



PLANNING AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

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ABSTRACT

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SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING ON JUNE 20, 1966 IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF CITY PLANNING.

This study is concerned with the question of why city planning is undertaken and supported by the political power structure when the tangible results of the planning method, plans receive limited political recognition in implementation. Examination of the functions of planning in the political environment led to the following premise: that city planning serves, over and above its stated purpose of controlling and channeling the physical growth of the city, a number of other factors in the social and political spheres. These additional functions have been termed collateral; they are examined within the roles of the professional planner in a planning process, first on a general level, then within the context of the role of the "advocacy planner".

This approach reveals that the planner serves, over and above a technical role, as an educator, a social broker, and a symbolic role in being a representative of both the stated and collateral functions of planning. Since a planner's actions are subject to different interpretations by different observers, it is not possible to extract and precisely delineate the exact degree to which these functions are being performed at any one point in time. This ambiguous quality of the collateral functions is of value in that they are seen as being "useful" by many groups in society. To this extent, the collateral functions of planning can serve to generate political support for the stated functions. Examination of the operation of the collateral functions in a plan development process reveals that they can apply political, rather than logical constraints on the stated functions, thus limiting the rationality of the planning method. To the extent that planning is ultimately controlled, supported and limited by these political constraints, it is proposed that planning is closer to the social and political processes than to the strictly means-end rationality of the scientific process.

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Section I  
INTRODUCTION

## Section I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study was to provide the author with a deeper understanding of the reasons why planning is undertaken and supported. This need to probe this question arose out of recognition of a common paradox; the continuing political and financial support for city planning, when the tangible results of the planning method, plans, receive limited political recognition in implementation.

Examination of the functions of planning as they operate in a political situation lead to the following premise: that city' planning serves several functions over and above its stated function of attempting to control and channel the physical environment of the city to handle present problems and future growth. These additional functions are called collateral; they are subordinate to the stated functions in that the stated functions are a prerequisite for their existence.

These collateral functions can be explained and delineated by examining the roles of the professional planner within the social and political context of a planning process. By "professional planner" it is meant a person who by education (either through formal academic training or experience in the field) has had training in the method of planning and the underlying principles and standards which have been established by the American Institute of Planners. This approach reveals that the planner serves, over and above a technical role, as an educator, a social broker and a symbolic role in being a

representative of both the stated and collateral functions of planning. These additional functions, to the extent that they can be "useful" to various social forces, can serve to gain political support and acceptance of the stated functions.

While these collateral functions are seen to exist in some degree in all aspects of city planning, they are particularly manifest in the role of the "advocate planner"; that is, a trained professional planner who uses his technical expertise to further the interests of a specific group. Thus it is suggested that support for the concept of "advocacy planning" is partial proof that these collateral functions exist. Finally, examination of an "advocate planner's" role reveals that the collateral functions can apply political, rather than logical constraints on the stated functions of planning, thus limiting the "rationality" of the planning method.

#### Scope and Method

In developing this thesis attention will be focused first on a brief examination of the stated functions of planning and the rationale for its support. Attention will then be directed to the collateral functions, attempting to show first how they are manifest and derived from the role of the city planner within a generalized context; then focusing on their prime importance in the role of the "advocate planner".

The major premise is presented in two forms: the first is an examination of the planning process in the development of the proposed Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal Plan to illustrate the

uses of the collateral functions of planning in one type of "advocacy planning." The second is a representation of a planning process in the form of a play which is intended to show that the usefulness of the collateral functions of planning can apply political, rather than logical constraints on the stated functions of the planning method.

#### Procedure

To achieve the previously stated purposes of this thesis the following procedures were used:

- 1) The Wellington-Harrington Case Study: Examination of the Wellington-Harrington planning process utilized the following resources:

- a) Interviews with persons directly involved in either the Donnelly-Field Project (the forerunner of the case under study) and/or the Wellington-Harrington plan development process. These interviews served to clarify facts and provide opinions. Those interviewed included Mr. Morris Kritzman, the neighborhood organizer; Mr. Allen McClennan, Planning Director for the City of Cambridge, and members of his staff who participated in the project; Mr. Paul J. Frank, Director of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority; Mr. Robert Simha, Planning Officer for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and members of the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee.

The use of these interviews has two drawbacks: the memories of the persons interviewed may be questionable on details, and the current involvement of most of these people in a highly political situation, which the Wellington-Harrington project is, may have limited the candidness of their opinions. All interviews were cross-checked with each other and with other sources to provide a clearer picture of the history and the development of the program.

- b) Attendance of the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee meetings between February and May of 1966. This procedure permitted the author to

observe at first hand the interaction of the committee members with each other, their response to participation in planning, and see how their expressed attitudes in the personal interview carried over to a group situation.

- c) Examination of the minutes, tapes of meetings, correspondence and files of the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee; perusal of all relevant data in the files of the Cambridge Planning Board and examination of newspaper articles relating to both phases of the study (Wellington-Harrington and Donnelly Field.) Mr. Paul J. Frank, present Director of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, is an ex-newspaperman and keeps a current and apparently thorough "morgue" on all activities which relate to the Authority and its activities.

This part of the procedure was limited by the paucity of files and maps available on the Donnelly Field Project; these have either been destroyed or very effectively removed from sources which are available to the public. However, since there was general agreement between the interviews, the newspaper articles and the letters from the HHFA to the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, which are available and do pertain to the Donnelly Field Project, this limitation was not considered critical.

While all of the above procedures have been helpful in ascertaining motives and actions, time and social constraints hindered the author in following one of the most important factors in the study...Mr. Kritzman's ability to educate and persuade members of the Committee on an individual basis. This ability is assumed to be a very highly developed one; its importance was indirectly observed in following the meetings of the Committee. Total and enthusiastic consensus on an idea would be expressed at one meeting when only a week earlier the Committee seemed to be irreconcilably opposed to both the idea and to each other's opinions. It is believed, but cannot be supported here, that the extra-meeting communication between Kritzman and the Committee members was probably the most crucial factor in the success of the plan development.

2) The Play. Presentation of the main premise in the form of a play was intended to show two things: First, that a play can be a valid thesis form in that both the standard thesis form and the play are concerned with the presentation of an idea, although the constraints on the writer are different; Secondly, that as a valid thesis form, presentation of an idea in play form is particularly relevant to city planning. At some point, all of the methods, premises or studies of planning are concerned with human actions. Particular areas of planning are more concerned with this factor than others. To the extent that the underlying motives which move people to act in specific ways are rarely clear, and are usually subject to varying interpretations by both the actors and the observer (no matter how scientifically trained or objective the observer attempts to be), a play can be used to present human actions and the multiple levels of motivations which guide these actions.

The procedure in developing the play was essentially imaginative. There is no relationship between the characters or the events of the play to the Wellington-Harrington case or to any other planning situation. The intent was to portray the conflicting values inherent within planning theory and implicit within the political environment. Because the play dealt with conflicting human values and how they interact, the main topic of the play, the comfort

station, was deliberately chosen because it is an extreme example of conflicting social attitudes in American society today. The conflict is exemplified in the euphemistic term for the facility. While Americans have come to use the number of bathrooms in a house as status symbol; while proud homeowners will make a special point of describing the modern fixtures or special design features of their bathrooms, the actual use of the room is beyond the pale of polite conversation.

The play is limited by the following factors:

- a) First and foremost is the talent and writing ability of the author who has shown no previous literary ability, has had limited exposure to creative writing and has never written a play before.
- b) Secondly, the time constraints and the conditions under which the play was written served to limit the development possibilities. The play was essentially written in a vacuum with little advice from people knowledgeable in the mechanics of play-writing and without the benefits of rehearsing and re-rehearsing which are essential before a play takes on its final form.
- c) Finally, the type of play placed a constraint on the character development. It is proposed here that a play which has as its main purpose the presentation of an idea is the most difficult play to write. There is always the possibility that the full-development of the characters will submerge the main idea. For this reason, the main emphasis on the character development was on the presentation of types, rather than fully rounded human beings. This is not to say that a highly skilled playwright couldn't develop both the major idea and very human characters. Rather, this point is made as a partial excuse for the failure of the author to do so.

The play was written for an educated and predominantly middle class audience and not exclusively for an audience of planners. This decision, to expand the audience, was made out of recognition that planning is essentially a social process and one which has seized the attention of the educated middle class; that planners are predominantly people from this educated group; and that this large body of "public-regarding" citizens sometimes overlook the inherent conflict between two of their favorite themes: rational, logical thinking, and group participation in democratic decision-making.

It is hoped that the final value of the play will be judged, not on its limitations or on its comic theme, but on the amount of discussion, thinking and interpretations it will engender in those who read it.

To briefly summarize this introduction, the basic premise of this thesis is that planning serves several functions over and above its stated function. These collateral functions will be discussed generally first, and then on a more specific level in the Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal plan development process. The "usefulness" of these collateral functions in the political environment will be shown in the form of a play.

Section II

THE STATED AND COLLATERAL FUNCTIONS  
OF PLANNING

## Section II

### STATED AND COLLATERAL FUNCTIONS OF PLANNING

#### The Stated Purposes of Planning

Authorities generally agree on the stated purpose and characteristics of city planning. Planning is nearly always characterized by a rational approach to decision making, the separation of ends and means. City planning, then, is the application of this rational approach to control and channel the physical growth of the city. In attempting to guide and coordinate the physical environment, modern city planning is also shaping human activities over space and time in an environment which is in a continuing state of flux. Thus the planning method is concerned with applying a rational approach to physical, social and economic change within the city.

There is also fairly general agreement on the values of planning as a method and as a process: it is a means of assessing visible possibilities of future changes in the social, economic and physical environment; it leads to the establishment of possible courses of action within certain constraints; it can introduce new perspectives on problems; and it points up areas of conflict within the present and assumed future situations as they pertain to the physical environment.

Adoption of the planning method as a means of attempting to control the environment of the city carries with it two basic assumptions:

- 1) That the method itself, the rational separation of ends and means, is of value as a way of attacking the problems of

urban change.

- 2) That the results of the planning process, represented by plans, are worthy of implementation.

#### Rationale for Social Support of Planning as a Method

Social support for both the stated and collateral functions of planning are derived in part from the contemporary ideology of rationality; there is an order to all things which can be comprehended. This rational approach separates contemporary thinking from attitudes of the past on the meaning of life. Historically, life was viewed as a cyclical process of birth, marriage and death. Change could not be foreseen over and above perhaps an expectation of floods, hurricanes or drought. Alterations in the pattern of life were not identified because the social view toward change was constrained by the view of life as a repetitive process.

Modern society in the industrialized Western world thrives on the expectation of change. A theory of progress, of continuing movement toward an unknown but implied state of completion, has replaced the cyclical concept of life. Adoption of this attitude toward progress is, in part, the result of rapid technological and social change attributed to technology. Exploitation of scientific thought has created the commercial and technical success which has permitted man to be better fed, clothed, housed and educated. In answering the physical needs of man, the application of the scientific method has usurped some of the older promises or psychological functions of religion. One need no longer wait for the hereafter to enjoy a life free from deprivation.

The visible results of the application of the scientific method have given rise to a faith in the rationalization of life which is

critical in understanding the modern view of the world. It represents the belief that if one but wished one could learn more about the conditions under which one lives. It means that the uncertainty of the unknown is no longer to be feared, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by the application of a rational, scientific method to the solution of problems. In this sense we can view plans and the planning method as demonstrations of scientific thought and a modern manifestation of hope.

The pervasiveness of planning as a method of approaching a problem is represented in almost all forms of our lives. Vacations, budgets and diets are planned, education, sales, and defense spending are planned. National economies are planned, and cities are planned.

In city planning, modern society has attempted to extend the application of the rational scientific method from isolated specific problems whose solution yielded success in technological developments, to the problems of the general urban society.

City planning, then, is a representation of a belief. It is a belief that by rationally approaching the problems of the city, by isolating certain factors, by projecting on the basis of certain assumptions, that the future can be foreseen, change can be prepared for in advance, and the future city can be shaped to human desires. It is also a belief that planning, although limited by human ability and knowledge, is better than not planning at all.

#### Collateral Functions

Recognition of the importance of this belief leads directly into the collateral functions of planning, as represented by the role of the professional planner within the political environment. These

collateral functions include those of an educator, a social broker, and of a symbol.

### Educator

In addition to being a technician concerned with planning the physical growth of the city, the planner is also an educator. By the simple fact that the planner makes up plans, he is a teacher of a way of handling problems, of separating ends and means, of taking problems of the society and slicing them into a technical context. Furthermore, by formally approaching the political body for the approval and final decision of his plans, the planner reinforces the tradition of government. In a democracy, this represents an acting out of the belief that ultimate decisions on plans drawn up by specialists must receive approval of the polity. In a totalitarian government where the decision-making power lies in the hands of a single ruler, a military junta, or an autocratic council, the planner's submission of his proposals reinforces the existing political structure.

As a teacher in a method of separating means and ends, the planner exposes the population to problems of the physical environment and ways of attaining solutions which are considered to be socially or economically "acceptable" within the existing political framework. He guides attention toward the basic values of the society, to the principles by which members of a society accept as the ordering of their lives. In the United States, these values would include the belief in the equality of each individual as a member of the state. In Communist countries, these principles would reflect the belief that the individual is subservient to the state, and as such, some citizens would have to sacrifice their own individuality, personal desires or

needs to the general welfare of the society as it is interpreted by the ruling body. In this educational capacity, the planner also serves to reinterpret social values as they change over time. For example, the recent political involvement of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States has made the white population more aware of the de facto segregation; a segregation which has been accepted in the past and even reinforced by some governmental policy. By virtue of their responsibility for interpreting the public interest, planners have reflected and emphasized the changing attitude toward race and lower income groups. One indication of the planner acting as a reinterpreter of values is the interest in "advocacy planning."

As an educator, the planner also serves to instruct the general population in the problems of the society at large, of particular geographic areas, or of specific groups. The current focus of the planning profession in the United States on air-pollution, inadequate public transportation, poverty in Appalachia, urban slums, and housing problems of the elderly are representative of this educational function.

Finally, the planner is a generator of ideas and a vehicle for conveying new ideas on community objectives or particular solutions to community problems. The scope of planning and the challenge of the job, that is, to achieve a feasible solution to a specific need, often requires a new way of looking at a problem, an unusual approach. Such demands have led to utopian philosophies or theories, such as those of Mumford, or Goodman & Goodman, or to partial answers to specific needs, such as Lynch's theory of urban form. In the realm of practical knowledge, the planner's search for solutions has led to new ideas for zoning regulations, emphasis on visual amenities and the cluster

development concept as an approach to better housing projects. These ideas also represent a re-interpretation of social values. As a civic employee, the planner is also a carrier of ideas in a political environment of change, and as such he is an educator. On a very specific level, for instance, a planner's ideas may be embodied in a city plan which outlives one political administration and which may not be implemented until years after it was initially proposed. By constant exposure to the public, by education, the community is brought to accept it.

#### Broker

The second collateral function which the planner serves is the less recognized role of the broker in the social and political environment. This function is derived from the general acceptance of the planning method as a valid approach to the solution of problems. The planner's public image as a politically neutral, scientifically trained person is a critical attribute in his role in achieving social consensus. In performing this function, the planner "not only referees the struggles of existing groups but directs the flow of choices toward out-comes on which agreements can be reached."<sup>1</sup> The planner performs this function because planning, as Lisa Peattie has pointed out, is an editing of reality. In the social environment it is a useful editing. It permits us to take problems pertaining to cities, known to be highly value invested and characterized by an absence of consensus on goals, and treat them as a series of technical problems. In this sense, planning "is a way of not thinking of problems as part of a whole social system, as a part of politics."<sup>2</sup>

The planner serves as a broker in achieving social consensus in

two ways; first by formulating the scope of the problem he focuses attention on accepted socio-economic objectives and limits discussion to this topic; secondly, by stating the problem in technical language, "objective" terminology, he constrains discussion to arguments which must derive their basis from their "reasonableness" rather than emotion.

The manner in which the planner serves this function is dependent upon the political environment in which he works and his own personality. If the planner serves a strictly advisory role to the Mayor his effectiveness in acting as a broker will be constrained by the limits the Mayor establishes for his action in the political sphere. The Mayor may choose to retain the brokerage function within his own role as a political representative. When the planner serves a client representative of a number of values, such as a City Council, a citizens committee, or the population in general, the planner's position as a broker between groups is manifest.

For example, a citizen participation situation for an urban renewal project is a representative example of the way in which the social consensus function of the planner operates. Rehabilitation is a common issue in an urban renewal project. It is intended to serve as a means by which citizens of a renewal area can up-grade the physical condition of their houses. In point of fact, some residents will benefit from rehabilitation through increased property values and easier access to financial and loan mechanisms; others will be forced to leave through relocation or higher rents. Such an issue is not easily discussed without emotion and the expression of personal interests. However, planners usually frame the problem within an easily agreed on goal such as "better living conditions." In so doing

the planner has established the scope of the problem and placed the problem in "objective terms", yet acceptance of "better living conditions" as a goal alters the same system of represented interests and values. Some residents will benefit from rehabilitation, others will bear the load of social and financial costs by being forced to move.

### The Symbol

We have previously discussed the importance of rationality in contemporary western civilization. The planner's image of expertise and scientific objectivity has symbolic importance as a representative of this rationality, and the hopes and aspirations which this belief implies. This symbolic function can be identified in the psychological, social and political spheres.

To the individual citizen who is educated in the scientific approach which planning implies, the planner represents the belief in human ability to control the problems of change in the city. As such, whether a planner is actually effective in his stated purpose, his existence within the governmental structure can provide a sense of security to the citizen as an individual. His presence has a psychological value; to the property owner who wants to see his real estate values protected, to the businessman who needs the assurance that business will be as good, if not better in the future, to the commuter whose travel through the city is a nightmare of congestion and parking problems. The knowledge that a planning agency exists can represent the hope that these problems are under consideration, that solutions are being sought, that these solutions will be logical, equitable and democratically arrived at.

In the larger sphere of society, the planner represents the

Promise of a secure future for the community by virtue of the roles he assumes: as a prophet of the future, as a diagnostician of present ills and by what he produces, plans.

As a predictor, the planner uses a number of technical devices on which he bases his claims. These include population projections, economic forecasts, housing surveys, and statistics. Such techniques may or may not have real value in reliably predicting change, but they do serve an important social function in that they serve as a measure on which people adjust their expectations of the future. Having made this adjustment, society can adapt its thinking and actions to take into consideration these predictions. Thus the planner and plans serve to stabilize expectations.

Plans, the main product of the planner's work, can serve an important psychological function in creating an optimistic mentality toward change. By posing desired economic and environmental goals in terms of time and physical change, the existence of a city plan can serve as a symbol of progress, a symbol of a better city tomorrow. Just as the Logue and Collins plan for the "New Boston" has engendered a dynamic atmosphere in the Boston Metropolitan Area, making the community more future-minded and development oriented, plans in other cities, at other governmental levels, can similarly stimulate new ideas and actions. When a plan does serve this psychological function, the aspirations of the community are centered on the objective, and it can act as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

As a diagnostician the planner's stamp of recognition of a problem serves to legitimize change. The planner's work in identification of problems and applying names to them provides a psychological function for society in much the same manner as a doctor's

diagnosis of a series of symptoms does for the patient. Once named, the problem appears more tractable. Moreover, the planner's diagnosis of a problem provides a rational justification of the "need" for change. Mixed uses, suburban sprawl, sub-standard housing are all terms or problems identified by the planning profession, and upon receiving formal recognition, these terms have been used by other factions in society as partial justification for related and unrelated courses of action.

In the political arena, the planner's technical image is of symbolic value. As Melvin Webber has pointed out, "information like money yields power to those who have got it."<sup>3</sup> Over and above the stated advisory functions of the planner, the stamp of planning expertise on a program can strengthen the image of the key political figure, by virtue of its modern, scientific, and progressive implications.

The symbolic meaning which planning connotes is of tremendous importance in underdeveloped countries, where the aspiration level of the people is centered on obtaining the advantages and material comforts which the developed countries possess. When there is a strong political leader who has captured the imagination and dreams of the polity, the plans can be utilized to represent the intentions of the key political figure and the promise of attainment of a desired future goal. In discussing the place of CORDIPLAN, a regional plan for part of Venezuela, as a symbol and an incentive, John Friedman has stated:

"Planning acted as a countervailing force to a fatalism born of recurrent failure, poverty and despair. It helped to create confidence in the possibilities of Venezuelan development and hope in the future of the nation. The

rigorous means-ends logic of the Plan suggested that even difficult problems were potentially capable of solution. The Plan concretely embodied the aspirations of most Venezuelans and pointed to ways in which these aspirations might grow into existential reality. The great majority of Venezuelans have come to trust in their power for peaceful self-transformation."<sup>4</sup>

In developed countries the symbolic importance of a plan in the political sphere is less for a number of reasons. Most important, the chances of a leader with a strong personal charisma, who embodies the dreams of the polity coming to power, are less because of the relatively small gap between the aspiration level of the people and the attainment of these aspirations. Moreover, in countries like the United States where the economy and the development of natural resources are propelled by forces other than government leadership, that is, by the presence of financial mechanisms and opportunities for private initiative, the necessity for coordinated planning on the municipal or metropolitan level is less obvious to the general public.

In both developed and underdeveloped countries the planner as a symbol can be utilized to divert political pressures from the key political figure. The planner's objectivity can be used by the Mayor, for example, to deflect political pressure or resistance by referring controversial issues to the planner for advice; the decision to act or not to act can then be justified or excused on technical grounds. The symbolic power of plans as a representation of intention can also be utilized by the figure or party in power to counter criticism of policies by referring to the goals and optimistic targets stated in the plans, thus averting attention from faults in achievement.

#### Importance of Collateral Functions

The importance of the collateral functions is that they can

serve social and political purposes other than the attainment of goals which are arrived at by the planning method. In a pluralistic society where each community is a composition of a series of sub-systems of values any action or event is subject to varying interpretations by different segments of the population. For this reason it is not possible to separate and delineate the exact level of effectiveness of the collateral functions of planning at any one point. This fact does not detract from the importance of the collateral functions. Rather, the very ambiguity of these functions is a crucial instrument in achieving support for the stated function of planning. Various groups within a political structure can interpret the "usefulness" of planning from different standpoints, each evaluating its importance from their own point of view, in light of their own objectives. The multi-levels of meaning of the collateral functions serves as a medium in creating a broad base of support for the stated functions.

The collateral functions of planning are also important, over and above their utility for serving specific interests in the political sphere, in that they are an aid in the psychological adjustment of the individual and society to change. The psychological security of the individual citizen in society is important, and the initial problem of implementing social and physical change is basically one of psychological adjustment. In a world of shifting values and constant change, attitude adjustment is a critical factor in the mental health of the citizen and the community. People must be reminded that there is a basic order, certain principles by which they believe they order their lives, that there is some continuity in an atmosphere of continuing mobility and change.

The planner in performing both the stated and collateral functions of the profession, as a technician who is also an educator, a social broker and a symbol, can act as a guidepost in the process of social transition. In so doing the planner can accommodate and reinforce a number of psychological needs for the community as a unit and as a collectivity of individuals. In the process of educating a community in their problems and in the rational method of approach, in suggesting means by which to attain solutions, the planner can import to the polity a feeling of greater control over the future of their own lives. Education and inclusion of citizens in the planning process can provide an opportunity for participation in the democratic process on which our government is based...a needed opportunity in a social, political and economic world which is less and less personal. Opportunity for expression of values provides the individual with a greater feeling of self-respect and a greater security in acting out his belief that as an individual, he is important. Moreover, in acting as a broker the planner can permit values to be expressed which might otherwise be ignored, and he can facilitate a shift in the power structure. General concensus on the objectivity and fairness of the planning method in turn can facilitate acceptance of this shift by other segments of the population. Finally, in answering these individual and community needs, the planner can engender a greater acceptance of the physical plan; a real commitment to action and to the stated goals of the plan.

#### Advocacy Planning

Advocacy planning is a type of planning which takes cognizance of the importance of these collateral functions. Support for the

concept of advocacy planning by both the planning profession and the political structure is one proof of the existence of the collateral functions.

### The Concept of Advocacy Planning

The concept of advocacy planning is derived from the fact that all planning is undertaken for social reasons and that planning expresses a choice in social values. Since planning by virtue of the power given the planner in developing proposals for action constitutes the allocation of resources, implicit in every planning decision is a judgement of social value; the question of what values are to be attained. In our pluralistic society a community is a composition of multiple values; some of which are mutually exclusive. A critical factor inherent within planning is that of choice, the selection of which values are to be served, which sacrificed.

Davidoff, a planner concerned with this aspect of the planning process has written:

"All public planning must be considered social planning. Our concern with the nature of the physical environment is social. We do not seek to alter that environment for any reason except to benefit society. How to measure social benefits is, of course, a political question. The question before every public planner is that of who gets what benefits, when, where, how and why."<sup>5</sup>

In Davidoff's view, and in that of others, the technical side of planning rests on the application of methods which are derived from the rational means-end logic to satisfy social values. These values are never carefully defined by society, and may not be explicitly recognized by the planner as he submerges them in technical data, yet the expression of values is essentially present in every planning decision. In defining the expression of values, planners usually

present the views held by the dominant middle-class element of society. Recognition of this fact has led to the concept of advocacy planning.

The concept of the advocate planner assumes that the planner's expertise gives him a certain power and that this power can be used to foster the interests of specific groups within a community in obtaining fiscal resources.

In strict theory the advocate planner would utilize his technical competency as an effective communication tool to represent the interests of his chosen group before another planning agency or a governmental body, and indirectly represent their interests in the political structure. The use of the technical competence of one planner or planners to further the position of a specific group is not new and has been used in varying degrees in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Boston. The newer emphasis in advocacy planning recognizes its effectiveness in furthering the needs of indigent groups, the lower classes, the Negroes, and the Puerto Ricans, those whose interests are often ignored or overlooked by planning agencies which favor the dominant middle class groups of the community.

#### The Advocate and Technical Role Compared

The advocacy planner's role differs from the strictly technical position of the planner principally in the degree to which he performs the collateral functions of planning. The advocacy planner places a more specific value on acting as an interpreter, educator and advisor to the group which he has chosen as his client. Whereas the strictly technical planner would consider his position to be that of applying principles of physical planning to the problem as it is presented to

him; that his main function is the expression of values in physical form, the advocacy planner would consider his main function to be that of achieving the successful expression of values from his client and stating these values to a hierarchy of planning or governmental agencies. The advocate planner accepts a more personal and political involvement in the process of the allocation of resources. To perform this function the advocate planner must rely on the educative, brokerage and symbol functions of planning. To the extent that the expression of his client's values is of prime importance in his role, the application of logical planning principles becomes subservient to this. Thus the advocacy concept implicitly recognizes that the ultimate value of a plan is derived in part from its subjective interpretation by people.

The role of the advocate planner has been compared to the role of the lawyer in defending a client. This comparison has some value since both planning and law share similar concerns; the interpretation of social will, as it is and as it should be, and the education and re-education of the population in basic values. Both endeavors operate on the principle that each individual or collection of individuals has equal rights to certain social treatment. Both roles take on the responsibility of furthering social objectives within the framework of a certain expertise.

Beyond this, however, the similarities cease. There exists in law a yardstick by which to measure judgements; these measuring tools include the Constitution, a body of statutes, a compilation of precedents. There is, moreover, a laboratory, the courts, in which these measuring tools are constantly re-tested and reinterpreted. There

exists also a group of men trained in the method of making decisions on the basis of these measuring tools and the system allows for the human failings or biases of these men, by permitting the client recourse to another trial to reconsider the verdict. Thus, when the advocate lawyer seeks to defend his client, he does so within a strictly defined system in which his knowledge and expertise are a helpful communicative device.

In contrast to this, city planning is dependent upon the political system for final decisions on actions. There is no strictly defined mechanism for making judgements between values within the planning process. While planning actions are limited by legal constraints, there is as yet no general consensus on priority of values, no body of statutes, no precedents on which to interpret and decide. There are no working hypotheses, no laboratory for testing and re-testing these hypotheses, no objective body of men trained in evaluating the interpretation of one planning proposal as opposed to another, no recourse to a review other than the bartering mechanism of the political process.

There is no concept in either law or in planning of the rights of a group other than their rights as individuals; this is so partly because there is little agreement on what constitutes a "group." An individual is an individual for the extent of his life, but for what length of time is a group a constituted unit? Finally, where the concepts of law are derived from an agreement on the ordering of all society, the rationality of planning logic and the allocation of resources which planning entails are limited by the political structure to a specific geographic unit.

In law there is a system which is consistent and not based on politics. In planning there is no strictly defined system. All planning criteria and values are subject to political, and therefore not necessarily logical, motivations.

The advocate planner then seeks to defend his clients only on their rights as individuals to have specific values and needs recognized through the political process. As such the advocate's role is closer to the broker than to the defender. He represents his group's interests to a larger brokerage operation---another planning agency, with a different geographic jurisdiction or to a political body, such as the city council. In so doing he must use his technical expertise in educating his chosen group and in educating the outside agency on the importance of specific actions to serve his chosen group's needs.

#### Conflicts in the Planning Process

The role of the advocate planner in specifically emphasizing the collateral functions points up several basic conflicts within the planning process. While the method of planning is derived from a logical approach to problem solving, the process of planning is subject to political constraints. These conflicts serve to limit the stated function of planning, that is, the long-range control of the physical environment.

Three fundamental conflicts are worth noting in the assumption of the advocacy role by the trained professional planner. First is the problem of diverging goals in representing a group's needs as they are expressed at present and attempting to translate these needs into physical plans which are by nature long-range in their effect. Whereas the physical structure of a community is bound in form over time, the

community's social structure and values are constantly changing. Issues which are uppermost in the minds of a community of a specific group today may fade into oblivion within a year or a decade as a result of forces other than the strictly physical environment; changes brought on by new economic opportunities, changing tastes in housing needs, population mobility, changing age structure of the resident population. This conflict is inherent in the planning process at all levels, but the conflict is magnified when the advocate takes on the responsibility of using the collateral functions in representing specific interests, within a specific geographic area, and in so doing, working to shift the power structure of represented values.

A second conflict in the planning process, the choice of values to be served, is magnified in the advocacy role. As an alternative to the purely technical advisory role of the planner, the advocacy role does not resolve the question of whose values will be expressed. Any sub-group is a microcosm of conflicting values of the larger society. The intensity of commitment to certain values may differ but the problems of mutually exclusive desires and values remain. But because the area and the number of people whom the advocacy planner serves is smaller and usually more involved in the process of plan development, the planner must see that some consensus on goals is achieved before the planning proposals are developed, before the planner goes to the larger planning unit to defend these interests. To do this the advocate planner may have to rely heavily on the collateral functions. In getting consensus the rationality of the planning method can be lost.

A third basic conflict in the planner's role which emerges in

the advocacy planning is the problem of financing. Whoever pays the planner can ultimately limit the scope of his work. Should this be a city agency, a federal agency or funding from a local group whom he represents, the possibility exists that the planner's salary and his job may be rescinded should he offer alternatives, however rational and valid from a planning standpoint, which differ fundamentally from the view of the financing group. From the standpoint of business, that is payment for services rendered; failure to express adequately and represent the interests of the advocate's chosen group is a valid reason for his dismissal, when this is the financing group. But from the standpoint of the stated functions of the planner in the technical advisory role, as a person who attempts to interpret and express the interests in the best welfare of the citizen and the physical environment for long-range benefit, this type of relationship places a strain on the planner's technical function. Again his rationality is constrained by political factors.

On another level, the power derived from performing the collateral function by the advocate planner can become a threat to the interests of the financing group, and when recognized as such, attempts may be made to remove the planner. It is possible, for example, that a city agency which pays the advocate planner may see him as a threat to their own plan, thus again straining the advocate planner's ability to fulfill his role.

These conflicts are essentially political and are solved by the political process rather than on decisions derived from logic.

To summarize to this point, we have examined the collateral functions of planning, have shown that the concept of advocacy

planning rests on the recognition of these collateral functions and that an examination of the collateral functions within the advocacy planner's role points up a conflict in the planning process in general; that the collateral functions can apply political, rather than logical, constraints to the stated functions of planning.

Section III

THE WELLINGTON-HARRINGTON  
URBAN RENEWAL PLAN

### Section III

#### THE WELLINGTON-HARRINGTON URBAN RENEWAL PLAN

The Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal Plan is an example of a plan development in which the collateral functions were crucial in acceptance of a plan. It is also a case in which some of the concepts of advocacy planning were used; the representation of a particular group's interests in the plan development, defense of these interests to a larger planning agency, in this case the Cambridge Planning Board, and reliance upon the collateral functions of planning in the execution and acceptance of a planning proposal. The Wellington-Harrington case is not a strict example of advocacy planning because the role of the advocate planner was shared between the neighborhood organizer and the Director of the Cambridge Planning Board. Mr. Morris Kritzman, the neighborhood organizer, is not a professional planner. Mr. Allen McClennan, a professional planner and the planning director for Cambridge, was placed in a position in which he had two clients to serve; the City and the Neighborhood. However, as the working relationship between these two men evolved over a period of time, the Wellington-Harrington case became an example of one type of advocacy planning.

The Wellington-Harrington planning process evolved as a result of the area's status as an urban renewal project. As such, citizen participation in the planning process was required.

#### Background of Citizen Participation

The Citizen Participation is an outgrowth of the Urban Renewal

legislation enacted in 1949 and amended in 1954 to include a "Workable Program for Community Improvement." The Workable Program established seven basic requirements which must be satisfied for a city to be certified for federal assistance; one of these requires that the city encourage citizen participation through the establishment of a Citizens Advisory Committee to examine constructively the workable program goals.

The 1954 amendment differed from the earlier act in that it replaced the emphasis on clearance of slums and blighted areas to a stress on rehabilitation. In contrast to the earlier approach which resulted in the temporary or permanent dislocation of residents and businesses within the project area, rehabilitation seeks to preserve and revitalize existing neighborhoods as physically and socially viable units.

Rehabilitation clearly assumes considerable neighborhood cooperation in undertaking the actual physical renovation. Moreover, the goal of a socially coherent neighborhood requires the generation of continuing resident interest and involvement in the renewal program; without such activity it is felt that the redeveloped neighborhood is likely to remain vulnerable to the forces of apathy and anomie which were responsible for its initial decay. Thus, effective citizen participation is crucial to the full success of rehabilitation as a method of residential development.

This approach to renewal implicitly recognizes a number of values rooted in the American democratic ideology. These include the concept that a citizen is entitled to direct those measures that directly concern his welfare; that there exists in our country an inequitable distribution of wealth and that citizen participation is

one way of providing a chance for the less fortunate to express their needs, and finally that a monopoly by the government in planning and executing renewal programs may result in an overall loss of project quality. Scrutiny and constructive criticisms promoted by citizen participation may serve to check the deleterious effects of this monopoly.

The value of citizen participation as it applies to urban renewal then can be summarized under two headings: 1) a broad involvement in societal action, and 2) contributions in the planning and execution of the renewal process. Both of these sub-headings assume that the citizens are educated in the techniques of group democracy.

#### History of the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee

The Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee is one example of a local citizens group organized to fulfill the requirements of the workable program. It is, moreover, not only considered to be a successful example, but the plan has been called "the first...in the country prepared entirely by the citizens of the neighborhood with the assistance of professional people."<sup>6</sup> The process of plan development has also been applauded as the emergence of a new kind of planning "not only for the people but by them."<sup>7</sup> This Citizens Committee and its involvement in the planning process will be examined to show the use of the collateral functions of the planner.

A full understanding of the workings of the Citizens Committee requires an explanation of the history of its founding, organization, actions and plan.

#### Donnelly Field Project

In early 1962 the Cambridge Renewal Authority (CRA) presented

its plan for the renewal of what was designated the Donnelly Field Project, an area slightly smaller than the present Wellington-Harrington Renewal Area. Planning on the Donnelly Field Project had been under way since shortly after December 1957, when the council unanimously approved an application for federal funds to undertake the preparation of a renewal proposal. The most noticeable feature of the plan from the standpoint of the residents was the construction of some 142 units of non-profit moderate-income housing. This phase of the project was to have been carried out by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO.

Although the CRA had undertaken two earlier projects which had received very hostile and vocal opposition, the public hearing was anticipated to be a fairly routine affair; little or no opposition was expected for several reasons; first and foremost was the content of the plan, which emphasized the residential character of the neighborhood, an area with a fairly high percentage of home owners. The number of houses to be taken was considerably less than that which a survey in the early 50's indicated as qualified for removal (roughly one out of three according to the planning board), secondly a preliminary survey had indicated that this was an area of lower-middle income people who had shown very little interest in organized group activities as evidenced by the lack of clubs or organizations within the area. It was a shock to the CRA, then, when the meeting developed into an angry denunciation of urban renewal in general and the Donnelly Field Project in particular.

The residents rejected the plan on the specific reason that it would force them to relocate, despite assurances from the development

authority that no family would be forced to relocate from the project area until the union-sponsored housing was completed.<sup>8</sup>

The Federal Government immediately withdrew its funds, on the grounds that urban renewal is a community-wide program and that "non-acceptance of a reasonable plan for one neighborhood of the city raises questions on the probability of any plan for any other neighborhood being approved by the local government."<sup>9</sup> The CRA staff was released with the exception of one person, and it appeared that renewal for the Donnelly Field Project and for Cambridge was closed.

#### Wellington-Harrington Project Formation

Hindsight reveals a number of shaky assumptions implied within the belief that the Donnelly Field Project would be acceptable. In emphasizing the residential character of the neighborhood, the authority had overlooked the attitudes of the residents toward housing types. The Donnelly Field Plan proposed the construction of four story "garden-type" housing, which in the eyes of the residents differed little from the Roosevelt housing project adjacent to the area, which represented the possibility of a large scale invasion of Negroes and/or low-income whites. Moreover, the rise in incomes in the decade since the initial housing study had been undertaken was visibly apparent in early 1962 in renovated housing throughout the project area. While good planning principles might demand the elimination of buildings which exceeded the density restrictions in the zoning laws, good sense would have required a second look at the condition of the housing and the psychological and financial investment of the residents in the renovation.

Equally important, the absence of formal organizations did not

preclude a system of highly developed informal personal relations. This is a neighborhood with a heavy concentration of ethnic groups; Irish, Italian, Lithuanian and Portuguese. There are very few Negroes. The principal focus for social activities appears to be the stores along Cambridge Street where small groups of men or women can be seen at all hours of the day. Personal experience in the area has led to the conclusion that these people do not see the political environment as an objective process, but one in which "who you know" is of paramount importance. In having assumed that a lack of social organization was tantamount to political apathy, the CRA overlooked one of the principle characteristics of the area's social structure.

In commenting on neighborhood opposition to urban renewal, Harold Kaplan has pointed out: "The evidence concerning these projects suggests that intense opposition by site residents is a feature not of the hard-core slums but of areas peripheral to the slums. Organized opposition is more likely to appear in areas with a high percentage of home ownership, a predominance of one- or two-family houses and a relatively stable population."<sup>10</sup> All three of these factors are characteristic of the Donnelly Field Project area.

Withdrawal of federal support represented a loss of almost five million dollars to the city and the elimination of any further prospects of urban renewal aid. Both the politicians and the more active citizens groups in Cambridge pinned the principal cause of the failure of the Donnelly Field Plan on the public image of urban renewal, represented by the West End case, and the lack of communication between the Donnelly Field residents and the CRA.<sup>11</sup> As one Cambridge resident expressed it in a letter to the Cambridge Chronicle-Sun:

"Crudely, the Authority's strategy seems to have been:  
 1) to employ experts (staff members or outside consultants) to study a neighborhood and to draw up plans for it;  
 2) to make reductions in the plans so as to render them potentially politically feasible;  
 3) to release the plans and hope that they will arouse small enough opposition in the city that they will squeak by the council.

This sequence may not have been consciously intended by the Authority, but in the eyes of residents of Donnelly Field and Houghton, it is a summary of what has taken place. Citizens who are impressed with the Authority's efforts to hold public hearings, to be available to answer questions, and to set up field offices should remember that these things have invariably occurred after the Authority had privately formulated its own goals for a neighborhood, not while it was in the process of doing so. In point of fact, the notion of "citizen participation", so widely heralded in the renewal literature, is virtually unrecognized (in practice) by the Cambridge redevelopment authorities."<sup>12</sup>

In the year following the Donnelly Field fiasco quiet spade work on the part of the Cambridge Civic Association, the politicians and the HHFA laid the groundwork for a new direction in selling urban renewal. The new program included a double pronged approach: 1) carrying on a community organization effort throughout the city but concentrating heavily on the Donnelly Field project area and 2) selecting a small, compact section of Donnelly Field for a fast project to demonstrate the usefulness of urban renewal. This project would "keep clearance and relocation to a minimum and emphasize middle income housing."<sup>13</sup>

In April 1963 the City Council "requested the CRA to submit a revised plan for renewal in the so-called Wellington-Harrington neighborhood." This plan "would take into full consideration the rights and interests of home owners, residents, and citizens and the problems involved in relocation."<sup>14</sup> The CRA and the Planning Board developed a program by the following July. In this program, the basic principles of the Authority-Planning Board-neighborhood relationship were esta-

blished. To augment this relationship, a staff member would be appointed to act as a link between the civic agencies and the neighborhood, and a Citizens Committee would be appointed. Morris Kritzman was hired by the CRA as the neighborhood liaison the following December and two months later the 14 member Citizens Committee was appointed.

#### Description of Wellington-Harrington Activities

By agreement between the Redevelopment Authority and Mr. Kritzman, Mayor Crane called the first meeting of the Wellington-Harrington committee in February 1964. At this time the Committee was introduced to two of the Regional officers of the HHFA, Mr. Charles J. Horan and Mr. Lester Eisner, who explained the purpose of the Urban Renewal program and the requirements each plan must meet to qualify for Federal Aid. At the second meeting Mr. Alan McClennen, the Cambridge City Planner, discussed the general planning principles. Discussion of neighborhood planning was continued in the third meeting and at this time Mr. Paul J. Frank, Acting Executive Director of the CRA outlined the role of the Redevelopment Authority and the services it would provide the committee in its planning effort.<sup>14</sup>

Having established the tone and direction of the Committee by focusing the attention of the group on urban renewal, Mr. Kritzman began directing the committee toward activities in which they could exercise authority. These included organizing a clean-up campaign, a meeting of neighborhood merchants, a neighborhood beautification program, and an examination of ways to have the city refuse a requested pool room license. The committee was meeting weekly to organize these activities, and at each meeting there was a different speaker from one of the municipal or federal agencies which would be involved

in the renewal process. City support was demonstrated by City Manager John J. Curry in a memorandum to the head of each department that all city activity contemplated for the neighborhood be channeled through the Committee, and that it be granted full cooperation.<sup>15</sup> Special city services, such as increased refuse pick-up, were extended to the neighborhood and accredited to the Committee's efforts.

Thus, within the first two months of the Committee's existence it was introduced to the general goal, provided with opportunities in which to learn and exercise leadership, and explicitly recognized as a political organization by the City Manager and the politicians.

In early June the Committee held a dinner with the members of the Cambridge City Council, the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority and the City Manager. Following the dinner the group paid a formal visit to the Committee offices at 883A Cambridge Street.

With several successful programs behind them, perhaps best represented by the neighborhood clean-up and tree planting programs which received the full attention of municipal services and local politicians, the Committee's attention turned to developing a plan. By the end of June the general objectives of urban renewal were explicitly agreed on.

It is at this time that there is an important shift in the direction of the Committee's activities. In the initial stages of the Committee, it was introduced formally to the various aspects of the renewal process. Specialists came to the Committee and explained their particular technical skill and what regulations they must follow. Now in formulating the plan the Committee was forced to call upon the specialists to develop their ideas. The way in which this inter-

action occurred is significant. The Committee would give a general directive to a specialist, for example, the city planner. The planner in turn would develop a series of alternatives which he would then present to the Committee. The Committee would choose the particular qualities of each plan, and the final plan was a composite of the separate preferences. While the planner may have narrowed the focus of the proposal and only presented alternatives which were within this context, the Citizens Committee could exercise some choice in the plan development.

During the summer the Committee accompanied the housing teams in the neighborhood survey. By mid-September, the city planner, the CRA and the Committee had produced a "study" plan for renewal. The Committee then organized a series of three sub-neighborhood meetings and a separate meeting with merchants to inform the residents of the plan. Each committee member presented some aspect of the plan. With neighborhood support behind them, the Committee formally presented their plans to the administrative bodies; first to the Redevelopment Authority, then to the City Council. Again the Committee members took turns in presenting a particular area of the plan. Both boards approved the plan and on December 29, 1964 the formulation of the draft plan which was a prerequisite for obtaining federal funds was accepted. Five months later, the plan was again presented by the Citizens Committee to the neighborhood which gave its enthusiastic approval, a recognition of the success of the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee. In May federal funds were approved for formal study of the plan.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to the development of the plan, the Citizens

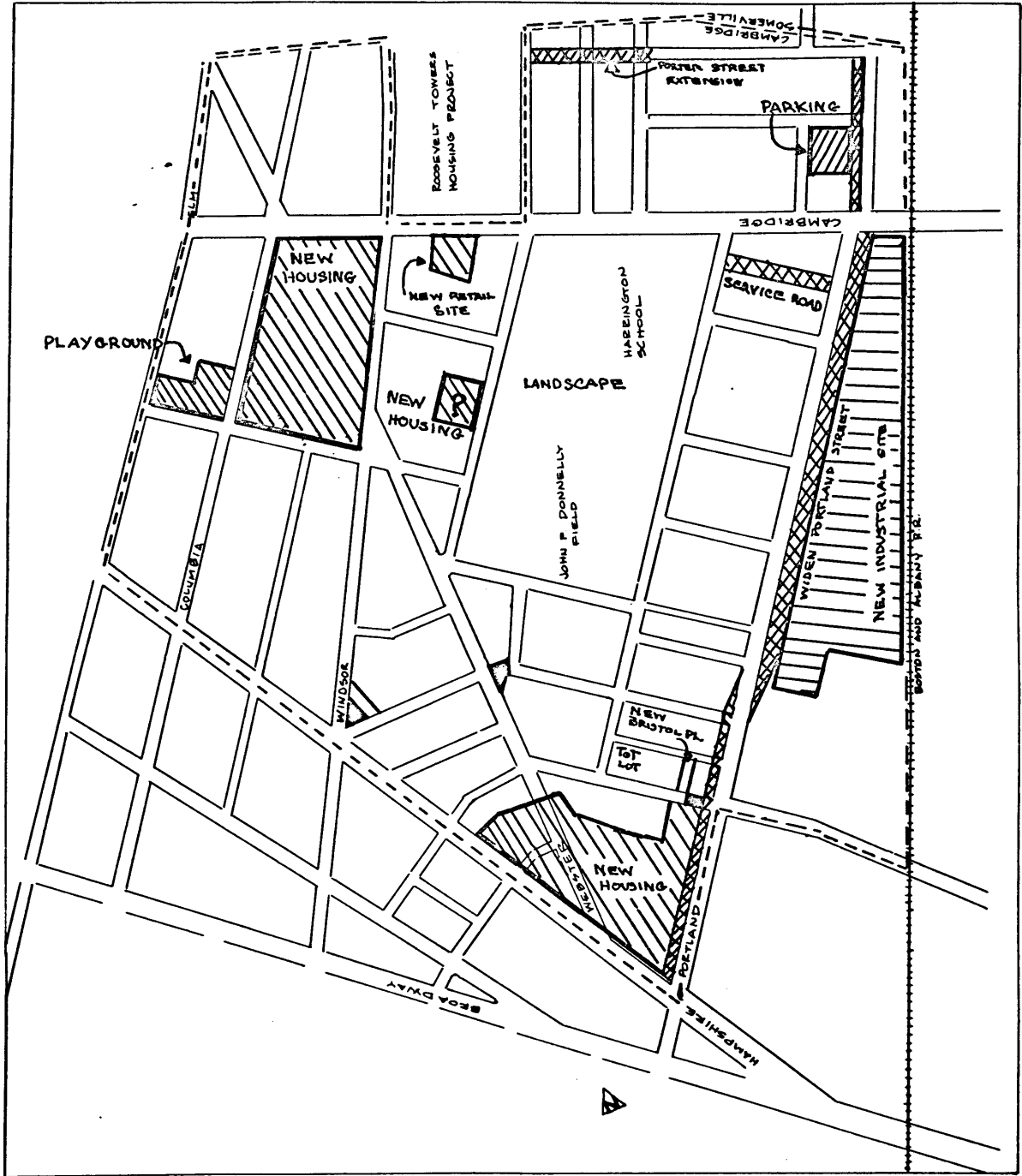
Committee had been working on a health drive, a recreation plan, and the formation of a mother's group. These activities were all dropped when, following the formal acceptance of the plan by the HHFA in May, 1965, the CRA transferred Mr. Kritzman from the Wellington-Harrington area to the Kendall Square project. Committee members were instrumental in his return to the area in January, 1966. In the interim, however, without a community organizer, the Committee no longer met.

#### Comparison of Donnelly Field and Wellington-Harrington Plans

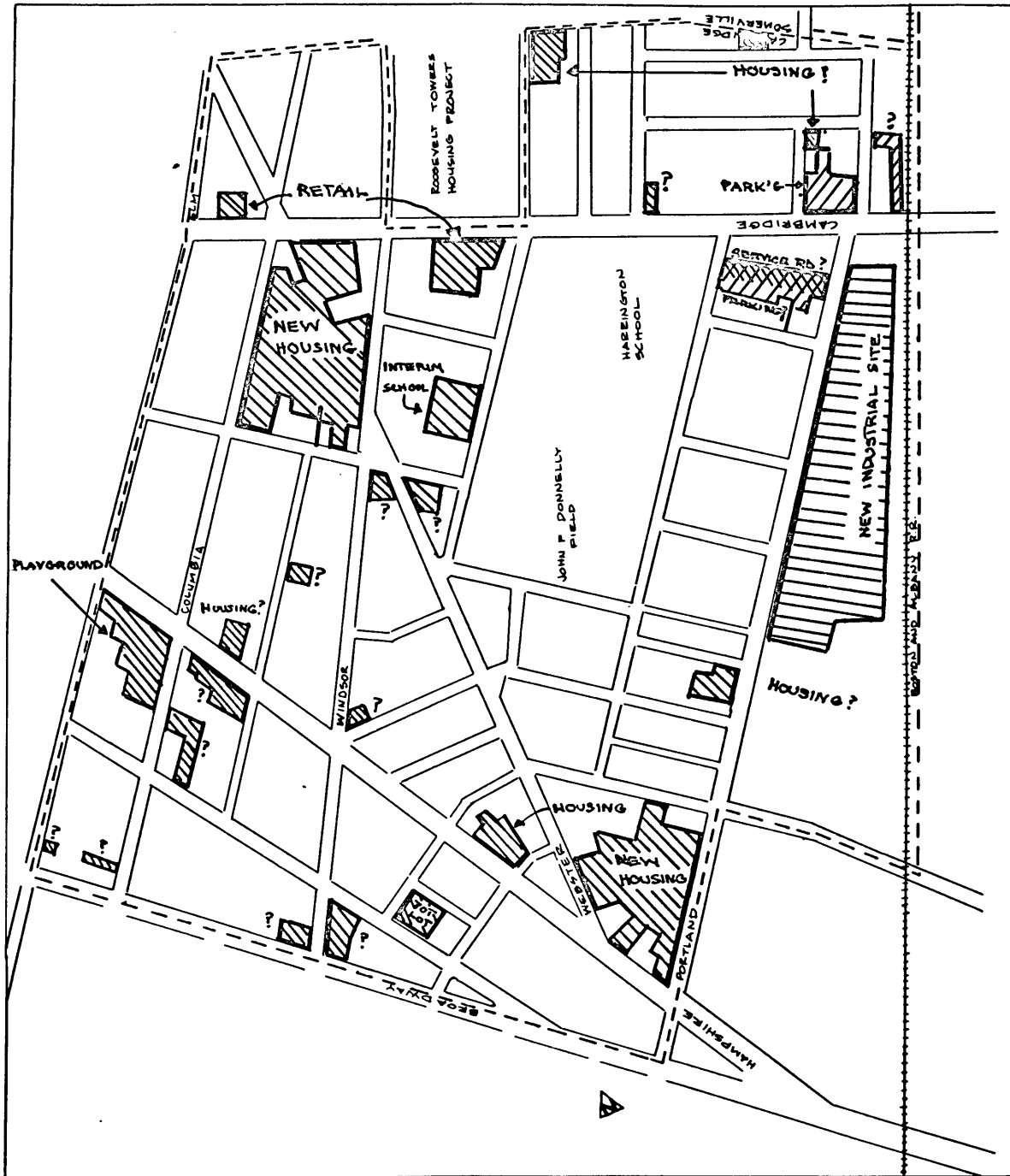
Differences between the Donnelly Field and the Wellington-Harrington plans are small and represent differences in degree rather than in kind. Both plans emphasize the residential character of the neighborhood. The second plan, the Wellington-Harrington renewal area is slightly larger, covering an additional 25.2 acres which includes 123 more buildings of which 111 are residential and incorporates an additional 400 dwelling units.

From the standpoint of physical planning maps 1 and 2 reveal that the Wellington-Harrington plan is less unified in the proposals for areas to be cleared; there is less attention to the traffic needs, recreation spaces and relationship of the area to the rest of the city.

As indicated in Tables 1 and 2, the major differences lie in the degree and the extent and type of proposed treatment. With the exception of the total number of non-residential buildings to be cleared which is the same in both plans, in every other respect the Wellington-Harrington plan calls for more rehabilitation and conservation and less clearance. No standard buildings are to be taken. Moreover, the Wellington-Harrington plan includes a number of buildings for which treatment has not yet been decided; the crucial question here is not



RENEWAL PLAN FOR THE DONNELLY FIELD AREA



RENEWAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE WELLINGTON-HARRINGTON PROJECT

TABLE I: COMPARISON OF CONTEMPLATED TREATMENT FOR PLANS I AND II\*

ITEM	Total No.		No. To Be Cleared		No. To Be Retained w/o Treatment		No. For Which Treatment Not Yet Determined		No. Designated For Conservation Or Rehabilitation	
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
1. Area (in acres) of Parcels w/ Bldgs.	76.7	91.9	20.8	19.6	32.8	11.2	0	13.3	23.1	47.8
2. All Buildings	787	910	184	107	257	75	0	100	346	628
a. Residential	670	781	184	32	219	70	0	98	346	581
b. Non-Residential	117	129	75	75	38	5	0	2	4	47
3. All Dwelling Units	1896	2265	354	106	473	225	0	254	1069	1680
a. In Housing w/ deficiencies	1397	2040	311	106	17	0	0	254	1069	1680
b. In Standard Buildings	499	225	43	0	456	225	0	0	0	0

\* Plan I : Donnelly Field      Plan II: Wellington-Harrington

Data taken from Forms H-6120 filed with application for Urban Renewal Funds for each of the respective renewal areas

TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF CONTEMPLATED TREATMENT FOR PLANS I AND II  
IN PERCENTAGES

ITEM	% To Be Cleared		% To Be Retained w/o Treatment		% For Which Treatment Not Yet Determined		% Designated For Conservation Or Rehabilitation	
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
1. Area (in acres) of Parcels w/ Buildings	27.1	21.3	42.7	12.2	0	14.5	30.2	52.0
2. All Buildings	23.4	11.8	32.6	8.2	0	11.0	44.0	69.0
a. Residential	16.3	4.1	32.7	9.0	0	12.6	32.7	74.3
b. Non-Residential	64.1	58.1	32.5	3.9	0	1.5	3.4	36.5
3. All Dwelling Units	18.7	4.7	24.9	9.9	0	11.2	56.4	74.2
a. In Housing w/ deficiencies	22.3	5.2	1.2	0	0	12.5	76.5	82.3
b. In Standard Buildings	8.6	0	91.4	100	0	0	0	0

whether they will receive treatment but who will pay for the treatment, present owner, a non-profit group or a new owner. If these buildings are included with those designated for rehabilitation 80% of all buildings in the area will undergo conservation and rehabilitation. The Wellington-Harrington plan also includes the up-grading of all deficient housing with 95% to be conserved and rehabilitated, and 5% to be cleared. A final difference which is not stated in either the tables or the maps is that the second plan is projected to offer two- three- and four-family housing in place of the original two- three- and four-story housing.

Perhaps the most crucial difference between the two plans is the fact that the Wellington-Harrington proposal has the neighborhood support. There is a vocalized commitment to the proposed treatment, a significant and difficult factor to obtain in any plan which calls for rehabilitation.

#### Discussion of Plans

The form and type of treatment in the Wellington-Harrington proposal reflects the factors which the neighborhood opposed in the Donnelly Field plan; the taking of good housing stock, the introduction of project type housing and the threat of relocation. As a result of getting locked in on these three issues early in the planning process, from which neither the planner nor the community organizer could dissuade them, the Committee's concern on planning centered on two issues: "saving every house that could be saved" and providing housing within the area for every family and most of the merchants who would be forced to move as a result of the plan. Where the first plan paid less attention to the possibility that isolated parcels would be

taken and more attention toward the re-use and physical logic of the proposed plan, the Wellington-Harrington proposal took only land which met the criteria for removal under urban renewal standards; non-conforming uses, or dilapidation to the extent that rehabilitation was not economically feasible. The Committee left the re-use of the parcels to be taken for future decisions. The planned re-use of these parcels is still under discussion and most of the discussion centers on housing. Having come out against two- three- and four-story housing, the Committee is now faced with the problem of providing housing for those relocated in two- three- and four-family housing, a problem compounded by the fragmentary nature of the proposed area to be cleared. The fact that the Elm Street proposal for the location of the Inner Belt route is a very real possibility and one which would displace a large number of people has not been considered in the Wellington-Harrington plan, even though the Wellington-Harrington neighborhood would be a logical relocation area.

As indicated on the map, the Wellington-Harrington plan pays little attention to the traffic needs of the area or the city. Finally, it should be noted that the area allotted for a new playground will be taken if the Inner Belt follows the Elm Street Route and will deprive the neighborhood of needed recreation space.

Therefore, while the planning has had the backing of the group, it has substantial shortcomings in logical planning.

#### Roles of Power Groups

An understanding of the direction and outcome of the planning process in the Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal Plan demands an examination of the roles of the participating power groups. Attention

will be focused on delineating the roles and motives of each of the principal participants: the federal government, the city, the renewal authority, the neighborhood organizer, the planning board and the citizen's committee.

#### The Federal Government

The principal interest of the Federal Agency, the HHFA, in the Wellington-Harrington project was as a demonstration project to present the value of urban renewal. Reputedly embarrassed by the image of the West End Project, and the criticisms of the two earlier renewal projects in Cambridge, the Federal Government was willing to accept an area as small as 30 acres for a demonstration project, as long as the CRA could generate some evidence of local participation and support.<sup>17</sup> The prospect of losing a status customer like Cambridge was a further reason for the leniency of the Federal Government toward a plan.<sup>18</sup>

#### The City of Cambridge

In the city's eyes, the failure of the Donnelly Field Project represented a loss of almost five million dollars and the prospects of any further renewal aid. The original reason for the renewal project was in fact a result of the construction of the Wellington-Harrington School. Although other areas of the city were equally qualified for renewal, the bookkeeping logic of including a needed school in the Donnelly Field area as part of the city's share of finances, elevated the area to an urban renewal project. The city, then, was primarily interested in recouping the money and further renewal funding; to this end a physical plan, any physical plan, was acceptable. Neither plan would have generated a significant change in the city's tax base, so this question never became an important factor for the

city.

#### The Cambridge Redevelopment Authority

From the standpoint of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority (CRA) the Federal Government's representative in Cambridge, the Wellington-Harrington project represented its last chance for proving its worth. The Authority proper was composed of five community and academic leaders, a civic elite, who volunteered their time to serve on the Authority. Thus there was a certain element of pride at stake for these men.

In the employ of the Redevelopment Authority, only one person remained from the original Donnelly Field Project, Mr. Paul J. Frank, who held the title of Acting Director. Mr. Frank's job was contingent upon federal acceptance of a revised plan for the Wellington-Harrington project, which of course could only be obtained through local acceptance of urban renewal within the Wellington-Harrington neighborhood.

#### The Cambridge Planning Board

In both plans the Planning Board was in a unique position. Through the intricacies of tight municipal finances, the Planning Board was being underwritten by funds from the Redevelopment Authority to develop a plan for the Wellington-Harrington areas.<sup>19</sup> So while the position of the Planning Board shifted from a position in the first plan where it took the city as its client to a situation where the neighborhood became its primary sphere of interest, in both plans the Board was constrained to a degree by having to walk a tightrope between municipal politics, Redevelopment Authority requirements and financing, and neighborhood desires.

## The Citizens Committee

The 14 member Citizens Committee included three priests from each of the Catholic Churches in the area, a Rabbi and ten lay people. Of these ten there was one Negro and two women. The most vocal member of the opposition to renewal was also included. This approach has been termed by the City Planner for the project, Allen McClennan, the "Town Meeting Technique" in which the arch foe of the opposing minority is included but greatly outnumbered. The ten lay people on the Committee have been the most active, partly because the religious leaders have full time responsibilities, and perhaps because they were token members.

Once formed, there was never any intention of enlarging the number of Committee members although the suggestion was brought up several times in the course of the Committee meetings. Rather, Kritzman envisioned a situation whereby the Wellington-Harrington Committee would generate a series of sub-committees under the leadership of Committee members.<sup>20</sup>

Why these particular members were chosen by the Mayor as representatives of the neighborhood is not altogether clear. Kritzman had made a preliminary survey of the neighborhood in the two months prior to the first meeting, to gather public opinion on influential citizens. But, as noted in the CRA files, his list was added to "other lists" from which the Mayor made his decision.<sup>21</sup> In the opinion of one member the reason is fairly obvious. As he stated it: "Each Committee member has his own political guardian angel." Others feel they were chosen to represent geographic areas or because they represent particular interests (such as opposition to urban renewal).

At least seven out of the ten lay members are home owners and all ten are living in residences owned by themselves or a member of their family. Two have second vacation homes. While this would all point to a distinct home-owner bias, the fact that a number own two- and three-family dwellings and the Committee was determined to relocate all displaced people within the project area clouds the usual easy distinction. It is easier to point to interests which were not represented through the Committee; Negroes, low-income whites, and the residents of the Roosevelt Towers, a state housing project which is a de facto part of the project area but which was excluded in both plans because the Federal Government insisted that it was not substandard. While we cannot say whether this group is representative of the neighborhood as a whole, we can say that it is probably representative of those vocalized interests which opposed elements of the first plan; principally, the taking of good housing stock, the development of "project" type housing with the threat of introducing low income groups, and relocation of residents.

The reasons which individual members give for serving on the Committee are interesting. Several were quite frank in admitting that since the initial selection was made two years ago so much has happened that they really can't be sure that the answers they give now were true then. Several factors were repeatedly included: the personal invitation by the Mayor by telephone, some previous contact with local politicians, either through friendship or group participation, a personal opposition to urban renewal, and/or a desire to develop an alternative approach to the problem. Curiously enough the rationale for developing the alternative approach by some members was not primarily for neigh-

borhood improvement, because some people were not consciously aware of the existence of problems, but rather it was a motivation which grew out of a guilt feeling that in speaking out against urban renewal, they had caused the city to lose a great deal of money. As one member said, "I felt I had let the city down." This personal identity with and allegiance to the city as a superior body is a different political attitude from that of the professional middle class which views the government as an instrument of the people.

The specific causes for this type of reaction can undoubtedly be attributed in part to the withdrawal of federal funding for urban renewal. There is also the possibility that another factor was contributory in generating this reaction, represented by the type of argument used by Mr. John A. Lunn, chairman of the CRA during the Donnelly Field Project, when just prior to the defeat of the project he stated to the press:

"If the urban renewal program is defeated by the City Council, we can reasonably expect families dislocated by renewal in Roxbury, Charlestown, South End and other areas to move to Cambridge in housing which would otherwise have been claimed for Cambridge residents. East Cambridge has had about 85 families relocated from the West End Project in Boston."<sup>22</sup>

Since the basis of this argument is that up-grading the neighborhood through urban renewal would exclude the poor from other sections of the Metropolitan area, it is possible that Lunn, in trying to get his plan accepted, was playing on both the prejudices of the Wellington-Harrington residents toward Negroes and lower class whites and on their personal identity with the City. The fact that only East Cambridge was mentioned could substantiate this supposition.

## The Neighborhood Organizer

Mr. Morris Kritzman, a man skilled in group work and with experience in the Massachusetts Legislature, was hired as the neighborhood organizer by the CRA in December, 1963. Since Mr. Kritzman is a critical factor in the success of the Wellington-Harrington program, he deserves some comment. Tall and energetic, Mr. Kritzman's strong personality and talent in working with groups are particularly noticeable in a municipal political environment characterized by a vacuum of leadership.

Kritzman has defined his role with the Committee as that of a catalyst; a mobilizer of action, an interpreter of needs and an educator. His personal philosophy has been to make the Committee feel it participated in formulating their own plan. In following this philosophy, Kritzman has faithfully portrayed an image of "helpful neutrality." He has presented himself to the Committee and to the public as the Secretary to the Wellington-Harrington Committee, as a person who was not selling urban renewal, but a way of doing things. He is fond of saying, and is quoted as saying, that the CRA gave him a blank sheet of paper, that the Committee was not structured to assure approval of renewal; rather, "neighborhood improvement was the agreed goal, and renewal was only considered a possible means to this end."<sup>23</sup>

A review of the Wellington-Harrington files and those of the CRA reveals that Kritzman was not given a blank sheet of paper and he was indeed hired to sell urban renewal. His statement, however, is indicative of the change in the political power structure resulting from his work with the Citizens Committee.

Kritzman was hired by the Redevelopment Authority on funds supplied by the City Council (\$40,000) to sell urban renewal to the

Wellington-Harrington neighborhood.<sup>24</sup> Within this objective the CRA permitted him a certain latitude in developing his own strategy to accomplish this goal and did not impose a definite time limit. There was, however, considerable pressure on him to produce a physical plan within a year, preferably within the first six months.<sup>25</sup> Kritzman's job was therefore contingent upon his success in persuading the community to accept an urban renewal plan.

#### Shift in the Power Structure

At some time in the work of the Citizens Committee, there was a distinct shift in the power structure. From being a purely passive instrument of the CRA the Citizens Committee became an active political force. The following quotes from the Urban Renewal Checklist devised by the Director of the CRA and the City Planner for Cambridge in July of 1963 reveal that the Citizens Committee was intended to be used as a stamp for urban renewal proposals.

"Properly utilized, such a committee could be a new approach to selling the plan to the citizens and the Council."<sup>26</sup>

"While willing to consider recommendations from the Citizens Committee, the major decision-making body would be the Authority. To augment communications between the Committee and the Authority a liason would be hired."<sup>27</sup>

"The City has provided funds for the salary of a member of the Authority staff assigned to work with the Citizens Committee. This person would be familiar with the operations of the Authority in the preparations of the plan. He would be expected to use good judgement in drawing out from the Citizens Committee recommendations without at the same time exceeding his powers. He would not commit the Redevelopment Authority to objectives or specific plans before the Authority has reached policy decisions or before plans are approved by the Authority."<sup>28</sup>

Within these established lines of authority the Citizens Committee would be used to sell urban renewal to the neighborhood:

"It is recommended that the community relations person seek to line up neighborhood leaders who would be so well informed on the renewal proposals that they could explain the details at any public gathering. He would call upon the Planning Director and the Redevelopment Director to present technical details to neighborhood leaders from time to time. It would appear that by allowing the community leaders to be in the limelight as much as possible the Boston planning and redevelopment authority staffs of the Washington Park project avoided the allegation that a plan "prepared by City Hall" was being forced upon the Washington Park neighborhood.

It is further recommended that the community relations person engaged by the Redevelopment Authority be a person acceptable to the City Councillors who draw the greatest number of voters in the Wellington-Harrington project areas."<sup>29</sup>

This then was the initial rationale for hiring a neighborhood organizer at the beginning of the Wellington-Harrington Renewal Project: the community organizer would draw out recommendations, but the plan would be developed by the Planning Board and final decisions on plan content would rest with the Authority; the Citizens Committee would be used to sell the Authority's plan to the community.

However, both the Citizens Committee and Kritzman were more than effective, as evidenced in the neighborhood support for the plan. But in building up the Citizens Committee through recognition from the Mayor and the City Manager as a political voice for the neighborhood, both the Committee and Kritzman gained in political power. From the standpoint of planning, as indicated above, the Committee became locked in on specific ideas from which they would not deviate. As the Committee's political power increased, the Authority lost some control over decisions on the plan.

More important, Kritzman's increased power and status became a threat to those in the higher positions of the CRA. His abrupt removal from the Wellington-Harrington neighborhood would seem to

verify this fact since the change came immediately after the federal government allocated funds for the foraml planning but when there remained to be completed a great deal of follow-up planning with the neighborhood. His return to the Wellington-Harrington neighborhood seven months later is reported to be a result of the combined efforts of himself and the Citizens Committee.<sup>30</sup> Having been reinstated, Kritzman's position became even stronger. Therefore when Kritzman told the Columbia Law Review that he was given a blank sheet of paper on which to operate, this statement is closer to his present position and power than to the terms under which he was hired.

#### Discussion

The skilled use of the collateral functions of planning by the neighborhood organizer and the city planner determined the success of the small Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee in forming a plan which was acceptable to the neighborhood. We have previously identified three collateral functions: the educator, broker, and symbol. Of these three, the roles of educator and broker received the greatest use in the Wellington-Harrington Project and will therefore be examined in depth. The underlying reasons for the under-use of the remaining function will also be mentioned.

The initial working relationship between the Neighborhood Organizer, the Authority, and the City Planner as it would be presented to the Committee and the public was as follows: both the Redevelopment Authority and the Planning Board, usually represented by Mr. Paul J. Frank and Mr. Alan McClennan would assume an advisory, helpful role. Mr. Frank would be called upon when necessary to explain administrative requirements and details; Mr. McClennan would educate the Committee

in general planning principles which would be presented as "a good way of handling problems" rather than a dogmatic theory of what must be done. Kritzman's job was to direct the thinking of the Committee toward the formulation of a plan, and engender Committee initiative in requesting the planner to do the technical work necessitated by the urban renewal requirements.<sup>31</sup>

From behind the scenes Mr. McClennan would keep Mr. Kritzman informed on technical requirements and planning theory which Kritzman would need in order to carry out his work. Thus, with the understanding that the planning function in the Wellington-Harrington case was represented in both the roles of Mr. Kritzman the neighborhood organizer and Mr. McClennan we can examine the collateral functions of planning in this situation.

#### The Planner as Educator

The manner in which the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee was included in the planning process, exposed to the principles of planning, and organized to initiate political activities within the neighborhood is a study in educating a group of people in how to be middle class citizens.

Scope: The scope of the education process included: citizen participation in democratic government, the exposure to aspects and functioning of the municipal and federal government, legal regulations, codes and ordinances relating to planning, land use principles in planning, an awareness of the social services available to meet social needs of the community, education in the means-ends logic of planning, a learning experience in civic leadership and the responsibility of representing neighborhood interests.

Method: The first step in the educational process was public recognition of the group as a representative body. While in theory the selection of the candidates, or their appointment by the Mayor may not have been as truly "democratic" as election by the local people, it was nevertheless a form of democratic selection and perhaps the most feasible solution in a neighborhood with few organized social groups. The respect and cooperation of the city and the local politicians was of prime importance in giving the Committee the momentum and confidence for leadership: the Mayor, in addition to calling each member personally to invite them to be on the committee, opened the first meeting; City manager John J. Curry in a memorandum to the head of each department directed that all activity contemplated for the neighborhood be channeled through the Committee, and that it be granted full cooperation;<sup>32</sup> the politicians participated in the tree-planting campaign. Other factors which focused attention on the group as a representative body include: 1) establishment of their own "Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee" office; 2) creation of their own letterhead which was used in all communication; 3) newspaper articles on the group; 4) special notebooks for minutes for each member.

Public recognition of the Committee was followed by a period of education in planning principles and methods. The manner in which the representatives of various federal and municipal agencies were presented to the group was an important device in tutoring the Committee in democratic government and strengthening their confidence in themselves. "You pay for these people; they work for you." was a standard introduction by Kritzman. Furthermore, particular care was taken to draw on representatives from the higher echelons of the agency invited and to emphasize their titles; Chief Underwriter for the FHA in the New

England Region, the Deputy Fire Chief, the Director of Recreation for Cambridge, etc. Committee members were urged to ask questions or to have information sent. All of these devices served multiple purposes; educating the Committee in various areas of civic government, training in a certain level of expertise jargon, and emphasizing the democratic concept that public officials are responsible to the electorate. Of equal importance, by deferring to the Committee as the basis for authority, the guests also established the feeling that a certain level of behavior was expected of the Committee.

Allen McClennan, the City Planner, studiously played the role of technical advisor or educator; in so doing he made the Committee feel that they were developing the plan. Basic planning principles were followed by a series of two or three alternatives to present the idea. Later on, when the plan was in the formative period, care was taken to ensure that every decision which he made in carrying out the technical details of the plan received the approval of the Committee. The Committee was so quick to pick up the tenets of land use theory that the arch foe of the urban renewal opposition proposed that the site be expanded from Hampshire to Broadway on the south. At a later date another Committee member suggested that apartment buildings be used as a buffer between industry and residential in one area of the project. This suggestion was tabled.

As mentioned above, additional planning concepts and ideas were presented to the Committee through a series of administrators and specialists, including representatives of the HHFA, the CRA, and the Municipal Government. Generally speaking the HHFA and the CRA limited their discussion to the standards and criteria which each agency re-

quired in the formulation of an urban renewal plan, the reason why these requirements were included, and what results were expected as a result of the inclusion. Kritzman's speech introducing McClennan to the Committee exemplifies the tone of the approach taken in educating the Committee in the planning method:

"I think you all agree that we should discuss basic community needs before we can organize our program. We must find the answers to many questions. What do we have? What do we want? What do we need?

Before we make any decisions, let's be sure we have all of the facts we need to make our decisions sound ones. That makes sense, doesn't it? So we have arranged for the next few meetings to hear from the City Planner the basic elements which should be considered in a neighborhood plan, such as land use, streets and traffic, zoning and building codes, health and sanitation, recreation, etc. Mr. McClennen is here tonight and is prepared to review with us maps and data which he may have or which he will help prepare in order that we may be completely informed.<sup>33</sup>

Concurrent with the education in planning principles and fact gathering activities, Kritzman opened the door to environmental problems and means of solving them. Significantly, he focused first on those capable of showing quick and visible results: the clean-up campaign and the "neighborhood beautification program." Both activities served the additional function of drawing the Committee into positions of leadership. Concomittant with drawing attention to immediate problems in the physical environment Kritzman drew attention to social problems. A Health Committee was established with a Committee member as its head; its work included the development of a health survey of the neighborhood, investigation of various civic agencies concerned with health, visits from members of the department of health and sanitation, the Cambridge Community Services Committee. Unfortunately the proposed health survey was dropped when Mr. Kritzman

was transferred from the neighborhood.

Discussion of the education of the Wellington-Harrington Committee would not be complete without noting the limitations and failures. As already mentioned, the Committee became firmly locked in on the preservation of the existing housing stock, on relocating all dislocated residents within the area, and constructing only housing which corresponded to the type of housing which presently exists. To this end all other considerations relating to planning were subordinate. Very little discussion developed on the long-term implications of their plan. Moreover, while the Committee became thoroughly aware of the physical problems relating to their neighborhood and the planning tools available in correcting them, they were less responsive to the problems of the city as a whole. Their unwillingness to reconsider higher density housing as one possible solution to the potential relocation of Inner Belt dislocatees is one indication of their narrow view. Their reluctance to discuss the relationship of the Roosevelt Towers to the neighborhood, or housing for lower-income groups, is another.

Equally important, education of the Committee on the social services which the city provided for their benefit and use was another failure. Kritzman reports that despite visits by members of the Cambridge Community Services to the Committee, members were almost "reluctant" to carry the relationship further or to motivate neighborhood residents to use their services. One Committee member offered his personal interpretation of this failure. As he explained it the social services are "run by people from the Brattle Street side (of Cambridge) and it's used mostly by people in the projects. We're in the middle." Thus, in his interpretation, the operational field of

social services was divided into two camps; those who used them, and those who administered them. Despite the educational exposure to the underlying philosophy of social services, the Wellington-Harrington Committee did not alter their conception of these as a part of a social structure.

Perhaps, the greatest example of a failure in the education of the Committee was manifest when Kritzman was transferred from the area after Federal approval of funds for the project. Two reasons are given for his transfer; according to the CRA, insufficient funds for financing additional work for the neighborhood organizer in the area was the major reason for the transfer. Further, the Authority at this time was involved in a study for NASA in the Kendall Square area where Kritzman would be needed. According to others who were closely connected with the Wellington-Harrington project, his transfer was a result of intra-agency rivalry. At the time he was transferred, in early May of 1965, the Committee was preparing for summer vacations. Reputedly the members were unaware that the transfer had taken place. By the following September, however, resentment had built up and the neighborhood felt it "had been used." Committee members agreed they wanted Kritzman back. To accomplish this they relied on personal contacts with politicians instead of publicly vocalizing their stand as a representative body through official government channels, local newspapers or direct communications with the Mayor. This regression may have been a reaction to the manner in which Kritzman was quietly removed from the area and the fact that no official notice of his transfer was relayed to

the Committee. Moreover, Kritzman himself was influential in obtaining his return to the Neighborhood. It is possible, that without his own actions, the Committee would not have had the courage or the initiative to undertake the project of regaining their neighborhood organizer.

Kritzman's removal, however, points up one of the previous conflicts in this type of planning process, financing the advocate planner or the neighborhood organizer. As was noted above, education of the Committee in its own importance had caused a power shift with the result that the CRA lost some control over plan development. Moreover, Kritzman himself could be viewed as a threat to the CRA: his working relationship with the City Planner was such that the planning decisions were, in the end, those which served the Committee's wishes, as interpreted by these two men. Moreover, his own personal success and recognition in representing the Neighborhood could be viewed by employees of the Authority as a threat to their jobs.

#### The Planner as a Broker

The functional importance of the broker role as a tool in achieving social consensus has been mentioned; it has been pointed out that the planner fulfills this function in two ways, by shaping the scope of the problem and by formulating the problem into technical, non-emotional language.

The manner in which both Kritzman and McClennan accomplished this purpose played a key role in the successful acceptance of the plan.

The purpose of the Committee was to develop an urban renewal plan, as evidenced by statements of the CRA and the first four speakers to the group (the Mayor, the Regional Officers of the HHFA, and the City Planner) who all spoke on urban renewal. Although Kritzman couched the terminology of making up the plan in terms of a "study area" and "possible alternatives" there was never any doubt as to why the Committee was formed. The question was never a decision on acceptance of an urban renewal plan, but rather, what kind of urban renewal plan.

This fact was never mentioned explicitly until almost six months after the Committee was formed. During this time Kritzman and other civic authorities who spoke to the group worked on separating the "old type" of urban renewal as represented by the West End case, from the "different" urban renewal, the "neighborhood urban renewal" which the Committee "wanted." Kritzman continually characterized the first plan as "the bulldozer approach" which "destroyed homes, not saved them", and provided "high-rise apartments."<sup>35</sup> Obviously, the first plan was anything but the "bulldozer approach" and the "high-rise apartments" were three and four story multi-dwelling units, nevertheless, Kritzman has been successful in portraying the first plan in this manner, so much so, that this terminology is rampant in the Committee's discussion of the Donnelly Field project, and even Kritzman had to be reminded that this characterization was not a valid description of the first plan.<sup>36</sup>

Thus in the initial stages of the Committee's work, the scope of the problem was set; an urban renewal program which

would incorporate the Neighborhood's desires, or rather, a plan which did not include housing which might resemble low-income projects, and did not take housing which the Committee felt was still in good condition, or could be improved. Thus, housing for low-income groups or Negroes, or any non-residential use in an existing residential area was excluded from discussion. Moreover, by formulating the purpose of the Committee to "save every house that can be saved", dissident committee members, such as John Raulinaitus who "opposed urban renewal on any grounds," were included into the group's work. Kritzman's use of the term "study area" as a preliminary step in formulating a plan has already been mentioned as a technique by which the Committee's attention was focused on formulating a plan.

It would be unfair to say that the renting segment of the Neighborhood's population, or the less prosperous were not represented through the Committee. Nevertheless, the problem as it was shaped by the planner and the organizer, to provide better living conditions for everyone, did alter the system of values to be served. In voting for code enforcement and rehabilitation, the Committee's action will facilitate the up-grading process which has been going on for the past decade in the Neighborhood. The number of buildings for which treatment has not yet been decided is an indication of whose values were expressed. However, the widespread commitment to the plan is evidence of the successful performance of the brokerage function.

## The Planner as a Symbol

The symbolic function of the planner as a representative of the value of applying a rational approach toward problems was constrained by several factors: First, of course, is the fact that the planner's role was to a degree split between McClennan, who portrayed a strictly advisory role, and Kritzman, whose position was essentially political. Over and above this constraint, however, the symbolic function was limited by the initial adverse feeling toward planning as a result of the Donnelly Field experience; the prolonged threat of the Inner Belt location along the Elm Street route and the visible deterioration of the housing within the path of this route as a result of a planning proposal; and the educational level of the residents who were largely unaware of physical problems within their neighborhood and generally unfamiliar with the concept of logical planning.

However, the Committee's participation in formulating the plan permitted a certain aspect of the symbolic function of the planner to emerge. Whatever the limitations of the plan, the Neighborhood has come to believe that "their plan" will benefit the residents. It is reasonable to assume that if future planning endeavors were promoted in East Cambridge, the Neighborhood would support them but only if they felt the residents' interests were included and expressed.

The Committee itself is quite vocal at the present time in expressing specific attitudes toward planning, and specific concepts in planning. Mr. Arthur Botelho, chairman of the Committee

spent half an hour one day relating to this observer the advantages and disadvantages of the relocation techniques used in England, Sweden and Germany. In his opinion, relocation planning was limited in the United States in that it has never been properly handled. Although it would seem that this opinion would reflect a belief in planning if the techniques of implementation were perfected, the degree of commitment to the idea on a general level could not be ascertained.

Whether the Committee or the Neighborhood sees the planner as a representation of a belief in the planning method is also an open question. They view Allen McClelland as their friend and they respect his competency in performing planning functions. Despite the studiously neutral role McClelland has followed in working for the Committee, the non-technical-advisory aspect of McClelland's position has not escaped them. One Committee Member affectionately described him as "Allen's a real pol" (politician).

Since the Wellington-Harrington and Donnelly Field projects are the only planning projects which the residents have observed or reacted to directly, and since McClelland is the only city planner they know, it is not possible to generalize from their expressed faith in "their plan" as to whether planning itself has any psychological meaning to the residents, or whether the planner would be viewed as a representative of the stated and collateral functions of planning.

The above discussion shows that the effective use of the collateral functions by the city planner and neighborhood organizer

were major determinants in obtaining success and support for the physical plan. Of these collateral functions, the roles of the educator and broker were the most important.

Section IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

## Section IV

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The success of the Wellington-Harrington planning process can be attributed to two principal factors: 1) the method of approaching the community and 2) the utilization of the educator and broker roles of the planner by the neighborhood organizer.

The method of approach to the community was a critical factor in achieving the local participation and the widespread consensus on the plan. Of particular importance was the city-wide recognition of the group from its inception. Political homage to the Committee served to establish the group's faith in itself and the Neighborhood's belief that its interests were being served. The fact that the recognition was reinforced by action from city agencies on problems which the Committee brought to their attention, was taken as proof of the city's acceptance of the Committee as a representative political body.

Inclusion of the Committee's desires in the development of the plan also served to dispel the fear that the Committee was "being used". For both the Committee members and the residents of the Neighborhood, this later factor was crucial in obtaining the final commitment to the plan. Although the Committee consisted of only 14 people to represent a population of over 2,000, the political recognition and the inclusion of Members' opinions in the plan was sufficient proof that the Neighborhood's interests were being served.

Acting within an environment of "good faith," the Committee

served as an effective communication tool in obtaining final approval of the plan. Once the Committee made the decision in favor of large scale rehabilitation, a member of the Committee visited each resident who would be affected by this decision and told them what means were available to facilitate the rehabilitation. As a result, group pressure and the knowledge that other residents would be supporting rehabilitation, hastened the acceptance of the program and engendered the commitment to the plan.

Thus the method of approaching the community, asking for their suggestions and giving visible proof that their suggestions were included can be viewed as a critical factor in mobilizing social support for the plan, for the stated functions of planning.

The second principle reason for the success of the Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee in developing a plan was the effective use of the roles of the educator and social broker by Mr. Kritzman. It would not be incorrect to say that Kritzman is in fact the Committee. He is the guiding force, the power center for all actions and the generator of ideas for the group. Without his ability, or that of a comparably talented person to work with the group, the Wellington-Harrington Committee could not have functioned as a representative group for the Neighborhood.

One major indication of Kritzman's key role in the working of the Committee is seen in the fact that when Kritzman was not present to direct and guide, the group members did not meet. Since the Committee had been meeting weekly for over a year, had received enthusiastic neighborhood support, and had

established a program of activities for the coming year at the time of Kritzman's removal from the Neighborhood, the fact that they did not continue meeting can be taken as an indication of Kritzman's importance in the operation of the group's activities.

Both the method of approach and the roles embodied within Kritzman's personality reflect in part the underlying rationale of the collateral functions. Both implicitly recognize that the acceptance of planning and of a plan is dependent upon the subjective interpretation of those affected by planning. Both recognize that the rationality of planning is dependent upon and limited by non-rational, political constraints.

These conclusions, the importance of the method of approach and the uses of the collateral functions of planning in obtaining group support and consensus for planning raise several points for discussion.

Recognition of the value of using citizen participation in plan development raises the question of timing; the point at which the citizen group should be included in plan development. The Wellington-Harrington case suggests that from the standpoint of obtaining acceptance of the plan, the group should be included as early as possible. Although the Citizens Committee did in fact only adjust the Donnelly Field project to their own ideas, both the CRA and the Planning Board were prepared to start over in developing a plan. The Citizens Committee believed that this was in fact what they were doing. The fact that the Donnelly Field plan was re-used is a reflection of three factors: 1) The

Planning Board's recognition and incorporation of neighborhood attitudes in the first plan. As noted above, the Donnelly Field plan called for substantially less rehabilitation and clearance than would be desirable from a planning standpoint. 2) The limited knowledge of planning by the Citizens Committee. The Committee's concept of possibilities for neighborhood improvement was limited by their own lack of knowledge of planning, and by the fact that the scope of possibilities was established by the Donnelly Field Plan. 3) Administrative and financial factors. Cost, time and personnel constraints made the "scotch-tape" re-planning of the Donnelly Field Plan a more efficient and economical solution for the Planning Board and the CRA than the development of a totally new plan. Had the Citizens Committee been included in the development of the Donnelly Field Plan, it is a good possibility that the wider view of the planners in recognizing traffic needs and recreation space would have been accepted. The method of presenting the plan to the Neighborhood in the Donnelly Field phase engendered only negative attitudes toward it. These attitudes became entrenched and centered on specific issues which in turn limited the scope of the later plan.

However, the Wellington-Harrington case also suggests that planning and the ability of the planner to plan with groups will be limited by the social attitudes of the group. The Wellington-Harrington plan development process suggests that a citizens group sees planning as a means to further their own interests as they perceive them at present. To this extent, larger social goals,

such as housing for low-income or Negro groups will be vetoed if they do not coincide with the interests of the local citizens group.

From the standpoint of physical planning, the Wellington-Harrington plan would appear to support the thesis of James Q. Wilson that if citizens are going to be included in the urban renewal process, the prospects of assembling large parcels of land for other uses, including new residences will be substantially reduced.<sup>37</sup> The fragmentary nature of the areas to be cleared and the reluctance of the Citizens Committee to take any standard housing at all would appear to verify this premise. This fact supports the point made above, that the necessity of obtaining a favorable social attitude toward planning by including citizens in the plan development, places a political constraint on the planner, on his ability to introduce plans which will have long-range benefits, but which may cause short-term problems.

The greater amount of proposed rehabilitation and neighborhood commitment to this rehabilitation in the Wellington-Harrington plan would seem to indicate that the subjective interpretation of planning by the community is of critical importance in the acceptance of planning. From the standpoint of the stated functions of planning, this subjective aspect is important because the community's interpretation of the value of planning will affect the community's willingness to support further planning projects.

Moreover, if the social value of using the collateral functions of planning is recognized as having an importance equal to that of the stated functions, then the problem of financing

either a neighborhood organizer or an advocacy planner must be resolved. As evidenced in the power conflict which emerged in Kritsman's successful execution of the collateral roles, there is a real possibility that the ability of either the neighborhood organizer or the advocacy planner to fulfill his role will be constrained by the views of the financing agency.

The best solution would be financing from a non-profit organization which would dispense funds purely on the basis of the social values group representation serves: the opportunity for people to express their needs and values in the context of a democratic meeting; a person to defend these needs in the political environment. Further, if inclusion of citizens in the planning process is considered to be important, provision should be made for a person to handle continuing activities. These activities may not be directly related to planning per se. Long-range group participation would provide the opportunity for democratic expression and serve to gain support for the stated functions of planning. Short-term participation can have negative effects; it can lead the citizens to believe that they are "being used" by the power structure, particularly when it is apparent that they are only included because it is a requirement of the "Workable Program." Moreover, short-term projects only serve the needs of the groups most affected by the proposed action. Other groups, not affected by the specific issues, are denied the benefits of political and democratic participation.

Review of the process of plan development in the Wellington-Harrington project leads to the following further conclusions concerning citizen participation in planning: First a citizens group cannot do real planning, not only because their subjective involvement in the outcome limits their vision of possibilities, but also because the technical requirements of developing a plan are such that only a trained planner can execute them. This does not mean that the role of a citizens group is "in the final analysis, a purely passive one," as Rossi and Dentler have proposed <sup>38</sup> since the Citizens Committee exercised an effective veto power on particular segments of the plan such as housing.

Secondly, inclusion of a citizens group in the process of planning prolongs the period of developing a plan. Although the skill and talent of Morris Kritzman in working with groups has accelerated the achievement of group consensus on the plan, the Committee is now over two years old and no final decisions have been made on the re-use of proposed areas for clearance. Prolonging the time factor in plan development has two implications for federal financing of planning programs: it will increase the cost of this segment of the program and may ultimately destroy any possibilities of plan development if the time constraint imposed on the program is too short. This fact is particularly pertinent to one of the requirements in the proposed Demonstrations Cities Bill which calls for widespread citizen participation in all phases of the program, but places a six year time limit on plan execution.

Although the Wellington-Harrington case is not a clear cut example of the uses of the collateral functions of planning, or the best example of the role in performing these functions, particularly the symbolic function, the case does show that they were utilized and important in gaining acceptance of the plan. It also illustrates that these collateral functions are "useful" from the standpoint of social change and adjustment of community attitudes. Thirdly, the shift in the political power structure, although small from the standpoint of the City of Cambridge, was important to the Neighborhood as indicated in their enthusiastic response to the planning proposals and their participation in the clean-up campaigns. Finally, from the standpoint of planning, the plan and its contents indicates that the political constraints, derived from the collateral uses of planning, limits the rational objectives of the planning method.

Section V

TO HANG THE MOON

A play

## ACT I

## Scene I

Time: Early spring.

Place: A planning office. The room is obviously located in an old building; pipes are showing along the ceiling and beside the windows at the left side of the stage. The entrance to the office is located at the upper right side of the stage; another door, center left, opens into a second office, partly visible to the audience. This is Mark's office. The back wall of the stage is decorated with black and white aerial views of the city; in the center of this collection is an extremely large, multi-colored land use map. The most dominant element of both the photographs and the maps is the intersection of two major highways. A series of file cabinets is situated below the maps. The stage also contains a desk for the secretary located near the main door, a drafting table in the center of the stage, and two other desks by the windows. Ivy plants, an orange tree, a coffee plant and various other types of vegetation are located throughout the office.

The scene opens with Charlotte, the Negro secretary, running around the office performing a number of secretarial duties which she executes with an air of competency and efficiency. Mark, the planning director, and Chris, the social planner, are taking bound copies of the masterplan from a box on the floor and stacking them neatly on the file cabinets.

Chris: (Takes one copy and starts browsing through it.) Beautiful. Just beautiful.

Charlotte: Such modesty.

Chris: Well, hell, we've been working on it for a year! (Holds it away from himself and contemplates it for a minute.) It is beautiful.

Mark: A good job, if I may say so myself. Complete, logical, well presented.

Chris: When did the Mayor say he'd call?

- Mark: He said the Council would vote on it at 3:00.
- Chris: Any minute now? Do you think he'll announce it in tomorrow's paper?
- Charlotte: Do you have your official photograph ready? Shall I type the caption? How's this? Mark Kachin, Chief Planner for Grandview and his assistant, Christopher Stomer, are seated before their drafting table, gloating over the new ten year masterplan for the city. (Goes over to her typewriter as if to write it out) Gloating? Maybe it should read "secretly gloating".
- Chris: Tickled to death.
- Charlotte; (Starts typing) Missing from the planning team is Drew Watson, son of Grandview's most prominent architect, Conwell Watson.
- Mark: Where is Drew? I'll need his report if the Council has any questions on the planned design for downtown.
- Charlotte: If the Council discusses the plan.
- Mark: Where is Drew?
- Chris: I think he said something about going for pink burlap.
- Charlotte: Heavy pink burlap. New curtains.
- Mark: Curtains? We've got curtains and we're the only office in city hall that does.
- Charlotte: Too dark. His plants are unhappy....now that it's spring.
- Mark: I'm going to have to have a talk with him. The Mayor's call will be coming through any minute and I'll need that report. (Goes over to the drafting table, takes up a pencil and a pad) When did he say he'd be back?
- Charlotte: Great architecture is timeless. Drew thinks the same holds true for young architects.
- Chris: Wish the Mayor would call. This city is ripe for change and our plan is just...
- At this point Drew enters carrying a large roll of burlap, various packages, a hammer and has a daffodil behind his ear.

- Drew: The forsythia! Did you see the forsythia? Pale yellow, soft and barely green...the misty haze of the budding weeping willow! It's spring! Spring! Sacred, soothing, gentle, joyous spring! (Starts dumping his parcels on a desk by the window, moves a plant a fraction of an inch to place it more directly in line with the sun and turns to the group) Look what I just bought....
- Mark: Do you have that report for me?
- Drew: Pink burlap for new curtains...purple is much too sad for spring.
- Mark: The Council's voting on the masterplan now...
- Drew: (Strides over to the land use map) Say, now that we've embalmed the plan in print, we could turn this map sideways. Jive better with the visual environment, (turns to group for assurance) don't you think? For spring?
- Chris: Why don't you just hand us your report, sideways... for the masterplan?
- Drew: Say, all the masterplans arrived. (Picks one up and looks at Mark) Mind if I lift a couple? I'd like to shoot a few off to some friends....
- Charlotte: See what the Mayor has to say before you start blowing your horn.
- Mark: Sit down Drew. We have a job to do. Now.
- Drew: (Immediately becoming serious) Hasn't the Mayor called?
- Chris: Without your report, how could he?
- Drew: (Sits down at the drafting table) Wonder what part will grab their ribs?
- Charlotte: They'll like it all. Politicians are notoriously indiscriminate in their taste...They like everything.
- Chris: Come off it Charlotte; politics isn't a conspiracy.
- Charlotte: It isn't? What makes you all so sure that the Council will act on your plan?
- Chris: (Gets up and goes over to her desk) Look, for you, the world is black and white, but you're wrong; it's grey; it takes time to implement social change.

We've provided for more low-income housing for the Negroes in our plan, but planners can't just go ahead and build this housing. The government's got to give its okay. And it will.

Charlotte: Why? Because the Mayor wants to keep his progressive image?

Chris: No. Because Grandview is a progressive city...concerned about its future.

Charlotte: You mean the Mayor's concerned about his future. (Picks up some letters and takes them over to Mark to sign.) The Mayor, sonnyboy, wants to be governor.

Chris: So? We've all got our own motives in doing the jobs we do. But we also have principles.

Charlotte: Principles, like necklines, are adjustable with motives.

Mark: (Hands over signed letters to Charlotte who then returns to her desk) Let's get on with the staging. Enough small talk. I have Drew's report here...

Drew: (Nervously) Ah, that's ah, only a general outline..

Mark: General?

Drew: Well, ah, I thought it would be better to wait for the City Council's recommendations, if any, and then depending...

Mark: A city planner is not an artist. He is a technician. When we present a staging plan, we present a series of alternatives. The political structure decides from these alternatives, but it's our job to develop the possibilities as carefully and thoroughly as is humanly possible. Haven't I made that clear?

Drew: You did. Certainly. But if we don't know what the Council likes in our plan, how can we say how we'll go about getting the plan carried out? (Gets up and starts moving the desks to form a design which would take into account the sunlight)

Mark: That's not our decision. Planners are not like architects who wait to see what their client's taste is. A planner's job is to show the spectrum of possibilities for future growth in the city, what problems exist now and might exist in the future, and then suggest ways to solve them.

- Charlotte: (Busy digging through file cabinets.) The pure technician. Planners advise but keep their hands lily white and free from the dirty world of politics. (Sees that she's gone too far and quickly exits to Mark's office with files.)
- Mark: I'm disappointed with your report here, Drew. Now, sit down. Let's quickly summarize the recommended plan.
- Chris: East of the main intersection, a 300 acre urban renewal site to up-grade the old business district. Boy, I bet the Council will really like the proposed design.
- Drew: Code reform and rehabilitation in the University area. You know, this area's got great possibilities... those old Turn-of-the-Century houses, mansard roofs, wide porches, cupolas...tremendous potential if we tore down some of the trash....
- Mark: That area's going to be kept as a low-income area for Negroes; no proposals for \$60,000 town houses, understand?
- Drew: Gotcha. Rehabilitation of the Italian section.
- Chris: Two new underground parking facilities for the new business district, covered over with landscaped plazas. Even if they don't like anything else, that part is great.
- Mark: Future expansion of the University area. What else?
- Drew: Four new highways. Speaking of highways, where's our favorite highway engineer?
- Mark: Have we forgotten anything?
- Charlotte: (Peeking out from her temporary refuge in Mark's office.) Does it matter?
- Chris: Back to your political warfare again. All along the Council's sent us suggestions and comments, the meetings with the merchants were tremendously successful...
- Mark: Get going on that population data, Chris. Drew, hurry up with that report and be sure it's in shape by Thursday. (Looks at his watch again.) Tell Starchy I want to see him. (Goes into his office and closes the door as Charlotte sneaks past him into the outer office.)

- Drew: (Sees that Mark has closed the door; goes over to change the land use map sideways.) This angle is superior colorwise...brings out the submerged form, the inexpressible texture of the pattern, the colors. Like man, it sings. Makes a statement. (Pauses and turns to the others for reassurance.) Don't you think?
- Charlotte: The melody of dislocated vertebrae whispering softly into the ears of interested visitors.
- Drew: Guests? In six months the only visitors we've had were a man advertising vacation homes in North Fargo, South Dakota, the 1984 Olympic games Committee, and a ten year old girl scout who milked us each for a buck's worth of crummy cookies.
- Charlotte: And Starchy.
- Starchy enters the main door, striding rapidly with his brief case in hand.
- Starchy: And Starchy. What in the hell is that coffee plant doing on my desk? How can a man be efficient if the primary organization of his office is centered around the sun requirements of an orange tree, a coffee plant, four pots of seedy ivy and two dying african violets?
- Drew: (Takes a closer look at his violets) Oh, I don't know. Don't think they're really dying. (With greater assurance) No, it's between flowering seasons. They're resting.
- Starchy: That's not the point. (Starts to pace off the distance from the door to the file cabinet and to Mark's office.) Just as I thought. You're getting progressively less rational. (Pulls out a pad) Last month it was six paces less from my desk to the door, less ten to the drafting table, eight to...
- Drew: Okay, okay. You're only in two days a week, anyway. Why spill your guts if it takes you two seconds more to get from the door to your desk?
- Starchy: That's my job. I'm a highway engineer. Cumulatively now...let's see, averaging eight paces per hour, eight hours per day times two days...four weeks. Yes, that represents an increase of....
- Charlotte: Mark wants to see you Starchy.

- Starchy: Good, I've got some data for him.
- Mark: (Comes out of his office.) Starchy, good to see you. Today's the day we hear from the Mayor on the plan.
- Starchy: Mayor's call is only a formality as I see it. Here. (Hands over a file and looks at his watch.) I have an appointment now. Going to get the highway department ready for action. (Neatly packs his briefcase.) I'll be back in an hour. (Leaves without saying goodbye.)
- Phone rings in the background.
- Charlotte: Yes, one moment sir. (Covers the phone.) It's the Mayor.
- Chris: The Mayor!
- Drew: The Mayor!
- Charlotte: Will you talk to him or should I tell him you're in the Bahamas?
- Mark goes over to pick up the phone.
- Drew: Wait. Put on the executive microphone. (While Mark picks up the phone Chris whispers to Drew)
- Chris: Bet they liked it all.
- Mark: Yes, your honor. I'm fine. How are you?
- Mayor: (Voice comes over executive microphone.) Fine, Mark, fine. Listen, I want to tell you and your men how much we appreciate your efforts with this plan.
- Chris gives Charlotte a significant, knew-it-all-along look.
- Mayor: It's an excellent plan. The Council was very impressed. Very impressed. It's a plan commensurate with the aspirations of our progressive city, of our people, of the hopes of the little people for a better life. Yes, you men are certainly to be congratulated for your efforts.
- Mark: (Enthusiastically) Thank you, your honor. We're

glad to hear that. When does the Council feel we should go into action?

Mayor: Immediately, immediately. Of course, though, you know how large cities like ours are...many factors enter into our democratic interests, many factors. You understand how it is. As a matter of fact the Council felt it was in the best interests of the community to take things step by step, one thing at a time. You know, Mark, one thing at a time.

Charlotte returns the knew-it-all-along look to Chris.

Mark: (Visibly deflated.) Oh. Well, does that mean the Council didn't like it, or some parts of it?

Mayor: Not at all. We unanimously agreed as I said that it is a progressive plan for a progressive city. Not at all. What I was starting to say is that we can't proceed on all fronts at all times, so we'll start slowly and expand. That sounds reasonable, doesn't it?

Mark: Yes, of course.

Mayor: The time to act is now, tomorrow. The Council ordered that Section V begin immediately. Five G.

Mark: Five G? Let me see. I have the masterplan right here. Let's see. Section V...Community Facilities.

Drew: (Whisper) Thank god for that. Thought for a moment it was going to be highways.

Mark: Five B: Schools. Five C: Libraries. Five D: Recreation Complex. Was that Five D or Five G?

Mayor: Yes, Five G, Mark, Five G.

Mark: Five E, Five F, oh, yes, here we are, Five G. Comfort station. Comfort station!

Chris, Drew and Mark look at each other in bewilderment. Charlotte goes over and sarcastically pulls Chris's ear. Drew flips off the executive microphone and begins measuring yards of pink burlap.

Drew: A comfort station, for christ's sake. You spend a

year designing an entire metropolitan area and end up building a public p...

- Mark: Well, as a matter of fact, your honor, we haven't... Only that one location by the park. (Pause.) In Wards, 6, 4, 8, and 9? (Pause.) Citizen participation? In planning?
- Drew: Argh!
- Charlotte: Democracy rears its ugly head.
- Mark: Yes, of course, yes. You're right. We'll get to work immediately. Thank you. We appreciate your interest. (Pause.) Good by. (Hangs up the phone.)
- Chris: (To Mark who is standing by the phone, neither moving nor speaking) Look, this doesn't mean the plan won't get accepted. It'll just take longer. (Pause) We can do it.
- Charlotte: But technicians don't do, they advise.
- Chris: The Mayor's got a point about starting slowly. You have got to prepare a community for change. Little things can snowball into larger things.
- Charlotte: That's politics, not planning.
- Chris: One of the basic principles of good planning is to make the first things you do significant, impressive, noticeable.
- Mark: (Slowly) Something the community can be proud of.
- Chris: Forceful, dynamic.
- Drew: And how in the hell can you make a john an architectural monument; forceful, dynamic...
- Mark: (To Charlotte.) I'll be in my office. Don't disturb me unless something important comes up. (Goes into office and closes the door.)
- Chris: Come on, buck up. We'll think of something....
- Charlotte: Better think of something quick. The time study dynamo of the Twentieth Century is coming down the hall.
- Drew: Hot and heavy to stab the illogical world of cities with his slide rule.

Starchy strides through the door, attempts to straighten the land use map, steps back and looks at it, straightens it again and then turns to the group.

- Starchy: That map is sideways. What did the Mayor say?
- Chris: Helloo, Starchy. How are you?
- Starchy: Since our last encounter 47 minutes ago, I have been fine. That map is sideways. I trust three quarters of an hour leaves you in good health.
- Drew: Oh, yeah, no, we were just asking how you were.
- Starchy: What did he say?
- Drew: Who? (Begins to study his ivy.)
- Starchy: The Mayor. Did you think I was asking about Robert Moses? What did he say?
- Drew: Oh, yes. The Mayor. Well, he liked the plan.
- Starchy: Good, I knew he would. It's a technically fine plan, especially the highway proposals.
- Chris: He did, ah, say that while we would, ah, start immediately, we wouldn't start on everything just now. (Looks to Drew for help.)
- Drew: No. He favored the low-gear approach. (Returns to cutting his burlap.)
- Starchy: (Considers this for a minute.) Sounds reasonable. We're not prepared staff-wise to put in those four highways at once anyway.
- Chris: Glad you see it that way. We were afraid you'd be a bit disappointed. And you know we'll need your advice in these early stages.
- Starchy: Always glad to give advice if it's accepted. (Gives Chris and Drew a snide glance.) Time's passing. Let's get started. (Walks over to his desk and begins unpacking his brief case.)
- Chris: Ah, we're not going to be doing highways just now, Starch.
- Starchy: No highways! That's what I'm here for...highways. Where's Mark? Why aren't we going to be handling the major problems of the city?

- Chris: The Mayor felt it wasn't ah, the right time, ah, for such things. No, what I mean to say is, he felt we should start with a smaller aspect of the program so the community could appreciate the really major things...like your highways.
- Charlotte: When we do them.
- Drew: Correct. Public appreciation. He was really hot for the highway plan.
- Starchy: The Mayor's an intelligent man, I've always said. Don't see how he can put up with the inefficiencies of politics though. (Pause.) What did he recommend?
- Chris and Drew look at each other. Finally Chris takes the initiative.)
- Chris: Ah, community facilities sort of.
- Starchy: Community facilities sort of?
- Drew: A sort of community facilities, sort of. Ah, he wants us to cough up a few recommendations on alternative locations.
- Chris: We're just a little discouraged about how to, ah, go about it.
- Starchy: Can't see that's a problem different from any other problem we work on. Essence of planning is goals; means to attain them. Must be objective, rational. First you decide the area of service.
- Chris: Area of service?
- Starchy: The market. Supply and demand.
- Drew: Supply and demand?
- Starchy: Need.
- Chris: Need?
- Starchy: Need.
- Charlotte: Speaking of need, I think I'll excuse myself. (Leaves the office.)
- Starchy: (Pulls out a pad and pencil.) Yes, need. Now, let's see. First, you take existing demand. What is the existing demand?

- Drew: That's not what I'd call an easy question to answer.
- Starchy: Potential need?
- Chris: Potential need?
- Starchy: Yes, does provision of this facility create a need? Now, in highways for example, when they're built, their existence creates a demand. Will the very presence of this facility make more people want to use it?
- Chris: Can't say I've ever looked at the question in quite that way.
- Starchy: Then, of course, there's always the question of latent need. By this I mean, people who need to use this facility but don't know it.
- Drew: They are in trouble!
- Starchy: Next step. Examine the existing supply by size, capacity, amount of use. Then you break this down into the public and private sectors.
- Chris: How public or how private!??
- Starchy: (With obvious disdain.) No, by what proportion of the existing market is supplied by public funds and what proportion by private enterprise. (Makes a note of this.)
- Drew: Oh!
- Starchy: Then you want to know the composition of your market by age, sex, income levels. Now you must ask the question, does one sex have a greater need to use this facility than another?
- Chris: He may have a point there. Now my wife, for example.
- Starchy: (Ignoring Chris.) Does one income group use this more than another?
- Chris: I'll be damned. In all that sociological literature.
- Starchy: What literature? What are you talking about?
- Chris: Nothing. Go on.
- Charlotte returns to the office.

- Starchy: Moreover, we should further examine if the use of this facility is a function of age. You know, all you have to do is look at a problem rationally and your answer becomes obvious.
- Drew: How're you going to get the data?
- Starchy: Same way planners always do. Many methods available. Seems to me, when it comes to public facilities, a good spot survey should do the job.
- Charlotte: (Aghast.) A spot survey?
- Starchy: We'll set up a team of interviewers who will stand at appropriate street corners, and say, stop every fifth person for questioning. We'll do it more or less like a traffic count...at different times of the day.
- Chris: Our budget? How do you propose to get the staff?
- Starchy: (Thinks for a minute.) Volunteers.
- Charlotte: Volunteers?
- Drew: What volunteers?
- Starchy: That group of ladies you always use.
- Charlotte: (With obvious malicious glee) The League of Women Voters?
- Starchy: That's the name. Matter of fact, I think my wife's an officer. I'll give her a call. (Goes to the phone.)
- While Starchy's on the phone the other three form a group in front of the drafting table.
- Chris: (In loud and artificial voice to cover up the conversation.) Let me help you with those curtains Drew.
- Drew: Thanks. (Lower voice) How'll we give him the word?
- Charlotte: In a wire from Western Union?
- Chris: I'll handle the Citizens Committee. (Lower voice.) Start thinking.
- Charlotte: You're not getting those curtains right. (Lower voice) Break it to him slowly.

- Chris: Drew, you'll probably handle the design aspect. (Lower voice.) We'd better tell him now. Oh, yes, Starchy, what did she say?
- Starchy: Done. Forty women here next Tuesday. That will give me time to develop a questionnaire and analysis. What in the hell are you doing?
- Drew: Wha? What do you mean?
- Starchy: Pink curtains!
- Drew: It's spring!
- Starchy: No wonder you can't plan. Pink curtains! By the way, what type of facility is this?
- Chris: Facility. Oh, yes.
- Drew: You've got the problem so well worked out, Starch. We'll let you handle it...as you've stated it, objectively, rationally, factually.
- Starchy: I've never been able to see why you people think planning cities is in anyway different from locating a highway. I now know. That pink is awful. (Goes over to his brief case and completes the task of emptying it of papers.) Yes, you take a problem, establish goals, criteria, assess your constraints. No difference. No difference at all. What kind of facility did you say this was?
- Chris: Oh, I don't think the pink is so offensive; it's a comfort station. It is much brighter than the blue.
- Starchy: What was that? I didn't follow...
- Drew: He said he's hot for the pink; it's a comfort station.
- Charlotte: Using the League of Women Voters to do the fact gathering for the public john, I mean, the comfort station was an excellent idea.
- Starchy: Comfort station? (Incredulous) What comfort station?
- Drew: (With studied casualness.) This little one over here which we intended for the park. Must admit I, we all were a little disappointed by the Council's decision at first, but after your logical talk just now, the thorough way you've blitzed the problem, we're with you, Starch.

Chris: Your efficiency and your help is thoroughly appreciated.

Charlotte: Immeasurably.

Starchy: (Trying to decide whether he's been had, and if he has, should he admit it.) Well, I will have to admit I hadn't been thinking in the precise context of a comfort station. Not that that in anyway alters the method in approaching the problem. No. (Considers this for a minute and then with greater assurance.) No, one can't let petty social inhibitions stand in the way of more rational decision-making. (Considers this again for a moment and with renewed determination he begins taking out paper, pencil and slide rule and begins to work.) Yes, now to the problem. Let's see. First, the questionnaire.

Chris: Maybe we should tell Mark.

Drew: Cool it. Now is not the hour. (Louder voice.) In light of the tremendous pressure we're under to locate a John, I think I'll shove off early. Formal dinner tonite; want to shave and smell good for my chick. (Goes to coat rack and leaves.)

Chris returns to the drafting table and looks over the masterplan. Mark comes out of his office.

Chris: Mark, listen, we've got the world under control. Drew's going to get all the data on building design, requirements and regulations. Starchy here has already organized the fact gathering and I've got some ideas on the citizens committee.

Mark: Thanks, Chris. (Looks over at Starchy working.) Why's the highway engineer handling the fact gathering for this type of facility?

Chris: (Quickly.) He offered to.

Mark: Odd.

Chris: Mark, I think the idea of bringing the citizens into this location problem is good. After all, it's the people we really plan for and they have a right to express their desires and needs.

Mark: I agree with you there but I think that should come through the political process. After all, it took us two years of graduate work to learn the planning method. Besides, most people can't see the larger picture of the whole city, or comprehend the changes;

how ten years will change their needs and what they'll probably want.

- Chris: We could educate them; besides by educating them we'll be able to show them the benefits of planning. How planners think for their long-range benefits.
- Mark: It's a long way from an eight stall john to trying to objectively think in terms of a ten year development plan.
- Chris: Not if we got them enthusiastic.
- Mark: Look. The Council's decision on the comfort station is just as indicative of the political climate as Drew's concern with pink curtains for spring. The Council represents the people. We gave them a plan; they rejected it.
- Charlotte: That's the technical planner's role. You advise; they do or don't do.
- Mark: True. But even technicians are idealists. I made up that plan because I believe that planning will help to answer Grandview's future needs. I had hoped they would carry it out.
- Chris: You've got a point. Why pay us? Why establish a whole new planning office if in the end they choose to work on the least important part of the plan... and one which has been brought up before the council since Custard's last stand?
- Charlotte: Simple. Park Department and the Sanitation Department just couldn't find it in their budgetary hearts to finance it. Eureka! The planners said it was necessary.
- Mark: It is a good plan. We showed the problems and provided some answers.
- Charlotte: Politicians don't want to know problems...unless they can be used to win the next election. Your answers go beyond a four year term of office.
- Chris: I still think the great white hope is the citizens committee. I'll get the committee going hell bent for leather on Monday; by Tuesday, we'll have all of Grandview aware of the citizens committee and of planning.
- Charlotte: The hand-picked citizens committee.

- Mark: Still doesn't answer the question, why plan?  
Sorry Chris, I don't mean to be so hard on your enthusiasm for the citizens committee. It's just that from a planning standpoint, citizen participation limits what you can do. To that extent, it constrains a planner's ability to logically plan...to honestly perform the task he's trained to do. Well, we'll put that on the agenda for tomorrow, another problem to be solved. To plan or not to plan. So long.  
(Leaves.)
- Chris: Charlotte, what in the hell are you trying for? The bitch of the year award? If I were Mark I'd have fired you long ago.
- Charlotte: Can't be done, oh great social planner. I'm the official TN.
- Chris: TN?
- Charlotte: Token Negro. Part of the visual environment, as Drew would say, of every planning office.
- Chris: I'd fire you anyway.
- Charlotte: That's a technical solution. Negroes are politics. But planners don't talk about that, do they?
- Chris goes over to his desk and picks up some books, puts them down and looks out the window.
- Chris: God. Does this burlap smell!

End, Act I, Scene I.

## ACT I

## Scene 2

Time: The following Tuesday.

Place: The planning office.

Drew is busy constructing a cardboard model of a small comfort station, whistling while he works, occasionally stepping back to examine his little masterpiece. Chris is at his desk with an adding machine, doing work on statistics from census data. Charlotte is at her desk. Drew is walking across the stage with a watering can as Mark comes out of his office.

Mark: Can I have a minute to go over the work to be accomplished this week. (Mark sits down at the drafting table.)

Chris: Sure thing. Just a minute while I tally this figure.

Drew: Be right there. (Starts watering each plant with care and interest.)

Mark: Chris, I'm still not convinced of your argument about including citizens in the planning process. But you may be right. If they come to see planning as important by locating the comfort station, the community may come to be aware of planning as a valid approach...to see the comfort station as part of a larger plan.

Chris: It'll just take a little longer. (Comes over and sits at the drafting table.)

Mark: The city will like the plan, once we have a chance to present it.

Charlotte: If you have a chance to present it.

Mark: Okay, now. How's the citizens group coming along?

Chris: (Gets up and starts pacing back and forth across the floor.) Last night's meeting was a little disorganized. The two representatives from Core immediately attacked the Merchants Association for segregation. The League of Women Voters' representative spent fifteen minutes eulogizing the virtues of democratic participation. The businessmen wanted to know how much the job would cost the city in taxes....

- Mark: Not what I'd call a cohesive group.
- Charlotte: Wonder why the Mayor chose them?
- Chris: That's just the beginning. The church ministers weren't sure how this toilet served man's need for God in an urbanizing world. Finally, four local citizens denounced urban renewal as an instrument of the devil, Communism and the CIA.
- Drew: (Stops watering his plants.) The CIA?
- Chris: The CIA. That was the only point they agreed on.
- Mark: And so?
- Chris: Then several uninvited people appeared, including a representative from the Planned Parenthood Association. The Committee wasn't sure whether they should be included. The League of Women Voters sided with the Association against the Catholics, Core..
- Drew: The Planned Parenthood Association? What are they...
- Chris: Don't ask me. It was finally settled that any group, representative of some interest in the community should be included. With or without the Mayor's recommendation.
- Drew: But this is only a decision of choosing a location in one of four wards.
- Chris: At this point, a lady from the Rockhill Garden Club made a motion that we not discuss such a delicate topic as a comfort station in mixed company...that the group be divided by sex into two groups.
- Mark: You're not serious?
- Chris: Cross my heart. It was a hair raising evening. Core and the League of Women Voters were against segregation of any kind: racial or sexual. The motion was defeated. The Merchants Association then suggested that the facility be located in the downtown commercial district since that's where everyone goes to do their business. At this point, the lady from the Rockhill Garden Club fainted. When we finally revived her, she excused herself. Said she probably wouldn't have enough time to give to the committee.
- Mark: What decisions did you make on the comfort station?
- Chris: By this time it was past 9:30 and the meeting had to

be adjourned. Hopefully, next week will be a little more focused in the discussion.

- Mark: I take back what I said earlier. Including citizens in the planning process not only limits the logic of planning, it looks like it hinders or precludes any type of planning.
- Chris: No rash conclusions. That was only the first meeting.
- Mark: How about Starchy? Any word on his fact gathering?
- Drew: (Puts down his watering can and takes a seat by the drafting table.) Did you see him this morning? Thirty aggressive females, each eyeing the other's spring wardrobe; and there was Starchy leading them as if he was the Pied Piper, while they dutifully followed, clucking like a bunch of myna birds on a banyan tree at sundown. (Gets up and starts imitating the Pied Piper and clucking ducks.)
- Chris: Did you have a look at his questionnaire? Absolutely amazing!
- Mark: As a matter of fact, you never did tell me what he was planning to do. Fill me in on the details.
- Chris and Drew look at each other uneasily.
- Chris: I thought Drew...
- Drew: No, you...
- Mark: Well?
- Chris: Well, ah, you know Starchy.
- Mark: I know Starchy.
- Chris: I'll say one thing for that engineer. If he wants to know something, he asks.
- Drew: Probably the most direct questionnaire ever devised in the history of social research!
- Mark: What's he doing with that "reconnaissance" team he organized?
- Drew: As he always says, you got to know the existing supply.
- Chris: So he assigned three or four ladies to each of the wards, gave them the information he got from the health

department on the location of all...

Drew: Public and private toilets.

Mark: What?

Chris: (Quickly.) I will grant him the sense to tell the women to be discreet in demanding to see the facilities, but why he thinks that dressing them as public health nurses is going to alleviate any suspicion, I don't know.

Mark: I don't understand.

At this point a man enters the office, strides past Charlotte and pounds his fist on the drafting table.

Citizen: What in the hell are you trying to prove? There I was, standing on a street corner, a law-abiding citizen, when this well-dressed female walks up and point blank, out of the blue...demands to know if I had to go to the bathroom!

Chris and Drew slide under the drafting table.

Mark: Excuse me?

Citizen: Despite my rebuffs she continued with such obscene inquiries, as to how often I had to go and if I had to go, where did I do it? Where did I do it? Where in the hell would I do it? Same place anyone does. What does she think I am? And what's your game? She said she was with your office.

Mark: Now, there's a misunderstanding here somewhere. Please sit down. Let's talk about this.

Citizen: No thank you. I don't feel I have to talk to anybody about my basic functions. It's none of your damn business. (Strides out of the office muttering.) Spend millions of dollars in taxes to protect honest citizens from harassment. Harassment!

Mark: (Looks on in amazed bewilderment; finally sights Drew and Chris hiding under the table.) Irritation is rising slowly into anger!

Phone rings.

Charlotte: Yes, sir. How are you? Oh, yes sir. Just a minute, he's right here. (Covers the phone and whispers to

Mark.) It's the Mayor...in his Ceasar Augustus mood.

They all look at each other. Drew crawls out from under the table and switches on the executive microphone. Charlotte leaves the office on an errand.

Mark: Yes, your honor, ho...

Mayor: Mark, I want to talk with you. I have the Chief of Police here. He claims that a group of women, dressed as nurses, have been found loitering in the toilets of our downtown stores and gasoline stations. They say they're timing the length of stay of each visitor, noting the number of stalls. Mark, what kind of person does that? Perverts. Perverts!

Mark: I'm sorry your honor, but there seems to be a colossal misunderstanding. I'm sure this...I promise you...

Mayor: There had better be an explanation. What's more, these women claim they're from the League of Women Voters and that they're working for you. Now just what are you up to? The League of Women Voters represents a powerful lobbying group in this city. Their husbands are responsible people. They helped me get into office and you go and have them jailed. Get down here immediately. Get that citizens committee together to back me. We'll issue a press release in their name. (Slams down the phone.)

Mark: (Limp) Goodby. (Turns to Drew who is now studiously working on his model. Chris comes crawling out from under the table.) What in the hell is going on here?

Policeman enters.

Policeman: Oh, Mr. Kachin, there you are. Listen, you're really in hot water! I tried to get here before the Mayor hears about...

Mark: He already has.

Policeman: We've just booked thirty women for soliciting. They claim to be working for your outfit. I had them released because, well, you know, they just didn't look like the ah, type, if you get what I mean. But do you know what they were doing? I mean, I'm paid to keep our cities safe for our women and children and I have enough trouble doing that without the planning office.

Mark: (Pats the policeman on the shoulder.) Thanks for thinking of me. I'm not really sure what's going on, but you say you had them released?

Policeman: Along with a highway engineer who says he's on loan from your office. Funny sort of guy. Insisted on calling the highway department. Most people want to get in touch with their lawyers.

Drew: The original!

Mark: He's ours. After I get this straightened out, I'll give you a call. I appreciate your help.

Policeman: Glad to do. Planning's a good thing. We certainly need it in this town. But this kind of rhubarb can really give it a bad rep. Okay then. So long. (Leaves.)

Charlotte returns from her errand.

Drew: (Looking out the window.) Jesus christ!

Charlotte: What's wrong?

Chris: Starchy's put the League of Women Voters in jail.

Charlotte: (Sits down at her desk and starts typing.) Can't think of a better place for them.

Chris: For soliciting.

Charlotte: Maybe I've been wrong about that group.

Drew: That flushes the masterplan.

Chris: I'll call an emergency meeting of the citizens group for tonite.

Charlotte: But soft, I hear the organized footsteps of the jailbird now.

Starchy enters, still brisk in his footsteps, with eyes focused on his desk, ignoring the waiting firing squad.

Mark: Afternoon, Starchy.

Starchy: Hello. (Begins organizing papers on his desk.)

Mark: Fact gathering today?

- Starchy: Ah, yes.
- Mark: How was the jail. Was the incarceration procedure efficient, or do you have some suggestions?
- Starchy: The ah, data collection effort was short of expectations. Not because of the method. Outside factors.
- Mark: Like the police?
- Starchy: Oh, yes, the police. Greatly inhibited the procedure. Poor choice of personnel also.
- Mark: (Walks over to Starchy's desk.) The Mayor just called. Come into my office. I want to have a word with you about the rationality of your method in gathering facts. (Extends his hand to let Starchy enter his office. Starchy begins to get up when the phone rings.)
- Charlotte: Planning office. Who? Oh, yes sir, I'll connect you with Mr. Kachin of our office. He's the director.
- Mark: (Picks up phone.) Hello. Yes, yes it is. Yes, we are doing a study. No, I didn't know that. I'm sure there's an error. Yes, I'll come right over. I'm certain this can be worked out. Thank you, yes, I'll issue a press release. Goodby. (Hangs up the phone, pauses and then looks at Starchy.) I'll have a word with you later. In the interim, do not leave this office. Do not talk to anyone. Did you two know that Starchy was also using the Boy Scouts as an intelligence force in checking out the mens' rooms?
- Drew and Chris shake their heads.
- Mark: (Walks over to the clothes rack.) That was the Director of Scouting. He's a little angry. He says they have enough trouble with allegations without our aid. (Places his hat on his head and turns to the group.) I shall be back in two hours. In the meantime, remember this office has three objectives: to locate an eight stall comfort station, to create favorable relations with the community, and to get a ten year plan adopted. In view of what happened today, I guess I can only trust the lot of you to work on the first objective. (Walks slowly to the door.) Little did I ever dream when I went into planning, that someday I would be defending it, not as a method, not on its applicability, but as a

technique which is not detrimental to the health,  
welfare, or morals of the community. (Exits.)

End, Act I, Scene 2.

## ACT II

## Scene I

Time: Evening of the same day.

Place: Meeting room for the Citizens Committee

A group of people are seated around a table chatting. Entrance to the room is from the left. The action begins with Chris, who is seated at the head of the table, pounding a gavel and rising to speak.

Chris: Ladies and gentlemen, as I explained to each of you on the phone, this emergency meeting was called as a result of some rather unfortunate developments in our fact gathering today.

A few committee members give each other knowing, amused glances.

Chris: But first let's recapitulate what was decided last week. We all agreed we would consider for discussion locations in four wards....

Com. Mem: (Whispering to man beside him.) Funny, that's not how I remembered it. We were going to think in terms of the whole city, weren't we?

Chris: And that any representative of a group within the community was entitled to participate on our committee. Now, to the first order of business. Mrs. Grey from the League of Women Voters has a report for you.

Mrs. Grey: As you all know, the planning board invited us to help in gathering information for our committee to use in deciding to ah, locate the ah, comfort station.

Committee members nod and give amused words of assent.

Mrs. Grey: Well, I simply can't tell you what an unhappy situation arose. Oh, dear, it was just awful. The police completely misunderstood our intentions. (Begins to giggle.)

Com. Mem: Yeah, did you see the papers?

Others agree with amusement.

Mrs. Grey: But, my dears, the ladies took it so very well. Really, I must admit we had a marvelous giggle over the whole affair. Why Mrs. Newman, oh, I guess you don't know Mrs. Newman, but she's such a cracker. Well, Mrs. Newman says she hasn't laughed so much in years! You know, not one of us had ever been inside a jail; it was so very educational. And, do you know what they charged us with? (Giggles.) Soliciting!

The committee joins in with her laughter, interspersed with a few comments such as, "From our committee?", "A law-breaker in the room!", etc.

Mrs. Grey: At our age! Why, I have to admit, if you promise not to tell a soul, I was really a little flattered. And my husband Lou, Louis Grey; he's an attorney, well, Lou's been laughing so much he called up the club and had it posted on the bulletin board, Oh, dear, I guess I'm getting a bit off the subject.

Com. Mem: At least the city's heard about our committee!

Mrs. Grey: But, ladies and gentlemen, the Mayor's terribly upset because he thinks that some people might not have the proper impression of what we're doing. I want to make a motion then, that our committee make up a press release explaining the whole affair to the public.

Com. Mem: Good idea.

Chris: That would also keep the community informed on what our purpose is and generate some widespread interest in our planning.

Com. Mem: I second the motion.

Chris: All in favor? Opposed? The motion is unanimously passed. Now, this is a good opportunity to discuss the relation of this comfort station to the community as a whole...

Mrs. Grey: (Waving her hand frantically while Chris is speaking.) Oh dear, excuse me, but can I add a little something to that statement, Mr. Stomer?

Chris: Certainly.

Mrs. Grey: Well, as we were all sitting in jail today, it sounds so funny to say that, but as we all sat chatting away, the thought, I mean the idea

occurred to us that one of the reasons we were arrested is that the public has such a poor image of public facilities. You know what I mean. They're all so, ah, dirty, and you never know what kind of people you'll meet in there. (Pauses for a minute and catches herself as Core sits up and takes notice of what she's just said.) Well, what I mean is, that there really are derelicts and vagrants, and dirty old men that molest little girls.

Lady Mem: You know, she's got a point there.

Male Mem: What we need to do is to change the image of the public facility.

Mrs. Grey: Yes, that's what I mean. If we're going to act as a committee, representing various community interests, we should think of not only locating this comfort station, but of making sure it's a nice comfort station.

Male Mem: Something where good honest citizens wouldn't be afraid to go, I mean, visit.

Male Mem: One that was properly maintained.

The whole committee joins in adding various comments; a man enters the room and efforts are made to obtain a chair for him while the random commenting continues.

New Mem: (With very mincing, affected manners.) Oh, thank you.

Chris: Excuse me, I'm Chris Stomer, secretary to this group. I don't believe you were here last week, but you're certainly welcome. Would you like to introduce yourself?

Man: Owlsley Whitfield.

Chris: And what organization do you represent, Mr. Whitfield?

Owlsley: The Homophile Society.

Man sitting beside Owlsley moves his chair a bit.

Chris: (Trying to be official.) The Homophile Society? What, ah, interests do you represent?

Owlsley: Oh, we're just one of many groups dedicated to the expression of love of man.

- Chris: Oh. (Pause.) Yes, well, we're willing to recognize any group which represents a sizeable interest in the community.
- Owlsley: Oh my. I can't give you any active figures on that, but we believe we have a fairly substantial membership which is terribly interested in the prospect of a new..., of the ah, work your group is doing.
- Chris: Well, ah, yes. Yes. Well, our committee did agree that we're here to represent everyone, ah, yes. (Quickly.) On with the next order of business.
- Drew enters with a small model of the comfort station under his arm and places it on the table.
- Chris: Drew Watson, a planner on our staff who has had training in architecture and urban design, is here tonight with a sample model of the comfort station. We're only presenting it as an idea of what it will look like; as an aid for you in making the location decision.
- Drew: First off, let me say this little model is part of a larger city plan.
- Comm. Mem: Excuse me. I'm a member of the plumbers union and that design will have to be revised. Our state has a law which requires any major public building to supply enough plumbing facilities to serve a market which might be, just might sometime need be, used by 100% men or 100% women.
- 2nd Mem: In other words, we'll have to add an additional 50% more plumbing facilities to the structure because of the law?
- 1st Mem: Correct.
- Lady: Oh, that's very educational.
- 3rd Mem: I can see this structure was designed for the original site by the park. Depending upon what other locations we recommend, the shape and size of the structure will have to be altered to fit the size of the land; the number of people it will serve.
- 4th Mem: Hadn't thought of that.
- Drew: That's true. Now, in city planning...

- Businessman: Let's start thinking of the alternatives. Now, I've brought a city map with me. (Takes out a map and places it on the wall.) I think we should consider this location over here in Ward 6, in the commercial section.
- 2nd. Bus'man: Good point. Expecially since that's the direction of new business growth.
- Minister: Seems to me you brought that subject up last week. Since we've already heard from the business interests, I think other opinions should be heard.
- Core: Let's establish some criteria. First, I want to point out that this facility should be open to all citizens of all races.
- Committee members give various signs of agreement and consent.
- Core: If that's the case, the location in the business section would be isolated from the Negro area over there in the western section of town, Ward 8. This group cannot afford to shop in the newer business district, and discrimination has been practiced there in the past.
- Businessman: Now wait just a minute. I can't speak for everyone in the business section, but I know for myself that we have a fair and equal policy of serving all customers....and a fair employment policy.
- Core: How many Negroes do you employ?
- Businessman: Why, er, ah...
- Chris: (Quickly.) Let's coordinate the discussion so far. We've got very little time. Let's try to approach this problem objectively. Your point, Mr. Jones, is a good one in setting up criteria. I'd like to have the committee continue in that vein. Equality of opportunity is a basic American value. What other factors do we want to include in the criteria? This is how city planners approach a problem.
- Minister: I think it should be clean and well-maintained. Not detrimental to the health, welfare or morals of the country. (Gives a sharp look at Owlsley who ignores him.)
- Lady: Maybe we should start thinking of new ideas in public

facilities. Let's face it. Mothers with little children who come to town shopping have no place to stop and get organized. Little children's faces get so dirty. Babies have to have their diapers changed; sometimes you just need a place to sit down and collapse for half an hour....and there's just no place for these needs.

- 2nd Lady: That's really true. What about including a place with a nursery...with diaper changing facilities?
- Man: What about a place for people to lie down and take a rest? Little sound proof cubicles with disposable paper sheets, where for a small fee you could take an hour's nap.
- Lady: What about the office girl who needs to change for a big date and can't go home?
- 2nd. Lady: That's true, now my daughter....
- Man: Maybe we should consider a small shop where you could buy toiletries if you needed them; things like aspirin, bromoseltzer, lipstick...
- Drew: (Slightly dazed by all these suggestions.) Hold it. I mean, wait a minute. The model I have here is a simple structure, functional in design.
- Comm: Mem: Well, let's not limit ourselves to your design. This is a citizens committee. We represent groups from all over the city; we're here to think progressively. That's what planning is, isn't it?
- Committee members give various nods and comments of assent.
- Mrs. Grey: Oh, my, isn't participation in democracy wonderful!
- Owlsley: Yes, we should certainly think of this facility as more than a structure....as a place for people to meet.
- Committee members sit back, embarrassed and uncomfortable.
- Lady: Maybe we should also organize volunteers to act as mothers' aids. You know, to make sure the place is always clean and pleasant, and ah, SAFE.
- Drew: I'll take up your suggestions. But we must remember we're limited in design and cost.

Chris: It looks like we're also limited in time; it's well past 9:30. Next week, why don't I bring along a list of criteria which might be helpful in making the decision. Mark Kachin, the chief planning officer, might also pay a visit to discuss some of the various aspects of planning.

Lady: Oh, that would be very helpful.

Chris: Okay then, meeting's adjourned.

The group goes out in groups of two and three.

Drew: My god, a public toilet with a diaper changing service, stores, nap facilities....all in one lousy john. (Pauses for a moment and then with enthusiasm.) Hey! That's a really cool idea. In England the train stations have places where you can have your suit dry cleaned, or pressed, while you take a shower. We could really make something out of this. Just think. That'd mean the building would have to be larger and you know what that means?

Chris: (Unable to comprehend this rush of enthusiasm) What?

Drew: Architecture! Design! A building that would make a statement...a contribution! Yeah! (Goes off into a private reveries contemplating the joys of these pleasant thoughts.)

Chris: Ah, Drew old boy. You forgot one thing. Drew? Are you listening? Drew?

Drew: Whaa?

Chris: Budget.

Drew: What budget?

Chris: That's the point. What budget?

Drew: Oh. (Pause.) Slipped my mind.

Chris: How're we going to tell that to the committee?

Drew: Wrong. How're we going to tell this to the Mayor?

Chris: The Mayor? What's he got to do with it?

Drew: Established the committee....theoretically to provide political backing for the comfort station, but more important, to get nickels from the Feds.

for urban renewal. But he wasn't thinking of parting with any municipal cash on this thing...especially since the tax return from a public job is minus zero. At the same time he's got this great white progressive face to protect. He may gas out his profound love for our little planning agency, but as he sees it, we're here to be used. We're not supposed to create rhubarbs like this for him to get out of.

Chris: Oh, jesus. You're probably right. What will Mark say? What should we do?

Drew: Think, baby, think.

End, Act II, Scene I.

## ACT II

## Scene 2

Time: Next day.

Place: Planning office.

Charlotte is at her typewriter. Starchy is at work at his desk trying to fit his data into a mathematical model; he periodically goes to a blackboard placed in the center, up-stage, to write down a formula. Chris is standing by the file cabinet next to Charlotte's desk. The door to Mark's office is closed.

Chris: (To Charlotte.) Have you ever felt you've committed a crime, but you're not sure what it is?

Charlotte: Crime? What kind of crime?

Chris: Have you ever stolen a moment of someone's time?

Charlotte: (Stops typing and walks over to Chris, checking his eyes by lifting his lids.) When was your last checkup?

Chris: I mean about last night. When they started adding all those things to the john, I was absolutely non-plussed. Everything's so ridiculously wrong. For a type of person like Mark...well, he's got better things to do. We're all....just stealing his time.

Starchy: (Throwing up his papers in desperation.) These figures! No fit! No solution!

Chris: Well, how much data did you get?

Charlotte: Fifteen "no's", 75 "no comments", and 30 "arrests"!

Chris: Surely, after being on the streets for just an hour you couldn't get any statistically valid data?

Starchy: Limited data is a common planning problem. I've just got to work with what I have.

Chris: That's not limited, that's an absolute famine.

Starchy: (Goes to the blackboard.) Now, I've broken down the problem as follows: Under need we have four

categories: (Begins writing as he recites this aloud, slowly.)

Need

Subliminal  
Postponable  
Urgent  
Desperate

Now, we want to correlate need with location. (Steps back, thinks for a minute, and writes as he says:) Let  $x$  stand for location,  $u$  for need,  $u_1$ ,  $u_2$ ,  $u_3$ ... and...

Drew emerges from Mark's office and signals to Chris to go in.

Drew: (Whisper.) Play it soft. Lost my cools in telling him all the things the committee wants. Tell him how united the committee is...you know, more cohesive...That might make it sound better.

Chris nods, goes into Mark's office and closes the door.

Starchy: Now if we let  $p$  represent distance....

Drew: (Takes up Chris's position beside Charlotte's desk and starts examining the nearest plant.) The original botch job. We set our guns on getting a ten year development plan and get battered like... (Pause.) Maybe we're not making the right war dances.

Starchy: Then if  $r$  is a function of  $x$ ....

Charlotte: So you've got a toilet the size of the Pentagon?

Drew: Nah, not the Pentagon...lousy design. But I feel like a rat. Only reason I'm in this act is to fight the old man. Hell, with a rep like his, I'd just be an afterthought in architecture.

Charlotte: As an afterthought, inheriting his money and his firm, won't be so difficult, will it?

Drew: Hell, no. So the game's rigged. Some win, some lose. For me, this is temporary; for Chris, well, he'll always be happy if he can make someone feel good. But Mark can hang the moon. Capable, conscientious, original. If there's a job to be done, he'll do it. And well....while I...

Charlotte: Re-arrange the office.

Drew looks at her sharply and is about to reply when Starchy screams in desperation from across the room.

Starchy: U over p!

Drew falls against the file cabinet as if he's been knifed in the chest.

Drew: The final blow! All my life...it's been...  
Drew over-tips, Drew over-dresses, Drew over-pays.  
The mortal wound! (Slides down the file cabinet to the floor and lies sideways facing the audience with his hand on his chest.) I over-pee!

Starchy looks blankly from his position at the blackboard and then comes forward to the front of the stage with a note pad and pencil and steps over Drew's body.

Starchy: (Facing the audience and thinking aloud.) I over p? Hmm. Possible. (Returns, stepping over Drew and goes to the blackboard.) Now let's see, if distance is a function of desperation.

Drew: Wrong. Desperation is a function of distance.

Starchy: Why this sudden interest?

Drew: My moment of truth! I've found my place in life.

Chris and Mark emerge from the office.

Chris: (Peering over Drew's body.) Moment of truth?

Drew: (Getting up.) No longer need I fight the weight of my father's reputation. Gone is the desire to be a success in city design. (Gets up on a chair.) Hear ye! hear ye! Society has a new problem to consider! Over-pee, like over-kill, is a major factor to contend with in planning. I know. I am an authority! (Waves his hand as if giving a political oration.) Starchy says so!

Mark: Before you write your next text-book on the subject, sit down.

The three take their seats around the drafting table.

- Starchy: (Still at the blackboard writing formulas, mumbles:) Postponable...correlate that with the number of bars.
- Drew: Number of beers.
- Mark: We are getting further and further from our objective. Obviously the Citizen's Committee is not aware nor concerned with long-range planning. If we're going to get the community to accept our ten year development plan, stronger measures are necessary.
- Charlotte: Stronger measures?
- Mark: We'll adopt Chris's suggestion. They're more cohesive as a group now. We'll have to conscientiously follow a program of educating them to see problems in the context of the city....the planner's overall view.
- Drew: What are you going to do? Hold classes? Seven to nine every Tuesday night, ladies and gentlemen, the planning board will tell you how lousy your city is....
- Mark: Here's the proposal. We'll make up our list of criteria and we will accompany the Citizens Committee on a tour of each of the four wards to show them how to choose a location.
- Chris: Say, that's a good idea. That way they'll see the logic of planning.
- Charlotte: Maybe you'll also let them see the plan you've devised? One you just happen to have around?
- Mark: The final decision must always rest with the political body. We won't try to influence them. We'll educate. Charlotte, do you have those letters ready? Drew, you make up a list of prospective locations. Starchy,....
- Chris: I'll inform the Citizens Committee and try to bring them down to earth.
- Starchy: Let's see...access by car, bus, subway...hmmm, subliminal.....now, divide....
- Mark: Maybe we'll wait for Starchy's data.
- Drew: I have a feeling it's not going to pacify the gods.

Mark: Charlotte, the letters...

Charlotte: Sign here...on the thin line between a technical  
advisor and a political manipulator.

End, Act II, Scene 2.

## ACT II

## Scene 3

- Time:** The following week.
- Place:** The four wards. The stage is divided into four sections, each theoretically representing one ward. Two major highways intersecting at right angles separate the sections of the stage. Group enters and crosses the stage toward the right rear from a left entrance to emphasise the necessity of crossing the highway. The group consists of Mark, Chris, Drew and the Citizens Committee.
- The group stops at the first traffic light.
- Chris:** Okay. We can cross now. (They cross in groups of twos and threes.)
- Mark:** Now from the standpoint of our work, as planners, this area....
- Core:** What he means to say is that this is the Negro area, one of the few places in the city where those who weren't born with the honor of being white can live.
- L. of W. Voters:** Dear me, that house is slanted, I mean it's going to collapse....any minute.
- Core:** The first reason for locating the comfort station here is that the people who live here are poor. They're the ones that need it the most.
- L. of W. Voters:** Heavens to Betsy, oh look at that child. Where's its mother? It could have been killed....playing in the streets.
- Core:** That kid lives in the streets....where its life is determined by a lottery.
- Chris:** In our planning, we've taken the lack of recreation space into consideration....
- Business'mn:** You're right. Use this site for a playground. Bad choice for the comfort station. Too inconvenient for shoppers.
- Mark:** Actually, that point brings up another aspect of

planning. The traffic pattern may be one criterion to use in deciding on the location, but remember, the traffic pattern can be altered....with planning.

- Core: Yeah, we've heard about the recreation complex...for years....but the city's never come through. But this area also needs a public john. A lot of these houses don't have plumbing.
- Woman: No plumbing! The city should get after the landlords.
- Core: No landlord's going to put any dough into a house like that.
- Woman: Then the city should tear them down!
- Core: Where would the people go?
- Woman: (Thinks for a minute.) Why, to other housing.... I guess.
- Core: Lady, with an income of \$220 a month and five kids, you can't even breath.
- 2nd. Lady: This is outrageous. Something should be done for these people.
- Drew: In our plan....
- Minister: The church has been concerned with the poor for years. Didn't Christ say, the poor you will always have with you. We just built some housing for low-income groups over in....
- Core: You won't let members of your congregation in it, will you? Afraid you'll be embarrassed if they can't pay their rents.
- Minister: That's not the case at all...
- Core: That is the case. Sorry to peek at your cards, Reverend. This area also needs schools, new schools, clean schools, new teachers....
- Mark: Excuse me. To return to our criteria for locating the....
- Businessm'n: The school board is a different issue...
- Woman: Can't someone ask the Mayor for a new playground here?
- Core: And new schools? Go ahead. Say it. You don't want your school taxes raised; you don't want....

Chris: We've established four criteria of need: subliminal, postponable...

Businessm'n: Bad traffic pattern here.

Core: You can change the traffic pattern. We need that comfort station.

Drew: Maybe we should, ah, move on to the other sites before....so we can look at everything objectively.

Chris: That's what the Committee's established for... to look at the total picture before making a decision.

Businessm'n: Back to your criteria. This location would only answer the subliminal and postponable needs...for the general population who would have to come out of their way...

Chris: Now you're talking about the city. In this site we're considering the neighborhood..

Mark: That's an important distinction and one which should be kept in mind as we look at all of the sites. Now, shall we take a look at the other sections?

Whole group goes toward the upper right of the stage, stopping for the light. While waiting.)

Mark: This next area is the older business district. Since the war it's been slowly declining but as planners...

1st Bus'man: If we put the comfort station here, it would help revive the little shops. A lot of them are having trouble making ends meet. You know what I mean...the buildings are old and this highway here has separated it from the newer business section.

Group crosses the street to the older business section.

L. of W.

Voters: Why, I've forgotten. You're right. Since they put that highway in, I haven't shopped down here in years, simply years.

Minister: Might be a good idea to give a little sparkle to this place.

- 2nd Bus'man: Let's not forget the natural trend of business; the market forces have moved the business district to the upper end of town.
- Chris: In our planning we've taken this....
- Core: If we're going to make a choice between a neighborhood john...comfort station, and a city one. This would be best for the city.
- L. of W.  
Voters: Why?
- Core: For one thing, it's the only area where the poorer people can afford to shop and for a second...
- 2nd Bus'man: But we have to think of the whole city, not just one group....
- 1st Bus'man: The whole city could use it here, too. These are old buildings but they're still usable. A new spark of life..
- Mark: Shall we return to our criteria....
- L. of W.  
Voters: If it weren't for that highway, this location would answer all four criteria....but unfortunately, if you're shopping up near Saks (remembers herself.) I mean, in the upper business district, and if it's urgent, or even desperate, well...
- 2nd Bus'man: She's right there. This wouldn't handle the greater needs of the larger numbers of people.
- Mark: You're really talking about two different things; locating the comfort station and reviving this area. As planners....
- Minister: Mark's got a point there. Let's start being more rational. This location wouldn't mean any real major alterations in the traffic pattern...
- Owlsley: When we talk of traffic, are we talking about cars or are we talking about people as pedestrians?
- Mark: Good distinction...
- Owlsley: Because it's a hell of a long walk from the entertainment section to this place.
- Mark: Depending on what you decide, the planning department could do traffic studies of both factors.

- 2nd Bus'man: I think you'll find that the greater number of pedestrians are going to the newer business districts.
- Core: Oh shove it. You only want the john so you can put more green cotton in your till.
- 2nd Bus'man: I'm thinking of the city. You're only thinking of your little nine by twelve neighborhood, you're talking about schools....
- Mark: (Quickly.) Now that we've had a chance to look at this site, let's go on over to the park.
- Drew: That was the original site.
- Group again waits for the light and crosses the street.
- Chris: The community has requested a facility for this park for years.
- Minister: Right. And it would mean a lot more people would use the park.
- L. of W. Voters: But if we're going to have all those nice little things we thought of, like a place to change babies' diapers...it is a little out of the way.
- Chris: There certainly is a need for a public facility here...
- 2nd Bus'man: What about the traffic? The volume of use?
- Core: This is too far for the Negroes to use, as a park or a facility. I mean to say, there is de facto segregation at this area.
- 2nd Bus'man: If you're going to talk about integration, maybe we should talk about a john that's really integrated ....everybody goes together. None of this segregation by sex.
- Lady: Oh, dear.
- Mark: In planning we always assume there are certain social mores which should be followed...
- Core: Social mores! I suppose segregation is an assumed social more!

- Chris: Not at all! We...
- Mark: In planning, we think of the whole city, of everybody's needs...consider the total picture. Let me tell you a bit about our plan for Grandview.
- 2nd Bus'man: Now, just a minute. We did decide we would consider all four locations. Let's do that.
- Minister: Objectively speaking, what can we say about a location in the park?
- Lady: It wouldn't serve the whole city.
- Owlsley: Dark at night. Too far from the commercial area.
- Drew: Lighting's no problem.
- Minister: There isn't a church for miles.
- Man: How long are your sermons?
- Mark: Okay then, let's have a look at the newer business district.
- Group attempts to re-cross the intersection, and in the process of doing this, is divided into two groups. While both groups wait for the light to change again, they stare at each other across the highway.
- Man: This highway is dangerous. You take your life in your hands when you try to cross it.
- Lady: It does divide the city into four sections. That's one of the reasons why we can't really evaluate each site. All the areas are different.
- Latter half of the group finally crosses the street.
- 2nd Bus'man: Since this is my territory, I'll give you the objective reasons for locating this comfort station here. When mothers come to town with children, they come to shop, don't they? Office girls work here...
- 1st Bus'man: They also work in the older area.
- 2nd Bus'man: It's near the train station, where people would need to change their clothes and have a shower...
- Lady: But the other area is just as close to the bus-stop for the airport....

Core: You're only shooting for extra sales....

Minister: Inner peace will aid us in making this decision....

Lady: But...mothers' helpers....

Mark: Now, we have four criteria.....

2nd Bus'man: More pedestrians come to this area....

Owlsley: Nearer the bars, that's something to consider....

Drew: Calm down, calm down. That's right. Quiet everybody.

Mark: Remember, we're just looking at these areas. We'll probably want to do more studies before making a decision. Let's also remember there are other factors, such as cost...

Lady: I know! I know!  
Everyone looks at her with interest.

Man: Know what?

Lady: I know where we should locate it! There! Right there!

Mark: Right where?

Lady: The intersection!

Chris:  
Mark: (Together.) The intersection?  
Drew:

Lady: Why not? Oh, it's such a good idea. Then everyone could use it...from all four wards!

Chris: But, but, but what about the traffic?

Lady: That's what you planners are for, isn't it? To solve traffic problems?

Drew: (Incredulous.) The intersection!

Minister: She's right. It is exactly in the center of all four areas.

L. of W.  
Voters: Much more, it would be a tie between the four areas. As it is now, we're all so separate. Like

today...I saw problems I never knew existed.

- Chris: That's what planners are for...to tell the community about their problems and how to solve them. Now, we have a plan....
- Core: What's with this plan jazz? You said you were going to give us a playground?
- Mark: As a matter of fact...
- Core: Housing?
- 2nd Bus'man: Revive the commercial area?
- Mark: I'd be more than glad to show it to you. Let me first bring your attention back a minute to the comfort station location. Now, it's really not a good idea from the standpoint of cost to locate it here....
- Drew: For one thing, you won't have much area. What you've been talking about would demand an area like the pentagon site.
- Lady: Why not vertical?
- Drew: A vertical pentagon?
- Lady: No, just make it taller. I think we should have a vote right now. (Claps her hands.) Yes, let's vote. I make a motion we locate the comfort station right here in the intersection.
- 2nd Bus'man: Now, not so fast. What about the other areas?... the market forces?...the pattern of traffic?
- Lady: The planners will take care of that. They just said they have a plan...
- Chris: It may have to be considerably revised if you ah, choose this ah, spot.
- Lady: I think it is the best solution. It's the only one we could ever agree on. Let's vote.
- Core: I'd like to see that plan.
- Lady: Let's vote.
- Minister: Well, if you have a plan which takes in all the needs of all the people....

- Mark: Just a minute, everyone. Why don't we have a look at our plan before you locate the comfort station. In this way we could look at the city as a whole, as it is and as it's projected to grow. When you've looked at the total picture, you may want to reconsider some of the other locations.
- 2nd Bus'man: Like the newer business district.
- Core: Let's hear about the plan?
- Mark: We try to separate the human bias from a problem, by looking at a problem in a less personal way. For example, we use mathematical models and statistics from a census book to see what the population was in the past and how it is now. We use these in mathematical models to project some of the possibilities for growth. And, at a very simple level, we might rank problems in order of their seriousness. We will give a weighting to each problem.
- Core: A weighting?
- Mark: On the basis of certain criteria, we establish what problems are the most critical, the next most important, and so on down the line.
- Core: You deal the cards?
- Mark: We don't look at it that way. We simply separate problems as to their importance by a numerical value.
- Core: You load the dice? How does our neighborhood stack up in your cards?
- Mark: I can't be precise in answering that. If you mean do we recognize the fact that you have poor housing, that there is a need for a play area for the children, we do. It's in the plan.
- Businessman: Maybe we should look at that plan.
- Lady: Let's vote.
- Core: (Looks from the 2nd Businessman to Mark and back to the Businessman.) Let's vote now.
- Lady: All in favor?
- Chris: But the cost factor...

- Lady: All opposed?
- Drew: The traffic pattern....
- Lady: The ays have it. And you know what else I think we should have?
- Mark: Now, let's not consider this decision final. Let's consider it as a topic for further study....
- Lady: Let's have a board of esthetics. All the more progressive cities have them. It's like our planning board, a necessity for the future beauty of the city.
- Minlster: Esthetics board?
- Drew: For what?
- Lady: The comfort station. Why not? Modern architecture is all so, ah, new. For people like us, it really is hard to tell what is good architecture and what isn't....we should have some experts decide.
- Man: Why not?
- L. of W.  
Voters: Heavens, why not?
- Mark: Maybe I can clarify a few points for the committee. An esthetics board is only formed where there is an architectural competition for a building.
- L. of W.  
Voters: Let's have an architectural competition then.
- Mark: Architectural competitions are usually only held for expensive buildings; the cost to run the competition is high, and the architect must hope to recoup some of the money spent on the design through the construction of an expensive building. Our budget is so limited, non-existent in fact; I'm afraid we just can't use it.
- Owlsley: Oh, why not. The visual arts are always ignored in our dirty old cities. We think only of profit and function; there's no place for beauty in our modern world.
- Lady: He's right.
- 1st Bus'man: Maybe we could have Drew here, who's an architect, do the design. Save the city money that way.

Minister: The board of esthetics could choose from his designs.

L. of W.

Voters: Let's vote. Is everyone in favor? The motion's passed.

Mark: Who's going to appoint this board?

2nd Bus'man: Why not the Mayor? He appointed us, didn't he?

Man: Sort of gives you a comfortable feeling to know we're doing the right thing with our city. Hadn't thought about it before. Good thing, planning.

Core: Only if you're card's the Ace. I'll be in to see that plan, Mark.

The group begins to break up.

L. of W.

Voters: Why don't we all go out for coffee.

2nd Lady: What a good idea. I'd like to get to know everyone better....

Man: Fine idea. Won't the planners join us?

Mark: If you don't mind, we'd like to spend a minute to look over the site.

Chris: New problems we hadn't thought of.

Drew: Thanks anyway.

As the committee leaves, the three sit down on a curb.

Chris: (Looks uneasily at Mark.) Don't say it. You were right. Citizens don't help...

Mark: I'm not so sure I was right...

Drew: Can you imagine, designing a public john like the Washington Monument.

Chris: In the middle of an intersection. Wait until Starchy hears that.

Drew: (Laughing.) Wait until the Mayor hears that.

- Mark: Why laugh? We may be city employees but we're not on civil service.
- Drew: Hmm. True.
- Chris: But he did set up the Citizens Committee. If he'd just have accepted our plan at the beginning...
- Mark: When he chose that little eight stall john for urban renewal funding...who was he kidding? Us. What did the city have to lose? They had to provide the facility anyway. It was just a matter of which ward would get it and the Mayor, being a sly chameleon, passed that decision on to us and the Citizens Committee would be used to support our decision. Facts are facts. If that facility was to represent the city's share of an urban renewal project, the only thing the government would have provided was a few trees to shade it; new water pipes to flush it.
- Chris: You don't think the Mayor wanted urban renewal after all?
- Mark: I know he's not going to like this john idea.
- Chris: (Gets up and starts walking around.) You were right, Mark, and I was wrong. Too many cooks spoil the broth. Citizens should be kept out of the planning process. Opportunities for democratic participation are good in the abstract, but (looks at the intersection.) when it gets down to making decisions....
- Mark: I'm not so sure I was right, though.
- Chris: Huh?
- Mark: After all, the citizens really want it. They're committed to that john.
- Drew: But people don't always know what's best for them. Look at their taste in architecture..
- Mark: Maybe they were more objective than we were...given the problem as they saw it, the intersection was the only compromise.
- Chris: But that's not logical planning!
- Mark: It has a certain kind of logic in it. Operational logic in terms of different desires.

All three begin to get up.

Chris: What do you think the Mayor will do when he hears?

Drew: Nothing.

Chris: But he established the committee, what can he do now?

Mark: Ride out the storm like a willow tree in the wind.

Drew: Let's check out Owlsley's bars. Have to verify if desperation is a function of distance.

All three cross the intersection after waiting for two traffic lights.

End, Act II, Scene 3.

## ACT III

## Scene I

Time: A month later.

Place: The planning office.

Charlotte is at her desk typing as she talks. Drew is busy at the drafting table working on his models which are partly hidden from the audience by a large piece of cardboard. While Drew talks, he cuts little pieces of cardboard and places them on the models, occasionally stepping back to view his work.

Drew: Tonite's scene should be a gasser. An esthetics board! It's an architect's dream. Imagine having your own one man show! No matter which they choose, I win!

Charlotte: As a Christian, you have no charity.

Drew: How so?

Charlotte: To inflict those buildings on our fair city!

Drew: (Steps back and looks at them.) I've seen worse.... On a larger budget, too.

Charlotte: Thank god for limited budgets. They are not only ugly, they're putridly ugly.

Drew: Ugliness, in architecture, may be a sign of genius. Anyway, as long as they notice it, you've got it made. This building isn't the kind of thing you can ignore.

Charlotte: If it gets built.

Drew: So? Even if it doesn't. Just think. You know who'll be on that committee? (Starts thinking.) Two, um, maybe three, no, more likely only two professors from the University's School of Architecture. Then, maybe one outside architect, probably from New York, a couple of good local ones....

Charlotte: And your father I suppose. I can see it now. Conwell Watson congratulates his son on building the second ugliest, no, the ugliest....

- Drew: At least the largest...
- Charlotte: Public toilet In the United States.
- Drew: Nah, the old man won't make the scene. People would smell that In Outer Mongolia.
- Charlotte: Who is on it?
- Drew: Don't know yet. Bet Mark's got the word. (Steps back and looks at his work again.) I wish the space constraint wasn't so restrictive. Did I tell you I've decided to submit only two models?
- Charlotte: Two more than necessary. Mark still In his office? Haven't seen him since this morning.
- Drew: You know for the lizard that I am, I wish he wasn't bleeding so badly. That buddha face hides a real disappointment.
- Charlotte gets up and starts re-stacking the master-plans on the files at the back of the stage.
- Drew: After tonite's minsirelshow, beatitudes on democracy, the formal announcement of the john, the Mayor will give the glad hand, congrats all around, raise the bugle call for more studies from the planners.... and flush the whole thing down the nearest toilet.
- Charlotte: With what you've got there, It may not be a bad Idea.
- Drew: Yeah, but that's the final eclipse of Mark's plan. A reulem for a planner who could hang the moon.
- Drew starts taking down the cardboard which surrounds his models. At this point, Mark comes out of his office.
- Drew: Shoot me the architects on the board and I'll tell you which one they'll choose. If it's...
- Mark: Don't take your fall from glory too hard. Here's the list. (Hands a list to Drew and glances at Charlotte who is still re-arranging the master-plans.) What are you doing?
- Drew: A psychiatrist! A doctor! A businessman! Oh, jesus, enough worms to fill a drunkard's grave. A general, and the final fossil, a minister.

Mark: These the final models?

Drew: There they stand.

Mark: Only two?

Drew: What choice do you have with a site like that... rectangular or circular. Actually, I was thinking...

Chris enters the office. His eyes immediately focus on the models.

Chris: My god, what is that? (Points to one of the buildings) One more detail and you'll have the city sued for pornography.

Charlotte: Or fallacious advertising.

Drew: So? Look at the Washington Monument.

Mark: It doesn't matter. Nothing matters at this point. Here's the agenda.. Be at the meeting room, at least a half hour early, say 7:30. Chris, you stand around and help the guests be seated...

Charlotte: How large a crowd do you expect?

Mark: Can't say, but with all the newspapers building this thing up, might be as many as 200. Drew, you get your models there, on-stage before people arrive. The Mayor will handle the whole procedure....I may be asked to say few things on planning which should border.....

Chris: What do you think you'll say if they ask?

Charlotte: (Takes up a masterplan, opens it and reads from the first page.) Planning is a method for shaping the present and future growth of the physical environment of the city. (Closes book and starts going toward her desk.) But unfortunately, cities involve people. Since man is not a rational animal....

Chris: Come off it.

Charlotte ignores him and leaves the office on an errand.

Chris: Even if she is a Negro, I think you should fire her anyway.

Mark: Fire who?

- Chris: Charlotte.
- Mark: Why? I never think of Charlotte as a Negro. I think of her as a very fine person and a competent secretary.
- Chris: But she's disrespectful, sarcastic and she constantly makes rotten comments on everything you do.
- Mark: Most of her opinions reflect very sound thinking. She's entitled to express her ideas, just as any human being is. I've never considered firing Charlotte and I'm surprised you asked.
- Charlotte returns to the office and again begins moving the masterplans.
- Mark: Don't bother with those masterplans. After tonite, they'll all be chucked tomorrow.
- Chris: You don't think the Mayor will....
- Mark: Why not? All he asked for was an eight stall wash-room and we've used all our expertise, our methods and our studies to come up with a twenty-seven story tribute to the plumbing industry....
- Chris: But the Citizens Committee has come to believe in us. That representative of Core was in here just yesterday discussing....
- Mark: Everyone believed in us. The Mayor believed we would keep him out of hot water, the City Council believed we would solve their inter-ward politics for them, and I believed in us...that we could help Grandview solve its problems. Only goes to show you, don't believe too hard in yourself .....or anything...
- Charlotte: If you believe so much in your plan, why don't you fight?
- Mark: Fight who? What?
- Charlotte: The Mayor. Call him up. Go to City Council. Tell them how important your plan is. Do something.
- Mark: Somewhere you have to take a stand on your own principles. I've already gotten too involved as it is. I am only a technician and an advisor. Planners should not become politically involved.

- Charlotte: If you're not willing to fight for your ideas, what good is your planning?
- Mark: (Gets up, goes to the coat rack and puts on his hat.) Maybe the planning profession today is like the Church in history, accepted where ever it's politically expedient, dumped when it isn't. See you tonite. (Leaves.)
- Chris: Goddamn it. All our efforts. (Goes over and starts placing the papers on his desk in order, thinks for a minute and turns to Charlotte and Drew.) Do you really think the Mayor will dump the plan?
- Charlotte: Why not? Anything we propose to do will upset somebody. In an election year, when you want to be governor, you don't want the least insect to be unhappy.
- Chris: But our plan is part of his progressive image. It shows he's doing something for the city.
- Charlotte: Also shows what he hasn't done. Ammunition.
- Chris: Say, where's Starchy?
- Drew: The turncoat's incommunicado behind enemy lines.
- Charlotte: Entrenched in the highway department.
- Drew: Making up war plans. He's going to demonstrate that locating the john in the intersection is illogical. Statistics as heavy artillery.
- Charlotte: He's going to show that those highways are necessary for national defense.
- Chris: You mean, he's siding with the Mayor?
- Drew: Don't think he looks at it that way. He thinks he's siding with the highway department. C'est la guerre!
- Charlotte: What about a counter attack? You could say you've got a twenty seven story bomb shelter!
- Chris: Oh, Jesus. Poor Mark. Well, see you tonite...at the trial.
- Drew: (Starts packing his models.) I feel lower than a purple snail. Whatever happens tonite...I win. A name for myself as an architect, with a building which fortunately won't get built to haunt me later.

But there's Mark....he's got principles from the marrow out. (Slams a box closed.) And in a world with lice like me...that's hard to find.

Charlotte: How would the louse like to become a gadfly?

Drew: Don't get you?

Charlotte motions him toward the stack of masterplans.

End, Act III, Scene I.

## ACT III

## Scene 2

**Time:** That evening.

**Place:** A public meeting room. The esthetics board, with the Mayor in the center, is seated along a table facing the audience. A stage audience composed of the Citizens Committee and other people are seated with their backs to the audience, facing the board. As the scene opens, the Mayor rises to speak.

**Mayor:** Ladies and gentlemen, tonite we are here to choose a design for the comfort station which our Citizens Committee, with the aid of the Planning Board, has drawn up for our community. Let me first introduce the esthetics board.

As the Mayor introduces each person, they rise and give a slight bow.

**Mayor:** First, Reverend Brian McManus, pastor of the North Grandview Episcopal Church; Mr. Scott Burrow Hamilton, president of Grandview's First National Bank; Dr. Robert Parker, director of the Department of Internal Medicine at the Hospital; General Ward Nelson, who has chosen to retire here in the city of his birth; Dr. Kurt Wachenheim, a, ah, psychiatrist whose work here at the University's Department for Research in Visual Perception is all well known to you. Finally, of course, Rabbi Schwartz. (Pauses.) The architect of the two models of the comfort station will discuss the structure with the Committee and with you, the people for whom it was designed. Mr. Drew Watson.

**Drew:** Members of the board, honorable Mayor, ladies and gentlemen. As you know, the design of the structure was shaped by the limited ground space in the middle of the intersection. In view of the Citizens Committee's wonderful recommendations for additions to this facility, and the projected needs, I mean number of people who would need, I mean want to utilize this building, I have selected two design types for the building; the first is essentially rectilinear; the second circular....as you can see.

- Hamilton: Excuse me, Mr. Watson, how many stories has the building; can't see very well from the model.
- Drew: Twenty-seven.
- Parker: Could you give us a breakdown of the facilities by floor?
- Drew: Certainly. The first two stories will be devoted to parking, with underground access. The third floor will contain a series of shops: pharmacy, beauty salon, magazine stand, etc. Pedestrian access ramps will connect the third floor to the streets. These ramps will go over the highways to each of the four corners of the intersection.
- Gen'l Nelson: What about other types of access? Subways, bus? In case of an emergency....
- Drew: Forgot to mention that we have a subway stop and bus stop underground and the top story will contain a helicopter landing pad.
- Gen'l Nelson: Optimum utilization. Good man. Quick access to the air.
- Drew: Now, on the fourth floor we have a series of rooms for nursery type activities; a place to change diapers, low sinks for small children....other types of facilities for young ones. These rooms also contain bottle-warmers and basins large enough to bathe a small child.
- Parker: That was very good planning. Kids are better than vacuum cleaners for picking up dirt.
- Drew: Floors five through twenty six contain, of course, the ah, usual wash room facilities, divided by floor for men and women. There are also rooms with cubicles for people to take naps.
- Wachenheim: A revolutionary idea. Few people realize, the trauma, the psychological distress our urban living subjects us to.
- Drew: Oh, yes, Dr. Parker, you'll be interested to know that on the ninth floor we have a first aid station which includes special oxygen masks for people who are overcome by air pollution.
- Parker: I've always said planners were essential for any

modern city.

Drew: Let's see. Oh, yes, then there are two floors, one each for men and women, where they can shower while having their clothes pressed.

Committee nods their heads in assent.

Drew: We have included a cosmetic shop on these floors for both men and women....

Hamilton: Right, nothing disturbs a woman more than to be caught without her mascara.

Drew: Now, let's see, is that all...

Minister McManus raises his hand.

Drew: Oops, almost forgot. There's a small chapel on the fifteenth floor.

McManus: Succor for the wayfaring traveler.

Schwartz: What denomination is it?

Drew: Ah. (Pause.) Non-denominational...that's what it is. I mean, at this stage of our design studies we haven't really considered...but I guess we could have a cross on one wall...a Star of David on a second wall...and, ah, the third wall would be blank.

McManus: Blank?

Drew: For religious agnostics. (Quickly.) Of course the details will all be decided later. Have we covered everything?

Schwartz: That takes us up to the twenty fifth floor. What next?

Drew: The restaurant....on the twenty sixth floor we'll have a restaurant with a panoramic view of the city.

Hamilton: Marvelous idea, marvelous.

Drew: Then on the top floor we'll have the helicopter landing pad, and of course, a receiving station.

Gen'l Nelson: Why not put a red light beacon on the top. Serve as a weather barometer and a guide for aircraft.

- Drew: (Looking dubiously at his circular model.) Well, maybe we should, ah, decide on the design, before we add some ah, frills.
- Mayor: Very good idea. Shall we turn our attention to the architect's designs.
- Drew: (Lifts rectilinear model.) Now this design would fit in well with the surrounding architecture... the essentially linear forms....
- Hamilton: Let's have a look at that circular one. We haven't got a circular building in Grandview.
- Drew: But this model is more homogeneous...
- McManus: I'm also more inclined toward that other one... post-modern gothic.
- Hamilton: More modern in appearance.
- Wachenheim: Yes, yes, we must have the circular one. Society has finally come to realize its essential nature ....the true drives of mankind, the basic functional..
- Parker: It does look functional.
- Gen'l Nelson: The driving dynamism of a modern missile.
- Drew: But the rectilinear....
- Hamilton: I guess we all agree, don't we, that we favor the circular form. Essentially a better design.
- Drew: But,..but...
- Mayor: Then can I say the committee unanimously accepts the circular design?
- Esthetic board nods in agreement; audience claps.
- Mayor: Friends, I want to, and I'm sure the audience joins me in thanking you gentlemen for coming here tonight to help us choose a design for the comfort station.
- Audience again claps.
- Mayor: I also want to thank both our planning staff and our Citizens Committee for their kind, considerate, and studious attention to the development of this fine idea. All that remains now is for us to get

federal funding for this project. I'd like to be able to say, fellow citizens, that we could start this project tomorrow, but you are all aware of the long and tedious work that goes into any proposal for Washington...any proposal, and more so for something as creative and dynamic as this. Now, don't let me detract in anyway from the significance of this new comfort station, but I just want you to adjust your hopes a little lower than those twenty seven stories, to see the ground on which anything like this is built...

Mem: of  
Audience:

Question, your honor.

Mayor:

Did someone say something?

Mem. of  
Audience:

Yes sir. I was going to ask you to give us a few words on how this comfort station relates to the masterplan which the Planning Office developed.

Mayor:

Masterplan?

Mem. of  
Audience:

(Holds one up, as do other members of the audience.) This one. (Another member of the audience goes up to the stage and hands one to the Mayor.) The one that was handed out at the beginning by that young woman in the rear.

Audience turns around toward Charlotte, standing right front stage, facing the Mayor. As the Mayor sees her, Charlotte gives a small bow.

Mayor:

Oh, yes. This masterplan. Ah, This masterplan represents the hopes and dreams of the residents of Grandview for a secure future. I hadn't intended to, ah, announce it just yet, but as you can see it shows what Grandview can be, if we all work together, as we have here with this ah, comfort station, to ah, achieve a better future.

End, Act III, Scene 2.

## ACT III

## Scene 3

Time: A year later.

Place: The intersection. The scene opens to a dark stage, dominated by what appears to be the lower floors of a circular building. Sharp lighting, similar to street lighting brings part of the building in focus. Neon lights in the distance and the sound of passing cars signify that the site is near a busy road. The distance of the lights indicates that the building is somewhat isolated from other buildings.

The sound of screeching brakes and honking horns is heard. Mark enters from the right in a hopping, running jump. He pauses, brushes the corner of his pants, pulls his coat back into position and slowly brings to walk around the building, glancing up at it every now and then. As he begins to disappear to the other side, the sound of screeching brakes and honking horns is again heard.

Drew: (Distant voice) Ah, shut up. (Another horn is heard.) All right. All right, quit your honking. (He enters the stage from the left, muttering.)

Drew: Goddamn cars. (Adjusts his T-square, maps and papers which he is carrying.)

Mark: (Coming into view from the right corner of the building.) Why don't you use the overhead passageway, Buddy? What do you think it's there for?

Drew: Hey man. You made the scene. Don't knock that passage way. It ranks among the most useless devices ever created by America's famous new young architect....

Mark: Famous or Infamous? "Men who love buildings are their own undoing and need no other enemies."  
Marcus Cassius.

The two meet in center stage.

Mark: Dubious honor to be the first designer to provide a stepladder as the main entrance to a building....

- Drew: (Looking up.) And a bridge like Toko-ri.
- Mark: Monumental tribute to the absurd.
- Drew: To an architect that's a complement. Some of the world's most famous architects ignore such petty details as doors...windows...floors. A suicidal approach doesn't detract from the significance of the building. It's the form that counts, man, the form. (Pauses.) Ah, status. I can see it now. When my work is enshrined in architectural histories, they'll begin by a phrase like..."Drew Watson burst forth on his momentous career by designing a structure with a uniquely thrilling approach.
- Mark: Controversial structure.
- Drew: Of course I won't grab all the tickets. No, I'll give you your due credit. When they interview me for the Man of the Year Award...
- Mark: One of the many honors they'll bestow on you.
- Drew: I'll say, with great modesty, "Gentlemen, thank you. But first recognition must go to Mark Kachin, that bright young planner..."
- Mark: Brilliant, please.
- Drew: Brilliant young planner who formalized pedestrian suicide as a social function. His untimely death at the hands of his fellow planners was an unfortunate end to a short but unusual career.
- Mark: How will I die...?
- Drew: Gruesomely.
- Mark: Starvation? The guillotine? Simple lynching?
- Drew: Details! It's not how you'll die that's important... It's the meaning behind it!
- Mark: You just said it's the form that counts.
- Drew: Only for architecture. Crucial difference between architecture and planning. In architecture, it's the form; in planning, the meaning. (Waves his hand.) Two can't be reconciled.

- Mark: (Laughing.) You'll never get the planning profession to admit that.
- Drew: Puts us on a return train to your pending martyrdom. (Starts pacing back and forth, swinging his T-square.) First step. Excommunication from the American Institute of Planners. Formal notice will arrive within a week.
- Mark starts going through the parcels which Drew has brought and begins to bring out a huge, two-foot wide ribbon. As Drew is talking he begins to help Mark take it over to the left side of the building.
- Drew: If they have the official opening of the building tomorrow...
- Mark: I think they'll wait until the annual convention in the spring.
- Drew: Man, you're off your transistor. A building of limited logic...?
- Mark: Very limited logic.
- Drew: Whose only value lies in the ridiculous social significance it has for the city?
- Mark: You're right. Ample evidence for martyrdom.. On what grounds will they indict me?
- Drew: Contributing to the creation of a civic structure which goes against every principle of good city planning.
- The two of them start putting the ribbon up against the building, about seven feet from the ground.
- Mark: Yeah?
- Drew: Exhibit A. Located in the middle of a major intersection...
- A huge orchestra of horns and screeching brakes are heard.
- Starchy: (Takes out his pad and pencil and begins taking notes. He becomes more and more excited as he says this and only stops because he's out of breath.) Obstructing the flow of traffic on two

major highways, each four lanes wide; bottlenecks at every corner of the business district; decreasing the capacity of the city's highways by 2000 cars per hour...

- Drew: (Leaves his position in helping Mark with the ribbon.) The original blitz. Where'd you come from?
- Starchy: Out of that congested swarm of death vehicles, where in the hell do you think I came from?
- Mark: It's been a long while, Starchy...
- Drew: What are you up to? Still laying mine fields for the official opening?
- Starchy: I told you. All communication between us ceased the day you permitted that citizens committee to participate in a technical decision such as locating...this monstrosity.
- Mark: (Leaves ribbon and comes over to Starchy.) Starchy, you forget that technicians can only act through the political processes. In this instance, the political body was a group of citizens whose ideas differed radically from ours.
- Drew: The war was fought, the technicians lost. So put away your statistical peashooter. (Returns to work on the ribbon.)
- Starchy: As a transportation planner, I'm finished....after this fiasco, I can't even hold up my head in the department. Not even employed by you...on loan...
- Drew: Why'd you come? Check out our action?
- Starchy: What action?
- Mark: Citizens Committee is going to rehearse for tomorrow's dedication.
- Starchy: Committee? I'm leaving.
- Drew: Why'd you come?
- Starchy: Curiosity. You read tonite's newspaper?
- Mark: Why?

- Starchy: (Pulls out a very neatly folded newspaper.)  
The editorial begins: "When the mayor officially cuts the ribbon on the new comfort station, his action will signify the beginning of the New Grandview. Our city is facing the challenge of tomorrow." A public toilet in the epicenter of the city's major intersection! They contend they're facing the future.
- Drew: Depends on what you consider the future need to be...highways or johns.
- Mark: You can't deny that Grandview with the comfort station is different from the Grandview without one.
- Starchy: Yellow journalism. They have grossly mis-constructed your actions. (Reads.) "Our community owes thanks and praise to the city planning team which brought to bear on this problem, the highest technical know-how, expert judgment and scientific objectivity that is available; their contribution has enabled our community to come together to see every group's needs." Garbage.
- Drew: We want to thank you for your technical contributions. Your rational approach. No one else could have landed the League of Women Voters in jail...so effectively.
- Mark: Actually, that event was the real beginning of the Committee. Gave them political recognition and served to unite them as a group.
- Starchy: And set them on their course of total destruction of the highway plan. They're mis-using the scientific method to serve their own ends. Vested interests. You're their flunkies.
- Mark: Whose flunky are you?
- Starchy: Not the question. I live by principles. I work where my principles...
- Drew: Can be inflicted on the public.
- Mark: Look Starchy, you're being irrational.
- Starchy: I am never irrational!
- Drew: That's your problem.

- Mark: This building, its location and design, were the result of the interaction of planning and the political process....
- Starchy: That's what I said. You didn't live by your principles. Plan it first and then give it to a political body. If they refuse it, they refuse it, but at least it's technically undefiled. The rational method hasn't been compromised. A planner should never get involved in politics. You did.
- Mark: True. But this building serves other functions.
- Starchy: You can't say you've done a good planning job here...
- Mark: I don't deny that this, as judged by planning principles, can be judged as one of the great planning fiascos in modern times. And I've contributed to it...
- Chris: (Chris has entered from the left overhead passage way, and begins speaking his part from this vantage point.) Few men so young can make such claims!
- Drew: Where's your battalion?
- Chris: Committee will be along in a few minutes. What's with this self-abasement? I should have brought my drip-dry hair shirt.
- Drew: Moral sniping.
- Chris: Hello Starch. Haven't seen you in a while.
- Mark: Come on down. We were just about to act out my pending martyrdom.
- Chris: By who?
- Mark: Fellow planners. The method is under dispute.
- Drew: Starchy's hot for instant death.(Putting his thumbs down.) Throw him to the cars now.
- Starchy: You're misquoting me.
- Drew: And I say we give him a trial.

- Chris: Definitely a trial. The facade of social justice at all times. Say, how do you get down from here, or shouldn't I ask?
- Mark: The door's open, I tried it earlier. But the lights aren't on yet, so light a match.
- (Drew and Mark have the ribbon about a third of the way across the building now, as Chris goes inside the comfort station, the two of them tack the ribbon with particular care.)
- Chris: (From inside the building.) Jesus, it's darker than the inside of a cow. (Long pause.) Did I tell you the Citizens Committee is organizing a group of, oh Jesus, the match went out, they're organizing a group of volunteers as mothers' aids. (Appears on stage.) I love trials. It's my masochistic instincts I guess. The causes I support never win... Negroes in Alabama, low-income people beaten by policemen. What are the issues?
- Starchy: Issues? Inefficiency, poor planning, total denial of planning principles...
- Drew: Calm down, down, down boy. There, that's a good highway planner, close to the road.
- Mark: Permitting the development of this monstrosity, when I should know better.
- Starchy: I'll be the judge.
- Drew: Unnecessary. The evidence is here. We're deciding on the punishment.
- Starchy: I'm the judge.
- Drew: You be the second man.
- Starchy: If he admits his guilt, I'll second it.
- Mark: I admit it, I plead guilty.
- Starchy: I second that.
- Chris: Now wait. To the extent that we're all planners, we've all worked on the same project, and all contributed to the creation of this building, we are all equally guilty and should all

stand trial.

Starchy: I am not guilty. I am in no way responsible..

Mark: Can't agree with you there, Chris. I'm the only one here who is a trained professional city planner. Drew's an architect by inclination...

Drew: And a fraud by training. (Returns to ribbon to straighten it.)

Mark: Who has taken some courses in planning. His first allegiance is to architecture. Starchy here is a highway engineer who has been educated in transportation planning....

Drew: Brainwashed.

Mark: The ethics of which guide his professional actions.

Drew: Is a belief in four wheels and an engine a valid basis for ethics?

Mark: You're a social planner which means you are ultimately concerned with the adjustment of people in urban life. But I am a city planner.

Chris: So? What does that mean?

Drew: We're all planners with different bibles. An inter-religious organization that functions. (Returns to the group carrying his T-square.)

Mark: I plead guilty to having betrayed the principles which I adopted as part of my profession.

Chris: What principles?

Mark: No, what is a planner? Start there.

Drew: Aha, the trial is about to begin. (He lifts the T-square over his head). Attention!

Chris takes a piece of paper and folds it into a paper hat which he places on Drew's head. Drew begins humming a funeral march and the group forms a procession, once across the stage and half way back. Mark stands off to the left directly in the focus of the street lighting. Drew and Starchy stand front and

center, formally posed as a bishop with his altar boy. Chris is standing in semi-darkness on the right.

- Chris: I'm serious, why do you think you're personally guilty?
- Drew: Now, now. Harrumph. (Speaking in a deep mocking tone.) Nothing serious at this trial. Here. Here. The formal trial of Mark Kachin before the American Institute of Planners is about to commence. Will the defendant please step forward. Good. Will the court please read the charges. (Nudges Starchy.)
- Starchy: Mark Kachin is hereby accused of inefficiency in planning and of ruining the transportation system of the City of Grandview.
- Drew: Now, let's not get specific. Just the general charges.
- Starchy: What could be worse than inefficiency?...
- Mark: Let me accuse myself. I am a failure.
- Starchy: Oh, no you don't...
- Chris: Why not? Let him accuse himself according to his own standards.
- Mark: If planning is a method of developing action programs directed toward goals for the long-range benefit of the city, I am a failure.
- Chris: I still don't see why.
- Mark: The method which planners use is derived from logic. Now, there is no valid logic in having located this comfort station in the middle of an intersection. Secondly, as a technician and as an advisor, planners should not become involved in the political process to serve to gain favor for their plans. To enter into the decision-making on plans. I'm guilty on both counts.
- Chris: But if we hadn't become involved, as bad as this is, Grandview wouldn't be doing any planning. Now, the Citizens Committee....
- Chris: But all our efforts were useless...it was Charlotte

who....

- Drew: In one simple little moved screwed the Mayor.
- Chris: Besides, you yourself have pointed to the social significance...
- Mark: That's not the issue. The stated purpose of city planning is to control and channel the physical growth of the city; to prepare for projected future needs in the present.
- Starchy: You're not even answering yesterday's needs.
- Mark: Now, planning with the Citizens Committee is...
- Starchy: Not very logical. They're compromising, between each other. They're using planning as an excuse to get their own ends. Subjective approach.
- Mark: (Ignoring Starchy and returning to putting up the ribbon.) Our work with the Citizens Committee is piecemeal planning. I have not been a very good city planner by planning standards.
- Chris: (Goes over to help Mark with the ribbon.) Don't be so brutal with yourself.
- Mark: I'm not, I'm being honest.
- Chris: But the city really likes us now, they've just upped our budget, didn't they? And look at tonite's paper....
- Mark: They didn't up our budget because of our technical success. The mere construction of this facility has totally altered the present highway program, not to mention the now defunct ten year plan for growth.
- Chris: Then why pay us?
- Mark returns to putting up the ribbon. Drew goes over to the right side of the stage and begins placing the ribbon from there.
- Mark: Do you remember that line from one of Durrell's poems which said: "you can't make an omelette without breaking a few eggs...at least, that's what they tell the eggs."

- Chris: Huh?
- Mark: Who pays us?
- Chris: Government. They pay most city planners.
- Starchy: Waste of taxpayers' money. Louisest, most Inef-  
ficient planning...
- Mark: Right, But this isn't the only planning failure.  
There are others. That's the point. As the govern-  
ment takes on more and more responsibility in  
financing projects, as they replace the private  
market in making omelettes, the government has taken  
on the responsibility of egg breaking. Here, Chris,  
give me a hand.
- Chris goes over and holds part of the ribbon.
- Mark: When the private market operated, you could say,  
we need a few omelettes. It's unfortunate, but,  
some eggs will get broken. Now, with the government  
who is supposed to be everyone's mother hen taking  
on the cooking, omelette-making isn't so easy. Every  
egg is equal...so you have to supply a reason  
why you choose one over the other.
- Chris: Don't follow.
- Mark: A mother hen can't be arbitrary about which of  
her eggs she chooses to put in the pan, can she?
- Starchy: Subjective decision.
- Mark: Have to have an objective way of deciding. Enter  
the planner. We use a quote rational method for  
making decisions....place problems into technical  
language to take out the subjective aspect. Hand  
me another piece of tape.
- Chris hands him the tape.
- Mark: Quite obviously, they're the same problems but in  
technical language. Same question of which eggs  
get cracked.
- Drew: Makes good camouflage.
- Starchy: As I said. Subjective.
- Mark: Objectively subjective. Kills the pain.

- Drew: (Drops his part of the ribbon and comes over to the group.) The planner goes into the nest and says, listen eggs, we've got a problem. Have to make a choice man, I mean, egg. There's a need for food, but we can't decide whether to have it scrambled, fried, coddled or sunnyside up.
- Mark: You've shaped the problem and placed it in objective terms.
- Drew: And by that time that egg's forgotten that it might be his yolk on the fire.
- Mark: And so have the other eggs.
- Chris: You let the eggs decide...
- Mark: More democratic that way.
- Drew: Planners help. You may have an uneducated egg, a selfish slob, who doesn't want to be scrambled. Now, that egg's got to be taught.
- Mark: Planners act as brokers between those that think the answer's scrambled eggs, those that favor fried, ones that want it sunnyside up.
- Chris: So by putting the problem into objective language... Our method becomes an excuse for decisions...
- Starchy: The objectivity of rationality is not an excuse. It is a truth. It exists.
- Mark: Only because we believe it exists.
- Drew returns to his ribbon.
- Chris: That's really a rotten thing to think about. We help those eggs decide who gets fried and who can wait and hatch. We really do stack the cards.
- Drew: But in the end, the eggs are happy with the decision. Besides, who are we to say they won't enjoy a hot frying pan. May be the best thing that ever happened to them.
- Mark: Planners are also symbols of our belief in rationality...
- Starchy: Excuses. You know you're being illogical. You've sold your souls to the politicians. That's why

they upped your budget.

Drew: Speaking of rotten eggs. If there's one thing I can't stand is a highway engineer with sour grapes.

Starchy: You...

Mark: Starchy's right...to a certain extent. Highway planners know what their goals are...roads, where to place them. But give me a city with goals? A highway planner can be more rational than planners of cities. So to Starchy it does look like we've sold our souls.

Chris: If we're so doomed and can't do long range planning, why pay us?

Drew: Not support a good egg cracker?

Mark: Take a political problem, frame it in objective terms...it's less threatening.

Starchy: Used by politicians! I...

Mark: All technicians are used these days, including highway planners.

Starchy: I am not used.

Drew: Yeah, buddy, the Mayor supported your attack on the comfort station because it was logical? Not on your life. He didn't want urban renewal because that means parting with nickels. Always upsets taxpayers.

Chris: Just like he didn't want the masterplan announced because his opponent could use the problems we stated against him.

Mark: And the Citizens Committee....

More horns, screeching brakes are heard.

Chris: Speaking of people, I think I hear the Committee.

Drew: (To Starchy.) Don't shoot 'till you see the whites of their eyes!

Chris: So what's the verdict?

Mark: Guilty.

Mark and Drew begin making a large bow.

Chris: Guilty! But we just...

Mark: By strict planning standards I am guilty. I will always continue to think that way. I'm an idealist. I believe that planning to handle the problems of long range growth is of value. I also believe I shouldn't get politically involved. Here I am...

Chris: Too much of a purist.

Mark: True. As such, the fact that I'm not doing effective planning will always gnaw at the edge of my principles.

Starchy: What principles!

Chris: You denying the importance of this building now?

Mark: Not at all. I can see that because the Citizens helped to make up the plan...made up the plan, this building has much more meaning to them than our masterplan ever would...on a personal level.

Drew and Mark step back to view the ribbon and the bow.

Mark: But principles are principles. (Straightens bow, Drew goes over and pulls the other side of the bow.) By strict planning standards, I am guilty.

Drew: Classic martyrdom. Dies for a principle knowing he has served a higher purpose. I recommend hanging.

Citizens Committee arrives in a heated argument.

Starchy: I'm leaving. (Picks up his newspaper.)

Drew: Stay for the hanging.

Starchy: I've got some real planning to do.

Core: (To 1st Bus'man.) I say we list housing as critical, the University complex as postponable.

1st Bus'man: Can't agree. It's at least urgent. Students are a good market.

2nd Bus'man: If we provide shops near the University that means more tax money for the city, more employment for everyone.

- Lady: But the park can't be subliminal. We've needed new facilities there for years. We have to think of the health and beauty of the total community, our children....
- Core: We've got budget limitations. Critical problems first.
- Man: I say, before we make any rash decisions, or get any more aroused....we ask the planners. Planners' studies...
- 2nd Lady: (To Mark.) Shouldn't we?
- Mark: Sounds reasonable.
- Chris: Okay everybody. Get in position. The Mayor will stand here. Now you three get over...
- Lady: Oh, Chris. We forgot to tell you.
- Man: After you left, the Committee passed a couple of motions.
- Minister: We've decided to take out two floors of toilets...
- 2nd Lady: For meeting rooms for the Citizens Committee!
- Mark: What? They've just finished the building!
- Minister: Our present meeting room is crowded.
- Lady: We were thinking long-range. In ten years we're going to need more space...
- Man: From a cost standpoint, this solution was cheaper than building a community center.
- Lady: Since the building is the beginning of planning, I mean, real planning for Grandview....
- Drew: Argh!
- Man: Also decided we need a little park.
- Core: Covering over the intersection would be nice. Need some nice surroundings...
- Man: As it is, it's a little hard to get to.
- Lady: No. No! We voted to remove the intersection.

Starchy: Remove the intersection!

Drew: Down boy.

Mark: What do you mean: These are the two largest...  
major ...in the metropolitan...area!

Lady: Well, we didn't really mean totally remove it.  
We thought you planners could think of something,  
like putting it underground.

Drew: (Holding Starchy back.) Down boy.

Man: Or relocate them.

L. of W.  
Voters: Isn't planning wonderful? It's so democratic.

Mark crosses the stage to the bow with Chris following. He slowly puts the end of one side of the bow around his neck with Chris's help. Drew is sitting on Starchy who is making loud guttural sounds and pounding the sidewalk. The Committee lines up in formation for the rehearsal, divided evenly on either side of Mark.

The End.

FOOTNOTES

## FOOTNOTES

1. Francine F. Rabinowitz. Politics and Planning: On the Role of the Expert in Urban Development. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Economics and Political Science, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, p. 7.
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5. Paul Davidoff, "The Role of the City Planner In Social Planning" In the Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Conference of the American Institute of Planners. Washington, 1964, p. 126.
6. Cambridge Citizens Advisory Committee Newsletter, May, 1965, p. 1.
7. Cambridge Chronicle-Citizen, June 17, 1965, p. 2.
8. Christian Science Monitor, June 22, 1962.
9. Cambridge Chronicle-Sun, June 21, 1962.
10. Harold Kaplan, Urban Renewal Politics: Slum Clearance In Newark. New York, Columbia University Press, 1963, p. 136.
11. Confidential Memorandum from Jason R. Nathan, Deputy Regional Director of Urban Renewal to Charles J. Horan, Regional Director of Urban Renewal, Housing and Home Finance Agency. December 28, 1962.
12. John D. Herzog in "Letters to the Editor", Cambridge Chronicle-Sun, June 21, 1962, p. 8.
13. Nathan to Horan, HHFA Memo. op. cit.
14. Order by Alfred E. Velucci In the Cambridge City Council Minutes, April 17, 1963.

15. John J. Curry, Cambridge City Manager, Memorandum No. 9, "To Heads of All Departments", April 3, 1964.
16. Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee, Minutes, May 27, 1965. In files of the Committee.
17. Letter of Charles J. Horan, Regional Director of Urban Renewal, HHFA, to Paul J. Frank, Acting Executive Director, Cambridge Redevelopment Authority, December 27, 1962.
18. Interview with Allen McClennan, Cambridge Planning Director, April 5, 1966.
19. Interview with O. Robert Simha, Planning Officer for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 19, 1966.
20. Letter of Morris Kritzman to Arthur W. Botelho, March 10, 1964 and the Wellington-Harrington Citizen Committee Minutes, March 3, 1966. Both documents in the files of the Committee. Note also that the Committee, as it was proposed by Councilor Velucci, was to consist of ten residents. As mentioned in the text, the additional four members are all religious leaders of churches in the area.
21. Paul J. Frank to the Mayor of Cambridge, Edward A. Crane. Wellington-Harrington Memorandum, June 30, 1964.
22. John A. Lunn, Director of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority. Quoted in the Cambridge Chronicle-Sun, June 21, 1962.
23. Columbia Law Review, Vol. 66, No. 3 (March 1966), p. 510.
24. Letter of Paul J. Frank to Charles J. Horan, November 21, 1963. See also, Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal Checklist by Paul J. Frank, an unpublished document in the files of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority. July, 1963, pp. 4-8.
25. Interview with Morris Kritzman, April 16, 1966.
26. Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal Checklist, pp. 4-5; and Wellington-Harrington Memorandum.
27. Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal Checklist, p. 3.
28. Ibid., p. 4.
29. Ibid., p. 5.

30. This interpretation was corroborated in interviews with Kritzman, McClennan and two Committee Members.
31. Interview with Morris Kritzman, March 10, 1966. Also noted in the Wellington-Harrington Urban Renewal Checklist, pp. 4-5.
32. Curry Memorandum, op. cit.
33. Wellington-Harrington Citizens Committee Minutes, March 18, 1964.
34. Cambridge Chronicle-Citizen, June 17, 1965. Also quoted in the Columbia Law Review, March 1966, p. 511.
35. Interview with Morris Kritzman, February 28, 1966.
36. James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal" in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXIX (November 1963), p. 247.
37. Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, The Politics of Urban Renewal: The Chicago Findings. New York, 1961, p. 287.

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