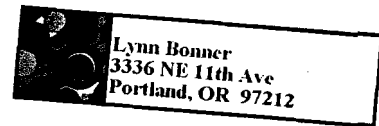


Ernie Bonner



**TOWARD A WORK PROGRAM FOR AN
ADVOCATE PLANNING AGENCY**

And Some Examples of Work Accomplished

**Background Paper for 54th Annual Conference
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City of Cleveland**

A GYROSCOPE FOR THE GENERAL PLAN

The long-range planning staff will deal in information, criticism and advice. Our audience will be those who influence or make decisions.

We take upon ourselves a special role with respect to that audience. The information, criticism, and advice we offer will be informed by a vision we have for the City of Cleveland and its people. This vision is utopian in that it is admittedly normative, arising from our own conceptions of the "good life" for people. It is not utopian in that it may point to a direction the City can choose and can follow, a direction that distinguishes among desirable and undesirable actions taken yesterday, and today, and to be taken tomorrow.

Our vision (in outline) is as follows:

- Individuals choose their own goals and means to pursue those goals.
- Societal values and conditions act as constraints upon individual selection and pursuit of goals.
- Societal values are questionable insofar as they unnecessarily restrict choice and to the extent that they are inconsistent with one another.
- Institutions are established to serve individual pursuit of goals. In the process institutions, themselves, establish goals--some of which must be self-serving to assure their

survival.

- Institutional goals which are self-serving, however, must be clearly secondary and supportive of institutional goals furthering pursuit of individual goals.
- Societal values and conditions also act as constraints upon institutional selection and pursuit of goals. But, unlike individual selection and pursuit of goals, institutional selection and pursuit of goals affect societal values and conditions. Institutions are, therefore, the focus for changes in societal values and conditions.
- Both individuals and institutions pursue their respective goals through decision and action. Decisions to act must be made from among those choices of action which the individual or institution perceives.
- Individuals are better off with more choices in any decision.
- Institutions serve individual goals most when they provide wider choices in decisions made by individuals.
- The primary goal of institutions must be to provide wider choices, partly through their own decisions and actions, partly through their affect on societal values and conditions.
- In a context of limited resources, first and priority attention should be given to the task of promoting wider choices for those individuals and groups who have few, if any, choices.

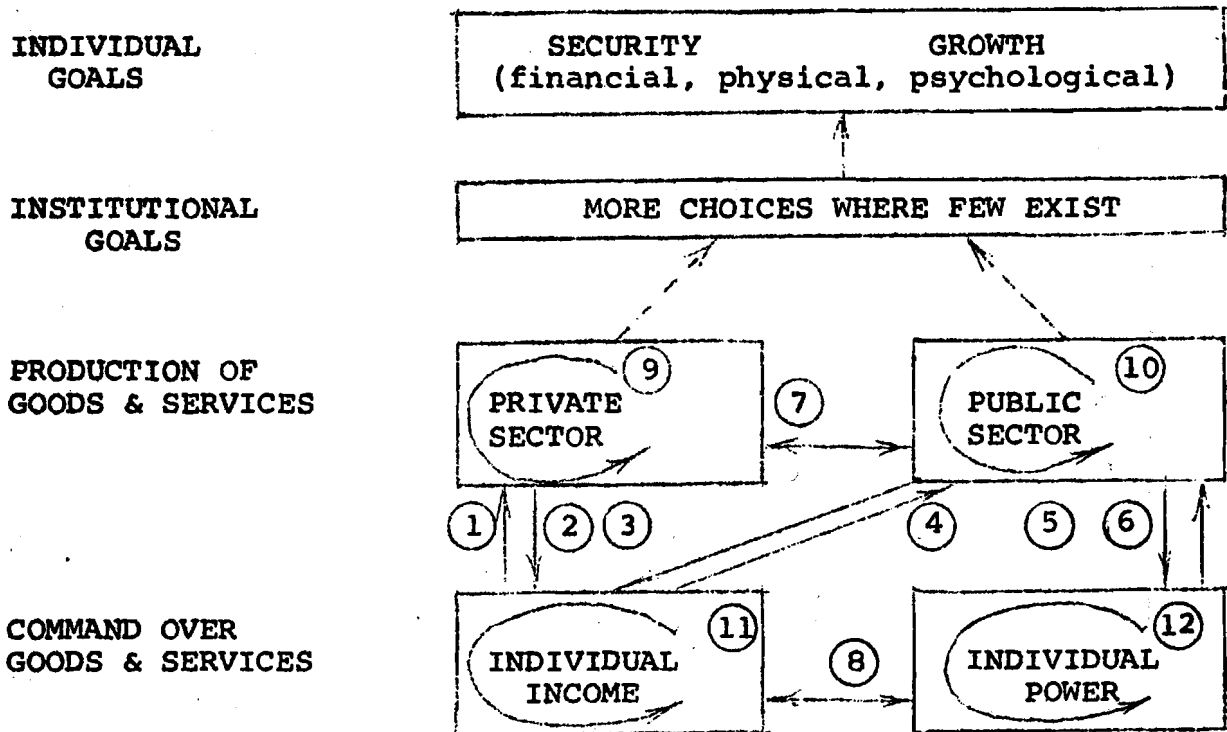
A BRIDGE OVER MUDDY WATERS

- Given this goal as a direction for change, what policies should we as, a City, pursue in order to serve that goal?
- Income and power are important generators of choice. Policies dealing with changes in the level and distribution of income and power are, therefore, necessary guides in reaching our goal.
- But, any given level and distribution of income does not, automatically, lead to more choices in private and public goods and services. Prevailing political, social, and economic trends, for example, are toward a systematic narrowing of choice for all, but a very few. Policies dealing with these trends in the response of the private and public sectors are additional guides in reaching the goal of more choices for individuals who have few or none. These policies will widen choice for the majority as well as the minority.
- There are, thus, two (2) broad areas of policy:
1. Policies to promote changes in the level and distribution of income toward some more equitable allocation of the rewards of our productive system; and
 2. Policies to improve the choices in goods and services offered by the private and public sectors in response to any given level and distribution of

income and power.

--Both areas of policy must be included in an effective thrust toward the goal of promoting choices where few or none exist.

--The two (2) broad areas of policy can be further subdivided by reference to the diagram which charts the important parts of the system within which we work and the relationships among these parts.



Each arrow represents a relationship which will be a subject of policy.

--More specific areas of policy under the general area of policies dealing with the level and distribution of income and power include:

- (2) Private sector payments and transfers of income to individuals.
- (3) Public sector payments and transfers of income to individuals.
- (5) Public sector allocation of power to individuals.
- (8) Relationship between individual income and power.
- (11) Payments and transfers of income among individuals.
- (12) Transfers of power among individuals.

--More specific areas of policy under the general area of policies to improve response of the private and public sectors include:

- (1) Individual expenditures on private sector goods and services.
- (4) Individual payments to public sector institutions.
- (6) Response of the public sector to individual power.

--Each of these policy areas serves as an initial framework for a work program. The objective of each work program will be to devise alternative policies for the accomplishment of the goal before us. Priority in work programming will also be assigned in view of our goal. Thus, policy areas which clearly focus on individuals with few choices will be considered first.

THE PRIMROSE PATH FROM GOAL TO WORK PROGRAM

--In order to determine what these policy areas might be, consider the lack of choices confronting an individual who lacks income. Theoretically, he has a number of options for gaining income. He may become employed, he may acquire capital (and, thus, realize income from earnings on the investment of that capital), he may apply for public or private assistance in the form of "welfare" or charity, he may borrow or ask for money from his friends or family, or he may acquire income through some illegal activity (robbery, burglary, gambling, etc.).

--Suppose this individual cannot get a job, does not own nor can he possibly acquire capital, and is not eligible for public or private assistance. His choices remaining are not hopeful, nor does his exercise of either remaining choice contribute to our goal. Even though he was successful in borrowing or obtaining income from his friends or family, chances are good that this transfer of income will be from poor to poor, leaving his friend or family even worse off than they were. Further, though the transfer may be made, it is obviously made grudgingly and sets up a conflict among those who already suffer under conflicts sufficient to undermine their life (and society at large) in important ways. Clearly, reducing his options

to that of committing crime leaves him with no real choice at all. In fact, this is the one choice we cannot permit. The possibility of obtaining income through illegal activity must be reduced if not removed altogether.

--The policy implications of this are clear. On the one hand, policies establishing an adequate income guarantee to all individuals based on need must be devised. At the same time, policies must be devised to reduce the effective income to be gained from illegal activity.

--A minimum, but adequate, income guarantee program would include policy determinations on such matters as eligibility, work incentive, and level of basic allowance or guarantee.

--Reducing the effective income of criminal activity would require policies as to:

1. Possible changes in the definition of criminal activity--gambling can be a crime or a local industry.
2. Ways of decreasing possible revenues from criminal activity, by increasing the responsibility of victims or by reducing the opportunities for criminal activity.
3. Ways of increasing the probability of apprehension, either in fact, or as perceived by the criminal.

--Successful pursuit of these policies would provide a choice the individual did not enjoy before (eligibility for a minimum, but adequate, income guarantee) while rendering the

choice of criminal activity less preferred.

--Most individuals who lack income would prefer employment as a means to income over public assistance, transfers from friends and family or illegal activity. Those who cannot choose employment as a means to income fall somewhere in the following outline of the reasons for unemployment or underemployment--in some cases the reason for an individual not even being in the labor force.

1. Supply of labor exists, demand for labor does not
 - a. Changes in the level, composition and organizational structure of national output.
 - b. Changes in the level and composition of regional output
 - c. Discrimination in hiring on racial, sexual, religious, or other grounds
 - d. Arbitrary employment requirements based upon education level rather than ability
 - e. Underemployment
2. Supply of labor does not exist, demand does
 - a. Individual is not qualified
 1. He perceives himself as not qualified
 2. He is not qualified
 - b. Individual is qualified, but not willing to work
 1. Wages too low
 2. Job location inaccessible

3. Working conditions-safety and health
or time off
4. Family or other responsibilities
- c. Individual does not know that demand exists
- d. Individual is not physically capable
 1. Poor mental or physical health
 2. Alcoholic or addict

--In those cases where supply exists, demand does not, policies to promote choice in employment would include those designed to:

1. Encourage economic development of city and region in specific categories of economic activity.
2. Insure equal employment opportunity.
3. Encourage re-assessment of work tasks and personnel requirements by public agencies, private firms, and unions in the area.
4. Maintain the demand for labor through public service employment of those willing but out of work.
5. Encourage migration to or from the area.

--In those cases where supply does not exist but demand does, policies would include those designed to:

1. Improve the flow of information about job openings and the counseling of those searching for work.
2. Improve the working conditions of those employed.

3. Permit choice of residential accommodations in closer proximity to employment centers.

4. Equip individuals with the special skills and talents that jobs with promise require.

--Throughout our discussion of policies above, we have dealt in detail only with those encompassed in the broad area of policy directed toward a change in the level and distribution of income toward a more equitable distribution to those with little income. In the event that the chosen combination of policies is in some way successful in improving the relative income position of the poor, we still have that important set of policies remaining to insure that the increase in income does, in fact, promote wider choices in goods and services from the private and public sectors.

--Would, for instance, a change in the distribution of income as a result of the policies above, promote wider choices for the poor in housing? Specifically, would individuals and families living in substandard homes now be able to choose standard housing at rents they can afford? Or will the costs of supplying and maintaining housing at local standards still place the unit out of their reach?

--For many families, the dilemma is clear. "Standard" housing in central city locations is costly. Rents to support the construction or rehabilitation of these units is then neces-

sarily high. Incomes, from which rents must be paid, are low and burdened with other demands--food, clothing, transportation. The gap between the rents which must be paid and the rents which could be paid must be narrowed by policies to increase incomes of poor families and individuals (already discussed above) and policies to reduce the cost of "standard" units-in effect to improve the response of the private and public sectors in the provision of housing for low-income families.

--An obvious first step is the development of policies to adjust the local standards.

--Policies will also be required in those areas of cost which together promote the high cost of housing units:

1. Land Costs
2. Construction Costs
3. Financing Costs
4. Operating Costs

--If a "standard" home is to include important neighborhood service levels, policies will be necessary in the areas of:

1. The level, quality and distribution of services (schools, recreation, safety, etc.) in the City.
2. The choice of location in an area or municipality where services are "standard."

--An important, and newly-emerging area of policy, would be those directed toward improving a household's capacity to pay rent through a program of housing allowances. This kind of program, along with improvement in neighborhood service levels will be necessary to assure some demand for standard housing in many areas of the City where no effective demand now exists.

--Promoting choices in housing is only one area of concern in our consideration of the response of the private and public sector. Other areas would include certain private consumption goods as well as a host of public services including education, recreation, public safety, and sanitation.

--Further, the discussion so far has not directly concerned itself with either the distribution of power or the response of the public sector to this auxiliary form of command over goods and services.

--This paper, is admittedly, only a demonstration of the process the general planning staff is following to develop a direction for ourselves and the Planning Commission and to use that direction as a guide in the development of policies for the City of Cleveland.

--This demonstration, however, should make clear how the challenge we have set before us differs from typical planning practice.

--First, we have established a single, relatively specific goal; and this was established with reference to our vision of the way a society ought to be. It is basically, a moral stance on our part, and places us in a clear advocate position in favor of those who have few, or no, choices.

--Second, the connection between this goal and the policies developed will be explicit and overriding. As a result, some traditional policies and programs of planning agencies may not appear. At the same time, many policies (and areas of concern) new to planning agencies will be in prominent positions.

SHORT MANUAL ON STYLE FOR ADVOCATE PLANNERS

Certain obstacles (and opportunities) are inherent in this approach to planning and obvious beforehand. Our style of operation must recognize these:

1. To promote social change is to accept social conflict. We agree to submit all conflicts to those executive, legal and legislative tribunals for resolution and to accept the resolution which is forthcoming. At the same time we refuse to minimize or cloud those conflicts before decision-makers. Conflicts in interests and ideas are not to be avoided. They are to be sharpened and clarified so that those who must decide make clear choices based on more fundamental precepts.
2. To cast our vision in more fundamental terms is to assure that our breadth of concern will eventually encompass all. Our limited resources will not permit a "comprehensive" analysis to match our framework for planning. We must admit that our eventual plan will not be comprehensive in the generic sense of that term. Still, each part we

accomplish of the total effort required will at least be informed and conditioned by knowledge of its place in a broader scheme. Further, the more comprehensive framework provides the same perspective to others in their various capacities throughout the City. Their work will be on our behalf in that sense.

3. There can be no "best" way for there can be no "best" goal. This or that policy or program might, in some limited sense, be the "best" way to serve some given goal. But the determination of a "best" goal will fail for lack of criteria. Selection from among alternative goals is the difficult task of political decision-makers. Their selection is not of the "best" goal, only their selection of an alternative. Our selection of a goal, and all subsequent policy design based on that selection, does not presume that decision-makers will select that goal, too. It will assure, however, that that goal will always be in front of decision-makers as an alternative during times of decision.

4. A healthy, pragmatic skepticism will be of invaluable assistance in our efforts, toward our own actions and decisions as well as others. Our framework of analysis will give this skepticism great force and direction. In every case, in all decisions, there are only a few questions:

What explicit (or more likely, implicit) goal will decision one way or the other serve in this matter?

In what way does service to that goal affect service to our goal?

In most cases these questions will not be easy to answer, but if our action (review, approval, etc.) is the one sought, the responsibility for answering the question is not entirely ours.

5. Our goal springs directly from those egalitarian ideals which are rooted in the rhetoric of our history. To fix ourselves, with professional integrity and abilities, upon that goal is to become the conscience of our society. As such, we will be

beaten back at every hard choice. To take as our measure of success the number and importance of changes made in institutions or the things which "get done" is to invite frustration. A more valid measure of our success would be those small, sometimes fleeting, changes in men's minds, those important (but invisible) succumbings by an individual to his own conscience, and the new dedication, new purpose of individuals to those ideals we hold but only haltingly strive for.

WORK ELEMENTS - THE FIRST TWO YEARS IN CLEVELAND

First, it must be understood that no city planning agency can survive with a work program ignoring its charter-delegated responsibilities. The zoning, land-use, site-selection studies and mandatory referrals continue to be processed by Commission staff, conditioned by our advocacy viewpoint. The analytical policy studies, however, which are designed to promote improved ranges of choice for those with few choices in our society were assigned to a newly-created Comprehensive Planning Section.

It was clearly impossible for the limited staff (five professionals) of the Comprehensive Planning Section of the Planning Commission to undertake a broad range of studies and analyses with the view of developing a "comprehensive plan" directed toward the broad objectives set out in earlier sections. And this strategy may not be desirable in any event. Further, some policy-directed analysis was already being pursued by other agencies in the area. The relationship of their efforts to ours was clear from the conceptual framework developed earlier. In these cases, no substantial effort was required from us. Thus, we decided to employ our limited resources in intensive analysis of those issues on which decisions were imminent or legislation was pending and little effort was being made, in the hope of exercising influence disproportionate to our numbers.

Our efforts, and accomplishments, can be separated into two groups:

1. Studies and analyses of policies designed to promote changes in the level and distribution of income and power, and
2. Studies and analyses of policies designed to improve City resident choices in goods and services offered by the private and public sectors.

Policies to promote changes in the level and distribution of
income and power -

In the first group should be included two major projects -- an early and continuing analysis of federal legislation in public assistance reform and the design and promotion of changes in that legislation to better serve our redistribution of income objective,*/ and a study**/ of the feasibility of redevelopment of a substantial vacant and vandalized industrial area for a neighborhood economic development organization with no funds nor staff.

In the former effort our long-run objective was a redistribution of income through much needed reform in our public assistance program. The short-run objective was to place information, critical analysis and alternative programs in the hands of Mayor Carl B. Stokes, and U. S. Congressmen who could, from their forum, hope to influence the decisions being made about this legislation at the national level. In the process, we were able

*/ The Proposed Federal Family Assistance Plan: A Critique, Some Suggested Modifications and Their Impact on the City of Cleveland, August 1970, General Plan Report No. 2, City Planning Commission, City of Cleveland, 45 pp.

**/ Economic Feasibility Analysis: Industrial Redevelopment of National Screw and Perfection Stove Property, March, 1971, Special General Plan Report, City Planning Commission, City of Cleveland, 23 pp.

to accomplish other objectives. Our exposition of the issues in this crucial reform and our analysis of the impact of changes in public assistance on the City impressed the Planning Commission with the importance of fundamental change at the federal level in matters of local concern. Our problem of marginal retail centers, for example, would be significantly changed with the introduction of a just and adequate income maintenance program for such a program would provide a crucial missing ingredient in our solutions to the dilemma -- a substantial growth in the demand for retail goods and services (as high as \$40 million of new expenditures annually).

In the latter case, (the economic feasibility analysis) our immediate objective was to transfer the power of planning professionals -- their access to information, their critical analytical skills and their institutional role -- to a group composed mainly of low-income blacks who had neither the resources nor the skills to deal with a complex redevelopment scheme. The ultimate objective was to promote redevelopment of land burdened by obsolete, vacant and vandalized structures into industrial use to further the availability of jobs immediately at hand to the neighborhood;

thus to accomplish some redistribution of income, too. The outcome of the study was specific and realistic. If redevelopment were to take place, clear public and private subsidies were needed and these were carefully spelled out in detail.

In this case, it became clear to us that there will be no redevelopment of land into industrial use in many areas of Cleveland until heavy private or public subsidies to support the demand for industrial land are available. No feasible amount of subsidy toward the cost of acquiring land, demolishing structures and constructing new facilities would make an industrial redevelopment project pay in that area without assurance of some adequate revenues from eventual tenants.

Policies to improve City resident choices in goods and services -

Low-Income Housing - Choices in housing - particularly choices in standard housing for low and moderate-income households -- is a clear need in Cleveland as in other major cities. The basic problem, of course, is that the poor cannot afford housing defined by ourselves as "standard," and our society is unwilling to commit the substantial funds needed to house these families in public housing units nor is it willing to provide choices -- in location or type -- among those units it does construct.

Planning Commission staff have developed a proposal for a new kind of housing subsidy -- a so-called "housing allowance" -- which the Mayor has made to the National League of Cities and will submit to Congress. The issues raised by this proposal and the questions which need answers before embarking upon such a program nation-wide are the subject of a report just released by the Commission^{*} and will provide the basic design for an extended analysis of this program during the coming months. Our preliminary findings -- and some important results from other studies^{**} -- suggest that a subsidy, going directly to low and moderate-income households rather than to the developers and owners of low income housing units would provide much greater choice to the individual household and accomplish other important objectives as well.

Proposed federal legislation for a program of this kind is eminent. It is important that this legislation, in its progress

^{*}/ Housing for Low and Moderate-Income Families: The Failure of Present Programs, A Proposed New Approach and the Issues It Raises, Sept. 1971, City Planning Commission, City of Cleveland

^{**}/ See, for example, the Rand Institute's excellent study of New York, Rental Housing in New York City, Vol. II, The Demand for Shelter, Ira S. Lowry, Joseph S. DeSalvo, and Barbara M. Woodfill, N. Y. City Rand Institute, June 1971.

through the Capitol Hill grinder, not lose sight on that fundamental purpose of improving housing choices for the poor. The City Planning Commission intends to be prepared for those hearings and will argue forcefully for such a program through the Mayor's office, Cleveland-Area U. S. Congressmen and other prospective advocates for the program.

In the interim, the Planning Commission stands forcefully in support of present programs for low and moderate-income housing and for the distribution of low-income housing in all suitable locations of the City and region.

Part of this concern was expressed in a New-Town proposal for 865-Acres of City-owned land located east of Cleveland.* The proposal, now pending before H.U.D., calls for the implementation of innovative programs in health, education and general services as well as the allocation of 2,800 of the 8,000 total dwelling units planned for low and moderate-income families.

Delivery of City Services -- The City Planning Commission has charter responsibility for preparation of a capital improvement

*/ Pre-Application Proposal for Warren's Ridge New Town, City Planning Commission, Cleveland, Ohio, February, 1971.

program. This year a substantial change was made in a document which had become widely known as the "wish book." Essentially, the Planning Commission admitted that the document has no real affect on allocation of capital funds, articulated the reasons for this, and directed this year's document to a discussion of this central issue as well as a number of other important issues surrounding our investment in, use of and maintenance of municipal capital facilities.*/

In addition to our charter responsibilities with respect to capital improvement programs, the staff has been importantly involved in analysis and recommendations concerning the operation and management of city line departments. This activity has two related purposes. First, we are concerned about the quality of municipal services, particularly as it affects the demand for housing and related use in the various neighborhoods of the City. Improvements in the quality of service, however, cannot at this time be expected to come about through the availability of new revenues but must be sought through changes in management and procedures given existing levels of financing.

*/ Capital Improvement Program, 1972-1977, July, 1971, City Planning Commission, City of Cleveland.

At the same time, it will greatly assist us in the long run if we are able to place, or train through example, individuals in every operating department of the City who have management or planning experience and the perspective that implies. This we hope to accomplish by analysis of, and recommendation for changes in, the operating procedures in departments along with key personnel of that department.

A good example of this is our work with the Division of Waste Collection and Disposal. As a result of an analysis completed by the Planning staff,*/ a City-wide task force was established, a federal grant was secured, and work is now underway on a management study of this division with a view to making our expenditures in that function more efficient. Four million dollars of local bond funds matched with federal funds will implement the recommendations of the study. We expect to save millions of operating dollars annually as a result of these capital expenditures while improving the services of that division considerably. The Division of Waste Collection and Disposal is now administering that study and planning staff assigned to that project are now working with the Health Department in the same kind of effort with the same expected outcome.

*/ Urban Solid Waste Collection and Disposal in the City of Cleveland, March 1971, City Planning Commission, City of Cleveland.

Transportation for the Poor -- The results of our efforts in some areas of concern are not easy to see - no report has been published,*/ no physical or administrative changes have been made, or no legislation has been introduced or passed through channels. This is a characteristic of our involvement and influence in the area of transportation. Some months ago a task force was established to complete a study of public transportation needs in the metropolitan area and develop a plan for investment in public transit facilities. The Planning Director of the City of Cleveland was on that task force.

In the deliberations of that task force about the kind of study to be accomplished, the direction of the study and the consultants to be selected for various parts of the study, the Planning Director's consistent and forceful emphasis on the needs of those among us who have no choice but public transportation has assured that attention will be paid - at least in the study phase - to that group which deserves priority in transportation subsidy.

This position has led to some conflict between the City and the Seven-County Planning and Review Agency anxious to assert

*/ Though the study has not been completed, a paper setting forth the Planning Commission's position with respect to the transportation needs of the poor has been published: "Transportation and Poverty," General Plan-Transportation Paper #2, City Planning Commission, City of Cleveland.

"regional" considerations. But, as in all things, conflict is not to be avoided. Rather, its basis must be made apparent, so that those officials who must decide can make clear choices based on fundamental issues.