advocacy as taken from legal practice implies the opposition of at least two contending viewpoints in an adversary proceeding.

Although the analogy with the role of the lawyer as *adversary* was emphasized by Davidoff, who holds a law degree, he also pointed out other aspects of the advocate planner's work. He would have an *educational* responsibility, both toward his client and other groups. He would have a *facilitative* responsibility to assist his client organization in expanding in size and scope, and in clarifying and expressing its ideas. While pointing out the particular present need of the poor for advocate assistance, Davidoff felt that advocacy, should be available to all social groups.

In order to institutionalize plural planning, Davidoff suggested three types of organizations which might use this approach: political parties, special interest groups, and ad hoc protest organizations. He called for the demise of " . . . that non-responsible vestigial institution, the planning commission," as a drawback to democratic planning.[19]

In criticizing current citizen participation programs required by the federal Workable Program, Davidoff felt that the necessity to formalize this process was rather shameful, since it should be the norm in an enlightened democracy. He saw the difficulty in the current citizen participation programs as the fact that " . . . citizens are more often *reacting* to agency programs than *proposing* their concepts of appropriate goals and future actions."[20]

Advocacy and Mutual Adjustment. This proposed counter-planning function can be

viewed as an attempt to compensate for changes in the social and technological environment. Lisa Peattie justifies advocacy planning as a necessary response to the increased use of technical expertise in public policy decisions and the pervasive impersonality of bureaucratic management institutions.[21] However, a lingering doubt remains that perhaps these justifications are not the fundamental reasons for advocacy—that it is simply a contemporary form of the old American tradition of radical reform.

As committed planners have tried to develop the practice of advocacy planning, several problems have appeared. These problems, reported from the experience of Urban Planning Aid in Cambridge and probably shared also by the Architects Renewal Committee of Harlem and other advocacy groups, include:[22]

(1) the difficulty of overcoming the "outsider" stigma for white and/or middle income planners trying to work with black and/or low income clients;

(2) the difficulty of finding a clear-cut representative client organization in a low-income area with nebulous "neighborhood" boundaries and few community associations;

(3) the difficulty of identifying common community interests and values on which to propose a plan, especially in heterogeneous low income areas;

(4) the difficulty of involving the poor in planning, due to their tendency to be nonjoiners and to be disinterested in working toward objectives which were not both practical and politically possible;

(5) the difficulty of confining planning proposals to local interests, particularly when dealing with city wide systems such as transportation, so that the community client tends to be dropped in favor of simply radical planning.

The Future of Advocacy. As noted above, there is some indication that advocacy planning as such is only a beginning step toward a new form of radical planning. This raises questions about the future of the advocacy movement, especially in regard to alternative approaches. One possibility for advocacy in its present form is that the eventual success of various redistribution programs will render it largely unnecessary. If, for instance, low income minorities were to gain a foothold in the middle class, where most federal antipoverty programs are directing them, then the matter of distributive justice would be much less crucial. Advocacy might fade from the scene as other voluntary associations like the WCTU have faded. A second possibility is that advocacy will become institutionalized and respectable, thanks to the culmination of a developing relationship with the federal bureaucracy. Already federal OEO-supported programs are bypassing state and city governments by establishing direct ties with local neighborhood agencies, many of whom have planning staffs. If the principles of bureaucratic expansion and survival take root in this ground, the result could be hundreds of federally-supported adversary agencies competing feverishly with each other for larger slices of territory and resources. Finally, there is the distinct possibility that advocacy will evolve into a platform for radical politics. An example is the dramatic "occupation" of a parking lot in the South End of Boston by a group of people attempting to reform the redevelopment process and gain legitimacy for their radical aims.[23]

It is not my intent to dispute any of these possibilities. Rather, I will develop an alternative—collaborative planning, which has a number of features in common with advocacy, especially with respect to the goals of participation. In fact, should the power negotiations of the lower class be successful, then advocacy might well evolve into a new *institutional* form along

the main lines of collaborative planning. The key to this transition perhaps lies in Lisa Peattie's admission of the naive belief of Urban Planning Aid that they could organize a community without an institutional structure and an ongoing process. As she states,[24] "A meaningful set of opinions can only be gathered after a long process in which people are stimulated to consider new alternatives and understand their consequences. The opening-up of options must go along with the opening-up of opinions.

This is one way of saying something that we of UPA took a little time to grasp: that the technical and the political are interconnected at all levels."

COLLABORATIVE PLANNING: THE COOPERATIVE APPROACH

In its simplest terms, collaborative planning is the systematic combination of innovation diffusion and citizen involvement in a cooperative public planning process. As described in an earlier article, "Collaborative planning is similar to the collaborative marketing approach which assumes that the consumer is not sure of his exact desires but would be interested in defining them with the help of a skilled counselor who knows the range of possible alternatives."[25] The two key elements of the process are participation by the client and innovation developed with the help of a change agent, a combination of rational calculation and reciprocal control.

Collaborative planning, thus, is a normative style of public planning and decision-making which requires: (1) regular consultation with members of the client group and their participation in the formulation of the means and ends of public action; (2) conscious development and diffusion of innovations to achieve desired ends of the client group by a professional change agent; and (3) a public institutional base which supports the ongoing collaborative process and communicates its results back to the clients, as well as out to other organizations and community decision makers.

In addition to describing the collaborative planning process, we will attempt to state it in the form of a theoretical framework, or a system of interrelated propositions which can be empirically studied. This is a major challenge for an essentially normative theory of planning since actual instances of collaborative planning are scarce, and the propositions must be developed from evidence in related fields and from the limited experience of the author in attempting to apply this approach in an urban planning situation.

PARTICIPATION

Citizen participation in planning raises many dilemmas, most of which can be traced to the conflict between the needs of our advanced and complex society to delegate many decisions to experts and the democratic demand for participatory community decision making. Planning, with its history of elitism in decision making, has not yet developed fully operational means of involving citizens. Participation, even in simple settings, is a complex process, as shown by studies of behavioral scientists and organization theorists.

Exchange Theory: One academic discipline which has systematically studied group processes, including participation, is exchange theory, as exemplified in the work of Thibaut and Kelley, Blau, Scott, and Homans.[26] Their general orientation is that social behavior is an exchange of activity between at least two persons, resulting in costs and benefits to the participants. These transactions are examined from the viewpoint of their basic premise that socially significant behavior will not be repeated unless rewarded (reinforced). Methods of investigation are

drawn from behavioral psychology and sociology.

One area of investigation by the exchange theorists which is relevant to the study of collaborative planning is that of *group formation and cohesion*. In their views, people are attracted to groups by both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards.[27] These rewards are the bonds of social attraction which provide group cohesion. Individuals become group members through a process of social integration in which status competition operates like a series of interlocking, "mixed games," where individuals have both common and conflicting interests. The common interest is to maintain social relations. The conflict rises from the fact that each member wants the high regard of the others, though he would settle for reciprocal regard rather than discontinue the relationship. According to Blau, large scale participation is contingent on integrative ties,[28] "Unless active participation is motivated not only by the prospect of commanding respect and attaining positions of leadership but also by gratifications derived from working with like-minded men in a common cause, it will be inevitably restricted to a small minority." Thibaut and Kelley suggest that members evaluate the outcomes of their social relationships on the basis of two standards:[29]

(1) **comparison level**—average or modal value of all known outcomes, used to compare rewards and costs of a relationship with what a person feels he deserves, and

(2) **comparison level for alternatives**—lowest level of outcomes acceptable in light of available alternatives, below which the person leaves the relationship.

To maintain a viable relationship the reward-cost position of members' must compare favorably with available alternatives. Also, involvement in any activity depends on the difficulty of the challenge. An "intermediate" challenge, with a problematical outcome but a limited threat of failure, is most attractive.

Changes in norms and behaviors occur as individuals are influenced by the group and as the group is influenced by its members. Power, or the ability to affect another's outcomes, can produce mutual changes in values and attitudes. Norms, or accepted behavioral rules, reduce the necessity for direct influence. Behavior can be controlled by the demands of a task, as well as by other persons.[30] Homans states that very high and very low status people conform less (innovate more) than middle status people, since the highs have leeway and the lows have nothing to lose.[31] In complex structures, opposition ideals force social change and reorganization. According to Blau,[32] "Social change is a dialectical process, because any form of social organization is likely to engender problems and conflicts that call for some reorganization." The dilemma of all social systems is that they must constantly choose between alternatives in which any choice sacrifices some objective for another, thus generating endemic problems which are a continual internal source of system change. In addition, external environmental demands force change and organization goal modification within a wider ecological system. An example of this adaptation is the operation of TVA in its early years.[33]

Evidence on the effectiveness of *group problem solving* is contradictory. The social setting may be inhibiting or supportive, depending on the type of task. Blau and Scott assert that,[34] ". . . social communication in a group working on a common task provides a battleground of ideas, which stimulates thinking and, particularly, facilitates detecting false leads, but which simultaneously interferes with coordination. Whether the performance of groups is superior or inferior to that of individuals depends, therefore, on whether the essential task requirement is finding the best

solution for a problem or achieving effective coordination." They attribute the superiority of groups over individuals primarily to three factors: "'1) the sifting of suggestions in social interaction serves as an error-correction mechanism; (2) the social support furnished in interaction facilitates thinking; and (3) the competition among members for respect mobilizes their energies for contributing to the task."[35] Performance in competitive groups has been found generally inferior to that of cooperative groups, probably due to lack of social support and common goals. However, even in cooperative groups members compete for the respect of others. Hierarchical organization restricts the operation of the three-group processes in creative problem solving by creating formal status differences which hinder the free flow of communication. But hierarchical organization is useful for coordination, where a restricted flow of communications is necessary for an efficient network.

Group or organization type is an important determinant of the quantity and quality of participation. This type may vary from the simple two person group used in social psychology laboratory experiments to the complex loosely-defined multi-group structure of a political party. Blau and Scott's classification scheme, based on the idea of the "prime beneficiary," contains four types of organizations:[36]

> (1) "mutual benefit" in which the members are prime beneficiaries, and the main problem is to maintain internal democratic processes;
>
> (2) "business" in which the owners are prime beneficiaries, and attainment of maximum efficiency under competition is the main problem;
>
> (3) "service" in which the clients are prime beneficiaries, and conflict between administrative procedures and professional service is the main problem; and
>
> (4) "commonweal" in which the public at large is prime beneficiary, and development of democratic mechanisms for external public control is the main problem.

These are more or less ideal types, and the real world provides examples of mixed types. A private community builder, for example, is both a business and a commonweal organization, though mainly the former. Planning is typically considered a commonweal function, but advocate planning may combine aspects of mutual benefit and service organizations. Collaborative planning adds service functions to its commonweal role. Each type assumes a style of participation for its beneficiaries. In the typical service organization, such as a public health agency, the client is not assumed to know what will best serve his own interest, while in a mutual benefit organization, such as a voluntary association, the members are qualified to make such decisions. Professional service requires that, as Blau and Scott point out,[37] ". . . the practitioner maintains independence of judgment and not permit the clients' *wishes*, as distinguished from their *interests*, to influence his decisions." The dilemma of planning and other social services, unlike medicine, is that wishes and interests are often impossible to neatly separate. The overbearing practices of welfare agencies, long justified on the basis of serving the clients' interests, while over-riding their wishes, are only now being questioned as potentially harmful. This raises several interesting issues about the various publics of organizations and the standards of professionalism involved, which will not be pursued here.

Political (Ecological) Models of Participation. Various programs sponsored by foundations and by the federal government have sought to encourage client participation. In

its "grey areas" program the Ford Foundation attempted to involve the poor, with general unsuccessful results. Marris and Rein analyze the Ford experience and its difficulties, including the failure of officials to accept participation because it might threaten their own objectives or make their planning less rational, and the lack of consensus as to the objective of participation as a means to gain support for staff programs or a means to gain community power.[38] The Foundation discovered that the sponsoring organization had a profound effect on community organization outcomes.

James Q. Wilson identified two types of political attitudes in his study of citizen participation in urban renewal.[39] The "public regarding" political ethos, based on a sense of obligation to the community-at-large, is observed among those of higher income and education. The "private regarding" ethos is observed among low income families. Wilson concludes that political alienation among low income areas, the targets of renewal, may be expressed through participation. Renewal would then be thwarted by the private regarding attitudes of those involved. Bellush and those involved. Bellush and Hausknecht arrive at a similar conclusion due to lack of organizational resources, such as morale-cohesion, organization behavior experience, leadership, community process knowledge, and awareness of community structure and goals among the poor.[40]

Sigel studied a citizens advisory committee's decision making and concluded that there was little initiative—merely response to administrative goals and expert advice.[41] Conflict and negotiation were absent, and the prime beneficiary was the committee itself, who gained an education about the problems involved. These studies, along with many others, suggest that participation is not a simple and "good" process, but on the contrary can involve many poorly understood indirect effects.

Participation Strategies. Participation for what? This question poses the pragmatic issue of who is to benefit from the involvement of people in community decision making. Is it the client, the public at large, or the organization? An analysis of the means and ends of participation can help to reveal the alternative uses which may be chosen as the basis for a participation strategy.

Edmund M. Burke has identified five possible strategies for citizen participation:[42]

(1) "education therapy" aims at citizenship training and developing self confidence in participants, even to the extent of allowing them to make mistakes in order to learn;

(2) "behavioral change" aims at influencing individual behavior through group membership, based on the premises that it is easier to change behavior through a group than with individuals and that participation in the decision process can create new commitments;

(3) "staff supplement" recruits citizens to help with organization tasks for which staff is lacking;

(4) "cooptation" involves citizens in order to prevent anticipated obstructionism, informally to capture or neutralize influential individuals by sharing power with them, or formally to gain public acknowledgement of legitimacy by appointing representatives from recognized groups; and

(5) "community power" seeks to cause change by confronting existing power centers with the power of numbers, through conflict and agitation leading to negotiation.

Burke suggests that "community power" conflict strategies are best suited to privately supported social reform organizations. Advocacy probably represents such an application. In his opinion the "behavioral change" and "staff supplement" strategies are most appropriate for community planning. He specifically identifies collaborative planning with the "behavioral change"

strategy, but there may be common objectives also with the "education-therapy" strategy.

INNOVATION

Although it might be argued that broad participation is the antithesis of significant innovation, we shall propose the opposite. There is evidence to support the position that participation is a necessary condition for innovation in a group or community.[43]

Innovation can be studied as a process of change *within* organizations, or as the diffusion of change throughout social systems by means of professional change agents. Both are relevant to planning. Intra-organization change is the initial goal of collaborative planning, as individual group needs are defined and new solutions proposed and adopted. Social system change, however, is the ultimate goal of the collaborative planner, who seeks mutual adjustment between the environment and many organizations.

Organizational Innovation. Using the organization itself, rather than the organization in its environment, as his unit of analysis, James Q. Wilson has reviewed the literature and proposed some hypotheses about organizational innovation.[44] He sees innovation as a three stage process: (1) conception or invention, (2) proposal, and (3) adoption. The probability of activity at any stage is mainly a function of organization *diversity,* which in turn is a function of *complexity* of the task structure and the incentive system. His central hypotheses are that the greater the diversity of the organization:

(1) the greater the probability that members will conceive of major innovations;

(2) the greater the probability that major innovations will be proposed; and

(3) the smaller the proportion of major innovative proposals that will be adopted.

The underlying reasoning is that, "The process of adopting innovations can be looked upon as essentially a political one characterized by bargaining; the more diverse the organization, the more bargaining must occur before changes can be made."[45]

Wilson lists ten related hypotheses, of which the following seem to be relevant for our purposes:[46]

> (7) "Decentralization can be regarded as a method for increasing the probability of ratification of new proposals by confining (in advance) their effects to certain subunits."
>
> (8) "The extent to which 'participative management' will stimulate the production of proposals or facilitate the adoption and implementation of innovations will depend upon, among other things, the extent to which the decision-making group itself becomes a highly valued source of incentives and the extent to which these group-based incentives are congruent with those offered by the larger organization."
>
> (9) "Innovative proposals will be more frequent in organizations in which a high degree of uncertainty governs the members' expectations of rewards."
>
> (10) "To the extent that members of a society attach a high value to extraorganizational, particularly non-material incentives, there will be an increased number of inventions (i.e., proposals) but a decreased probability of organizational innovation."

Social System Innovation. There is a large body of social science literature on innovation in various social systems, using a unit of analysis broader than the single organization. From a review of 506 innovation diffusion studies, Everett M. Rogers concluded that there are four essential analytical elements:[47]

> (1) the **innovation**—"an idea perceived as new by the individual."
>
> (2) its **communication**—by means of a *diffusion* process from its source to its users or adopters.
>
> (3) **a social system**—"a population of individuals who are functionally differentiated and engaged in

collective problem-solving behavior."

(4) **a time period**—during which the *adoption process* occurs as an individual decides to continue full use of the innovation in five stages: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption.

He also postulates five ideal types of innovation adopters, based on the time of adoption relative to other members of a social system:[48]

Rogers summarizes 52 generalizations, synthesizing the major findings of diffusion research.[49] Among the generalizations of interest to this study are:

(1) Impersonal information sources are most important at the awareness stage, and personal sources are most important at the evaluation stage in the adoption process.

(2) Cosmopolite information sources are most important at the awareness stage, and localite information sources are most important at the evaluation stage.

(3) The rate of adoption of an innovation is affected by the following perceived characteristics:

(a) **relative advantage**—over the superceded idea.

(b) **compatibility**—with values and experience of the adopters.

(c) **complexity**—relative difficulty of understanding and use.

(d) **divisibility**—degree to which the innovation can be tried on a limited basis.

(e) **communicability**—degree to which results may be diffused to others.

(4) A crisis emphasizes the relative advantage of an innovation and affects its rate of adoption.

(5) Personal influence from peers is most important at the evaluation stage in the adoption process and less important at other stages.

(6) Opinion leaders conform more closely to social system norms than the average member.

(7) The extent of promotional efforts by change agents is directly related to the rate of adoption of an innovation.

(8) Change agents have more communication with higher-status than with lower-status members of a social system.

Rogers' propositions overlap somewhat those presented in a propositional inventory based on a study conducted at the University of North Carolina of 400 hypotheses dealing with sociocultural change.[50] The inventory is organized into 13 categories of propositions, each relating to acceptance or rejection of an innovation. Rather than discussing all categories, only some propositions which were not covered specifically by Rogers, and seem to be relevant to this study, will be mentioned.

(1) An innovation will be more readily accepted if it will add to the prestige of the acceptor (satisfactions or rewards).

(2) Some aspects of culture are relatively persistent. Among these are early constitutional conditioning, communications, primary group relationships or societal security, maintenance of high prestige status, territorial security, and ideological security. (cultural stability)

(3) Various qualities of a culture and social system have a determinable influence on whether or not an innovation will be accepted. Among them are the rigidity or adaptability of a culture, the thresholds of change of social systems, traditional modes of belief and behavior, and inhibiting suspicion of government. (Qualities of culture, society and social structure.)

(4) An innovation will be more readily accepted if the people who are to change are involved in planning and execution. (Innovation introduction and techniques.)

(5) For best results, communications between the change agent and the people to be changed should be of a personal face-to-face nature. (Innovation introduction techniques.)

Before synthesizing the findings of studies on participation and innovation into a set of propositions on collaborative planning, it is necessary to look briefly at one

further consideration. This is the relationship between the planning process and the political decision system.

PLANNING AND POLITICS

In reviewing planning theory and political influence literature, Bolan finds,[51] "One can now begin to recognize more specifically the tensions existing in the decision making process and take more precise accounting of them in devising planning strategy. Such tensions in fact might be summarized as those inherent between stability and change with the political decision system basically oriented to the former and the planning process to the latter."

Building on the concept of tension, Bolan offers some tentative research hypotheses:[52]

(1) In any decision environment, as the number of independent decision makers increase, and as functional responsibilities become increasingly fragmented and specialized among independent decision makers, the *capacity* of the system to utilize comprehensive forms of policy-making decreases, while the *needs* of the system to utilize comprehensive forms of policy making increases. These counter requirements produce tension between the decision system and the planning system; a tension directly proportional to the degree of dispersal of decision making.

(2) The extent and character of tension between the planning system and the decision system varies with the characteristics of the issue at hand; such tension rises when the following attributes occur, either individually or collectively:

(a) the proposal is basically ideological in content,

(b) the proposal is of large scale or scope affecting many people and many interest groups,

(c) the proposal is irreversible (that is, cannot be changed once decided and acted upon),

(d) the proposal attempts to elicit long-term commitments,

(e) the proposal involves complex programming and budgetary requirements including a high degree of coordination and cooperation among many independent actors,

(f) the proposal involves a high degree of uncertainty with respect to probable outcomes or side effects.

(3) Tension tends to be created between the originator of an issue or proposal and the decision system; the degree of tension varying with the nature of the issue.

(4) Tension between the planning system and the decision system on one issue will tend to carry over to the next issue, but the degree of carry-over will vary with the nature of the second issue.

(5) Reduction of high tension between the planning system and the decision system requires a strategy and method oriented to incrementalism and short-term, adaptive, remedial, and limited proposals of a problem-solving type; alternatively, tension may be reduced by changing the decision system through centralization or reduction in the number of independent decision makers and reduction in specialization.

He also finds tension between those activities to be planned through "central decisions" and those to be left to "social choice." Again this tension is a source of frustration to the professional planner, requiring him to accommodate his strategies and methods to take explicit account of the processes of social choice.

COLLABORATIVE PLANNING PROPOSITIONS

Previously collaborative planning has been defined as a process including three major elements—participation, innovation and a public institutional base. Propositions will be discussed in relation to the general components of a planning system, using the components suggested by Bolan:[53] strategy, method, program-content and position.

Planning Strategy. Bolan views strategy as the means by which the planner attempts to persuade others that public policies and plans should be influenced by the information, criteria, and values which he presents. In addition to this central decision focus, strategy might also be thought of as the means by which the planner attempts to influence the actions of his clients (social choice) by the information, criteria and values which he presents.

In many ways the two concepts of strategy are incompatible, yet *participation* is a potential bridge between them.

Proposition 1. The broader the base of citizen participation in the planning process, the more potential influence the planner and citizens can bring to bear on public policies and plans. This is due to the respect accorded to the degree of representatives of opposing positions in the democratic decision process.

Proposition 2. The broader the base of citizen participation in the planning process, the more potential influence the planner can bring to bear on the social choices of private groups and individuals and vice versa. This is due to the behavior and attitude control exerted by groups on their members.

Incompatibility is more difficult to resolve in a strategy which attempts to reconcile *innovation* with participation. Wilson hypothesized that a more diverse organization would propose more, but adopt fewer, innovations because of the relatively greater amount of bargaining required. However, collaborative planning does not require that all participants be brought together in a single organization. Its flexibility stems from the fact that the planning function can be decentralized to serve client groups of varying size and composition. Thus, we can accept Wilson's hypothesis that decentralization can increase the probability of innovation ratification without having to debate his rather mechanical conception of human interaction.

Proposition 3. The more diverse interests represented in the planning process, the more innovative proposals will be made. This is due to the inherent internal conflicts arising from diversity.

Proposition 4. The more decentralized the client groups of the planning process, the more innovations will be adopted by them. This is due to the smaller amount of bargaining required in the decentralized units, but it requires that the central decision makers provide legitimation for the process.

Proposition 5. The more central decision makers are willing to delegate responsibility for local neighborhood type decisions, and to accept these decisions in their comprehensive policy making, the more innovations will be considered and adopted by the central decision makers. Conversely, the more centralized and comprehensive the decision process is, the fewer innovations will be adopted. This is due to the stability or equilibrium seeking process of comprehensive system models.

Planning Method. The scheme of logic by which plans are made is necessarily affected by the planner's strategy. Bolan's list of methods includes classical comprehensive plan-making which attempts to express public goals through a long range master plan of policies and land use patterns; comprehensive forms of systems analysis and simulation; suboptimizing programmatic techniques of PPBS, cost-benefit, and cost effectiveness analyses; quasi-Keynesian attempts to identify critical leverage points through which public control can manage a private economic system; and ad-hoc opportunism in which no programs or schedules are set up but action is taken as possible to move toward some general goal. In practice more than one of these methods may be used by a planning agency simultaneously.

The salient aspects of collaborative planning with respect to planning methods are its ability to inform the debate on public goals, its information about the state of the community and the effects of public programs, and its incorporation of public consultation techniques along with other planning methods.

Proposition 6. Local planning goals will be more congruent with community desires if discussed widely by participant groups whose discussions are reported to the decision making

body. This is due to the value of discussion in evaluating individual preferences.

As Dahl and Lindblom state,[54]

> Discussion is a kind of social introspection and partial rehearsal of experiences. Just as introspection and testing by experience are vital private aids to the individual in discovering what he prefers, so discussion is an important social technique for arriving at an understanding of one's preferences. Discussion permits a rapid display of alternative proposals, in the course of which the response of different people are usually exhibited and examined.

Proposition 7. The acceptance of a one-way flow of objectives down to the planning agency from the central decision making body will tend to underrepresent the interests of some community groups. This is due to the distorted image of the community maintained by elected officials due to their membership in restricted groups.

Proposition 8. The more public consultation techniques, such as sampling, educational seminars, and small group discussions, are used by the planning agency, the more its planning program will receive public support. This is due to the effects of participation on the acceptance of innovation.

Planning Program—Content. To a certain extent, the planning agency is free to decide on the issues for its program agenda. A familiar tactic is to initiate a program with a relatively easy, but highly visible, activity with a high probability of success. This makes the community aware of the planning function and its effectiveness. While the public officials determine part of the planning agenda, a collaborative approach permits considerable latitude in developing a program around relevant issues and achieving a community identity for the planning function without resorting to the "easy initial project" tactic.

Proposition 9. The more the planning process employs participation, the more the community will be aware of the planning function as a democratic community force.

Proposition 10. The more that community issues demand innovative solutions, the more that public priorities can be set on the basis of actual need by participatory planning which is open to radical proposals.

Proposition 11. The wider the scope of the planning and the longer the time horizon, the less useful will be inputs from collaborative planning, which tends to generate attention to immediate, localized problems.

Position of Planning Decision System. The "proper" location for the planning function in government has been the subject of a continuing professional debate. Rather than dealing with the question of where to locate planning with government, collaborative planning assumes both an internal base, appropriate to the local form of government, and a number of dispersed bases.

Proposition 12. Regardless of the location of the planning function within government, it will tend to increase in both the relevance of issues presented and the influence exerted in proportion to the number of dispersed contacts which it has in the community. This is due to the inhibiting effect of hierarchical organization on communications.

The previous hypotheses must be regarded as tentative and subject to considerable review. They neglect certain key variables such as degree of power parity and initial conflict among participants, as well as the development of citizen competence to participate in planning. However, they seem to offer a useful starting point for research in the collaborative planning process. The central importance of this effort is emphasized by Bolan's conclusion that,[55]

> No matter how we improve our substantive knowledge of how cities function, and no matter how we improve our capabilities in information handling, operations research, and prediction, if there is

not a corollary development of the community's capacity for improved decision making within the framework of democratic processes, there is the real possibility that heavy investment in the current forms of city planning technique will have been in vain.

Adopter Category	Salient Values	Personal Characteristics	Communication Behavior	Social Relations
Innovators	"Venturesome," accept risks	Young, high social status, largest & most specialized operations, wealthy	Contact with scientific sources & other innovators, use of impersonal sources	Some opinion leadership, very cosmopolite
Early Adopters	"Respect," used as role model by others	High social status, large & specialized operations	Greatest contact tact with local change agents	Greatest opinion leadership, very localite
Early Majority	"Deliberate"	Above average social status, average sized operation	Considerable contact with change agents & early adopters	Some opinion leadership
Late Majority	"Skeptical"	Below average social status, small, non-specialized operation, low income	Contact with peers, late or early majority, less use of mass media	Little opinion leadership
Laggards	"Tradition," past oriented	Lowest social status & income, least size and specialization, oldest	Contact with friends, and relatives with similar values	Very little leadership semi-isolates

1 Daniel Bell has defined a post industrial society as "one in which the organization of theoretical knowledge becomes paramount for innovation in the society, and in which intellectual institutions become central in social structure." See Bell, "Introduction," *The Year 2000: A Framework for Speculation on the Next Thirty-Three Years* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1967), p. xxvii.

2 This thesis is developed by J. J. Servan-Schreiber in *The American Challenge* (New York: Athenum House, Inc., 1968).

3 See, for instance, the report on the New Haven riots by Peter M. Green and Ruth H. Cheney, "Urban Planning and Urban Revolt: A Case Study," in *Progressive Architecture,* (January, 1968), pp. 134-156.

4 An example of this view can be found in William B. Shore, "Public Opinion and Goals for Planning," (Panel) American Institute of Planners: 46th Annual Conference, *A Report of the Milwaukee Proceedings* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1963), p. 188.

5 The change agent concept comes from the literature of innovation diffusion and of community organization. See Everett M. Rogers, Diffusions of Innovations (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

6 Talcott Parsons, "An Outline of the Social System," Talcott Parsons *et al* (eds.) *Theories of Society,* Vol. 1 (Glencoe, Free Press, 1961), pp. 35-50.

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11 Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners,* XXXI (November, 1965), pp. 331-338. See also Lisa R. Peattie, "Reflections on Advocacy Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners,* XXXIV (March, 1968), pp. 80-88; and C. Richard Hatch, "Some Thoughts on Advocacy Planning," *The Architectural Forum,* 128 (June, 1968), pp. 72-73, 103, 109. A later modification of Davidoff's thinking may be found in "Suburban Action: Advocate Planning for an Open Society," *AIP Journal,* (January, 1970), pp. 12-21.

12 Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, *Politics, Economics and Welfare* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) (Torchbook Edition), pp. 57-126.

13 *Ibid,* p. 68.

14 John Friedmann, "A Conceptual Model for the Analysis of Planning Behavior," *Administrative Science Quarterly, 12 (September,* 1967), pp. 225-252; and John Friedmann, "Planning as Innovation: The Chilean Case." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners,* XXXII (July, 2966), pp. 194-204.

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18 Davidoff, p. 333.

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20 *Ibid,* p. 334.

21 Peattie, pp. 80-81.

22 *Ibid,* pp. 82-86, and Hatch, pp. 72-73.

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3 SOCIALLY RESPONSIVE DESIGN PROCESSES

PETER BATCHELOR

Perspectives on Participatory Design

The appearance of a body of literature dealing with citizen participation in the planning and design disciplines is such a recent phenomenon that it is altogether too easy to lose perspective of the powerful social undercurrents responsible for such a fundamental professional change. Paul Davidoff's article "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" appearing in the November 1965 issue of the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* was probably one of the earliest indications in a professional journal of the idea that the most effective role to be played by a city planner could occur in the political arena.[1] Davidoff argued that policies in a democratic society are determined through political debate, and that the planner should enter political processes as an advocate of interest groups. The article sums up Davidoff's general philosophy regarding the determination of normative or value-oriented decisions, an area which had been tactfully avoided in the then current era of comprehensive planning. For several years prior to that particular article Paul Davidoff had been conducting a class on the Theory of Planning Method in the University of Pennsylvania's Department of City and Regional Planning. Several classes of students who are now part of the planning milieu, with myself among them, were subjected to a gruelling re-examination of the grass roots political concepts underlying planning while simultaneously being exposed to such accepted areas as capital programming, mathematical model-building, physical planning, and all the other stock in trade of planning education. Davidoff's ideas were revolutionary at the time, and even though 1965 may seem a great distance from us in terms of social evolution, it is still only five years ago. Davidoff had articulated some concepts which had already been stated by persons in other disciplines, but it was his special genius for contention and debate that forced middle class liberalism to the surface. Planners and students, attempting to create a society in their own image, suddenly broke through to a broader level of understanding about their role in the social system.

In reality,, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" emerged some five years after the first advocates began to work with interest groups around the country. In 1961, Walter Thabit, a private planning consultant of New York, was commissioned to prepare an analysis of the effects of planned institutional expansion by the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel Institute of Technology upon Powelton Village, a local enclave of white, middle-class homeowners. Thabit's work culminated in an impassioned plea to the city government to limit university encroachment upon this charming Victorian residential neighborhood, threatened on one side by voracious land consuming institutions, and on the other by the cancer of slum deterioration.[2] Between 1961 and 1965 the number of known advocate planners began to grow, and at some point during the years 1966 and 1967 a few architectural firms began to get into advocacy on a professional basis. By 1970 the American Institute of Architects had a roster of 23 "Community Design Centers"—the architectural equivalent to a planning firm working in the interests of a (usually) low income minority or ethnic community. Thus, city planning as a profession seems to have had a five year head start over architecture in the community involvement concept and this may tend to explain the fact that very few articulate treatises on community oriented design can be found, while planning literature abounds with essays and articles on advocacy design.[3] Nevertheless, the relatively recent occurrence of a

body of literature within the planning and design professions is reason enough for raising some cautionary questions as to the role, effectiveness, and meaning of designing for the community. Also, and perhaps this is more important, can we properly distinguish the constituent elements of this new movement from the transitory elements? That is to say, can we really evaluate history while it is occurring?

Background to Planning, 1950-70

It is the belief of the author that the current attempt to involve citizens in the design process must be viewed as a phenomenon interwoven with the whole post-war social evolutionary process. In the early 1950's, for example, a growing affluence and detachment of technology from institutional morality reinforced the 'master plan' approach to city development. Thus, a comprehensive plan produced during the 1950 and 1960's could rationalize the distribution of urban resources on a gross scale based on the assumption that local government was "good"--that is to say, working for everyone's interests—and on the manifest need for an expertise not clearly understood by the common public. It is hard to say which assumption was, or is, more fallacious, but neither the benificence nor expertise of government has yielded its anticipated results. On the one hand, local governments had become so impersonal and internally fragmented that defining a collective public interest for the purposes of adequate planning seemed to be almost impossible. On the other hand, decision makers became extremely dependent on techniques of analysis at a time when great doubts were being cast on both the scientific validity and utility of rational models in a subjective and value oriented political process. In other words, the growing affluence and technological capability of the country reinforced a fundamental detachment implicit in the master plan approach and pushed it right out of the arena of both public and official relevance. Attempts to redesign "master planning" into "comprehensive planning" were little more than exercises in futility, since the phased process approach of a comprehensive plan is based on a set of calculated and projected needs of a community created out of touch with the citizens. Marshall Kaplan refers to the separation of fact and value in the planning process as an outgrowth of the historic fear of mixing planning and politics[4], but it is also a function of a rapidly evolving technology divorced from the complexities and ambiguities of a pluralistic society.[5] Therefore, the intellectual and administrative environment of the 1950's and early 1960's actually nurtured a detachment of planning from politics, and it did so at a time when, in McLuhan's words, electronic communication had reduced the world to a "global village"[6].

This complacent world of generalized and abstract planning conceptions based on rationality, comprehensiveness and equality, rather than on competing classes and groups, might have gone on for an indefinite period of time if some profound social changes had not taken place in the 1960's. These changes cannot easily be grouped or classified since they are a part of a series of continuous and interrelated events affecting all age groups, races and aspects of contemporary life and thought. However, there seems to be some consensus among observers that the catalyst for this social revolution is a segment of the population described as "youth"—a vocal minority of persons within an extended education who are not yet stable enough to become adults, but have developed far beyond the physiological and psychological manifestations of adolescence. It is youth that has challenged the prevalent social and political

system, and it is youth whose influence has caused such visible changes in the world of fashion, music and the fine arts, and in education.

There are many chronicles of this influential group. Kenneth Keniston's thesis is that youth represents the emergence on a mass scale of a previously unrecognized stage of life.[7] This stage of life is highly exploratory and unstable, and can exist only in a state of flexibility and "openendedness." Keniston suggests that the major theme of youth is the *tension between* self and society,[8] and that the style of post-modern youth might be best characterized in terms of fluidity, flux and movement, generational identification, personalism, nonasceticism, inclusiveness, antitechnologism participation, antiacademicism and nonviolence.[9] Keniston's analysis notwithstanding, the contemporary world has been bombarded with a whole series of phenomena which in all likelihood contributed to a cataclysmic revolution in planning: campus radicalism beginning with the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and continuing on to a violent and disruptive course and pro-civil rights activism: extension of sensory awareness, which includes both the electronics revolution previously mentioned and the use of psychedelic drugs, depressants, stimulants, euphorics and narcotics to produce different states of awareness: religious sub-cultism which ranges from the creation of youth-centered religious cults to new modes of social organization, such as communes: and conscious social and cultural rejectionism to the point of adopting a vernacular, appearance, morality (especially sexuality) deliberately contrary to the prevailing order. No wonder that the cherished standards of the "permissive generation" toppled so easily under the onslaught.

It is against this social evolution that participatory design should be viewed, and it is rather clear that the current group of analysts, devotees or protagonists of the subject matter have missed the point: citizen involvement in the design process is the manifestation of a new sensory awareness of man's relation to society. Somehow in the previous turbulent decade the notion has been implanted in the urban citizen that his voice is valuable, that his experience is unique, and that considerable importance is to be attached to the microcosmic environment—that is to say, his own personal space—surrounding him. We are not dealing with a new concept of political strategy as much as a new involvement in the welfare of others. It is McLuhan's global village in another guise, it is a responsive environment. Citizen participation in design is therefore socially responsive design—the convergence of value through individual and group representation, and economic, political, and technological resources.[10]

Some Intermediate Perceptions

Before undertaking an examination of some socially responsive design processes within the context established in this paper it would be beneficial to take an uninhibited look at the current state of the art. Advocacy design at this point in time is inevitably associated with advocacy for the minority group. This is because those able to advocate for their own planning interests at City Hall have a number of mechanisms for accomplishing this objective, while the poor do not. Cities may be viewed as extensive areas of real estate whose economic value gives "muscle" to vested interests in council chambers and board rooms. Thus, city planning commissions cannot venture too far with their objectivity if real estate interests are threatened. At this point a delicate argument ensues: surely it is in the public interest to raise land values so that municipal revenues remain healthy. The reader will recognize this hypothesis as the one which underlies urban

renewal and urban redevelopment. The thorny problem is that while increased revenues may accrue to the public as a whole the benefit of property revaluation goes to the developer, and the city may suffer the attendant social and economic costs of relocation.

Nearly all the great case studies of advocacy planning and design occurred when professionals and students cut their teeth on the renewal or redevelopment problem. Coming out of an accelerating social revolution and often from affluent backgrounds themselves, students and young professionals attacked the renewal issue with a zeal only equal to their own thrusts at existing white middle class institutions. There was, and still is, an internal contradiction in the advocacy movement: Those persons capable of advocacy for the urban poor were drawn from the ranks of the authorities they were attacking. This has lent an atmosphere of impermanence and suspicion to the advocacy movement, and many poor Blacks and Whites have doubted the utility of having higher socio-economic groups work on their behalf. There is a tendency at times to entertain the notion that advocacy is aWhite, middle class game. To be sure, the perception of what the needs of citizens are varies greatly from citizen to advocate planner and staff. And in the midst of what is often a heated debate over an issue of immediate consequence, such as the bulldozing of homes for an interchange, a planner or designer will come up with a suggestion which takes many years to plan and implement. It would seem therefore, that an *advocate* should work within the territory which he knows best—that is to say, within the professional and administrative structure as an adversary—rather than on foreign soil. This is why so many early attempts to work for the community ended in despair, and why citizens could not see the usefulness of a set of skills which did not resolve the more immediate needs of food, shelter, medical aid and welfare.

The advocacy movement described here represents a first generation attempt to create a responsive design process. Some valuable lessons have been learned, and it is now possible to state, in a general way, the conditions under which traditional and recent developments in community-oriented design can be made to fit the needs of special interest groups. However, it would be helpful to examine some of the accumulated experiences in community design before establishing specific guidelines.

Intermittent Design Processes: The Charette Approach[11]

The Charette concept is drawn from a tradition initiated at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris during the nineteenth century. A "Charette" was a small handdrawn cart onto which architectural students placed their designs just prior to evaluation by jury. This method of conveying student work to the jury has become symbolically associated with the intense period of design activity prior to a deadline, so that architectural students around the world now refer to "Charette" as a concentrated period of design activity leading to a finished product rather than to a two-wheel pushcart.

In the last few years, the Charette concept has been utilized by Federal agencies and communities as a means of bringing citizens and professionals into problem-solving situations in order to align objectives and to produce plans or concepts which satisfy the needs of communities. Inclusion of citizens without prior technical training in planning problems has, however, shifted the emphasis from purely physical planning to social and economic planning as well. In addition, the organizational problems are such that considerable resources are

required to stage effective Charettes.

The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare has been sponsoring a series of Charettes around the country through its Facilities Engineering and Construction Agency. In the summer of 1969 an agreement was reached between HEW and Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, to organize a community workshop around the planned expansion of the predominantly Black institution into a low-income Black community. The account which follows is a description of the Charette process in which the author acted as manager for Shaw University. The nature of this particular Charette is considered similar enough to those which either preceeded or followed it, so that it is possible to make some general observations about the form of socially responsive design process.

Background to the Shaw/Southside Charette

Southside is one of those pockets of urban poverty which can be found everywhere in the nation, particularly in small southern cities. The statistics associated with this area seem all too familiar to the student of urban problems: 75% substandard housing; 19% owner occupied housing; $234.00 average monthly income per family; 44% of streets unpaved, and so on. It is an area of extreme human waste: Poverty and unemployment are what might be described as "ways of life" to the citizens here. Thus, the Federal Bulldozer was called into action in 1966 with the beginning of an urban renewal project whose boundaries included some portions of land needed for the expansion of Shaw University as well as an interchange between two major through streets and a limited access highway. Between December 31, 1966 and November 3, 1969 a series of surveys and community hearings were held and the urban renewal project area underwent several evolutionary changes, notably cutbacks. During this period of time there was a growth of tension within the community. Then on November 3, 1969 an eight-day workshop was held in a vacant automobile showroom and garage near Shaw University.

At the commencement of the Shaw/Southside Charette the citizens had articulated the major problems, as they perceived them, relative to the Southside renewal project: Shaw University's need for additional land for its expansion program threatened to deprive local residents of some of the limited amount of housing available to them at rents which they could afford; the State Highway Commission's plans to build an expressway through Southside also threatened to eliminate available housing; and finally the Raleigh Redevelopment Commission's plans for Southside did not initially include enough housing for displaced residents, nor did it guarantee any rental priority to former residents in the area. If current plans had been realized, the majority of residents would have been displaced without a formal relocation plan. In addition, the existing stock of low rent housing would have been still further depleted through renewal. Thus, few citizens in Southside had any illusions about the quality of their environment, but to many residents their milieu of drafty, sagging frame houses set in rutted streets was at least better than the "displacement without alternatives" that was offered to them. Indeed, if any choices had been available to the Southside residents, they would sooner have had a rebuilt neighborhood with improved health, education, and community services than the uncertain future that they faced. Thus, the purpose of the Charette was to try to identify their objectives, and to use them as a means of helping the residents to generate practical alternatives to existing plans.

November 3-10, 1969: Shaw/Southside Charette

The large numbers of people attending the Charette on the first and succeeding days combined with a seething hostility contributed to a fairly sudden breakdown in the formal structure devised for cooperative planning.[12] The author, having conceived of a "decision arena" as a vehicle for citizens to air their grievances, found that it was being used as a device for relieving pent-up feelings on all matters from child care to rodent control. Thus the first few meetings became the mechanism by which dissident Blacks could express their opinions and problems.

On the third night, a group of Black militant students staged a daring takeover. Whites were expelled from the meeting altogether, and, much to the astonishment of the white "expertise", were not allowed back into the arena until the following morning. Out of the Wednesday night militant takeover came a preliminary plan for Southside based upon the work and imagination of one of the few professionals allowed to remain in the arena. DeBerry McKissock, a Black architect from Memphis, managed to solidify many of the emotional and heart-felt needs of the Blacks into a schematic community layout. His proposal showed extensive Black-owned commercial areas, as well as housing, recreation, legal counselling, day care, educational, and many other facilities. Most important of all was the fact that the proposed expressway had been eliminated. This proposal became a statement of objectives for the whole Charette to follow, and the remainder of the Shaw/Southside redevelopment workshop was based upon setting up design proposals to achieve these objectives. A concept of "Self-Renewal" was initiated by several Blacks as an indication of their desire to try to solve their own problems. Shaw University's role was viewed as that of the provider of professional advisors and as the seeker of funds with which to implement proposed plans. The basic principle behind "Self-Renewal" was viewed as the creation of a viable social structure and political base by strengthening community services and resources through co-operative buying, self-help housing, manpower training and other programs. It was also expected that Shaw University would provide the community with a service center and a professional staff to operate it.

Thursday, the fourth day of the Charette, began on a substantially different footing. Tempers had cooled, informal cooperation ensued, and the Charette passed from being a White dominated concept to a Black oriented planning session. Most noticeable of all, the Whites were not afraid to touch the Blacks. For the first time in four days, people were regarding each other as human beings. Planning could now begin on a rational basis.

Analysis of the Charette Experience

In terms of productivity, a wealth of innovative plans and concepts were generated during the closing days of the Charette. These plans and concepts, in turn, served as a means for creating changes in the urban renewal project in such a way that a second bond referendum was passed by the city three months later (the first referendum was defeated on the second day of the Charette). However, the Charette was also significant in terms of human interaction, and for the author it provided some clues as to the conditions under which a short-term workshop can produce responsive design.

From the beginning, it seemed as if every identifiable group of persons was "out of phase" with each other. The perceived roles of various Charette participants varied so much that it is doubtful if any serious reflective communication occured. The militant take-over was brilliantly

conceived as a strategy—and I am sure of its purposive nature on the part of a handful of students—to solidify the undirected energies of the Black citizens. Thus, the take-over acted as a vehicle for concretizing citizen objectives into plan form. If White resistance had occurred at this point, the whole affair might have ended in disaster. But the emotional unification of citizens enabled their energies to be focused on the production plan. Furthermore, the reintroduction of Whites on the following day was accompanied with feelings of equality; pretenses were dropped, good natured obscenities filled the air, and people spent more time listening than talking.

The majority of citizens had become fatigued at this point. Several persons emerged from arena sessions and committee meetings to become the unconscious leaders of the community, and in the process of leadership development a two-way education was taking place: the professional and administrative participants began to perceive and understand the perception of Southside citizens, while the citizens began to understand the complexity of planning and design problems.

From a communications point of view most of the participants at the arena sessions were ill-informed of the issues surrounding the urban renewal project. Therefore, a comprehensive analysis of the transportation needs of the city fell on deaf ears when it was given at the first session. Attempts to distribute informational literature prior to Charette commencement were practically non-existent, and mass communications media were only modestly employed. When the Charette sessions began it was only the more spectacular aspects which actually caught the public interest, although Shaw's own radio station WHSA was giving good coverage to the community through broadcasts from the arena and through a "Hotline" approach to the handling of listener's questions.

If one accepts the Charette or workshop approach to community problem solving as a means of identifying and articulating the aspirations of a group of people, then most of the difficulties lie in the realm of communication and interaction. To be successful, a one-shot community workshop must be elaborately planned to bring the specific citizens group up to the level of knowledge and cooperation needed for collaborative planning. It must be skillfully organized towards the production of plans, documents, and concepts. The Shaw/Southside Charette achieved in fulfilling some of these objectives, and failed in others. But is also provided a precedent for the Charettes to follow elsewhere.

Continuous Design Processes:

Community Design Centers

It is hardly surprising that one of the conclusions emerging from the Shaw/Southside Charette was that a "continuous Charette facility" should be constructed in the community.[13] The students responsible for developing this idea were actually talking about what is now called a community design center (CDC). CDC's have been springing up all over the country, either as an adjunct to an architectural and planning school or as professional ventures. The latter variety of CDC is very much in the minority, probably because it is difficult to cover the normal operating costs of an architectural practice on fees from the typically small building and renovating jobs handled by a CDC. There are exceptions to this, of course, and seven of the CDC's listed in *Vital Questions*, a publication distributed by the American Institute of Architects, have budgets in excess of $100,000 per year.[14]

The CDC concept has as its chief advantage the focusing of design problems onto an immediate and concrete level. Communities can get bored very

quickly with long range studies for manpower deployment and population analyses. But at a CDC it is possible to talk about storefronts, tot lots, sidewalk art, and fixing up old houses. It has been noted previously that one of the major problems confronting public officials is that their perceptions of the needs of a citizen are very different from that of the citizen himself. Poor Blacks and Whites can hardly be expected to weigh the pros and cons of transportation alternatives when more pressing issues such as adequate housing and unemployment must be faced. However, a CDC operates at a neighborhood scale and is not liable to loose its small-scale focus. Furthermore, extensive contact between citizens and CDC staff members overcomes most of the inhibiting factors that develop in short-run community workshops. Thus, the citizen has a mechanism for conveying his needs in a manner which demands a certain level of immediate action from CDC staff, and so it becomes easier to plan and build for communities in a responsive way.

When a CDC is studied from the point of view of a staff member the problems are somewhat different. Unless professionals are employed, or unless students with a high level of graphic or design-related skills are involved, a CDC cannot achieve any tangible results. The high and constant visibility of a CDC requires some signs of action, and in spite of constant "rapping" the citizens are bound to become wary when the product of community involvement ends in the generation of reports. Most of the successful CDC's around the country apparently get themselves involved in a variety of jobs ranging from interior decoration and rewiring to rehabilitation. Some CDC's even have their own staffs, usually student labor, for making minor repairs to housing. This is all a necessary part of the neighborhood image without which a CDC could not function. The CDC operates at a high level of personal contact and visibility. It is natural that its productivity should be directed towards tangible ends.[15]

Institutionalized Design Processes

Institutionalized design processes may be classified at two general levels: professional and governmental. Professional institutionalization is characterized by the typical practicing architect and planner working independently of the community on a consulting basis, and maintaining contact through various contractual obligations. The majority of architectural firms operate in this manner throughout the country. Governmental institutionalization is characterized by a hired staff working on generalized problem areas such as city planning, low income housing, and so on, within a spectrum of evolving resources and clients. While some people maintain that the designer as a civil servant works for the benefit of citizens groups, as a whole nothing in the history of planning commissions, redevelopment authorities, and similar public agencies indicates a high level of public satisfaction with this form of institutionalized design. There is a built-in remoteness and lack of final responsibility that sharply limits its effectiveness in solving social problems.

Current attempts in the architectural profession to promote "social responsibility" are negated by the traditional single-client/single-consultant posture which underlies the contractual arrangements made for most commissions. Architects sensitive to this situation attempt to build field operations into their projects by maintaining an office and staff on the site, but this is a temporary commitment and cannot be expected to win the confidence of citizens. Another method is to employ local citizens or use them as liaison agents between the office and the community. Here again, the architect may run the risk of

hiring someone not sensitive enough to his needs to deal effectively with design problems and to communicate them to the public, or he may face the problem of incurring distrust among community members who believe that the liaison agent is in the "pay" and therefore domination of the employer. Perhaps one way around this client-consultant gap is to decentralize private offices to the point where they have a specific community identity. However, it is only in large urban areas that an office can maintain a staff based on fees from local commissions. Even then, most of the nationally known community-oriented private architectural practices must seek subsidies from foundations or local, state and federal agencies, or seek clientele of the more traditional kind in order to subsidize their operations.

Governmental design possesses a different kind of detachment from the community than typical consulting firms. The necessity to organize hearings on zoning and redevelopment issues, as well as to maintain close contact with engineering, public works, transportation and other city departments has given rise to the centralization of planning and design functions of government. It is easy to prepare abstract concepts or formal schemes for city redevelopment at a distance from the public, and it has been relatively easy, until recently, to push through urban renewal and public housing projects based on projected or calculated needs of people. Nevertheless, the techniques for identifying social objectives have been relatively crudely applied in city government; rather than aiming at an identification of citizen perception of needs, analysts have fallen back onto economic studies, market analyses, projections and some of the more classical approaches to planning and design problems. In this context, both the content of institutionalized design and its visibility are out of reach of the community.

Interestingly enough, it is easier for the author to conceptualize solutions for making governmental design more effective at the community level than it is for traditional architectural design. Most cities possess the resources to decentralize their planning operations on a permanent basis, and since they are not dependent on commissions from projects then one would assume that staffing and financing community planning and design operations are small problems to handle. Nevertheless, the typical planning operation is locked into city hall, and there is not much hope of immediate and widespread change at the moment.[16]

CONCLUSION:
Guidelines for Facilitating Socially Responsive Design

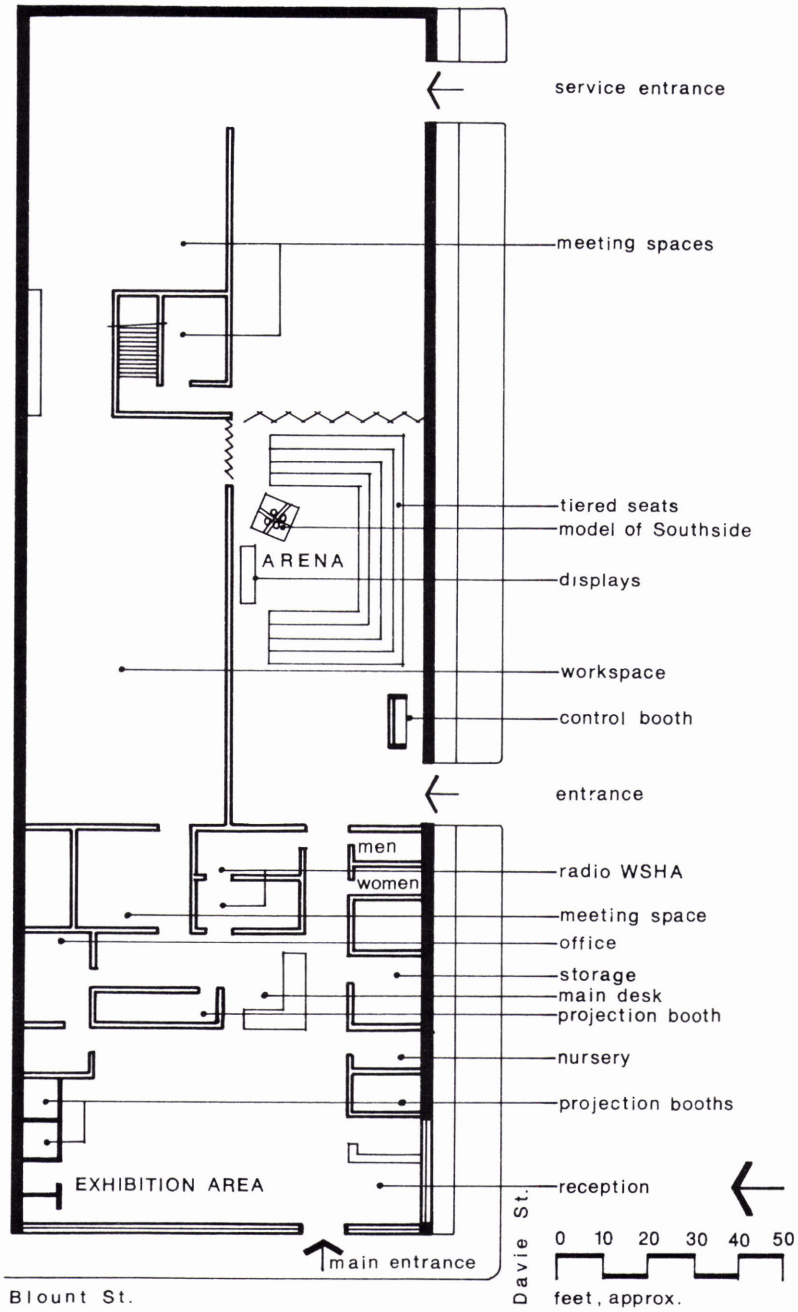
Four kinds of currently available methods of achieving socially responsive design have been examined in this paper: Short term community workshops, community design centers, professional consulting firms, and governmental agencies. None of them are able, it seems, to function effectively at the full range of participatory options, but from all of them one can draw some conclusions relative to facilitating social responsivity: 1. *A responsive design process has a level of imageability proportional to the scale of action contemplated.* Thus, a generalized land use plan may be adequate as a descriptive device for long range comprehensive planning at the City Hall, but its significance may be lost at the local neighborhood scale. 2. *Participants—both citizens and experts—should become involved in design processes up to the level of their interest and capability*. This may require a serious overhaul of the traditional working procedures of designers and planners. Graphic and three-dimensional communications technique should probably de-emphasize

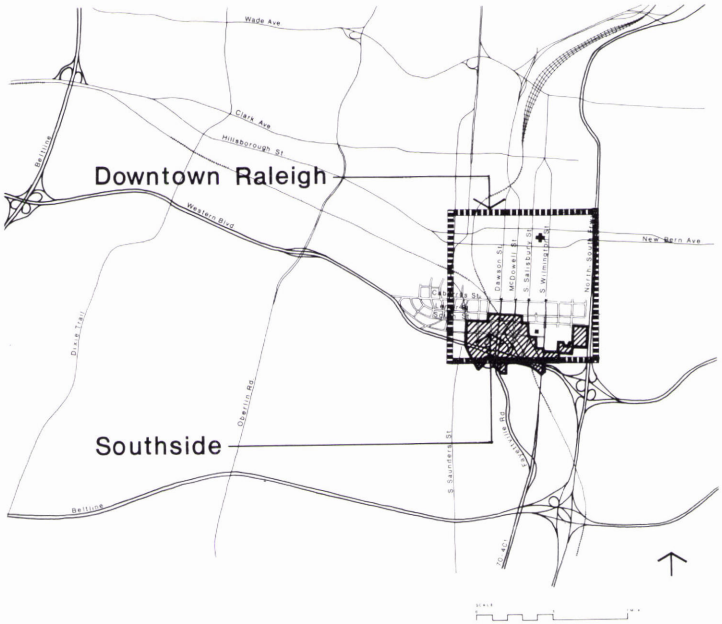
the descriptive and emphasize the creative, idea-generative approach. Instruction is not the primary purpose of community design processes, although the most effective design mechanism is one which is both heuristic and flexible insofar as participation is concerned. 3. *Priorities for action should be established at the scale of action contemplated.* Returning once more to the comprehensive plan analogy, one could argue that city-wide decisions require a city wide constituency and that neighborhood decisions are best concentrated at local levels. As a representative of local interests, the local citizen should be in a position to establish priorities and make his own trade-offs in concert with others. As a representative of the whole public, the local citizen should be able to order his priorities relative to the vested interests of all other citizens. Both levels of representation require better than average political organization. 4. *Responsive design requires adequate preparation.* The more complex the task, the more extensive the preparation. If short term workshops appear to be the best strategy, then an effort must be made to inform citizens ahead of time. Obviously, new techniques must be devised to get the complexity of model cities programs and comprehensive plans across to the citizens. 5. *Plan preparation is done with the citizen, not for him.* While this may seem self-evident, it is not always understood that major decisions are made before community objectives are identified. Urban parks and recreation areas are a good example of how poor the fit between perceived needs and conceptualized needs has become. 6. *Individual sensitivity is a necessary ingredient of a socially responsive design process.* This is the "humanizing" element that Peattie refers to.[17] Even though the scale component of a design process may range from interior rehabilitation to city-wide facility planning, a citizen should be able to identify with the design process. This is similar to the flexibility of involvement outlined in point number 2 above, except that some techniques for group interaction might be needed to foster individual identification. There are already a few consultants in the field of citizen involvement in planning and design who feel that guided group interaction will produce adequate results without much change of input from the traditional areas of expertise. 7. *The relevant power structure is part of the design process.* Man feeds his illusions and his incapacity to grasp complex situations with simplistic concepts of power and authority. Not long ago—and this is possibly still true in some of the more provincial areas of political and social science—it was believed that elitist power groups dominated the fate of the underprivileged. Thus, notions of "movers and shakers" and metropolitan power structures never got beyond the boardroom or private club level. Consider how youth and militant minorities have changed this situation in recent years. A technical expert and professional in a design process should understand the power potential of his community, and he should guide citizens into a balanced and effective use of this power.

Socially responsive design processes therefore involve citizens to the depth of their interest and capacity of their understanding in social and economic problems. This depth of involvement varies with the scale of the problem, its imageability, and the extent to which the individual or group is sensitized to it. The traditional and emergent mechanisms possess varying degrees of adequacy for dealing with social problems, and it is clear that the next decade will produce some revolutionary changes in current design techniques. Decentralization of planning and design staffs may provide an answer to the credibility gap

which now exists between insitutionalized design and the community, while diversification of design focus may help stabilize the community design center and workshop operation.

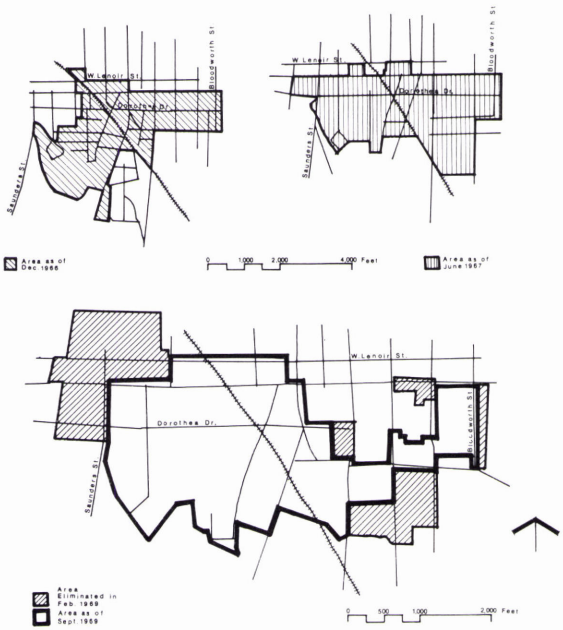
PLAN OF COMMUNITY WORKSHOP
The Shaw/Southside Charette was held in a vacant automobile garage and showroom about 3 or 4 city blocks from the urban renewal area. Thousands of people attended the Charette, and the rooms which were originally believed to be far too large for meaningful interaction proved to be barely adequate. Most important of all, people were attracted by continuous slide shows of their environment, exhibitions of work, posters of Black leaders, and the noise and bustle of arena activity. A steady stream of curious citizens peered through the windows into the exhibition area, stopped at the main desk, and proceeded towards the arena as if drawn by the spectacle itself. Few people actually understood what it was all about.





EVOLUTIONARY SEQUENCE OF RENEWAL BOUNDARIES

Just as cities are evolutionary structures, so are renewal areas. The fact that a boundary may be fixed for survey purposes does not indicate that it will be stable for ever. Southside is a classic example: The struggle against economic limitations produced a four-stage physical metamorphosis from 1,100 families in 1967 to 645 in 1969. The area outlined in heavy black indicates the extent of Southside Urban Renewal Area at the commencement of the Charette.

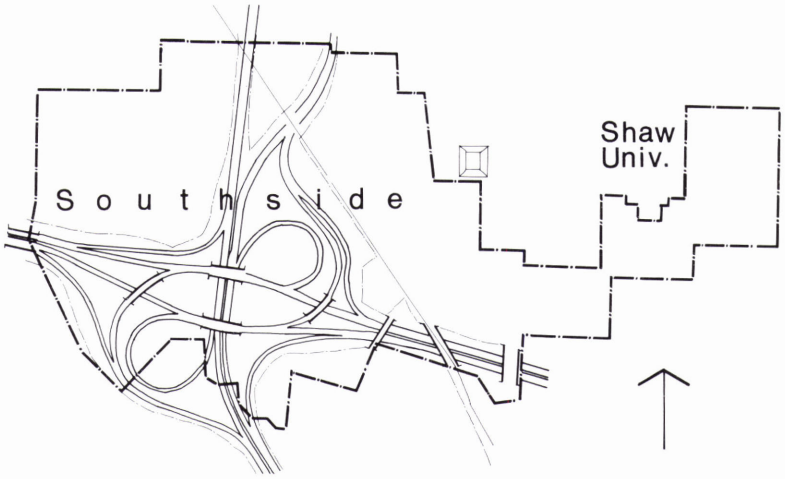


LOCATION OF SOUTHSIDE RENEWAL AREA

This diagram illustrates the location of the Southside renewal area with respect to major features in the metropolitan area of Raleigh. Within easy walking distance of the downtown shopping and business center, Southside acts as a filtering network for local and regional traffic. This fact has helped to accelerate a new network of high-speed roads, most of which are indicated here. The renewal area is shown by a heavy black outline, and the State Capitol by a black cross.

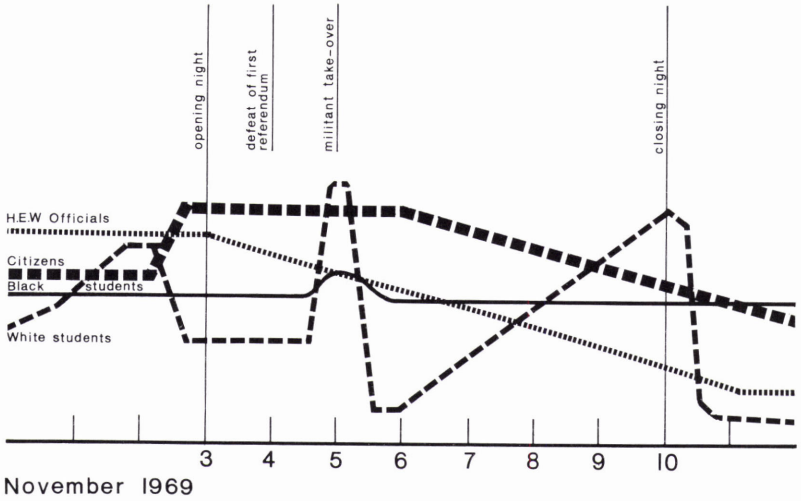
FOCAL ISSUE: HIGHWAY INTERCHANGE

On the first afternoon of the Charette a State Highway Commission representative gave a well-reasoned argument for the planning of a major interchange in Southside. The citizens were unable and unwilling to grasp the "general public interest" assumptions which lay behind this section of a larger metropolitan highway network. Consequently, the interchange became the focal issue. Never had the Federal Bulldozer seemed more menacing than at this point in time!



CHARETTE ACTIVITIES: CHAOS WITHIN ORDER

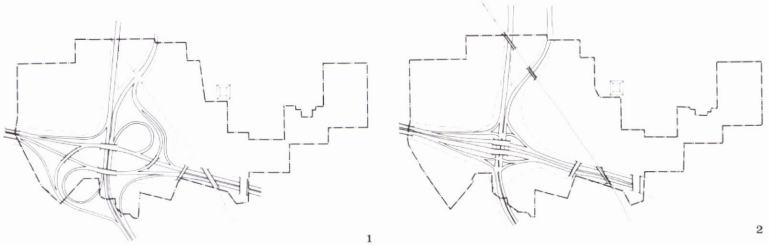
This diagram shows the author's perception of energy output from four different groups. Attempts to superimpose an order by HEW and Shaw officials were ineffective, and the Charette began to exhibit a tendency towards self-organization. Nevertheless, each group seemed to be regulated by its own set of principles within this self-organizing activity, and the view from outside was one of apparent chaos. HEW officials prominent at the outset were eventually eclipsed by the high level of emotional involvement; citizens entering the Charette at a fairly high pitch worked themselves to even higher levels before the fourth day; White students peaked according to self-imposed design deadlines, and also for a brief spell during the take-over; and Black students, maintaining a sort of steady equilibrium, gave the arena sessions their unrelenting drive.

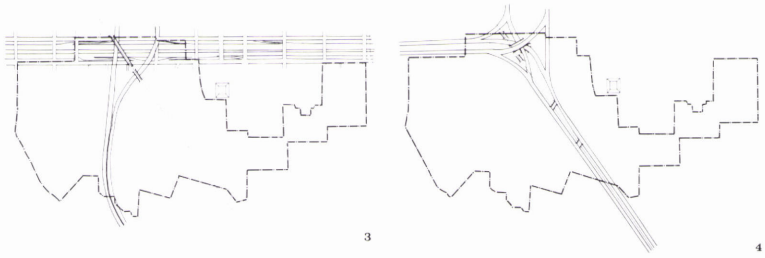




CHARETTE ACTIVITIES: CITIZEN-GENERATED RENEWAL PLAN

One of the chief results of the militant take-over on the third night was that the Charette passed from White to Black intellectual domination. The take-over was timed to coincide with a growing need for self determination, and the result was that a consolidation of thought and feeling took place within productive channels. One of the few remaining professionals on the scene was a black architect from Memphis, DeBerry McKissock. He helped to prepare a plan based on the citizen's objectives. McKissock and a local citizen are seen presenting the plan to an arena audience on the following night.



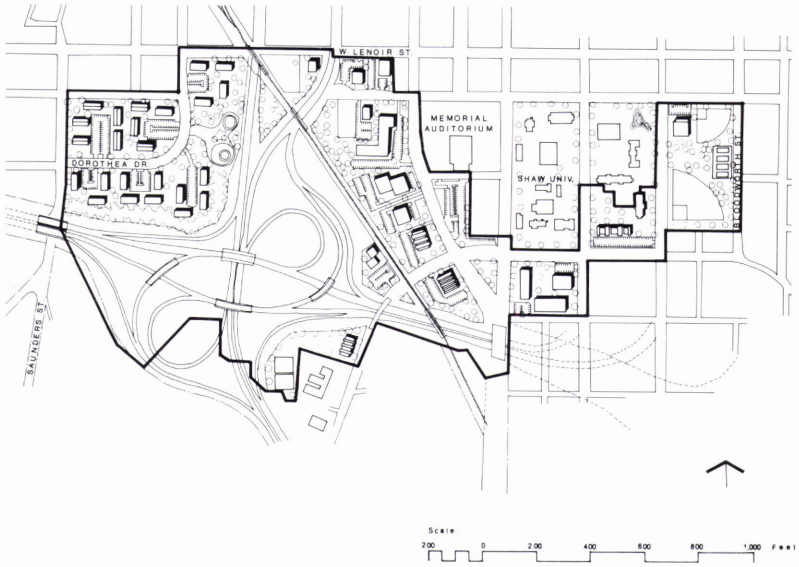


ALTERNATE HIGHWAY PROPOSALS

The Charette Transportation Committee considered several alternative proposals for satisfying both citizen's demands and the regional movement patterns. Plan 1, upper left, shows the original proposal contrasted with three others: Plan 2, upper right, a "squeezed" version of Plan 1; Plan 3, lower left, a depressed freeway concept; and Plan 4, lower right, a divided highway utilizing railroads rights-of-way. Plan 4 was the most popular, but later examination showed it to have serious problems in its basic geometry.

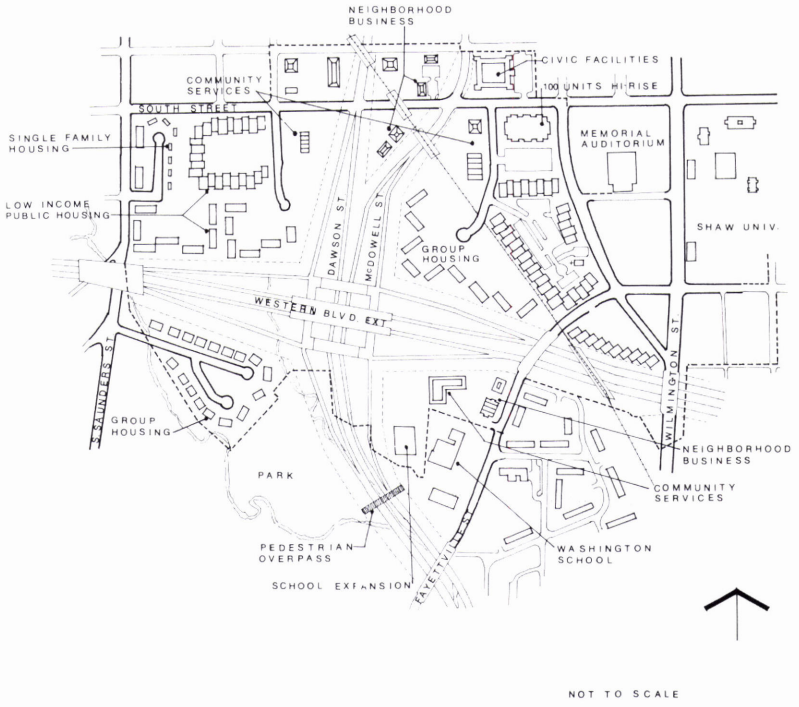
RENEWAL PLAN AT CHARETTE COMMENCEMENT

As it was presented to the Charette, the Urban Renewal plan covered 118.5 acres in a predominately Black area. The vast interchange, shown here, covered 46 acres and dissected the site into four quadrants. Both northern quadrants were designed for a total of 225 units of middle income housing. The size and placing of the interchange, as well as the lack of provision for low income dwelling units, could be regarded as the causal factors in the citizen's rejection of the plan.



RENEWAL PLAN FOUR MONTHS LATER

On March 17 the city faced a crucial test: Either it most vote to pay for the matching funds for Southside renewal, or the plans would be shelved indefinitely. The city government drew up a new plan which trebled previous housing totals, and which reduced major transportation route rights-of-way by 17 acres. It passed by a 2 to 1 majority. However, this plan represented a compromise between public and private renewal advocates. The citizen's plan shown previously was a reaction to the renewal plan presented to the Charette, and this plan was the result of official reaction to the citizen's plan. One would expect that the effect of successive proposals would be to produce a convergence to an acceptable level, but the demands for immediate action brought plan-making to a close.



1. Davidoff, Paul, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 31, No. 4, November, 1965, pp. 331-338.
2. Walter Thabit, *The Crisis in Powelton Village*, Philadelphia, Powelton Neighbours, 1963.
3. There are some excellent reviews of the literature associated with advocacy planning in this publication. However, if the author were asked to identify the most seminal works in the field he would probably list the following: Peattie, Lisa R., "Reflections on Advocacy Planning", *JAIP*, March 1968; Hatch, R., "Planning for Change . . . . ," *Perspecta 12*, 1969; Piven, F., "Advocacy as a Strategy of Political Management", *Perspecta 12*, 1969; Edmund M. Burke, "Citizen Participation Strategies", *JAIP*, September 1968; Kaplan, Marshall, "Advocacy and the Urban Poor", and Hyman, Herbert H., "Planning with Citizens: Two Styles", both in *JAIP*, March 1969; Arnstein, Sherry R., "A Ladder of Citizen Participation", and Mogulof, Melvin "Coalition to Adversary: Citizen Participation in Three Federal Programs", both in *JAIP*, July 1969; Davidoff, Paul, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" (as mentioned in reference number 1 above); and *Design and Community*, David Alpaugh, Editor, School of Design, Raleigh, North Carolina. 1970.
4. Kaplan, Marshall, "Advocacy and the Urban Poor", *JAIP*, Volume 34, No. 2, March 1969, p. 96.
5. Even as recently as 1967 one of the most influential scientific philosophers in management science and planning was moved to say that the scientist should be in a better position than the politician to determine public policy. This idea negates still further the role of values, however seemingly inaccurate, in policy formation. (C. West Churchman, "The Use of Science in Public Affairs", *Governing Urban Society: New Scientific Approaches*, American Academy of Political and Social Science Monograph, No. 7, May 1967, pp. 33,34).
6. "Ours is a brand-new world of allatonceness. "Time" has ceased, "space" has vanished. We now live in a global village . . . a simultaneous happening. We are back in acoustic space. We have begun again to structure the primordial feeling, the tribal emotions from which a few centuries of literacy divorced us" (Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage*, New York, Bantam Books, p. 63, 1967).
7. Kenneth, Keniston, "Youth: A "New" Stage of Life", *American Scholar*, Vol. 39, No. 4, Autumn 1970, pp. 631-654.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 636.
9. Kenneth Keniston, "Youth, Change and Violence", *American Scholar*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Spring 1968, pp. 227-245.
10. Lisa R. Peattie recognizes that ". . . advocacy planning may be one of the channels of action through which people may try to humanize their technical apparatus; to make society less "one-dimensional"; to prevent the exercise of bureaucratic power from leading to a new diffuse despotism, in which power appears in the image of technical necessity . . . .". The humanizing aspect of advocacy planning is possibly the most important for citizens since it represents a sensitization to the political system and to a recognizable body of fellow community members with enough direct power to possess some political leverage. When this sensitization is aided and abetted by Federal programs such as the Model Cities Program and OEO Community Action Projects and by student and professional activists, the full energy of participation comes before civic authorities (Lisa R. Peattie, "Reflections on Advocacy Planning, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Vol. 34, No. 2, March 1968, p. 87).
11. The majority of text under this heading has been taken from an article by the author entitled "Citizen Participation in Design" appearing in the *North Carolina Architect*, May/June 1970, pp. 11-34, and published by the North Carolina Chapter of the American Institute of Architects.
12. By the author's own estimate, some 1,500 persons attended the first day of the community workshop, and on succeeding days attendence ran as high as 1,000 persons per day.
13. This concept was the joint idea of students from Shaw University and the School of Design. Such a "continuing Charette facility" was viewed as a consulting operation providing information relative to total community needs—not planning and design alone. It was seen as part of a multi-service center containing legal, medical, family counselling, and other community services.
14. Jack B. Fraser and Marianne Gelfand, *Vital Questions*, American Institute of Architects, Washington, D.C., June 1970, pp. 8-9.
15. It would be pointless to deliberate on Community Design Centers when other contributors to this

publication have given detailed accounts of their operation. The articles written by Chester Hartman, John Bailey, Hugh Zimmers, Randolph Hester, and the Young Great Society Architecture and Planning Center in this volume extend the ideas presented here.

16. Model Cities Programs have a number of mechanisms for decentralizing authority, particularly through the Area Wide Council concept. However, the planning and design operation may still be centralized, thus leading to a dichotomy in the social and physical components of a community plan.
17. Peattie, *loc. cit.*

WHOM DOES THE ADVOCATE PLANNER SERVE?

DR. FRANCES FOX PIVEN

4

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A new kind of practice, advocacy for the poor, is growing in the professions. The new advocacy has thus far been most vigorous in the legal profession, where the term originates. Traditional legal-defense organizations are challenging in test cases regulations and practices of agencies serving the poor, and new legal agencies offering direct legal services have mushroomed in the slums. Social workers are also stationed in neighborhood storefronts where they act as the advocates of a "walk-in" clientele by badgering public agencies for services. Now planners and architects are offering their services to local groups confronted with neighborhood development proposals.

To account for this new practice, lawyers would probably trace their inspiration to Jacobus Tenbroeck and Charles Reich, two legal scholars who exposed injustices perpetrated on the poor by agencies of the welfare state. Social workers might see their advocacy as a reaction against a "mental hygiene movement" which had come to dominate social agencies, orienting practitioners toward a psychiatrically based therapy and a middle-class clientele amenable to such therapy. And planners and architects would probably say that advocacy reflects their growing unease at the devastations visited on the uprooted poor by a decade and a half of urban redevelopment. In other words, each profession sees the emergence of advocacy as the expression of an enlightened professional conscience.

No doubt early volunteer advocates were stirred by the civil rights movement and troubled by the growing concentration of black poverty in the cities. But the efforts of early volunteer advocates were scattershot and ineffective. Nor were their ideas earthshaking. There are always many currents in professional thought.

Advocacy now, however, has become popular and may even become widespread as a form of professional practice because opportunities for advocate practice have been created by the array of federal programs for the inner city launched during the Sixties. Social workers and lawyers were hired by federally funded projects in delinquency, mental health, education, and poverty. Now advocate planning also is becoming both feasible and popular with funds provided by the Model Cities program. In our enthusiasm for the idea, we have tended to see professional advocates as free agents because they are independent of local government, and we ignore the federal dollars which support them and the federal interests they serve.

These federal programs were prompted, as was much else that happened in this nation in the last decade, by the massive migration of blacks into cities. Having been liberated from southern feudal controls without being absorbed into the regulating political and economic institutions of the cities, blacks were becoming volatile. The new Democratic Administration in 1960 was keenly alert to the key role of this swelling urban black population which had turned increasingly independent at the polls, even as it became a major force in national Democratic politics.

Accordingly, Administration analysts began to explore new programs for the cities that might cement the allegiance of the urban black vote to the national party and stimulate local Democratic organizations to be more responsive to the new voters. What followed was a series of federal programs directed to the "inner city," beginning with the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 and continuing through the legislation for Model Cities in 1966. However worthy one thinks the social goals attributed to these programs, and whatever their actual social benefits, they also met the political needs of the Democratic Administration in adjusting to population changes in the cities.

Nor should it be surprising that these services were presented as programs to solve such social problems as delinquency and welfare dependency. This, after all, was what urban whites thought the "Negro problem" was all about. By minimizing the resentment of the white working class, who were still the major Democratic constituents in the cities, such definitions helped to lessen opposition—both in Congress and among the general urban population—to new service programs for blacks.

Despite the presumably different social problems to be attacked, the various programs were remarkably similar. Under the broad umbrella of "comprehensive community development," each provided a battery of services not unlike those of old-time political clubs. Equally important, each called for "citizen participation," to be promoted by federal funds under federal guidelines. Whatever the stated goals, these efforts can be understood as a strategy to integrate the new migrants into the political structure of the city by offering them various forms of patronage distributed by local "citizen participants" whom the projects selected and cultivated. To execute the strategy, the projects brought to the ghetto a variety of professionals, many of whom were called "advocates."

There is a minor irony in this, for whatever the variants of the advocacy idea, two elements are essential to it: professional services must be made available to the poor, and these services should be so structured as to assure that professionals are responsive to the interests of the poor as the poor themselves see them. In other words, it is not so much that professionals have been strangers to the slum; rather, it is that those professionals who work with slum people and slum problems are traditionally under hire by, and therefore responsive to, public and private agencies which represent interests other than those of the poor. There is, of course, a dilemma in the ideal, for if professional services are in the end responsive to whoever finances them, where can the poor find the money to pay their advocates? The dilemma, however, concerns the ideal of advocacy, not the realities of advocate practice on the federal payroll.

To point out that advocacy was promoted by national Democratic political interests is not to deny that the poor have benefited from professional advocacy or, put another way, that the poor have gained from federal efforts to integrate them into local and national politics. Overall, it is difficult to dismiss the results. Social workers who pried loose delayed welfare checks, or harassed housing inspectors into taking action, were in a small way easing oppressive conditions, as were lawyers who prevented an eviction or defended a youngster from police harassment. To argue that these small gains diverted the black poor from making greater demands is to set a dubious possibility against a gain that is real, however limited. Furthermore, small material advances, by raising the expectations of blacks, may actually have spurred them to greater demands. In this sense, the federal strategy for the cities, and especially the poverty program, may have contributed to a growing discontent and turbulence in the ghetto, at least in the short run.

But whatever may be said for the tangible accomplishments of social workers and lawyers stationed in the ghettos, the same cannot be said for planning advocates. Planners offer no concrete service or benefit. Rather, they offer their skill in the planning process. The object, planning advocates would say, is to overcome the vast discrepancy in technical capability between local communities and the city bureaucracy, because it is with the bureaucracy that local groups must contend to protect and improve their neighborhoods.

Implicit in this view is the recognition that planning decisions are decisions about who gets what in the city. That is, to

determine what kinds of schools, or hospitals, or housing, or recreational facilities will be built, and where they will be located, is to determine who will benefit from the facilities. And to determine which neighborhoods will be demolished to provide space for new facilities or housing is to determine who will lose out. Planning decisions, in other words, are political decisions.

Implicit in the advocate planner's view also is the notion that the urban poor can influence these decisions once they are given the technical help of a planner—or better still, once they actually learn the technical skills of planning. And this is exactly what many neighborhood groups have been trying to do, sometimes with volunteer planners, more often with the help of eager young professionals hired with Model Cities or poverty program funds. The results are worth pondering.

One of the earliest and most dedicated of such efforts began in 1959, in a neighborhood called Cooper Square, on the Lower East Side of New York City. Various neighborhood groups had rallied to fight an urban renewal designation which, familiarly enough, called for demolition of 2,150 existing housing units, half of which were renting for under $40 a month. They secured the services of Walter Thabit, a dedicated New York planner, who set to work in consultation with neighborhood representatives on an "Alternate Plan for Cooper Square." By 1961 the Alternate Plan was presented to the public with much fanfare and the chairman of the city's Planning Commission pronounced it commendable. Then, from 1961 until 1963, the Cooper Square Committee and its advocate planner negotiated with city officials. In 1963 the city prepared once more to move on its own renewal plan. Again the neighborhood rallied with mass meetings of site tenants. The city withdrew, and new conferences were scheduled to discuss the Alternate Plan. In 1966, however, a new mayor announced indefinite postponement. Then, in January 1968, Walter Thabit was asked to prepare a new smaller plan, and in 1969 new meetings were conducted between city officials and the Cooper Square Committee.

Early in 1970, the Board of Estimate approved "an early action plan." After ten years of arduous effort on the part of an extraordinary neighborhood group, a small portion of the Alternate Plan had been given formal sanction even though that portion was still far from implementation. The chief accomplishment was that the neighborhood had stopped the early threat of renewal. As Walter Thabit said sourly when it was all over, "Protest without planning could have done as much."

Most advocacy efforts are not yet old enough to provide such overwhelming discouragement. But the signs so far are bleak. In one city after another, local groups in Model Cities neighborhoods are involved in the technical dazzlements of planning, some to prepare plans, others to compete with counterplans. But there is little being built in these neighborhoods. Nor are locally prepared plans likely to change the pattern. A plan, of itself, is not force; it is not capable of releasing the necessary federal subsidies or of overcoming the inertia of the city agencies. Quite the contrary, for those people who might otherwise have become a force by the trouble they made are now too busy. As one advocate planner for a Harlem neighborhood that is still without construction funds proudly said, "They are learning how to plan."

What all of this suggests is that involving local groups in elaborate planning procedures is to guide them into a narrowly circumscribed form of political action, and precisely that form for which they are least equipped. What is laid out for the poor when their advocate arrives is a strategy of political participation which, to be effective, requires powerful group

support, stable organization, professional staff, and money—precisely those resources which the poor do not have. Technical skill is only one small aspect of the power discrepancy between the poor and the city bureaucracies.

Not only are low-income groups handicapped when politics becomes planning, but they are diverted from the types of political action by which the poor are most likely to be effective. For all the talk of their powerlessness, the masses of newly urbanized black poor did prompt some federal action long before advocates came to their aid. The threat of their growing and volatile numbers in the voting booth and in the streets exacted some responses from national and local political leaders: the curtailment of slum clearance; the expansion and liberalization of some existing services, such as public welfare; and the new federal programs for the ghetto. But the planning advocates who came with the new programs have not added to the political force of the ghetto. Quite the contrary, for the advocates are coaxing ghetto leaders off the streets, where they might make trouble. The absorbing and elaborate planning procedures which follow are ineffective indeed in dampening any impulse toward disruptive action which has always been the main political recourse of the very poor.

To be sure, a few neighborhood leaders do gain something from these planning activities. The lucky members of the local "planning committee" become involved in overwhelming and prestigious rites and mysteries, which often absorb them even while action for their neighborhood is going forward without them. In effect, those few selected leaders are drawn away from their base in the community into a lengthy educational program, the end product of which, if all goes well, may be a neighborhood plan. Once produced, that plan is easily stalled by the city, negotiated beyond recognition, or accepted only to be undermined in implementation. In the meantime, the local "planning process" has diverted and confused, and perhaps divided, the community, and surely has not advanced it toward effective political mobilization.

Although the language is new, this kind of advocacy follows a long tradition of neighborhood councils in the slums, through which local residents were encouraged to "participate" in the elaborate rituals of parliamentary procedure as if that were the path of political influence for the very poor. In the past such participation absorbed slum leadership and rendered it ineffective. That may well be the chief result of current planning advocacy. It deflects conflict by preoccupying newcomers to city politics with procedures that pose little threat to entrenched interests. It is a strategy which thus promotes political stability in the city. But if the force of the poor depends on the threat of instability, planning advocacy does little to promote equity.

Sumner M. Rosen Comments:

Frances Piven's critique of advocacy planning is consistent with her distrust of politically integrating techniques as cooptative as well as her preference for direct group action as a route to political effectiveness. She grudgingly concedes that some efforts—by lawyers, social workers, etc.—have gained limited benefits for individual clients, but nothing more. She ignores the recent extension of legal advocacy to the level of class actions, directly challenging fundamental patterns of injustice and discrimination in the law. This new level of action is the further development of a practice of social intervention which logically began with the individual client and moved beyond the individual to the group or class as experience taught the advocates the necessary political lessons. The advocates' maturity and growing effectiveness are

attested to by recent efforts in California to kill the OEO-funded system of legal services to the poor. In short, the Establishment has been hurt, and the judicial system moved, by advocacy.

More important is the question of where, in Piven's scheme of things, substantive issues ought to be discussed and programmatic choices clarified. Health advocacy is fairly new. Its practitioners believe that community-based groups need to know the implications of the choices to be made in the use of resources, as between, for example, new hospital facilities, more ambulatory-care facilities, more group-practice centers, more public health expenditures, etc. The answers are not self-evident, but each plausible pattern of response, besides exerting important influence on the quality, cost, and accessibility of health care, will benefit one group of providers, increase the influence and power of one point of view, advance or retard the achievement of a decent, humane and effective health care system. Community groups need to participate in these decisions, to understand the stakes, and to decide what is in their own best interest. Good advocacy will help them to the necessary understanding.

New York's Health Policy Advisory Center exemplifies this approach. Health-PAC's experience to date indicates that this infusion of expertise is not politically debilitating; on the contrary, by de-mythologizing the planning process it serves to energize local groups by showing them the direct connection between the planning process and the quality of their own lives. It also connects local insurgency with other levels of decision-making and overall resource allocation. Neither Health-PC nor ARCH (Architects Renewal Committee for Harlem) was founded with federal funds, nor does Health-PAC receive any today. No one who has followed health-planning controversies in New York City in recent years can seriously question either Health-PAC's independence or its ability to increase the pressure of the community on the political establishment without reducing the level of militance. Sophistication is no enemy of effective political action, provided always that the experts are kept "on tap, not on top."

Piven apparently believes that programs which governments adopt in response to political needs are thereby tarnished and rendered suspect. But any political system survives because those who run it understand and respond to the expression of needs, whether these take organized or disorganized form, whether they are made manifest through normal channels or through the mobilization of people in the street. There is a difference between response and co-optation.

The political task of the insurgent, and the advocate who seeks to serve insurgency, is to preserve the independence and freedom of action of those who are demanding change. The secret of success is not perpetual militance, but earning and keeping the support of one's primary constituency. Integrating new groups into the social and political structure is not inherently bad; what matters is the terms on which such integration occurs. Groups that acquire more power, and thus can more effectively serve the needs of their members, gain from the process of political integration. To bring new groups into the "mainstream" does not automatically mean that the older mainstream elements will control, dominate or manipulate them. Good advocacy will help people to move with maximum effectiveness and minimum loss of freedom of action, option, or ally. An alternative plan may, in the short run, move leaders off the streets, as Piven says (does she want them always there?); the real issue is what they bring with them when they return to the streets.

To learn the methods by which the established planning

forces use technique and "objectivity" as smoke screens is important in the struggle to move the issue to the political plane, where—as Piven correctly says—it belongs. But how will the militants bring their constituents to wage an effective long-run struggle unless they can show what the stakes are, who and where the real allies and opponents are, what steps are involved in an effective struggle? And how will they go outside the base of their own direct support, when it is too narrow to win unaided, to get the allies they need over the long haul, unless the decisions at issue are politically linked to the interests and welfare of those who may not appear to be directly involved?

Uninstructed militance can be self-defeating. At the 1969 Health Forum, Piven's and my own favorite example of organized militance, the National Welfare Rights Organization, seized the microphone at the closing session to demand that every welfare family be provided *access to a family doctor!* At this level of sophistication, the Establishment need have no fears. Such slogans leave wholly untouched all of the basic problems of the American health system, particularly its domination by the organized free-standing practitioners. In this as in many other cases, a little advocacy would have gone a long way.

Frances Fox Piven Replies:

I am puzzled by Sumner Rosen's response. He fails to deal with the main issue I raised: Do the poor benefit from planning advocacy?

Let me first clear away a few of Rosen's assertions which answer points I did not make. Since I regard political integration as inevitable, I do not worry whether to be for it or against it. I also regard integration as necessarily co-optative, as I understand the meaning of that word. The questions I addressed follow from my assumption that the process of integration is natural to government: First, what kind of force will precipitate governmental efforts to integrate the poor, and do planning advocates escalate or curb that force? Second, what are the terms of integration—that is, do the poor get anything from the process—and do planning advocates help them get more?

Rosen does not discuss planning advocacy (except to assert, incorrectly, that ARCH did not receive federal funds). Instead he discusses legal advocates, whom I also commented upon favorably, though with a less sweeping enthusiasm. The poor got those legal advocates through OEO, a government program launched in response to the increasing volatility of urban blacks at the ballot box and in the streets. In other words, it was the turbulence of the poor, not their sophistication about legal inequities, that produced the legal gains—the integrative concessions—that Rosen and I agree upon. It is precisely because such concessions make some difference in the life conditions of the poor that I am for "direct group action as a route to political effectiveness."

As for Health-PAC, it is a group I admire. It generates a steady stream of information and critical analysis of health systems, and sometimes manages to draw some public attention to health issues. But they said, why is Health-PAC being raised up as an example to defend advocate planners?

Health-PAC's kind of radical analysis of public programs is all to the good (and writing analyses is usually all we can think to do). But that is not to say that information and analysis will turn the world around; it is not the correctness of the slogans which makes the Establishment tremble. When the National Welfare Rights Organization seizes the mike, their militancy over health issues may be more important than whether they demand "More Ambulatory Care Facilities" or "A Family Doctor

for Every Welfare Family." The slogan will not determine government's health care responses any more than NWRO's "demands" which led to rising welfare expenditures and proposals for welfare reform. But trouble in the cities did, and the turmoil NWRO created in welfare centers compounded that trouble.

No one would quarrel with Rosen's ideal that "community groups need to participate in these decisions, to understand the stakes, and to decide what is in their own best interest." But ideals aside, the reality is that the poor get responses from government mainly through disruption, and the question to ask about any radical analysis we contribute is whether it stimulates action or mutes it. If instead of agitating in welfare centers NWRO groups had devoted the last few years to studying guaranteed income plans to decide "their own best interest," they still would not have gotten a guaranteed income, or the welfare dollars they did get.

But it is into such intellectual exercises that advocate planners are leading community groups who are aroused by bad housing or the threat of redevelopment, and the planners generally lack even the virtue of a radical outlook. Study and analysis, of course, are only the first step, a step to be followed by endless meetings and lengthy negotiations with innumerable bureaucrats. Years later, there may be a plan but, as sad experience shows, one that will probably never be implemented. Meanwhile, no housing is built and no mass transit facilities are added, and with leaders absorbed in bureaucratic minuets there may be no force left in the community to press for them That is my argument, and Sumner Rosen did not answer it.

5

THE COMMUNITY-TEMPLE CHARETTE

LARRY B. MORRISON

THE COMMUNITY - TEMPLE CHARRETTE: INTRODUCTION

The expansion of urban institutions, particularly universities, has brought confrontations with community groups in a number of cities throughout the United States. In Philadelphia, the Community-Temple Charrette was designed to address an immediate conflict over land use within Temple University's Institutional Development District and to create a communications mechanism for better university-community discussion of all matters of community, Temple, or mutual concern. The Charrette was funded by the Office of Education, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and Temple University. The general purpose of a Charrette, according to pamphlets distributed by the Office of Education, is to "arrive at implementable plan solutions to community problems in a compressed time period."[1] Figure 1 shows the location of Temple University in Philadelphia and the Charrette moratorium area. This paper shall consider the events leading up to the Charrette, the Charrette itself, the results of the Charrette to date and some implications of the Charrette for city planning.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY'S EXPANSION AND EVENTS LEADING TO THE CHARRETTE

Temple University traces its beginnings to 1887 when Reverend Russel Conwell established an evening class at the Grace Church.[2] From 1891 to 1950 Temple gradually acquired small buildings as it added various colleges and schools to the University.

In 1948, in accordance with State of Pennsylvania Urban Redevelopment Law Procedures, the City Planning Commission certified the area around Temple University. This area was termed "sub-standard" and "blighted" at the time and was called the "Temple Area" because the University was the largest permanent feature of the District and was described in the certification report as "one of the area's desirable characteristics to be preserved."[3]

In 1951 Temple asked for an area for University development within this large Temple Area. In 1953 the City Planning Commission suggested a smaller area than requested by Temple and this proposal was adopted by the Board of Trustees. The Trustees in appproving this area "clearly stated to the City Planning Commission that it intended to ask for additional land at a subsequent date, probably west of Broad Street."[4] Figure 2 shows Temple's actual property holdings in 1953.

In 1956, Nolen, Swinburne and Associates, an architectural and planning firm, prepared the first Master Plan for Temple University. It called for about four times the square footage of space that existed in 1953.

In 1963 Nolen, Swinburne and Associates, prepared the first Temple University Institutional Development District Plan, which called for doubling square footage of the 1956 plan by 1970. They described the plan as follows:

> The "1970 Institutional Development District Plan" reflects the first instance in the City of Philadelphia, where the Institutional Development District Zoning Ordinance of 1962 was successfully applied. The area of the 1956 Plan was approximately doubled and the University began to utilize a portion of the 209 acres certified by the City Planning Commission for Temple University Development. This plan, projecting Temple University to 1970, envisioned 2,384,000 square feet of space, doubling the 1956 Plan. Full-time student, graduate and undergraduate, enrollment has passed 9,075, as compared with 4,571 of 1953 and was to reach 11,000 by 1966-67. Land was being acquired

by both the General State Authority of the Redevelopment Authority, and construction and planning had reached an all time peak on this campus. [5]

In 1965 Governor Scranton signed a bill which made Temple University a state-related institution and thereby greatly enlarged its role in the entire southeastern Pennsylvania region. This new role was described in the Temple University Institutional Development Plan—1966, shown in Figure 3, which called for a campus by 1975 sixteen times as large as the 1953 campus.

In 1966 responding to City Council's action changing their zoning status, a group of about 100 residents from the area west of Broad Street under the leadership of the Committee of Racial Justice were circulating petitions stating that "progress at the cost of human suffering is morally wrong."[6]

In 1967 an organization called Citizens Urban Renewal Exchange (CURE) was formed under the leadership of the Committee of Racial Equality. In a letter to the Temple University News, CURE stated that the three universities (Temple, Penn and Drexel) "have set their expansion programs on a collision course with the black communities of Philadelphia. This conflict has been brought on by the universities insatiable greed for prominence, expansion and utter disregard for the communities destroyed."[7]

In March of 1969 concerns for the surrounding community were stressed in a list of demands presented by the Steering Committee for Black Students to the President of Temple University. The Steering Committee stated that "the hopes, and the aspirations of the black people surrounding Temple University have been blatantly ignored in order to provide land for Temple's monstrously dehumanizing expansion . ."[8] The Steering Committee added that "although Temple University is situated in an area populated by over 300,000 black people, the black student enrollment is less than two per cent of Temple's total enrollment."[9] Five demands were made, three of them dealing with expansion or use of facilities at the university.

(1) "The creation of an Afro-Asian Institute as detailed . . . , the hiring of a black director and a developmental staff and the Institute's initial faculty with accredited courses.

(2) The admission of at least 200 black students, aided financially, through the Open Door Policy and a supportive five year degree program . . .

(3) The verbal and written assurance that Temple University has no intention of expanding any more and that the other colleges affiliated with Temple University have no intention of expanding west or east of Broad Street unless approved by the black community or its representatives in that vicinity and unless provisions are made for the retaining of some black communities in the area of future expansion.

(4) Confirmation from the University that all new facilities, especially the new gymnasium at the Broad Street and Montgomery Avenue, will be available for use by the black community.

(5) Public confirmation that all existing facilities, especially Geasy Field, Paley Library and the Instructional Materials Library can also be used by the members of the black community."[10]

On May 7, 1969, over 90 representatives of the community and Temple plus city, state and federal officials met in Speakman Hall to discuss how to resolve their differences. A steering committee, composed of university, community and agency representatives, was formed and charged with designing a vehicle for discussion. On May 29, 1969, the steering committee reported its findings to the full group and recommended the adoption of the Charrette process.

PLANNING OF THE CHARRETTE

Key to the operation and out-

come of the Charrette were the various ground rules established by the steering committee which worked continuously from May 7, 1969, to December 1, 1969, developing them.

The major ground rules are listed below with no order of significance implied.

(1) The Charrette was to take place in a community building not on the Temple campus.

(2) Community representatives were to be paid for attending the meetings so that economic hardship would not result from their continuous participation.

(3) The participating public agencies and Temple University were to guarantee presence of technically competent and knowledgeable staff at all Charrette sessions.

(4) The heads of all participating agencies were to be on call at all times to assist in making key decisions.

(5) The community representatives were to have a budget available for hiring their own planners, architects, lawyers and other necessary technicians to assist them in preparing their own ideas and evaluating those of the university.

(6) Both Temple and the participating public agencies were to make the staff resources of their institutions available to research and present to the Charrette any historical facts or technical interpretations necessary for progress of the Charrette.

(7) Elected officials were to be invited to appropriate sessions and involved as necessary to make decisions and implement the plans.

(8) Accurate minutes were to be kept of each day's sessions and made available to all participants in the opening session of the next day.

(9) The press was not allowed in the Charrette sessions.

THE CHARRETTE

1 December 1969

The Charrette began on Monday, 1 December 1969 at the recreation building of the Norris Homes Public Housing Project, immediately adjacent to the Moratorium Area. Participants received Volume 1, No. 1 of a publication called "The Community Speaks," shown in Figure 4, which illustrated the "Temple bulldozer moving in on the community."

The Community opened the meeting by presenting four papers calling for the Charrette to deal with *A Community Housing and Physical Development Agenda, A Community Communications Agenda, A Community Jobs and Commercial Agenda* and a *Community Training and Education Agenda.*

Presentation of these papers occupied the first day.

2 December 1969

Temple opened its presentation by having the Charrette chairman for its Board of Trustees state Temple's two objectives for the session—first, to look at alternative solutions for housing and other problems of the community and the expansion needs of Temple and second, to move from the area of confrontation to planning and negotiation.

Temple than presented a housing proposal with two principal concepts—a new construction programming system designed to deliver 500 units in five years and a checkerboard approach to land use. The checkerboard approach called for starting with a vacant block 1 and then relocating people from block 2 to block 1 so block 2 could be vacated as the relocation area for block 3 and so on.

To achieve the concepts Temple proposed to serve as technical advisor to a community controlled Housing Development Corporation. In order to save time and save costs Temple would provide in-house processing of the paperwork associated with housing development. It was estimated that this could cut several thousand dollars per unit from the sales price of the housing.

The construction programming system called for beginning to build with conventional construction and adopting new technologies as their cost savings and delivery feasibility were developed.

The community responded with a barrage of questions. How would building 500 houses in five years deal with the housing deficit of 40,000 units in North Philadelphia? How would Temple subsidize the difference between the cost of building and the buyers ability to pay? Where would the units be built? Why didn't Temple build low income housing on land it owns in the suburbs?

The barrage of questions following Temple's opening presentation was the beginning of the end of the scheduled agenda and the beginning of a meaningful dialogue which allowed all bodies and individuals present to express their institutional and personal concerns about the past, present and future.

Following discussion of questions which established an atmosphere for the dialogue, the community requested that Temple focus its presentation toward a proposal for what could be done to develop workable relationships with the community on the moratorium land. Figure 5 shows the ownership for the various parcels at the beginning of the Charrette.

Temple presented a summary of the 1975 plan and its first proposal for the Moratorium Area shown in Figure 7. The community reacted negatively to this proposal and responded with their own idea which they called "Reconstituting the Community" shown in Figure 8.

It was apparent that Temple and the Community were widely apart on their land use and building concepts. Temple's proposal suggested turning over block 1 for community housing which was not in the Institutional Development District or moratorium area and was leased from the city for use as a parking lot. Block 2, the planned site for the Technology Building was also suggested for housing. Temple proposed relocating the Technology Building on Block 3 which was not in the Institutional Development District or the moratorium area. This caused community concern since Block 3 had already been committed for housing under the Neighborhood Development Program and the Model Cities citizen participation process.

The community's original proposal claimed the entire moratorium area for community uses including housing, job training and commercial and light industry.

Thus both sides had begun, not the process of brainstorming a variety of ideas through joint discussion—the kind of process described in the Office of Education's Charrette brochures, but rather a serious bargaining process for control of the land.

The proposals of both Temple and the community were so strongly disagreeable to the other side that a stalemate quickly developed. Sensing this the agencies called for a caucus—a device that was used extensively throughout the Charrette—by Temple, the community, and the agencies for the purposes of either defusing an overheated situation or for clarifying or developing a unified position.

The Agency caucus suggested that the agencies do a critique of both proposals during the dinner hour so that the evening session could attempt to find ways to get the discussion positively moving. The community and Temple decided to hold separate caucuses as well.

In the evening session the agencies led off with an evaluation of the Temple and the community proposals that was strongly critical of both. Specific areas for reformulation of Temple and Community proposals were suggested relating to joint use, land use intensity and other potential development areas. The agency caucus also suggested that the technicians of Temple and the community get together to develop joint pro-

posals rather than work in isolation from each other.

The Temple caucus presentation opened with an attempt to get the discussion back to Temple's opening day proposal for assisting the community in the development of housing.

The community requested a return to the discussion of land use and Temple presented a block-by-block analysis of the areas of agreement and disagreement. Temple suggested that the technicians should go back to work on further alternatives based on the areas of agreement and disagreement. The community rejected this and suggested that Temple consider expansion at their other campus locations, particularly in the countryside, or on their athletic fields and in a block containing an automobile dealership. The community rejected a Temple proposal for the technicians of Temple and the community to explore these sites jointly. Temple proposed that their technicians would report back the next day on the aforementioned site alternatives.

3 December 1969

Temple opened the morning session with a review of the history of Temple's expansion and development at the Broad and Montgomery, Ambler and Tyler campuses. A series of questions followed from the community regarding travel times between these campuses, community use of the facilities they offer, projected growth to the year 2000 and other items. Adjournment for lunch was suggested when it appeared the discussion was getting nowhere.

Discussions continued regarding the utilization of the various Temple campuses on Wednesday afternoon. Realizing the discussion was still not moving forward the Agencies called for a caucus. During the Agency caucus a proposal was developed to be presented as a vehicle for getting the dialogue moving again. One of the Agency representatives had the audacity to violate the confidence of the caucus by calling directly on the telephone to Temple. This led to an informal discussion with Temple representatives who strongly suggested that a land use proposal from the Agency Caucus at that time would be most undesirable. The Agency Caucus decided to respect Temple's request though there was considerable disapproval of Temple learning of the Agencies' proposal through the violation of confidence of the caucus by one of the agencies.

4 December 1969

The Charrette reconvened late in the morning. People were beginning to tire, for the discussion was continuous, through the box lunches and through dinner, in the meeting room or in the hallway. The Charrette was a totally absorbing process. Because all the Agencies were not present the community called for a caucus until they arrived.

In the early afternoon Temple offered a detailed presentation regarding the functional organization of the campus. The Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, whose buildings were scheduled for Block 5, explained that they were already two years behind their program for facilities and that the development of this block was crucial.

A representative of the community questioned the use of time to construct the case for the necessity of space for either the university or the community.

Using their 2 December 1969 proposal Temple then guided the discussion toward the need for both sides to clarify what was meant by joint use—a term being repeatedly and loosely used by all parties involved. The community responded that they would be glad to discuss various concepts of joint use *provided* that community ownership of the four moratorium blocks were assumed.

It was suggested by Temple that because of the crucial nature of this proposal it should be presented to the Charrette in writing. The community cau-

cused and returned with a written statement which said, in part:

> "The only meaningful way to define in the Community's terms, the concepts suggested by Temple, is to apply them to specific locations, namely the four remaining contested moratorium blocks. The definitions that the Community arrives at will be based on the assumption that the land in question is owned and/or controlled by the Community, and joint use of the land between the Community and Temple will be explored."[11]

Temple moved to caucus. Returning from their caucus Temple replied that the Community's statement was unacceptable. Temple, again, through statements of various technicians and trustees, sought a discussion of joint use as a concept instead of applied to the particular sites. The community moved to caucus. Returning they reread the prepared statement previously quoted. Temple responded again that the statement was unacceptable. It was now late in the evening and Temple moved for adjournment until 11 a.m. the next day.

The Community caucused. Returning, they reread their prepared statement and added they would not leave until the matter was resolved.

Temple caucused. Returning, Temple reaffirmed its desire to discuss joint use in a general way, stated the communities prepared statement was still unacceptable and said they would return tomorrow to discuss the entire problem.

Temple moved the Charrette be adjourned until the next morning. There was no second. The Community restated its position. Temple left the Charrette. The Community and the Agencies remained throughout the night.

During the all night session, the Community and the Agencies set out to make the most of this extension of an already long and tiring process. Food and drinks were ordered. Card and checker games commenced.

When morning came the Community took the Agency representatives to breakfast in the bus that Temple had provided for their transportation to and from the student activities building cafeteria.

5 December 1969

The community opened the meeting by stating that they wanted the *assumption* made that the Community owned the four blocks in the moratorium area as a basis for discussion.

Temple caucused. Returning, they agreed to this assumption as a basis for discussion.

The Community caucused. Returning, they asked that the second week of the Charrette begin 8 December. Temple agreed the Charrette should be continued but asked that the reconvening occur on 10 December. The Community countered with a letter from Temple stating that the second week, if necessary, was to have begun on the 8th. However, the community accepted beginning on Wednesday, 10 December—provided five consecutive days could be used if necessary.

Following the distribution of technical papers by Temple and the Agencies regarding joint use, ownership, etc., the Charrette adjourned.

10 December 1969

The session opened with the author being nominated and accepted as the new moderator. The Community then presented a short paper entitled "Summary of Points of Community Agreement to Date, December 9, 1969." These five points were:

(1) A request for more accurate minutes.

(2) An expression of willingness to have Temple technicians attend a Community Caucus and Community technicians attend the Temple Caucus—provided some Community members could accompany them.

(3) The Community would break into workshops to develop details in housing and expansion

proposals *after* policy agreement had been reached regarding land ownership on the moratorium block.

(4) The Community land priorities were: (a) ownership and/or control of the five moratorium blocks; (b) point use of selected blocks provided Temple leased the space from the Community; and (c) land or building leased to Temple must allow for Community use.

(5) The Community requested the original letters stating the conditions of the moratorium.

Temple then read its "9 December 1969 Memorandum" which was summarized in the minutes as follows:

> "In summary, reconciliation of conflicting land use requirements became the prime objective during the week of December 1-5, 1969. As an urban institution, Temple must develop a significant capacity for responding to the needs of its immediate neighbors. The plans and proposals which have developed out of the Charrette meetings have focused on a system to produce low-cost community-owned housing; creative concepts of land use, including shared uses and ownership of land and buildings; adjustments of the Institutional Development District in fact and concept to make land available to surrounding Community groups and development of a continuing collaborative planning process at the end of the Charrette."

Temple agreed to make available the letters regarding the moratorium condition available to the community as requested.

The Community requested that the Charrette focus again on the ownership and/or control of the moratorium land.

Temple responded by showing a new Temple proposal which indicated that the University had removed the Technology building from Blocks 2 or 3 and would work with the Community to develop Blocks 1, 2 and 3 under community ownership. A Community controlled edge through shared uses and control and/or ownership was proposed along 11th Street for Block 4, which would also contain the Technology Building. Copies of the proposal and maps were distributed and the Community called a caucus.

Upon return from the Caucus the Community offered a critique of the Temple proposal which maintained that the community's view of joint use was different from the University's. The community wanted joint use to yield an economic benefit. Therefore, the community should own the land and Temple should rent portions of it for their use. The Community also objected to the 65-foot-wide strips suggested along 11th Street, calling them useless. The Community then suggested that Temple rent parking and buildings.

Temple responded, with support from the Agencies, that it was questionable whether the University, as a non-profit institution, could provide a subsidy to the Community in this fashion. The profit making potential of non-center city parking garages was also questioned. The Agencies supported Temple's contention that the commercial center would be better located between Norris and Diamond in terms of centering on the greatest area of demand. Much discussion followed regarding and questioning ways that the University could become an economic asset to the community.

Following a late lunch, the Charrette reconvened at 4:00 in the afternoon. The Community delivered a prepared statement agreeing to discuss economic feasibility—the morning's subject—in greater depth provided Community ownership and/or control of the blocks in question were assumed.

Temple called for a caucus and asked, as offered earlier by the Community, that their technicians and representatives attend.

11 December 1969

The author called the meeting to order and called for nominations for a new moderator on which he had already obtained agreement from Temple and the

Community. The chairman of the Governor's Council on Urban Affairs from Harrisburg, was suggested and accepted. This proved to be a well-considered move because it freed the author to participate in the development of later alternatives to be presented by the Agency Caucus and because the new chairman did a superb job in keeping the rest of the Charrette moving.

The Community opened with a prepared statement[12] containing five points:

(1) That Temple would not be part of any effort to change the use of Norris Homes public housing project.

(2) That all new or rehabilitated housing be restricted to low income persons excluding Temple students and/or faculty.

(3) That no air rights be allowed over the railroad for the University.

(4) That two-hundred houses per year for five years be constructed by a community-owned and controlled development corporation.

(5) That Temple agree to a total commitment to implement items 1-4.

Lengthy discussion followed regarding joint use, leasing and ownership. The community called for caucus. After lunch, at the request of the chairman, both sides agreed to discuss possibilities for combining aspects of Temple and the community's proposal. Discussion was held over how to do this and agreement was reached to have two exploration groups—each made up of Temple and Community members with Agency observers—to discuss use of buildings in Blocks 4, 5 and 6 and land ownership and joint use of the land.

This was a most significant development for it was the first time that Temple and the Community held open discussions of detailed technical issues together in seeking a resolution of the issues. Following a one-hour caucus of both exploration groups, a summary of each effort was made.

The "use of buildings group" reported that the first floor of Block 4 could be considered for lease by the community from Temple—a major shift in position. They also suggested that Temple provide in-house services for the development of the job training center. This same group also clarified that the General State Authority could not construct the building on Block 4 but that it could be built by state social agencies with federal funding assistance.

The "land ownership and joint use group" did not offer such firm recommendations but did recommend various possibilities for further discussion after dinner.

The Community then presented an isometric drawing illustrating a new scheme. The proposal called for a variety of community uses and suggested that Temple lease the air rights over Blocks 4 and half of Block 5 for their Humanities and Social Science building. The ground floor of the areas Temple leased would contain a job training center, commercial facilities, and structural parking.

That evening no further progress was made on the unresolved issues.

12 December 1969

The session began with the situation as it was the day before—deadlocked. The Agencies caucused and decided to ask both sides if they would be willing to consider an Agency-developed alternative. On the assumption that such consideration would in no way imply endorsement, both Temple and the Community agreed.

The Agency Caucus met to develop its proposal and then presented it. Temple requested that the Charrette adjourn until 17 December 1969 so that their technician could make a detailed evaluation of the Agency Caucus Suggestion. The Charrette adjourned with instructions for both parties to return with an evaluation and/or alternative proposals.

17 December 1969

Both Temple and the Community returned with new proposals. Following detailed discussion of the aspects of both proposals, the situation again deadlocked.

The Agencies again suggested a caucus. Both sides agreed. Within the Agency caucus two viewpoints developed. The first viewpoint was that the Agencies should not present alternatives but merely critique the proposals of Temple and the Community. The other viewpoint argued that our critiques would be as ineffective as the critiques Temple and the Community were making of each other's proposals and what was needed were new ideas for discussion. It was agreed to have two presentations by the Agency caucus—a critique of both plans and the presentation of concrete alternatives.

It was apparent from the opening presentations that day that Temple and the Community had made serious and deeply considered attempts to modify the Agency proposal of 12 December 1969 into one acceptable to each party. Having invested so much effort into this modification there seemed to be a growing sense of hopelessness toward resolving the issues. Therefore, the Agency caucus decided to present not one new alternative, but five.

Following the Caucus critique of both the Temple and Community plans, five alternatives, shown in Figures 9-13, were presented on behalf of the Agency caucus by the Assistant Executive Director of the City Planning Commission and the author. The alternatives were rapidly drawn at a large scale during the presentation from small sketches made during the caucus. Upon seeing these five new alternatives, both sides requested a caucus. The Community reported back from their caucus that the two alternatives shown in Figures 11 and 13, were acceptable and offered no comment on the other three. Temple offered detailed comments on all five alternatives finding each one unacceptable.

The Community requested a caucus. Reporting back, they stated that they could see no point in continuing the discussions and requested that the Charrette be terminated.

Thus the Charrette appeared to end. There was a genuine despair on the part of a great many of the individuals involved from the Community, Temple and the Agencies. The Charrette had been a strenuous, emotional process in which all parties had come to feel a strong investment in the possibility of a workable resolution of the issues. One newspaper headline proclaimed, "Both Temple and Community Agree the Charrette Produced One Thing—Gloom."[13]

Following the breakdown of the Charrette there were communications between the various city agencies and communications with the mayor and governor. Consequently, the governor appointed a three-man state negotiating team to help develop settlement.

21 January 1970

On January 21, a meeting was held at the State Office Building in Philadelphia under the chairmanship of the State Secretaries of Labor, Education and Community Affairs. The session was also attended, for the first time during the Charrette, by the president of Temple University. Like the mayor and governor, he had been following the day-by-day developments through his representatives. The day began with consecutively scheduled meetings between the governor's mediators, selected agency representatives and Temple and the Community. At each session the City Planning Commission presented maps outlining all the alternatives that had been developed during the Charrette. Temple also reviewed in detail the requirements of its expansion program for the

information of the State representatives. Discussion focused on how the two alternatives that had been acceptable to the community could be modified to meet both Temple and the Community's needs.

Temple and the Community alternately met in separate rooms with the three representatives of the governor, the mayor's representative, the executive director of the City Planning Commission, and selected agency technicians, including the author. A resolution of the land use issues, shown in Figure 14, was quickly achieved.

The discussion turned to design of the permanent planning vehicle for Temple and the Community to continue their dialogue. This proved to be more than could be accomplished even by late that night. Though the land use concepts had been resolved, both parties—and especially the Community—wanted this resolution incorporated into the description of the vehicle for continued joint planning.

Shortly before midnight this press release was issued:

> "The governor's task force and representatives of the City of Philadelphia have met to discuss the differences of view growing out of the Temple Charrette. As a result of these discussions some agreement was reached but many matters remain to be worked out. February 6, 1970 has been set aside as the agreed target date for a resolution.
>
> The representatives of the Commonwealth, the community, city agencies and Temple have agreed to continue their meetings to resolve the final points. If this effort is not successful by February 6, it will be necessary for the appropriate public officials to make the decisions required for the community development and Temple campus development to move forward."

After the land use principles had been resolved on 21 January 1970, the process became one of detailing the legal requirements for transfer of land, selection of developers and precise specifications for continuing dialogue vehicle. Following the 21 January 1970 session all parties went home to do their legal homework.

3 February 1970

On 3 February 1970 a meeting of Community, Temple and Agency representatives was held at the City Planning Commission to discuss points that needed clarification prior to 6 February, 1970.

6 February 1970

On 6 February 1970 the governor's task force reconvened the groups at the State Office Building. Both Temple and the Community came prepared with some written suggestions regarding the vehicle for a continuing planning dialogue. What followed was a long, tedious session of cutting, splicing, typing, xeroxing, editing and rewriting to hammer out an agreement acceptable to all. This process depended heavily again on the presence of the lawyers representing the various parties involved.

An agreement was finally drafted acceptable to all parties concerned—except the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Despite phone consultations directly with the Regional Director and the United States Secretary, agreement could not be given by HUD. Another long day ended shortly before midnight with all parties except the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Community signing the agreement. The Community, although agreeing with the proposal, would not sign because of HUD's refusal. Some weeks later, based on letters of intent from HUD to cooperate with the Charrette parties, the Community signed the agreement.

On 24 March a meeting was held at Norris Homes where the Charrette had begun over two months earlier. The

Community-Temple Agreement of 1970 was signed again by the Governor of Pennsylvania and Community representatives.

THE COMMUNITY TEMPLE AGREEMENT OF 1970

The Community Temple Agreement of 1970, dated 6 February 1970, contains an introduction and eleven articles. The introduction briefly summarizes the history of the Community-Temple conflict, the establishment of a moratorium on development east of 12th Street, the results of the Charette-no agreement-and the understanding concerning land use principles reached 21 January 1970 at the State Office Building.

Article I is entitled Definitions and Identifications. It describes what items are part of the agreement, what is meant by various terms and titles and identifies the blocks of the land-use agreement by number. It also describes what is meant by "community;" which will be discussed later, and what is meant by "low income housing."

Article II verbally restates the land use agreement for Blocks 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, shown in Figure 14, and specifies that "all Federal, Regional, State and local Public agencies of the United States Government, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the City . . . will cooperate with and help the appropriate community groups to accommodate and promote the needs and desires of the community."[14]

Article II also established height limits, a pedestrian right-of-way and service requirements for the Health and Social Sciences Building to be located on Block 5.

Article III spells out requirements for communication of information regarding all future Capital Improvements for Temple University. Consultation with the community is required of Temple University prior to development of schematic plans, prior to application for funding and prior to application for zoning changes. Consultation with the Community by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is required prior to the approach of plans or funds.

Article IV establishes a Committee for Continuing Dialogue composed of persons selected by the community, representatives from the public agencies and representatives from the University.

The Committee may request the attendance of any other parties at its meeting. The function of the Committee is not decision-making but rather to act as a liaison among the parties. The Committee is to have access to all information on matters that become an issue between the community and the university. The Committee is also to assist the Community in satisfying its needs in the areas of Education, Employment, Medical and Economic Development facilities and other areas considered relevant by the Community.

Article V asserts that neither the University, the State or the City shall acquire the Norris Homes Public Housing Project for any use other than low income housing.

Article VI states that the University will support the Philadelphia Plan for minority employment opportunity in all projects connected with the University.

Article VII requires all parties to work for the necessary Zoning, Funding and other items required for implementation of community proposals for Blocks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6.

Article VIII affirms that all parties signing the agreement are subject to whatever discretionary authority they are legally required to retain, and requires that the parties shall abide by the principles of the agreement to the fullest extent legally permissible.

Article IX specifies that the Moratorium will be lifted with the signing of this agreement by all the appropriate parties.

Article X provides that if any portion of the agreement is found invalid, the other portions shall still remain enforceable.

Article XI establishes that the agreement may only be amended in writing by all parties involved.

THE FOLLOWUP TO DATE

The following actions, have been taken up to October 1970. The block numbers referred to are shown in Figure 6.

In Block 1, funds are being sought by the Model Cities Area Planning Division of the City Planning Commission in the 1972-77 Capital Program for the Development of light industry.

In Block 2, the land is being transferred from General State Authority Ownership to Redevelopment Authority Ownership, to make the block eligible for a federally subsidized write-down under the Neighborhood Development Program.

Norris Homes Council, Incorporated, composed of residents of the Norris Homes public housing project, has developed detailed architectural and financial plans which are under review by the Redevelopment Authority, Department of Licenses and Inspections, and Temple University.

In Block 3, preliminary studies for development by other groups involved in the Charrette have begun.

In Block 4, money has been reserved in the Year III budget of the Neighborhood Development Program for acquisition by the Redevelopment Authority for later transfer to a community group.

In Block 5, minor disagreements between the Community and Temple were resolved regarding access to temporary parking facilities to be located on this block. Redesign of the Humanities and Social Science Building has been completed to guarantee community access along Berks Street by means of a pedestrian mall.

In Block 6, no detailed plans for developing the agreed upon use of housing have been forwarded yet by community consultants, although some studies have been made.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Regardless of the long-term impact of the Charrette, which will probably be substantial but cannot be definitely foreseen now, there are some significant lessons to learn from the Charrette itself. The implications of the Charrette for planning law, urban design and the planning process will now be considered.

THE CHARRETTE AND PLANNING LAW

During the past several years much of the talk and the action of city planning has centered around the problem of defining the role of citizen participation. In the Model Cities program this problem has been particularly prominent as evidenced by the suit of the Area-Wide Council, Philadelphia's original citizen participation group, against the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Here the issue was over the degree of control that the Area-Wide Council should have. This issue has arisen in many other Model Cities programs across the nation.

In the Charrette, which developed from a confrontation situation, the control of the community had been defined in part by their direct action and in part by the university letters defining a moratorium on building construction. To the credit of Temple University the part of accepting this as a beginning proposition rather than debating the issue of power in the streets was chosen.

As the Charrette process drew to a conclusion at the State Office Building on 6 February 1970, the issue then was not of defining the community's powers but rather of defining who the community of the future should

be in carrying on the continuing dialogue. A most remarkable and innovative definition was developed as described in the Community-Temple Agreement of 1970.

> Appropriate community groups means the designated community and any voluntary association of individuals or groups that the designated community recognizes as being affected and interested in a particular matter that might become an issue between the community and the University with respect to the Broad and Montgomery campus or the area around Temple. The designated community may recognize such an association regardless of whether the association is incorporated or has taken any other steps to formalize its association. It is the intent of all parties that this agreement is for the benefit of the community and that the appropriate community groups shall be entitled to enforce this agreement regardless of whether such association would have sufficient legal interest or status to maintain a low suit if this agreement did not exist.[15]

The Community Temple Agreement of 1970 allows "community" to be a flexible organization defined by interest and by being affected by Temple. It does not require community, either for the purpose of signing the Agreement or for future negotiations with Temple to be defined in traditional terms of corporateness.

Even the "designated community," the body responsible for recognizing the "appropriate community" is flexibly defined.

> "Designated community" initially means the voluntary association of community participants in the December 1969 Charrette and their respective community groups as enumerated in Annex "B" of this agreement. The designated community may alter its composition from time to time.[16]

Such a definition of community has no doubt caused visions of chaos in the minds of some lawyers and administrators. To those signing the Community Temple Agreement of 1970 it was accepted as a recognition that there is a community surrounding Temple University whose detailed nature is undergoing constant social and legal change but whose broader characteristic is a common interest and concern over the development policies of Temple University.

THE CHARRETTE AND URBAN DESIGN

The Charrette illustrated once again that the process and form of city development does not reveal much about the values of a society. The process of Temple's development, displacing over 7000 people since 1960, shown in Figure 6, to replace their homes with primarily two to four-story buildings, reflects the position of society that has prevailed in the past. This process saw poor, mostly black, families displaced at low cost since relocation housing was either unavailable or generally substandard.

Examining the site plan for the campus, east of Broad, prior to the Charrette it is evident that the past policy of low density building was undergoing change prior to the Charrette. The Charrette, by returning some land to the community, will require higher densities and construction costs for future buildings. Air rights over existing lower buildings may have to be used. This will require the General State Authority to accept funding formulas that reflects society paying the higher cost of inner city development rather than poor people through extensive loss of their homes. Modifications of access and height for Block 5 were called for in the Community Temple Agreement of 1970.

The original community proposal for "reconstituting the community" claimed all the moratorium land for community use—mostly low-density housing. The agency ideas suggested a scale transition between high university buildings and the

lower houses of Norris Homes. What the future urban design will be depends on the emerging values of a society that will hopefully find better relationships in process and form between the university and community.

THE CHARRETTE AND PLANNING PROCESS

One viewpoint of the Charrette asserts that the Charrette was a failure because it was not the free-wheeling exchange of ideas described in the Office of Education brochure and instead was a land control negotiating process that necessitated Agency mediation and finally the imposition of a settlement on both sides by the Government of Pennsylvania. In this viewpoint the Charrette ended on 17 December 1969 with the breakdown of the talks, not on 6 February 1970 with the signing of the Community Temple Agreement of 1970. I maintain that the process occuring between 17 December and 6 February ultimately met the criteria of the Charrette process described in the Office of Education brochure.

While it is true that the Charrette was a negotiating process for control of the land, it is also true that the Charrette produced a great body of innovative ideas and substantive technical data which can now be referred back to and built upon—including concepts embodied in the Community Temple Agreement of 1970 itself. The series of Agenda papers offered by the community on the opening day of the Charrette contain many creative suggestions in the areas of housing, communications, employment, education and economic development. The opening presentation of Temple University regarding the production of low-cost housing was, and is, extremely significant in its scope, clarity and detail. The proposal correctly identified the component cost problem of low-income housing, the problems of developing housing in sufficient quantities to meet the tremendous needs and the difficulties of production scheduling to produce in scale. Temple made use of top quality consultants in law, financing and production to develop innovative ways of utilizing the university's in-house manpower and brainpower to cut the paperwork cost of housing, some $2-3000 per unit, and to phase in future technologies in place of conventional construction to achieve a substantial quantity of housing over a longer period of time.

The technicians of Temple, the Community and the Agencies produced working papers that defined complicated processes of land transfer, joint development, air rights development and other problems in clear and understandable terms.

The Temple Charrette led to some real decisions on very difficult issues and was not simply an exchange of ideas. These decisions were costly in dollar terms. At a time when the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and state-supported universities in particular, are under severe financial strain, the added cost of delayed buildings due to inflation and the substantial cost of redesigning buildings, was not taken lightly by Temple University or the Agencies involved, for it ran into millions of dollars. The Community asserted that they had been providing a hidden subsidy to the University through the yielding of their homes for years and therefore felt less concern over the cost of delay and replanning involved with the Charrette.

In my opinion the Charrette process was a success because of four communications factors that were present. These factors should be considered for any meaningful planning process and will be vital to the successful implementation of the Community Temple Agreement of 1970. These factors of communications are continuity, frequency, intensity and mix.

COMMUNICATIONS CONTINUITY

This means that the essential actors talked with each other over a long enough period of time to comprehend and positively relate to each other's philosophies, personalities, and technical capabilities. Continuity of Communication under coercion will not be successful for long.

Communications continuity, as witnessed by the contention in Model Cities and other programs, is not easy to maintain. It requires commitment to listen and to give; without it nothing is likely to be achieved.

COMMUNICATIONS FREQUENCY

This refers to a rhythm of dialogue that is designed to relate to the nature and magnitude of a given planning problem. The frequency necessary for opening up meaningful communication, establishing trust, and developing workable technical solutions is almost always grossly underestimated. In the Charrette the dialogue process was continuous and frequent. The Charrette happened in the halls, at dinner, at lunch, and in the all-night session. The discussions held during the times away from the formal sessions centered on ways of finding solutions. As personal relationships developed it became possible for all parties involved to informally probe the other for potential solutions without the fear of rebuke they might have incurred by raising a new idea before their peer group in the context of the formal meetings.

COMMUNICATIONS INTENSITY

The intensity of communications in planning process is a function of both continuity and frequency. In physics, intensity is defined as the force or energy per unit area, volume, charge or time, etc. The design of the Charrette made intensity of communications possible because continuity and frequency were virtually guaranteed by the planning format and environment. The inclusion of the relevant combination of technicians and decision-makers made it seem that the communications might bring results.

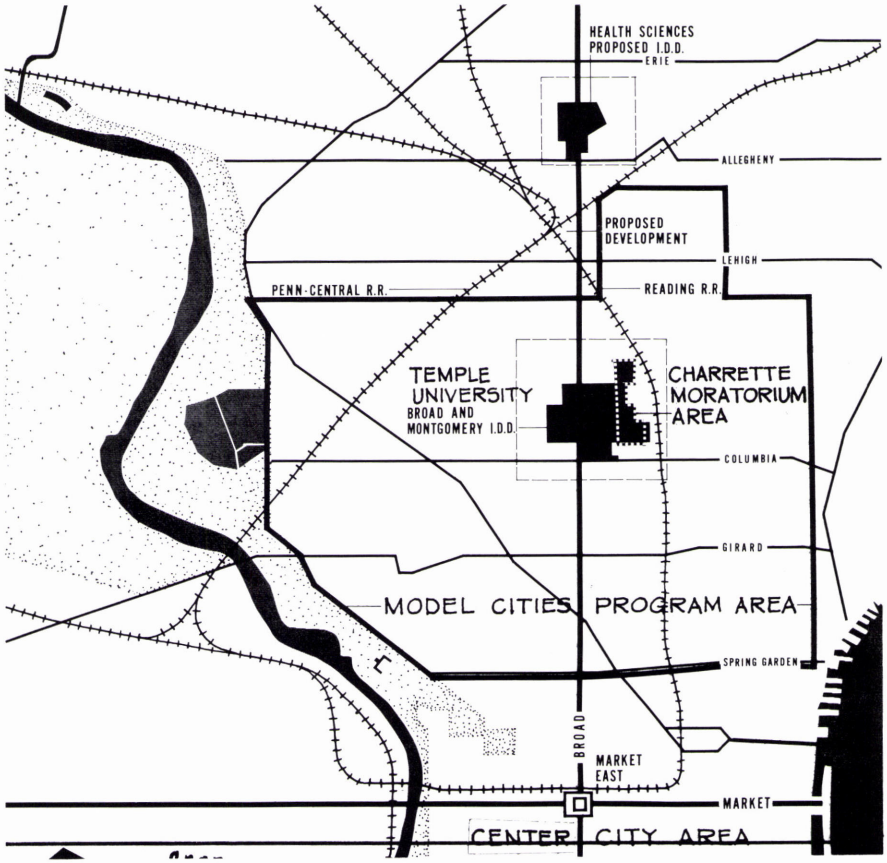
COMMUNICATIONS MIX

This refers to an effective blending of participation into a collaborative planning process involving citizens, public and private technicians, and public decision-makers on a continuous basis with appropriate frequency and intensity. In the author's experience with public planning during the past three and a half years, no other experience received more well-structured inputs from top decision-makers. The highest level representatives of the mayor, governor and Temple put in a significant number of hours in direct discussion with community representatives and each other, as well as with technicians, working to achieve an implementable solution. Mix—the meaningful participation of all parties necessary to solve a problem—is a function of personal and institutional commitment. The institutionalized Charrette process helped create personal commitment, as well as requiring it, from the top decision-makers.

I believe that more effective processes for solving socio-political-technical planning problems can be designed by more conscious consideration of the factors of communication continuity, frequency, intensity and mix.

Planning discussion and planning law is today preoccupied with both defining "the community" and the "meaningful process" by which the community shall be "involved." Much of this effort, resulting in special processes for participation in poverty programs, Model Cities, highway planning and other programs, is a substitute for more basic

restructuring of local, state, and federal government forms, programs and policies. However, innovative processes, such as the Temple Charrette, can be of great value if their positive attributes are recognized and broader application of these principles is sought.



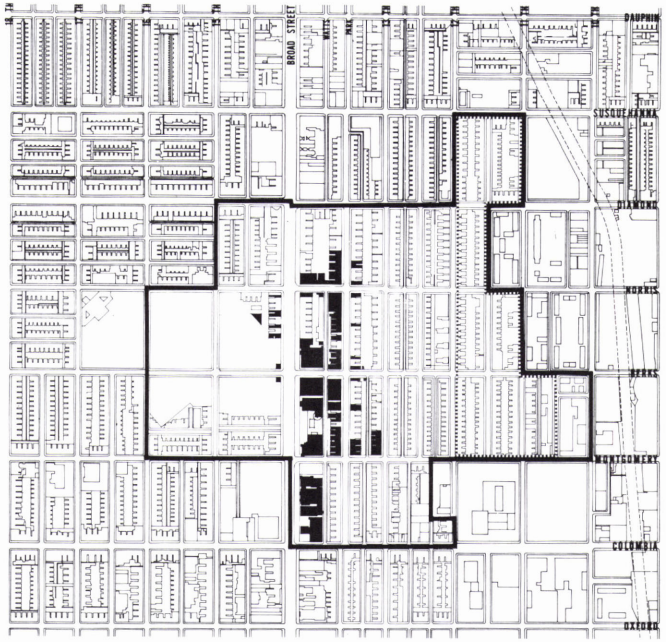
LOCATION OF THE TEMPLE CHARETTE

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY PROPERTY
1953

MORATORIUM AREA

PRE-CHARETTE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT

TEMPLE OWNED PROPERTY



DISPLACEMENT IN THE I.D.D. SINCE
1960

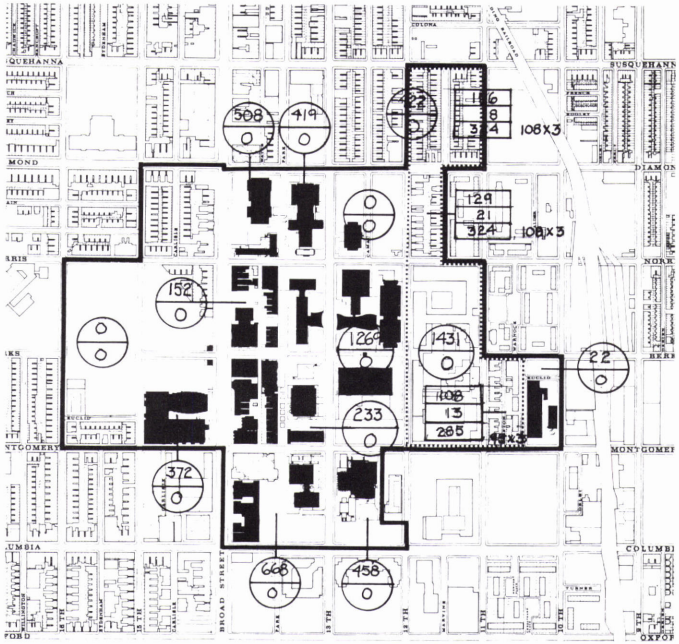
MORATORIUM AREA

PRE-CHARETTE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT

6831 / 0 — 1960 POPULATION - ACTUAL / 1969 POPULATION - ACTUAL

353 / 42 / 933 — 1960 UNITS / 1969 OCCUPIED UNITS / ESTIMATED POPULATION DISPLACED AT 3 PERSONS/UNIT

6831 / 933 / 7764 — ACTUAL / ESTIMATED / TOTAL ESTIMATED DISPLACEMENT





HERE COMES TEMPLE

TEMPLE'S INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT PLAN
1966

MORATORIUM AREA

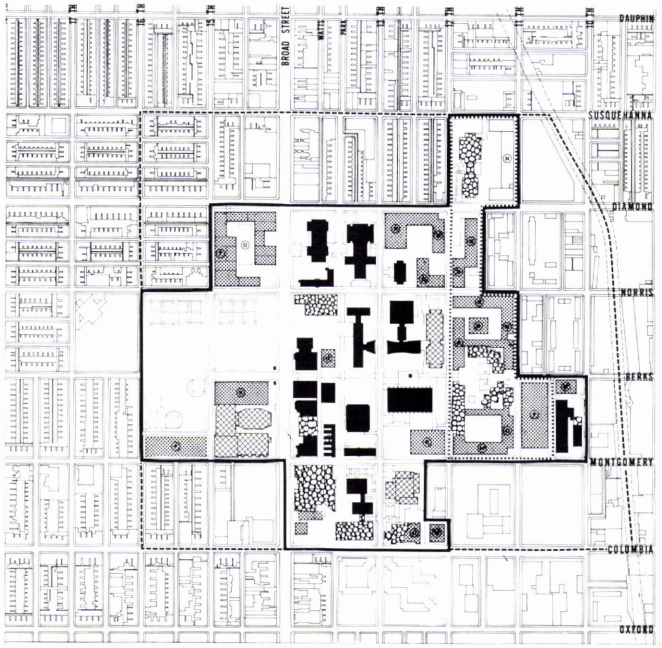
PRE-CHAREET INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT PLAN

EXISTING

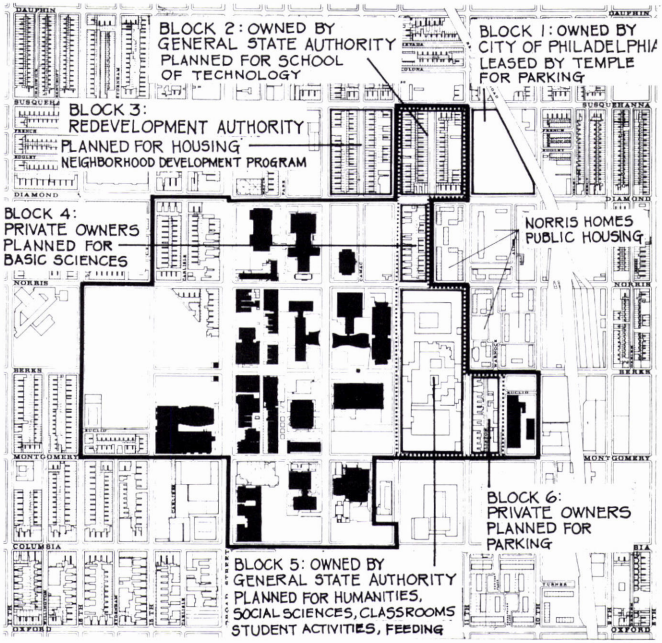
CONSTRUCTION

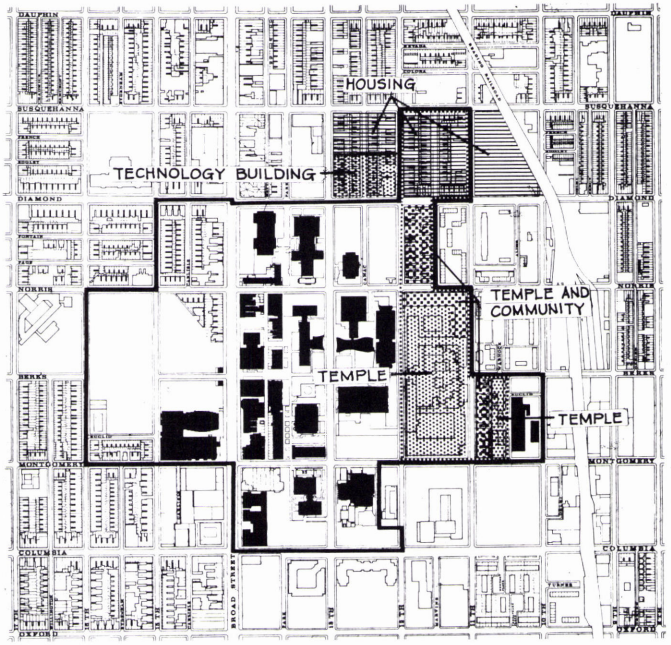
DESIGN

FUTURE

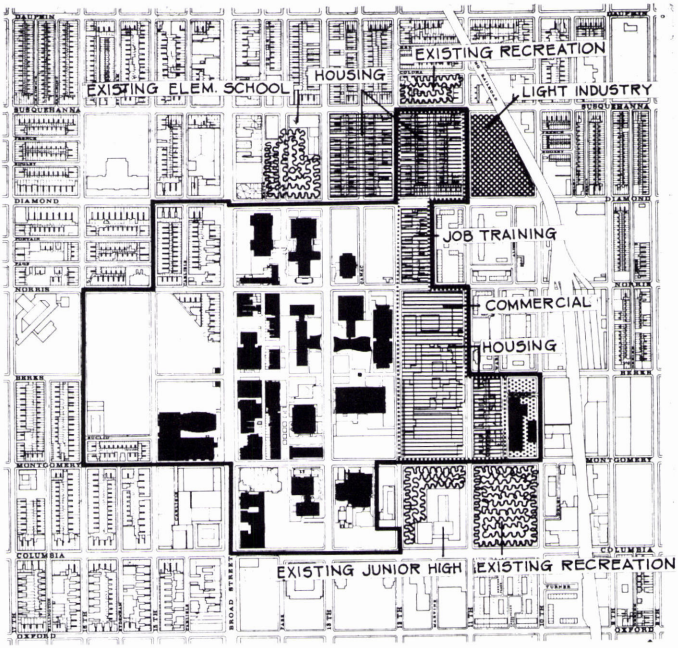


BLOCK NUMBERS AND STATUS AT CHARETTE BEGINNING



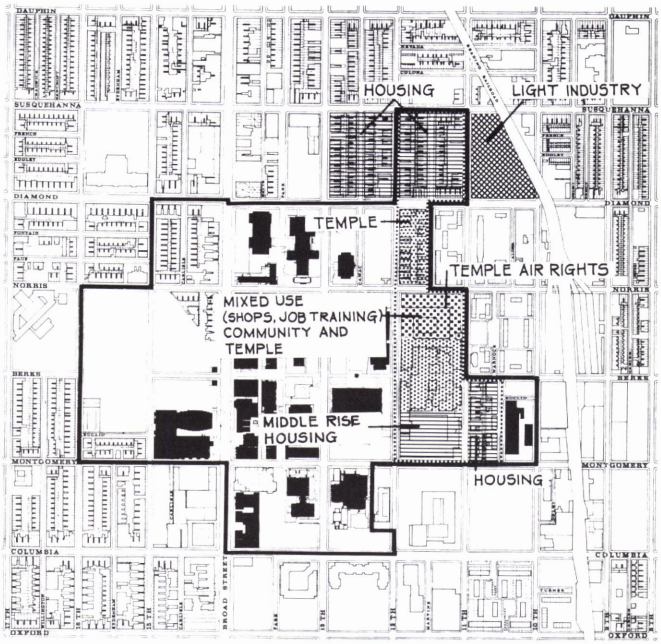


ORIGINAL TEMPLE PROPOSAL
DECEMBER 2, 1969

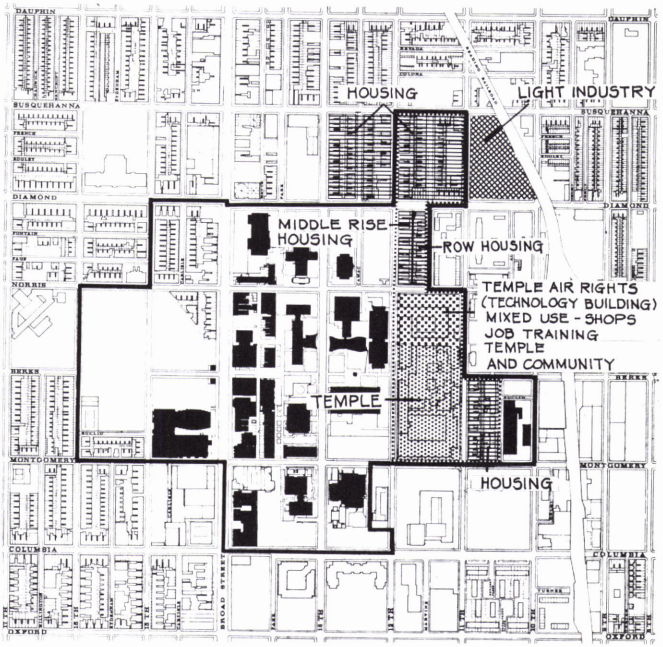


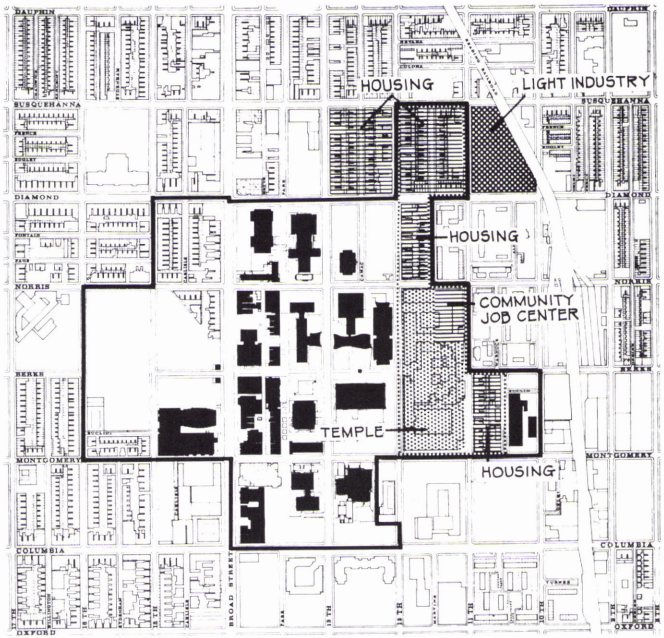
ORIGINAL COMMUNITY PROPOSAL
" RECONSTITUTING THE COMMUNITY"
DECEMBER 2, 1969

AGENCY IDEA A-1
DECEMBER 17, 1969

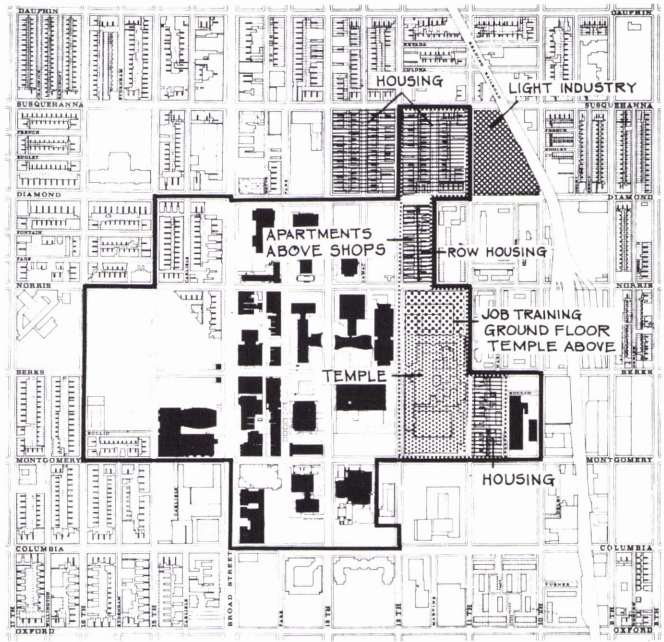


AGENCY IDEA A-2
DECEMBER 17, 1970



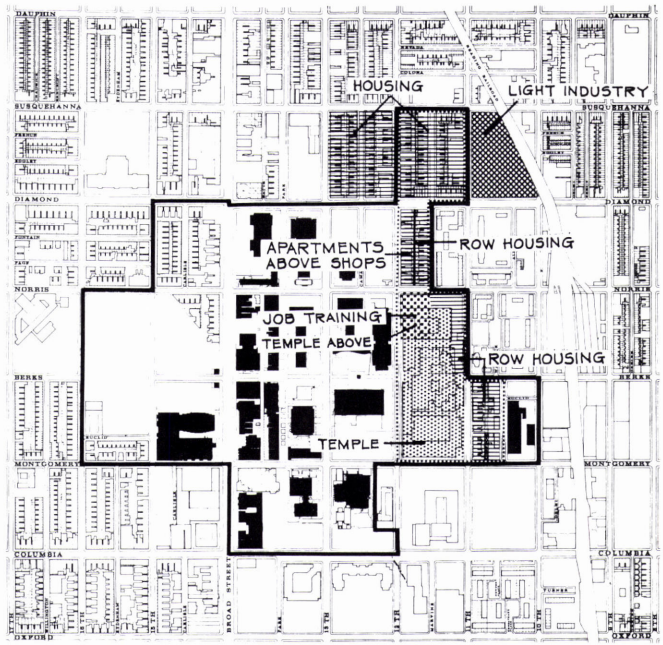


AGENCY IDEA A-3
DECEMBER 17, 1969

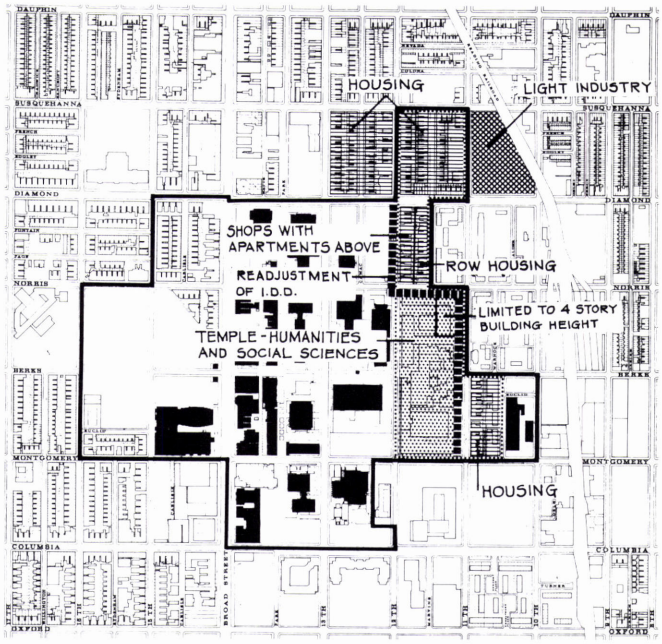


AGENCY IDEA A-4
DECEMBER 17, 1969

AGENCY IDEA A-5
DECEMBER 17, 1969



COMMUNITY-TEMPLE
AGREEMENT OF 1970
FEBRUARY 6, 1970



1 Office of Education, *Charrette* (undated) OE-10062.

2 Thomas E. Lewis, "Russell Conwell's Famous Lecture Netted Millions," *Sunday Bulletin*, (June 3, 1951), p. 12.

3 A. Jacqueline Steck and Albert Carlisle, "The Temple University Development Plan," *Economics and Business Bulletin*, (June, 1954), p. 33.

4 Temple University, *Presentation to Philadelphia City Planning Commission,* (December 8, 1959), p. 2.

5 Nolen Swinburne and Associates, *Historical Outline of Broad and Montgomery Campus,* (November, 1969), p. 4.

6 James Shird, "Area group forms to halt further campus expansion," *Temple University News*, No. 8, (September 27, 1966), p. 1.

7 Joan Perkolup, "Neighbors unite to resist razing of area houses," *Temple University News*, No. 96, (April 21, 1967) p. 1.

8 Temple University News, No. 77 (March 18, 1969), p. 4.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 Community Position Paper Regarding Land Ownership, (3 December 1969) p. 1.

12 Community Position Paper (4 December 1969) p. 1.

13 Nicholas W. Stroh, Sides Agree Temple's Building Talks Did Produce Something—Gloom. (22 December 69) p. 113.

14 *Community Temple Agreement of 1970* (6 February 1970) p. 8.

15 *Ibid.*, footnote 1.

16 *Ibid,* footnote 1.

6

COMMUNITY DESIGN CENTERS

HUGH MORLEY ZIMMERS

The architecture and planning professions are now actively serving a much larger portion of the population today and a different segment, the urban poor. The Community Development Center, in which community-oriented architectural projects are planned *with* citizens has become a major focal point for physical change in the slums.

It is the purpose of this article to examine the Community Development Center, its origins, impact and future. The CDC, the generic name currently in use for a variety of types of community development organizations, is not the only group working to solve the environmental problems of the cities, but it is the only movement where participation of the citizen seems to work. These groups work within the community, bringing their expertise to bear on problems designated by their community clients.

I helped start the Philadelphia Architects' Workshop, one of the earlier CDC's and headed it voluntarily until we were able to get a full time director. As a small office practitioner I have continued to participate in the workshop and have helped in starting numerous other CDC's around the country.

The Community Development Centers are voluntary organizations that serve what are commonly referred to as the poor, disadvantaged, or underprivileged sectors of our cities. Whatever nomenclature one chooses it should not obscure the fact that these communities are full of concerned, vital citizens who are often able to overcome their disadvantaged backgrounds and deal admirably with bureaucrats when properly counseled. Indeed CDC clients have a better track record in solving their problems when given a proper chance than many of their well-advantaged white suburban brethren. CDC's have all been started locally, generally by groups of concerned architects and planners and without any formal AIA or AIP support in response to the need for assistance to communities by persons skilled in physical design. The earliest of them were initiated before either professional body was concerned with the possibility that something could be done in this area.

What exactly are CDC's? They are very much involved in the process of community renewal at the level of generating projects and in assisting community leadership to determine what projects are needed. In other words they are very much concerned with ensuring a true partnership between the community and the funding agency and program, whereas typical architectural firms generally deal more with their own notions of "what poor people want". This much of the work or CDC's takes place before acceptance of a project by a funding agency or designation of an area for renewal. In tackling community problems in their earliest stages of attempted solution, CDC's are thereby filling a rather large gap in the community development process since seed money for citizens to either generate their own projects or to participate in government-aided projects with suggestions and alternatives of their own choosing is rarely obtainable.

CDC's differ considerably in the degree and scope of assistance they offer. Some offer only technical assistance to community groups requesting it, whereas others work more as a part of the community team initiating projects and overseeing and ensuring effective community participation and data input. The former groups are usually an extension of the concern of professionals who volunteer their services. The latter type operate as funded full-time professional service agencies with community control. The two types are simply different solutions to

different problems. The full-time funded CDC's are often partially staffed by residents of the community. Though there is certainly no such thing as ethnic architecture, the close cooperation if not full-time help of community professionals is mandatory for both types of centers so that community needs and desires may be more fully known. Some examples of the former, or voluntary, technical service workshop are the Philadelphia Architects' Workshop, and The Architects' Workshops in Pittsburgh and Baltimore. Examples of the fully-paid staff workshops that are more integrally involved in community decision-making are: ARCH, San Francisco CDC, Chicago Uptown Center, and New Orleans Metralink.

There are a variety of "clients" that CDC's work with. In general they are groups or individuals from the community who need the consultation and assistance of professionals, are without the resources to engage them, and who are interested in a project which will benefit the community. Many CDC's begin on a small scale project, since a successfully completed project is better able to break through the feelings of despair and impotence that pervade such communities than are grandiose promises of more comprehensive rehabilitation. However, regardless of the scale of the project, CDC's always restrict themselves to projects that can be seen through to completion by the community and center, and in which the funding agency does not hinder community participation in determining the nature of the project. In summary, CDC's assist communities at the vital initial stage of prefunding and they continue to work with the client till the project is finished.

Most communities break down naturally into geographic, social, and ethnic subcommunities of thirty to fifty thousand people. Within these subareas are a myriad of church groups, block associations, interest and political groups, lodges, school associations, often with a "community association" acting as an umbrella group. Many of the renewal and health programs through which CDC operating funds are obtained require that the community associations be designated the recipient of the funds. This is the case with OEO, HEW, Model Cities and Urban Renewal programs. The CDC's receive their projects from a variety of community sources. They may come directly from community groups, or be referred in by Neighborhood Legal Service lawyers, by community organizers serving the various groups, or from youth groups, gangs or interest groups such as retailers associations. Since community needs far outstrip the availability of funds, the citizen board representing the community and through whom the funds are channelled, has a major role in determining which projects will have the greatest overall benefit for the community. The top priority items are usually such things as generating alternative proposals for school boards and housing authority projects, initiating urban renewal area designation, recreation master planning, and day care centers. From the above discussion it becomes evident that the "client" of the CDC, rather than being any one set of individuals or groups, consists in a new awareness of what community life might be that is latent in every individual in the community. Such a conceptualization of the client is what distinguishes the average architectural firm from the CDC. It presents quite a challenge to the imaginations of those participating in the development process. As renewal progresses by means of citizen participation and control and open public policy formation, this awareness will grow as people begin to realize their rights and potentialities, individually and collectively.

Thus, the modus operandi of

the CDC must be to involve the client as fully as possible in every phase of the development process. At a glance it might appear that this is also true of the private firm, but on further thought it will be seen that this is not so. Whereas in the private firm the programming phase is either completed or substantially under way by the time the firm is assigned the project, the CDC must often define the project in light of the inchoate needs and desires of the client and help obtain the money to fulfill them. It is thus involved not only in the technical phase but in programming and funding roles as well. In the private firm however, the design professional is given a predigested task, so to speak, and then retires to his drawing board to "do his thing." CDC workers on the other hand must wear many hats. They have the delicate and time-consuming task of disseminating background information to the community through block associations, community organizers and the like. Concurrently, they must meet with community leaders and spokesmen, planners, city officials, social workers, school principals, police liaison officers, etc., and through them gather information on the client's needs and wants. Then there follows the process of matching up the various possibilities of physical implementation with the availability of land and funds. Usually the funding phase is not simply a matter of qualifying for allocations but of actively lobbying for them.

In addition to this broader scope of the work done by CDC's, there is also the matter of contending with the nature of the client himself. Since the client has never had options before, the CDC must demonstrate what is possible through example by means of early action projects. Then there is the problem of establishing a bond of trust between two very different parties, of slowly building up credibility, carefully avoiding raising undue hopes and, in short, developing a working relationship in which the real needs of the client get answered. The legacy of distrust bequeathed by four hundred years of oppression is very formidable, and the CDC professional in advocating his views and notions must be sensitive to this and to the attempts of these communities at developing a sense of self and of pride. Those CDC's who are best able to nurture these fragile bonds of trust are ones staffed by community professionals. ARCH in New York is a good example of a CDC that has progressed along these lines to the point of becoming a major community leader and spokesman. Professionals have widely varying notions of what the community should have. The community, on the other hand, is influenced by what its more fortunate peers have, but since there is often little community feeling behind the cheerful facade that more well-to-do urban communities present, there is much that can go wrong if such communities are taken as a model.

The most common role of the CDC architect is that of technical advisor to the community leaders who then do their own talking. Their role encompasses preparing alternative plans, or entirely new solutions or documenting the true effect or cost-benefit of a particular course of action. Such a role will often bring the architect at the side of his community client into direct confrontation with the "establishment", but it is an effective role since it greatly speeds up the decision-making process. The community is not outfoxed by language it is not familiar with, the alternatives can be rapidly brought forth, compromise will thus be facilitated, and, if a confrontation does occur, it will be on clearly articulated issues. The record in this area has been very good. Impasses have been avoided and community needs have been given better implementation. In these processes, the architect's role is

often secondary to that of the lawyer. Since it may appear that the arena of the CDC is a battlefield and its task inordinately complicated, it should be pointed out that much of the same sorts of processes go on in normal development projects, but the architect, compartmentalized by his own professional boundaries, is usually far less aware of and involved in them.

Why is it that this approach to urban problems has come into being only in the last decade? During and before the era of bulldozer renewal, community development was most often initiated from the top. Though there was much desire on the part of legislatures to involve citizens in the development process there was no knowledge of how to go about implementing it and there was no experimentation in this on any scale. Other factors explaining the comparatively recent birth of CDCs are that the architectural and planning professions have been oriented more toward serving the business community, and what simply amounts to a gross ignorance among those in the profession of the needs of urban ghetto communities, and how professional skills can be of aid. The architectural profession, and to a lesser extent the planning profession, have traditionally held the opinion that the poor get what they deserve and have almost never thought of involving citizens in the design process. The communities emerging as clients under the auspices of government programs are unwilling to accept this attitude and are seeking the advice of CDC's and public interest firms. In addition and of greater importance than the foregoing explanations were the general lack of awareness and concern among middle Americans over urban decay and racial discrimination and a concommitant unavailability of funds from government and private foundations for undertaking community development work.

Among the earliest CDC's that were active and effective on any noteworthy scale were The Watts Urban Workshop in Los Angeles, Architecture 2001 in Pittsburgh, the San Francisco Community Design Center, The Philadelphia Architects' Workshop, The Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem and the Harvard and MIT workshops in Boston. The earliest CDC's were started up only seven years ago and a great many more have begun in just the last two years. It is encouraging that none of the early centers has died although even the oldest ones still find themselves operating on cliff-hanger budgets. At present there are probably about 500 active architects plus some one hundred VISTA architects involved in CDC's across the country. A good many of them are recent graduates.

As has been said before, the work that CDC's are engaged in differs widely from center to center and the self-designations they choose vary correspondingly. Thus, to lump them all together under the term "CDC" is for convenience's sake. The San Francisco Center coined the phrase "Community Design Center", which then found some popularity among those students who challenged the AIA at the 1969 Convention in Chicago. The name was changed to Community Development Center by the Community Services Staff of the AIA which is currently engaged in drumming up governmental support for CDC's. Their choice reflected a desire to reassure community clients that CDC's would be concerned with the whole delivery process and not merely 'design' per se.

The architecture and planning professions are among the last of the major professional occupations in this country to become involved in helping poor communities to help themselves. This late arrival is in certain respects very understandable. For example, the membership of the professional societies representing architects and

planners is about one-tenth that of the American Bar Association and thus they have little political clout. Another reason lies in the rather ill-defined nature of the new role architects and planners are currently formulating for themselves in community development work. When the Neighborhood Legal Services idea was conceived, it met with the full support of the American Bar Association with its sizeable lobbying power. But the counterpart to that in the realm of physical development of communities is relatively unknown and there is much debate as to how the profession can best answer ghetto community problems. In any case it is clear that considerable reorientation of attitudes among professionals is essential to the success of CDC's and other forms of assistance that will come to be devised. In other respects, the late arrival of the design professions is not so easily explained away. The AIA is notorious for its disregard for the right of dissent on professional matters and for their dismal record on attending to the needs and concerns of their younger members. Thus, we find that though a majority of our national leaders have recently come to accept the right of every citizen to proper health care, there is as yet little acceptance (unless the rhetoric emanating from the ecology bandwagon is to be interpreted as acceptance) of the right of every citizen to a mentally and physically healthful material environment and of the erosion of the inalienable right of large private interests to land ownership that must come if we are to realize this basic right. The national housing shortage, the slums, the discriminatory pattern of housing are but a few instances of where our priorities are on this issue.

The question inevitably arises as to whether or not the CDC concept amounts to little more than a diversion from more important issues such as gaining an effective voice in the political arena, whether or not it is ultimately self-defeating to "accept crumbs from the table," which is, perhaps, the only honest way to characterize progress to date when measured against the vastness of the problems. It is my opinion that, though a good deal of civic effort in the past can be likened to boy scouts painting facades, the above argument is becoming more problematical as more and more constructive channels open up through the action of CDC's into which concerned citizens can devote their civic energies. Public policy undeniably affects the physical environment down to the level of the house and the street. CDC's have managed to mobilize collective pressures to affect such policy, changing the direction and detailing of major renewal projects. Experience has shown that the actual demonstration of citizen-controlled change, even if it is no more than one renewed house, has a powerful and catalytic effect on ghetto residents who have never before had promises or hopes for their community except false ones. This is not to argue that the political arena is not important nor a major element, but to point out that as community development grows so will the community capacity for self-management. Political savvy and influence will increase as development proceeds.

The CDC is no panacea for ghetto problems. There are too few CDC's and their funding sources are haphazard and inconsistent. Many projects have been cut off when they have been underfunded or when Congress, in its benevolent wisdom, has chosen to sack the funding program altogether. Conflicts have arisen when the communities have lost confidence in the professionals assisting them or when the latter have gone off in their own direction. CDC's and the firms from which the professionals come are often criticized by the community of involving themselves in community development as a preparation for

the firms to expand their base of potential clients. This charge has an unnerving reality to it when one checks and finds out what the urban research departments of large firms are up to. This is why the profession needs the public interest firm as a healthy balance to the private firm. The public interest firm could be described as a professional, profit-oriented office that specializes in offering its services to communities. Like their CDC cousins, they are inter-disciplinary in nature, with architects sharing the seat with planners, lawyers, community organizers, and others whose services are important to the full delivery process. The leaders in this field are often blacks and Mexican-Americans who have served with CDC's or university groups and are now interested in the action and flexibility gained by private practice. Since there are no pressures from a corporate board with regard to money or policy-making the public interest firm that is worth its salt will be able to actively involve itself on the side of the community in the politics of the development process. Another problem encountered by CDC's in community development is that of racial tension since the great bulk of available planners and architects are white. Being outsiders, they are unfamiliar with programs available to the poor (the paper work, the requirements, the politics, how to go after funds), with problems and techniques of community organization, and with the sociology of a community. Many of them, just out of schools oriented to traditional architectural problems, do not know the first thing about space programming, about citizen involvement or for that matter how to work with any client. This is hardly a picture of confidence nor does it say that the communities are getting the cream of the professional services. Nonetheless, as long as the communities' questions can be answered and the doors of the profession are open to all, communities may well be the winner with an entire generation of men trained early in their careers to answering to needs of all and not just a corporate clientele.

The funding of the "movement" should at least be mentioned; because it is so shakey, it may make this observation into CDC's an anecdotal comment on history. The Office of Economic Opportunity was the first government agency to fund a CDC. ARCH, San Francisco CDC, Urban Planning Aid in Boston, Community Systems Design Center in Richmond (Calif.) were funded starting in 1966 and currently the agency is phasing out their support. The centers were funded for a full community professional staff with budgets varying from 50 to 150,000 dollars. In 1970 another small group of CDCs was able to get funding from the HUD 701 special projects fund in metropolitan planning. Again this funding was for the operation of full offices with support varying from 50 to 100,000 dollars. The funding by these agencies is not expected to continue, thus limiting the federal government in technical assistance programs for communities, except for model cities on a local level. Private foundations on a local level have offered many CDCs small token contributions to help with start-up funds, and foundations in Chicago, Troy (New York), Cleveland, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are supporting or have previously supported CDCs to the tune of $50,000 or more. The large national foundations such as Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller, have stayed away from CDCs. I believe some of this is due to the lack of glamor associated with their efforts, the inclination of CDCs to get into gut issues and thus cause embarrassment to the foundation, and the lack, at this juncture, of governmental funds to continue the efforts over the long haul, thus taking the foundations off the hook. The largest single contribution to

CDCs come from the hundreds of professionals and community leaders who devote time to the projects without pay. The VISTA program, with 100 volunteers assigned to CDCs adds up to a sizeable amount. VISTA would like to double the number of volunteers but their current draft lottery policy by which those with a lottery number under 150 are not admitted knocks many of the interested graduates out. About 40 universities have programs where a portion of the architecture teaching is conducted for community clients. Although the results have been mixed, generally the commitment to community involvement seems to be increasing with a corresponding increase in black and Spanish-American students from many of the urban areas.

National efforts to place funding for CDCs under one umbrella have been initiated by the Community Services Staff of the National A.I.A. An A.I.A. proposal submitted to OEO last year was turned down as the agency retrenched under the new administration. A Ford Foundation proposal has been put on the back burner due to the above comments and to the drop in income and rearrangement of priorities resulting from the state of the economy. A Model Cities technical assistance proposal was accepted only to meet its death when the Nixon Administration cut out all technical assistance from HUD. When you compare the above record with the Neighborhood Legal Services budget of $60,000,000/year, it is obvious that we have not even started. Last year the Community Services staff started the only other obvious approach to federal funding—that of legislation. The first efforts generated many favorable responses. Senator Goodell of New York was the most enthusiastic for the proposal but then lost to Buckley in re-election. It will take a nationwide lobbying effort and a lot of money to bring any legislation about. The A.I.A. staff has a new effort underway with the A.I.A.'s Human Resources Council committed to raising several hundred thousand dollars seed money and to getting full professional support for a drive for an amendment to the housing legislation for 1971 to support the CDCs as a direct service to communities. The figures used in these proposals have varied from $1,000,000 /year for the OEO proposal to $8,000,000/year (x five years) for the most recent effort. It is too early to see what will happen but the method for deriving the figures is interesting: 100 urban centers time 10 cents per head (1970 census) equals $8,000,000 which comes fairly close to a realistic distribution of funds based on present activity and need. The lobbying effort is now being headed by Nat Owings of SOM and Bob Nash, now V.P. of the National A.I.A., the first black to hold this office. This unlikely but effective team are hitting a lot of questioning about whether the CDC isn't simply a duplication of effort and another layer of government and also whether local political feathers won't be ruffled if CDCs are administered nationally. The recent veto by Governor Regan of OEO contracts in California is an excellent example of this. It is generally recognized that problems of this sort will have to be dealt with by compromise.

The last and least-used source of funds are the state governments. Several CDCs have suggested that since federal funding is so unreliable on any long term basis, that state aid should be solicited since it would hopefully be less cumbersome to deal with and obtain, more sensitive to local needs and less likely to be discontinued once started. Suggestions have been put forward to tax the state building programs ½ of 1% and then perhaps funnel the funds through the state department of community affairs. Not all states have these departments, however, and no one as of this time has really explored the area

of state aid to CDCs. A number of state agencies have cooperated in helping obtain the OEO and HUD funds mentioned earlier, but they have not gone beyond this. Thus, the present situation with regard to funding is rather inconclusive. Since CDCs could potentially affect about 25% of our population, it is a promising program. Their continued operation should change priorities slowly.

The first CDCs were formed in 1963 and 1964: The Urban Workshop in Watts which was formed after the riots there, Urban Planning Aid in Boston which was founded to provide a broad base of Community support from economics to assisting in transportation counter-proposals, and ARCH in Harlem which was established as an advocate for community change. Others soon followed and some grew such as Troy West's Architecture 2001 in Pittsburgh, Roger Katan's studio in East Harlem and the Real Great Society under the Leadership of Harry Quintanna. The Architects Resistance (T.A.R.) was born at the New England regional AIA convention in 1968 out of the rejection of the conventional format of the meeting. They have been a vocal spokesman for change in the Northeast but their activity appears to have declined probably due to their early leaders having graduated. Quieter and perhaps more beneficial work has been done by many smaller universities, notably Hampton University and Southern University both of which have black schools of architecture. The National American Institute of Architecture first indicated a concern with CDCs when Whitney Young blasted them at the 1968 national convention in Portland, Oregon. He characterized the A.I.A. as an elitist racist organization with a nonexistent record in the urban ghetto. The message struck home and left many members interested in changing the Institute's programs and attitudes. With less than 1% of their membership being from minorities, and most of them living near Washington, D.C., they didn't have a leg to stand on. A Task Force was set up to initiate programs in this area. By the 1969 A.I.A. convention at Chicago, not much had been done in the year that had elapsed. The National Student Association of Architecture Students joined forces with a large delegation from T.A.R. and other interested delegates to the A.I.A. convention and challenged the A.I.A. to "put up or shut up". This challenge was lead by Taylor Culver, the association's president from Howard University. The combination of a receptive body of delegates, sympathetic A.I.A. leadership by George Kassabaum from St. Louis, and Taylor Culver's superb rhetoric won a convention resolution supporting the generation of $15,000,000 to be raised from members, foundations and government towards programs addressing urban problems and minorities. The previous Task Force Staff was reorganized so that its membership was half A.I.A. practitioner, half students, half black and brown and half white (in no particular order). The new A.I.A. Vice President George Rockrise was made chairman with representatives from the old Task force and student President Culver. This group soon turned into the enfant terrible of the A.I.A. with a charge to generate a program for raising the $15,000,000 which it did in three months. Approximately one third of this priority listing was designated for CDCs. By the 1970 AIA Boston convention (conventions have come to be convenient progress markers), the A.I.A. had raised $1,300,000, mostly for a minority scholarship program. A new staff was put together to further develop and manage the Task Forces programs. The efforts of the staff were mentioned earlier regarding raising funds for CDCs on a nationwide basis. This small

start, although disappointing, has recently increased in spite of the current conservative bent of the National Headquarters leadership and the A.I.A. president. A realistic assessment was made of the capacity of a professional organization to raise large blocks of money and field a controversial action front. A new organization was formed called the Human Resources Council which is outside the A.I.A. and without its stigma. A meeting in Omaha, Neb. took place in February with approximately $500,000 seed money committed to starting the ball rolling—the ball being the Task Force programs. Through this two year process, the architects have been exposed to the service aspect and obligations of their profession and have been offered concrete opportunities for participation. The Human Resources Council is really a nationwide representation of activists. Complete professional support is impossible, there is too much tradition attached to the barbeque chicken circuit aspect of the A.I.A., which, considering its 23,000 membership is spread very thinly. (There are 400,000 doctors in the U.S. by comparison.) However, a tie in with the profession has been set up that is now acting as a base of support.

The Community Services Staff of the National A.I.A. has had the responsibility for carrying out the programs of the Task Force on Professional Responsibility, the group described above. The director of CDC's assistance programs, Vernon Williams, joined the staff in June and has been coordinating the fund raising efforts and disseminating information and communications. The first Task Force program concerned with CDCs was the March Conference at Howard University in Washington. The conference was attended by 200 CDC directors, interested A.I.A. members and students, and community representatives. It produced a lot of fiery exchanges between students and CDC directors, some information transfer and a good deal of frustration. Half of the conferees didn't know what a CDC was all about and the other half were interested in wrestling with the restraints on the CDCs. At the end of the conference a council of 13 representatives was elected to begin to put together an organization to represent the CDCs. The first full meeting of the group was in November at a seminar sponsored by the Community Services Staff to generate interest and commitments from HUD, OEO and other agencies. The seminar had mixed results.

However, the thirteen CDC representatives met afterwards and selected a steering committee with Gene Brooks of the Urban Workshop as the chairman of the group. The CDC's are now slowly developing a national spokesman for the interests of their community clients. This effort is not strong and the concern has been continually expressed that the prime responsibility is delivering to and for the client. A balance is being struck between local efforts and politicking for more government aid, although the interest generated nationally is far ahead of the support received locally by most CDC's. The 1971 program of the Community Services CDC Director is now being implemented with primary emphasis on generating a wider base of understanding of the function and value of CDC's in order to support a legislative funding effort.

The last facet of the development of community service in architecture is in many ways the oldest—that of education and the University. At the last student convention in Berkeley over Thanksgiving 1970, representatives of forty architecture schools described their workshops in communities around the country in the ASC/HUD-sponsored seminar on Community Development Centers. This represents a considerable change from the

curriculum of the schools only four years ago when Harvard, Yale, MIT, Penn and U.C. at Berkeley were the mainstay of university activity and when community service programs were then being challenged as non-academic. Architecture school curriculum is undergoing the pains of a challenge to its relevancy by students who are reacting to residual Beaux Arts teaching techniques mixed with Bauhaus. With the community as client, it is mandatory that the architect work with and draw heavily from other disciplines from the very first contact: the school workshop in the field. The clients and projects are real, the system and the history of the poor are the ground rules. The educational needs generated by this reality put both the students and the faculties under a strain which is evident among the attitude of the participating students that are clamoring for a new approach to architecture and only a handful of schools openly encouraging community involvement by offering the needed support courses and flexibility.

There are 23,000 students in architecture schools, 600 from minorities. The A.I.A. has a membership of 24,500 registered architects. Though they do not represent every registered architect, one can easily see that there is an enormous attrition rate between school and the practicing architect. The need for trained technicians in community service is only a facet to the challenge to curriculum—some specific needs are:

—There is little teaching of programming, the process by which both the design and the building are derived.

—Citizen involvement and direct client contact is neither provided or studied. Much of the design looses contact with people and their user/needs.

—Interdisciplinary involvement, various roles and an exposure to the disciplines are relegated to 'after graduation' leaving a poor understanding of the real interdependency.

—Behavorial psychology relating to the physical environment, sociology and other 'software' approaches are not taught. This deprives students with many exciting insights into the real nature of man and surrounds him with an artificial mystique of the role of architecture.

—Urban problems are rarely presented with the full impact as a fact of life; the architectural solutions draw only from the students own background and knowledge of how life should be.

In summary, the architect, if he is to be an effective agent for change in the community, is not getting the education he needs. A small step in the right direction is a recent report put out by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture done on a HUD grant for studying curriculum for teaching public service architecture. It is available through the A.I.A. in Washington. It outlines the nature of specific courses for a public service course of study option and discusses some of the advantages and pitfalls of community work, such as 'using the community as a laboratory'. One can hope for both curriculum reform and serving communities on a larger scale, but the funding and, thus, the jobs open are a fraction of what is needed.

In six years the Community Development Centers have come to supplement and supplant the individual architect who was concerned with the environment of the poor. This appears to be a long step forward, yet the institutionalization of this concern is no more than an intermediate step to where the community has control of its own destiny. Whether the CDC will still be needed is too soon to be answered especially when they have not really begun to answer the initial need. The Centers and the public service firms do have the potential of coming in direct contact with 25% of our population, who by their definition of being poor

have no exposure to a decent environment.

The challenge to the architects and planners is to engage a substantial portion of the professions in assisting their fellow man to solve their environmental problems. There are many roles, many ways to participate. However, to date the resolve to rebuild our cities is in the hands of few and until it becomes an 'American Cause' and priority, no mountains will be moved.

THE YGS ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING CENTER

YGS/APC

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(The Young Great Society Architecture and Planning Center is an independent, integrated architectural firm located in the Mantua section of Philadelphia. The following article on the Center is written by Judson B. Brown, a staff member, based upon interviews with three of the Center's white architects, Lawrence Goldfarb, Peter Brown, and John Anderson. The views presented do not necessarily represent those of the entire staff.)

One of the things that contributes to the "Urban crisis" is the disintegration of a language with which to speak about it. Words like "community", "professional", "control", "involvement", and "participation" have been banalized, over-defined, or simply misused to the extent that they have ceased to serve any rationalizing function whatsoever. The situation would not be cause for the most academic worry if whole programs and resources, human as well as physical, were not expended on the basis of this vocabulary. But they are, and there is waste.

There is waste in the sense that even the purest, most creative occurrences seem to dissipate for lack of a social context to sustain them. The resulting irony is a society surfeited with innovations, but starved of progress. For lack of a mutually agreeable vernacular with which to interpret to ourselves what is occurring, little is sustained. Ideas, programs, and movements are abandoned nearly as quickly as they are discovered.

Architects are wasted. For genuine occupational as well as emotional reasons, the architect enters the ghetto. He seeks to "involve" himself in a "community", to apply his apt skills to an awesomely visible problem. But chances are he soon finds that the community he came to help is either non-existent, or divided, or frantically trying to identify itself. And even if there is a coherent community, "meaningful involvement" usually turns out to be a fantastically complex process rather than a mere function of location. Racial anxieties, jealousies, and cultural gaps tend to accumulate to inhibit the growth of anything but a kind of superficial "association" between the professional and the residents. Finally, even if a productive relationship is possible, its sustenance often requires such an investment of time and energy that all but precludes the architect's applying his "skills". He gains an "identity" with the community at the risk of losing his identity as a professional.

It is in this rather grim context that the Young Great Society Architecture and Planning Center ("APC"), an integrated, community-based and community-owned organization in West Philadelphia is presented. It represents a rather unique approach to the concept of the "community design center." APC started in 1968 with a small group of students and architects from the University of Pennsylvania Department of Architecture volunteering their time to the Young Great Society, a black self-help group operating in the impoverished Mantua section of West Philadelphia. They helped, in the time they could devote between other interests, with two housing rehabilitation projects (Warren St. and the Model Block). Eventually a grant from the Ford Foundation was negotiated; two architects and a secretary came to work for the community full time; and, in April 1969, APC was formalized.

In the year and a half since, APC has grown considerably. It has relocated its offices from the University to the second floor of a renovated garage in the Mantua community. The professional staff has grown to 15, including five registered architects (Five community people are employed on the staff, as are four black trainees. APC has sought, with little success, to recruit black

architects. There is presently one black registered architect on the staff.) The operating budget has grown to $300,000 a year. APC has planned for the rehabilitation of hundreds of houses in the community. In addition, design projects now range from an American service station, to a day care center, to a "scattered-site" middle school in Mantua to a Baptist church in South Philadelphia, a bank in the northeast section of the city, and housing developments in Glassboro, N.J. and Middletown, Ohio.

There was no reason to expect, from its ideologically crude beginnings, that APC would survive, let alone "integrate" meaningfully with Mantua. Those initial volunteers were hapless.

"It was a real hassle trying to get those volunteers to work," says Peter Brown, co-director of APC. "We didn't have enough manpower to start with and then they'd show up sporadically and the work wouldn't get done and they were fairly inexperienced because they were all students. And what they did was not so good."

"We were all in one room and anything that happened in the office involved everybody," says Larry Goldfarb, a partner who originally worked for APC "on leave" from the Department of Architecture at Penn, "which meant that if there was a meeting of some kind the entire office would stop for two or three hours. That, combined with the fact that most of the staff was inexperienced meant that the hassle level was a lot higher. Looking for extra jobs all over the place, writing proposals, and doing all kinds of things we weren't getting any leadership on. It was kind of chaotic."

Thus APC began, as most volunteer efforts do in the ghetto, in a void of leadership, organization, and rational purpose. Unlike most volunteer efforts, however, it has thrived. It would be merely specious to attribute its success to such accessible virtues as persistence, or sensitivity, or even talent. The fact is that its success has had less to do with the merits of its staff than with the existence of the Young Great Society, which has provided it not only with leadership but with badly needed funding as well. ($60,000 the first year).

YGS was formed six years ago by Herman Wrice as an outgrowth of a corner gang. Limiting itself at first to organizing picnics and basketball games for gang members, it has grown since into a one million dollar a year operation, having established a fully equipped medical center, an orphans home, a day care center, several small businesses, a drug treatment center, an urban university, a training course at Penn for ex-gang leaders, and, of course, APC.

Gang killings, once epidemic in the community, have—as a result of YGS' efforts—almost completely stopped. The problem of heroin addiction has been subdued by the YGS methadone program, one of the few in the city. Kids, once aimless, now are organized into little league football, basketball, and baseball leagues. Mothers on welfare are being given the freedom to seek and train for employment.

The list goes on and as a result of it, Wrice has been elected co-chairman of the Philadelphia Urban Coalition and to the State Crime Commission.

Now YGS is, as are most community organizations of its kind, inordinately controversial, even within the borders of Mantua. There are many in the community who feel that YGS does not represent them; there are others who don't even know it exists. Nevertheless, despite these problems, YGS is beyond question the most considerable and focal organization in a community with practically no overt political history whatsoever.

APC is eighty per cent owned by YGS. (Expected profits this year of $30,000 will be turned over to YGS to finance a variety

of programs.) And it has been thoroughly identified with YGS since its inception. APC has been completely and quite consciously dependent upon Wrice for its "corporate" existence. He brought the professionals to the community and is ultimately responsible to the community for them. The APC staff members owe Wrice their professional freedom as well. For, to the extent that any professionals can in the ghetto, they have remained apolitical. They have been spared much of the wasted time and frustration of having to convince a distrusting community of their good intentions.

Both Wrice and the professionals have had to grow into this relationship. According to Peter Brown: "The first period was a struggle to get Herman to define the things he wanted us to be involved in and to develop a relationship with his technicians. When we were first here, he didn't know how to use us because he didn't have any experience and because he didn't know what his objectives were. For example, the Middle School study. It was really us that had to convince Herman that he should take a leadership role in the Middle School. He had no involvement in it at all in a period in which we were heavily involved. Now he sees this as one of his main things. Also, for a whole year we were involved with Renewal Housing, Inc., and Herman didn't have a thing to do with it. And it was through his being able to relate to his technicians that he became involved in RHI and eventually its president. We had to do all this work that Herman's doing now, selling the programs, trying to convince people, trying to make this guy happy and that guy happy. We were the ones trying to go out and make everybody happy. Now Herman does that. He had to learn to have confidence in his technicians."

For the first year, APC was most prolific in the rehabilitation of existing housing in Mantua, there being a desperate lack of space and finances to do much else. The work has been, at least from a traditional architectural point of view, uninspiring—the goal of "rehab," to provide decent and inexpensive housing, being as unglamorous as are the procedures necessary to achieve it. Negotiations and proposal writing for FHA insured loans under the "235" and "236" sales and rental housing programs, planning and surveying the community to decide which structures are suitable for rehab, discovering and then working with the developer upon whose craftmanship the outcome of the project finally rests—these, not the esthetic scheming which most architects are trained to perform, are the tasks of "rehab" housing.

In its year and a half of operation, APC has planned for 76 units of "236" rental housing (under construction), 15 rehabilitated structures in an experimental "Model Block" (seven completed), for 40 more "235" and "236" rehabs, and has designated 250 more for work under a special Housing and Urban Development department program called "project Rehab".

Other rehabilitation projects include the transformation of a condemned row house into an Infant Day Care Center and of a series of houses at the southern end of the community into an experimental Children's School. This latter includes extensive landscaping as well as site improvements. In addition, APC staff have coordinated programs with the city departments of housing, recreation, and redevelopment. They have drawn first and second year plans for redevelopment under the Neighborhood Development Program (NDP), a task usually performed by the bureacracy of the Redevelopment Authority. And they have been given funding by the Authority to design and implement site improvements throughout the neighborhood. They are also in the process of designing three

"vest pocket" parks for the Recreation Department and 250 units of public housing for the Housing Authority.

At APC, architects and planners have become, for lack of a formal definition, development managers. They have had to interpret community needs to bureaucracies, translate federal conceptions into viable programs, and—in relations with developers—prefer the role of advisor, or technical consultant to that of merely tastemaker.

(It should be mentioned that APC has been one cause—YGS being the principal one—for the phenomenal growth of Group Builders, Inc., a black development corporation.)

As the number of projects has grown, so has the complexity of the bureaucracy to manage them Not only has Group Builders, Inc. become a kind of informal partner with APC, but an entirely new office, the YGS Building Foundation, has been created to broker real estate, negotiate mortgages, and manage most financial matters connected with the development of housing and community facilities. Finally, APC has itself de-centralized. As the office has become engaged in a growing number of contracts outside the community, a separate administrative section—the Mantua Joint Workshop—has taken over all Mantua based projects.

Up until recently, architects at APC, as purposeful as they felt, never considered that they were involved in anything that could strictly be defined as architecture. Rehab housing was simply not what they had been trained, or over-trained for. That attitude is changing. The architects are beginning to feel like architects again and to reinterpret their education as a kind of insidious delusion.

"Since I graduated from school, I've been trying to forget everything I learned because education in architecture school is a rational process," says John Anderson, who left the office of Robert Venturi eight months ago to work for APC. "It gets your head working in a certain way so you can rationalize, analyze, argue a point from both sides. And there's a status quo knowledge to have so we can all talk together. It's a self-propagating thing. School trains a bunch of peers to be able to talk to each other and I've found that the people in this community are irrational. They don't have that sort of mind-structure you get out of school. They're more spontaneous. They have a human knowledge which I've really come to value and I wish I possessed. They sense people. Their whole knowledge is very subjective and immediate. We're so naive, us great intellects, rational white whiz kids who come around here. We walk in here and we don't know what the hell's going on. Slowly you begin to learn that you can really live just on beautiful experiences. In a way these people are more into this."

"I feel I'm learning a whole other world of knowledge which we're never taught in school and we've never learned. Somehow there's a kind of uptightness that's not here. That to me is a revelation, that there are different kinds of knowledge and the one we've been given is not necessarily the only one or the most valuable. Also, a way of coming to design I think is getting rid of pre-conceptions from architecture magazines and the language we learn, such as space-mass, and all these terms. These may not be the tools that are going to be able to do the best kind of architecture or the best kind of architecture here. So you have to kind of get rid of that baggage and be childish again and naive and fresh. That's one thing I'm really getting out of this place."

"We are really learning how to work with people," says Goldfarb, "and most architects are really pretty lousy at that because one of the myths that designers and architects have taken ahold of is the myth of the lonely artistic genius. It's

Michelangelo on that damn ceiling again for all those guys. That's sort of the ideal, that haunty, removed, super-intellectual, super-artistic all in one, you know."

The APC staff works in the community; many of them live in it. If only by sheer attrition, they are coming to know the people and feel a part of their lives, the result is they are coming to see their profession in a different light, not so much as an exercise in the pure design of heavily styled structures as an engagement with people resulting in a spontaneous response to their sundry needs.

"Don't look at the object so much," says Anderson, "but look also at the process. We painted a street one day and the kids got into it. Well, the street was painted as an end result, you know, and who cares, really? That's OK. But somehow just the way of doing it was a human event. It was a different kind of thing and people got together. And that in itself is an end."

Increasingly, the architects are finding professional satisfaction not so much in end-products as in the human dynamics leading to an end product. APC has designed an American service station that, despite some innovative attachments, looks for the most part like any other. However, several ex-gang members were involved in the design and added their suggestions along the way, and now hardly a day goes by when they aren't asking how it's coming along. They will eventually work at the station which will be owned by the community. "The key thing about the station," says Peter Brown, "is that when it gets built there are going to be hundreds of people coming up here and saying, "Goddamn, that looks just like the model.' And what that means is that it isn't a surprise to them. They identify with it."

APC realizes that people have very basic, physical needs that demand to be immediately met: housing, parks, shops. But ghetto residents have other needs, for a sense of ownership, of belonging. These needs cannot be arranged according to priority. They are all enmeshed in a goal of human dignity.

Brandywine St., upon which APC is located, has become a focus of attention. Anderson designed blue and yellow banners for the street with a logo indicating the identity of the block. They have been draped from beams and nailed into telephone poles. On another day, he organized a street painting with neighborhood kids. On another occasion, during fire prevention week, he designed painted T-shirts for the kids, a ''Fire Monster'' costume for Maurice Slater (a choreographer and dancer who performed a skit depicting the horrors of fire), and bought the kids spray paint with which they created a bright 20 foot wall mural along an abandoned apartment house.

"Less and less do I have a preconception of what architecture is," says Anderson. "I certainly don't think it's a building. I think the banners are architecture because they made the street something special. I think the street thing and the fire monster is a physical situation for which there was a need and we solved it through some kind of physical thing. The Fire Monster exists now in the minds of people and I feel I've sort of created a form. I don't know when you break down and stop calling it architecture. To me, I was fulfilling myself as a designer. To me, architecture has a lot to do with making heros out of people. You know, Andy Warhol said that everybody should be a hero for fifteen minutes. What people need is confidence and pride. And confidence certainly comes in at very low levels in the ghettos. People have been put down all their lives. People have been put down by the man, by a lot of things. You make them feel like heros when you involve them. You involve a guy and make him feel he relates to things and is important.

suppose somebody could talk about the vast social need for that to happen in ghettos, but I also see it as being the guts of physical environment solutions whether they are banners or buildings."

As the architects begin to develop their peculiar creativity as designers, so are they beginning to develop a very real identity with the people of Mantua. It is a relationship nothing so sterile or formal or inevitably forced as an association between the professional and the needy. Rather it is a relationship based on a recognition of mutual need. The ultimate benefit of such a relationship is that nobody, neither the architect nor the resident of the ghetto, feels put down. The architect, recognizing the broader purpose of his occupation, ceases to be frustrated that he's not becoming the magazine version of the successful architect. And the resident ceases to feel like a factor in a large impersonal scheme.

The architects at APC are quick to qualify their success. "I wouldn't want to give the impression to anybody that we're so cock sure that we've got something here so fresh and new in the way we approach things, that nobody's ever seen before," says Goldfarb. "That's nonsense. We've been trained the wrong way as kids and as college students and as professionals. And to some extent, it lingers."

Nevertheless, in summary, APC would seem to have answered some questions. First,the professional must not enter the community in a void, but rather as a supplement to an existing local group that will provide him the context, and therefore the freedom in which to work. Secondly, the architectural office in the ghetto must gradually evolve a scheme of efficiently dealing with the entire development process, not just with categorical parts of it. Thirdly, the architect, as any professional, must be willing and prepared to abdicate any occupational preconception which might inhibit his directly responding to human need. Here, there must be a realization that what the ghetto does not need is another scheme for it, another master plan or ideology. It is quite probable that the professions, as they have been defined to suit the needs of the affluent society or the establishment or the professionals, are just not functional in the ghetto, if they are functional at all.

"I'm a professional," says Goldfarb, "and that's really what we're throwing out around here, professionalism. Not product orientation. Some people interpret throwing out professionalism as meaning the product doesn't matter any more and talent doesn't matter anymore. That's not the point. Self-righteousness and protectiveness is what's got to be thrown out."

The APC staff has learned that people lose their purpose for the words they use to figure their purpose out.

"People are talkers," says Anderson, "and they're talkers because the problems seem so big that most guys can't see any action at all. They can't see the course for it. So they stand around. So one guy does something and if it's not solving all the housing problems of the world, he's criticized for it. Well, to hell with them. They're talkers. Talkers hate actors. They hate doers."

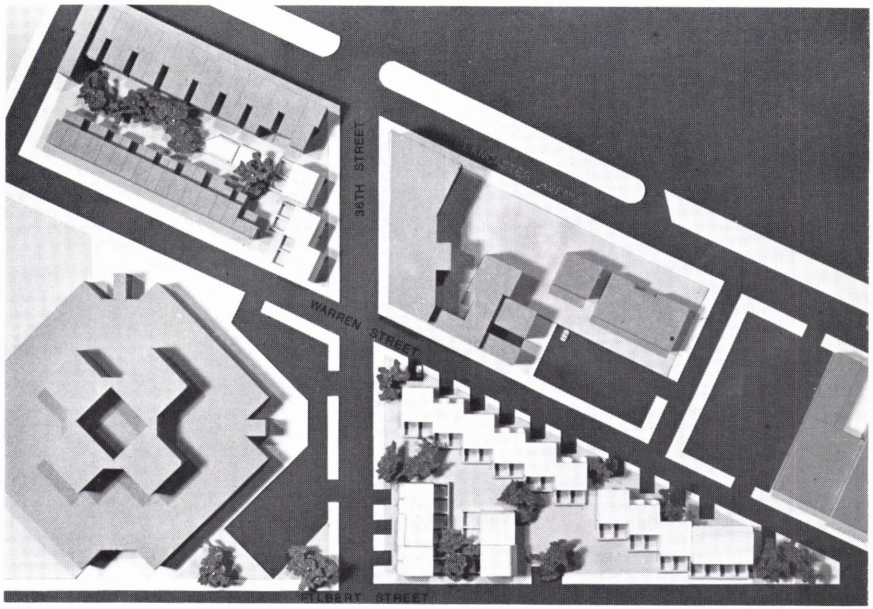


Herman C. Wrice, president of YGS, raps with members of the YGS "Giants" football team during a helmet painting session at APC. Wrice believed that professionals must engage in a variety of community projects not only to gain acceptance in the neighborhood but also to acquire the insight and sensitivity which will enhance their designs for the community.



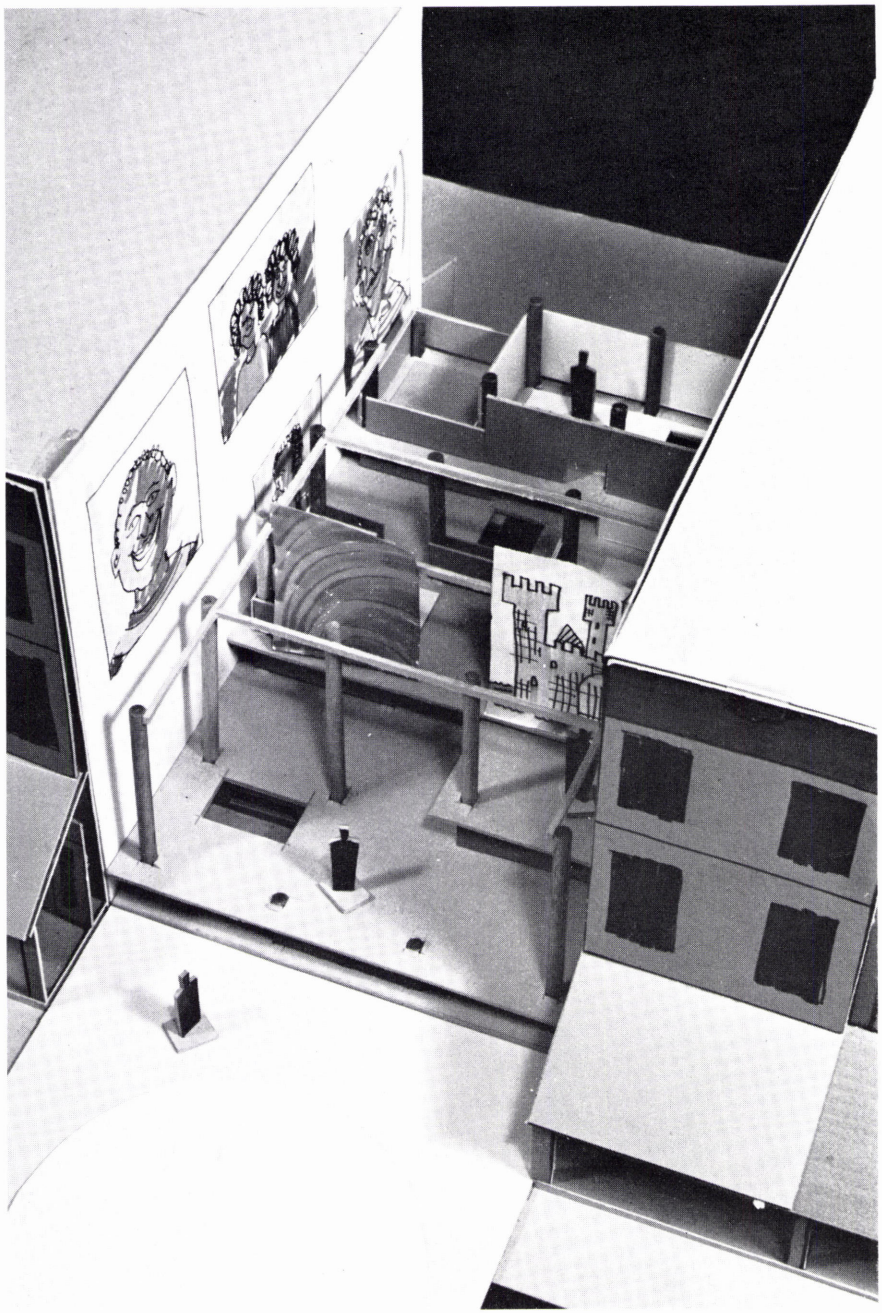
The Powelton-Mantua Cooperative Children's School, an experimental parent co-operative children's school for 40 children aged 3-7 years, was designed by APC for a three story rehabilitated house in Mantua. In addition to normal architectural work, APC assisted in site acquisition, fund raising for the construction, selection of a black builder, and the design of the macro-graphics billboard. The YGS Building Foundation acted as developer and secured a permanent mortgage for the school. Future plans for the school include a new building and a large landscaped play area.

This illustrative model shows two housing projects sponsored by Renewal Housing Inc., a community non- profit corporation under the direction of Herman Wrice. The first project in the block, on the upper left, the rehabilitation of seven houses under FHA section"235" has been completed. Six additional houses along the same st., Warren, were rehabilitated privately by homeowners. The remaining part of the block will include 36 units of "236" rental housing, a central landscaped open space, and the construction of six new public housing "turn key" units. The triangular block on the lower right will include 33 newly constructed public housing turnkey units, which are scheduled for construction this year. The YGS Building Foundation is acting as project manager; Group Builders, Inc. is the general contractor.



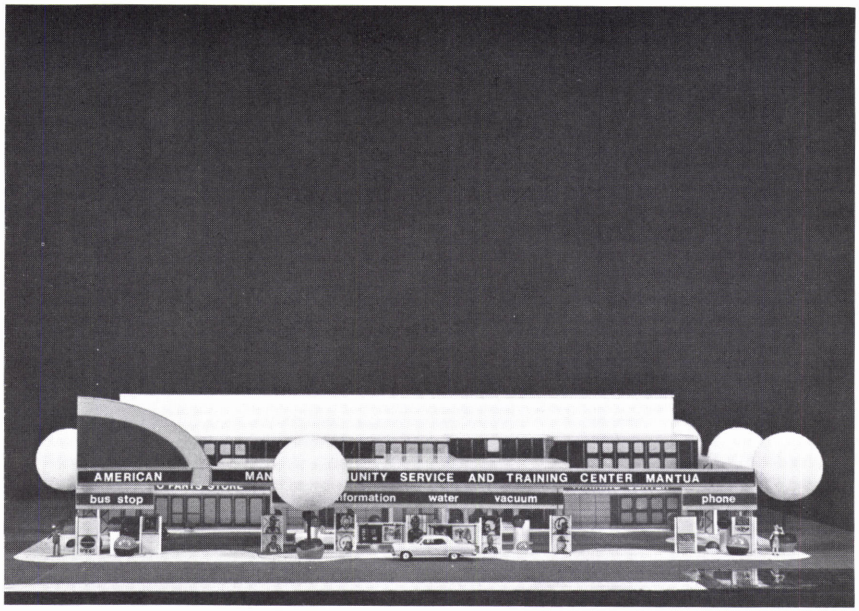
RHI Warren Street Houses. The first RHI project described in the preceeding caption is shown here just after completion. Both the University of Pennsylvania and YGS contributed to the project in an attempt to keep costs down. The final selling price averaged $15,500 for the four and five bedroom units.



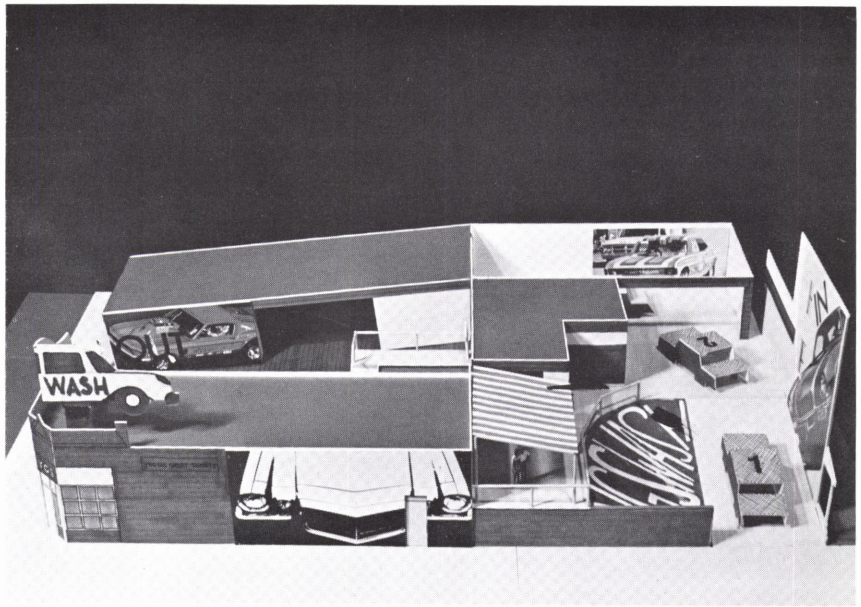


Napa Street Playlot. The playlot is located on the site of two cleared vacant houses in Mantua and utilizes a grid of telephone poles, varied platforms, interchangeable canvas and wood walls, and projected images to create a structure which can serve as an outdoor theater, club house, dance pavillion, lemonade stand, or whatever kids imagine. The street is incorporated into the design. The solution was worked out between John Anderson and a group of residents and gang members from the area. APC has undertaken fund raising for the construction which will involve work by neighborhood gang members set up as a construction outfit under the supervision of an experienced builder.

American Oil Company Automotive Service and Training Center. This project, sponsored by the American Oil Co., represents a joint effort of the community group - YGS - the Corporate client, the YGS Building Foundation, and the designers and residents of the neighborhood. The concept is a new form of gas station which incorporates an auto-mechanics business management training center, an automobile club for neighborhood kids, an auto parts store, and office space for local black businessmen. The essential physical character of the station is its treatment of the street, especially the sidewalk which involves a new paving pattern, a community "identity" sign strip, bus stop, planters, benches, photo murals of local "heros", and community maps and information boards. Color and light play an important part by night and day to create a visual alternative to a gray ghetto environment and to set the pace for a larger commercial redevelopment in the neighborhood.

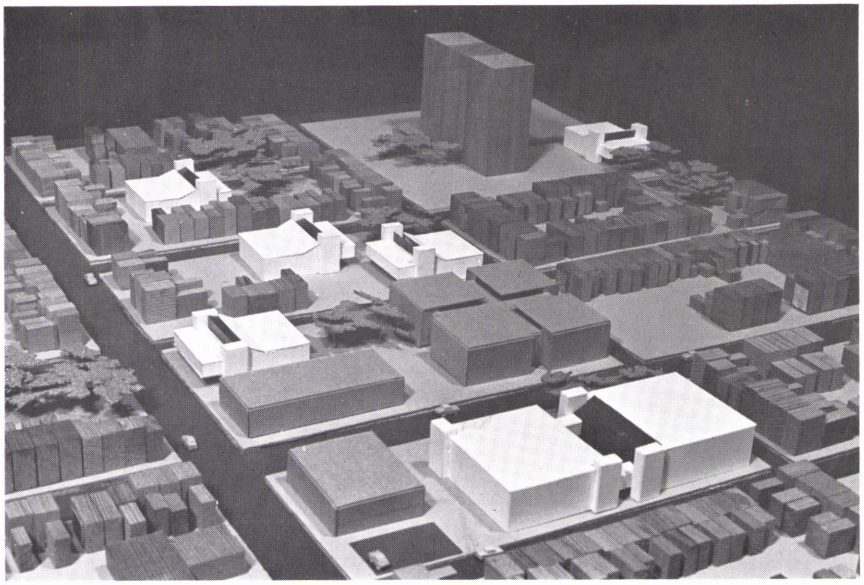


YGS-Mantua Car Wash. A neighborhood operated car-wash center is planned for an existing building and garage. A customer waiting area and a teenage street cafe are included along with large images of automobiles. The design of the car wash is intended to reflect the tastes and interests of the local youths who will run the business.



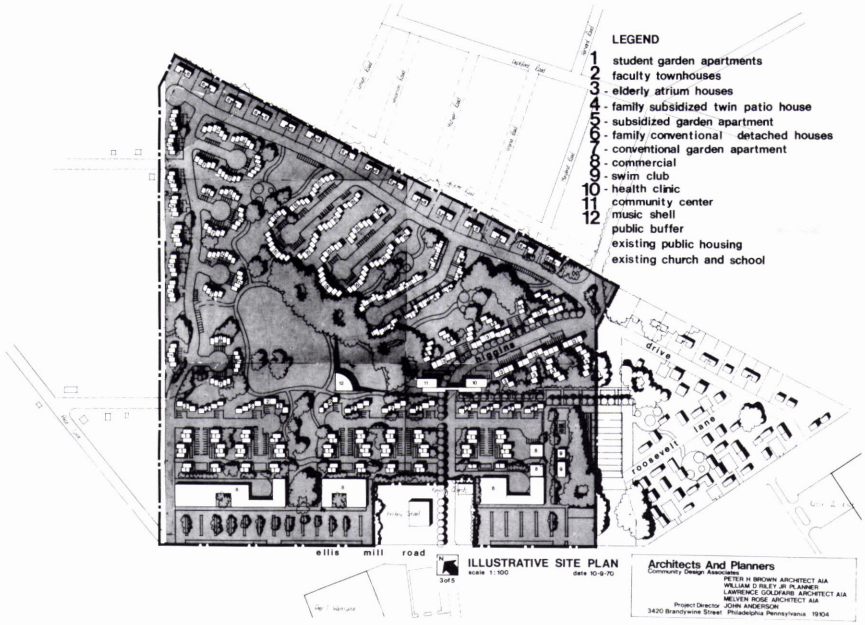


William D. Riley., Jr. co-director of APC (second from the right) discusses plan for the Neighborhood Development Program in Mantua with staff members of the Mantua Joint Workshop. The discussion also involved the impact of the 1976 Bicentenniel exposition. YGS is working to insure that Mantua is protected from the potentially diastrous effects of large scale air-rights development which is planned for the 30th St. Station site several blocks to the southeast of the community. The means for accomplishing this will include planning controls, new development initiated by the community, active participation by community members in the decision making of the Philadelphia Bicentenniel Corp., and the formation of a special Community Development Corporation to help make Mantua a model community for 1976.



Mantua Middle School. A scattered-site middle school will be built in phases and will ultimately house 1600 children dispersed in new buildings built on vacant land in Mantua. The traditional monolithic middle school will be subdivided into "Academic Houses" of 200-400 children each. Each house will offer a general academic program and a specialization such as Fine arts, science, or sports. Children will travel periodically from one location to another to take advantage of specialized centers. The traditional school would have replaced 200-300 homes. The scattered approach will require clearance of less than 50 businesses and homes. The programs and site selection for the school were worked out over a year period in a series of formal and informal meetings with block groups, community leaders, and residents.

Glassboro, N.J. Urban Renewal Plan. A project outside Mantua which will provide 600-800 units of moderate and middle income housing and a commercial center on an 80 acre site in a typical southern New Jersey community. This will be a unique project in that it will provide "open housing" for a rapidly expanding industrial-commercial belt. The APC experience in federally assisted housing and community relations has been instrumental in promoting this project which has the full support of the community and has been enthusiastically received by potential developers. This plan incorporates planned unit development concepts in a program which will include 150 units of faculty and student housing for Glassboro State College, as well as "235" and "236" and conventionally financed apartments and townhouses.



Block Party on Brandywine St. A group of Mantua children are shown during one of the periodic block parties sponsored by YGS. The children in line are waiting a turn on a dinkey. In the background, the blue and yellow street banners are seen hung from telephone poles. Other events of the afternoon include a street clean up, hot dogs, a rock band, and a fire prevention skit featuring a Fire Monster.



8

THE HARVARD URBAN FIELD SERVICE: A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW

CHESTER W. HARTMAN

What follows are some reflections on the Urban Field Service of the Harvard Graduate School of Design, a program which I began in academic year 1967-68 and ran for two years. In an earlier article I offered an interim evaluation and description of our work;[1] the current essay is an attempt at some more definitive analysis, with the distance provided by several months and three thousand miles.

UFS was one of the first attempts to institutionalize training in what has been labeled "advocacy planning" into the regular planning and design curriculum.[2] It was by no means an unqualified success; while it accomplished a good deal over two years, it also served to point up many of the important, and possibly inherent, limitations of this kind of professional training at the university level.[3] I will try to outline these accomplishments and problems and offer some thoughts about future directions for community-based training for planners and designers.

UFS is designed to permit graduate students in city planning, architecture, urban design, landscape architecture and related disciplines to undertake projects for and with community groups as part of their degree work. It is intended as an alternative or supplement to traditional studios, which, generally speaking, have all too often provided students with a narrow and unsatisfactory experience at simulation of professional work and real-life conditions. Community-based "studios" are an attempt to structure the learning situation around different types of problems and to provide contact with a type of client and professional working relationship and style which probably can only be furnished *in vivo*.[4] The projects selected are those for which local groups have requested assistance, and the forms of assistance are usually quite specific. In some instances UFS students worked through and at the request of official agencies, but only when the actual work was with and primary commitment was to a locally based citizens group. (For example, the Boston Parks and Recreation Department wanted to establish neighborhood planning and advisory councils to guide expenditures and operations in each of its local districts and asked UFS to provide staff assistance in a pilot neighborhood.) In virtually all instances the client groups are low-income, and no fee is charged for UFS assistance. Our work was generally confined to the Boston metropolitan area, although in a few instances we worked in cities up to two hours travel time away. The students worked in teams of about four or five persons (sometimes larger), often interdisciplinary, with a supervisor, who occasionally was a faculty member, more often a professional hired on a per diem basis, and (rarely) a leader or staff member of the client group. Funding for the project originally came from a Stern Family Fund grant ($25,000, which lasted us for a year and a half and was allocated primarily for supervisors' salaries) and has now been picked up (at least temporarily) on the regular budget of the Graduate School of Design.

Over the three school terms and two summers for which I was Director of UFS we undertook a total of about twenty projects, some of which went on for several terms, and over one hundred students participated in the program. Interestingly (and in part a reflection of internal conflicts within the Graduate School of Design) the majority of our students either were from other Harvard graduate schools (law, sociology, business, education), the MIT School of Architecture and Planning, or other graduate schools in Boston area (notably, the social work schools of Brandeis, Boston College and Boston University).[5] Perhaps the

best capsulized description of the work we did is a listing of some of our principal projects:

—Assisting a largely black organization in Boston's South End to thwart an urban renewal project through studies and reports on the impact of the plan on the city's housing stock and the area's residents and development of alternative plans; preparing designs for rehabilitating buildings conveyed to the community group by the redevelopment authority.

—Providing technical back-up to the Cambridge Housing Convention, an OEO-sponsored group seeking to halt rising rents and university takeover of the city's low- and moderate-rent housing stock and to pressure public agencies and private institutions to provide more housing.

—Working with a group in a Boston suburb to develop plans to bring low- and moderate-income families into the community.

—Assessment of the impact on existing residents of the master plan designation of a neighborhood in Holyoke as "industrial" and development of an alternate plan for neighborhood renewal.

—Development of a recreation plan for an East Boston community group.

—Assisting a tenants' group in Boston's South End to organize residents and conclude tenant-landlord collective bargaining agreements.

—Developing space usage and development plans and designs for a counseling and treatment center for teen-age "street people" and a multi-purpose community center in two areas of Boston.

—Assistance with legal, land development and financial aspects of a project to create a community development corporation to own and manage a small section of Roxbury, Boston's black ghetto.

—Development of a physical modernization plan, with resident control, for an 1100 unit public housing project in Boston.

—Staffing a nascent state-wide federation of local public housing tenant associations.

The question of how successful we were at all this has to be answered from two vantage points: the assistance provided to the community and the education of the students. With respect to how much the communities were helped, results were quite mixed. By definition, graduate students generally have lesser skills and experience than full professionals, and although we attempted, in our selection of projects, to choose only those which were within the skills range of graduate students, we did not always come up with a satisfactory product, or any product at all.

Where we did not succeed in producing satisfactorily, it was often because of insufficient duration and intensity of the students' time commitment. There is inherent conflict between the students' time schedule and overall orientations and the demands the community's project makes on him, and I do not know of any easy way to get around this. It is difficult to secure a definite commitment of more than an academic term's length (although some students remained with their projects for a year and longer), and summers are problematical. Not the least of our problems was how to find the money to pay those students who wanted to remain with the project over the summer (we were fortunate in being able to secure VISTA funds for the first two summers). Many of our students were from the graduating class (in most planning programs half the students will be in this category), and they usually disappear from the scene after getting their degree. At any given time, the most we could get from a student was a half-time commitment, and the more usual pattern was for UFS to be one of four courses (i.e. a little over a day a week). The "academic

rhythm" also has a life of its own: at the beginning of the term (particularly the Fall term) several weeks are taken up in "getting back into the swing of things"; the middle weeks are usually the most productive; and at the end of the term, when exams, papers and charettes loom, students often find little time for their community obligations. Thanksgiving, Christmas, mid-semester break, Easter, long skiing weekends also tend to take precedence over the community. The time schedule of the real world is not that of the academy: sometimes it is more intense, requiring greater time commitment than students can make available, sometimes it is dilatory, leading to inefficient use of students' time. And almost never is it predictable. Despite our desire to have students work on concrete, discrete projects of definite duration, this turns out not to be the nature of most requests (at least in the long run: often what appears to be a narrow issue, upon further work and task definition reveals itself as multifaceted and long-range). The students' "built-in" inability to provide reliable assistance is one of the major sources of the mistrust and ambivalence many communities feel about aid of this sort. I don't think there's any point in chastising or exhorting students; the natural competition, academic and non-academic, is simply too great. There are other possibilities as to how a field-work program might be run, which might reduce this conflict, and these will be explored below.

The disorganization and weakness of the community group itself was another reason why the student groups sometimes failed to produce much. A strict canon of our *modus operandi* was that the community calls the shots. Once we had established the validity of the project and the presumptive viability of the client group, the student team and its supervisor "belonged" to the community and worked under its direction. The strength and direction of the community group, however, often proved illusory. In part, we had inadequate opportunity during the "work-up" period just prior to the beginning of the term to ascertain fully the strengths and weaknesses of each neighborhood group requesting assistance. But this unpredictability was also to an extent a characteristic of the types of groups that sought our help. Often we (unintentionally) exaggerated their strength and potential, out of a desire to help them and their cause, to see them as strong. Then, too, more established community groups tended to have better access to professional assistance, either through formal advocacy planning organizations, or through their own funding sources. Being a free and quite available source of assistance, we tended to serve those groups which were just getting started or just beginning to cope with a particular issue. In many senses groups of this type need even more intensive help—in the form of community organizing (which we were ill equipped to carry out) and planning and design services. Our inability to provide them with the intensive assistance which they needed for their very growth and survival often led to a downward spiral. Probably the most successful formula for UFS aid was when we "plugged in" to an ongoing operation with a strong community group. Most often, this occurred when we worked in tandem with Urban Planning Aid, Inc. an OEO-funded advocacy planning organization in Cambridge, which was able to provide more long-term, professional assistance. That arrangement took much of the burden for continuity off the student group and permitted them to take on those tasks for which they were best suited. (On the other hand, the professional advocate planners, often with good reason, frequently wished to relegate the students to background "scut work," and this conflicted with one of the

major purposes of the program, to provide students with direct community experience.)

The limitations and occasional failures I am describing should not mask the genuine and valuable assistance we often were able to provide to local groups. UFS did (and does) fill an important vacuum in offering free planning and design services to groups that otherwise would have no access to this kind of technical assistance. The real question, however, that must be asked even about our "successes" is whether, for the groups we have assisted, short-term, discrete victories and achievements have any lasting effect. It becomes increasingly clear from our work that the source of our clients' problems is their powerlessness and lack of organization vis a vis the larger system, and small one-shot concessions from a public agency or capitulations by a single landlord amount to little. In our approach to assistance and problem-solving we may unintentionally be fostering the illusion, among ourselves as well as the people we work for, that real change can come about in this manner and through this form of professional help.

This brings us to the other and related test of our work: how helpful was UFS in educating students? This question can be answered only in the context of the purposes of our profession and of professional education.[6] Generally speaking, those students who participated felt UFS was a highly worthwhile investment of time, in some instances the most useful and interesting part of their academic career (although this may say more about the quality of alternative curriculum offerings than about our own work). A large portion of the student body did not relate at all to UFS, either because they were uninterested in this kind of work or were discouraged by faculty advisors from participating. And the majority of faculty were unenthusiastic about giving UFS a central place in the curriculum, with views ranging from those who didn't object to their students being exposed to a smattering of "good works" sometime during their careers, to those who were highly antagonistic toward the program.

The UFS students were a self-selected group (it was not a mandatory part of the curriculum). Only those students interested in learning more about and training themselves for this kind of professional role entered. Not all students should participate in UFS type programs, by any means. It is a role that only a portion of students want to train themselves for or expose themselves to, and from the viewpoint of the community I cannot see inflicting incompetent, unwilling or ambivalent students on a group that wants help, and committed help. I am, however, concerned about how to reach the middle-ground students, those who have had little contact with community groups, are unsure about what kind of professional they want to be, but would like to try UFS as a way of helping to make their eventual decision. In general, this will not be a large group, as one suspects that most students coming into professional school nowadays have given sufficient thought to their values, politics and future to know what role they want to play in the world. It would seem important, however, to make provision for sincere students uncertain about where they're at, and this can be done by allowing them into UFS-type programs after careful selection and by exercising some control over the extent and nature of their contact with the community until both are sure they will be compatible with one another.[7]

The question of where in the student's professional training this kind of experience ought to be introduced is also problematical. The case may be somewhat different for planners than it is for designers, reflecting the different nature and technical character of the professions themselves.

Architecture, landscape architecture and urban design would seem to require a higher level of technical skills and tools, in much the same way as is true of law, medicine and engineering. This means that in order to practice these professions properly, more rigorous and protracted training is required (although a great deal of streamlining and shortening could doubtless be accomplished in the training for these technical professions, and much of the severe and exacting quality of the studio and charette, the internship and the bar exam can better be explained in terms of the mystique and trappings of professionalism). Thus, the design student realistically may have less to offer to the community during his early years of training, and large amounts of time devoted to the community take away time needed for acquiring technical skills. It was most difficult to work the architecture students into UFS, precisely because of this conflict; the faculty sought to keep their students in the traditional design studio and jealously guarded any inroads into what they saw as the central task—learning design. Urban planning, on the other hand, at least in its present form is a far less "technical" profession: its skills and tools are less abstruse, require less training, and are to a greater degree relative to and determined by the role and goals of the planner.[8] This argues more clearly for an earlier and more intensive exposure to community-based planning, with the concomitant development of a different set of skills based on the role the planner wants to play, and means that there is less reason to limit the planning student's involvement until such time as he has developed his "bag of tools."

But it must be recognized that graduate training—and education more generally—is a socialization process, in which certain values and styles are consciously inculcated or otherwise transmitted. The elitism of architecture[9] and its peripheral relation to central urban and national problems are the profession's outstanding defects, and a major part of architectural education must be centered around questions of who design is for, what the architect creates, what values he fosters, what parts of the society are not now served by designers. Until some balance is struck during the educational process between technical training and basic philosophical questioning about the role of the architect, the profession will remain stagnant, irrelevant and even destructive. Since Urban Field Service work realistically involves (or can involve) a basic questioning of the traditional professional models and the positing of what may be a radically different role for the professional, opportunity for contact early in the student's career, probably in the first year, is essential.[10] The key educational function we serve is to illustrate the ways in which technical skills and social-political considerations relate to one another.

UFS tended to attract the more socially aware, politically active and radical students, those who are most critical of the traditional ways of the very professions they are training for and of the educational system they have come to for that training. UFS work tended to support their alienation, provided a forum and focus for expressing criticism of the profession and the university. UFS explicitly and implicitly challenged the elitism of the planning and design professions, their values and typical clients, the "track record" of the immediate past. UFS experience also often led to a critical view of what was being taught in other courses, the tools of the profession, the way in which teaching and learning took place. A biweekly seminar for all UFS participants in which specific projects were related to more general issues of social analysis and social change served to enhance the critical and political

us have in mind—presupposes and demands an orientation that regards the community and its needs as primary; that calls for a non-elitist style and mode of relating as a professional; that seeks to probe for underlying causes of problems and for true, not apparent, solutions; that is basically political in outlook—i.e., viewing problems and solutions in terms of who has and doesn't have the resources and power and the ways of making systemic changes to alter present power and resource relationships.

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tenor of our work: through discussion and exchange of individual experiences we were better able to see the broader dimensions of the various projects and the limitations of traditional professional approaches. (But limitations on student time reduced the potential of these seminars and also took time away from direct community involvement.) I do not mean to overstate the subversive character of UFS; participation in the program was not intensive enough to have by itself induced revolutionary changes in consciousness. Yet it did nurture the critical spirit and served as a common meeting ground for those who wanted to bring about fundamental change in the professions and in the training of professionals.

Our lack of integration with the rest of the School was in part situational, but in my view probably represents a difficulty that will arise in almost any university-based professional school where a program of this sort is introduced. Put bluntly, there will be substantial opposition to UFS-type work from a large and often influential group of faculty members who dislike the politics underlying community-based work, who feel it is not a proper role for professionals and who believe that if such involvement is desired it should be extra-curricular and not something to be confused with legitimate professional training or the functions of the university. For traditional practitioners one of the most threatening aspects of community-based planning and design work is the "deprofessionalization" or decentralization of professional skills and power that is its conscious and inevitable accompaniment. One of the aims of UFS was to break down the exaggerated distinctions between "professional" and "client," the notion of the annointed expert proposing and disposing. Community-based planning and design begins with the proposition that the community is best able to express its own demands, and that it is the task of the trained professional to help translate these needs and desires into reality, relying to the greatest possible extent on the involvement and participation of local people themselves throughout the entire process of goal articulation, concrete plan and design formulation, and implementation. It requires a humility that most professionals do not have and may not want to have, and it is certainly not the dominant ethic or style in the professions and in the universities. Perhaps more than any other aspect of our work, this different consciousness distinguished us from the rest of the academic environment and was ultimately responsible for our many conflicts therein.

I think we did in fact open up for many students alternative possibilities for professional roles and future work—although the process was not without its frustrations. Because of the internal conflicts about UFS work, students often came into the program against the advice or over the opposition of faculty members in their own departments, had difficulty in securing credit for their work, and found it difficult to relate their field work to more traditional academic courses. Often the student felt as if he were leading two very different and irreconcilable sorts of academic life. We also may have created a far greater desire for positions of this sort than the number currently available with advocacy groups and other anti-poverty and anti-establishment sources.

We are thus left with something of a dilemma: the design and planning professions are sorely in need of fundamental changes, many of which are the kinds of changes embodied in UFS work.[11] Having a program like UFS in a design/planning school serves to crystallize forces for change and make the change process more rapid. On the other hand, it is

virtually impossible to do a good job of training students for community-based work and providing low-income groups with a high level of commited technical assistance under the constraints described above, which, as I indicated, will probably characterize any similar program in a university-based professional school.

An alternative approach might involve creating an autonomous institution to train students in community-based planning and design. Such a training institute ideally should be independent of the university, in order to avoid the constraints that inevitably arise when the student group involves itself in something "too political" or which directly counters the narrower corporate interests of the university itself. Students should be drawn in part from community residents (ignoring the usual formal criteria for university admission), in part from persons who might ordinarily go to traditional graduate schools. (Under some conditions, a university might give full degree credit to students who wish to spend a year at the training institute.) The entire curriculum would be built around community work, with more formal academic study integrally related to and deriving principally from the needs and experiences in the field and with greater time devoted to seminars in social changes processes and political analysis. "Courses" would be far more flexible than is possible in the university setting. Intensive courses, lasting only a week or two, might be given in a specific subject area which was particularly relevant at a given time to the community project; for example, available government low- and moderate-income housing programs, code enforcement, or landlord-tenant law. Classroom instruction might cover such areas as data analysis and presentation, community organization, power of militant protest, and considerable stress would be placed on reading, discussing and putting to use relevant political and sociological writings. An institute of this sort would have the freedom to concentrate wholeheartedly on the training of a particular kind of planner, interested in using technical skills of analysis, organization and planning to work with and for locally based groups to bring about fundamental change and redistribution of power and resources in the society.

The assumption underlying this proposal is that planning and design schools cannot be and ought not try to be all things to all men. There are many different kinds of planners and planning specialties. Planning schools, being as small as they are, cannot hope to cover all types of planning, and, as I have tried to indicate, at least some areas of specialization are in sharp conflict with others and are possibly totally incompatible. There is, for example, no reason why the notion of formalized, structured field training should be limited to low-income, generally anti-establishment groups. Supervised, carefully analyzed work with public and private agencies and middle- and upper-income citizen groups would also provide valuable training.[12] But we ought not expect that all training of this sort can be done under a single umbrella, or even at a single school. At a minimum, problems of credibility are involved: a program or school which provides internships, for example, with the local renewal agency cannot at the same time expect that a low-income citizens group trying to fight a renewal plan will feel it can call upon and work comfortably with a student advocate team recruited from the same source.

What this means, of course, is that "planning" and "design" are not neutral skills and tools and that professionals are not mere technicians with an interchangeable bag of tricks applicable to any type of situation or client. Community-based planning and design—at least the kind many of

us have in mind—presupposes and demands an orientation that regards the community and its needs as primary; that calls for a non-elitist style and mode of relating as a professional; that seeks to probe for underlying causes of problems and for true, not apparent, solutions; that is basically political in outlook—i.e., viewing problems and solutions in terms of who has and doesn't have the resources and power and the ways of making systemic changes to alter present power and resource relationships.

1 See Chester W. Hartman and Jon Pynoos, "The Harvard Urban Field Service: An Initial Report," *Bulletin of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning,* (Spring 1969), pp. 4-11 and similar reports in the AIA Journal, (October 1969), *Touchstone* (Columbia University), (December 1968), and Planning Comment (Univ. of Pennsylvania 1968-69).

2 "Advocacy" is a rather controversial subject in itself, both as to the meaning of the term and the nature of the role. Many of these points of controversy will be touched upon below, in the educational context. For additional arguments of a more general nature, pro and con, see Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," *J. Amer. Inst. of Planners,* (November 1965), pp. 331-38; Lisa Peattie, "Reflections on Advocacy Planning," *J. Amer. Inst. of Planners,* (March 1968), pp. 80-88; Frances Fox Piven, "Whom Does the Advocate Planner Serve?", *Social Policy,* (May-June 1970), pp. 32-35, and comments on the Piven article by Sumner Rosen, Sherry Arnstein, Paul and Linda Davidoff, Clarence Funnye, Chester Hartman, and Sylvia Scribner, plus Dr. Piven's responses, in both the May-June 1970 and July-August 1970 issues of *Social Policy;* Roger Starr "Advocators or Planners?" *ASPO Newsletter,* (December 1967); Langley C. Keyes, Jr., and Edward Teitcher, "Limitations of Advocacy Planning: A View From the Establishment," *J. Amer. Inst. of Planners,* (July 1970), pp. 225-26.

3 I do not mean to leave the impression that UFS is a thing of the past. Although I left UFS and Harvard at the end of academic year 1969-70, amid considerable controversy, not at all unrelated to my UFS work, the program continues under a new and very promising Director, who will, from all indications, run the program along lines similar to those of the first two years.

4 George Duggar and others have suggested that gaming may be another and more efficient way to provide instruction in community based planning and design. I personally doubt this and have not as yet seen any "games" which can adequately reproduce this experience. There may prove to be some value in this approach, however, and I am fully aware of some of the inefficiencies involved in learning via the real world and dependence on its rhythms and fortuties.

5 With one or two special exceptions, we did not permit undergraduates in the program. Our feeling was that UFS work required concrete technical skills which would only be acquired after some graduate training. We did, however, accept first-year graduate students and found them of great value, particularly the planning students. I'm not sure we were correct in our policy about undergraduates.

6 Obviously, this is too broad an issue to be covered, except in the most cursory way, as part of a short article. For a more extensive treatment of the problems in the field of planning education see "Reshaping Planning Education," the special July 1970 issue of the *J. of the Amer. Inst. of Planners.*

7 This is not to imply that no problems of compatibility exist with regard to "committed" students, many of whom, for a variety of reasons, are insensitive to community needs and styles and function badly in this role. UFS never handled the problem satisfactorily of how to "screen" students and to insure a match between clients and technical assistants and that community groups have sufficient say and control over who comes to work with them. In part this is a question of time: given the brevity of the academic term, it was not feasible to have a lengthy introduction and trial period prior to actual work; to have done this would have left the students with no satisfactory curriculum alternative if after a three or four week trial period they and the community found each other incompatible. This over-hasty starting up process, which fortunately did not result in very many mismatches, is one of training students in a university setting and providing satisfactory assistance to community groups on terms which do not violate their integrity.

8 "The planning fraternity's criteria, although displayed as profoundly technical, are actually equal to general education and

general skills, accompanied by a willingness to accept jargon in place of meaning and to spend tedious days using an adding machine or coloring maps. The graduate curriculum in city planning is a miscellany of economics, sociology, architecture and map making, in too many instances taught at freshman level. Two years of it plus some familiarity with the latest gadgetry of computerdom may crush any idealistic notions a student has about planning cities, but it will get him a Master of City Planning (M.C.P.) degree. The academic requirements and the output of the graduates of courses in city and regional planning (the full title preferred in graduate schools) suggest that planning is a pseudo-profession, without specialized skills or a unique discipline." David Gurin, "City Planning: Professionals and Protestors," paper presented to the Conference on Radicals in the Professions, Ann Arbor, July 14-16, 1967.

9 See Pat Goeters, "The Patrician Hangup," (Dept. of Architecture, Yale University, n.d. [1967]) and Robert Goodman, *After the Planners: Politics and Architecture for Liberation* (forthcoming).

10 While there may be limits on the amount and quality of technical input the first-year student can offer, a team composed of both first-year and advanced students and supervised by a competent professional will be able to offer adequate service on carefully selected projects.

11 To capsulize the principal kinds of internal changes I described as necessary for city planning schools in my guest editor's introduction to the July 1970 issue of the *JAIP:* 1) a critical analysis of the achievements of the profession and its role in the society and development of a more concrete focus on the goal of social equity and justice; 2) more competent faculty and a greater stress on intellectual and professional excellence; 3) a reevaluation of the traditional "jack of all trades" approach, and development instead of more specialized programs and emphases; 4) updated teaching of technical skills and critical evaluation of traditional tools; 5) infusion of large numbers of black, brown, low-income and female students, so the professions do not remain the exclusive province of white, middle class males; 6) joint student-faculty control over curriculum, admissions, faculty appointments, and other basic educational decisions.

12 See the article by Landley C. Keyes, Jr. and Edward Teitcher cited in footnote 2.

A PLANNING AND DESIGN METHOD FOR THE COMMUNITY

9

RANDOLPH T. HESTER

The Problem:

The urban dweller believes that there is nothing he can do about his physical and social environment because the democratic government is so aristocratic in nature that the average urban resident has no way of effecting even the smallest change. Decisions, he feels, are made at a mystic, political level far above his daily life. A Black student recently described the greatest urban ill as being feudalism. He referred to this anonymous political decision making on the part of the few; the solution he suggested was not increased militance (although that may be a means to his ends) but rather an integrative voice in decisions that affect him.

The Advocates Role:

Isn't that exactly what advocacy planning and design are all about? Some will say that the voice in the decision making process is self-defeating and that the real issues are racism poverty, and social injustices. I agree that these are the real issues, and I do not believe that advocacy is equipped to solve these directly. The solution to these problems lies today in economic equality and cognitive value changes—and although advocacy may effect these that is not its purpose by definition!

Each of the most successful advocacy planning and design approaches has concerned itself with giving urban dwellers the power to make choices concerning their social and physical environment. Each relates to the popular slogan of "all power to the people, all Black power to Black people" and this has the following simple implications:

The Assumptions:

1. Human values must be placed foremost rather than occur as a result of techno-materialistic expansion. 2. The people of a neighborhood know better than anyone else what their needs, goals, and values are. 3. These needs, goals, and values should be taken into account in the planning and design process (i.e. planning and design must be user-oriented). 4. In the design of the microneighborhood (both socially and physically) the residents should exercise local control for a more usable environment. 5. In these and other matters, every resident (even if he is poor and Black) in a democratic society should be integrated into the decision making process. [2]

The Hybrid Advocate

Accepting the above assumptions, and given the problem of anonymous decision making by the few, a hybrid advocate appears to be needed to effect local control of the social and physical environment. This hybrid must be able to produce results which advocacy planning and many grass-roots efforts could not.

The failure of much advocacy planning has been due to its compromise nature and the time-lapse in the planning stage without physical results.[3] This is complicated by the instability of non-institutionalized grass-roots economies and staffs. Therefore, success appears to depend on short-term real physical improvement which is in the realm of design, not planning. One new unit of housing is more of a victory for a low income urban dweller than a housing master plan for the city. It follows that the advocate must function as a designer, a sociologist, a pragmatic politician, and a community organizer;

I would propose as an answer a team of institutionalized advocates using design as a political catalyst. This team, in order to solve the problem of political feudalism, must pursue integrative decision making and local control of social and physical environment. One such team exists and can serve as a case study.

An Example

Without any realization of the above mentioned philosophy but with the belief that the city could gain Federal financial aid, the Cambridge, Massachusetts City Council established the Community Development Office in 1967. Immediately, Justine Gray, the director of the Community Development Office, became involved in the Inner Belt fight, a long-planned highway which would have bisected Cambridge. In fighting the Inner Belt and establishing Model Cities, the Community Development Office was identified as the people's advocate. Gray strengthened citizen control by establishing a design team whose purpose was (1) to organize neighborhoods around physical neighborhood issues, (2) to provide design assistance to neighborhood groups in order to upgrade physical facilities through Federal programs, (3) to provide an immediate positive result to gain support for the Inner Belt fight and (4) to help develop integrative political strength in neighborhoods which had long been ignored, especially the poor, Black, and non-English speaking.

The Team

The interdisciplinary team for this task consisted of an urban designer, a political scientist and a community organizer. The designer functioned as an urban landscape architect and sociologist. The political scientist functioned as an expert on Federal programs, wrote applications and provided general political insights into the problems. The Black community organizer was a lifelong resident of Cambridge and former professional basketball player; an immediate "in" into a neighborhood, he provided keen practical insights into the politics of Cambridge and plotted transition strategies.

The Process

The process followed by the Cambridge Community Development team is institutionalized team advocacy. The institution, the City of Cambridge, has provided (1) the core staff team described above and (2) the relative stability of professional and financial assistance; these are the usual benefits of institution support. The specific process is outlined in figure I, Real Overt Decision Making. Although the Community Development team outlined areas of concentration, specific requests for neighborhood improvements came from private citizens or groups, and these groups became the nucleus for neighborhood-organized meetings. The neighborhood established its own priorities, wrote programs, and approved final designs. The Community Development team provided technical assistance in neighborhood organization and design, and political liaison with City Hall in defining neighborhood needs. Most neighborhoods were encouraged to use incremental escalation of their demands, a technique which proved to be highly successful in attaining neighborhood services. The Community Development team played the major role in the process as shown in Diagram I, but the team constantly pressed for neighborhood control, and the neighborhoods made the major decisions.

Evaluation:

Social Suitability

The results of this advocacy effort can be evaluated by two sets of criteria: one is the physical facility's social suitability for the neighborhood and the other is the political power that the neighborhood derives from the organizational process. A general assessment of the social suitability of the facilities indicates a major advantage of the advocacy approach. Advocacy design has produced virtually immediate usable physical improvement in Cambridge and has not compromised the needs expressed by the neighborhoods.

The aesthetic improvement is obvious in virtually every case but could have been accomplished as well by a non-advocate designer. In most cases this aesthetic improvement is neighborhood-perceived (see figure 2), and certainly not the middle class neat and clean aesthetic of the traditionaly professional architect. However, in terms of social suitability, age group demands, and specific ethnic needs, the completed projects are most successful. The best test of this is the increased use of the space (figure 3 and 4 reflect the increased use of a typical housing project open space renovated with-neighborhood control). There are simple but difficult-to-perceive social patterns that cannot be discovered without user participation in the design process. Understanding simple patterns of territoriality, dominance and life style determined the success of these urban designs.

This is not to say that the physical facilities have been perfectly suited to neighborhood needs. Children, teenagers, and social deviants were too often excluded from making design input; choices of facilities were limited by education; construction detailing suffered when trying social innovations, and maintenance of low income facilities is nonexistent. But even with these failures, the benefits to the user groups are sizable in terms of the suitability of the physical facilities.

Evaluation:

Political Power

In spite of the general socio-physical successes, the Community Development team explains the results in terms of political power, the numbers of leaders developed, and the success of the neighborhood organization in achieving other local goals. They point to the traditional inability of the city bureaucracy to bring the public (the only sure client in the city) into the decision making process; this situation is what the Black student labeled as feudalism; this is what the Community Development team sought to overcome; this is the integrative function by which they determine their success or failure. In Cambridge this has been the greatest success and still it is not spectacular.

Susan Grose, the team political scientist, points out the value of using design as an organizational means: "The long neglected Black neighborhood doesn't believe that the city bureaucracy intends to include it in the decision making process or to allow local leaders to be heard in decisions that affect their social and physical environment. An instant physical result is needed to give the newly-ordained leaders credibility. However insignificant the physical improvement, the low income neighborhood was willing to accept a leader as an effective spokesman if he produced. This is the first step in community organization and integrative politics and cannot be obtained by elaborate abstract planning."

The success of this group in community organization and integrative politics is difficult to assess. Figure 5 shows one means of assessing the program; it is a partial listing of projects undertaken and the numbers of leaders developed or corroborated during the design process. The numbers are not great, but in viewing the Cambridge micro-neighborhoods after the team's involvement, there are virtually no neighborhoods that do not have effective spokesmen.[5] Many of these neighborhoods are poor, Black, non-English speaking and had no voice in decisions affecting their lives before the Community Development team opened communication with City Hall. By this yardstick there has been significant success in developing political power for neighborhoods previously powerless and integrating these groups into the decision making process.

Political feudalism is indeed a

problem of our cities, and institutionalized team advocacy design appears to be one legitimate means of solving that problem. The immediate physical results legitimize leaders as well as provide a physical neighborhood improvement. The benefit of users designing their own neighborhood environment is unquestionable; the physical details must be improved before the traditional designer can appreciate these projects. But the goals of political integration and local control of social and physical environmental decisions are served well by an advocacy design team. We must beware of neighborhoods selling out to the aristocracy whose institutions control finances; perhaps the Dark Ages will come to an end.

DIAGRAM 1: Real Overt Decision Making in Neighborhood Design Process

DECISION MAKER	FUNCTION	Site Selection	Site Ecological Study	Write Applications	Approve Applic.	Funding	Organize Neighborhood	Communication of Neighborhood Needs	Conduct Neighborhood Meetings	Estab. Spatial Priorities, Prog.	Develop Alternative Plans	Develop Final Plan	Approve Plan	Working Drawings and Contract Doc.	Construction	Approve Expend.	Supervision of Construction	Maintenance	Evaluation
Neighborhoods		√			√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√					√	√
Community Dev. Team			√	√			√	√	√		√	√		√			√		√
City Council					√	√													
Planning Board					√														
Recreation Dept.													√					√	√
Conservation Comm.													√						√
DPW, Water Dept., Housing Authority														√				√	√
OEO, Model Cities Community Schools							√	√											
HUD					√	√													
Private Contractor																			
City Manager					√											√			

Source: Community Development Office, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970.

DIAGRAM 2: Social Suitability of New Physical Facility Based on Neighborhood Perception

	Aesthetic Improvement	Satisfaction of Specific Social Needs	Resolution of Spatial Competition Conflicts	Better Maintenance or City Service
Maple Playground	No	Yes	Partially	No
Dana Park	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Tobin School	—	—	—	—
Fletcher School	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
Columbia St. Teen Ctr.	No	No	No	Yes
Cogswell Totlot	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
Model Cities Day Care Center	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rindge Field	No	No	Yes	Yes
Jefferson Park Housing Project	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Putnam Gardens Housing Project	—	—	—	—

*Partial listing

Information from CDT research, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970.

DIAGRAM 3: Social Suitability Based on Typical Schoolday Use Prior to and After Renovation of Jefferson Park Open Space With Citizen Control of Design

Time:	10–11 a.m.	1–2 p.m.	3–4 p.m.	7–8 p.m.	Total
Act					
a. Walking	26 (18)	17 (38)	10 (93)	10 (33)	63 (182)
b. Sitting	5 (4)	6 (1)	11 (2)	16 (13)	38 (20)
c. Working	12 (19)	(6)	(2)	2 (0)	14 (17)
d. Stop to talk	1 (2)		5 (24)	5 (25)	11 (51)
e. Active recreation:					
Jump rope	1 (0)			5 (0)	6 (0)
Bounce ball	3 (0)		10 (0)	17 (0)	30 (0)
Basketball		3 (0)			3 (0)
Street hockey		5 (0)	0 (16)		5 (16)
Baseball			30 (0)		30 (0)
Bike riding			0 (1)	11 (2)	11 (3)
Climbing	0 (4)	0 (1)	0 (6)	3 (0)	3 (11)
Hula hoop				2 (0)	2 (0)
Tag in sand	0 (3)		0 (6)	0 (10)	0 (19)
Rope swing or swings		0 (14)	0 (6)	1 (0)	1 (20)
Football			0 (9)		0 (9)
f. Passive recreation:					
Read paper	1 (0)				1 (0)
Play with trash				4 (0)	4 (0)
Teens hanging		0 (2)		0 (40)	0 (42)
Observe play			0 (12)		0 (12)
Digging in sand		0 (2)	0 (1)		0 (3)
Playhouse			0 (3)		0 (3)
g. Ice cream truck				17 (0)	17 (0)
h.		0 (2)			0 (2)
					239 (410)

Key: Observations prior to renovation were made on May 28 and 29, 1970 (sunny and warm) and were recorded first. Observations after renovation were made on November 23 and 24, 1970 (overcast and cold) and are recorded in parentheses.

Summary: Most significant increases are numbers stopping to talk; construction, fantasy, and positive action games; and the teens hanging out. These reflect the program and design goals which the neighborhood derived and the increased social suitability of the facility.

Information based on author's research in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

DIAGRAM 4: Social Suitability Based on Typical Schoolday Use Prior to and After Renovation of Jefferson Park Open Space With Citizen Control

Time:	10–11 a.m.	1–2 p.m.	3–4 p.m.	7–8 p.m.	Total
Age					
Preschool	23 (7)	12 (28)	(12)	10 (0)	50 (47)
1 – 8 Grade	3 (4)	3 (3)	30 (61)	36 (20)	72 (88)
9 – 12 Grade	5	6 (6)	7 (44)	26 (97)	44 (147)
College	2	–	–	–	2 (0)
Adult	17 (27)	5 (22)	10 (12)	20 (4)	52 (65)
Elderly (65)	6 (2)	– (2)	4 (5)	–	10 (9)
					230 (354)

Key: Observations prior to renovation were made on May 28 and 29, 1970 (sunny and warm) and were recorded first. Observations after renovation were made on November 23 and 24, 1970 (overcast and cold) and are recorded in parentheses.

Summary: Most significant increases are numbers of grade 1–8, 9–12 users especially the 9–12 at night. The lack of activities for this group was a major design factor increasing the social suitability of the facility.

Information based on author's research, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

DIAGRAM 5: Numbers of Local Leaders Who Emerged During Neighborhood Design Process Based on Communication

Facility*	Numbers of new leaders who had at least one effective communication with City Hall	Numbers of leaders corroborated who had at least one effective communication with City Hall	Neighborhood has general increased communication with City Hall 6 months after completion
Maple Playgrdund	2	0	No
Dana Park	5	6	Yes
Tobin School	2	1	No
Fletcher School	6	2	Yes
Columbia Street Teen Center	0	1	Yes
Cogswell Totlot	2	0	Yes
Model Cities Daycare Center	0	4	Yes
Rindge Field	6	11	Yes
Jefferson Park Housing Project	3	5	Yes
Putnam Gardens Housing Project	1	5	Yes

*A Partial listing.

Information from CDT research, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970.

A black student recently described the greatest urban ill as being feudalism, referring to the anonymous political decision making on the part of the few.
Sketch by Willie Denning



In terms of social suitability - satisfying age group demands and specific ethnic needs - the Community Development team was successful in the Jefferson Park Project. The numbers of people using the space increased 72% after neighborhood controlled renovation. Photograph by Jon Rodiek





Traditionally, the city bureaucracy has been unable to bring the public into the decision making process. The few exceptions are not spectacular. Photograph by Ed Pacheco

1 Many advocates have attempted to solve the problems of poverty, racism, and social injustice, which accounts for the confusion and frustration on the part of an advocate who works for several years in an area that remains just as poor as before his effort..

2 Inspired by Herbert Gans.

3 Many planners have sold out poor and Black neighborhoods for a city "good", and although the poor and Black must be considered in the city planning process, these groups continue to benefit little from their involvement in planning.

4 The Community Development Office is unique in that it was established by a city government to bring in Federal funds from programs established for the war on poverty, but in effect the Community Development Office functioned to advocate for the poor urban dweller whose complaints were often directed at the city government. The city council was interested only in the financial return from the Federal programs; the staff of the Community Development Office was interested in providing services to the poor, including more political power. This conflicted with the established political powers, and it was a matter of time until the office met a kind death. The Community Development Office was absorbed into the Planning Department in November, 1970. Citizen participation has not been eliminated, but citizen control of neighborhood design decisions has been retracted. The right to participate in decision-making that affects one's very daily life appears to be determined by the aristocracy. The aristocracy giveth and the aristocracy taketh away.

5 There are many local neighborhood organizations which were highly successful long before the CDT became involved.

10

INSTITUTIONALIZED TEAM ADVOCACY DESIGN

BERNARD P. SPRING

Background

In 1965, a group was formed at the Princeton University School of Architecture to do research on design methods in a new way. We planned to base our research work upon our own experiences with a program of community action. We began as "advocacy planners" for community groups in Newark, following a model for professional assistance that was, by then, well established. Our staff would provide professional services and strategies for community groups that could not afford to hire architects or planners, groups that saw physical change in their neighborhood as having a high priority. In Newark, such organizations were not hard to find.

We discovered that advocacy planning done on the old, familiar model simply did not work. Even groups with considerable political experience and sophistication were not willing or able to enter into the inner workings of the programming and design process with us. And we did not then know enough about the fundamental structure of these processes to prompt non-professionals into making decisions on their own behalf. We were told about community aspirations in broad, general terms and expected to go back to our office to produce a set of presentation drawings of an attractive finished product. This we did. For example, our drawings of a low rise, medium density housing area replete with community facilities and indigenous commercial development was much admired by the community groups, city and federal agencies.

But then, as it always does in the course of a project that might take three to five years to complete (at best), the political situation shifted and our project site was no longer available to the sponsoring group. All the group had (or we had) to show for our joint efforts was a handsome set of drawings. The members of the group had not learned enough about the planning and design process to be able to adjust their proposal to the changing political situation. And their seed money funds were used up in the production of the first scheme. They could not afford to repeat the same process to meet the new context.

It was as a result of this kind of experience that we shifted the focus of our efforts to the creation of a workbook for non-professionals. In the following two years we continued our relationship with community groups. But instead of producing finished plans, we designed a process. This process is explained in the 591 page loose-leaf, open-ended working document called the *Planning and Design Workbook for Community Participation.*[1,2] Some sample pages from the Workbook are illustrated.

Before it was printed, the first version of the Workbook process was tested by one of the Model Cities Community Councils in New Jersey. Most of our expectations were confirmed. Our process could be followed, understood and appreciated by people with limited formal education and by those who had no previous experience with planning and design. Although the printed version of the Workbook was focused on making decisions about housing and related community services by disadvantaged groups, we gradually became aware of additional potential uses.

For one thing, the book constituted a functional definition, in considerable detail, of a design method. Not necessarily an entirely *new* method, however. Many of the steps in the method we described have been used by planners and architects for some years. But as far as we know, the steps have never before been grouped and interrelated as shown in the Workbook nor have the steps been made quite as explicit as they are in the Workbook. Also, we found that the Workbook functioned well as a training aid and text for para-professionals and professionals in planning and design.

Even for those who want to or are forced to follow a more intuitive, randomly organized design process, the Workbook was found to be useful in some important ways. It could be used to keep track, after the fact, of the kinds of planning and design decisions that were being made. Keeping track in such cases is more than a bureaucratic exercise. It prevents the omission of crucial decisions and provides a format for public accountability. Today, it is important for even the most gifted and effective intuitive planners and designers to have a record of their decisions for public agencies, public hearings and the varied, competing interest groups in the open arena of politics.

And finally, we found that the Workbook approach could be easily adapted to any kind of planning and design problem which required participation and policy making by non-professionals. For example, if a group of fifty millionaires wanted to plan a country club for themselves, they would find the Workbook approach most helpful in clarifying what was wanted and resolving inevitable differences of opinion. The Workbook is not a design method that is limited to particular building types or socio-economic groups. The Urban Research Group at The City College's School of Architecture is currently applying the method to a system of parks in New York City, a public school district in Nassau County and to a large State University.

The Design Method

The Workbook approach is most succinctly described in the ten "steps" listed in the instructions to the user. These are not, however, "steps" in the usual sense, but an array of behaviors. The instructions make it clear that, as in most real-world decision-making processes, the steps can be taken in any order (depending on the interests and knowledge of the participants); several or all of them may be carried out simultaneously and, perhaps most important of all, each one will probably have to be repeated several times before a final decision is made.

There are three basic types of operation embodied in the method. The first is an open-ended verbal process of defining issues, policies, possible results of policies and priorities among selected policies. The second operation involves the traditional designers' exploration of the kinds of physical forms that might satisfy the policies and priorities which were stated verbally. Finally, there is a rigorous method described for the evaluation of proposals for physical change. The complexity and controversial nature of public planning and design today make the evaluation steps the key to the usefulness of the method.

The ten steps are described as follows:

Step 1: Determine Issues. What problems do you want to work on?

Step 2: Decide on Policies. What actions do you want to take to solve the problems?

Step 3: Set Priorities. How important is each of the actions you want to take?

Step 4: Select Catalog Types. How have other groups tried to solve the kinds of problems you are working on?

Step 5: Prepare a plan. How do you want to change the physical make-up of your community and its component parts?

Step 6: Analyze Your Plan. How well does the plan you have made meet the policies and priorities you have decided upon?

Step 7: Prepare Alternative Plans. Are there any other kinds of plans that may be better than the first one you prepared?

Step 8: Evaluate the Alternative Plans. How well does each one of the plans you have made accomplish what you want to do?

Step 9: Select a Plan. What plan does your group agree to support?

Step 10: Prepare a Report. How do you tell the people who

will help you accomplish your plan what you have decided to do?

Working Materials

For the most part, the 591 pages of the Workbook are made up of the working materials people will need to perform all of the steps listed above. The principal kinds of materials provided also fall into three basic categories: verbal instructions that allow the preparation of an explicit planning and design program (in language that can be used directly as criteria for evaluation of proposals); material that allows laymen to experiment with variations of physical form during the course of a public meeting and finally, charts and tally sheets that are used in the evaluation process.

The information used in the development of a written program appears in two forms. Matters of choice are presented as samples of issues together with the range of policy choices usually possible in dealing with the issue and, in addition, a brief prediction of the possible results to various interests groups if any one of the policies is selected. A unique aspect of this method is the use of the "existing policy" as one of the policy choices displayed for each issue. Thus, information on existing conditions is brought into the decision-making process only if it is relevant to a policy choice. This eliminates the often obfuscating process of collecting every piece of data available as the first step in the planning process. A second aspect of the written program consists of requirements which are not matters of choice but are mandated by laws or cultural patterns that are not challenged by any interest group. These requirements are listed as "used standards" in language that may also be used as a set of criteria for evaluation of physical plans.

The working tools for creating physical designs in many variations during a public meeting are adapted to the scale and scope of the problems being dealt with. In the first version of the Workbook a separate volume and a different kind of physical planning device was used for decisions on the scale of a) the neighborhood, b) the housing site and c) the dwelling unit itself. We discovered that laymen could not begin to use these devices for modeling and arranging physical form until they reviewed the catalog of prototypes that the typical professional carries with him in his head as a result of years of education and experience. We were determined to make such catalogs of design prototypes explicit in the form of diagrams, plans, perspectives and photographs for the use of non-professionals. The creation of the catalogs was probably the most intellectually demanding aspect of the work done in preparing the Workbook.

The refinement of the catalogs and of all the other types of working materials used in the Workbook method is a continuing effort on the part of the staff of the Urban Research Group at the School of Architecture at City College. As was expected from the outset, we have been engaged in further field testing of the process and making constant revisions and additions to the first published version of the book.

FOLLOWING ARE SELECTED PORTIONS OF THE WORKBOOK

STEP 5. PREPARE A HOUSING SITE PROPOSAL

How do you want to change existing housing and related facilities on your site?

How do you want to develop new housing and related facilities on your site?

WHAT IS A HOUSING SITE PROPOSAL?

A housing proposal is a model your group can prepare to show the type of residential buildings you want to live in and the kinds of activities and facilities you would like to build along with your housing. The housing site plan also shows the amount of space and buildings you want for each activity and where they are located on your housing site. In short, a site plan is one way of illustrating all of your policy decisions about the physical environment in combination.

HOW ARE HOUSING SITE PLANS DEVELOPED?

Before starting to draw and build your proposals it is helpful to review all the decisions you have made about what you would like to accomplish as well as housing proposals made by others. Also, everyone participating in this planning effort should visit the site, and take photographs that will remind the group of the location and condition of all the activities on the site and in the surrounding area which you can use when you are inside working with the planning tools.

Outlined below is a set of detailed instructions for preparing a proposal. There are many other ways and ideas for doing the same thing these steps can do. Try using the steps below the first time around, and then you will be ready to rearrange and experiment with these steps and other ways of site planning. The first time you do a plan it may take a long time, but (do not be discouraged) it is faster the next time around.

As you begin to work with this tool you will find that a certain degree of accuracy is required when putting lines down with the marking pens or the building blocks. In order to check your accuracy two rulers have been included, with marking in feet for two different size models.

There are also some minimum sizes that certain things can be, for example the width of roads or parking spaces. When drawing such areas you can refer to the Site Standards Section in this book to make sure you are not making things too large or too small. Look at the Site Standards contents to find the measurements you are looking for.

MATERIALS PROVIDED

1. All your forms and records of STEPS 1-4, now completed, and including selected catalog pages

2. A report on your selected site

3. The Housing Site Planning Catalog

4. The Site Planning Standards

5. The Site Planning Tool
   a. plastic sheets to put on maps
   b. building blocks in different colors for building different facilities
   c. marking pens in different colors for drawing different activities
   d. A set of charts (Site: Charts A, B for Model) with information necessary to use the building blocks and marking pens; see pp. 404-415.
   e. a roll of tracing paper 30 inches wide
   f. two scales for checking the heights and widths of things on the model. . .one for 1/32''=1'0'' and one for 1/16''=1'0''
   g. a fluid for cleaning the plastic sheets

MATERIALS YOU NEED TO GET

1. Base maps:
   a. A base map for your site and surrounding blocks showing streets, buildings, lot lines, contour lines, and major utilities.
   b. An existing land-use map for your site

These two maps should be drawn at the same scale. For large sites (3 acres or more) they should be to the scale of "one inch equals thirty two feet" (1/32''=1'-0''). For small sites, less than 3 acres, they should be to the scale of "one inch equals sixteen feet" (1/16''=1'-0'').

All maps should be on the same size sheet of transparent tracing paper, and the site should be outlined.

STEP A. LAY OUT THE EXISTING SITE, STREETS, AND SURROUNDING BLOCKS USING THE MATERIALS PROVIDED AND THE ONES YOU COULD GET

1. First, place the site base map on a large table, and look at the direction the "North" arrow is facing. You should remember throughout the following steps that the sun moves from the east to west, and shines mostly from the south - lighting those sides and throwing shadows on the northern sides of buildings.

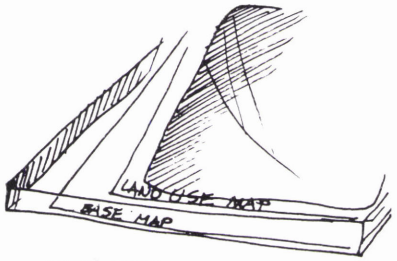
If your site is on a hill, having some slope indicated by "contour lines" on your base map, be sure to look at which way it slopes. If the slope is very steep you may want to have a sloping model of the site built. You can use this for developing your plan. Do not build a model if the slope is very slight, (such as a drop of one foot for every 20 feet on the horizontal). Although sloping sites are more difficult to plan, they often allow better plans to be made.

2. Next, place your Land Use map on top of the base map. Use the plastic sheet, (or several sheets if necessary) to cover the top of the Land Use map. Looking at the color code on the Land Use Map together with your photographs of the area you can get an understanding of what the different colors represent. You should then use the marking pens (following the key on CHART A, found in the model case and in the workbook section on the Site Model) to transfer the information by outlining areas which have different activities. For example, draw a yellow line around all residential lots in groups; draw a grey curb line around each separate city block and put in arrows showing the direction traffic moves, one way or two ways. Repeat this for all the activities you found listed on CHART A. Outline park areas in green, major walkways with orange, water with light blue, etc. If there are two uses on one lot such as a store below apartments, put the color for the second use on the sidewalk area in front of the lot.

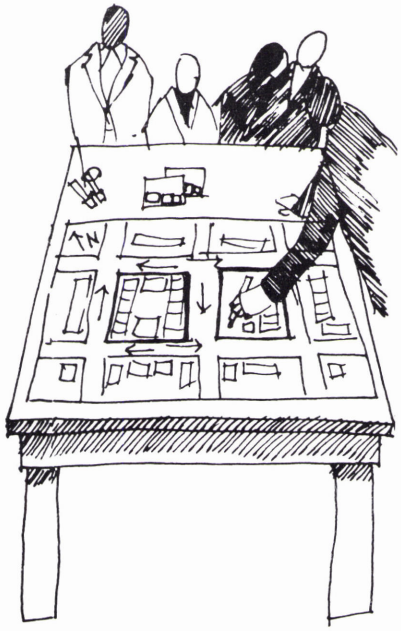
Make any notes on the pastic sheet that help explain what is on, or around your site, such as arrows pointing to the nearest schools and shopping; dots where there are heavily used driveways, etc. Photograph the drawing you have made with the Polaroid Camera. The picture will be helpful throughout this process.

You should now remove the Land Use map from beneath the plastic sheet and put it aside.





MODEL BASE



2. Site existing policy map

3. Surroundings existing policy map

4. Existing Policy Numbers
(Instructions for the preparation of the maps listed above are given in the section called Handling Information and Maps).

5. Existing and proposed plans involving your site or surroundings including:

   a. Community Activity Planning Report

   b. Urban Redevelopment Plan for your area

   c. City Planning Office plan for your area

   d. City Zoning Ordinance for your site

6. Photographs of your site and surroundings. As complete a set as you can get, with a note telling where each picture was taken.

7. A Polaroid Camera with color film

THE END PRODUCT FOR THIS STEP IS

A completed model showing all of the ground areas and buildings you have decided to keep as they are and all of the areas and buildings you have decided to change.

A set of photographs of the completed model.

STEP B. SHOW ANY CHANGES YOU WOULD LIKE, ON THE DRAWING, USING CLEANING FLUID AND MARKING PENS ON THE PLASTIC SHEET

(Changing this "base" information is easier now, before the building blocks are put on the plastic sheet.) At this point you begin to change the existing site into a new housing site proposal.

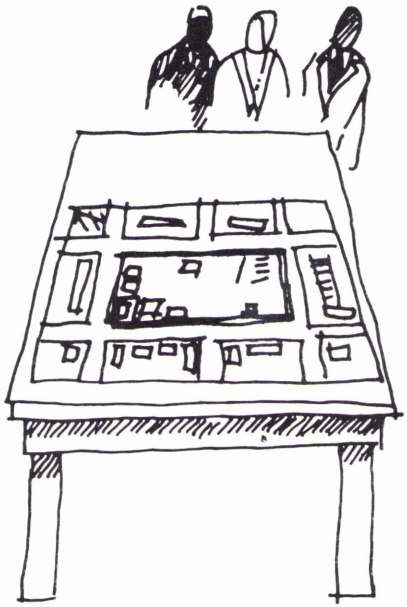
1. First, using your personal knowledge of the site and the surroundings, decide what buildings you want to save or rehabilitate, and what buildings you want to tear down, (except when the site is already cleared). To indicate cleared land simply erase any color used to indicate a building.

2. Second, using your selected catalog types, look at the buildings again and make any further changes you want in order to make your plan more like the catalog page you have selected.

3. Third, using your policy decisions about the site, make any additional buildings changes you want.

4. Fourth, using any previously unknown information from other plans or surveys, make further changes in buildings on the site. If you are undecided about what buildings to save or clear away you can wait until Steps C and D to make this decision. If you make changes which you later do not like, you can always draw in again the buildings which you erased. Use the photograph from Step A as a guide.

5. The next part of the plan to work on is the pattern of roadways where cars and trucks move, and the parking areas.



WHAT MIXTURE OF HOU

Policy A

Plan for only one type of household, of your selectio

CHA

Dwe
type

effic
1-be
2-be
3-be
4-be
5-be
6-be
roon

Sample use of chart to find
floor area of elevator apartr
efficiency, 40% 1-bedroom,
20% x 400 = 80
40% x 550 = 220
40% x 720 = 288
588 sq
118 ad
706 ap

DO YOU WANT DIFFERENT HOUSEHOLD TYPES MIXED OR SE

Policy A

Mix all the household types you have selected closely in same building or neighboring dwellings.

Possible results

Most difficult to plan and build

Mixing naturally with people of all ages, everyone gains understanding from a broad range of contacts. Single people of all ages can develop a mutually beneficial give-and-take with neighboring families, and older people, who often feel useless, have a chance to become active as baby-sitters

Noise may become a source of conflict, whether it is the daytime noise of children or the evening noise of young adults

Policy B

Mix childless people together in one portion of the site; mix families with children in another part of the site.

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EPARATED ON YOUR SITE?

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oups of buildings for dif-
rent household types.

Policy D

Keep the site's present kind of mixture of different household types. (see site map)

Policy E

Make your own policy on mixing or separating different household types, using the chart below.

ossible results

asiest to plan and build

est chance for people to
nd friends with similar
oblems and interests

east chance to broaden ex-
rience and understanding
making friends with people
other ages.
lderly people often feel cut
f from life if they are herded
f by themselves)

est chance for people to have
nvenient facilities of the kind
ey want most (for example,
aylots, daycare, and Headstart
r families with young children;
cial rooms and clinics for elderly
ngles and couples; social and sport
cilities for other singles and
uples)

CHART

Selected household types	In same buildings	In separate buildings	In separate areas of site
1-2 people			
3-4 people			
5-6 people			
7-8 people			
over 8			
elderly (1-2)			
roomers			

WHAT MIXTURE OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES DO YOU WANT ON YOUR SITE?

Policy A	Policy B	Policy C	Policy D
Plan for only one type of household, of your selection.	Plan for 20% efficiency apartments, 40% one bedroom, and 40% two bedroom dwellings.	Plan an equal mixture of all household types listed below, but without roomers.	Plan for same mi hold types as no community (see

CHART:

Dwelling type	% now on site	% now in community	(Col. A) % you want		(Col. B) App. low-rent max. sq. ft. area	Colu mul Colu
efficiencies	%	%	%	X	400 sq. ft. =	
1-bedroom	%	%	%	X	550 sq. ft. =	
2-bedroom	%	%	%	X	720 sq. ft. =	
3-bedroom	%	%	%	X	900 sq. ft. =	
4-bedroom	%	%	%	X	1120 sq. ft. =	
5-bedroom	%	%	%	X	1320 sq. ft. =	
6-bedroom	%	%	%	X	1540 sq. ft. =	
roomers	%	%	%	X	160 sq. ft. =	
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %			

Sample use of chart to find average overall floor area of elevator apartments that are 20% efficiency, 40% 1-bedroom, 40% 2-bedroom:

20% x 400 = 80
40% x 550 = 220
40% x 720 = 288
588 sq. ft. in av. dwelling
118 added 20% for circulation
706 approx. overall sq. ft. per average dwelling

EPARATED ON YOUR SITE?

olicy C

ovide separate buildings or oups of buildings for dif- rent household types.

Policy D

Keep the site's present kind of mixture of different household types. (see site map)

Policy E

Make your own policy on mixing or separating different household types, using the chart below.

ssible results

asiest to plan and build

est chance for people to nd friends with similar oblems and interests

east chance to broaden ex- rience and understanding making friends with people other ages. lderly people often feel cut f from life if they are herded f by themselves)

est chance for people to have nvenient facilities of the kind ey want most (for example, aylots, daycare, and Headstart r families with young children; cial rooms and clinics for elderly ngles and couples; social and sport cilities for other singles and uples)

CHART

Selected household types	In same buildings	In separate buildings	In separate areas of site
1-2 people			
3-4 people			
5-6 people			
7-8 people			
over 8			
elderly (1-2)			
roomers			

Policy E

xture of house-
w on site or in
chart).

Make your own policy on the types of households you will plan for on your site, using the chart.

ımn B
tiplied by
umn A

Total = approximate sq. ft. of floor area within your average dwelling

Add for circulation (halls, stairs, etc.)
10% for walk-up apartments,
20% for elevator apartments

Total = approximate over-all sq. ft. of floor area needed per dwelling (this figure helps size wooden blocks used for developing your site plan, but is too rough for later stages of planning)

DO YOU WANT DIFFERENT HOUSEHOLD TYPES MIXED OR SE

Policy A

Mix all the household types you have selected closely in same building or neighboring dwellings.

Possible results

Most difficult to plan and build

Mixing naturally with people of all ages, everyone gains understanding from a broad range of contacts. Single people of all ages can develop a mutually beneficial give-and-take with neighboring families, and older people, who often feel useless, have a chance to become active as baby-sitters

Noise may become a source of conflict, whether it is the daytime noise of children or the evening noise of young adults

Policy B

Mix childless people together in one portion of the site; mix families with children in another part of the site.

The people who use a housing site should be able to:

4. SAFETY

Have surfaces on all pedestrian paths, outdoor activity areas and roadways that are easily cleaned of ice and snow. Also have surfaces that will not be so rough or so smooth as to cause people to slip or fall or cars to skid.

Have all steps or other small changes in level made clearly visible to all pedestrians by changes of material, railings or other permanent markings.

Have all changes in level over one foot high protected by sturdy railings or other highly visible barriers such as continuous planting or benches.

Have all sloping pedestrian paths and roadways arranged so that they climb no more than one foot in height for every fifteen feet of length.

Have the smallest possible number of crossings between pedestrain ways and vehicular roads.

Have roads and walkways arranged so that both pedestrians and drivers can see each other clearly wherever their paths cross or come close together.

Have traffic control systems at any crossing of pedestrian and vehicular traffic where one stream of traffic can block or create a safety hazard for another for more than two minutes at any time.

Have enclosures around any equipment or services that may cause injury or may be damaged when touched.

HAA Site Planning and Improvements

Heavy chain link fencing with lockable gates, electrically grounded, should be installed around L.P. storage tanks, master gas meters, and electrical distribution equipment. For elderly tenants, pedestrian access grades should be held to a maximum of 5 per cent and steps eliminated where possible.

FHA

M309-5 Existing slopes whose continuing stability is anticipated and which are covered by adequate existing vegetation or supported by non-friable rock outcropping may be accepted. Any unusual hazard to pedestrians created by such slopes or sudden grade changes shall be minimized by the installation of fences, walls, rails or planting.

M311.1 Driveways shall enter public streets at safe locations.

M313-2.4 Walks edging a parking court, where there may be a vehicular overhang, shall be a minimum of six (6) feet wide.

M314-3 Single risers and long flights of steps shall be avoided.

M317-3.1 Where needed for protection or screening purposes, appropriately designed fences, walls or planting shall be installed along property boundary lines, laundry yards, refuse collection points, playgrounds and other locations.

The people who use a housing site should be able to:

5. IDENTIFICATION

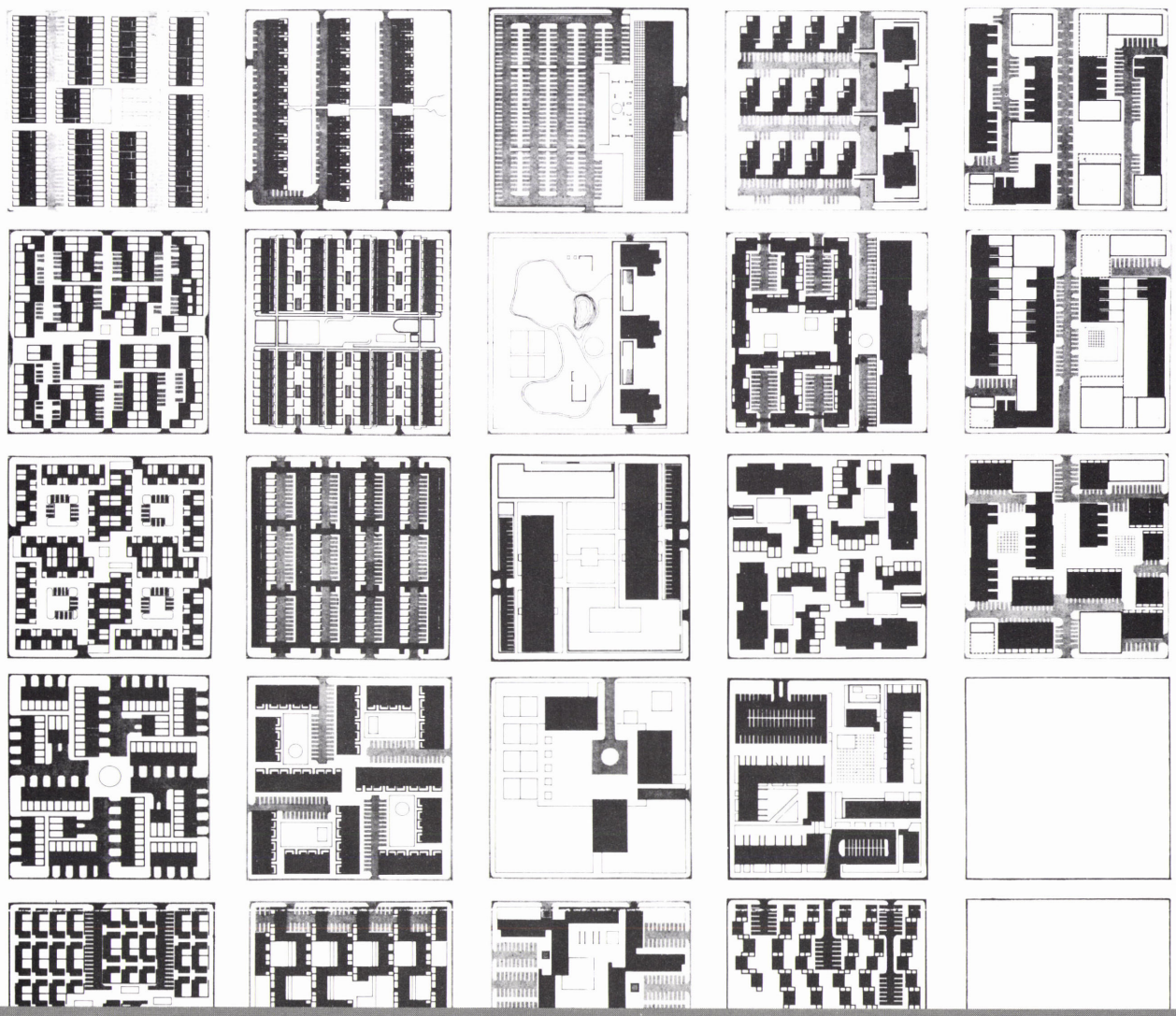
Have clear signs or symbols at all intersections or branchings of pathways or roadways that can be easily read by pedestrians or drivers to identify the location of all entranceways.

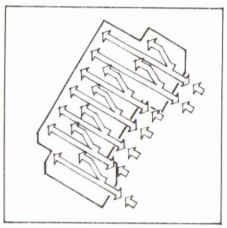
Have clear signs or symbols to identify each entranceway on the site. Also have clear identification of any activity area.

6. LIGHTING

Have electric lights arranged so that pedestrians and drivers can clearly see and identify each other anywhere on the site at night. Also have electric lights arranged to that people can clearly see all entranceways and can easily put a key in a door lock at night.

NJHFA	Utilities	
	1.2	Street and yard lighting must be such as will provide for safety and convenience.
FHA	M318-1	Light fixtures for walks, steps, parking area, driveways, streets and other facilities shall be provided in keeping with the type of development and at locations to assure safe and convenient night-time use. Fixtures shall be designed in keeping with the project and properly shaded to screen the windows of habitable



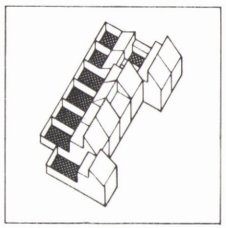


a. direct grade access.

(refer to cases : A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6, B2, B3, D2, D3, and D6.)



b. stair, exterior gallery access.

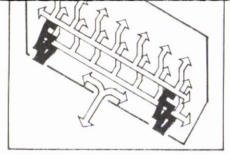


a. direct access units forming a row.

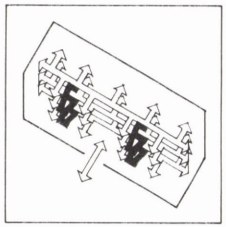
(refer to cases : A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, D2, D3, and D6.)



b. direct access or stacked units forming a court.

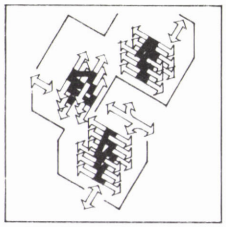


(refer to cases : B3, B6, E1, and E2.)



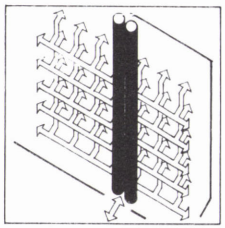
c. stair, interior corridor access.

(refer to cases:



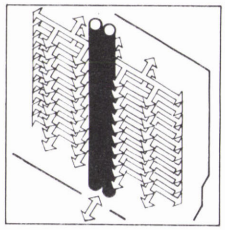
d. stair, interior/exterior core access.

(refer to cases: B1, B4, B5, D1, D5, E1, E2, and E3.)



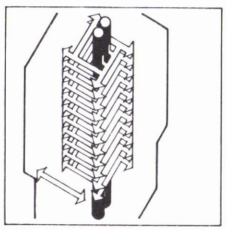
e. elevator, exterior gallery access.

(refer to cases: C5 and D4.)



f. elevator, interior corridor access.

(refer to cases: C1, C3, D2, and D3.)

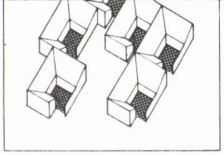


g. elevator, interior core access.

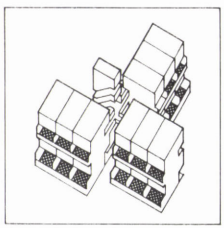
(refer to cases: C2, C4, C6, D1, D4, D5, and D6.)

III

DWELLING ACCESS ALTERNATIVES

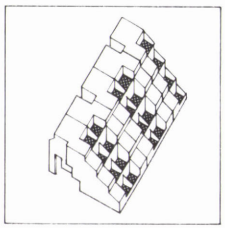


(refer to cases : A3, A6, B5, and B6.)



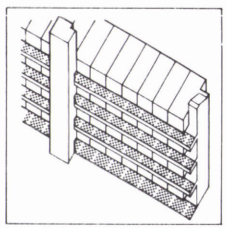
c. direct access or stacked units forming a cluster.

(refer to cases : B5 and D5.)



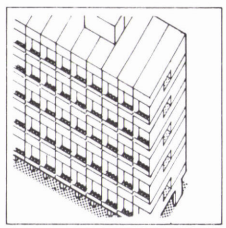
d. interior/exterior access stacked units forming a terrace.

(refer to cases: B1, B2, D1, E3.)



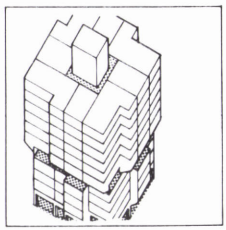
e. exterior access stacked units forming a slab.

(refer to cases: B3, B6, C5, D4, E1, and E2.)



f. interior access stacked units forming a slab.

(refer to cases: B4, C1, C3, D2, D3, and E1, E2, E3 in rehabilitated units.)

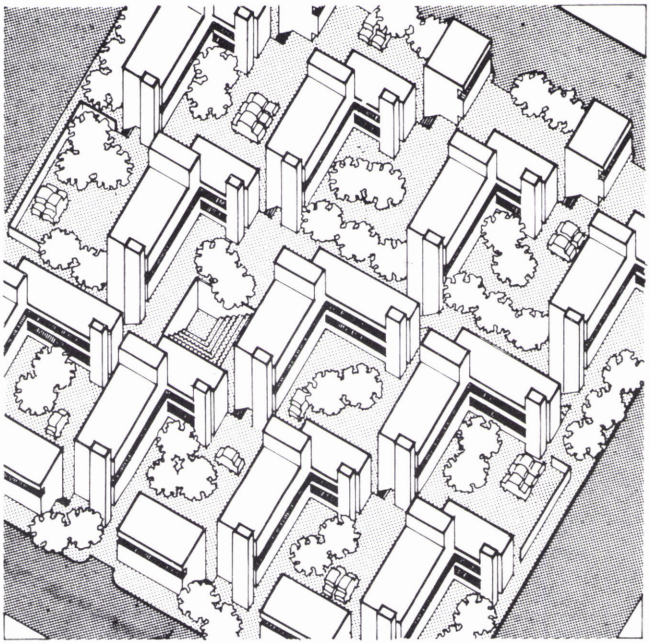


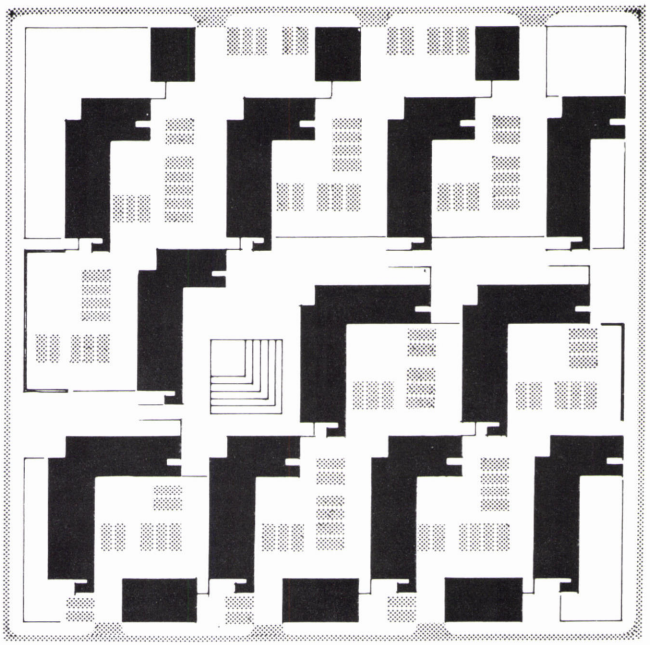
g. interior access stacked units forming a tower.

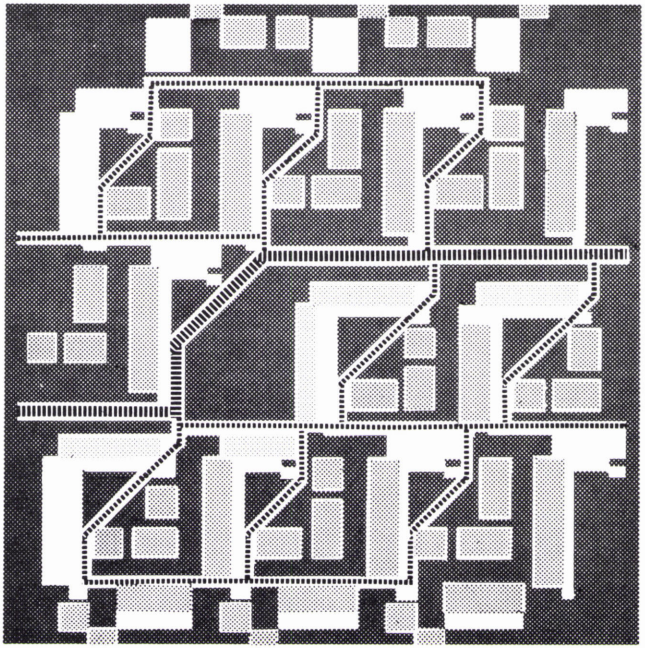
(refer to cases: C2, C4, C6, D1, D4, D5, and D6.)

IV

GROUPED DWELLING ALTERNATIVES





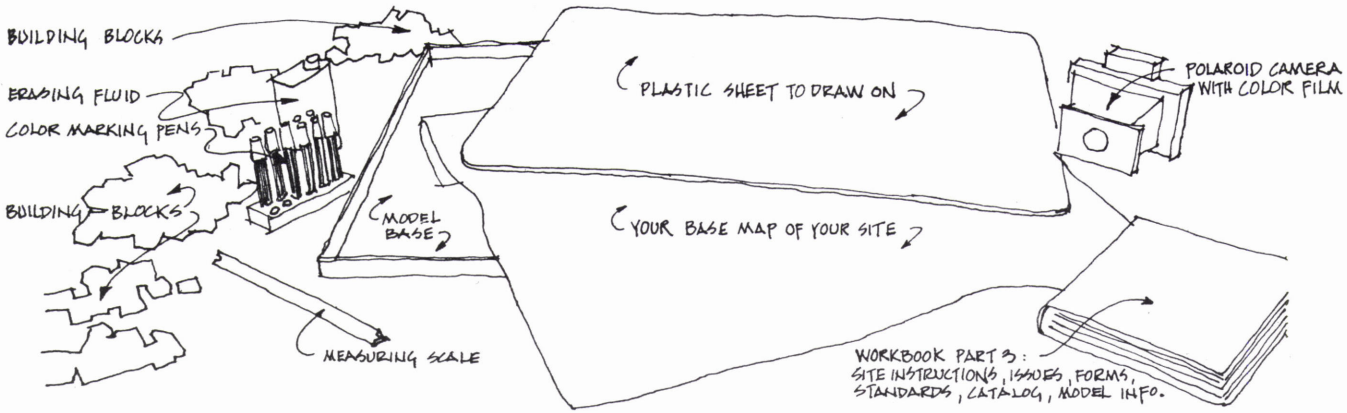


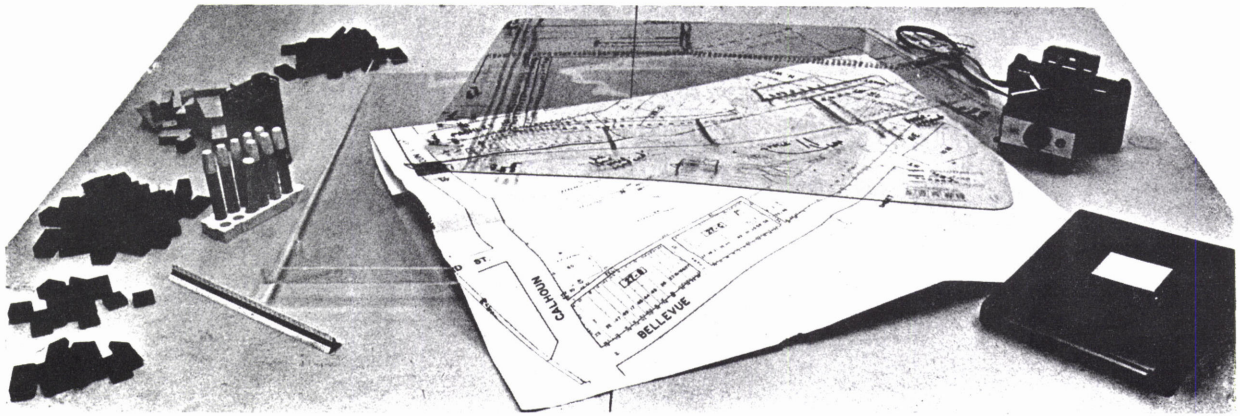
DESCRIPTION

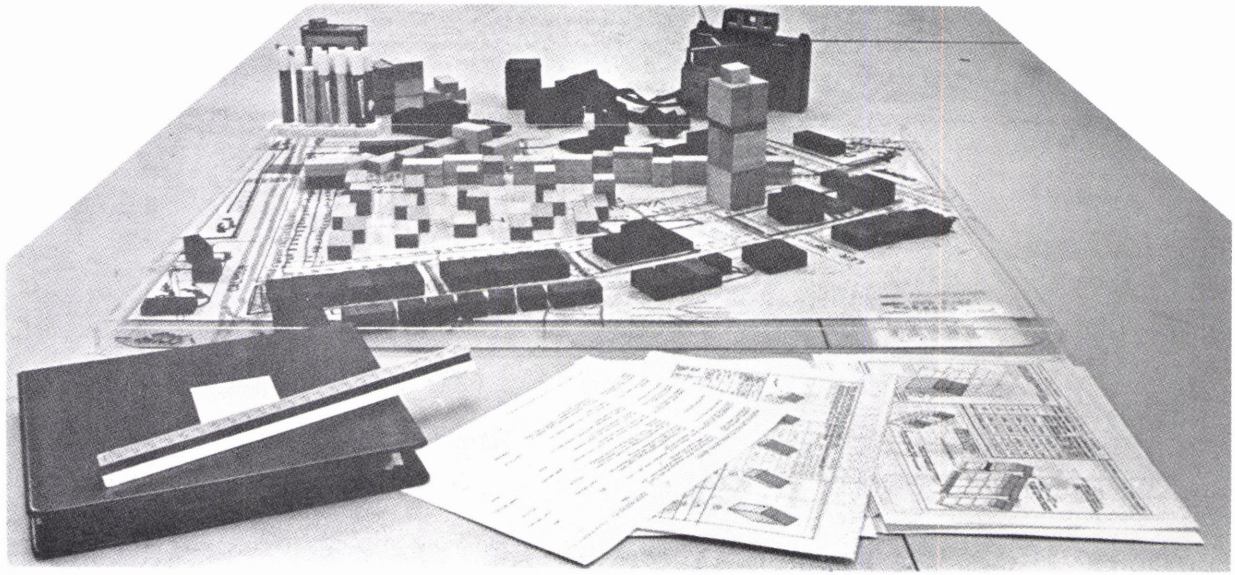
A field organization of three-, four- and five-story, direct and stair gallery access, slab buildings, including ground floor non-residential facilities;
common open space on grade integrated with parking, shared by groups of dwelling units; common parking on grade (some below housing) integrated with common open space, near to and shared by groups of dwelling units.

total number of dwelling units	248
density in d.u./acre	60
total number of parking spaces	170
parking ratio	0.7

adapted from:
Human Renewal Corporation Project
Newark, New Jersey
RCUEP, H. Weber with L. Brown and M. Pittas


BUILDING BLOCKS
ERASING FLUID
COLOR MARKING PENS
BUILDING BLOCKS
MODEL BASE
MEASURING SCALE
PLASTIC SHEET TO DRAW ON
YOUR BASE MAP OF YOUR SITE
POLAROID CAMERA WITH COLOR FILM
WORKBOOK PART 3: SITE INSTRUCTIONS, ISSUES, FORMS, STANDARDS, CATALOG, MODEL INFO.


CALHOUN
BELLEVUE



1 The first version of the *Planning and Design Workbook for Community Participation* is still available in unbound, loose-leaf form from Miss Dorothy Whiteman, School of Architecture, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey 08450. There is a charge of $15.00 per copy.

2 A critical review of the Workbook by John Morris Dixon appeared in the *Architectural Forum,* Vol. 131 No. 5, December 1969, pp. 32-39.

11

THE THREE LITTLE PIGS REVISITED

AVERY R. JOHNSON

Security is What You Want, Right?

Y'see, kid, ya can't make houses of straw or sticks; they aren't any protection against the wolf! Ya wouldn't want to be eaten up by the wolf would you? Ya gotta have a brick house: solid, strong (yeah, and lumpish and square and unchangeable and one that will isolate you from the out-of-doors as much as possible). Houses of straw and sticks are play houses: y'know, for kids. Y'don't live in houses like that! It's not safe. It's not sanitary. It's . . . .

Sure, I know it's *fun*, but what's that got to do with it? Living is a serious matter! Ya gotta make up your mind; decide what you want to be; commit yourself; don't take chances; live in a stable neighborhood; acquire the right friends; get a secure job, *make* something of yourself (and be able to name what you are if anybody asks). Phooey!

Daydream for a Moment

Imagine your own rendering of "The City of the Future". Take a minute to envision the whole thing . . . . .now look at it. Does it show one building crane, or a torn-up street, or any other kind of change in process? Be honest, now. Don't cheat by putting those things in now just because I asked for them. Did your utopian vision allow any room for activities or subsequent changes that you haven't thought up yet? Did you focus on a snapshot which was to exist for all time? Were you *in* the city itself, or outside looking at it? Was it a living, growing, evolving creature. Was it uniform or did it offer high variety?

Were you trying to establish some kind of "truth"?

Have you thought of giving *relevance* a chance?

What might be involved in that?

A Cyberneticist's View

I really didn't want to insult you but rather to start your participation with me in dealing with some problems. All of us have a large stake these days in improving our environment and our communications. Within the field of cybernetics we think we've hit upon some approaches that stand a chance of meeting the criteria of complexity, relevance, and responsiveness that have been plaguing everyone for answers. I would like to address myself particularly to the problems of urban planning, and within that context especially to the relation of the individual participant to the community within which his energies are spent. If that community fails to metabolize his energies in such a way as to enhance both him and its relationship to him then it fails to fulfill itself. Cybernetics concerns itself with the viability of complex organisms.

What do you want a community to be? If you think that question is too broad, try another one which I consider to be equivalent: How are you going to get it across to the members of that community the fact that it has those properties you have wished for it?

For me, the entity that is a community has its existence for the individual within the process by which he explores its responsiveness to him This is true of good politics, good education, good transportation, and it should also be true of good architecture. How often do we ourselves have the opportunity to experience it that way? Buildings, urban environments, landscapes, and even traffic plans all seem to have an immutability akin to a stone wall. Each acquires its character for the potential user upon first exposure within the time it takes for him to discover which limited subset gives him the least grief in going about his survival within a larger system. Thereafter all other topologies of the remainder are simply ignored (as much as possible) because

they have become redundant. The overwhelming irrelevance of objects and events around us is attributable largely to their inability to show us any reflection of our passing: to acknowledge some unformulated wish on our part that they might somehow, just for once, be different.

—Different because we willed it so.

—Different because it just happened. We didn't will it, but we didn't quite guess it either and so it raised our information level and introduced us to new alternatives.

—Different because the environment has some interesting behavior of its own and is *exploring us* for our responses of approval or delight.

—Different because if it doesn't change sometimes we will remind ourselves of its existence by writing obscenities on it or burning it down to make it respond. Or if we are well schooled in the science of labeling, we can *name it* and let it thereafter come to life on picture postcards as an art form—not for living in but for visiting. There's relevance, baby, you can write on it!

Humans cannot tolerate total low-variety environments for long without becoming sick. We need just the right amount of good guessing to produce the difference that makes a difference. If *our* behavior makes a difference, then change takes on meaning for us.

CHANGE

We hear a lot about change:

—the necessity for it

—the inexorable fact of it

—the need to be ready for it

—the inevitable discomfort of its coming.

Then from another side we hear the CHANGE—any change—is inherently good. The Change Makers believe the outworn maxim that "more is better" whereupon they throw a heap of garbage in our faces and expect us to groove on it. The conceit of the expert: "do unto others what you believe is right for them", virtually guarantees irrelevance. Their magical belief is the notion that moving a particular quality of an object or event, such as its size or number or CHANGE from its prior status, is itself inherently good (or bad). That is simply expert nonsense.

I repeat: if *our* behavior makes a difference, then change takes on meaning for us. We have been too well schooled by the truth-sayers who proclaim that meaning can be pointed at: observed. That, too, is nonsense. Meaning can only be discovered *in context*—and upon that barb hangs not only the modern dilemma of mathematics but also the crux of this article.

CONTEXT

And Where to Find It

Do you know what I mean by CONTEXT? It is the essential ingredient left out in the truths of the "objective" sciences. The context of an object or event is not something you can point to and say: "There it is!" We have no calculus for it (yet). It is generated in your active processes of perception and can never be fully shared by another. That is why it is left out by the truth-sayers. Context acts *as an operator*[9] to assign meaning to the metaphorical signals we receive from the world, but it is not to be found in those signals. It is to be found, rather, in the consequences of our response to those meanings in that environment. "Get undressed" does not convey the same meaning in a doctor's office as it does in the back seat of an automobile—but it would be a mistake to identify the background setting in either case as the context. Look to the consequences that are implied and to the relationships that point to them. Keep a running account of the infinite recursion of those relationships and consequences and you may have a handle on the context. It is difficult to simplify further; impossible if what you want is a formula that can be applied in another case. Fine . . . .

FINE . . . .

O.K. . . . . sure . . . . . but . . . .

what does all of this tell us about urban environments? It tells us quite a lot if we can first leave behind those habits of thought which are based upon context-free premises which promise to lead to easily printable, transmittible "truths" in conclusion. The primary premise that we must drop is the one which removes the untrained community member from participation in the changes occurring in his environment —because he cannot play the game of "all people universals", is interested in what he personally wants and in his capacity to produce the level of difference he wants when he wants it and so he knows it. What we should be seeking, then, is the means by which members of a community may affect their environment in informal ways which are adequate to return to them a sense of active participation.

There is a payoff which commences almost immediately but is seldom recognized as arising from a common source since it always appears in a garb closely associated with the particular activity in question. Participation is the wellspring of appetite and feeds back upon itself to deepen and enhance the individual's involvement with the broadening of his own contexts. Some day our psychologists may recognize that *appetite* is the fount of motivation; hunger is not.

The Communication Problem

I talk to people trained in other ways of thought. They believe, for example, that one must be prepared with a lot of knowledge before one can *decide* upon action to be taken. They fail to recognize the circuitous, digressive way that thought proceeds to recontext prior experience and thereby imply new responses and new consequences. These latter then concatenate to generate new doings and new seemings and thence to wholly new anticipations which in their turn beget our sudden recognition of "aha!" I wish more people would read "Eolithism and Design" by Hans Otto Storm[16] for it would convince them of the value of whimsical game playing, Undirected exploration—real time groping—seem to have no place in what is taught as real. But what questions, what play is possible if one knows that soon the concrete footings will be hardened and the mortgage money loaned for a specific bank-approved design? The box is cast. Students, be still! *I will not accept the common (non)sense*. Call me childish if you will.

Tools and Toys

I want toys as well as tools.

What is a tool to you? To me a tool is an extension of my hand or eye or whatever which allows me to manipulate some part of my world in a way that would otherwise be unreachable or at least more difficult. That manipulation permits me to express some intended change upon the world around me. The scope of my expressions of intention may be severely limited by the tool and my use of it. You give up possibilities for differences that the tool cannot cope with at least while you are conditioned by it: cars produce fat bellies in place of strong legs.

What is a toy? I think of a toy as something which embodies relationships which are otherwise not available for exploration. Its modelling of ordinarily unrealized relationships is based on a revealing shift of size, or of time frame, or of material . . . or in any event a shift of context which is recognized implicitly. A TOY IS SIMPLY A TOOL TO THINK WITH. It renders inconsequential any "errors" of exploration on your part and allows you to place into juxtaposition many relationships which would be either unlikely or be passed off as irrelevant in a less playful context. Toys invite exploration of what was taken for granted or was otherwise unknown.

A child—or a childlike adult—acquires knowledge of how things work and of how to change their workings through participation in making changes happen, and in simultaneously observing consequences. I emphasize simultaneity. Sending off the Wheaties boxtop and later seeing the prize return in the mail requires mama's word that something of consequence happened. In real participation results cannot be grossly separated from their instigations. Identification of causes and effects by name cannot lead to a meaningful description of the experience. *Purpose* and rates-of-change in the direction of that purpose are a more apt statement. Furthermore, the recursiveness of purposive systems is far easier to experience in a playful setting than in an analytical one.

Remember elementary school? On your own time you developed skill in the whole-body movement of game playing. You knew objects in terms of their fun potential. Names were for identification, not for explanation.

Then you were taken into class and told to sit straight. Don't fidget! Look, listen, speak when called upon. The names were made over into energy consumers and thereby began to acquire a reality of their own. You became a budding expert at taxonomy for that is the major tool of the scholar—and then like any other tool it imposed the conditions upon what it could make. Take a hard look around you to see where you can find a trace of playfulness: one, that is, which still invites you to play;not some frozen metaphor of someone's long-lost toy.

A Brief Recapitulation

If you want someone to grasp complex relationships and to identify with their processes then you must not only allow him to experience them, but also to have some effect upon them which may be observed first-hand. The involvement that you offer need not be total—the ordinary citizen doesn't want the responsibility of redesigning the city, nor does the hospital patient want to be his own surgeon—but somewhere there must be an interaction between the individual and his surrounding which admits of his existence because it responds to his use of whatever skills he has.

An Uncomfortable Parallel

Architecture and medicine share a common professional fault which at this time in history is doing them both a great disservice. They are conducted as priesthoods: the services they provide are performed upon the recipient but he himself is not allowed participation. Playfulness is taboo. When the modern planners of "health-care delivery services" finally come to recognize that the patient himself is a well-intentioned and highly motivated self-organizing system and can be trusted with information about the meaning of his own physiological signals, then they will begin to achieve some success both in reaching patients and in modernizing their own concepts. The parallel of the medical priestly attitude with the urban design "expert syndrome" is not so immediately obvious because the client in the latter case is not so aware of the source of the pain to be remedied. Nevertheless, his ignorance of the processes of change and of improvement is similarly based: he has never been afforded the chance to participate in the changes which are imposed upon him Some people learn the rudiments of painting walls and fixing leaky plumbing but these efforts are akin to the application of a bandaid on a superficial cut. Nor am I suggesting that they must learn the "expert" task of setting goals and specifications. Not at all! We must build environments that invite their playful participation so that their self-referent knowledge of their community will grow with their appetitive involvement.

Courteous Environments and Nonrobotics

What I have been leading up to is the notion that the environments we provide for people must have some intelligence built into them so that mutual explorations can commence at an informal, unskilled, elementary level. People must be allowed to discover for themselves that it is not difficult—and may be quite enjoyable—to attempt expression of their intentions. A few of us have spent some years toy-ing with such environments and have made inroads into the techniques which can produce behavior that is "courteous" to the participants. I will attempt to set forth a best-to-date description of their properties which will allow you to start toy-ing for yourself. If you do not wish to become involved with real things but prefer simulations, then stop reading here to save time for whatever *you* think is important.

I am most certainly *not* intending to raise the spectre of a mechanical or electronic Big Brother Robot which is hyper-attentive to you, watching your every movement and every change of heart-rate or respiration of alpha-rhythm as if to quiz you constantly and surreptitiously to find out what you want. No, that sort of behavior is not at all courteous. That way of imagining "intelligence" assumes that the data which the robot is collecting can somehow be made meaningful (decoded, interpreted, translated) so as to tell it what to do next. It's the old "decision model" which we have already laid to rest. For example: a robot armchair programmed to play soft music every time you get restless, to dim the lights when you rest your head back, or to keep the temperature of the space surrounding you at some preset level. No, and again NO! Therein would irrelevance soon be guaranteed. It happens when a mechanism is preprogrammed (therefore acontextually) to do for us what we will want.

Machines and machine-like human systems that people propose suffer from the decision concepts that theorists find easy to manage. In my opinion a gross misunderstanding prevails about how wants and meanings arise for us. It produces the fallacy which leads people to believe that our brains process sensory data and decodes it into a description of the world around us. I would state the rule I use as follows: In order for us to elicit meaning from any data entering our sensorium, it must either have arisen as the consequence of our effector (outgoing, active) interaction with the source of the information, *or at least imply an interaction* in which we might engage with some other sensorimotor combination in our perceptual apparatus.

The notion of a necessary participation in the events and objects which we wish to make meaningful to us cannot be overemphasized.

Let's see if we can arrange matters so that an architectural environment will be able to follow the same rules in dealing with us.

Machines and Their Controls

So as to avoid an obvious omission, let me say a few words about the ways in which we now are accustomed to control various "bits" of our environment. For the most part it is by way of switches, valves, control knobs, levers, and other manipulables. We do not communicate with our fellow man in such an arms-length manner which somehow has seemed appropriate for mechanisms or environments and even homes which have no "life" of their own. The problem has always been—and it remains to this day—that we have not as yet been able to teach our machines to grasp our *intentions*. Why not? Because those machines have been denied exploratory behavior of their own through which they could establish, in terms of their own self-referent responses, the CONTEXT of our gestures toward them. The

alternative that has always been chosen has been to limit the context of those intentions so severely that they are in no danger whatever of being misinterpreted. Turn a valve, push a button, flip a switch: ON–OFF UP–DOWN; easily understood because the context of the gesture is absolutely explicit.

The advent of computers has clouded the issue lamentably because they *seem* to be able to engage in highly complex exploratory behaviors of which we are incapable unassisted. Overlooked in the wonderment at these feats is the very clear fact that those machines have interpreted the instructions given them as explicit and as meaningful in the extremely narrow contexts of the language in which they are stated. Our fellow man, on the other hand, shares a commonality of experience with us and therefore can identify with us so as to be able to discern the meaning of every word, gesture, or change of timing as they convey our meaning richly in its full context. He can literally (almost) put himself in our place well enough to make the interpretation of our meaning a *self-referent* act implying *his own* interaction with our world.

If you don't believe me, try engaging in a deeply meaningful conversation with a stranger from a culture foreign to yours the first time you meet. Watch him struggle to find self-referent material in what you place before him. If you can't find a stranger handy, try a child—or do you doubt that a child has deeply meaningful experiences he would like to be able to convey? Help the child to find a means of interaction common to you: use a toy and watch his understanding of intentionality deepen.

The problems we face in trying to make an environment communicate with us are not so difficult as you might at first imagine. The reason that this is considered by custom difficult is related to the fact that the object of the communication is so intimately bound up with the communicants themselves.

Let me put it another way.

Every dialogue is *about* something, but the manner of the transaction will depend upon the "distance" between the referent and the place and time of the dialogue itself. I have written elsewhere[13] at some length about this, but let me summarize with an example or two here.

In human experience the most intimate dialogues--as between lovers or mother and child—are carried on in a physical mode of touch and movement which involves each person totally, but which demands very little of his capacity for decisionary behavior during the encounter. One experiences more a sense of flow and this is real in spite of its unaccountability. We use little or no symbolic language in these affairs. We can carry on the dialogue with infants, people of other cultures, animals, or idiots because the referent of the dialogue is each other and the relationship between.

There is a broad spectrum of dialogue situations which shows the "distance" of the referent (what the communicants are referring to) gradually increasing and there is a consequent requirement placed upon the communicants for more elaborate and refined behavior. At the far end of the spectrum one finds symbolic language where the referent need not even exist in fact. Try talking of mathematics with an infant or an animal!

Between the limits of *immediacy* at one end and *symbol* at the other we see varieties of situations where people can share a communications medium, but where the direct interaction of each with that medium may itself fall within the awareness of the respondent to a greater or lesser degree. The more immediate that awareness is, the less complicated and metaphorical the language has to be.

I won't reargue the paper here. I only want to indicate that the kind of dialogue which an environment can be made to engage in with us can and *must* be pushed as far to the lower, intimate end of the scale as one can manage. There the design and fabrication of courteous environments becomes astonishingly simpler than of ones that manipulate symbols. The materials and techniques may be unfamiliar to most architects, but perhaps that is because flexibility is in the domain of the first little pig.

Some Pieces of the Paradigm of Courteous Environments

What follows are some principles or rules of thumb which have simplified themselves out of a number of years of work toward courteous environments. The numbering is cardinal, so do not let the order imply priority. It is better, as you read them, to jump around and loop back through them a few times at random so that the feeling of flow that they are intended to convey may come across. They do not constitute a handbook of "how-to's"; I would prefer that they be considered a set of attitudes.

1. The environment and its users interact in a set of physical parameters shared in common; e.g. touch-and-movement *or* e.g. a change of acoustical properties which allow the participant's *own* sounds to change as they are returned to him and change as he moves and listens differently. Parameters which do not have this shared intimacy should be influenced by those that do. Thus, in the environments to which we have become accustomed a shift of our visual attention does not change the light; our act of passive listening does not change the sound.

2. The control of each parameter must be looped back upon itself—simply at least, but with more complex interconnections as the facilities for self-organizing control[1] are augmented. What happens is two fold: the environment acquires an exploratory behavior of its own and that behavior is related to the spread of what has happened and of what will happen. You will not understand if you think of time passage as a thin, straight line. The grammar of purposive behavior is not punctuated by the clock but is expressed in rates of change and rates of rates of change.[2, 5]

3. Each loop behavior should possess a small amount of random variation. The time-grain or rhythm of these changes should be slow in comparison to the responsiveness of that loop to changes imposed from the outside. Totally random behavior is as discourteous as fixity and is likely to produce anxiety. A certain amount of redundant pattern or melody is pleasing and the slow variations lead to the delight of noticing the differences from anticipated patterns. These are the differences that make a difference.

4. At a more advanced stage, consideration must be given to *decision* processes and to *learning* processes. Decision implies the ability to shift abruptly between learned modes of successful behavior. Learning implies that an organism has the ability to acquire (slowly perhaps, but not by punch card program) new modes or patterns that are successful in newer contexts. Let's keep it simple for now. Literature is available[14, 17] on the how-to's of appropriate instrumentation for the modeling of these skills.

5. *N.B.* MEASUREMENTS ARE *NOT* TO BE MADE UPON THE OCCUPANTS OF AN ENVIRONMENT. THE ONLY MEASUREMENTS ALLOWED ARE THE SELF-REFERENT ONES OF CONTROL SYSTEMS UPON THE PARAMETERS THEY CONTROL. AWARENESS OF OCCUPANT PARTICIPATION IS BY WAY OF THE CHANGES HE IMPOSES UPON ENVIRONMENTAL LOOP BEHAVIORS BECAUSE OF HIS INTERVENTION IN THEM.

BIG BROTHER IS *NOT* WATCHING YOU.
HE IS ENJOYING *HIMSELF*.
SO JOIN THE FUN.

6. Beware at all times of limiting the degrees of freedom of any part of a living environment. Choose with care but with courage. Leave every parameter as free and self-organizing as possible. In the long run it really is not a question of how much looseness and control flexibility you can afford for the project. The playfulness of an environment allows its organizing game to evolve into what did not exist for it before. Remember, we are increasing adaptability![11]

Antithesis

If you have been quietly nodding "of course" to the above, let me introduce some recently published rebuttal. Constantinos A. Doxiadis, in an article entitled: "Ekistics, the Science of Human Settlements", (*Science*, Vol. 170, No. 3956) discusses optimization and bids to lay waste a couple of myths. In challenging the "myth of the static plan" he says in part; "We need a room with constant dimensions, a home that gives us a feeling of permanency, a street and a square which do not change and which are esthetically satisfying. Such considerations lead to the question, to what extent can our environment be a constant one? The answer is that, if there is a unit of optimum size such as a room, a home, a community (up to the one of 1-kilometer radius), this can and should be constant. In this way we can face a world of changing dynamic cities by building them with constant physical units within which we can create quality—units meant for a certain purpose and containing a certain desirable mixture of residences, cultural facilities, industry, and commerce." If you read on, it becomes only more obvious that Mr. Doxiadis is searching for some kind of immutable truth. I think that Paolo Soleri is doing roughly the same in his quest of "Arcology", and the proposed urban spaces only horrify me with their total lack of playfulness. I do not wish to be the victim of such plans.

Counterpoint

A courteous environment will enrich its occupants. Wealth is synonymous with access to the activities and processes that matter to *you*. Playfulness provides access to what was previously noise, redundancy, or garbage. Your wealth is enhanced by the opportunity to have it matter to someone else: your children, your friends, or your extended community. The "loop" way of thinking provides for recycling your own energy. It is an "ecological think".

So far I have been talking about the kinds of disembodied relationships that seem acceptable when one is discussing control and process and the properties of change. I do not intend to be any more specific about them because this publication is neither a catalogue nor a handbook nor a technical dictionary. If I can inspire you to dig further into the bibliography or to contact authors directly, I have been successful. I do want to mention briefly the kinds of materials that some of us suspect will be necessary for the realization of truly responsive, unprogrammed, playful environments.

I will not talk about form. That, my friend, will come about when you, the materials, the control and energy sources get together. I predict that in form and behavior the resulting structures will be described sometimes as artificial organism—and I daydream that architecture may eventuate as a technological branch of zoology!

The Stuff Of It

What kinds of materials and energetics will you find in a responsive, playful environment? Look around you.[17] Consider the correlations you may observe between the structure of mechanisms and the adaptability of their behaviors. Most of the man-made machines we see rely

for their entelechies upon hard, rigid materials and the moving parts are guided or confined either by smooth, sliding surfaces or by rotation about shafts. The energy equations one could write for them are expressible in terms of vector forces, lengths, velocities, and other such linearly related variables with time as an explicit parameter. These are the mathematical manipulations with which we are taught to grapple in school and they are easy to transfer from one mechanism to the next both as descriptors and as design tools. We are in fact taught early that the opportunity to reduce mechanism to symbolic formulae is highly beneficial to the process of decision and design—and the habit thenceforth programs us to seek solutions by way of such mechanisms. We somehow never quite shake free of them until biological systems hit us in the face with their fascinating modes of coping in their environments.

When we start trying to imitate biology (and move into the area now called Bionics), we find it strangely difficult so long as we attempt the imitation with rigid materials: so long, for example, as we describe a man's movements as if he were merely an animated skelton. A breakthrough into the realm of soft materials, with thermodynamic energy relationships, suddenly puts you into a position to fulfill the desired biological paradigm within the frame of ordinary, non-living materials.

To date a few of us have been working and playing with thin plastic films and foams, and with compressed air and other expandables. I am not talking simply about inflatable blisters nor even double-wall structures which generally have been patterned after their post-and-beam counterparts. Artificial organisms as living environments may be made highly permeable to their surroundings while also being courteous to their occupants. Self-organizing controllers can maintain (for example) average light levels or favorable brightness differences in the context of the weather, time of day, and the difference between your mood and that mood which was anticipated. The radiation or absorption of heat in direct exchange with the surrounding can be made relevant to your activities and to the thermodynamic conditions available. The acoustic properties of the inner spaces can be caused to enhance the privacy of a tete-a-tete or the mutual involvement in a larger gathering. Walls that move to the touch—relevant to the function of support or moving back in retreat—that change in color and form: streamlining themselves to the wind or shrinking down when unoccupied, are all possible within the state-of-the-art technology.

No architect's prior commitments to a fixed design could possibly serve so many functions so well. Let us accede to the admission that any immutable structure is going to deprive its occupants of that which should by now be their birthright: the active use of a responsive environment as an artist with his brush so as to convey an affirmative message of their own participation.

I will grant that much use will still be made of rigid members as surfaces and exoskeletons, as articulated components, or as lively contrast in an otherwise plastic system. Let us bear in mind, however, that each use of these materials serves in some way to delimit *a priori* the richness of response which that part of the system could enjoy. Rigidity as protection against wind and weather simply isn't necessary when a structure has the capability of reshaping itself actively and in a manner relevant to the maintenance of its inner integrity and intention. The wolf that came huffing and puffing to the first two little pigs would have a discouraging time of it had the straw or sticks been resilient plastic with self-organizing control systems in command. They would then

laugh at the third little pig and wonder why he would want a house that was the same in summer as in winter.

A Parting Word of Warning

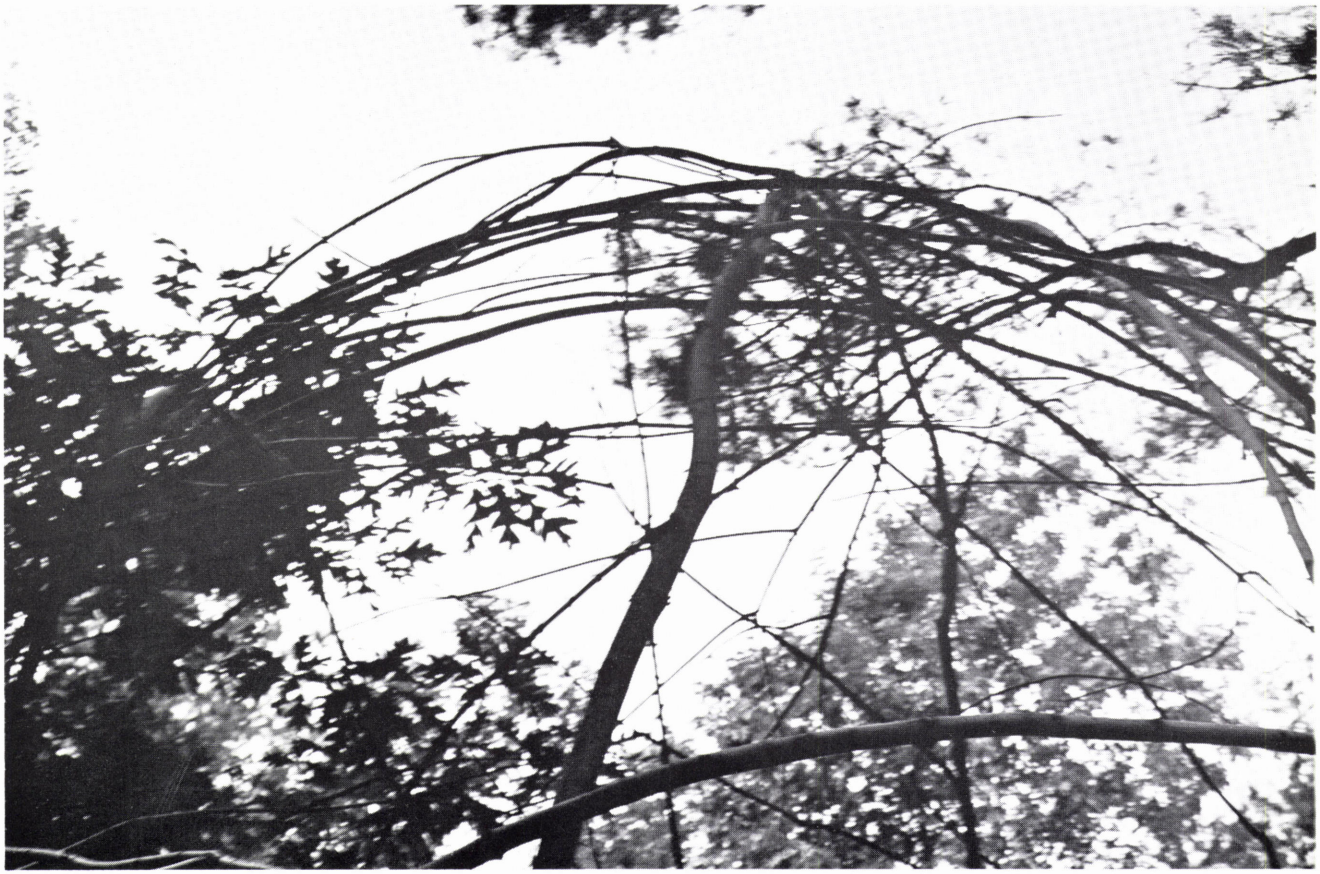
I come from an academic background which relies heavily for its communications about its reality upon drawings, schematics, models, verbal description, computer graphics, and other ersatz displays. When I began grappling with the complexities and responsiveness of "soft control material" (as we call it) I found that metaphors and simulation games just don't work any more. You have to play with reality itself: life size.

Do you realize how much the means of expression and design that are available to you serve to preprogram what you create with them? Get away from your drafting tables and T-squares; throw out all that flat, stiff cardboard and balsa; destroy the squareness and flatness of the spaces you live and work in; and generally unprogram yourself from the habits of thought seemingly demanded by steel and concrete and glass. Get yourself some plastic film and an old vacuum cleaner you can run backwards, find a heat-sealer or some tape or adhesive and go at it. There really is no other way to metabolize for yourself the properties and topologies of this new world of responsive, self-organizing, evolutionary artificial organisms. Get out there and DO IT.

Who was that wolf anyway? The bill collector? landlord? hunger? a general neurosis? Just how strong were the myths of our childhood and how much effort is entailed in throwing them off? Those who cringe in stone boxes may not yet be aware that they are already dead.



Photograph by *Francette Cerulli*



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