

PERSPECTIVES ON CITIZEN PARTICIPATION  
WITH THE URBAN RENEWAL AGENCY  
IN MANHATTAN, KANSAS

by

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to critically analyze two citizens advisory committees and the Urban Renewal Agency staff which are presently involved in the Manhattan, Kansas Urban Renewal program. Specifically, the study will try to determine the role perception and effectiveness of the citizens advisory committees. The two committees are the Project Area Committee, commonly known as the P.A.C. and the Business Committee. The Project Area Committee is comprised of ten official members; the Business Committee has twelve members. The P.A.C. consists primarily of southside Manhattan owner/occupants, whereas the Business Committee is made up of downtown Manhattan businessmen. Most of the P.A.C. members are Black, low-income, elderly residents. Half of the active members are retired and the other half are employed in low income jobs such as, cooking, cleaning, direct selling and babysitting. The Business Committee is totally White, middle to high income persons. The P.A.C. and Business Committee were established by the Manhattan Urban Renewal Agency so that it could have the advantage of input by affected citizens not only as planning began but also through its implementation phase.

A brief historical sketch of governmentally funded programs in urban development requiring citizen participation, such as The War On Poverty and Model Cities, is included. The analysis is based upon data obtained from questionnaires distributed to the Project Area Committee, to the Business Committee and to the Urban Renewal Agency. In addition to this, a personal statement with suggestions for present and future citizens groups is included.

## INTRODUCTION

To many people, citizen participation is thought of as a phenomena of the 1960's. However, this is not the case. Citizen participation began long ago. Its history includes the nineteenth century New England town meetings and later the development of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States which was created to give business and industry a more formal advisory role in public decisions.<sup>1</sup> Later came the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Resettlement and Farm Security Administration, all of which encouraged the participation of citizens.<sup>2</sup>

In the last decade or two more and more advisory groups of citizens have come forth and taken a stand on a particular issue or attempted to fulfill a special need for its particular group. These types of action groups have been given additional impetus in communities engaged in Urban Renewal activities which require under federal guidelines that special citizen advisory groups be established. There is a wide variety of such advisory groups, ranging from semi-official bodies appointed on a city-wide basis, to single-purpose self-organized groups at the neighborhood level.<sup>3</sup>

To discuss citizen participation and ways in which to utilize it, it is necessary to define citizen participation in technical as well as layman's terms. It is the layman who quite often is the participating citizen. According

to Edgar S. Cahn, who served as a special assistant to R. Sargent Shriver, the former Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, citizen participation is defined as a means of mobilizing resources of the citizens and converting them from passive consumers of services into producers of those services.<sup>4</sup> The professional may view citizen participation as a tool from which a vast amount of manpower can be obtained for the attainment of national goals. The layman may see it as a sharing of ideals and expectations between the public and government. For the purpose of this study Sherry Arnsteins definition will be used.

It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out. In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.<sup>5</sup>

Another aspect of citizen participation is its similarity and relevance to community organization. In its most basic form, citizen participation is community organization. Community organization being defined as the forming of coalitions of particular interest groups in an attempt to reach particular short or long term goals.<sup>6</sup>

Community organizers are to be noted among the ranks of pressure groups existing in our society. Though not as well known as labor unions or welfare rights groups, they provide, in mass, the type of pressure which has proven

on occasion to be powerful enough to reverse governmental decisions, especially at the local level. Saul Alinsky, deceased professional organizer, once stated the following:

The only way the poor are going to get what they need is through strong, militant organizations of their own. This kind of organization can be built only if people are working together for real, attainable objectives.

The sixties brought forth some of the most innovative social programs in the history of the United States. The voices of the poor, illiterate, homeless and diseased came forth in a rage of bitterness and frustration during that decade and citizen participation took on meaning for some, wealth for others and disappointment for many.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE HISTORY OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN RECENT GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

The responsibilities of public administrators have always been challenging and in some ways inescapably political, but never as today have they been so complex. Not only are governmental programs more technical, but current civil servants must also cultivate sensitivity to public anxieties and aspirations and must behave in a manner which will establish and maintain confidence. Public servants have a great challenge before them. Our country is in great need of administrators who can discover the social processes responsible for the breakdown in public confidence and for the growth in alienation and who have sufficient ingenuity to devise policies and programs which will lower barriers to inter-group communication, dampen ethnic rivalries and build links between our now too-widely separated social institutions. Therefore, it is necessary that a maximum of opportunity for mutual influence of public and officialdom in decision-making must be provided for so that explosive elements can be defused.

The realization that the masses were calling for a more balanced society characterized by widely-shared power was even more apparent in the 1960's.

At that time a considerable body of knowledge and experience about citizen participation had accumulated outside the government. Therefore the federal standards developed and implemented in the sixties were based upon this knowledge and the historic pattern of citizen participation.

The drive toward including citizen participation was spear-headed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and its Urban Renewal agencies. Urban renewal efforts not only uncovered and made social problems more visible, but also confirmed the belief that housing and other physical improvements were insufficient measures to break the poverty cycle.<sup>7</sup>

Renewal and anti-poverty programs have converged in both their purpose and their operation. Therefore before discussing the aspects of citizen participation involved with the federal urban renewal program a brief synopsis of citizen participation and the anti-poverty program will be included.

It should also be noted at this point that the most common link between the two programs is the provision of mutual services. Frequently, through this linkage, anti-poverty personnel have been used to assist local renewal programs. In addition, Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) funds have been used to underwrite such programs as a housing improvement school lodged in a neighborhood center and a referral service for available social services.

Another program which is directly related to urban renewal is the Model Cities or Demonstration Cities Program which through concentrating all available resources in planning tools, housing construction, job training, health facilities, recreation, welfare, and education on slum neighborhoods is



believed to bring together the full range of improvement programs in a direct, massive attack on urban slums.

The closing months of the Kennedy era and the beginning of the Johnson administration brought forth unprecedented urban community action programs that provided a direct financial relationship between the community and the federal government. President Johnson's Economic Opportunity Act featured and required "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in community action programs in urban neighborhoods.

According to John C. Donovan, author of The Politics of Poverty, the War on Poverty's concept of "maximum feasible participation" was designed to be the means by which the poor themselves would participate in formulating and administering their own local programs of social reform, gave to the politically voiceless a power usually reserved for the Congress, governors and mayors.<sup>8</sup> The Economic Opportunity Act, according to Donovan, ironically did not have the participation of the poor in its writing. When the bill was sent to Capitol Hill, the administration released a list of one hundred and thirty-seven names that Mr. Sargent Shriver, former director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, consulted in developing the poverty program. Shriver and his team of assistants heard from church, labor, business, farm, academic and civil rights spokesmen in their search for ideas for the program.

Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was labeled "Urban and Rural Community Action Programs". It pressed for "maximum feasible

participation" of the poor or power for those not included in any establishment. With ease the Economic Opportunity Act was ratified by the Senate and the House.

The first year of the community action program had meaning for hundreds of communities. However, by the third year Shriver was quoted as saying that the program was an "administrative shambles" due to overlapping programs.<sup>9</sup>

What about the citizen participation clause or more specifically Section 202(a) of the act which defines a community action program as one which is developed, conducted, and administered with the "maximum feasible participation" of residents of the areas and members of the group served?

"Maximum feasible participation" was not accepted readily. Some large city mayors didn't think very much of the idea of the Office of Economic Opportunity supporting community action projects which were independent of city hall.<sup>10</sup> Citizen participation was fought from all sides even from top government officials. On November 5, 1965 it was reported in the New York Times that a high government source was quoted as saying:

Maximum feasible participation by the poor in the anti-poverty program is called for by the law. In the Bureau of the Budget's view this means primarily using the poor to carry out the program but not to design it.

Concerned citizens eventually spoke up and complained about the hand-picked boards of citizens and the lack of local and federal support. They told about the endless redtape involved in setting up programs and how when they sought funds they were told "to draw up another proposal".<sup>11</sup>

Ironically, the Department of Housing and Urban Development adopted and implemented some of the same types of citizen participation programs that the Office of Economic Opportunity utilized. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was established in 1966 as a response by the government to the nation's urban problems. It was to supersede the Housing and Home Finance Agency's scope which was too narrow to address urban problems.<sup>12</sup>

Much like the Office of Economic Opportunity which stressed "maximum feasible participation", the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) emphasized "widespread citizen participation".

## CHAPTER 2

### THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S ATTEMPT TO SAVE THE CENTRAL CITIES

The primary objective of the 1949 Housing Act was the clearing of slums and replacing them with better housing. The slum clearance approach did not work very well due to limited funds, lack of interest by builders and the rapid population movement from the central city to the suburbs.<sup>13</sup> After several years the government investigated the slum clearance program closely and decided that a broader attack must be made so that not only would existing slums be cleared but new slums would be prevented.

The term "urban renewal" came into popular usage while the objectives of the program were expanded to cover blight elimination, (which covered slums as only one of several important problems confronting the city), retention of middle class families who were tempted to move to the suburbs, improvement of the city's tax base threatened by a loss of wealthier citizens and ratables such as industries and business concerns, and creation of a better city with more diversity and quality.<sup>14</sup>

The investigation and its recommendations developed the basis for the 1954 Housing Act which emphasized rehabilitation and conservation.<sup>15</sup> Funds

were made available to communities so that they could carry out improvements in both areas. The Act also states that no federal loan or grant can be given to a city unless it first presents an acceptable Workable Program to the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.<sup>16</sup> The Workable Program must be certified each year that the city participates in renewal. The Workable Program must consist of the following elements:

1. Adequate codes and ordinances for building construction and minimum housing standards, effectively enforced
2. A comprehensive community plan
3. Neighborhood analysis
4. An administrative organization
5. A financial plan
6. A relocation assistance program
7. A citizen participation program

Robert C. Weaver, a former director of HUD has said that the citizen participation component (number 7) is one of the key elements of the Workable Program.<sup>17</sup> The purpose of this study is to critically analyze and give perspective to the two citizen advisory committees which are presently involved in the Manhattan, Kansas Urban Renewal program.

Most of the urban renewal projects which have been completed over the last quarter-century can be found in or near the central business districts of cities rather than in residential areas.<sup>18</sup> These projects have involved clearing, not slums, but deteriorating commercial and industrial structures. The central

business districts of the United States are located primarily in or near the inner cities, which are inhabited primarily by minorities. It has been said that one out of every two Blacks residing in the major cities of the North and West is an "in-migrant", chiefly from the south.<sup>19</sup> Most of them are unskilled except as farm hands, pushed off the land by a technological revolution. This migration from the South began before World War I, but reached vast proportions during the Second World War.

Industrialization is what sparked the growth of towns into cities and cities into metropolises. Since the turn of the century America has had to deal with rapid urbanization. This rapid urbanization has meant a phenomenal growth in the size of cities. As the United States cities have grown, so have the cities' problems. While city problems have mushroomed in recent years, more and more of those city dwellers who could afford to move to the suburbs have done so.

The people who remain behind in the cities are either very rich people, who can afford gracious living or low-income minority groups, who congregate in rundown slum areas. Blacks are the most predominant minority group in the major United States cities.<sup>20</sup> According to Anthony Downs, author of Urban Problems and Prospects, there were 12.5 million nonwhites living in all U. S. central cities in March, 1966, of which 12.1 were Blacks. Contrastingly, 96.6 percent of all suburban population in the U. S. consisted of whites. Downs attributes the exodus of whites from central cities as a response to Black population growth in the cities.<sup>21</sup>

Ironically, even though the central cities and suburbs are racially divergent, they are still critically dependent upon each other economically and physically.<sup>22</sup> Central cities contain a majority of the jobs in metropolitan areas, to which millions of suburban commuters travel daily. They are the nerve centers of many vital networks, including telephone systems, utility systems, water systems, sewage disposal systems, railroads, and highways. Most of the largest corporations in the nation, as well as many smaller firms, have their headquarters and major plants in central cities. The key financial institutions are located primarily in large downtown areas, and most cultural and entertainment activities take place in large cities. On the other hand, the suburbs supply many of the workers that operate these central city facilities, and contain most of the vital air transportation links in the nation.

The federal urban renewal program has attempted to satisfy the residential needs of the residents of urban areas, although the records indicate that most of the urban renewal projects which have been completed over the last quarter century can be found in or near the central business districts of cities rather than in residential areas. As stated before by examples, the central cities of the United States contain many vital networks, corporations and institutions which our country cannot stand to lose because of deterioration. The cities have lost much of their tax base because of loss of population due to the exodus of whites to the suburbs. For the cities to lose their commercial property and cultural complexes would mean disaster for the cities and the United States as a whole.

Since 1966 federal housing legislation has permitted 35 percent of federal urban renewal funds to be spent on completely non-residential projects. With the exception of limited industrial reuse in open area projects the 1949 Housing Act did not provide for non-residential renewal. The 1954 Housing Act authorized 10 percent of capital grant funds to be used to convert slum housing into commercial or industrial projects. As of 1963, of the 600 renewal projects in the United States that were primarily residential prior to urban renewal, over 40 percent were estimated to become non-residential after renewal.<sup>23</sup> The Urban Renewal Handbook states that in order for a community to qualify for a non-residential project the governing body of the local planning agency must determine by resolution that the redevelopment is necessary for the proper development of the community.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE ROLE OF THE CITIZEN IN FEDERAL URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMS

Because federal urban renewal programs promote the general welfare there are diverse citizens groups which take an active part in planning urban renewal activities. This section will deal primarily with the individual or family and the businessperson.

Planners and municipal officials often find that the residents of blighted areas which are in need of urban renewal are often disadvantaged and undereducated. The shock of the news that a person's home is to be taken is quite a jolt for most people. To many it signifies a loss of friends and ties that have developed over many years. For others the loss of a home and its memories brings about a sense of helplessness and hopelessness.

The merchant or businessperson involved in relocation or rehabilitation usually has a similar reaction to that of a homeowner. The businessperson has usually invested a great amount of time and money and will often act more aggressive than the working-class homeowner.

It is the duty of the planner or other officials to present ideas and explain the proposals in a language that the affected persons can understand. Such efforts can develop a sense of participation in the development of the plans,

as well as a sense of confidence in the planners. For these reasons the federal government requires that citizen participation groups be organized in those areas where urban renewal is to take place with the assistance of federal funding.

Neighborhood groups in rehabilitation areas are essential. Such groups provide a forum for residents and the urban renewal agency. It insures all residents the opportunity to present their views or discuss problems. By replacing rumor with fact misunderstandings are less likely. Essentially it gives citizens the opportunity to share in the renewal process.

Business groups derive the same benefits as neighborhood groups by participating in planning and problem-solving sessions. Because business people are interested in deriving the greatest amount of benefit from their investment they will often take the initiative of raising capital to aid in revitalizing the Central Business District.<sup>24</sup>

Although the government requires that citizen participation groups shall exist in federal urban renewal projects, it doesn't guarantee the success of such groups. However, the government does offer guidance as to how they should be organized and structured.

Citizen participation has been encouraged and insisted upon by the Department of Housing and Urban Development for those cities planning to be involved in an urban renewal program. Federal policy requires local citizen participation in the formulation of local renewal plans before federal money can be spent on them. Such a citizens group is frequently referred to as a

Project Area Committee or a PAC. PACs are established by the Urban Renewal Agency at the beginning of new projects, so that the agency can have the advantage of citizen input as they begin planning.

According to HUD guidelines, PAC offers the residents of a project area the opportunity to have a voice in the project, so that:

Various needs of the neighborhood are met.

Citizens learn new capabilities and skills.

Citizens meaningfully share in the renewal process.

Any project area resident may be a candidate for PAC membership. The organization must be representative of the project area. It must include people from various racial and ethnic groups, income levels, and geographic areas in the project. There are several possible methods for PAC selection, such as:

Naming an existing group that is representative, or adjusts itself to become representative, of the area.

Asking each of several groups representing a cross section of area residents to select a member.

Holding a number of small election in geographic districts of the project area.

Holding an election that includes the entire project area.<sup>25</sup>

In theory the PAC represents the residents. It keeps the residents fully informed of project plans, resources, progress and issues. It relays residents' concerns, ideas, and needs to the urban renewal agency. The PAC reviews its membership periodically to insure continued representation of all project area residents. It is also the duty of the PAC to serve as a liaison between the

community and the agency to guarantee all residents a chance to present their views. In this way, the PAC helps the agency prevent misunderstandings about the project by replacing rumor with fact. Such communication is achieved by regular meetings, newsletters, community bulletin boards and direct house to house contacts.

The urban renewal agency has certain obligations to the PAC. The agency should insure that the PAC has the opportunity to participate in decision making. The PAC should know about important plans and proceedings well before final decisions are made. It should also provide the PAC with information necessary for residents to participate knowledgeably in planning and carrying out the project. Technical assistance should also be supplied when needed.

HUD funds the agency, which in turn finances such PAC activities as:

Providing office space, supplies and equipment.

Providing consultants, staff and technical assistance.

Employing project residents to perform selected tasks in the project.

Providing transportation and babysitting expenses when necessary to enable PAC members to attend meetings.<sup>26</sup>

## CHAPTER 4

### PURPOSE OF STUDY

The general purpose of the study was to determine how the Project Area Committee and Business Advisory Committee which are associated with the Manhattan, Kansas federal urban renewal program perceived their roles as agents of change and secondarily, how they and the Urban Renewal Agency perceived the committees effectiveness.

The hypothesis is twofold:

1. The Project Area Committee and Business Advisory Committee are perceived as ineffective\* by its members and the Urban Renewal Agency staff of Manhattan, Kansas.
2. The ineffectiveness of the Project Area Committee is a product of the selection methods utilized and the internal and external conflicts which arose largely over perceptions of authority and control.

\*Ineffective is used here to mean not capable of performing satisfactorily.

A survey of the views of the PAC, Business Committee members and Urban Renewal Agency employees, concerning how each group perceived their roles was conducted in late 1973 and early 1974.

The survey was designed primarily as a descriptive study of attitudes and perceptions. The survey questionnaires covered four topics:

1. Length of service and office held;
2. Attitudes concerning the effectiveness of the PAC and Business Committee;
3. Opinions about the success of the PAC and Business Committee in particular areas;
4. The value or meaningfulness of participating in the PAC or Business Committee.

## CHAPTER 5

### SURVEY RESULTS

The design of the survey called for the distribution of twenty-nine questionnaires. (See Appendices C, D and E) The rate of return for the questionnaires is illustrated below.

TABLE I  
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEY RETURN

	QUESTIONNAIRES DISTRIBUTED	QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED
Project Area Committee	10	8
Business Advisory Committee	12	7*
Urban Renewal Agency Staff	7	5
TOTAL	29	20

\*Two of the seven respondents said that they were no longer members. One of the two who said they were no longer members didn't answer the questions.

The first question was used to determine the number of years served on the committees. The next question ascertained the persons position in the organization. (See Table II) The questions were used primarily to get some

indication about the tenure and rank of the respondents. The mean for the length of participation on the Business Advisory Committee was 2.5 years. It was the same for the Project Area Committee.

TABLE II  
COMMITTEE OFFICER/NON-OFFICER DISTRIBUTION

	OFFICER	NON-OFFICER
Project Area Committee	4	4
Business Advisory Committee	5	1

Questions 4-7 were designed to determine what the Project Area Committee and Business Committee members perceived their roles to be, and how effective or successful they believed they had been in performing the particular functions designated to them.

All of the members of the Business Committee said in Question 4 they did not feel that the Business Committee is influential in the Urban Renewal Agency's decision making. Only two of the eight PAC members gave a negative response.

All PAC and Business Committee members see their roles primarily as Urban Renewal Agency advisors and as educators and informers for their neighbors about urban renewal activities in Question 5. Question 6 was similar to the aforementioned except that the respondents were asked to rank the functions of their respective organizations. The PAC and Business Committee ranked educating as a primary role and advising as a secondary function. The

other listed functions were ranked as they were listed by the respondents; "making URA do what is needed" was ranked fourth and "seeing to it that the URA does what they are told" was given the lowest rank of fifth.

TABLE III illustrates how the PAC and Business Committee viewed their level of success in attaining community goals. The numbers represent the sum of each committee who checked the available responses in Question 6.

TABLE III  
COMMITTEE PERCEPTION OF SUCCESS

	VERY SUCCESSFUL	SUCCESSFUL	NOT SO SUCCESSFUL	FAILURE	DON'T KNOW
Project Area Committee			8		
Business Advisory Committee				4	1

Although the PAC and Business Committee members rated their groups very low when it came to success in community goals there was a diversity of opinions about those activities in which the groups felt that they had realized some sense of accomplishment or success in Question 7. (See Table IV)



TABLE IV  
COMMITTEE PERCEPTION OF SUCCESS IN SELECTED AREAS

	Project Area Committee		Business Advisory Committee	
	SUCCESSFUL	UNSUCCESSFUL	SUCCESSFUL	UNSUCCESSFUL
IN MAKING PLANS	4	4	4	1
DECISION MAKING	4	4	2	2
IN THE CHOICE OF ALTERNATIVES	4	4	2	2
DEVELOPMENT OF NEW PROGRAMS		5	2	2
OTHER				
DON'T KNOW				

The Business Advisory Committee signified that the person who was most helpful or concerned with their activities was the Executive Director, although there was some indication that the Secretary and Rehabilitation Officer also work with the committee. The person most closely associated with the PAC was the Assistant Director, although there was some indication that all of the Urban Renewal Agency employees are helpful and concerned with the PAC.

Question 9 asked the committee members if they felt they were performing a worthwhile service to their community and city. See Table V for an illustration of the responses.

TABLE V  
COMMITTEE EVALUATION ON "WORTHWHILENESS" OF  
COMMITTEE SERVICE

	Project Area Committee		Business Advisory Committee	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
TO COMMUNITY	7	1	3	2
TO CITY	7	1	3	2

The questionnaire given to the employees of the Urban Renewal Agency was designed very similar to the one given to the Project Area Committee and Business Advisory Committee, however, it was fashioned to get some perspective as to how the agency viewed the committees.

The Manhattan, Kansas Urban Renewal Agency was formulated in 1970. The mean length of time that the agency's members had been employed at the time of the survey was 1.5 years.

It should be noted at this point that three of the seven employees responding said that they were not aware that there was a Business Advisory Committee. When asked in Question 2 which committee or committees they worked directly with, three showed that they worked with the PAC and one with the Business Committee.

The agency employees shared the same opinion in Question 3 concerning the influence of the PAC on agency decision making. They agreed unanimously

that the PAC didn't have any influence. One person denoted that the Business Committee was influential in decision making.

The responses to Question 4 of the Agency questionnaire showed that agency employees feel that informing, educating and advising are the primary tasks of the Urban Renewal Agency in relation to the committees. They ranked the functions in Question 5 identical to the way that the committees did. (See page 20, paragraph 3.)

Most of the staff agreed, in Question 6, that neither the PAC or Business Committee has been successful in attaining community goals. Furthermore, in Question 7, when asked about the activities in which the committees had been successful in, the PAC and Business Committee were not perceived as being successful in all activities by a majority of the agency employees. However, one person said that the PAC had been successful in all areas.

Lastly, the staff disclosed that the Assistant Director is considered to be the most helpful and concerned about the PAC. The Executive Director was linked with the Business Committee by those who were familiar with it.

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

The ineffectiveness of the Manhattan, Kansas Project Area Committee and Business Advisory Committee is realized by the agency staff and the committee members. The blame for the passivity of the committees lies with the members and the agency. However, since the agency initiated the development of the PAC and the BC it should receive the bulk of responsibility for the unproductiveness of the committees.

The agency failed initially in its method of selecting committee members. (See Appendix A.) Furthermore, after the committees were established the members were never told exactly what tasks they were to perform. Both committees suffered from the same problem of being unable to generate true commitment to perceived or actual community goals or needs. Aside from these factors the groups were never taught how to work on the maintenance needs of the group, e.g., trust and acceptance.

In order to help these committees it is important that the Urban Renewal Agency help them to move toward planning and action. Both task and process learnings are necessary to enable the committees to mobilize for action and at the same time to improve the work of these committees and the Urban Renewal Agency.

The following discussion will focus primarily on observations that the author has made about the Project Area Committee. Hopefully this section can provide a more indepth or visceral view of the PAC and its relationship to the community and the Urban Renewal Agency. Some attention will be given to the Business Committee as to how its ineffectiveness and that of the Project Area Committee are related. The author has observed that the PAC began as a group of citizens concerned about the redevelopment of their surroundings and willing to work towards a more pleasing and healthy atmosphere for its people. Presently the PAC has become a somewhat passive or apathetic organization lacking the hope and ambitiousness that the organization began with.

The passiveness on the part of the PAC members can be attributed to two factors; lack of power and poor organization. PAC members realized that they were not powerful enough to accomplish much on their own and that help from outside groups was necessary if the PAC was to achieve its goals. The PAC members had neither the status nor the money which would aid them in making the necessary contacts with local powerholders. To make matters even worse, the PAC lacked good internal leadership. This was due partly to the fact that the PAC had such a high degree of homogeneity in the interests represented and so few people willing to devote time and energy to the organization. Therefore, the power to make decisions went by default to several individuals who kept the group in existence.

Certain abilities and/or talents are necessary for a group to influence the decisions of those who have authority in the city government. The PAC

lacked sophistication about the workings of government and the influential private groups in the city, especially the mass media. The lack of verbal ability, sense of timing and contacts hurt the committee's credibility in the community. The aforementioned elements prevented the PAC from being formally recognized in the community as an influential coalition.

Because the PAC was not aware of its rights and responsibilities they were pressured into performing tasks which were not their responsibility. The author observed while visiting the Urban Renewal Agency that citizens who called or visited the agency to inquire about various problems or issues, related to the project area, were encouraged to contact a PAC member instead of directly contacting the agency. This action implied that the job of PAC members was to guard the agency from unsolicited citizen inquiries. My discussions with PAC members have lead me to believe that they never perceived themselves as "watchdogs" for the agency but instead as agents of change for the betterment of their community.

Although PAC members had strong commitments to their community and met regularly to discuss their goals and objectives they did not play a crucial part in influencing the specific details of the Urban Renewal plan for rehabilitation and development. The efforts of the PAC were ineffective because its members lacked the skills and experience for participation in organized endeavors. The opportunity to play a role in the development of southside Manhattan was grasped readily and sincerely by PAC members because it offered hope. However, like many programs which are purported as cure-alls

for social problems the citizen participation element of the Urban Renewal Program has served merely as pacification for the PAC.

The PAC became caught up in a vicious circle whereby it attempted to deal with the long range goals of the committee and the day-to-day struggle to sustain themselves and their families. This brought about interpersonal conflict because each PAC member was more concerned with his or her own personal interest rather than the collective interests of the community. The author contends that if the PAC had been taught how to capitalize in a collective fashion they would have been a productive and effective coalition.

Ineffectiveness on the part of committees such as the PAC is not unusual. However, the ineffectiveness of the Business Committee is atypical of committees like it in the United States. The PAC is made up of primarily disadvantaged citizens who lack the expertise often required to make a committee of its type function effectively. Aside from this lacking there is the ever present fact that tomorrow or the next day there may not be a Federal Urban Renewal Program due to frequent cutbacks in federally funded renewal projects. Disillusionment and fear are two factors that PAC members are constantly aware of. The Business Committee is comprised of middle to upper class men who play an active role in seeing to it that Manhattan, Kansas grows and thrives. The role of committee member is not new to the members of the Business Committee. The one characteristic that they do share with the PAC is disillusionment.

The blame for the ineffectiveness of federally-sponsored citizens' committees lies in the American governmental system. The "Great Society" of the 60's gave a push in the right direction for social change, however, the climate of repentance toward the poor and minority groups has disappeared. The time has come again for these groups to arise, take power and move into the governmental arena so that their lives will no longer be plagued and dogged by elitist government officials. "Middle Americans", the poor and other powerless people must join forces. If these diverse groups joined together and shared their resources it would be possible for all people to have decent housing, income and education.

For too long groups like the PAC have been pacified and deceived. The only way that it and committees like it can be effective is if they are incorporated into the mainstream of the democratic body in such a way that the development of power among all classes is welcomed instead of feared.



## CHAPTER 7

### HINTS FOR PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS OF URBAN RENEWAL CITIZEN COMMITTEES

Be sure that:

1. the organization has adequate official support and/or adequate financial backing.
2. an educational program is used to instruct committee members on organizing for action.
3. the committee and its members have access to those persons who can give professional advice, e.g., architects, social workers, engineers.
4. all members have an adequate understanding of the workings of the various municipal boards and agencies.
5. there is a willingness on the part of all committee members to work unceasingly on the project or problem until it is an accomplishment.

## APPENDIX A

The Assistant Director of the Urban Renewal Agency in Manhattan was interviewed so that more relevant data rather than general information about the agency, Project Area Committee and Business Committee could be obtained. It was determined that the PAC members were chosen by a community organizer, who was hired by the Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Agency. The organizer was a student at Kansas State University and her job was to "feel the pulse" of the community and find leaders in the urban renewal area.

The community organizer divided the project area into blocks and tried to establish where the leadership was through interviews. The person who was considered to be the most vocal was chosen as a "block leader". Later this person was asked to host a block meeting along with the Assistant Director and the Executive Director. The people who hosted the meetings later became members of the PAC.

The Assistant Director said that the community organizer was not familiar with the community and he questioned how people could be chosen to be members of the PAC simply because they were vocal. It was also pointed out that persons such as Ray Willis, a former Assistant Professor at Kansas State University, Larry Nicholson, presently Manhattan's human relations director and Murt Hanks, former mayor, all whom had been vocal in mass meetings but were not considered to be leaders.

Shortly after the PAC members were selected they began to have meetings. The PAC had great difficulty in determining their goals and objectives, whereupon the Executive Director interceded and assisted the group. In addition to their organizational problems they were delayed in receiving HUD handbooks and other relevant materials that would have been useful in PAC's early development.

It was later stated that the lack of knowledge about their duties made the PAC become totally dependent upon the local urban renewal agency. The PAC members didn't know what to ask for from the agency therefore they were given only the information that the agency wanted them to receive. The situation became so critical that two people who had been vocal, but not selected for PAC membership, intervened for the PAC. A formal complaint was made against the agency. During the government investigation funding for the project was interrupted. It was decided that some type of written agreement had to be made between the PAC and the Urban Renewal Agency. There were hearings by the Equal Opportunity Office. An agreement was made between the local agency and the PAC which disallowed internal interference by agency administrators. A budget for the PAC was also requested and agreed upon. The Assistant Director said that this was the first sign that the PAC was gaining independence.

The independence didn't remain very long. The PAC chairman, who was described as not being a vocal person, told the Assistant Director that she felt that with his assistance she could do a better job.

He said that at first she did a good job but due to the fact that she owned property in the urban renewal area she became fearful about losing it and thus became a "do nothing chairman" or "figure head". She related all decisions and challenges against the director's position on issues by the PAC directly to the Director. Her position became that of informer.

At the time of this writing PAC had gone from meeting twice a month to only meeting once a month, and of the fourteen members on the official roster in September, 1973 only eight are presently considered to be active members by the Urban Renewal Agency.

The Business Advisory Committee was formulated in 1971. The members were chosen by the urban renewal Executive Director and a member of the local downtown association. The group received its formal recognition from the press.

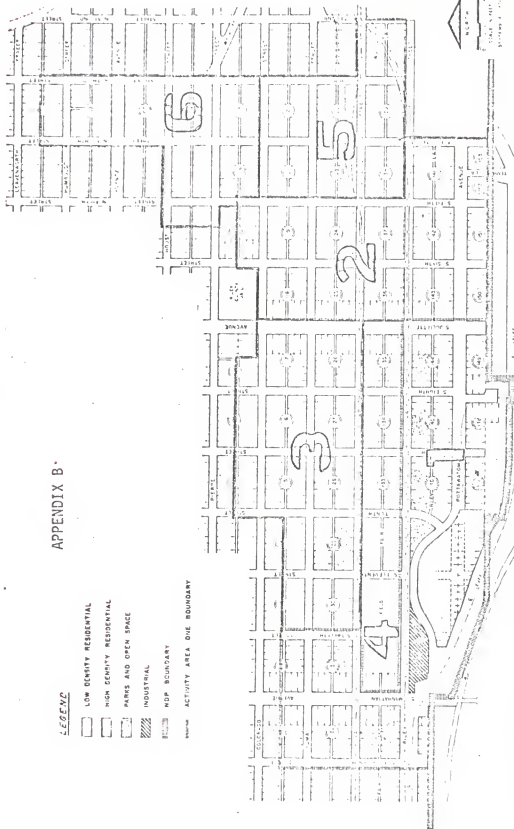
Through a Kansas State University design class a study was prepared for the downtown group and presented to the business leaders. This study showed ways to improve the Manhattan downtown area. The primary task of the committee was to review the study.

The committee has ceased to meet formally, but is still recognized by the Urban Renewal Agency as an active advisory group.

# APPENDIX B.

## LEGEND

-  LOW DENSITY RESIDENTIAL
-  HIGH DENSITY RESIDENTIAL
-  PARKS AND OPEN SPACE
-  INDUSTRIAL
-  NDP BOUNDARY
-  ACTIVITY AREA ONE BOUNDARY



LAND USE PLAN • ACTIVITY AREA ONE  
**SOUTHEAST PLAZA**  
 URBAN RENEWAL AGENCY OF MANHATTAN, KANSAS

DESIGNED BY  
 CONSULTING ENGINEERS IN PLANNING DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT

## APPENDIX C

1. How long have you been a member of the Manhattan Urban Renewal Agency Business Committee?

\_\_\_\_\_ 1 year  
\_\_\_\_\_ 2 years  
\_\_\_\_\_ 3 years  
\_\_\_\_\_ 4 years  
\_\_\_\_\_ other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

2. Are you an officer? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Position \_\_\_\_\_

3. Do you feel that the business committee is influential in Urban Renewal Agency decision making?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

4. Which of the functions listed below do you or members of the business committee perform?

\_\_\_\_\_ inform and educate citizens  
\_\_\_\_\_ advise agency  
\_\_\_\_\_ telling Urban Renewal Agency what to do  
\_\_\_\_\_ making Urban Renewal Agency do what is needed  
\_\_\_\_\_ seeing to it that the Urban Renewal Agency does what they  
are told  
\_\_\_\_\_ other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

5. Rank these functions according to how you or members of the business committee relate to the Urban Renewal Agency. Rank using numbers 1-5. 1 is the highest and 5 is the lowest.

\_\_\_\_\_ inform and educate  
\_\_\_\_\_ advise  
\_\_\_\_\_ telling Urban Renewal Agency what to do  
\_\_\_\_\_ making Urban Renewal Agency do what is needed  
\_\_\_\_\_ seeing to it that the Urban Renewal Agency does what they  
are told  
\_\_\_\_\_ other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

6. How successful do you think that the business committee has been in attaining community goals?

\_\_\_\_\_ very successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ not so successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ failure  
 \_\_\_\_\_ don't know

7. In what activity do you think you or your group has been successful?

Yes                  No

\_\_\_\_\_      \_\_\_\_\_ in making plans  
 \_\_\_\_\_      \_\_\_\_\_ decision making  
 \_\_\_\_\_      \_\_\_\_\_ in the choice of alternatives  
 \_\_\_\_\_      \_\_\_\_\_ development of new programs  
 \_\_\_\_\_      \_\_\_\_\_ other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_      \_\_\_\_\_ don't know

8. Who, if anyone of the people listed below has been most helpful or concerned with business committee activities?

\_\_\_\_\_ James Schroer, Director  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Marvin Butler, Assistant Director  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Kennard Goforth, Relocation Officer  
 \_\_\_\_\_ William Atkinson, Rehabilitation Officer  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Sandra Patterson, Loan Processing Clerk  
 \_\_\_\_\_ June Gellinger, Secretary  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Jack Thomas, Student  
 \_\_\_\_\_ other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

9. Do you as a member of the business committee feel that you are performing a worthwhile service to:

Your community?      \_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No  
 Your city?              \_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No

## APPENDIX D

1. How long have you been a member of the Project Area Committee?

\_\_\_\_\_ 1 year  
\_\_\_\_\_ 2 years  
\_\_\_\_\_ 3 years  
\_\_\_\_\_ other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

2. Are you an officer? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
Position \_\_\_\_\_

3. Do you feel that the PAC is influential in Urban Renewal Agency decision making?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

4. In which of the functions listed below do you or members of the PAC perform?

\_\_\_\_\_ inform and educate neighbors  
\_\_\_\_\_ advise Urban Renewal Agency  
\_\_\_\_\_ telling URA what to do  
\_\_\_\_\_ making URA do what is needed  
\_\_\_\_\_ seeing to it that the URA does what they are told  
\_\_\_\_\_ other, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

5. Rank these functions according to how you or members of the PAC relate to the URA. Rank using numbers 1-5. 1 is the highest and 5 is the lowest.

\_\_\_\_\_ inform and educate neighbors  
\_\_\_\_\_ advise Urban Renewal Agency  
\_\_\_\_\_ telling URA what to do  
\_\_\_\_\_ making URA do what is needed  
\_\_\_\_\_ seeing to it that the URA does what they are told  
\_\_\_\_\_ other \_\_\_\_\_



6. How successful do you think that the PAC has been in attaining community goals?

\_\_\_\_\_ very successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ no so successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ failure  
 \_\_\_\_\_ don't know

7. In what activity do you think you or your group has or has not been successful?

Yes                  No

_____	_____	in making plans
_____	_____	decision making
_____	_____	in the choice of alternatives
_____	_____	development of new programs
_____	_____	other, specify: _____
_____	_____	don't know

8. Who, if anyone, of the people listed below has been most helpful or concerned with PAC activities?

_____	James Schroer, Director
_____	Marvin Butler, Assistant Director
_____	Kennard Goforth, Relocation Officer
_____	William Atkinson, Rehabilitation Officer
_____	Sandra Patterson, Loan Processing Clerk
_____	June Gellinger, Secretary
_____	Jack Thomas, Student
_____	other, specify: _____

9. Do you as a member of the PAC feel that you are performing a worthwhile service to your community? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No  
 your city? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No

## APPENDIX E

1. How long have you been employed by the Manhattan Urban Renewal Agency?

\_\_\_\_\_ 1 year  
\_\_\_\_\_ 2 years  
\_\_\_\_\_ 3 years  
\_\_\_\_\_ 4 years  
\_\_\_\_\_ other, specify \_\_\_\_\_

2. Do you work directly with the Project Area Committee? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No  
Business Committee? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No  
If you answered "no" to this question go on to question #4.

3. Do you feel that the PAC is influential in URA decision making?  
Business Committee \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No  
\_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No

4. In which of these functions do you or your agency perform for each committee?

### Business Committee

\_\_\_\_\_ information and education function  
\_\_\_\_\_ advise  
\_\_\_\_\_ telling them what to do  
\_\_\_\_\_ making them do what is needed  
\_\_\_\_\_ seeing to it that they do what they are told  
\_\_\_\_\_ don't know

### Project Area Committee

\_\_\_\_\_ information and education function  
\_\_\_\_\_ advise  
\_\_\_\_\_ telling them what to do  
\_\_\_\_\_ making them do what is needed  
\_\_\_\_\_ seeing to it that they do what they are told  
\_\_\_\_\_ don't know

5. Rank these functions according to how you or your agency relate to each of the committees. Rank from 1 to 5. Number 1 would be the highest function and number 5 would be the lowest.

Business Committee

- \_\_\_\_\_ information and education function  
 \_\_\_\_\_ advise  
 \_\_\_\_\_ telling them to do what is needed  
 \_\_\_\_\_ seeing to it that they do what they are told  
 \_\_\_\_\_ don't know

Project Area Committee

- \_\_\_\_\_ information and education function  
 \_\_\_\_\_ advise  
 \_\_\_\_\_ telling them what to do  
 \_\_\_\_\_ making them do what is needed  
 \_\_\_\_\_ seeing to it that they do what they are told  
 \_\_\_\_\_ don't know

6. How successful do you think the PAC and business committee have been in attaining community goals?

- \_\_\_\_\_ very successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ not so successful  
 \_\_\_\_\_ failure  
 \_\_\_\_\_ don't know

7. In what activity do you think they have or have not been successful?

Business Committee

Yes                  No

- |       |       |                               |
|-------|-------|-------------------------------|
| _____ | _____ | in making plans               |
| _____ | _____ | decision making               |
| _____ | _____ | in the choice of alternatives |
| _____ | _____ | development of new programs   |
| _____ | _____ | other, specify _____          |
| _____ | _____ | don't know                    |

## Project Area Committee

Yes

No

_____	_____	in making plans
_____	_____	decision making
_____	_____	in the choice of alternatives
_____	_____	development of new programs
_____	_____	other, specify _____
_____	_____	don't know

8. Who, if anyone, of the people listed below has been most helpful or concerned with the Business Committee and/or Project Area Committee? Place the initial "B" beside the person or persons name if it's the Business Committee and/or the initial "P" if it's the Project Area Committee.

_____	James Schroer, Director
_____	Marvin Butler, Assistant Director
_____	Kennard Goforth, Relocation Officer
_____	William Atkinson, Rehabilitation Officer
_____	Sandra Patterson, Loan Processing Clerk
_____	June Gellinger, Secretary
_____	Jack Thomas, Student
_____	other, specify: _____

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Cahn, Edgar S. and Passett, Barry A., Citizen Participation Effecting Community Change, (Praeger Publishers, 1971), Part III.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Goodman, William C., Principles and Practice of Urban Planning, (Published by the International City Managers' Association, 1968), pp. 573-577.

<sup>4</sup>Cahn, Edgar S. and Passett, Barry A..

<sup>5</sup>Arnstein, Sherry, "Eight Rungs on the Ladder of Citizen Participation", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July, 1969.

<sup>6</sup>Sanders, Marion, The Professional Radicals, (Harper and Row), 1965, Part III.

<sup>7</sup>Goodman, William C..

<sup>8</sup>Donovan, John C., The Politics of Poverty, (Pegasus Press, 1967), pp. 95-107.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Goodman, William C..

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Rossi, Peter and Dentler, Robert A., The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings, (Free Press, 1961), pp. 45-61.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Goodman, William C..

<sup>17</sup>Weaver, Robert C., The Urban Complex, (Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 101-150.

<sup>18</sup>Friedman, Bernard and Morris, Robert., Urban Planning and Social Policy, (Basic Books, Inc., 1968), pp. 213-225.

<sup>19</sup>Isenberg, Irwin, The City in Crisis, 1967, pp. 42-45.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Downs, Anthony, Urban Problems and Prospects, (Markham Publishing), p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Goodman, William C..

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "What is a PAC?", (HUD-176-R, Feb. 1971).

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

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