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NEW TOWNS AND FAMILY MOBILITY

by

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B. S., Kansas State University, 1972

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

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The report expresses an interest in new towns as one alternative to future urban development in the United States. It describes how new towns could allow the nation to plan and design an urban environment much more comprehensively than the existing traditional urban development--comprehensive methods that would, hopefully, not allow the occurrence of the existing urban problems in new towns. If solutions to present problems were not readily realized in new towns, the nation would, at least, realize an environment with recognized variables through comprehensive planning. This would allow for a more scientific understanding of man and his urban environment.

Any new towns strategy, accepted by the United States, should include a pluristic population that is representative of the nation's over-all population characteristics; this would, of course, include the lower social-economic classes (urban poor). If the lower social-economic classes are to become residents of new towns, new planning programs will have to be developed to allow them to do so with little resistance from their middle-class counterparts. These new and innovative programs must allow those lower social-economic persons, who choose to move to new towns, to realize preparation for the new social and economic environment of the new towns, which, itself, will be both socially and economically supportive of urban life.

The report contains a basic discussion of the needs for a new towns strategy at a nation level; from this discussion, some of the major objectives of such a strategy are set forth; i.e., housing, jobs, social cohesiveness, economic supportiveness, racial and social-economic integration of its residents, a population representative of the nation's population, etc. Then, the report discusses why these objectives cannot become a reality without some planned system of family mobility for the lower social-economic families who wish to become involved in a new towns strategy. After establishing the importance of incorporating a family mobility policy within a new towns strategy, the report presumes that these hypothetical objectives would be incorporated into a national new towns development policy.

The report, then, reviews one alternative to the development of new towns, and how it would be designed and planned to more satisfactorily meet the needs of man in urban habitat. It covers three major realms of urban life in a new town environment; social, economic and physical. Some of the major topics covered are: 1) how social-economic planning can encourage family mobility in new towns, 2) why it is important to allow the integration of different social-economic classes and races, and why the isolation of different kinds of persons is not good for human development, 3) how the design of major physical divisions of the community (the cluster, neighborhood and village) can encourage the necessary degree of heterogeneity and homogeneity composition of its residents, and 4) how planning and design can encourage a sense

of belonging or community for its residents. The report relates why these planning and design considerations are important to family mobility in a new town's environment.

To help the reader better understand what is required in a new towns and family mobility policy, the report reviews the nature and culture of poverty. Why the urban poor have found it difficult, and will continue to find it hard, to achieve social-economic mobility in the existing central city environments. Then, it discusses what is necessary for family mobility in an urban environment, and why this can be accomplished most comprehensively in a strategy such as that being proposed in the report. Major topics covered are: 1) comprehensive planning, not a piecemeal approach, 2) basic and support programs for family mobility, 3) acculturation, 4) job training and retaining, 5) education, 6) participation of the urban poor, and 7) social services. The report reviews the basics to urban poverty and the effort that is required in any program designed to encourage social-economic family mobility.

The report, then develops a strategy of transition from the central city to the new towns for the urban poor. It discusses what persons would most likely become involved in a new towns and family mobility strategy, and how the planners of such strategy should proceed to get these persons involved. It describes what will be required to sell the strategy to the urban poor, what the urban poor should know about the strategy, and what would be expected of the urban poor to make the program a success.

The major objective of the strategy of new towns and family mobility would be to prepare the urban poor, who choose to migrate to a new town, for their new town environment. To more effectively accomplish this objective the report introduces a new concept to social-economic family mobility, the Preparation Community. The report explains the function of the Preparation Community in some detail. It relates why the Preparation Community would allow the urban poor to move to new towns more readily, with a better preparation for adapting to their new town environment. The report gives a conceptional description of what activities would be carried on in the Preparation Community, and why they are important to family mobility.

Finally, the report discusses the need for a follow-up program in the new town, the Try Out Period. This program would allow a family to receive whatever programs are needed to insure the new family's success as a resident in the new town. It would, also, allow for a time period in which the family could adjust to their new urban setting and decide whether they wish to remain.

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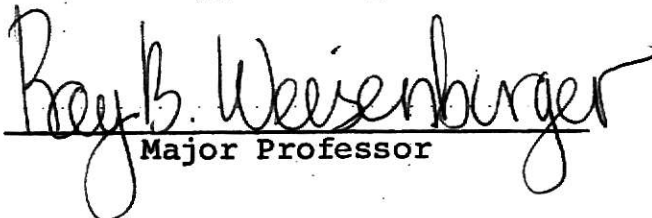
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CHAPTER ONE

STATEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The Problem

As the United States has allowed its urban centers to develop in an almost uncontrolled and patchwork fashion, it has found itself faced with an ever increasing urban crisis. It has allowed itself to develop large, sprawling urban centers, with little thought, or knowledge, of how this development would effect the lives of its residents and the future of man. Instead of building a more comprehensive knowledge of man in his urban environment and applying this knowledge to a methodology of human development in an urban ecology, the nation allowed the practice of blindly adding to the urban crisis to continue.

"In 1965 the President's Message on Improving the Nation's Cities declared that projects were to be 'of sufficient magnitude both in physical and social dimensions to bring about a change in the total environment'....

"Life for people in the central cities was to be made better through a radical improvement in housing, sanitation, crime prevention, mass transportation, and the upgrading of education, health and welfare service. Yet rather than starting a vigorous program along these lines, the President asked Congress for only \$2-3 billion, to be spread over six years, 'to rebuild entire slum neighborhoods,' to plan the rebuilding of the central cities of the entire nation, he asked for 12 million dollars, less than the cost of developing the plans for the Pan Am Building in New York alone...."¹

Until this situation is boldly attacked on a comprehensive scale, there can be no remedies, and urbanizing technological society

will move through various layers of habitat, thoughtlessly or callously destroying human ecological balance in the process.

To date, there is very little scientific knowledge of how the urban environment has affected, and will continue to affect, man's behavior and his development. The knowledge possessed is not being used in a comprehensive effort to develop methodology toward approaching optimal environmental qualities for human development. The behavioral sciences have made several efforts to develop an understanding of how the present urban environment affects man's behavior and development. However, these developments have been polarized through the study of urban life; therefore, these efforts, too, have only made a patchwork contribution to human development in an urban setting. These studies have generally focused on micro environments of an urban environment and, thus, each study has been limited to understanding a certain sector of the larger urban society. This knowledge has been important in the understanding of how certain environmental conditions can affect man's behavior and development, but it only gives an understanding of effects in an isolated situation, not of a comprehensive approach to human development in an urban habitat. It is this patchwork fashion of understanding man's urban ecology that has caused the gathered knowledge to have little effect on the total urban crisis.

"Human behavior has been explained in many ways-- through many different disciplines. Now, the aims of modern urban development assume that human behavior articulates in some systematic way with the physical environment.

The assessment of this complex assumption is a frontier of urban sociology. It is, also, a prerequisite for intelligent physical design and planning. One might logically expect that a multitude of answers of this subject would have emerged from the past 40 years' research in the discipline which calls itself human ecology (the relationship between man and his environment). However, the ecologists have not provided these answers....

What is required is an union of sociological methodology and theory both to make sense out of an otherwise farflung and disjointed literature and to form the focus of new research which might add knowledge of the relation of man and his environment."²

However, this micro environmental knowledge can be used to direct man in an effort to realize more viable urban society. To do so, a comprehensive understanding must be compiled of how the sub-systems (micro environments) affect each other and the total urban system. Human society must be looked at as an open system. This means that the behavior of societies can be analyzed in terms of certain general characteristics of system involving equilibrium and the disturbance of equilibrium and its consequences. The importance of urbanization can only be realized when such potentials (studies of the micro urban environment) can be seen as a system of interaction between man and environment and man and men, and not as separate pieces, processes or disconnected events.

"A system is 'a composition, an addition, an ordered whole, an arrangement of parts into the whole. The whole is completed within itself, and not merely a collection of parts.'

Component or elemental parts of systems can form another system, called a subsystem. Subsystems in turn can be divided into subsubsystems, subsubsubsystems and so on. Since every system is connected

to or is part of another system according to infinite number of possible system realizations, numbers and hierarchies of systems are infinite. The biggest unit then is the universe.

Open systems are those with openings and links to its environment and with multi-faceted and fluid interplay of associations and disassociations in widely varying degrees and intensities."³

To become involved in developing scientific methodology for the development of human urban ecology will require examining and re-examining the existing environment to learn what variables have had an associative reaction which have positive and negative relationships between and within sub-system of the open urban system. This gathered data would be compiled into a comprehensive guide toward positive development in an urban setting.

"Steering the behavior of complex social systems is a double interacting problem. It demands the knowledge of how to steer, operate and measure actions and resources within the internal system itself, as well as how to process and steer those happening in the external environment."⁴

This basic outline of urban ecology will have to fill in many gaps unguided by empirical research or previous findings. In their absence, it will be necessary to make what would be considered to be educated hypotheses about man-in-habitat. These assumptions would be a basis for research and theory in the behavioral sciences and would contain answers to general issues that would face planners and designers of any community. This method put the urban environment, itself a tool, into a new context and provides an alternative to the obsolete method of piecemeal solutions by presenting a means of tackling the problems of urban complexity as a whole. If environmental designers are

unable, or unwilling, to integrate fragmented knowledge of human habitat, they cannot and will not develop a theory and a comprehensive method of tackling problems, and no significant advance can result.

After compiling a guide to positive human development in an urban setting, this theory would be applied to the actual human habitat. The outcome of such a study would not be an utopian result; it would be irrational to think so. Rather, it would be viewed as an enterprise of an imperfect experiment with one of its results being that it allows man to learn a good deal about planning for man in his urban environment. The primary task would be the framing of searching questions and priorities, not the provision of simple answers. It would be an attempt to integrate environmental ends and means in a system of equilibrium, that is, an environmental strategy which, together with its tactics, can avoid the pitfalls of both utopia and consensus.

"Throughout history idealistic and humanistic men have responded to social problems with dreams of imaginary societies where the problems are neatly and abstractly dissolved. The dreams, considered to be impossible by the dreamers themselves, are called "utopias."⁵

"...A state of equilibrium is not a state of final rest, but consists of a new starting point, because an equilibration process can bring about the formation of new states of disequilibrium."⁶

Advance societies already have most of the necessary fragment of the technique to develop prototype models of rational explanation, but they are a little apprehensive about putting these fragments together and forging a comprehensive tool that will

help to formulate human decisions.

"Already the goal of material plenty for future populations is clear cut, has priority, and has become technically possible. It appears that in a period of technological transition as drastic as the one mankind is undergoing now, decisions about economic and technical matters are made without reference to possible disastrous social consequences."⁷

For this reason, at the beginning of any search of viable goals must come a commitment which can be simply stated and easily understood, and then can be demonstrated. The following objectives (commitments) were intended to deduce what kind of urban environment would be most conducive to experimentation. The environment would be one in which: 1) new and innovative experimentation in planning and design could be readily introduced and accepted, 2) comprehensive planning and design could most readily be introduced, 3) experimentation with urban environment could best be observed for the effects on those involved in the urban setting, thus allowing a more scientific understanding of associative relationships of developments in the urban ecology and 4) those persons involved in such experimentation would be allowed to do so by choice.

What will be Required?

The problem lies not in the potentials of production, which probably have no limit, but in the development of a theoretical, systematic approach to all environmental problems facing humanity in a new framework of problem solving techniques. The problem

can be traced to the unwillingness, inability or impotence of existing social institutions to adjust to present realities of the urban crisis. With this restraint in mind and the objectives stated above, it was deduced that the urban habitat which would allow man to approach optimum conditions for experimentation, on a theory of positive urban ecology, would be best realized in a new towns concept. A new town system would allow the creation of new institutions of social-economic planning and physical design with much more flexibility and better understanding of how the planned (controlled) variables affected man and his habitat. The flexibility would allow for adding or removing those variables needed to encourage a more functional and meaningful urban ecology. It would enable a more comprehensive method of planning and design than is realized in traditional urban development. It would direct itself toward a more scientific realization of solutions to discourage the occurrence of existing urban problems. It would lead to a variety of conclusions within a common framework, depending on the groups of persons involved, their cultural backgrounds or the disciplines to which they belong. A series of such comparative studies involving new towns could give a picture of entirely new urban requirements which could then be structured into a model for urban development.

"Clearly, we cannot continue to experiment in bits.... The city is a completely interacting system, and thus, the experiment must be a total system. Nobody knows the answers to city living in the future, and when answers are unknown, experiment is essential."⁸

"Experimentation must be able to get at the prime question about the culture of the poor: what behavioral norms will and will not persist under changed economic and noneconomic conditions. This question can be answered best by altering the conditions and then seeing how people respond.... The best technique is the field experiment, which enables a sample of poor people to live under improved conditions and then measure their response: whether or not they change their behavior and implement their aspirations. Such experiments can determine what effect the provision of a variety of new opportunities has on poverty-related behavioral norms....A comparison of an experimental group which escaped from a ghetto and a control group which did not, might yield some useful preliminary answers...."9

In the United States, the most technologically advanced country, the absence of clear-cut goals is dramatically revealed in the scale of the urban crisis. The first step in any planning process must be the declaration of social purpose followed by a firm commitment; a deliberate choice of priorities. To enable the United States to become involved in a search for more optimal urban environment will require such commitment, one of much greater scale than is now realized. Such commitment will require great amounts of resources and the assistance of many different disciplines to insure its realization. The nation will have to accept the responsibility of developing systems of new town development. This would require a national policy of urban development, which would include a new towns strategy, a new towns strategy which would research and develop a comprehensive understanding of micro and macro urban environments. This strategy would make every effort to understand urban life, and how urban ecology is effected by and effects the different forms of social, economic, political and physical environments.

In short, it is hoped that the United States will accept a national development policy which will allow comprehensive development of future urban spaces; a new towns strategy which will encourage the development of new urban form and space which is, at the same time, socially, psychologically and economically supportive of their residents. If the United States continues to develop new urban environments without comprehensive understanding of how physical design can encourage social-psychological and economic supportiveness, and how social-psychological and economic planning can encourage a more cohesive urban environment, the nation has then, in fact, failed itself and the future of urban life. It can afford to do neither.

What Would be the Major Objectives of a New Towns Strategy?

The major objective of any new urban development should be to create urban form and space that maintains urban life; urban form and space that can be supported by the natural environment and in which social-economic environments are conducive of the needs of positive human development.

"...the problem remains that of establishing a value system and responding to it. We require to see the components of the natural identity of the city as a value system, offering opportunities for human use. However, in addition, it is necessary to submit the creations of men-buildings and places and spaces-to the same type of analysis and evaluation. It is, therefore, essential to understand the city as a form, derived in the first instance from geological and biological evolution, existing as a sum of natural processes and adapted by man."¹⁰

"...the site is a crucial aspect of our environment. It has a biological, a social and a psychological impact that goes far beyond its accepted influence on cost and technical function. It limits what people can do and at the same time open new opportunities for them. Site planning is the art of arranging the external physical environment to support human behavior."¹¹

To achieve such a quality of urban life will require a collaboration of many different disciplines of environmental design and planning. This collaboration of varied disciplines will require designing not only a comprehensive theory, but also the mobilization of diversified talent for action.

"Interdisciplinary teams of model builders composed of experts from political science, sociology, behavior science, economics, architecture, planning operational research and cybernetics. They would conceive sets of intersystems for social communication, decision making and systems synthesis based on a core system generating and integrating new and different subsystems."¹²

It will require men that are educationally diversified enough to understand and communicate with the many different disciplines involved in the development of a new urban ecology. They must have a working knowledge of how one aspect of urban ecology can directly, or indirectly, affect another aspect or aspects of the total urban system. To realize an equilibrium and the disturbance of equilibrium with its consequences, will require men of comprehensive understanding of the urban habitat. "Comprehensive design will need comprehensive designers, "in the words of Buckminster Fuller, "to employ complementary processes; collecting new knowledge and data, identifying new urban components, developing new theories, learning new skills, and above all making

commitments to achievement of many unfamiliar ends." Thus, the first objective would be to involve men in such a strategy who have an insight of how the sub-systems of a open urban system have direct and indirect relationships to each other, and who have the foresight to extrapolate how the sub-systems may be developed in an urban system in a manner which will enable man to realize an urban ecology which is more satisfactory for human development.

A new towns strategy should become a new direction for answers to many of the nation's domestic problems. It would hopefully become an alternative to urban growth, which could become a model toward all urban growth. Since it will not be developed in the existing urban environment, it will not be retarded by the traditional development limitations. New towns would give our urban planners and designers the freedom to develop urban form and space that are not possible to achieve in existing urban ecology. This, then, would be the second objective, to introduce new and innovative concepts to an urban environment; concepts which will hopefully give insight to the development of all alternatives of urban growth and renewal.

The solutions to some of the major problems of the United States' urban ecology may be demonstrated through a new towns strategy, providing that strategy meets the criteria set forth above. Examining the existing urban environment one readily recognizes many problems which a new towns strategy may wish to derive techniques to prevent their occurrence. Unemployment

or underemployment, decline of the central business district, certain patterns of high population density causing pathology, poor education, slums, ghettos, social unrest between social-economic and racial groups, sub-standard housing and lack of housing units, and transportation congestion are only a few urban problems which may be demonstrated to be solvable in a new towns strategy. Solutions which may give insight needed to prevent their occurrence or reoccurrence in existing and future urban habitats.

The urban environment can be considered as a network of interdependent systems. Each system has a function or task. Each system is in continual interaction with other systems--no system is independent of other systems (even though it may try to be). No one problem can be adequately understood in isolation, since all problems are interrelated. This means, to solve all problems in a major problem area will require solutions to all problem areas. Thus, if the major problem area in the urban crisis was understood comprehensively and, then, solved completely, the city would, in fact, be finding solutions to a large majority of its problems.

There are few urban problems which cannot somehow be traced to the twin evils of poverty and segregation. Certainly all those mentioned above could easily be traced to an associative relationship of poverty and segregation.

"Cities today have many critical problems, but two are uppermost: poverty and segregation. My studies have convinced me that the urban crisis is that our cities are becoming the major place of residence for poor Americans, many of them non-white. I argue that this is the urban crisis partly because poverty amidst affluence, and segregation in a democracy, are social evils, but also because poverty and segregation cause, directly or indirectly, all other problems of the city."¹³

If planners can understand comprehensively why these two variables do exist, and then, proceed to plan a new social-economic and physical environment which discourages the existence of these variables, new towns may find some answers for approaching optimal urban ecology.¹⁴ Much research would be required to prevent segregation of social-economic and racial groups, and to learn what variables are necessary for family mobility of the lower social-economic classes. However, if new towns are to succeed, this knowledge is a must. This, then, is the third objective of a new towns strategy; to develop effective methodology to encourage and allow persons of all backgrounds to live together and, at the same time, to allow the lower social-economic classes to experience the needed resources for family mobility.

"...many of the commonly regarded basic rights of all American citizens are frequently denied by residential segregation....Aside from the economic consequences of segregation there are other effects. Approximately one person out of every nine in the United States is black, and segregation isolates this population of about 24 million people from the rest of the country--an unhealthy situation for an interdependent urban society."¹⁵

"Social-economic mobility involves a change in perspectives--a displacement of reference groups.

Especially for those in an ethnic minority, upward mobility means gaining advantages at the cost of losing a part of one's former sense of identity. Since a high value is placed upon upward mobility in American society, we rarely realize that it involves the desertion of the subordinate stratum and its way of life.

Many upwardly mobile people become assimilated; they acquire a new way of looking at their world. Assimilation of a newcomer--an immigrant, a recruit, a parvenu--is transformed until he shares the outlook of his new associates.

One must learn something of the values accepted there to understand how the others (higher social-economic group) judge him. With time, especially if his new contacts prove satisfactory, the person organizes his experiences in terms of newly acquired perspective.

Of course, not all people who succeed in improving their lot become fully assimilated. Some enjoy the material gains, but do not alter their standards of conduct." ¹⁶

If the United States allows itself to adopt a new towns strategy and does not develop means to encourage social-economic and racial integration, there will be no high rate of family mobility of the lower social-economic persons who wish to become involved in a new towns strategy. At the same time, if the nation does not provide programs to promote and insure social-economic family mobility of the lower social-economic classes there will be little integration of the different social-economic and racial groups. Finally, if the physical design is not developed to be supportive of both, it is unlikely that either will be realized. The third objective, then, could be narrowed to a new towns policy which would develop concepts toward family mobility; for the physical design to encourage integration there first must be

programs to encourage family mobility. Thus, social-economic family mobility must be realized before the other variables may be realized.

"The term social mobility refers to the process of permanent movement that is socially significant. Social mobility involves the breaking or modification of old social ties and the establishment of new ones. What is crucial is that the positions in which individuals and groups find themselves located are modified in socially significant degrees."

Within a new towns and family mobility strategy there would be found two types of social-economic mobility: "geographical and vertical."

"Geographical mobility is when an individual or group moves its locus of social action from one place to another, the nature and content of significant social relations are necessarily altered. These changes may produce some modification of status and role.

Vertical mobility is related to geographical relocation situations in which the change of geographical location is accompanied by significant alternation of social value and status."¹⁷

Conclusion

In short, if a national policy for the development of new town systems is adapted, it should include a population representative of the nation's over-all population characteristics, this would include lower social-economic persons. If the lower social-economic classes are to become residents of new towns, new planning programs will have to be developed to help them do so with little resistance from their middle-class counterparts.

The new towns will have to be planned and designed for the middle classes. Any policy will have to be sold to the middle classes, and the middle classes will not become involved in a

new towns policy which they believe will threaten their value system, by placing them in an environment of social-economic groups other than their own. Thus, planners must develop new and innovative programs which will allow the poor, who wish to move to a new towns system, to adapt to the new social-economic environment to be found in the new towns. This would, then, make it more likely for the middle classes to accept the new social environment without believing their values are threatened (other incentives will be discussed in Chapter Four). At the same time, it will allow the urban poor to migrate to a new urban environment with more confidence in their ability to identify with these new social and economic environments.

Finally, if planners and designers are to develop urban ecology which will realize its optimum in human development, they must find answers for the following: 1) They must come to a scientific understanding of what degree of homogeneity of a urban population is required to encourage social cohesion of its residents, 2) to develop an understanding of how much and when heterogeneity may occur without upsetting social cohesion and 3) use this knowledge to design and plan a new town urban setting which will allow a person to experience, by choice, exposure to both heterogeneity and homogeneity social environment without upsetting the social balance or cohesion.

"Planner affect social life, not through the site plan, but through decisions about lot size or facility standards that help to determine, directly or indirectly, whether the population of an area will be homogeneous or heterogeneous with respect to the characteristics that determine social relationships.¹⁸

Without this insight of how to develop the right composition of heterogeneous and homogeneous population, man cannot experience the degree of learning which will enable him to live in social cohesiveness with men of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. This information can be best realized and studied through a comprehensively planned and designed new towns strategy, a test tube of human development and urban ecology.

Summary

Because of the extreme importance of social-economic family mobility in a new towns policy, it will be the major topic of the following chapters. The development of a strategy for social-economic classes would have application on several other problems facing the new towns policy and, thus, was considered to be the most important subject matter to research. The design of a family mobility strategy to prevent the recurrence of poverty and its consequences must address itself to confronting the broader problems of the urban society as a whole. It is therein, more often than not, that the causes and effects of poverty (lack of family mobility) are to be found. For the family mobility strategy to succeed, therefore, it will become necessary to attempt to overcome--or at least to minimize--these relationships to the greatest extent possible before migration to the new towns and within the new town's physical and social-economic environments. This will be the major objective of this report: 1) To examine the new town's environments which would be most supportive of family mobility of migrant urban poor, 2) to

examine the existing slum-ghetto (poverty) urban environment and to come to some basic understanding of why there is a lack of social-economic family mobility in the central cities and what is needed to encourage family mobility, and 3) to develop a strategy which will encourage the urban poor to migrate to new towns with those social-economic viables which will allow them to adapt to their new social-economic environments.

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CHAPTER TWO

NEW TOWNS - DESIGNED AND PLANNED FOR SOCIAL COHESION AND FAMILY MOBILITY

This chapter will discuss what basic elements of a new town model will be required to make it supportive of urban life. It will examine how this criteria will have to be met before the new town model would be conducive of social economic family mobility of the migrating urban poor. The chapter's contents are not a model for new towns; instead, they are only the basic concept of planning and design which must be considered in any effort to permanently eliminate poverty for the migrating urban poor. It is an attempt to examine the systematic planned effort that will be required to prevent the occurrence of poverty in new towns. The purpose here is not to define an optimum environment, but to design a conceptual approach to its definition.

ECONOMIC SUPPORTIVENESS

Location of New Towns

Any new town policy should make one of its major objectives to develop in regional areas that are economically stable or expanding. It would be preferable for the new towns to be located in the outer fringes of economically unrepressed, medium-sized urban regions.

"One of the demands--population growth--will necessitate that we begin to rationally and nationally determine where and how physical growth should occur. The most probable locations for many new communities is in our developing regions."¹

This would, of course, on a national level mean decentralization from the already congested and overburdened larger metropolitan centers of our nation. This policy would have two major positive conclusions: 1) It would not be adding to the ever increasing problems of centralization of urban development and help to balance the distribution of the nation's labor market (population), and 2) it would be motivating further economic development, in medium-sized urban regions, and doing so without further congesting the region, or creating environmental degradation.

If new towns are to provide an economic supportive environment for the urban poor migrant, it must be located in areas where expansion of the labor market will be warranted. A regional economic analysis should be made to determine the possibility of creating new jobs in the area, of stability and good living wage, which could be partially filled by the migrating poor. Major industries, the primary source of economic growth and jobs that pay a respectable living wage, are inclined more to expand or locate in established urban areas where high minimal levels of urban services and amenities are available at modest incremental overhead costs; as a result, employment expansion is more assured in such areas. Such economic growth tends more to take place in medium-sized urban regions, rather than in small-sized urban regions where the services and amenities are not so fully developed, or in the largest cities where the multiple compounding of social problems increases incremental overhead. Thus, it would be most advisable to look to regions of

medium-sized urban areas for the degree of economic activities which will assure a better possibility of creating family sustentive jobs for the migrating urban poor.

The New Town's Site

The new town site should be determined by three major planning and design criteria: 1) The site's natural environment must be compatible to urban development. 2) Its location must encourage good physical, economic and social development. 3) Its location must have good communications and transportation linkage to other economically and socially vital urban developments.

"...natural environment analysis attempts to define the sensitive and essential natural features for preservation, conservation, recreation and urbanization. Combining these elements with socioeconomic and linkage factors will determine where areas of development should occur upon the land."²

A natural environmental analysis should be required to determine whether the site would be supportive of those activities found in urban life and whether the urban development of the area would have negative ecological effects on natural environmental conditions. If new towns fail to be "designed with nature," the community cannot be expected to develop as a positive economically endurable system. Its incompatibility with the natural elements will become liabilities (either ecologically, socially or economically) which will require additional strain on resources, causing an economically negative unequilibrium effect in the new town. The analysis should

determine the site to be the most optimum in the region for urban development and, then, the urban setting should be planned and designed to be compatible to the natural environment.

"...certain lands are unsuitable for urbanization and others are intrinsically suitable. If our hearts are pure and our instincts good, then the lands that best perform work for man in a natural condition will not be those that are most suitable for urbanization."³

If the urban poor are to migrate to the new towns and become supportive of their new environment, the new towns will have to be creative of new jobs and social experiences. The new town's site must then be located relative to possible employment expansion of large corporations. Locating in a middle-sized metropolitan region would encourage employment expansion to direct itself to the new town. It will be necessary for the metropolitan center to be economically vibrant, or the new town's location may only cause additional problems for the existing metropolitan center.

Finally, the site must be, or readily adaptable to, the best possible means and forms of communications and transportation between itself and other urban development. Without these life-lines, the community cannot be economically supportive of any of its population.⁴

In short, the location of the new town should be such that it serves the region and residents by its location relative to employment and the region's most desirable natural, social-economical and linkage environment.⁵

New Towns - Economic Equilibrium of Life-Supportive Activities

The new town must be self-supportive and, to the highest degree allowed by economics, self-contained. The economic export activities must be in equilibrium or positive unequilibrium with the internal life-supportive requirements. It will be necessary to realize how much and what kinds of industry (economic export activity) will be required to be supportive of the population composition of the new towns. At the same time, the right kinds and amounts of public and private services must be determined to be supportive of the new town's population composition.

The size of the new town's population should be such that it may realize the maximum amounts of life-supportive services. The different sectors of the population should be of such size that sectors may receive those public and private services which are required for sound human development. The population's total should be such that it can be best economically operational; a population which can be most efficiently administered for and which can be best maintained in space and time. The optimum size for a new town's population would allow the migrating urban poor a maximum choice of life-supportive services, which would lead to their success in the new economic and social environment. This population has been estimated at a maximum of three million persons (by the Thompson School of Urban Economics). It's the minimum population to which the new town should open its doors to the urban poor, thus assuring the migrating poor those life-supportive services they will require. At whatever population these life-

supportive services cannot be administered and maintained efficiently, the growth of the new town should be discontinued.

"...Chambers of Commerce uniformly believe that bigger is better. We must get away from this conventional thinking and realize that bigger than an undetermined optimum size is not better....A city of one hundred thousand may be too small for the diversity of cultural, recreational, educational, health-care, and work opportunities that make for a virile self-contained community. Eight or ten million has, however, been amply proved to be too big. Somewhere in between lies a optimum number."⁶

If new towns are to be conducive of social-economical family mobility of the urban poor, it will be necessary for the community to be, to the highest degree possible, self-contained. The urban poor are poor because they are living in an environment of handicaps, caused mostly by its lack of human resources for the social and economic development of its residents. The lack of economic and institutional structures and social relationships in our society's slums and ghettos have prevented the poor from gaining access to adequate resources and social rewards.⁷ The degree to which poverty (lack of family mobility) can be significantly eliminated for the migrating poor will be, to a large extent, proportionate to the ability of the new towns to insure those services necessary for good human development. This will require a most comprehensive understanding of what services are needed and to what degree they should be rendered to insure self-containment. These services must be rendered in equilibrium with the population composition and located within the urban form and space in such a way that they can be utilized to their full capacity most frequently.

It is also required that the facilities which rendered such services be designed and planned to be flexible to the changing needs of the community's residents. The system must be able to reallocate or increase life-supportive services as the population's composition requires such change.

In short, new environments that are meant to create new choices and opportunities, to provide justice and responsibility, to supply a return to all who have a stake in them, must be planned in a comprehensive and integrated manner. This means the interrelationships between all the basic life-supportive systems must be discovered, analyzed, and dealt with at levels where they intersect in the lives of people.

Jobs and Housing

To design a model of integrating services, so that it would allow migrating poor families to move into a constructive environment, will require two major life-supportive essentials, jobs and housing, by the most economical means available. New towns can provide both of these commodities in a manner that will be supportive of each other.

Developing new towns in medium-sized urban regions would make available a linkage of the housing and jobs. This type of region would allow industry, the major source of good living-wage jobs, to locate there most economically and still be near an established urban center, and have good transportation access available to other urban centers. This would encourage large corporations, which still must make continuing investments in the opening of

new plants, to locate their plants in the new towns. Of course, this would mean new jobs, new jobs that may be partially filled by the migrating urban poor.

By creating new jobs and training the urban poor for these jobs, they, then, become supportive of those services necessary for social-economical family mobility. This will allow the migrating poor to choose those services they so desire, a relationship lacking in the poor's existing urban environment; a relationship which must be realized before family mobility will be realized.

To enable the new town's migrant poor to invest in more and better services, which will be supportive of success in the new town's social and economic environment, it will be necessary to develop new and innovative means of lowering the cost of living for the essentials needed for urban life. Housing and the utilities necessary to support housing are the most expensive items of the life-supportive systems. It is here where new ideas of development can be introduced to insure a lower cost - higher quality product, which will enable the poor to invest more in social services.

Developing new towns in medium-sized urban regions would make it possible to assemble land at a comparatively low cost and construct housing on the assembled land on a scale that would allow savings, which would be passed on to the migrating poor.

New towns would not be limited to the method of development and construction used to provide housing for its residents.

Industrialized housing can be utilized to lower the cost of housing and, at the same time, provide a good quality home.⁸ If an automobile was assembled by an individual, who purchased each part individually, it would cost from four to five times more than if it has been produced by industry. The same principle can apply to the production of housing, but our existing housing codes and land-use regulations have retarded our realization of this savings in traditional housing development.⁹ New towns, with large amounts of housing construction being concentrated in a comparatively small area, and not being restricted by our outdated housing codes and land-use regulations, will allow the new town's residents to realize a savings in housing. These savings could then be reallocated to other forms of life-supportive systems.

New towns would be able to develop new concepts in land-use regulations, zoning and codes that would allow a more economic development of urban form and space. The utilities required to support the housing units may, then, realize a reduction in cost and would require less public and private maintenance; thus, a long-term capital savings to the total community's tax rolls. Here, again, the savings can be transferred to social-economic supportive life-systems of the new community.

Transportation

The single most important design element of a functioning community is its transportation linkages. More than any other element, transportation is at the heart of the concept of community.

Man's choice to live in a community is predicated on the advantages of being in close proximity (in time and distance) to a wide variety of opportunities; opportunities for work, leisure, recreation, social contacts, education, goods, services, diverse life-style alternatives, and different experiences.

The transportation system or system developed within the new towns should be such that they allow all residents the best access to any life-supportive system. It should encourage maximum use of services at the highest frequency possible. Transportation systems of existing cities have encouraged the advancement of poverty by limiting the poor's access to those services that would allow them to realize social-economic development. The new town system must guarantee all those who wish access to any services, safe and efficient transportation to such services.

The new towns must have a good internal and external transportation system if economic supportiveness is to be realized.

SOCIAL SUPPORTIVENESS

Introduction

If new towns are to approach optimum environmental conditions, they must not stop at the economic level of planning. New towns must realize a social viability which economic and physical barriers have prevented in most existing urban settings. Viable urban social planning is particularly important because, paradoxically, in the process of developing technology (urban centers developing into sectors of social-economic and racial groups, made possible by the automobile and other technological advancements)

man has progressively eroded his sense of community, his moral and responsible attitude toward his fellow man.

"We must find ways of determining the requirements of human being first and then shape technology. Technology must not be permitted to run rampant in accordance with the whims of the well-meaning technocrats or to satisfy the ambitions of persons who use the new technology to serve their own narrow ends ...the time has come for us to stop being wagged by out technologicals...the time has come for us to start looking at the other end of the human animal--the end that contains the minds and the hearts of the people."¹⁰

Whether it be suburban or slum-ghetto isolation, existing communities will not allow the degree of social exposure desirable for man to live in social cohesion. These isolated urban environments do not meet psychological and social specifications necessary to derive an environment with a sense of security and identity, opportunities for tranquility, exploration and participation, and the feeling of freedom and happiness. The endless diffusion of the same kind of people, purposes and facilities contradicts the human need for variety which occurs when great numbers of different people come together in concourse for a common purpose.

"On a theoretical level, segregation is a denial of the basic American right of any citizen...isolation can effect his earning power, social status, opportunities for his children, the suitability and convenience of his housing, chances for social mobility, goods and services available, and so forth."¹¹

Sound social planning will encourage good learning experiences in the new town's environment. For man to learn, he must experience that which he is to learn. Learning is a combination of intuitive exploration, observarion, discovery and creative action on the one hand, and its complementary opposite on the other--instruction,

information and systematic research. Learning contains a feed-back process and analysis from the womb to the grave. The more man is exposed to different experiences in his environment, the more he is apt to learn to adapt to that environment. The more he learns about his habitat and the people within it, the better equipped he will be to adapt to and integrate himself within it. For man to experience any kind of mobility, be it social, economic, or intellectual, he must experience those learning experiences that will encourage that end. Isolation can have only one end effect, the retarding of human development. Isolation limits man's ability to live with himself and others, and it is only through interaction of different types of environmental conditions and people that he achieves the skills to realize mental mobility. It is mental mobility which allows other external forms of mobility for that person and his fellow man.

"...among the most important of the life conditions to which all human beings must adjust is the presence of other people, who become involved in socialization as agents of instruction, as models to be imitated, and sources of reinforcement. For the human beings, learning is not the accretion of discrete skills by an isolated organism; it is a continuous communicative process in which men meet their difficulties together and in adjusting to one another evolve new ways of approaching various aspects of their environment."¹²

It is the isolation from the opportunity to become exposed to learning experiences that institutes poverty and, thus, lack of family mobility for the poor. American cities have allowed themselves to develop into a series of isolated and segregated units of social-economic classes, racial groups and ethnic

groups.¹³ Because of this relationship, the poor have been forced to rely on their limited pleasures or their limitless discontent, to eke out whatever tiny piece of collective advantages they can in their given isolated locality. Because of their isolation, the poor and unpoor have lack of exposure to each other, and, thus, they have been unable to live in the same camp. It will not be until the poor are able to obtain the resources (learning experiences) necessary for mobility that they will become unpoor. Nor will an environment conducive to good human development be possible until a maximization of interaction between men of different backgrounds (different learning experiences) is achieved, a level of community interaction that may assist man to become more aware of what there is to learn from others, and what he has to offer to his fellow man.

A new town policy must make the following commitments if there is to be effective social planning: 1) The poor must realize those learning experiences that will insure their adapting to the new social-economic environment, both before and after migrating to the new towns, 2) The new town must, to some degree, be integrated socially, economically and racially. It must commit itself to social interaction, contact at the human goal level, opportunities for face-to-face social intercourse, which will assist man to become more human.

It is the second commitment which this portion of the report will examine. The first commitment will be covered in detail in Chapters Three and Four.

Social Supportiveness Through Physical Design

The design of new towns cannot be form alone. Purposeful social commitment must precede the physical design process. Urban form and space must support the social objectives of new towns.

"It has been estimated that in the next forty years, this nation will have constructed as many new dwelling units as were built in the previous two centuries of United States history. It is difficult to accept the conclusion, that it makes no difference how these houses are built, where they are located, and how they are arranged in space. Surely, there must be better and worse methods of planning a site, and hopefully the social sciences will be able to guide us in deciding what these methods are."¹⁴

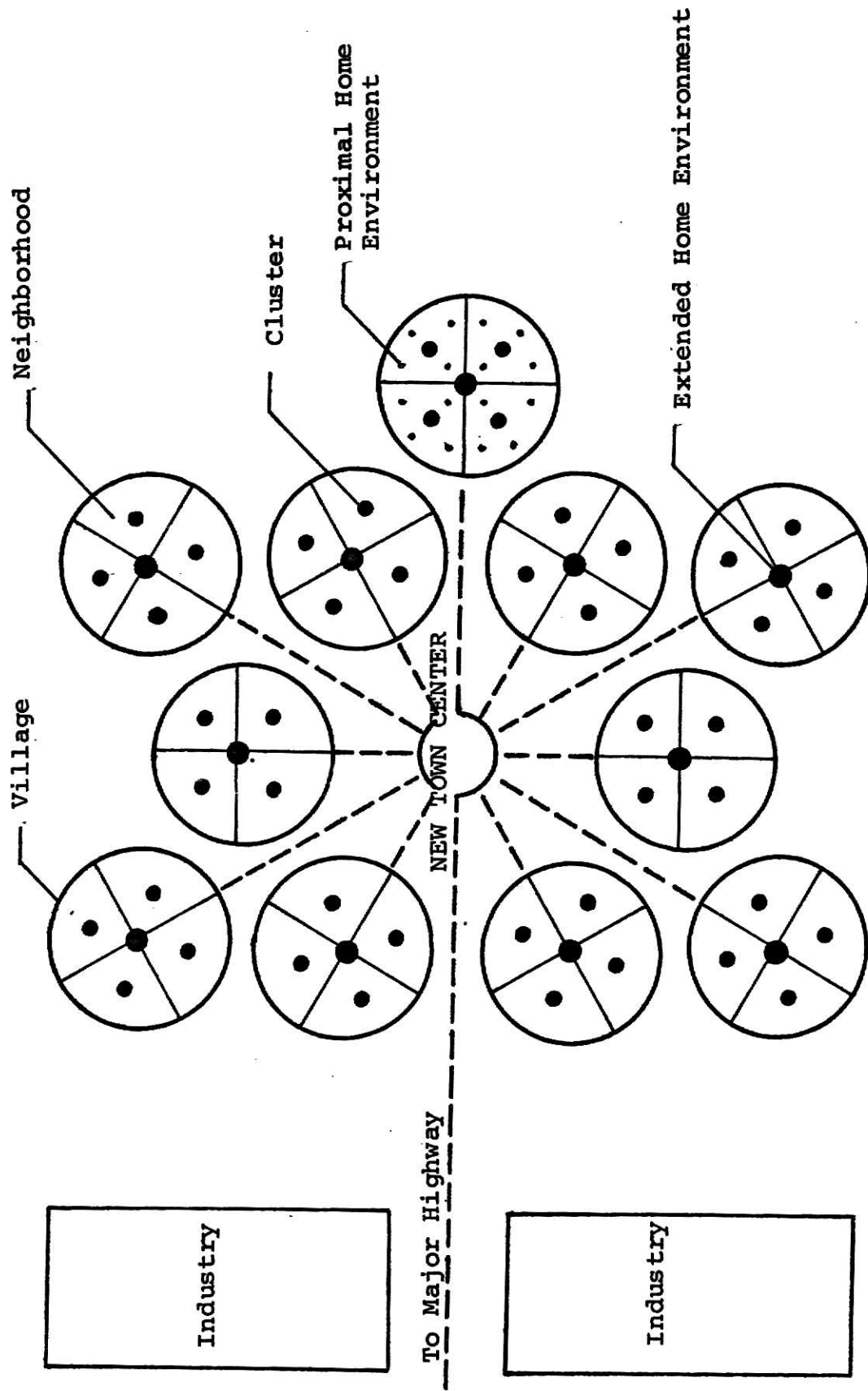
Good urban design can only be realized when form and space is part of an interactive system between man and environment and man and men. Only when its shape encourages responsible growth and the obtainment of society's goals in the most effective manner can urban design be justified. Both require a comprehensive understanding of how the physical urban environment affects man and his behavior.

This portion of the report will examine how the physical design of new towns can encourage social cohesion among the different social-economic classes. To cover all aspects of how physical design can encourage these social desirables would take more time than is allocated to this report. For this reason, the report will cover, in general terms, those prerequisites to social cohesiveness in new town's environment. It will be a strategy toward that end. It will, also, assume that the migrating poor have been prepared to adapt to the new town's environment.

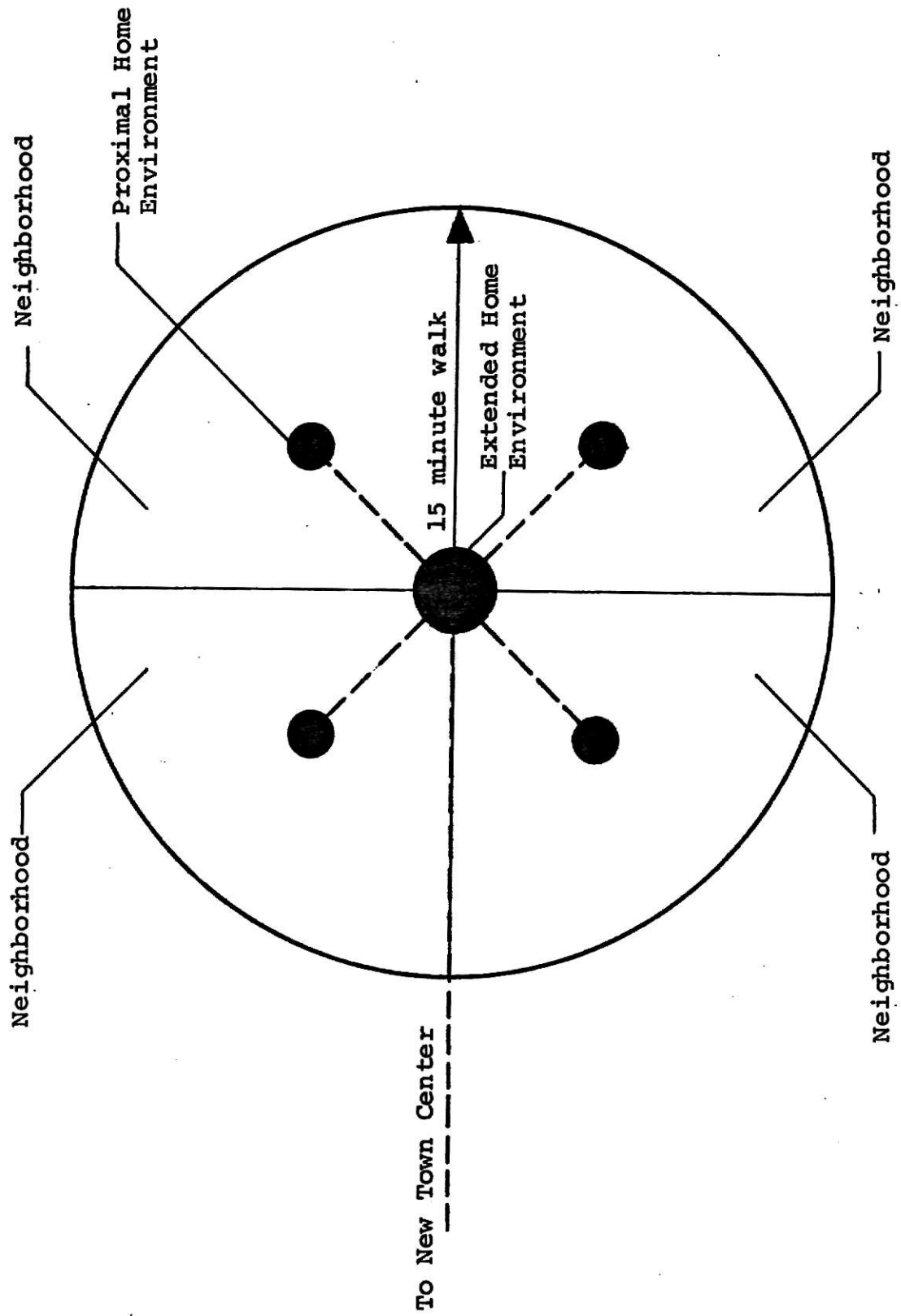
To derive answers for these questions, it will be necessary to review major criteria set forth by a general consensus of designer-planners of new towns. New towns have been broken down into four physical units; the village, neighborhood, cluster, and new town's center. (See Illustration 2-1.) The village is a sub-unit of the total new town and has a population that is most effectively governed for or can best insure a "sense of community." It is made up of sub-units called neighborhoods and clusters. This "extended home environment" includes an educational facility, leisure-time recreation facilities both indoor and outdoor, convenient commercial facilities, community meeting facilities and social service offices. All of these services are within fifteen minutes walking distance of any housing unit. (See Illustration 2-2.)

The neighborhood is smaller than, and a sub-unit of the village. The neighborhood's function is to provide a "proximal home environment" which includes high frequency recreation facilities and public club meeting places. The proximal home environment is generally located no further than a five minute walk from any housing unit. (See Illustration 2-3.)

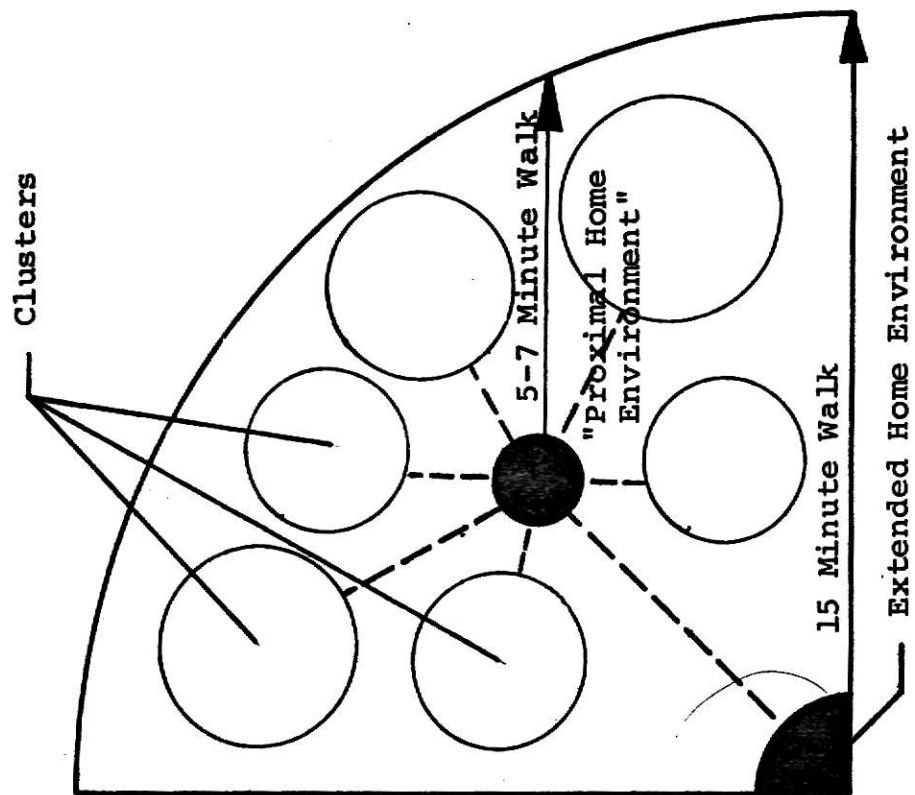
The Cluster is located within the neighborhood, a term which is essentially defined as a number of dwelling units which are close to one another. The cluster's prime importance for psychosocial purpose is that it is here that residents have their most frequent face-to-face contacts with their neighbors. As such, it would have high social implication concerning social cohesion between residents.¹⁵



NEW TOWN SCHEMATIC
Illustration 2-1



VILLAGE SCHEMATIC
Illustration 2-2



NEIGHBORHOOD SCHEMATIC
Illustration 2-3

Finally, there is the new town's center whose function is to provide all those private and public services not economically feasibly supportive by the village.

Each unit of the new town provides some social-psychological variable which is dependent on another sub-unit or units for its total functional realization. The cluster is dependent on the neighborhood, the neighborhood on the village and all are dependent on the town's center for social-psychological fulfillment. It is in this formulation of dependence that the designer-planners can direct physical realities toward learning experiences (bring together a heterogenetic population), which would in turn encourage social mobility and social cohesion, i.e., meeting places in identifiable territories that are dependent on each other for social-psychological fulfillment of residents. It is in the civic mingling places where heterogeneity can best be realized; places in which humanity becomes human; where people in their great diversity meet in concourse and thus realize the highest potential for learning experiences. It is here that the designer-planners may start to open up new experiences for the migrating poor and encourage social-economic mobility. It is the confrontation of the individual with the rest of his community's participants that is of the utmost importance for the individual and the society. It is part of the continuous learning process to exist and behave and think in the community; to learn to achieve an urban environment conducive to good human development.

"...concourse may be induced by the judicious mixing of public service components such as education, health and government facilities on the one hand, and private enterprise on the other, together with a mixture of housing for different economic levels both private and public, all in close proximity and sharing equally the benefits of local facilities."¹⁶

Specific implications for planning and designing to encourage homogenetic and heterogenetic populations must be discussed at two levels, the village and the neighborhood. At the village level, the level of the politically defined community, population heterogeneity is desirable. This condition has three reasons for its justification: 1) Our society is pluralist, and local communities (villages) should reflect this pluralist character. 2) As long as local taxation is the main support for community services, homogeneity at the village level encourages undesirable inequalities. 3) A diversity of interest in community affairs will encourage participation in the villages' community affairs. At the same time, enough homogeneity must be present to allow institutions to function, and interest groups to reach workable compromises.¹⁷

In the neighborhood, and especially in the cluster, heterogeneity of population is unlikely to produce social relationships of sufficient intensity to achieve either a positive social life or the cultural experiences sought to encourage family mobility and social cohesion. Sociologists of social stratification have found that ideas and values are diffused from one class to the one immediately "above" or "below" it, rather than between classes that diverge sharply in income, education, and other background characteristics.¹⁸ Consequently, positive effects are more likely

to be achieved under condition of moderate population heterogeneity. Extreme heterogeneity is likely to inhibit communication and encourage mutual resentment, whereas moderate heterogeneity provides enough compatibility of interests and skills to enable communication, and therefore learning, to take place. Again, it must be emphasized that the poor must have the necessary economic wherewithal and the social skills required for the new ways, to possess those social and economical variables that will allow them to be in the "just below" range of their lower middle-class counterparts. Heterogeneity generally enables those already motivated toward social mobility to learn from their middle-class neighbors.¹⁹

It has also been found that persons of similar age and income are able to become friendly with and encounter greater learning experiences with persons of different occupation, religions, ethnic backgrounds, or regional origins.²⁰ The relatively greater homogeneity of age and income provides the cultural and social prerequisites which allow people to enjoy their neighbors' heterogeneity with respect to other less basic characteristics.

After this brief discussion on heterogeneity and homogeneity of community population, it can be deduced that the designer-planners must derive means-end relationships that will allow social and physical planning to realize a correlation between goals that encourage social mobility and social cohesion. There should be a dependence for social-psychological fulfillment between physical units of new towns.

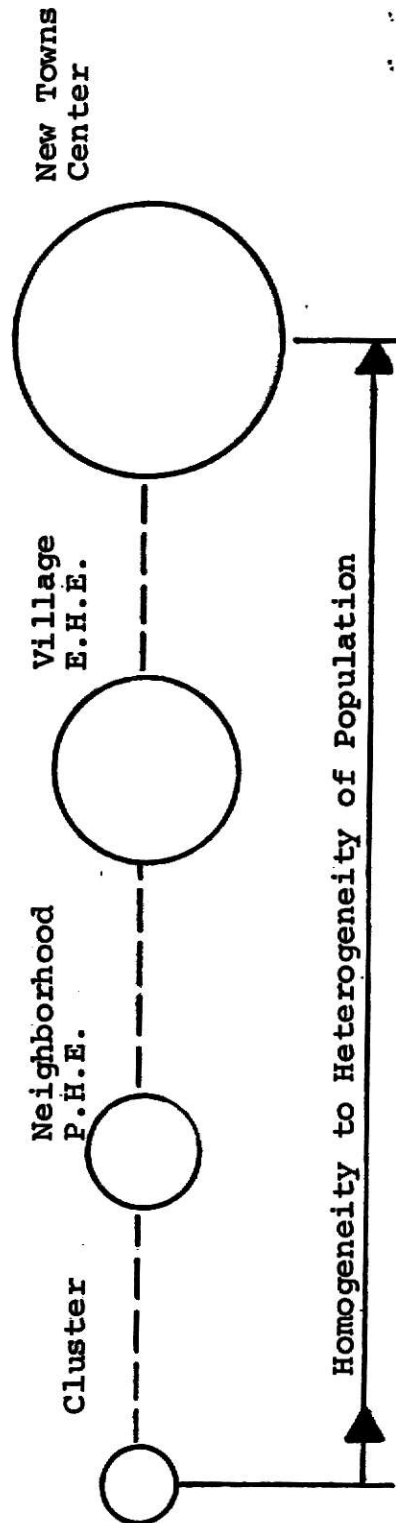
"...Social purpose and necessary technical support may be organized in complementary hierarchies of flow systems, container systems and exchanges. Territories are physically determined orbits by accessibility of targets through movement systems. Exchange are places where several movement systems meet. These components of an urban structuring system are nuclei, irrespective of scale, which can grow into pedestrian realms and which may be meeting places."²¹

There should exist a hierarchy of homogeneity to heterogeneity population from the cluster to the neighborhood, to the village, and finally to the new town's center. (See Illustration 2-4.)

These relationships may be physically supported by two means:

1) By the creation of social activities and social services within the proximal home environment (neighborhood), extended home environment (village), and the new town's center which are supportive of urban life. No one physical unit would provide all those life-supportive services needed by the residents, thus, people will be encouraged to socially interact between the physical units. This would tend to encourage learning experiences for family mobility of the poor and a desirable social cohesion; 2) The degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity of physical design units could be determined or encouraged by the price and type of housing made available in each unit. The more micro the physical unit, the more common the price and type of housing to be provided. This would determine the income groups and to some degree family size (family size would have some correlation to age of members of a family) of those living in each physical unit.²²

The social-psychological objective would be to optimize positive social interaction between neighbors at the same time



HOMOGENEITY TO HETEROGENEITY HIERARCHY
Illustration 2-4

that it would strive to maintain population heterogeneity within educational and governmental districts. In other words, the social-physical planning should not encourage all the blacks to congregate in one village, all middle-class persons to congregate in another, and white poor still in another. At the same time, it should encourage the neighborhood population to have enough in common (especially in age and income) that neighbors can live next to one another with social comfort. Therefore, the sale price and type of dwelling units would be very similar in one cluster but would vary in the neighborhood and in the village.

For example, if the new town's population is to be representative of the nation's population characteristics, it would be composed of about 25% low, 55% middle, and 20% upper social-economic classes. They could also be broken down into racial and ethnic groups, but only social-economic groups will be considered for this example.

If a homogenous population is desired in a cluster, the housing type and price would be quite similar. A cluster would include no less than sixty-five percent of any one income group. If there were any different income groups, they would be composed of low and middle or middle and upper, but never low and upper. Housing types would correlate with the needs of certain family types and age groups; these would be similar in each cluster.

The neighborhood would become more heterogenetic in character, and the proximal home environment would be the first place of meaningful heterogenetic social interaction. Its composition of population would neither exceed or be less than the following

percentages: 1) low income, 20 to 45%; 2) middle income, 45 to 65%; and 3) high income, 10 to 30%. This would give the families exposure to a population balance related to national population characteristics. Housing types would be made available for all family and age groups, but no housing type or price range would exceed sixty-five percent of the total housing supply. Actually, it would be hard to control via housing per se over age heterogeneity or homogeneity, but some attempt must be made to realize a desirable balanced relationship in age population types.

The village and the extended home environment would then cater to the heterogenetic population for a number of private and public services. Since the village is being proposed as a basic unit for goverance, it is important that the village should not be similar in terms of income. It should not acquire identification on the basis of income groups. For this reason, no village income type (derived through housing prices) would total more than sixty percent of the total population.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Introduction

The united States' urban ecology has often been characterized by considerable impersonal relations and lack of cohesion. It is felt that the explosive growth of the cities, their trend to giantism, isolationism caused by technology advancements, and the high mobility of their residents are readily destroying a sense of community among individuals in urban America.

"Sense of community...this term is used in two ways: it refers to primary or quasi-primary relations between people and to the feelings of loyalty for the institutions contained within the political boundaries."²³

Countless scattered houses, dropped like stones on neat rows of development lots, do not create an order or generate community.²⁴ Neighbors remain strangers and the real friends are most often quite far away, as are schools, shopping and other facilities. The husband suffers the necessity of long-distance commuting, but the housewife, who remains behind, suffers the far greater pain of boredom. Isolation from life-supportive services in the vast sprawling cities has led to spiraling dependence on transportation and communication to provide contacts and experiences missing at home. This has, in many cases, isolated the poor from many life-supportive services necessary for family mobility.²⁵

A particular characteristic of rapidly expanding urban areas has been the ever-increasing institutionalization of society and the individualization of man. Government has grown larger, there are more specialists to take care of varied services, and the active participation of individual people in the improvement of urban society has correspondingly diminished.²⁶ Often the lines of communication among the people, the city officials, and the politicians break down, and the individual citizen ceases to feel personally involved. The urban resident, especially if he is poor, becomes bewildered by the impersonality of the city, the municipal government, and often the factory for which he works.²⁷

Many sociologists have questioned the existence of these urban characteristics as having extreme negative effects on urban

residents, but none have argued that the situation should, or could, not be improved. None have denied that a "sense of community" or belonging is not good for human development, but they do not believe they have determined what prerequisites will be required to insure a sense of community.²⁸ Various possibilities have been considered as to how best to generate community feeling in the city, and in this search, efforts have been made to re-structure and replan or to decentralize the city into smaller units. The decentralizing activities are intended to create a sense of neighborhood and responsibility for neighborhood affairs. Ross has pointed out that these efforts are aimed at developing:

- 1) "Meaningful functional communities of which the individual citizen may have some sense of belonging and control over their environment, and 2) a new sense of neighborhood in the large urban ecology through creation of citizens' councils and other forms of neighborhood organization."²⁹

A community-organization method developed for use in a new town should involve democratic action, stressing citizen participation and self-determination through group action in determining community goals.³⁰ The program should stress the residents becoming involved in responsible action directed toward community affairs. Such citizen participation allows the individual citizens to have direct roles in the physical and social affairs affecting their immediate environment and lives. The approach used must assume that a community has the capacity to deal with its activities and problem solving. The following should be objectives of any community-organization approach: 1) Creation of a sense of social

cohesion on a neighborhood basis and strengthening of group interrelationships, 2) development of civic consciousness and acceptance of civic responsibility, 3) coordination of city services to meet neighborhood needs and problems, 4) use of professional and technical assistance to support the effort, and 5) identification and development of local leadership.³¹

From these requirements for community-organizations, it can be deducted that the best way to achieve a sense of community in new towns would be through giving the residents control of nearby facilities of importance to them so that through this participation, they become actively involved in the life of the neighborhood. Such prerequisites may be realized in a well-organized homes association.³² This will be the topic of this section of the paper; how can a homes association be organized and function to encourage the desired sense of community in new towns?--a sense of community which is believed to be supportive of family mobility of migrating urban poor.

The Automatic Homes Association and Why it Should be Selected

The distinguishing feature of the automatic homes association is that its principal source of maintenance funds is an annual assessment levied against each parcel of land within the development under recorded covenants which are incorporated into each deed and which run with the land to bind every owner to it, and which are enforceable as a lien against the land.

The automatic homes association should be selected because it requires all home owners to pay their share of annual assessments for those services and facilities provided by the new community. This allows for better planning of how much a community will be able to finance and, in turn, provides financing for those services and facilities.

The automatic home association also gives each resident the right to membership and voting power in decision-making of the association. An unequivocal right to membership for every home owner is indispensable to the validity of any covenants which seek to bind each lot and each home owner with obligation to contribute to the maintenance of association properties. It is hoped that this combination of required assessments and the right to membership will encourage the resident to be more responsive to community affairs and problems. It may even encourage those of low social participation, before moving to the new community, to more active participation in their immediate environment.³³

Non-automatic homes associations (i.e., clubs and citizens associations) have no provision for dues or assessments which would run with the land and bind every home owner. In other words, membership to the association is optional for the home owner, and the association does not have to accept a resident's application for membership. This discretionary practice, which permits the association to deny membership to some, could not be accepted in a new town development which is intended to encourage democratic action and maximum choice. At the same time, discretionary practices on the part of the resident would decrease the possibility

of the association's common property being maintained and may eliminate the resident's power of choice, the vote.

Basic Structure of New Town's Home Association

New towns, as described earlier in this paper, will be composed of the new town's center, villages and neighborhoods with each having its common areas and facilities. The needs here are best met by creating not only an association for each neighborhood, but also an association for the larger village embracing numerous small neighborhood associations. The larger village association provides those facilities and services used on a broad scale; those things which the neighborhood associations could not support economically.³⁵

The neighborhood association would be responsible for maintaining the parks, pathways, parking areas, high frequency recreation and public meeting areas which directly serve the homes within the neighborhood. Their maintenance, regulation, and expense will be governed by the desires of the home owners most directly concerned, those individuals living in the neighborhood.

Each lot owner automatically is a member of a second homes association serving the area's four or five neighborhoods, which together make up a village. The village would include urban space for schools, stores, and other common facilities.

Schools, fire and police protection, mass transit, utilities, and service routes would be maintained and serviced by the new town's public body. They would have an incorporated municipality, and it would work in correlation with the village association in decision-making.

Small elective districts would be recommended for new towns. This makes representatives easily accessible, and it provides opportunity for more persons to participate. Decentralization may cause the association to act more slowly in making decisions than the centralized type of decision-making, but it will give more persons the opportunity to become involved in decision-making, with which they may identify.³⁶

Creating the Associations

Studies of new communities indicate that when most families of a neighborhood are newly moved in, there is for two or three years exuberant participation in formal and informal voluntary associations. There is also a great deal of neighboring. For a short time there appears to be a letting down of old barriers and development of new bonds. People are willing to meet and work with new people in new ways.³⁷

This phenomenon may be related to learning theory in the development of personality. Apparently most learning occurs when the learner is undergoing a major change; e.g., change in job or area of residence. When adults move to a new area and meet new neighbors, they enter for a time on a period of heightened learning and new habit development.³⁸

This phenomenon of early neighborhood interest and learning on the part of the residents indicates the need for establishment of good guidelines for the development of the association and of early membership involvement of residents in the association. To achieve this character, the new town must make two provisions in

the covenants governing its creation. First, the covenants must have provisions for the creation of the home association which will govern all common property, and which will make assessment against each home owner for its rendered services. At the same time, it must insure the home owner membership and voting rights upon purchase of a home. The right to membership and residents responsibility to the association's upkeep must be made very clear to the new home owners. There must be good communications between the new resident and the homes association (generally the developer at the time of purchase).³⁹

Secondly, the new town's associations must be controlled, or directed, by the developer until the association is well established and operational. This would mean that the developer would have controlling voting power until the village reaches a population of seventy-five percent of capacity. During its development period, the community developer would hire or appoint a lawyer, administrator, planner and Certified Public Accountant to be directors of the homes associations. They would direct all programs until the community has developed to a point when it can operate in those positions. Then they would be replaced by members of the homes associations on a periodical basis, rather than all at one voting time. This would allow the developer to direct and train the association's representatives in their duties.⁴⁰

Thus, it is important for the developer to insure an early tradition of resident involvement in association meetings and activities. There must be established, during the period of move-in, the opportunities for participation in association's operations,

even though resident voting in the meetings continues for some time to be more symbolic than effective.

Planning the Physical Layout of the New Town's Homes Associations to Encourage Social Cohesion

It should be the goal of the designer-planners of new towns to transform the countryside into a community that is a boon instead of a blemish--a living environment on human scale, offering home privacy, open space, recreation, and a sense of belonging. To attain such goals will require much more than good physical urban design of homes association units. It will require much social planning and the good will of the people who are to live within its boundaries. However, good physical design can be one of the major factors of success or failure of the associations. This section will cover how good neighborhood design can encourage the success of its homes association to encourage a sense of community.⁴¹

By designing the association's neighborhood to its full potential, the following will be realized: 1) a home of great privacy, 2) streets, walks and nearby open spaces in a pattern inviting neighborly visiting and friendliness, and 3) sports and activities for all age groups at a neighborhood recreation center.

The home owner must have the highest degree of home and community privacy which can be made available through physical design techniques. The resident must have privacy in the home from the sound and sight of outside traffic, power mowers, people, etc. At the same time, outdoor privacy must be made available

by the arrangement of space, planting, fences and walls separating living environments. With good criteria for high density populations, men may live together more economically and, at the same time, experience the degree of privacy needed for good human development. This should be the goal of the new town designer-planner.⁴²

The new town's neighborhoods should be designed under criteria for the one-spot pattern of development, a concentrated area in a single location. There should be a network of open spaces, but all facilities should be within a five-minute walk of any dwelling unit (one-quarter of a mile at a three miles-per-hour walk).⁴³

Developers of homes associations suggest that the closer the people are to the association's facilities, the more they use it. This closeness of the members and their large participation give cohesive strength and vitality to these associations. For this reason the neighborhood should be designed with higher density surrounding the association's facilities and with lower density approaching the periphery.⁴⁴

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CHAPTER THREE

URBAN POVERTY - UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

After having examined the social and economic variables which will be required to encourage family mobility within a new town system, it is now necessary to have a more completely defined understanding of what causes the lack of family mobility for the urban poor and what processes will be required to encourage such action. This portion of the report will briefly review the causes of poverty, and then discuss processes which will be required within a model designed to encourage family mobility.

WHY DOES POVERTY EXIST?

In the Broadest Terms

In the United States the government has stated that it is interested in the elimination of poverty. It has directed resources toward this end for more than thirty years, and still poverty exists for some thirty per cent of the American population.¹ This fact in itself indicates that the solutions to the problem of poverty are very complicated or that the American system and/or planning systems are not capable of realizing such solutions. Both of these indications can be considered correct. Both are correct because the American system does not allow planning to plan for a comprehensive elimination of poverty. To eliminate poverty, planning will have to address itself to confronting the broader problems of the urban society as a whole. It is therein, more often than not, that the causes and effects

of poverty are to be found. This, of course, would require a comprehensive understanding and planning of the urban ecology; a condition which is impossible to implement in the present American society.² The planning for the whole approach is impossible because the American system is neither able nor willing to evaluate the complex plan nor to set priorities, other than economic data, against it.³

At the same time, American planning has not reached the degree of knowledge, or the institutionalization of planning itself, which would allow a comprehensive method suitable for the task of eliminating poverty. Public institutions which could provide such information do not exist; independent research is too expensive.⁴ As Martin Kuenzlen has stated, "As long as the present cities still work profitably enough with almost no investment in research or further development and as long as the pressure from the threatening population explosion is still too low to stimulate large scale profitable mass production of cities, we can assume that under the control of the capitalistic system the actual solution will be delayed."

The existence of poverty can be accredited to many different social, political and economic variables, but the American capitalistic system must be accredited most.⁵ It is not that American planners could not develop means to eliminate poverty comprehensively, but it is the existing American capitalistic system which will not allow this accomplishment. Not until the urban crises becomes so great that the capitalistic system can see a "profit"

in comprehensively eliminating poverty will such effort be realized. Only pressure in a crisis situation will set the state in motion. Until this phenomenon occurs the best the planner can do is to continue to plan against poverty in a "muddling through" approach; that of the planner seeking the most economic solutions and in an incremental manner.⁶

Plans pretending to be a comprehensive approach to the elimination of poverty by the American government have been for the most part nothing other than flexible technocratic-economic plans determined by business interest.⁷

This has been demonstrated in many Urban Renewal Projects which only become economic profit motives for the middle-class businessmen, bankers and developers; not projects for family mobility of the urban poor. These projects served to stabilize the economy and insure the continuity of profits of the city's central business district while in many cases actually causing increased hardships for the poor. Anti-poverty programs have been in most cases welfare misuse, control over and subjection of the poor, while the real subsidies go to the middle-class capitalists, professionals, house-builders, businessmen and bankers.⁸

Poverty exists because the capitalist system sees no visible and immediate profits in developing means of encouraging the poor to become unpoor; because a system in which planning and intervention in favor of a more human life for its citizens can play no central role, since this would threaten its essentially exploitative structure.⁹

Poverty is basically instituted by the economic system; thus, the American planner must develop rationalized planning methods which will guarantee the implementation (economically) of plans while avoiding great conflict. These methods could include system analysis, planning-programming-budgeting, cost-benefit analysis, etc.¹⁰ Such methods may demonstrate to the American government how it could be profitable for the capitalist system to invest in family mobility of the poor. If rational methods of demonstrating a profit to the capitalistic system are not developed (in the case of this paper, the profitability of relocating urban poor to new towns) very few poor will realize social-economic family mobility.

From much psychological research it has been deducted that threatening information will be ignored if it is threatening enough and if no means for reducing the threat are provided along with the information. It can be added that the threat will be ignored even more if it is not demonstrated to be economically profitable to solve the problems caused by the threatening information. Thus, if planners are going to make an attempt to eliminate poverty in America they must develop a theory about the nature of complex social processes of poverty, and then deduce from the theory solutions which can be demonstrated to be profitable to the capitalistic system. This will only become a reality when the American government is willing to make subsidies (make an investment in human development of the poor) of large quantities and on a long-range term in programs designed to comprehensively encourage family mobility.

It would be irrational to think that a policy of new towns and family mobility would be the answer to the elimination of poverty, but it may be one alternative which would demonstrate economic feasibility of eliminating poverty for some. Through "value free" rational planning (such as P.P.B. and cost-benefit analysis) such relocation programs may possibly be feasible.

Protestant Ethics

One implication of the ethics of the American society is that it is felt that only the "worthy" poor should be helped by the wealthier members of society, who have long maintained the vast network of voluntary social services existing in America. The "worthy" poor are those persons with high moral principles who possess the motivation of self-help. Of course, high morals are defined as those values held by the higher social-economic classes. Programs of mobility have preached middle-class values and these values have been built into the welfare activities. Such social welfare programs, influenced by protestant ethics, attract only those who are desirous of or ready for the middle-class way of life, but they repel the rest.¹¹ The vast majority of the poor are considered to be unworthy of assistance because they do not share middle-class values and consequently, these "unworthy" poor have not been given the opportunity to receive family mobility assistance. Protestant ethics have had a major affect on the allocation or non-allocation of monies for assisting the poor to become unpoor, and their validity will require much re-examination before large scale anti-poverty programs may become effective.

Population Mobility

Affluent stable families, migrating en masse to the suburbs, have been replaced in the cities by rural southern families and Puerto Ricans. These groups have as yet had too little time for forming their own cultural and social systems consistent with their values held in their non-urban environment.¹² One reason why migrant rural poor have failed in their new urban environment is because they did not really receive any sort of preparation in advance which would allow them to adapt to the new habitat.¹³ They did not receive help in orientation towards living in an urban society. Because they did not receive such orientation, it has affected the stability and, in turn, the health of the cities. This tends to reinforce the poverty conditions found in the city. Not until the migrant rural poor receive these resources and learning experiences needed to become acculturated to the American urban society (acculturation being defined here as being exposed to and accepting new values essential for family mobility; e.g., good job habits, good family budgeting practice, good health care habits, good education, etc.) will family mobility of the poor be realized in an urban society.

One of the major objectives of a new town and family mobility policy would be to enable such acculturation experiences before and after migrating to the new town. Identifying a job for the migrant poor in the new town, and then providing him with job training for that new job, will allow the poor urban migrant to successfully adjust to his urban surroundings.

Shift in Family Structure

The new city dwellers have had to shift the nature of family structure from an extended family, based on a rural economy, to a nuclear one, without a compensating increase in public or private services needed to meet their needs. The nuclear family system has created a locked-in system of poverty which prevents the poor from taking advantage of opportunities for upward mobility when they do occur. For example, a mother with children and without a husband cannot take advantage of job training programs or job opportunities because she has no one to care for her children. The poor must realize those services, both social-psychological and economic, which were once conducted by the extended family if they are to experience family mobility.¹⁴

Not only do the poor have less control over services that were once performed by informal, personal arrangements (most often within the extended family), but their relationships with their own neighbors have in many cases become impersonal as people move in and out of apartments and neighborhoods at a rapid pace. Services to assist the poor are performed by impersonal bureaucratic organizations that view the poor as numbers or cases rather than people. It is such relationships which help deny the poor the realization of a sense of belonging or community, which results in apathy.¹⁵

In any attempt to relocate the poor to new towns, be they rural or urban poor, the program should never attempt to isolate the extended family or to isolate a person in any way that would

cause the person to feel isolated from persons he may relate to. Nor should it isolate families who have close relationships and who wish to relocate together. This will encourage some pre-existing social relationships, so that when the poor do relocate in new towns, they are never in the midst of strangers.¹⁶

Loss of Economic Viability

The loss of the affluent to suburbia has lowered the monetary capacity of the city to maintain the core area which is needed by the poorer citizens who replaced the affluent. The cities have been forced to turn to higher governmental agencies to maintain, to a lesser degree, the needed city services. This has created urban instability and increased frustration on the part of the poor. In turning to higher governmental agencies, the capacity of the local government to make decisions has been greatly reduced.¹⁷ These characteristics lessen the chance of the poor finding a sense of community and any desire of self-help. The poor feel divorced from the decision-making body, who in many cases are divorced from the poor and who have little idea of the desires and needs of the people when decisions are made in their behalf.¹⁸

The urban poor who choose to relocate to new towns will be able to experience a high quality of services and, at the same time, choose those services which they wish rendered. Providing the poor with a good stable employment makes it possible for them to support those services rendered. As described in Chapter Two of this paper, every effort should be made to allow the poor

migrants to become involved in decision-making in their new habitat. The governing units in the new town will also be heterogeneous in social-economic characteristics, thus, a more stable tax base to support public service will be realized.

The fiscal inability of the cities to renew themselves has the consequences of: 1) locking the poor into their depressed conditions and, 2) forcing the cities to accept new state and federal programs that often improve the conditions of the more affluent residents at the expense of the poor, as Urban Renewal Projects have done when they redeveloped parts of what were once slums for the middle and upper class housing while giving little or no aid to those who were dislocated from the site.¹⁹

As long as the capitalistic system cannot find ways of making the inner city an economically viable center again, the urban poor will remain poor. Industry, which would be most able to provide new jobs for the poor, is leaving the city because of its high cost of operation there. As industries exit to the areas surrounding the older city, so go the jobs; jobs which may have been filled by the urban poor.²⁰ From this observation, it can be deduced that the only way for the central city to become a viable environment again is for an out migration to occur. At the same time, for the poor to become unpoor, they will have to migrate to those places where employment is possible, that is why they migrate to the cities in the first place. New towns are one alternate which could make both of these deductions possible. As described in Chapter Two of this paper, it is hoped that new towns would be made economically viable from

their conception by their desirability for industrial location. It was also suggested that there would be a balance between population and required employment. Neither of these conditions exist in the city core and have little chance of doing so unless there is an out migration of population from the central city.

Discrimination

The above, of course, are not the only causes of poverty in the urban environment. Discrimination in education, jobs, health care and housing are all real causes of urban environment. Discrimination in education, jobs, health care and housing are all real causes of urban poverty, but discrimination can be deduced to be a direct or indirect effect of any of the previous reasons cited as causes of poverty. Discrimination is most characteristically related to the color of a man's skin (racial differences). By elimination of the non-white persons from job opportunities, the white Americans have enjoyed limited competition in the labor market. Examining this relationship between race and opportunity, one can deduce that what exists is a class fear, rather than a race fear. The whites fear loss of jobs, status, and opportunity, not the color of a man's skin.²¹ To alleviate this problem will take time and good race relations educational experiences. However, if the non-white poor are exposed to those variables necessary for social-economic family mobility before and after relocating to new towns they should find it less difficult to integrate themselves into the new community.

If the non-white or white poor demonstrate that they share basic values of their middle-class neighbors, it will encourage social cohesion and the success of the migrant urban poor to achieve family mobility.

WHAT PREREQUISITES ARE REQUIRED FOR A STRATEGY DESIGNED FOR FAMILY MOBILITY?

This section of the report will cover in some detail what action is required in any program design for family mobility of the urban poor. This information will, then, be used in the development of a strategy of family mobility for the urban poor migrating to new towns under the new towns policy suggested in this report. This portion of the report is not a model, it is an examination of those things which must be taken into consideration in the development of guidelines for family mobility.

The American government has, until most recently, channeled its efforts intended to encourage family mobility in directions that have not always been an asset to the development of the poor or of their community. In fact, in many cases, the programs were liabilities to the poor, liabilities because the programs tended to concentrate on value judgements of the middle-class planner, rather than the values of the planner's client, the poor. The planner sought community betterment of family mobility through so-called physical methods; e.g., creation of efficient land-use and transportation schemes, the sorting out of diverse types of land use, and the renewal of technologically obsolescent areas and buildings to achieve function as well as aesthetically desirable arrangement of structures and spaces. This physical

approach failed to concentrate on the social and economical forces that the poor are faced with and which are themselves responsible for the blight found in the city's core.²³

If planners of family mobility are to realize effective programs, they must direct their efforts toward the needs and wants of their clients, the poor. They must concentrate on "people oriented" programs (social-economic planning) which have incorporated physical planning as a supportive program, programs that would allow the poor to realize an environment in which they feel they belong (a sense of community).²⁴ These programs will, at the same time, allow the poor who wish to become a part of middle-class America to do so with little resistance and to give those who wish a working class way of life in the city's core to do so with a sense of self-direction to develop a community with organization, pride and direction.

The new towns policy suggested in this paper would allow for one alternative for urban poor who wish to leave the existing city core. It would also allow the poor to experience a new physical environment designed to be supportive of their effort. Thus, it would seem that such a family mobility program would concentrate on planning efforts to insure the social-economic mobility needed to support such physical environments; to concentrate on programs to help the migrating poor to be prepared for their new environment. Thus, it will be the objective of this section of the paper to identify what kinds of social-economic planning will be required to encourage that end.

Some Major Objectives

Any program of family mobility should be initiated as quickly as possible. The program planners must demonstrate their desire to gain acceptance and support from the people from the very beginning and continue to build this fund of good will continuously, and this can be best realized by initiation of action programs early. In programs such as the Urban Renewal Program, many programs were initiated long before the actual project became a reality. This causes many anxieties on the part of those for whom family mobility is designed which leads to mistrust in the project and/or apathy.²⁵

The program should identify all sources of funds to adequately implement the programs. Many governmental programs designed for the poor have increased their hopes only to be let down by lack of funds to execute the total project. This, too, has caused mistrust and lack of involvement in family mobility programs.²⁶

The private sector and the families seeking social-economic mobility should be fully involved in the planning and implementation of the program. This non-communication or lack of inter-relationship between citizens and business concerning social problems has caused much anxiety and has developed a sense of powerlessness on the part of the residents concerning their own future.²⁷

A relocation plan should be developed to assist those displaced by the program. Those relocated must receive not only new housing, but they must be exposed to programs which will be

supportive of their new environment.²⁸

Key Guidelines for Developing the Strategy

The vast majority of Americans purchase the greater part of their social service needs from the private sector. This has been traditional in America and apparently representative of the desires of the vast majority of Americans. The poor should have the same right, and that should be the responsibility of a family mobility program; to evolve viable economic development and manpower training programs that will help the poor achieve the income which will allow them to purchase from the private sector those services that they desire. Until such time as they are able to do this, it should be the responsibility of the government to provide needed services.

By themselves, manpower training programs will accomplish very little. If unsupported by a complete range of social-economic supportive programs, manpower training and employment will merely serve to skim off a limited number of the poor who are normally upwardly mobile while leaving behind the vast majority of the poor.²⁹ To avoid this, basic social services designed to deal with the non-economic disabilities of the poor must be incorporated into the strategy. Further, the family mobility program must be prepared to "sell" itself and these supportive programs to its client, the poor. In other words, the strategy must cope with the general lack of an effective demand for essential services that characterizes the poor and stimulate this demand by "selling" their worth to the poor.³⁰

To accomplish this objective, the strategy must develop an education process which will inform the poor of the services available to them and of their value. Hopefully, this educational process will encourage full use of the services offered and exposure of the poor to their opportunity for upward mobility.

The strategy must recognize the validity of the economic concept of consumer sovereignty and choice. By helping the poor with access to jobs and income, it should provide them with this. During the process of job training the strategy should provide for the poor being exposed to a broad range of social services that will help them become more meaningfully integrated in society. This exposure must be extended to the entire family, not just those training for a job. It is most important that members of the low social-economic class are exposed to the values shared by the middle-class or they will find it most difficult if they choose to integrate themselves into the middle-class way of life.³¹ If one chooses to escape the slum-ghetto environment and enter into the mainstream of life he must be exposed and must adapt to major middle-class values, and if he elects to remain it will allow him the knowledge to deal more successfully with his environment.

In either case, the poor must participate in the planning process, and the poor should also be given the right to influence the range of services made available to them.³² In addition, they should have the ability to pick and choose among the services they specifically want. The programmatic structure of the strategy should be considered a product, and the poor the market

for these services. Social services cannot be impressed upon an unwilling audience. The poor must be convinced of the value of these services.

The strategy's structure must be two-edged. It must concern itself with the creation in the core city of means for the poor to achieve family mobility. At the same time it must give the poor the ability to improve their lot so that they can desert the slum-ghetto, if they so desire.³³ Each person must have the right to live where he wishes, and the decision must be totally of free choice. Many poor have no desire to leave their slum-ghetto environment but, instead, only to improve their standard of living and the environment in which they live. The strategy, then, must be designed to enable the poor to remain in the city's core if they wish, but it should educate the poor as to why family mobility will be difficult to achieve in the cities' core areas. This means the strategy must be prepared to provide rehabilitative service for those who choose to remain in the slum-ghetto community, and developmental services for those who wish to leave.

To achieve either objective of encouraging family mobility, the administrators of the model must learn the values and desires of the poor with whom they are concerned, and then respect these findings.³⁴ The planner must truly understand the community within which the poor live; its people, attitudes, and its value judgements, if the programs are going to be a valuable asset to the community and the poor within it.³⁵

The strategy should be instituted under one agency with the hope of limiting conflict in decision-making. A comprehensive

planning method of family mobility cannot be realized so long as decision-making is widely dispersed and those who make decisions have conflicting ends.³⁶ The model should act as a decision-making linkage between existing institutions and the strategy's programs of family mobility. The first order of business for the strategy would be to coordinate innovatively and imaginatively programs designed for family mobility. Tools to eliminate poverty may now be in existence, but because of the lack of coordination these tools have not been able to reach those that most need their service.³⁷

The strategy should be constructed with consideration for the "life cycle." This is no more than understanding the relationship between basic personal and communal needs of a person and the specific phase of that person's life. These two factors should then be related to a programmatic or organizational structure that should be capable of providing an answer to these age-related needs.³⁸

For a family mobility program to be effective it must solve more than one problem at a time. The poor suffer from a multiplicity of disabilities and more than one disability must be solved simultaneously if there is to be substantial progress in any one area. Thus, if the program is to succeed, it must offer services developed to cure a specific disability, plus it must offer supporting programs simultaneously to guarantee the success of the basic program.³⁹ For example, an unemployed and unmarried mother with children may be given the opportunity to become involved

in a job training program which would encourage mobility. However, if the mother is to complete the job training successfully, she may need several support programs; e.g., day care service, transportation to and from job training, remedial education, health care and so forth. If there are no support programs the mother may be forced to stop training and will remain trapped in her lower social-economic state. The lack of support programs can cause mistrust and apathy, when the poor can see a way out of this slum-ghetto environment, but cannot take advantage of the opportunity because of the lack of support programs to allow them to do so.

In past family mobility programs, it has been found that the poor often lack the basic educational skills needed to take part in job training programs.⁴⁰ Because of this, the poor are not able to keep up with the educational pace of the job training program and become understandably demotivated and disillusioned after a short time. To encourage the success of job trainees the training program must be supplemented by a series of support programs that are developed in coordination and in conjunction with the training program. If the participant has a particular problem in an educational area, reading, math, etc., he should be able to take advantage of a support program in the problem area.

A skill or job training program is a device for directly improving the economic conditions of the individual. This type of program is accepted by many as the answer to the elimination

of poverty, because it raises the participant's income above the poverty level. However, in the final analysis, it is realized that this type of program neither attacks directly the problem of poverty nor does it attempt to do so.⁴¹ Job training and skill training programs by themselves are insufficient to the task. The individual suffers from too many other personal, social, and environmental disabilities--poor health, and inadequate basic education, poor family conditions, the inefficiency or lack of a public transportation system, a sense of apathy--for job training and skill training programs by themselves to be successful in helping the poor break out of the poverty cycle. These other disabilities must be cured or at least brought under control if the social profit generated by job training programs is to be maximized. Without a basic investment in the socialization and acculturation process the foundations for long-term social progress cannot be laid. Such efforts help the poor develop their own internal demand for those types of social services that will eventually allow them to overcome their personal and communal disabilities.⁴²

It is clear that the most urgent need is to open up presently restricted opportunities, especially in the occupational sphere, in a family mobility program. However, family mobility programs that stress economic improvement but fail to encourage self-help on individual and group basis through community-organization methods will discourage the realization of social-economic family mobility. The strategy must allow for programs that will allow the poor to organize and to work together for common community

goals, programs that would encourage and expose them to methods of taking part in the responsibility of governing their community. In any plan for family mobility the model must incorporate community-organization methods designed to encourage a "sense of community or belonging," or the model has failed to recognize one of the most important support programs. Ross has pointed out that these efforts must be aimed at, 1) meaningful functional communities in which individual citizens may have some sense of belonging and control over their environment, and 2) a new sense of neighborhood in the large metropolitan area through creation of citizens' councils and other forms of neighborhood organization."⁴³

Community-organization methods should involve democratic action, stressing citizen participation, self-help, and self-determination through group action, in meeting the problems created by poverty. The programs should stress the poor becoming involved in responsible action directed toward solving mutual problems. Such citizen participation is a process through which individual citizens have direct roles in the physical and social changes affecting their immediate environment and lives.

In short, community-organization methods designed to encourage family mobility should make some or all of the following objectives its goals: 1) Creation of a sense of social cohesion on a neighborhood basis and strengthening of group interrelationships; 2) encouragement and stimulation of self-help through the initiative of the individuals in the community; 3) stimulation by outside agencies when initiative for self-help is lacking; 4) use of

professional and technical assistance to support the efforts;
5) development of civic consciousness and acceptance of civic
responsibility; 6) identification and development of leadership;
and 7) provision of training in democratic procedures that may
result in decentralization of some government functions.⁴⁴

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CHAPTER FOUR

A NEW TOWNS AND FAMILY MOBILITY STRATEGY

Introduction

Americans typically do not attempt to solve problems by means of behavior patterns that could reasonably be considered "strategies." The concept of strategy implies the development of a single, comprehensive, long-range plan to cope with some significant social problem. But American decision-making concerning domestic issues is too fragmented and diffused to permit the formulation of any such long-range plan regarding a given problem. Instead, the nation approaches most social problems through a process which has been aptly labeled "disjointed incrementalism." Each decision-maker or actor makes whatever choices seem to him to be most appropriate at that moment, in light of his own interests and his own view of the public welfare. For two reasons, the decision-maker pays little attention to most of the consequences of his action upon others--especially the long-run consequences. First, no one has the detailed knowledge and foresight to comprehend all those consequences. Second, no one has the time nor the energy to negotiate in advance with all others likely to be affected by his actions. So instead he acts "blindly" and waits for those who are hurt to complain or those who are benefited to applaud.¹

This means that a planner of any strategy to be directed to a social problem must be able to accurately forecast any potentially dire outcome for current trends. He must also visualize

alternative outcomes that would be preferable and are within the capabilities of society. Finally, he must devise policies and programs that will shift individual incentives so the alternative will occur. In some cases, the ongoing trends that threaten society are strongly entrenched in its institutional structure.² If so, alternatives that avoid the pending threats may not be attainable without fundamental changes in institutions. Those changes in turn may be possible only if a preponderance of powerful people in society share at least a broad concept of the need for change and the kinds of objectives motivating it. The strategy must visualize certain desired outcomes, imply a wide range of policies by various actors necessary to attain that outcome, and serve as a hidden coordinator of seemingly individualistic behavior.

The alternative to family mobility and slum-ghetto growth of the American central-city conceived in this paper will not be achieved without major changes in existing institutions or values. For example, the realization of the strategy herein would require a highly coordinated set of policy decisions. Such coordination is unlikely to occur in the presently fragmentalized governmental structure of the United States, unless major changes in the incentives facing metropolitan government, the business sector and the public sectors are created.³

This paper, therefore, will formulate an alternative to family mobility of inter-city poor, and an alternative which would cope with the problems posed by present and future slum-ghetto

growth. It will examine other possible alternatives to family mobility of the poor and why they will be most unlikely to succeed. Then, the paper will examine what incentives will be necessary for the proposed model to succeed. Finally, it will develop a strategy designed for new towns and family mobility.

WHY ADVOCATE NEW TOWNS AND FAMILY MOBILITY?

Existing Programs of Family Mobility Lack Means to be Supportive of their Efforts

Existing in the cities' cores are federal programs intended to encourage family mobility of the poor. However, these programs are not directed towards reducing segregation (to allow those who wish to remove themselves from slum-ghetto environments and become a member of middle-class America). But such programs as Model Cities have the potential for exerting a direct influence by changing the image of the slum-ghetto. The Model Cities Act provides a program for deteriorated city areas that is concerned not just with housing (physical planning methods of family mobility) but with a broad range of matters related to the quality of living within each area--including health and medical care, education, recreation, employment, or whatever else is important in a particular city. Model Cities, also, encourage the poor to help plan and carry out programs intended for family mobility.⁴

Model Cities Programs seek to overcome the excessive fragmentation and diffusion that have weakened the impact of past upgrading efforts. It has tried to do so by coordinating city

departments, the local school board, private social agencies, relevant state agencies, and key federal agencies in programs of family mobility. By trying to get all these "actors" to focus their efforts jointly in a well-coordinated attack on the problems in a single slum-ghetto neighborhood in each city, it is hoping to discover effective ways to improve the chances of the poor realizing family mobility.

Preliminary indications point to at least some degree of success in the planning and early action phases of Model Cities.⁵ However, there are some economic and planning variables which will not allow the Model Cities programs to realize the program goals and objectives, e.g., jobs in the central city for the poor and decent housing for urban low-income persons. It will fail because it has not established a policy of encouraging the poor who wish to exit from their slum-ghetto environment to do so. Instead it has adopted a policy of maintaining segregation, which will not allow for an out-migration of poor from already overcrowded city cores. For the city to become slum-free will require planning processes which will reduce high density populations which may allow equilibrium with the job and housing demands.

To be accurate, every analysis made to evaluate what is required for family mobility of urban poor must avoid two tempting oversimplifications. The first is conceiving of the slum-ghetto population as a single homogeneous group, all of whose members have similar characteristics, attitudes, and desires.⁶ Secondly, because some ghetto-slum residents carried

out riots and looting doesn't mean that all slum-ghetto residents hate middle-class whites, are prone to violence, or are likely to behave irresponsibly. All careful studies of recent riots show that only a small minority of ghetto-slum residents participated in any way, a majority disapprove of such activity, and most would like to have more contact with whites and more integration.⁷

In reality, each slum-ghetto contains a tremendous variety of persons who exhibit widely differing attitudes toward almost every question. This diversity means that public policy concerning slum-ghetto problems cannot be successful if it is aimed at, or based upon, the attitudes and desires of only one group of persons residing in the slum-ghetto. It must have alternative means of meeting a problem; alternatives which correlate with the diversity of wants and needs of the slum-ghetto resident.

Model Cities programs are planned to unslum the central city and its theoretical solutions to that end are perhaps a start in the right direction. But not all slum-ghetto residents will want to remain in their central city environment (estimated at about twenty per cent of the slum-ghetto population).⁸ If public policy is not adopted to allow these persons to out-migrate, Model Cities or any other program designed to unslum will not meet its objectives. New policy must be added to Model Cities which encourage those who would like to out-migrate to do so, and in so doing it will be supportive of Model Cities central city efforts. Most new employment opportunities are being created

in the suburban portions of our metropolitan areas, not anywhere near the central-city core. Furthermore, this trend is likely to continue indefinitely into the future. It is true that downtown office-space concentrations in a few large cities have created additional jobs near slum-ghettos, but the poor are often under educated to receive such employment and the outflow of manufacturing and retailing jobs has normally offset any additional job possibilities, and, in many cases, has caused a net loss in central cities.⁹

That nearly all new job opportunities will be located in suburbs (or possible new towns) does not mean low-income residents cannot realize employment in central city. Nevertheless, as the total number of poor central-city job seekers steadily rises, the need to link them with emerging sources of new employment outside the city will become more and more urgent. Providing such jobs could be accomplished through a new towns and family mobility policy proposed in this paper. It would, at the same time allow for a reduction of slum-ghetto, high-density population which would allow programs, such as Model Cities, to more effectively encourage the city's core to unslum.¹⁰

Housing the Poor in Central Cities is not Probable

A recent study indicates that about ninety percent of all population growth from 1960 to 1985 will occur in metropolitan areas--10 percent in central cities and 80 percent in suburban rings. Housing units likely to be destroyed or demolished in this time period will probably be heavily concentrated because

the cleared sites will be occupied by new highways, nonresidential structures, or residential structures not intended for low-income housing.¹¹

Information concerning substandard housing units, though inadequate, provides the best way to discover that housing the poor in the central city is unlikely. In 1973, the annual rate of construction of public housing, urban renewal housing, and interest-subsidy housing combined was less than 100,000 new units. At this rate, it would take over thirty years to replace all the substandard housing units in the central cities. That is if all low-income housing was concentrated in central cities. The figure of thirty years is not considering population growth during the thirty years, which would mean even additional time to replace substandard housing.¹²

This paper could go into great detail as to why housing the poor is improbable in the central city (e.g., cost of land, cost of construction, lack of land, relocation problems, etc.), but it will not. The simple fact is that the planners have advocated reducing densities in central cities. Most plans for upgrading cities call for massive expansion of nonresidential land uses, such as parks, schools, and universities.¹³ Moreover, much central-city housing would be inadequate precisely because it would require housing people in a sardine-can density, such as that found in Harlem, where there are 67,000 persons per square mile.¹⁴

These considerations all point to the inescapability of replacing many inadequate central-city housing units with new

units built on vacant land outside of the city's core. One alternate to provide both jobs and housing for the urban poor would be a new towns and family mobility policy, such as that being introduced in this paper. It would, also, give those who wish to leave the central city that option, a condition which does not exist for the urban poor (especially blacks). Therefore, the most feasible way to offset the impact of overcrowding, unemployment and lack of housing units for low-income persons is to first build new units for low-income inter-city persons on vacant land outside central cities and, at the same time, have a highly correlated relocation policy to place urban poor into the new housing units. If these new units are made attractive enough, they will be filled with low-income persons who will in turn vacate existing units in the central city. This will allow programs such as Model Cities to realize less pressures in their efforts to eliminate slums from the cities' central core. Such out-migration policy will only be successful if the process of relocation is linked to an intensive housing and job information campaign in central city low-income neighborhoods. It will, also, require processes to discourage rural poor from continuing their migration to the central city.¹⁵

Why Not Relocate Urban Poor in Existing Suburbia?

Dozens of forms of institutional actions are indirectly and directly denying central city poor, both black and white poor, access to the existing suburbia. For example, most new jobs are being created in suburban shopping centers, industrial

parks, new office buildings, and schools and universities.¹⁶ But American suburban areas are overwhelmingly white middle-class in population (about 95% white).¹⁷ So the suburban sources of new employment are usually far from where the central city poor live. This makes it very difficult for the poor to know when such job openings exist, to get transportation to look for them, and to commute to work once they are found. Even if they do get jobs in the suburbs, they have great difficulty finding housing near their work. The difficulty of obtaining housing in suburbia lies in zoning laws which deliberately discourage any housing serving relatively lower-income groups, or local actions which prevent use of federal subsidies for such housing. Such laws are usually defended on ground of "maintaining high community standards" of housing and open space, or protecting the existing residents from tax increases that would be caused by building more schools to serve new low-income residents. Furthermore, real-estate associations and lending agencies around the country have generally favored segregation of racial and social-economic groups, and opposed measures such as open-housing legislation, which are intended to reduce housing segregation. An "ethical" real-estate broker is not likely to serve black or white lower social-economic groups in existing suburbia.¹⁸

Three major motives underlie the resistance of the middle-class to both the poor black and white. First, any influx of low-income residents with children tends to add a net burden to local property taxes.¹⁹ Second, Americans who have "made it" into the middle class have traditionally sought to demonstrate their

success by segregating themselves from less affluent.²⁰ This desire for relative economic and social homogeneity has important functions. It is much easier to pass on cherished values to one's children if they are reared in schools and neighborhoods where only children from families with similar values are found.²¹ And personal security is much greater when one lives in an area where nearly all others accept the same standards of public deportment. The third exclusionary motive is anti-Negro sentiment, which is still strong among whites. It is reinforced by their falsely imputing lower-class traits to all Negroes and by their fears that Negro newcomers will depress property values.²²

No attempts to open up suburban vacant land to low-income central-city poor on a large scale are likely to succeed unless they effectively cope with all three motives of exclusion. Exclusionary practices have been so instituted into suburbia that it is very unlikely that this ambition could be accomplished within its existing boundaries. It would surely be bitterly resisted by the middle-class suburbanites unless it was tied in with some kind of financing benefits directed to the middle-class residents (any policy would have to be sold to the middle-class), and even then, there would perhaps be resistance. Nevertheless, the nation should place high priority on this, formulating and carrying out proposals of relocating central-city poor into suburbia.²³

It is this author's opinion that a relocation process of central-city poor would be most optimumly demonstrated in a policy of new towns and family mobility. Such policy would not be

hampered by existing institutionalized exclusionary laws, and it would allow a time period to prepare the central-city poor for their new urban environment. This would provide an encouraging opportunity for the poor to relocate with less resistance from their middle-class counterpart. If the federal government were to adopt a new towns and family mobility policy it would fail unless the nation formulates and carries out new proposals for modernization of our obsolete local and state government exclusionary laws.

Why Should the Federal Government Subsidize Programs Such as New Towns and Family Mobility?

Public subsidies will play an essential role in the entire process of family mobility of urban poor, even if private firms carry out many of the programs concerned. Training unskilled workers, teaching low-achieving students, or building housing and pricing it so that poor families can afford it all require public subsidies. They cost more than those who are benefited can either pay themselves or provide through their participation for some time. These extra costs are the real costs of eliminating accumulated deprivation, poverty, ignorance, and racism. It is unreasonable and naive to expect private firms or local communities to bear these cost themselves, any more than they bear the costs of achieving other major public objectives, such as building highways or putting a man on the moon. Private participation should not, therefore, exist to reduce costs.

Rather it is to tap the many talents in the private sector, to get more of its members personally involved in combating poverty (lack of family mobility) in America.²⁴

A crucial task facing those who wish to combat poverty is converting blindness into acute consciousness of the many unrecognized ways in which poverty is costing this nation billions of dollars each year. If the capitalistic system can readily recognize a profit in eliminating poverty, those advancing strategies toward that end will be given more opportunity to see such strategies become realities.²⁵

Economic costs, including the loss of national output due to holding poor persons below their maximum productive potential, the loss of markets because the incomes of these persons are kept low, and large social costs caused by poverty, crime, poor housing, and poor health must be quantitatively demonstrated.

Social and human cost caused by the loss of human potential due to institutionalized poverty must be assigned values which can be readily recognized by a capitalistic system. Such cost would include loss of personal self-respect, weakened family stability, widespread frustration and apathy, frequent resorting to narcotics and criminal behavior, and a declining respect for authority among low-income groups.

It is impossible to quantify these costs in this report. But some future attempts should be made to measure at least the economic costs so as to show what giant losses (possible profits) are involved. For example, if Negro families had received the

same average income as whites, incomes received by all United States families would have been \$15.7 billion higher. For the American government and private enterprise to make an investment in family mobility of the poor of the scale proposed in this report will require such quantitative analysis. Otherwise, no comprehensive strategy of family mobility will be realized in a capitalistic system. It is hoped that this economic and social-human realization does not come too late to combat the multi problems caused by poverty.

Any large scale strategy aimed at developing new towns in this nation will have to be subsidized by the federal government. Successful development of true new towns is beyond the capability of private enterprise acting alone. It required special government powers to assemble land, bear some of the "front money cost" of long development periods, provide special incentives to attract industry, subsidize new housing for low-income residents, and establish viable relations with existing county and state governments.²⁷

DISPERSAL OF URBAN POOR TO NEW TOWNS

The strategy of relocating urban poor to new towns would be based upon one key assumption: that the problems of the central cities cannot be solved so long as millions of urban poor are required or persuaded to live together in segregated slum-ghettos within the central cities. The strategy contends that large numbers of urban poor should be given incentives to move voluntarily from the central cities into urban habitats which can furnish jobs and housing for urban poor.

To illustrate what "large numbers" really means, let's examine what the hypothetical requirement would be to stop the growth of central city ghettos (not all poor live in non-white ghettos, this means the actual number would be larger than given here). Taking the period from 1970 through 1975, estimates made by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders show that the non-white population of all United States central cities taken as a whole would, in the absence of any dispersal strategy, expand from 13.6 million to about 15.5 million. Thus, if dispersal of non-whites were to take place at a scale large enough to keep central-city racial ghettos at their 1970 level during the five subsequent years, there would have to be an out-migration of 1.9 million non-whites. This amounts to 380,000 persons per year.²⁸

Clearly, such dispersal would represent a radical change in existing trends. It is true that policies of dispersal would not necessarily have to be at such large scale. Dispersal aimed not at stopping central city growth, but merely at slowing it down somewhat could be carried out at a much lower scale. Yet even such policies would represent a marked departure from past American practice.

Such a sharp break with the past would be necessary for any significant dispersal of urban poor. Merely providing the opportunity for urban poor to move out of central cities would, at least in the short run, not result in many moving. Even adoption of a vigorously enforced nationwide open-occupancy law applying to

residences would not greatly speed up the present snail's-pace rate of dispersion from the central city. Years of relocation experience has proven this. A majority of central city residents would refuse to accept such direction, particularly because it would mean leaving "the action" of the city's slum-ghettos and moving into a foreign environment.²⁹

Hence, positive incentives for dispersion would have to be created in order to move out central city poor voluntarily from central city to new towns. Certainly no policy involving involuntary movement of central city poor should ever be considered. Such incentives could include rent supplements, ownership supplements, special school-support bonus payments linked to the education of children moving out from the central city, and other devices which essentially attach a subsidy to a person.³⁰ Then, when the person moves, he and the community into which he goes gets credit for that subsidy. This creates incentives both for the urban poor to move and for the community to accept them with less resistance. Of course, such a strategy would thus represent radical changes in existing practices and would have to be demonstrated as profitable to the American capitalistic system.

Some Mechanisms and Incentives Consideration for a New Towns and Family Mobility Policy

Americans have always used one basic approach to getting people to overcome inertia and make voluntarily some socially desirable change. It consists of providing a significant economic reward for persons who behave in the desired manner. That reward

might be free land, a tax reduction, a direct payment, or services and income supplements tied to participation in specific programs.

If the United States were to adopt a policy of new towns and family mobility advocated in this paper, it should develop a system of rewards which would have some or all of the following characteristics:

1. Advantages (rewards) should accrue to the migrating urban poor, to the migrating middle-class, and to private enterprise who are locating in new towns.

2. These advantages should consist of rewards administered by federal organizations specifically set up for such a purpose. These organizations could be quasi-private bodies able to cooperate directly with existing local governments, new towns federal agencies and the developer of new towns.

3. Advantages to migrating central city poor would include the following: Identification of a specific job to be located in a new town will be made. Special programs concerning job training and preparation would be provided to be supportive of the relocation and family mobility. Job training and other preparation programs would be subsidized by the federal government and the firms who hire migrating urban poor would receive benefits to compensate for any low productivity in early months of employment. Firms would, also, receive a subsidy if they aided in job-training programs.

Home-buying or renting financial aids or at least assigned proportions of their total funding would be made available to migrating poor.

The poor may send their children to top-quality schools that receive special grants because of participation in the program. The central city poor put very high values on education of their children and what it can enable their children to accomplish, thus, such a reward may be very inductive to encouraging the move to new towns. It would, at the same time, reinforce the acceptance of migrating poor by the middle-class through the reduction in tax burden.

Finally, there is the new town environment itself with the most initiative concepts in planning and design.

4. Advantages to new town middle-class persons would include the following: Federal bonus financing for new town governments. The payments involved should significantly exceed the added costs of servicing in-coming urban poor, so that each participating middle-class family could realize an improvement too. These funds could be used to finance sewer and water services, planning aid, funding schools and funding community facilities.

Creating grant-in aid programs which attach economic bonuses to immigrant poor residents. These bonuses would go to new town governments and school boards concerned, thereby making it "profitable" for them to accept poor newcomers.

5. Advantages to new town industry would include the following: Much of the new employment needs created by opening new industrial plants in new towns may be filled by migrating poor. Industry would be provided trained employees whose training was subsidized by federal new towns and family mobility policy.

Federal programs would be designed to subsidize purchase of land and services required for industrial operations. Such practices have been occurring in federal and local government for years and have been successful.

The new town's location and planning should offer incentives for industrial location in itself (covered in detail in Chapter Two).

Some aspects of the basic approach described above may seem terribly unjust, in particular, rewarding the advantaged as well as disadvantaged in order to get the former to accept the latter. Yet this must be the key mechanism, one which the capitalist systems have always employed when they seek to attain high-priority ends through voluntary action. Our society abounds with arrangements that provide special economic advantages to those who are already privileged, presumably in order to evoke socially desired behavior from them. The American Government often adopts public policies that pay the advantaged to undertake behavior which presumably benefits society as a whole.

CONCLUSION: PREREQUISITES FOR DEVELOPING A STRATEGY OF NEW TOWNS AND FAMILY MOBILITY

Any strategy must contain two basic parts: a desired outcome (stated in Chapter Two) and a set of actions designed to achieve that outcome. Any strategy is really just wishful thinking until it links the outcome it envisions with some feasible means of attaining that outcome. This is especially true regarding any

strategy which embodies radical changes in society. They are likely to remain largely fantasies, rather than real alternatives, until specific programs for achieving them can be defined. The remaining portion of this chapter will suggest a strategy of relocating urban poor to new towns and will hopefully prove that such relocation is not totally unrealistic.

First, the report will draw eight basic conclusions from previous sections of the report which are crucial to formulating programs for such a strategy:

1. No proposed "solution" to poverty (lack of family mobility) that is not eventually supported by the majority of the middle-class can possibly succeed.

2. The actions designed to bring about any desired outcome must be linked to incentives that will appeal both to the self-interest of all groups concerned and to their consciences. In fact, the most difficult part of implementing any strategy will be providing effective incentives for the middle-class. This group must be persuaded to expand many resources, and alter its own traditional behavior, in order to produce outcomes that appear to benefit mainly the poor population. Each segment of the middle-class must be presented with arguments and incentives which appeal specifically to its interests.

3. Any strategy designed as an alternative to family mobility of the poor should involve significant action by the private sector. It is naive to suppose that the private sector can or will bear the huge expense of coping with poverty (family mobility).

Society as a whole must pay the extra expense of job-training, new factories located in an effort to provide jobs for the urban poor, and other actions aimed at helping the poor become an active part of the nation's economy. These actions must be financed by federal government agencies, but should be organized to include the private sector in their operations.

4. No program involving family mobility can be effective unless it involves a high degree of meaningful participation by central city poor residents, and significant exercise of power and authority by them. Such actions may cause governmental exercises to be disorderly, inefficient, and even corrupt at first; as it was among the Irish, Italians, Jews, and others in the past. Yet it will greatly alter the attitudes of residents toward the institution of government and begin to draw the real functioning of American society.

5. No strategy should be directed to only one alternative to family mobility of urban poor. The realization of past efforts of family mobility having failed to reach the vast majority of the central city poor suggests that these persons either cannot or do not want to accept the middle-class values, or that a middle-class way of life is difficult to achieve in the existing central city. A number of social scientists have suggested that what lower-income central city persons are striving for is a stable, family-centered life of working class culture. These observations stress that the strategy must be two-edged in character. It must give the poor alternatives directed toward

family mobility in an urban environment; it must allow those who wish to leave the central city to do so on the one hand, and it must identify those who wish to remain in the central city on the other. It must be directed, to the highest degree possible, to encourage voluntary choice of life styles.

6. Some poor persons lack motivations and skills that are needed not only to participate in contemporary society but more important, to accept the opportunities if and when they become available. Moreover, the apathy, despair, and rejection which result from lack of access to crucial opportunities help bring about social and emotional difficulties. For these reasons, the strategy must develop means of reaching as many poor as possible to inform them of the opportunities being made available by the strategy's programs. The strategy must develop methods of going to the poor and selling itself to them. It, also, must assure itself and the poor that it can and will produce the product being sold, family mobility.

7. The strategy would be experimental in its nature, guided by past success and failures of family mobility, and educated extrapolation. It will be required to introduce more radical experimentation and technical innovations than ever before. It is evident that America is only in the development stage of workable solutions to the lack of family mobility in a central city environment. It is realized that much research, experimentation, and evaluation of experience will be necessary before it will be learned what kinds of programs will encourage a

successful program of family mobility. For these reasons, the strategy and its programs must be flexible to new finds and new innovative programs realized during its implementation.

8. The nature of the problems facing the central city poor are not difficult to identify. For economic reasons, and for reasons of race as well, the contemporary lower-class is often barred from opportunities to hold well-paid, stable jobs, to receive a decent education, to live in good housing or to get access to a whole series of choices and privileges that the middle-class take for granted. It must be the major objective of the strategy to develop programs which will encourage the realization of such opportunity for the central city poor.

THE STRATEGY

In Simplest Terms

If the United States were to accept a long-range plan to strategically locate and develop new towns throughout the nation, the following objectives should be included in such policy: 1) Because the nation's population is pluralistic in character, so should the new town's population be representative of this pluralism; 2) new towns should be one means of distributing larger metropolitan centers' population to decentralized locations; 3) a new town's policy should be one alternative to encourage dispersal of the central city slum-ghetto population; 4) new towns should be one alternative to industrial growth, which means the creation of new jobs, and the government should actively

encourage industry to locate in new towns; 5) the policy should include a strategy to prepare the migrating poor for their new town environment; and 6) the new towns should be planned to discourage the occurrence of urban poverty.

The fifth objective will be the main thrust of the strategy forthcoming in this report. It will deal with the development of a strategy to prepare the central city poor for relocation to a new town habitat and of the programs which will be required for its success. However, it would be impossible to develop a relocation strategy without dealing with some or all of the other objectives, and this report has briefly discussed how these factors will effect the relocation strategy.

The New Towns and Family Mobility Strategy would have four major objectives: 1) to identify or establish inner-city federal agencies to recruit and identify persons interested in participating in a New Towns and Family Mobility strategy; 2) to organize and administer an agency whose duties would be to coordinate new job opportunities in new towns with possible central-city poor migrants; 3) to develop a whole series of programs to prepare and orientate the central-city poor for their new town habitat; and 4) to establish new town agencies which would be supportive of migrating poor's mobility efforts after arrival at the new towns and which would continue serving the migrant poor until such time that they become self-supportive of those services.

The following portion of this report will cover, in some detail, the responsibilities and services which must be rendered

if the strategy is going to encourage the major objectives of a national new towns policy to become realities.

Central City Recruiting

As has been discussed, the latter portions of this report, a New Towns and Family Mobility Strategy should only be one alternative to making American cities slum-free. Such a dispersal strategy should not be undertaken unless there are large scale slum-ghetto enrichment programs undertaken simultaneously. The inner-city enrichment programs should provide comparable benefits (if it is economically possible) for those who wish to remain in the central-cities; these will undoubtedly comprise the vast majority of the central-city poor.

Theoretically, the Model Cities Program is the most potentially effective central-city slum-ghetto strategy conceived to date. Its comprehensive approach of "base" and "support programs" undoubtedly are a must for social-economic family mobility of the poor. However, Model Cities cannot comprehensively eliminate poverty in central-cities because of existing social and economic conditions in the central-city. Moreover, for Model Cities to succeed, it will be necessary for the government to forcefully carry out and expand the Model Cities Program, emphasizing more radical experiments and technical innovation and enlarging incentives for participation of the poor, business sector and public sector. It will, also, have to greatly improve coordination among federal agencies controlling components of the Model Cities Programs.³¹

Having recognized that Model Cities Programs seek to overcome the excessive fragmentation and diffusion that have weakened the impact of past upgrading efforts, it would be recommended that the New Towns and Family Mobility Strategy's inner-city programs be coordinated with or executed by Model Cities Program. This recommendation is made for two reasons: 1) It would enable Model Cities to be more comprehensive in its approach to family mobility; it would allow them to identify those persons wishing to remain in their central-city environment and those who wish to leave, and it would then be able to more effectively direct aid to both types of persons and; 2) one of Model Cities objectives is identifying the wants and needs of the central-city poor; thus, to create a new agency for recruiting would only cause repetition in administration and program implementation costs, which would lessen coordination in implementation of programs and cause additional costs.

As administrator and coordinator of recruiting central-city poor to become involved in a New Towns and Family Mobility Strategy, Model Cities would have the following responsibilities:

1. It would receive information concerning how many persons are needed to fill new jobs in new towns and what qualifications those persons must meet for employment (this information would be received from a New Towns Employment Coordinating Agency, to be discussed later).

2. Model Cities would develop processes to educate inner-city poor concerning the opportunities that could be made

available to those who became involved in a New Towns and Family Mobility Strategy. A whole series of advertising means should be used in such an effort, including Model Cities staff to client communications with the poor. All incentives to encourage participation should be clearly explained and all requirements and responsibilities to receive incentives would be clearly expressed.

3. After determining that a family is interested in becoming involved in the strategy, the Model Cities staff would be responsible for interviewing and testing the family to determine what services and family mobility programs would be required for relocation. It would determine what kind of employment the head of the family would like to seek and what types of employment he would be qualified for after job training and supportive programs were conducted. It would then construct a program of family mobility to be instituted before the family is transferred to the Preparation Community (to be discussed later), and this program would be coordinated with the Preparation Community.

4. There should be little time between the family's decision to participate, and when it realizes its first incentives. Model Cities must continually reinforce interest in its client, the poor. It must develop a program of family mobility and proceed to coordinate its use by the family as long as they remain in the inner-city. The family must not be frustrated by delays and false promises.

5. Model Cities should have programs designed to bring relocation participants together to discuss the group's relocation

(friendship groups and extended families should be encouraged to relocate together). If these persons are encouraged to meet to discuss common problems of relocation, they will not feel alone in their relocation efforts. Some friendship relationships would probably evolve from such meetings, which would make relocation easier. Moreover, it would encourage the poor to participate more fully in their relocation by giving Model Cities staff feedback information about the agency programs and their expectation of future relocation.

5. Because many poor suffer from multiple social and economical problems, it may be difficult to prepare some for relocation in their central-city environment. Some relocatees may find it more advantageous to locate in a Preparation Community (all relocatees would be required to locate in the Preparation Community for job training, to be discussed later) which would be planned to more readily and comprehensively encourage the poor to become ready for new town's habitat.

It would be Model Cities responsibility to identify such families and advise them of the advantages of a Preparation Community. If the family agreed to participate in the Preparation Community, Model Cities would make a complete schedule of the family's needs for social-economic family mobility and send it to the Preparation Community so it could ready itself for the new participant.

6. Job training for employment in new towns will have to be conducted in a Preparation Community. If an industrial concern

is willing to hire large numbers of central-city poor, it will want those persons trained in the most comprehensive and effective manner possible. This type of training process would not be effectively achieved in central-cities, because applicants may come from a number of different cities. Thus, it would be more efficient to centralize job training in Preparation Communities.

It would be the responsibility of Model Cities to identify job trainees. Such identification would be coordinated by New Towns Employment Coordination Agency. This agency would inform Model Cities of job opportunities and requirements (to be discussed later). Model Cities would determine who would be qualified for such placement after job training and supportive programs were conducted. Model Cities would administrate any supportive programs for job training conducted in the central-city. When job training became available in the Preparation Community, Model Cities would transfer records of the relocatees' social-economic family mobility needs.

New Towns Employment Coordinating Agency

One of the major incentives which would be introduced in a new towns policy is to guarantee industries that they would realize new, trained employees if they locate in new towns, and the training would be subsidized by the federal government. In effect, the strategy would say to industry, you'd like to locate your industry where trained employment would be guaranteed; well, why not locate in one of the new towns which will, also, guarantee

subsidized trained employees and other incentives, people who have been trained to the world of work and who will be in a socially supportive system, that is, in a system where they will be inclined to keep coming back to work.

In order for the poor to move from their central-city environment successfully, the first thing that must be accomplished is to identify jobs from them. This will require the formation of a federal government funded national organization to solicit industry's participation in a new towns policy. This organization would inform the industry of the advantages and incentives it would realize by its location in new towns.

After identifying those industries which would become involved in a new towns policy, a New Towns Employment Coordinating Agency would be formed by the federal government. Its duties would be to work with industrial concerns to determine their new employment needs for new towns' plants. The agency would then make listings of specific job needs for new towns industry. This information would be transferred to Model Cities and the Preparation Communities to correlate a specific job to persons seeking employment in new towns.

This process would have two impacts on the success of the relocation process. First, it would insure linkage between job training and employment for the poor. Too many times in the past, job training programs have trained the poor with skills for which there was no demand after training was completed. Second, it would allow the Preparation Community's job training

personnel to train the relocatee for a specific job and would insure the trainees receiving any supportive programs necessary for employment success.

The New Towns "Preparation Communities"

Poverty is the consequences of a negative or debilitating environment and, for this reason, it may be difficult to realize speedy and effective relocation preparation programs in the existing central-city. Thus, it may be more conducive to social-economic family mobility to remove the poor from their slum-ghetto environment for preparation programs; to locate them in a supportive environment for relocation preparations. It would be extremely difficult to provide all the social-economic factors that would be required for a positive and supportive environment of relocation preparation with the central-city. Therefore, an effort should be made to provide such an environment, and the only way the strategy can do so on any scale is to develop new preparation communities designed and planned for preparation of urban poor's relocation efforts.

It is suggested that the Preparation Communities be, in effect, satellite communities. New communities are simply the only way in which the strategy could supply, on a large scale, housing in a short space of time in a positive environment. This would have to be achieved if the strategy is to move people, or assist people to make a move on a large scale from inner-city slum-ghettos into a new town's environment which they may become supportive of.

The Preparation Communities would allow for a more comprehensive approach to preparing a family for social-economic family mobility. This would not only help the poor more readily to become productive members of society, but it would indicate to the participating poor the sincerity of the strategy to aid them in relocation. It would prevent the occurrence of apathy and frustration which is created by lack of accessibility to programs of mobility in the central-city.

One suggestion for location of the Preparation Communities, which is probably the most economically feasible, would be to convert non-occupied armed forces bases into such communities. Housing and facilities once used to train men to go to war may possible be used to aid central-city poor to realize a constructive life. There have been, and continue to be, armed forces bases closed down; and if peace continues and automation of war is increased, there will most likely be more such shut-downs in the future. Such a strategy for locating preparation communities would probably be most acceptable to the public. The public would accept utilizing facilities which were already constructed and which would otherwise sit idle before they would approve the construction of new facilities; especially when such new facilities would mean the creation of a preparation ghettos of low-income persons in the middle-classes backyard.

Whatever alternative is accepted by the federal government will have to be accompanied by incentives to encourage the large metropolitan area adjacent to a Preparation Community to allow

it occurrence with as little resistance as possible. The creation of a preparation ghetto for low-income persons would only be accepted by local governments (or with less resistance if federal government used eminent domain to force its construction) if those local communities realized economic rewards for its approval. Thus, the Preparation Community would have to be completely subsidized by the federal government. This would mean no additional cost to the neighboring metropolitan center, but would mean an increase in economic sources for the adjacent community. Many services of the metropolitan business sector would be required and some of its residents would realize employment in the Preparation Community's operations. Beyond these general incentives, if the Preparation Community is newly constructed, it would be recommended that the local government would be guaranteed that, after discontinuation of operation, the Preparation Community would be turned over to the metropolitan government, in good condition, for the cost of one dollar. If ever a New Towns and Family Mobility Strategy was attempted, selection of sites for Preparation Communities would be a most difficult task and would require much more time and research than allowed for this report. However, its importance cannot be over-stressed for the success of such strategy.

This report has suggested that a new towns policy should encourage large corporations, that must make continuing investments in opening of new plants, to locate in new towns. These industries may want to hire large numbers of new employees. It would not be realistic to think that the strategy would try to

locate, for instance, 10,000 persons by lining up a thousand employers who would each hire 10 persons. It would be just too complicated. It's much easier to deal with large numbers when a strategy is intended to move large numbers of persons. If such an industry wants to hire a large number of new employees, such as from 200 to 800 new persons, it would only be possible to effectively train persons for such employment opportunity at a centralized location. On-the-job training would be difficult, because migrating poor would need job supportive programs which would not always be available in a developing community; and, thus, such efforts would lack comprehensiveness. However, the Preparation Communities would act as a training center for new industry employees and would provide job supportive programs and social supportive programs in a comprehensive manner.

If a strategy is to move inner-city poor out of poverty into a constructive environment, it is essential that the strategy recognize that poverty is caused by more than a lack of income. Poverty is caused, also, by a number of social variables (e.g., lack of education, poor health, lack of familiarization with the work world, and many other supportive social variables). Thus, the Preparation Community would have to be planned to effectively expose those needing social supportive programs to such services. Model Cities would test and interview the families to determine what social supportive programs the poor should be involved in. It would, also, inform the relocatee of why such programs are essential to his mobility

and his becoming supportive of his new town habitat. The results of testing and interviewing of the family for social program needs would then be transferred to the Preparation Community. There, a comprehensive social mobility plan would be identified and means of implementing such program arranged. Schedules would be made to coordinate the family's mobility efforts. The length of such mobility programs would be determined by a family's needs and progress, not by a magic number of six months or one year of involvement in such programs. However, because some industry may want trainees more speedily, it is hoped that most persons would be able to complete their mobility efforts at the Preparation Community as readily as possible. In effect, some programs may only allow the family to realize the importance of such programs of family mobility, and Preparation Community participation would act to encourage them to continue their efforts in the new town.

The strategy would enable the migrating poor to locate in a Preparation Community with a specific job identified for the head of family, a program of job training and job supportive programs identified, and a whole series of social family mobility programs identified and scheduled for implementation.

As a result of this operation of the Preparation Community processes, new values and patterns or relationships may be introduced to the families that alter the old ways of doing things. This, of course, is a major goal of the Preparation Community and a goal with which the planners of the community

must be concerned as to its effects on the families. It is generally assumed by social scientists that the parts of a society are interrelated and that change in one part will result in some form of alteration or adjustment in other related units. If the Preparation Community seeks change in some area of social life of the migrating poor, it must consider how that change may effect the families total social patterns. A seemingly positive social change may cause a negative reaction in another area of social life. This is probably the most important consideration in programs planned to change social patterns of families and such changes should be treated with extreme care. This report will not elaborate on social pattern changes caused by family mobility programs, but does stress the importance of its understanding in the formulation of policy for the Preparation Community. Much research and experimentation will be required before a comprehensive community for family mobility can be implemented.

However, some major guidelines have been formulated for the Preparation Community. Each inner-city poor interested in relocating would move to the Preparation Community with the following understandings:

1. The Preparation Community is to be an action community. This means that all family members must take part in its success.
2. All heads of families shall be involved in job training or retraining. All supportive services for such participation will be provided (day care, transportation, basic education

classes, etc.) Job training will be for a specific identified job which will be located in a new town. Failure to meet job standards does not necessarily mean termination from the programs; every effort will be made to replace that person to another job which will meet his qualifications (there would, also, be programs in the new towns to allow migrant poor to become eligible for advancement in job.

3. To help finance the Preparation Community the residents would be required to take part in community services necessary for its maintenance. This action would be kept to a minimum, but each family would be given some kind of maintenance duty.

4. Families would be required to meet, probably on a weekly basis, with community organizers in group inter-action. Such meetings would have two main purposes: a) It would allow the program participants to learn to discuss, reason and act as a group in defined problems, develop new identities, find new meanings, and discover relationships emerging in the Preparation Community and from the migration to new towns; and b) it would allow the community organizer the opportunity for feedback from the program participants as to the effectiveness of programs and to what the participant would like to see altered in the operations of the Preparation Community. It would allow the recognition of any dysfunctional operations or possible trouble areas in the community operations. The participant must have some control over his preparation environment.

5. Persons being relocated to a certain new town will be assigned to the same Preparation Community and will live in

close proximity to each other. Organized social events and social gathering places will be provided to encourage development of friendly relationships; this will discourage a sense of loneliness in the Preparation Community and in the new town.

6. The Preparation Community will be, to the highest degree economically possible, self-contained. It will be planned to tie things such as housing, schools, social services, adult education, job training, etc., together in a comprehensive effort to prepare migrating central-city poor for their new town environment. However, the participants will have complete access to the neighboring metropolitan center. The participant should not feel isolated and should be allowed to seek consumer and social activities in the metropolitan center.

7. At the completion of the social-economic family mobility preparation, the participant will be expected to move to the new town which was agreed to before preparation. The participant will be insured of a job, large choice of housing, and a whole series of social services to reinforce his move.

The New Town Job Tryout Period

As soon as the trainee has completed job training and supportive programs in the Preparation Community (and has done so successfully in the eyes of the Preparation Community organizers), then he is placed in a paying new towns job for a tryout period.

The job trainee and family would move to the new town and be housed in furnished, temporary quarters for which they would

pay rent. Such rent could later be applied as down payments on the purchase of a home in the new town.

When the worker enters the new town and his new job, the family will need to receive an addition to his stipend. This is important as an incentive during his earlier participation in the new town. It is important as a tangible reward and a concrete indication that the family is making progress.

The tryout period provides the trainee with exposure to the job, the employer is exposed to the trainee as an employee, and the family is exposed to the physical and social environment of the new town.

During the tryout period a member of the New Town Coordinating Agency would check with the employer and the employee (migrant poor) to try to facilitate the adjustment, contribute further to the training in some instances, and work on possible problems between employer and employee.

During this time period, the family would have an opportunity for early contact with the staff of new town village departments (e.g., education, social service, leisure-time, etc.) Family records kept all through the relocation process would become material used to thoroughly assess what family mobility supportive programs would be needed in the new town.

After a tryout period, if the new town environment is suitable to the migrant poor individual, and he is suitable for his new job, the family may purchase a new home and become permanent residents of the new town. The migrant poor may have to receive subsidies for some time, but it is hoped that they may become self-supportive as readily as possible.

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