

THE RELATIONSHIP OF CITY PLANNING
AND MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION *



by

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* Extension of this study is in envelope
at back of this volume.

Cambridge, Mass.

September 16, 1946

Frederick Johnstone Adams
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Dear Professor Adams:

I herewith respectfully submit
this study, "The Relationship of City Planning
and Municipal Administration" as the Thesis in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master in City Planning.

Sincerely yours,

James Murray Webb

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To Professor Carl J. Friedrich, I am deeply indebted for a profound and highly provocative experience provided in his Seminar in Planning at Littauer Center, Harvard University, this spring, and in the course of which were raised many of the fundamental issues of democracy and planning that have been further pursued in this study.

James M. Webb
Cambridge, Mass.
Sept. 16, 1946.

The Relationship of City Planning
to Municipal Administration

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* Reproduced from: "An Outline of American Government" by Wallace S. Sayre (See Reference List).

** Reproduced from: "Municipal Affairs" by Ernest W. Steel (See Reference List).

The Relation of City Planning
to Municipal Administration

INTRODUCTION

The Scope and Purpose of the Study

To examine those interrelationships at the local level of American Government which may make for a greater effectiveness of the planning function.

Method

This statement of purpose presupposes certain basic assumptions as to the nature of planning and government, nor is the term 'effective' in relation to planning and the term 'American' in relation to government sufficient to qualify them without leaving a wide margin of interpretation.

It is therefore considered a necessary part of the study, not only to delimit their meaning to a specific frame of reference in terms of 'ends and means', but to develop a common frame of reference in which their interrelationship may be made clear.

This is the basic approach then, and it consists in relating them all to a simple, central idea, the rational solution of community problems. As such it makes human intelligence and the exercise of that intelligence the common referent, not only for planning but the functions of government and indeed the democratic concept itself.

With this as a central thesis, a series of postulates are formulated which are in the nature of criteria of planning and government and serve as the norms against which an objective examination of structure and function may be compared.

A consideration of City Planning and Municipal Administration in this light, becomes a consideration of the part to the whole, and effectiveness of their functions becomes a matter of interrelationships extending outward to the community and individual and upward through county state and federal levels, with a similar reciprocating flow back from federal through state, county and local levels to the individual.

Procedure

The study is divided into four main parts, the first of which is concerned with the formulation

of the central idea which is to be the common frame of reference.

This is followed by an examination of structure and function in the light of this central idea, and taking up the generalized aspect of American Government and Planning. It follows the systematic development of responses to changing needs and concepts down through the various levels of government and attempts to show not only the nature of the problems but to indicate the nature of instrumentalities to meet these changing needs.

The third section is a detailed appraisal of the special instrumentalities at the local level. In it are taken up the functions and interrelationships of planning and local government, the part that each may play with respect to the other in terms of effectiveness.

The fourth section is a summation with conclusions and is in effect a syntheses bringing to bear the central idea of rationality on the relationships implied by City Planning and Municipal Administration.

The Relationship of City Planning
to Municipal Administration

PART I

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AS TO PLANNING AND GOVERNMENT AND
THEIR RELATION TO THE DEMOCRATIC CONCEPT

A) A Democratic Concept of Planning

Charles Merriam in his often repeated definition of democratic planning has said that it consists of "An organized effort to utilize social intelligence in the determination of national policies"⁽¹⁾. As a point of departure for this discussion this might be contrasted with the Webster definition of a plan: "Method or scheme of action, procedure, or arrangement; project, program, outline or schedule"⁽²⁾ In this latter case planning would then signify the act or process by which a plan is made.

In Merriam's definition, there is an application of the term "planning" within a specific frame-

(1) - Merriam, Chas. E., "On the Agenda of Democracy", 1941, pp. 72 ff.

(2) - Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Fifth Edition.

work of concepts, methods or purposes, to a special phase of human activities and institutions; it is essentially normative in context.

In the case of Webster's definition anything from a Sunday outing to a military campaign or a Soviet Five Year Plan might equally come under its scope. It is therefore obvious that "planning" is capable of assuming precise meaning only in the circumstance of special conditions which indicate its nature and the purposes it may serve; conditions which like Merriam's definition, offer a clue as to the particular sort of human activities to which it refers.

It is probably no less true that because of the generalized character of its meaning, "planning" has come to be identified with the ends it may be considered as serving. Thus, a totalitarian ideology embracing activities, which are characterized by the term planning, may impart to that term qualities which identify it with totalitarian principles. Chas. Merriam takes a highly proprietary attitude in this respect and in righteous wrath says: "Planning is a good American word which we have used in the home, on the farm, in business and government and which we do not propose to

abandon to anyone who may have borrowed and misused it - a good drink, even if some take too much of it."⁽³⁾

While such spirit is admirable, the logic may be somewhat less clear and it seems more realistic to admit that what we are designating as planning may be quite different from what someone else chooses to so designate. To question his right to do so is avoiding the real issue of making clear what we mean by planning and indeed, what we mean by democracy, for, like planning, democracy has also been subject to "expropriation" at least in name if not in the special character we attribute to it.

Carl J. Friedrich⁽⁴⁾ in a penetrating discussion of democratic planning, expands upon the definition given above by Merriam, contending that in addition to the "organized effort to utilize social intelligence in the determination of national policies", democratic planning is a process in which both ends and

(3) - Merriam, Chas. E. "The New Democracy and the New Despotism (McGraw Hill), 1939, p. 179.

(4) - Friedrich, Carl J. "The New Belief in the Common Man", (The Vermont Printing Co., Brattleboro, Vt., reprint 1945), Chapt. VII, pp. 171 ff.

means are continuously subject to change since it is in the very nature of democracy to question any ends at any time and to provide for the incessant revision of all policies and all ends no matter how basic. There is further, no obligation under democracy to agree on fundamentals since the special province of democracy is in providing a means of doing things and therefore it is non-ideological in content. This he sums up in the statement: "To discover such specific agreements for action from among common men who disagree about fundamentals - such is precisely the task and achievement of constitutional democracy."

B)
The Nature of the Planning Function
(A Rational Approach)

Planning considered as a functional or an operational process is also bound to be considered as a rational process if it is to be the basis for rational action.* As such it seeks to correlate cause and effect, to gather together all the known facts pertaining to a contemplated action, to evaluate them in terms of each other and to anticipate their probable interactions under possible alternate circumstances. In this manner planning becomes the process or mechanism which makes it possible to relate given means to a particular end, thereby establishing the basis for rationality in a contemplated action.

The complex of human relationships characterized by the term "Society" is dynamic in nature, not only with respect to its internal relationships but also with respect to its environment. Planning under these circumstances, then, must also be conceived

* Aldous Huxley in his essay entitled, "Ends and Means" has offered a valuable contribution in seeking to make clear this relationship which is reciprocal in nature - 'the ends are of the same order as the means - the means must be of the same order as the ends.'

The biblical admonition may also illustrate the point: "By their fruits ye shall know them". Mathew, 7:20.

as a dynamic process. One which takes into account the fact that any relationship is subject to change, that circumstance may alter purpose and method, that ends and means cannot be frozen in an inflexible predetermined pattern, that their ultimate relationship is one of time and space. It is in the very nature of man and his environment that this should be so.

Planning viewed in this light transcends Merriam's as well as Friedrich's concept of planning under democracy and being in essence the exercise of human intelligence, is accountable to no framework of institutions or ideologies, they indeed, are accountable to it.

C)
Effectiveness and Efficiency
(Their Relation to Planning)

Webster's definition of the term "effective" indicates its meaning as that which produces "a decided a decisive or desired effect" and being in the nature of an agent or process which produces that effect it refers to a specific condition of relationships where the means are productive of specific ends of a pre-determined nature. Being in the nature of an interaction, it implies a framework of time and place in which that interaction occurs. Thus it must be defined within those specific limits and being concerned with an interaction which has limits of time and space it has continuity within those limits. This continuity is of the essence of that process and may consist of certain component parts or separate interactions, each in its own sphere of time-space and means and ends. Thus it is like a chain reaction in which the means resolving into ends in one relationship becomes the means resolving into further ends of a second relationship and thus finally resolving into the total reaction productive of the ultimate end.

It is in this duality of ends and means and the time space relationship that the term "Effective" and

"Efficiency" are resolved. Effective refers to the totality wherein the end is accomplished. Efficiency lays emphasis on the divisibility of that totality and refers to the effectiveness of the dependent parts. They are synonymous when they refer to the same time-space frame or totality and the same ends and means but are differentiated when they refer to a separate frame of time-space and ends and means. It is in this manner that "efficiency" is frequently referred to the separate idea of "the most economical utilization of resources" and frequently an action may be referred to as having been efficient or inefficient since the desired effect was "the most economical utilization of resources".

However this may or may not have had any bearing on the ultimate objective which may have been something quite different as in the case of war where such a consideration is incidental to the ultimate objective of survival engendered by war. To achieve that result of survival is at once the measure of effectiveness as well as efficiency.

Planning viewed in the light of rationality is therefore effective or efficient when the "decided,

decisive or desired effect" is that of rationality. This indicates the extent of confusion which may arise if it is viewed solely in the light of a "three dimensional" objective - a bridge built, a highway, park or reorganization schedule accomplished - these objectives are conditional to rationality. It is quite possible that these objectives were not desirable or that alternate objectives were, when considered as to their rationality. We are reluctant to admit with Confucius that "We make plans so that we may have plans to discard".*

Effective planning must therefore be judged not alone in terms of a bridge built but whether it was needed or not, whether it was properly located or not, whether it cost too much or not, or if an alternate course, say an underwater tube might not have been more desirable; in other words, in the light of rationality which is its proper objective - whether that planning was the best that "human wit could devise" and in consequence that human wit could act upon.

* "The Wisdom of Confucius" (ed. Lin Yutang), p. 163.

D)

A Democratic Concept of Effective Planning
(Can Planning be Effective Under Democratic Concepts?)

We have stated thus far our basic proposition that planning consists in the exercise of human intelligence and, therefore, in the limits we have established, is in itself a rational process; that the measure of effectiveness is to be judged in the light of that process of rationality. If planning and specifically effective planning is to be considered in relation to democratic concepts, it is inevitable that democratic concepts should be set in a framework of the same order, that is: Are democratic concepts a rational framework in which planning is capable of operating effectively?

Since effective planning is being considered in terms of human relationships and ends and means, we are then talking about something which is 'man made'. The motivation is the human will, and as such, the ends and means are capable of being questioned by that will. It can therefore be said that the "will" and "effectiveness" are cooperative, that is, you cannot have effective planning when whoever is qualified to question it does not cooperate. This, then, is the

first prerequisite of effective planning: the continued cooperation of the "will" which is capable of questioning the ends and means.

If effective planning is to be expressive of rationality then the presumption is that the "will" which is cooperative is also expressive of rationality. Is this latter point true - is the "will" under democratic concepts expressive of rationality? The answer to this of course devolves upon the nature of rationality itself and to attempt to define rationality in absolute terms is futile. It has no absolute values, it is capable of being more or less. Rationality must therefore be based on calculated probabilities and can be considered operable within certain upper and lower limits which are to be determined for given circumstances.

Democratic concepts are concerned with just such values and we do not have to look far for examples. For example, the matter of "will" itself. In the democratic context this "will" is the "will" of the many rather than the few and is most commonly encountered in the statement of: "the rule of the many rather than the few" with its corollary assumption of accountability

in the "responsibility of the few to the many and equally important the many to the few".

Further, it is held that given a common problem, that is, of common concern and values, the judgment necessary for decision has a lesser chance of error if the collective judgment of many is brought to bear on that decision. Matters of public policy involve problems of this nature since they are concerned with the "average acts of average persons"* and are therefore the circumstances under which the upper and lower limits of rationality have been set.

*

An illuminating discussion of this matter is offered by Carl J. Friedrich in his "New Belief in the Common Man", and in which he characterizes "Democracy" as a tempered belief in the "Common Man", going on to show the contrast with the basic assumptions of other political concepts in which, for example, the common man's capabilities are completely denied giving rise to Fascism in which the state is infallible or an oligarchy in which the few or an elite are considered infallible and, on the other hand, the case of Communism in which the common man is presumed to be infallible resulting in the "revolt of the masses". In either case, because of the absolutism of their tenets - ideological content - which permits no questioning of fundamentals, they resolve into totalitarianism in order to enforce the "unquestioned" end.

This then is basically a presumption of the fallibility of human judgment and formulation of public policy then becomes a process which takes into account probabilities with a calculated degree of error. By our own definition this is precisely the nature of rationality and not only the "will" but what have been described as the democratic concepts which we have associated with it are at one in the nature of their rationality.

This may now be added to the basic hypothesis developed, namely, that: "Effective Planning in the democratic concept is not only operable but indeed that the democratic concept is an essential to Effective Planning.*

*

Also pertinent to the discussion on effective planning, Carl J. Friedrich by different means arrives at much the same conclusion as above in the section he devotes to "Effective" versus "Efficient" planning in the chapter in the "New Belief in the Common Man" entitled "Planning for the Public Good" (see pp. 217 ff.). He does this by assigning a special meaning to the term efficient saying that efficient in the democratic context includes cooperation of the participants. For better or worse we have chosen our own means of arriving at substantially the same conclusions, feeling it is preferable not to attempt to differentiate between "effective" and "efficient" by what may appear as a semantic expedient.

For a good example of the confusion which may result in the use of the term "efficient" as the most "economical utilization of resources" see Marshall E. Dimock's essay on "Criteria and Objectives of Public Administration" in the symposium entitled, "Frontiers of Public Administration", (University of Chicago Press 1940), pp. 116 ff. However it is a good discussion of what the title indicates and he merely capitalizes on the popular misuse of the term "efficiency" in calling a lot of other unrelated things by that name. Friedrich's assigning a special meaning to the term efficient as well as effective is more logical but is essentially the same sort of thing even though he explains what he means by his terms and sticks by it.

E)

Planning and Government

The origins of government as a part of the complex of human relationships are largely a matter of speculation since it appears in a highly developed and complex form as part of the earliest recorded history of cultures. However, even today, certain of the elemental relationships can be recognized within the existing social fabric.

It is generally assumed that the complexity we now associate with government came to be through a gradual process of "functional accretion" which followed a similar process in the growth of cultures themselves. Certainly we can make a pretty good case for this point of view with our own government and the evidence of the last two decades, while a contrast between the government in the days of Washington and that in the day of Franklin Roosevelt is even more striking.

Thus by reversing the process and removing the concurrent "accretions" layer by layer and starting with the hypothetical primordial man who presumably led a completely unrestricted life, save only for the compulsions of his animalic nature (and not even this

latter point is granted if we consider Adam before Eve). However, even the "scientific" approach does not allow this state to prevail for long without "original sin" and begins reconstructing the fetters of civilization on the basic compulsions of procreation and survival out of which grew the elemental familial association. It is then an easy matter to project the process over successive stages. How for instance, mutual advantages of the group over the individual made themselves apparent in the struggles resulting from an environment suddenly grows stern, how problems of leadership and direction of the elemental group inevitably developed and ultimately resolved themselves. How the elemental group grew into a tribal group with the concurrent development of instrumentalities for its control and direction.

The infinite elaborations such speculation is capable of has made it a fascinating game which in one form or another probably has occupied the mind of man since Adam discovered his nakedness. Out of its substance he has sought justification for his frailties as well as his virtues and in 'this must be the nature of things since history proves it so' he has found a convenient escape from realities.

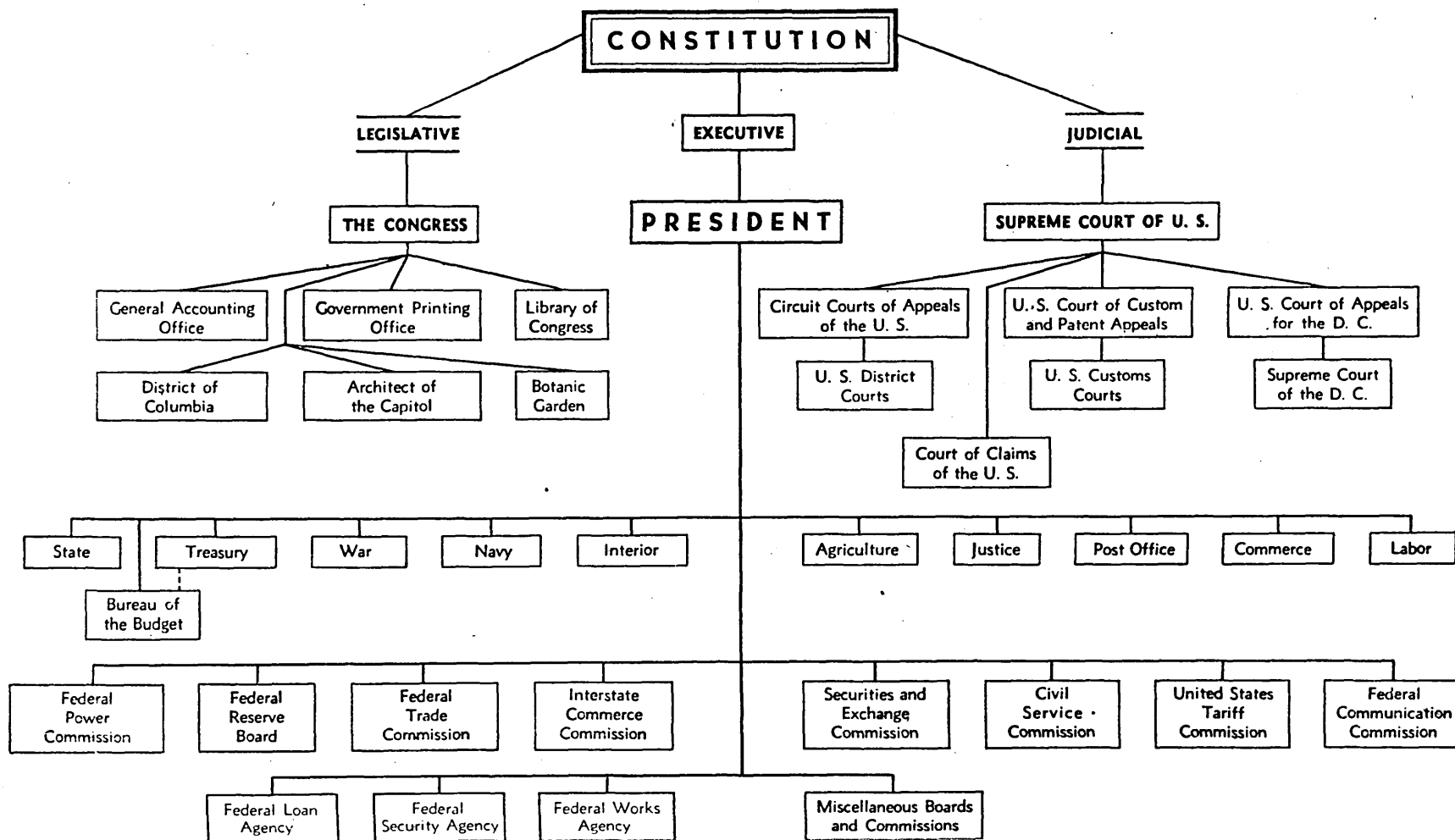
It is of the same substance as the false gods of infallibility to which he has paid endless tribute.

If historical analogy is to serve as a criterion, it quite properly illustrates by its very continuity the dynamic character of relationships, that they are valid only in a specific time-space concept of circumstance. It is in such a framework that the specific functions and purpose of government must be formulated since if government is to function in a contemporary environment it must be concerned with the dynamic character of that environment.

G.D.H. Cole in his essay "Some Relations Between Political and Economic Theory" (Macmillan and Co., London, 1934; p. 92) concludes that: "The task of men in Society is to construct for themselves economic and political systems which will make rational action easy because they square with the developing conditions of social life". It is in the light of this statement that what has been said with regard to planning, assumes special significance, namely: that the functions of government are answerable

CHART I

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT



PART II

FIRST PRINCIPLES IN THE
AMERICAN PATTERN

A)
A Master Plan of Government

"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Charles Beard in his "The Republic" says of the preamble to the Constitution, "The hard headed framers of our Constitution were not as ingenious in speculation and in finespun definitions of ideas as Socrates and his companions. They spent little time trying to imagine what perfect justice and an ideal society would be like or look like. They refused to try by ideal standards, the fruits

* Beard, Charles A. "The Republic" (The Viking Press, N.Y., 1943), p. 86.

of necessity and the frailties of human beings. They sought to institute a workable government and a workable society.

It is instructive to consider this statement in the light of historical events which led up to the formal proclamation of purpose embodied in the preamble. The Philadelphia Convention met in 1787, eleven years after the Second Continental Congress and the Declaration of Independence. The basic hypothesis of this latter document was that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed and in turn had been derived from the belief that all men "are endowed with certain inalienable rights; among these life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and hence was accompanied by the theory of contract since if men are born free and equal no government can claim obedience from them unless they agree to it. Hence if a government was to have coercive powers, some form of contract was a necessary part of legitimate government. These then were the beliefs which had sustained the Revolution as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

The Articles of Confederation had been an incident in the course of struggle for independence and had been reluctantly agreed to by the thirteen states which had clung to their separate identities with tenacity and stubbornness. It was not until the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, four years after the delegates had agreed upon the Articles that Maryland, the final remaining state, ratified them. It made little actual difference in the loosely drawn arrangement under which the war had been fought, although it was a significant step in the direction of centralized government. Management of the general interests of the "United States" was still vested in a Continental Congress, as had been that of the provisional government of 1774. This consisted in a body composed of delegates from each state appointed as the state legislature might direct and subject to recall at any time, their pay coming from the local treasury of their state.

This corresponded precisely to the ideas which had given rise to the Revolution itself, namely, a revolt against the financial, commercial and political controls of the British Government. There

was no desire to re-establish these controls under a strong centralized government even if that were American.

As Charles Beard points out in his "The Rise of American Civilization"* , the Revolution started a dislocation of authority and "the shifts and cracks in the social structure produced by the cataclysm were not all immediately evident.".... "it brought into power new men, new principles and standards of conduct".

By the time of the Philadelphia Convention it had become increasingly apparent that the concepts of government embodied in the Articles were totally inadequate. The seven years of war had been waged under an improvised Congress without tradition or authority comparable to that of the British in Colonial times. The entire economy had been disrupted, commerce was demoralized; trade, agriculture, and industry were in a chaotic state, currency was varied and fluctuating.

* Beard, Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, "The Rise of American Civilization", (The Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1927), pp. 289 ff., Vol. I.

The Revolutionists in pulling down the elaborate structure of government under the British, were faced with producing something workable in its place. The Articles of Confederation was their first attempt to put their ideals into effect under a loosely drawn association of states. They were in no way ready to re-establish the very controls which they had sought to destroy and hence they gave to that association no independent and inherent powers drawn from the people. It was a creature of the states and its governing body consisted of little more than a council of agents for thirteen autonomous states. It could appropriate money but could not levy it. It could wage war but could not draft a single soldier, and depended on requesting quotas from each individual state. It had no control over banking and currency nor could it regulate trade among the states or with other countries.

It is little wonder that the eight years of government under the Articles came to be described as the "critical years" and served to point up the

glaring deficiencies in the Articles. This was particularly true in the case of those who had to transact business in an atmosphere completely lacking in order and stability.

As an additional incident to the experience of the times, heavy taxes levied to pay the revolutionary debts led to the populist uprising of Shays' Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786. Speculators had come into possession of a large part of the state's debts and their attempts to collect brought down a rush to collect debts by all creditors with the consequence of a flood of foreclosures and lawsuits involving farm properties.

Washington and other revolutionary leaders were highly alarmed and redoubled efforts which had already been in the making for a stronger constitution. the outcome of which was a convention called at the instigation of Virginia. It was to be held at Annapolis (1786) and the states were invited to send delegates, but only five responded. However, as the result of Alexander Hamilton's efforts and skill, he persuaded the assembly to pass a resolution advising the states to choose delegates for a second

convention to be held the following year in Philadelphia. Knowing the opposition such a proposal would meet, he carefully worded the resolution, recommending that the Articles of the Confederation were to be considered and recommendations made as to their revision so as to render them "adequate to the exigencies of the union" and that such recommendations were to be submitted to the states for ratification as provided in the Articles. This proposal was then sent to the Congress and the state legislatures and in February of 1787 the Congress issued a call for the Philadelphia Convention.

Following the carefully worded precedent set by Hamilton, the states responded to the invitation with alacrity and, in some cases, had already anticipated the call by having chosen delegates. Rhode Island was the only state which did not respond.

There were sixty-two delegates formally appointed by the states and these men represented a high degree of talent and competence in the various specialized fields of war, diplomacy, legislation, administration, finance, commerce and political philosophy of their own and earlier times. Seven

had been governors of states, at least twenty-eight had served in Congress during the Revolution or under the Articles of Confederation, and eight were signers of the Declaration of Independence. They were the "substantial" citizens of the community and to point this up even further, the "radical" elements of the revolutionary period were largely absent. Thomas Jefferson was then in Paris as American Minister, Patrick Henry refused to serve though elected, Samuel Adams was not chosen and Thomas Paine was in Europe to fight new tyrannies.

In this period these men represented what is now regarded as the "reactionary" movement, a clear cut change in sentiment over that of 1776. In contrast to the fiery utterances of that day, which found their way into the Declaration of Independence, the tenor was one of concern over the "excesses of liberty", the "turbulence and follies of democracy" which was tempered by Mason's remark that "notwithstanding the oppression and injustice experienced among us from democracy, the genius of the people is in favor of it and the genius of the people must be consulted."

Almost immediately the convention concerned itself with matters of procedure and little oratory was indulged in. It was decided that the proceedings were to be held in secret and no information was to be given out on the deliberations; similarly they decided to keep no official record of the debates and if it had not been for the notes of a few individual members, James Madison in particular, little would be available as to the spirit which animated the discussions.

It was evident to all, in short order, that the fundamental question of adhering to the letter of their instructions presented a dilemma since it was at once required that only amendments to the Articles were to be considered, yet they were to make them "adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the union". They ended by throwing aside the Articles completely, drawing up an entirely new structure of government and further ended by going over the legislatures of the states directly to the people and proposing that the new system of government should go into effect when sanctioned by nine of the states, the others to re-

main outside in case they chose to remain with the existing legal order. In a sense the action taken by the Convention was no less a revolt than the armed conflict which had preceded it and indeed their efforts were productive of results which even today are not fully resolved. It cannot be denied that by the "high handed" method which they followed one of history's most remarkable documents was produced.

It was a master plan of government formulated under circumstances that were in direct opposition to the principles for which the revolution had been fought, and it is no less remarkable that out of the strong reactionary sentiment prevalent, in which scorn was heaped on the principles of democratic government, in fact the term democracy itself was synonymous with "rule by the rabble" an idea abhorrent to many of the leaders of the Convention who ranged in sentiments from mild skepticism of popular rule to out and out support of the theories of a hereditary ruling class; yet in spite of these sentiments the final document held to the principle of popular government. It was precisely the task of making the principle of popular

government work that the delegates had set for themselves, and their particular sentiments were brushed aside in the concern for establishing a government which would not only be acceptable but would remedy the evils which had flourished under the Articles of Confederation.

Charles Beard in his "The Rise of American Civilization"* describes this as the "secular" basis of American government. The strong central government was a necessity in the circumstances of the times, hence the statement "in order to form a more perfect Union". Likewise, Justice, Tranquility, Common Defense and General Welfare and the Blessings of Liberty were looked upon in their secular relationship to a "more perfect Union". It was not until the first ten amendments were added that a formal reconciliation was made between the two opposing forces of the times. Under the "Bill of Rights" was incorporated the reinterpretation of freedom in terms of what government might not do. In this denial of the right of government to concern itself with matters

* Ibid, pp. 438, ff. Vol. I.

of human sentiment and emotions the "Bill of Rights" also represented the secular approach to freedom. Matters of conscience pertained to the individual while matters that government was to concern itself with were of the temporal; concrete objectives and actions. Washington's statement soon after the establishment of the new government made this clear: "The government of the United States is not in any sense founded upon the Christian religion", nor, he might well have said, any other fundamental belief.* Rather, it was based on principles which pertained to specific functions and purposes of a popular sovereignty, it provided the rules which made continuity between popular consent and government policy possible.

* See Carl J. Friedrich's discussion of what constitutes "fundamentals" and particularly Democracy as a fundamental belief. (The New Belief in the Common Man, pp. 159 ff.). He says Democracy in its application to the American system cannot be considered as a fundamental belief.

Functions

B) Continuity and Popular Sovereignty

The form of government established under the provisions of the Constitution rested on certain basic assumptions which were in the nature of principles supporting the complex of functions, purposes, and structure envisioned by the framers of the Constitution. It was no small part of their objectives to provide the basis for a continued growth and development under these basic principles and this they stated in the words of the preamble "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity".

One of the most frequently quoted criticisms of the system as established under the Constitution was made by De Tocqueville some hundred years ago when he visited America and was "struck" by the "ingenious devices by which they (Americans) elude the numberless difficulties resulting from their federal constitution."* He would undoubtedly be even

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A. De Tocqueville, "American Institutions and Their Influence"

more "struck" and one can only imagine his incredulity in the metamorphosis government has accomplished under this same "federal constitution", which he seemed to regard as an incubus in the body politic.

What then, is the nature of these basic principles which have endured and animated the structure of American government during the course of some 150 years? Probably no more obvious clue is to be found than in the first three words of the preamble "We the people".

There can be little doubt that these words convey a meaning today that is quite different from that in the minds of the men who set them at the top of the document which they had contrived yet it was no less prophetic even though it may have been fortuitous that they did so. It places emphasis on the central "idea" of government, namely, the nature of "the will" which animates it.

What De Tocqueville failed to perceive in his preoccupation with the visible conflict in the definitive application of a principle, was the nature of the idea animating that principle. Had he considered that conflict in the light of that idea, he

would have seen that here were men bound not by a credulous subjectivity to principle, but were exercising the perceptions and convictions which that idea had served to confirm in them. They were men free to act in the light of those convictions and perceptions.

It is in this way that the evolutionary process of the last 150 years has seen the basic principles set down by the "founding fathers", extended, elaborated and reinterpreted beyond anything they might have imagined for sole responsibility rested in "We the people".

In the minds of the framers of the Constitution this represented a concept of popular sovereignty which had grown up out of the experience and ideas of their time. It had for its basis the idea of the social compact in which men possessed of unlimited "natural liberties", surrendered a part of those liberties in order that government might be organized. Thus, government was possessed of only such liberties as might have been surrendered to it and hence was a government of limited powers.

Subsequent experience has produced a striking change in this point of view, a reinterpretation made necessary by the changing environment and changing relationships within that environment. Today the liberty which was regarded as a natural right has given way to a concept of liberty which results from the nature of and through the organization of political institutions. The basic philosophy being one of mutual responsibilities of the individual, the community and the state and that only through such interrelationships growing out of that mutuality of responsibility can the liberty of the individual be attained or assured. Liberty is thus the product of his own efforts and it is only through the exercise of his own intelligence that he achieves it since it is in his hands alone to devise the sort of social institutions out of which that liberty comes. It is thus in the nature of the interpretation put upon the words "promote the General Welfare" that the meaning of individual liberty and the functions of American government have devolved.

Structure

C) Federalism

Like the concept of popular sovereignty the concept of the principle of "Federalism", which the framers of the Constitution held to be a necessary part of the structure of government under a popular sovereignty, was rooted in the experience and ideas of their times. It was the obvious corollary of the concept of limited powers to be exercised by government since its central idea was one of diffusion of that power in accordance with a pattern of differentiated functions. It had the great advantage of expediency in that it allowed for a reorientation of the several autonomous governments of the 13 states under a system which encroached the least on their jealously guarded prerogatives, and hence was most likely to be accepted by them. It offered a system at once simple yet flexible, comprehensive yet susceptible to the development of logical controls. It established a logical hierarchy of powers and functions extending from the top level of government

to the local community and the individual.

Madison, writing in the "Federalist" stated that: "The Constitution may be considered under two general points of view. The first relates to the sum or quantity of power which it vests in the government, including restraints imposed on the states. The second to the particular structure of the government and the distribution of this power among its several branches."* These then were to be the basic relationships, first the national to state to local polities, then within the polity at the national level there was to be a further redefinition of that power in terms of its functional divisions. Precedent existed in political theory and in practice in the Colonies themselves for dividing these into the legislative, executive and judicial functions or branches of government. Much original thought, however, went into how this power was to be divided in a manner which would assure continuity and balance, and it was recognized that no strict demarcation existed in practice. Likewise, they were concerned that any one

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Quoted from Number 41 of the Federalist in Chas. Beard's "The Republic", p. 182.

division might assume an excess of powers over the others. Hamilton was probably the author of the statement in Number 51 of the Federalist that "The great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives to resist the encroachments of the others Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place..."

"In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions. This policy of supplying by opposite and rival interests the defect of better motives, might be traced through the whole system of human affairs (... and) in all the subordinate distributions of

power (.. so that) the private interest of every individual may be a sentinel over the public rights."*

And then in Number 47 of the Federalist, Madison declared against any arbitrary division into three distinct boundaries of function: "..... unless these departments be so far connected and blended as to give to each a constitutional control over the others, the degree of separation which the maxim (of divided powers) requires as essential to a free government, can never in practice be duly maintained."*

These then were the basic considerations out of which was constructed a form of government differentiated in organization yet correlated in function, a system to be safeguarded by a balanced interdependence of those functions, tensions balanced by counter-tensions.

In summary then, the principles under which a federal polity was involved were: first, it was to consist in a distribution of powers since the concentration of governmental powers anywhere in the

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Ibid: p. 183 ff.

system not only threatened the balance of the entire system but removed the means for correcting a lack of balance. In order to assure this distribution of power and the control of that power, a specific body of authoritative precepts or rules and principles were drawn up. These were standards to be enforceable under the provisions of the Constitution as the supreme law. Under these principles the structure of government assumed a special structure comprising three interdependent levels of authority, the national, state and local. Within each of these there existed a separate polity or set of relationships and in the case of the national government this consisted in the organizational division of the judicial legislative and executive branches, one to be interconnected and blended with the other so as to achieve a balance of function and powers.

There is probably no aspect of American government which has aroused greater controversy than that of the principle of "checks and balances" propounded by the "founding fathers", yet like

federalism* of which it is a part it has provided the starting point with which to deal with continually changing details, it was the authoritative premise by which reasoning might be applied to the changing facts of circumstance; of relations and conduct and their rational ordering.

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See essay by Roscoe Pound entitled, "Law and Federal Government" for a highly instructive extension of this discussion. This was published under the title, "Federalism as a Democratic Process", Rutgers University Press 1942.

D)

The Interdependence of Governmental Relationships
(The Basis for Growth and Development)

The basic relationships established by the Constitution between the various levels of government were relatively simple in their concept. The states being the existing repositories of governmental authority, divested themselves of a certain part of that authority in addition to accepting other further limitations on the exercise of that authority. This relationship was formally made a part of the Constitution by the 10th amendment in the "Bill of Rights" which stated that, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people".

In addition to leaving to the states an "indeterminate residue" of authority this provision also established the Constitution as the final authority as to what had been subtracted from the total authority the states held. By subsequent amendment (i.e., XIV and others) additional spheres of authority have been

withdrawn from the states either reserving it to the national level or excluding it entirely from governmental jurisdiction, (i.e., XV).

Local government was thus strictly a "creature" of state authority since it derived its authority from the state and had no rights other than those the state might choose to assign to it.

While these basic relationships exist today, far reaching forces growing out of the changing circumstances of some 150 years, have obscured lines which might have been easy to draw in the early days of the Republic. These same forces have also been productive of extensive if not radical reorientation of the internal relationships at each of the three principal levels of government.

To trace these changes in government is to trace the changes in policy of government and the changes made necessary to execute that policy and further it is a part of the system of relationships to consider the formulation of that policy in terms of the popular will. It is only when this chain of relationships is brought down to the terms of relationship of community and individual and environ-

ment that the functions and structure of government can be evaluated in terms of effectiveness and hence rationality.

PART III

ADMINISTRATION AND PLANNING IN MUNICIPAL
GOVERNMENT

The Local Setting

A)
An Introduction

The preceding sections, having been concerned with the establishment of an all-over pattern - the National polity and its basic interrelationships - the formulation of principles and standards which motivate it and the central idea on which it depends for coherence and continuity; then it is in the local milieu or the base of that pyramid - that ultimate reality in terms of the substantive idea is to be found. It is the world of the individual, concerned with relationships of daily contact and familiarity, a world in which the functions and relationships of the totality manifest themselves and in turn from which the totality itself generates.

Its problems and relationships being concerned with ultimate realities are in terms of

food, shelter - the immediate concerns of the individual - his relationships within the purview of that environment - his family, his neighbors, his land, his crops, his job, his house, his neighborhood, his town. It is a world of city, town, suburbia, farm and country, the immediate prospect in a greater cosmology which thrusts its physical manifestations upward and outward through local, state, and even national boundaries, one which is ordered by human will and human reason.

The governmental and planning functions which are to be considered in juxtaposition to each other are the special instrumentalities of human will and reason at this elemental level of the "American Cosmology". They deal with the concrete problems of specific agencies, problems which it is the special function of those agencies to be concerned with. It is in the light of these considerations that "City Planning" and "Municipal Administration" find a common ground and a basis for reinterpretation in that common ground.

The Area of Municipal Authority

B)
State to Local Relationships

Municipal government depends for its legal basis on a special grant of authority from the state which is the sole repository of such authority under the provisions of the Constitution. There are thus, no inherent or guaranteed rights of local self government other than those granted by the state. This grant of authority takes two principal forms, the first being a general statutory grant - that is a general law, usually enabling or permissive legislation under which a municipality may incorporate and exercise the specific powers granted to it by the state legislative act. Separate categories of authority are usually provided for cities of different sizes based on population.

The second type of grant is the charter grant and is of four types: (1) The special charter in which each municipality is given a special grant and requires a special act of the legislature; (2) The general charter which with (3) the classified

charter system is similar to the statutory grant except that it requires a special act to grant the charter while the statutory type is enabling legislation and "permits" incorporation under existing law; (4) The optional charter system, a variant which permits a choice between two or more charters provided by the state and chosen by the city in a popular referendum. A further variant of this latter type of grant is referred to as the "home rule" charter in which the city draws up its own charter, subject to the restrictions and laws under the state constitution. It then becomes effective through a popular referendum of voters in the city.

Subsequent grants of authority, revisions, or curtailment of authority may take place under legislative action of the state legislature subject to the provisions of the state constitution. Such acts may take the form of additional enabling legislation, amendment to charters or general statutory enactment.

The background of restrictions on state legislation through constitutional limitations

is one which grew out of the flagrant abuses of responsibility toward city governments by the state legislatures throughout the Nineteenth Century. This brought about the popular movement at the end of the century, responsible for the most important of these constitutional reforms. The "home rule" charter was one of the outcomes and today nineteen states have constitutional provisions for granting such charters while some 200 cities operate under them with integrity guaranteed by provisions in the state's constitution. Also, aside from charter provisions, there have been numberless other provisions written into state constitutions guaranteeing against arbitrary interference by the state legislature in the affairs of municipal government. However, this has not resolved the basic hiatus which exists between state and local government; a hiatus which has produced a multiplicity of jurisdictions and overlapping functions.*

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See "State and Local Finance in the National Economy" by Alvin H. Hansen and Harvey S. Perloff, pp. 62 ff. for a further discussion of consequences of this.

Thus the Urbanism Committee report found that: "Taking only the largest urban areas, i.e., 96 metropolitan districts containing 55 millions of people or 45 percent of our total population, it is found that the urban governmental system of these districts consists of a bewildering maze of overlapping authorities and of a growing number of surburban and satelite cities...

"Together with their over-layers of counties, townships, school districts, library districts, sanitary districts, sewer districts, forest preserve districts, street lighting districts, utility districts, water districts and even mosquito-abatement districts - each of them a separate body politic and corporate - these communities present an odd picture of independent bailiwicks performing related or even identical governmental functions with some degree of co-operation but with a greater degree of competition for municipal revenues, for administrative prestige, and for legal powers." and continues:

".... the difficulty is not merely in the lack of urban imagination or in the restraints

of State law, but again lies in the fact that the legal pattern of the nation consists of sovereign States and subordinate cities. ... the American city is still the legal creature of higher authorities, subject to their fiat for the most minor of powers and procedures, reaching down in one State to legislation to permit the peddling of peanuts on a municipal pier. The city is in many ways the ward of a guardian who refuses to function.

"Our overlapping medley of independent governmental units was intended for a rural and a manorial society but never for the sprawling metropolitan regions of America and the satellite suburbs. The concrete facts of our urban and administrative life frequently defy State lines and local control. Twenty-two of our ninety-six metropolitan districts containing 26,000,000 or one-fifth of all our inhabitants straddle State lines....*

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"Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy"
(National Resources Committee, June 1937).
"Emerging Problems", (Foreword).

C)

Functions of Municipal Government
(Government to Community Relationships)

John M. Gaus in discussing the theory of organization gives a lucid account of a community need which gives rise to an organization to fulfill that need. He uses the example of a "Book Club" organized to give its members the opportunity to read a number of current books, which otherwise the members would not have been able to purchase individually.*

It is in a homely example such as this that the basic interrelationships of government and the community are likewise illustrated. The complex organization of government has for its basic purpose and bears just such a relationship to the community.

What then are some of these basic purposes and functions which are in effect the responses which have grown up as a results of the requirements of the associations and relationships of the community

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Gaus, John M. "A Theory of Organization in Public Administration" from "The Frontiers of Public Administration" (University of Chicago Press 1940), pp. 66 ff.

and what do they represent in terms of local government and the realities of community living?

If one glances at the opening pages of a typical New England town report one can see mirrored here in the list of officers and agencies of the town some indication of these basic relationships. They will be something like this:

First a listing of the town's principal elective officers such as:

- 1) Town Moderator and the Selectmen.
- 2) Town Clerk.
- 3) Treasurer and Collector.
- 4) Assessors.

Then will usually follow the most important officers heading specific agencies that are concerned with the various community services - enterprises which are organized to fill specific community needs such as:

- 1) Board of Public Welfare.
- 2) School Committee.
- 3) Board of Health.
- 4) Constable.
- 5) Park Commissioners (and Cemeteries)
- 6) Utility Commissioners.
etc.

And looking down the list there will usually be a long list of special officers and boards appointed to do the actual job of carrying out the functions and services of government. These will include such personnel as:

- 1) Town accountant (also clerks and other "housekeeping" personnel).
- 2) Inspectors (Health and Welfare).
- 3) Police and Fire Departments.
- 4) School superintendent.
- 5) Superintendent of Streets and Sewers.
- 6) Superintendent of Utilities (Water, Lights).

Then of course will usually be a great proliferation of special committees such as playground, library, town forest or park committees and on down the line to such specialists as moth wardens, bell ringers, sealers of weights and measures, etc.*

This listing will then be followed by a detailed report of the various activities which these

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The 1945 Ipswich, Mass. Town Report was drawn on for the above.

members of the town's governmental organization engaged in during the year, and is generally headed by a statement in terms of dollars and cents giving the money the city took in, its sources, what the city spent, and for what specific purposes, with a final balance sheet showing the relation of total expenditures to total income, whether the city made expenses or went into debt. A detailed report follows by each of the town's officers who reports on his, or his department's activities for the year, thus presenting a comprehensive and detailed picture, in which each member of the community has a claim of personal interest even though it may not be expressed beyond a concern on his part over the local tax rate.

In order to obtain some concrete idea of what these functions mean in terms of the over-all community pattern, however, it is not enough to merely consider a definitive list of activities and functions. What is of importance is to consider and to attempt to define the area of inter-relationships of community and local government in which these functions operate and therefore to

consider the nature of community problems and to what extent a contribution to their ultimate solution may be had at the local level of government.

It has already been a part of this study to draw the broad outline of the framework of governmental levels and their interrelationships by which local government becomes the part of a larger pattern. Being in the nature of interrelationships within a total framework the precise area of local government is relative in the sense that functions which may appear as clear cut and definitive overlap and merge at their periphery with those of county, state and national areas of jurisdiction.

The dependence of local government for its authority upon the state is but one of these relationships which delimit its area of function and which, in turn, is subject to the relationships to the national level. This is of particular importance in the case of municipal finances for example, where municipal credit must be reckoned,

not in terms of a total economic structure such as is the case at the national level where the special powers of issuing and regulating currency reside, but in terms of the local tax base or capacity which is limited in a highly restricted manner not only by the nature of the tax base itself but in a very real sense, by debt limitations imposed by the state. Thus local credit is but a small segment of actual local community credit.* It does not require further elaboration on this particular point to show how all municipal functions are restricted to this basic limitation since they are all ultimately expressed in terms of dollars and cents in the municipal budget.

What has this particular aspect of local government meant in terms of the community? Probably no better answer is to be found than in terms of the national community of urban dwellers comprising some 56.2 per cent of the total popu-

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See "State and Local Finance in the National Economy" by Hansen and Perloff, Chapt. X, pp. 194 ff. entitled, "Fundamental Differences Between Federal Credit and Local Government Credit" for a full discussion of this topic.

lation in the United States in 1930. The report of the Urbanism Committee* is an eloquent statement not only of the problem but of the interrelationships of community and government in finding a solution to that problem, a solution which in essence is the rationalizing of the means to the ends, a squaring of the "system" to meet the requirements of the community environment.

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"Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy", National Resources Committee 1937. See Foreword, pp. v-xiii and particularly sections on "Emerging Problems" and "Recommendations".

D)

Administrative Criteria and Techniques

Luther Gulick* says: "Administration has to do with getting things done; with the accomplishment of defined objectives. The science of administration is thus the system of knowledge whereby men may understand relationships, predict results, and influence outcomes in any situation where men are organized at work for a common purpose. Public administration is that part of the science of administration which has to do with government, and thus concerns itself primarily with the executing branch where the work of government is done, though there are obviously administrative problems also in connection with the legislative and judicial branches. Public administration is thus a division of political science and one of the social sciences."

Then adds parenthetically:

"At the present time administration is more an art than a science; in fact there are those who

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from "Papers on the Science of Administration" by Luther Gulick, L. Urwick, et al, edited by Luther Gulick and L. Urwick (Institute of Public Administration 1937), pp. 191 ff. and pp. 3 ff.

assert dogmatically that it can never be anything else."

The words "science" and "art" in relation to the word "organized" are deserving of special interest; they were not underlined in the original text but have been so singled out for the purposes of this discussion and they will be considered in relation to some of the "principles" the same author has enumerated in support of this concept of administration. These "principles" have so pervaded the thinking on the subject that they will be considered here in some detail. Some of the most important of these which are taken from his "Notes on the Theory of Organization" and representing a distillation of earlier attempts by other authorities to formulate similar principles are paraphrased in the following words:

* Some Administrative Principles:

Administrative efficiency is increased

by:

- 1) A specialization of the task among the group.
- 2) Arranging the members of the group in a determinate hierarchy of authority.
- 3) Limiting the span of control at any point in the hierarchy to a small number.
- 4) Grouping the workers for purposes of control according to:
 - a) Purpose.
 - b) Process.
 - c) Clientele.
 - d) Place.

It is not a difficult matter for an average person to appreciate the validity of most of these points in terms of personal experience. The assembly line is a typical example of specialization and it is not difficult to imagine the consequences in a joint enterprise if each member were subjected to

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For a further discussion on this subject see an article by Herbert A. Simon entitled, "The Proverbs of Administration", Public Administration Review, Winter 1946, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 53 ff.; (This listing of "Some Administrative Principles" is taken from Simon's article).

conflicting orders. The Hollywood version of the executive with eight telephones on his desk is a dramatization that points up with an absurdity the limits of spans of control. The fourth point is perhaps a little more difficult to assess although it is related to specialization, the first point. The matter of efficiency which has been assumed to be the essential objective of administration is also deserving of attention.

On this latter point Gulick is more explicit: "In the science of administration, whether public or private, the basic "good" is efficiency. The fundamental objective of the science of administration is the accomplishment of the work in hand with the least expenditure of man-power and materials."

As a direct outgrowth of these considerations Gulick then attacks the central problem of authority - the hierarchy of authority or as he terms it "organizing the executive". This is based on a consideration of what the executive does and is neatly tied up in a package with red ribbons": "POSDCORB". This cryptogram stands for:

- 1) P-lanning (determining the objective).
- 2) O-rganizing (establishing the structure of authority).
- 3) S-staffing (assigning personnel to functions in the hierarchy).
- 4) D-irecting (continuing decision making - exercise of authority).
- 5) Co-ordinating (interrelating parts of work).
- 6) R-eporting (to subordinates and for his own information).
- 7) B-udgeting (fiscal planning, accounting and control).

With these seven functions then - span of control as it is now defined - there is a basis for departmental organization - each of these functions can be organized as a separate department under the executive and the four principles previously enunciated are brought into play on the basis of a new objective, for which a work division may be made, a new hierarchy of authority taking into account span of control and arranged in a pattern to serve the central purpose with a consideration of the special interrelationships involved in

the processes used, the clientele served or the place where the tasks must be performed.*

Thus it is seen in the rather incomplete statement which presents a mere outline of theories without their supporting arguments, that the primary preoccupation is how the organization should be constructed and operated in order to accomplish its work efficiently. Its primary weakness is in the nature of basic assumptions - the fact that alternatives are left undefined and surely in a system which is concerned with human objectives and human interrelationships there will always be alternatives. One's credulity is strained by any such solution which is so pat that it permits no alternatives or by making claims of "scientific principles" for what is obviously a systematized and orderly process of considering interrelationships in human affairs. The article previously referred

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See "Leadership or Domination" by Paul Pigors (Houghton Mifflin Co. 1935) for a contrasting "rational" analysis of organization and leadership pp. 245 ff. and particularly p. 259 where he says, "The Administrator must constantly guard against temptation to treat his system as an end in itself, etc." It is also an interesting contrast as a "Humanistic" system of organization with Gulick's summary as a "mechanistic" approach - is one more scientific than the other?

to by Herbert A. Simon makes a good case against the frailties of such a system of criteria and techniques, which he calls proverbs rather than principles, when they presume on the prerogatives of science; they are like proverbs because they rationalize human behavior and hence they also have an equally plausible and acceptable contradictory principle like "Look before you leap" vs. "He who hesitates is lost".

The great value, however, and it is not to be forgotten, is that these "principles" of administration present an orderly system by which interrelationships may be considered. They are "aids to decision" and serve to raise the upper and lower limits in which rationality is operative for a given situation. It is however in as simple conditions of reality as those described by John Gaus in the formation of a "Book Club" at the opening of the previous section that values and purpose assume validity, the abstract values of organization and administration must be conditioned by the values of reality for a given framework of

circumstances and cannot be isolated solely on such terms as "efficiency", "span of control", "hierarchy of authority", etc. For are these not capable of being the "false gods of infallibility" that were mentioned before? Human relations and values cannot be reduced to a mere rubric of seven letters.

This however does not mean that certain basic elements cannot be recognized in human associations for a common purpose. Thus common purpose is probably the first factor which motivates a group and brings them together. Such a purpose presupposes a program for carrying it out or a plan of action as well as a plan of organization. This immediately raises problems of personnel, the interrelating of individual efforts, leadership, and certainly in present times, of finance. All these are factors which it becomes necessary to consider if the association is to have continuity of effort in accomplishing particular objectives, however there will be vast differences of individual capacities and temperament, there will be varying degrees of

importance attached to interrelationships within the group depending on the nature of objectives and their administrative functions will have a greater or lesser degree of importance with corresponding degrees of formality or informality of interrelationships of the members of the group.

Marshall Dimock puts forth these words of caution in regard to public administration:*

"Admitting that the formulation of hypotheses and principles is necessary and desirable, the worker in the field of public administration should be constantly on his guard against generalizations which bear no close relation to the solution of the problem and situation which he is exploring. Public administration, like government, is a human activity and, like the activity of humans, is complex and often unpredictable. Public Administration is not an end in itself, but is merely a tool of government and the servant of the community - as such it may be expected to grow and to change as society itself changes".

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Dimock, Marshall E. "The Meaning and Scope of Public Administration", from "Frontiers of Public Administration" (University of Chicago Press 1940), pp. 4 ff.

E)

Forms and Organization of Municipal
Government

Probably the most outstanding characteristic of municipal government in the United States is the extensive variation both in the form it has assumed in individual cities and to an even greater extent in its organizational structure. Even though it may be designated as a mayor-council form of municipal government, it can be quite unique in the nature of its internal relationships, as compared to another city which ostensibly is also a mayor-council type. It would almost seem that it were a "law unto itself" although this is hardly the case in the literal sense as was pointed out in the foregoing section.

It is also something in the nature of an anomaly that municipal government, although in a legal straightjacket with regard to its dependence for authority and in fact for its very existence, on state sanction, represents an area of government in which some of the more outstanding advances

in criteria, and techniques of governmental administration, have been developed through experimentation and direct application.

Thus, municipal government is characterized on the one hand by forms which have gone little beyond their colonial origins and others which represent an extensive application of ideas representing contemporary attempts to rationalize the governmental institution with contemporary problems. The nature and extent of some of these problems can be appreciated in terms of the magnitude of change which has affected the national community during a span of some 150 years when municipal government, limited to a mere handful of urban areas with a population of some five per cent, has come to affect directly the lives of at least two-thirds of the total national community. In point of actual numbers of people the figures are even more startling. In 1790 the total urban population was some 200 to 225 thousand; today it is in the neighborhood of 80 to 90 millions of which more than half of this number live in cities

with populations of 100,000 or more. In 1790 there were a total of 30 urban areas and no city that had a population of 50,000, with only two, Philadelphia and New York, with a population over 25,000. Today there are some 3,000 urban areas - 16,262 municipal corporate units of municipal government - 19,000 separate units of government for towns and townships, 3,000 county units of government and 126,690 other units of local government in the form of special boards and districts, a total of 165,000 units of local government each with its own separate taxing powers and jurisdictions.*

Equally drastic have been the changes in the fabric of community interrelationships having to do with the basic concerns and requirements of life in that community and its environment. Thus

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See "Our Cities, Their Role in the National Economy" (National Research Committee 1937), Part I, Sec. 1.

Also, "State and Local Finance in the National Economy" by Hansen and Perloff, p. 83.

a national community has been faced with problems of major adjustment in its basic institutions and in a microcosmic period of time that probably has had no parallel in the history of mankind.

The immediate considerations of political expediency, no less than the actual conditions of community life of 1790 which prompted the framers of the Constitution, to concentrate their attention on the top level of governmental structure and on the basic principles which it was their main pre-occupation to incorporate at that level, has not been without certain fortuitous advantages even though local government as a factor in the national polity and the national community, is essentially a political stepchild with marked inequalities of institutionalized representation and generally inadequate authority or powers to match the magnitude of the problems it has been faced with.

This very lack of provision along any rigid preconceived idea however has left the way open for the improvization and ingenuity which is

apparent in present day municipal organization and through the necessity to devise means to meet the city's immediate problems, the individual member in the community has been faced with the basic problems of democratic government and the responsibility he has in making it work.

The local level has, in effect, been the proving ground for many of the more significant developments in techniques and criteria for a more effective realization of the purposes and aims of democratic government.

The great reform wave which has swept through local government since 1900, and brought with it an emphasis on the administrative functions and particularly the development and application of management techniques has had far-reaching effects extending to the national level. The President's Committee on Administrative Management* served to focus attention on the essential interrelationships

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"President's Committee on Administrative Management"
Report of the Committee, U.S. Gov. Printing Office,
Washington, D. C. 1937.

of administrative and policy-making or legislative functions, the special problems they raise and pointing to means to assure their more effective operation. The report was the reflection of a similar consideration which had gone on in municipal government where many of the techniques offered were already in operation. A notable example was the idea of the executive budget. It has been in municipal government that this idea first found acceptance and was developed. The actual use of budgeting as an instrument of government preceded in municipal government, by a decade its adoption (1921) at the national level.*

It is thus, in the improvizations and experimentation in an area which was uncharted and unforeseen and one that required the highest quality of ingenuity because its problems have been of a magnitude compelling the revaluation of the entire system of democratic government itself and in terms of its basic assumptions and principles that the

*

See A.E. Buck's "Public Budgeting" (Harper & Bros. 1929), Chapt. II.

national community has found many of the means for adjustment to a radically changed way of life.

Forms of Municipal Government

While it is not considered a part of this study to compile an abstract of objective data, relative to organization and structure of municipal government - that has been done much more extensively and much more explicitly in the great number of contemporary texts and writings on the subject than could be hoped for in the scope and extent of this study - however, it is necessary to give a brief outline of the principal features characterizing present day municipal government in order to attempt an evaluation in terms of essential community needs and problems.

In spite of the variations and seeming heterogeneity of municipal government, there does exist a basis for classification by drawing on the central idea of organization which lies at the root of democratic government. Thus if the basic functions of policy making and policy execution are considered

CHART II

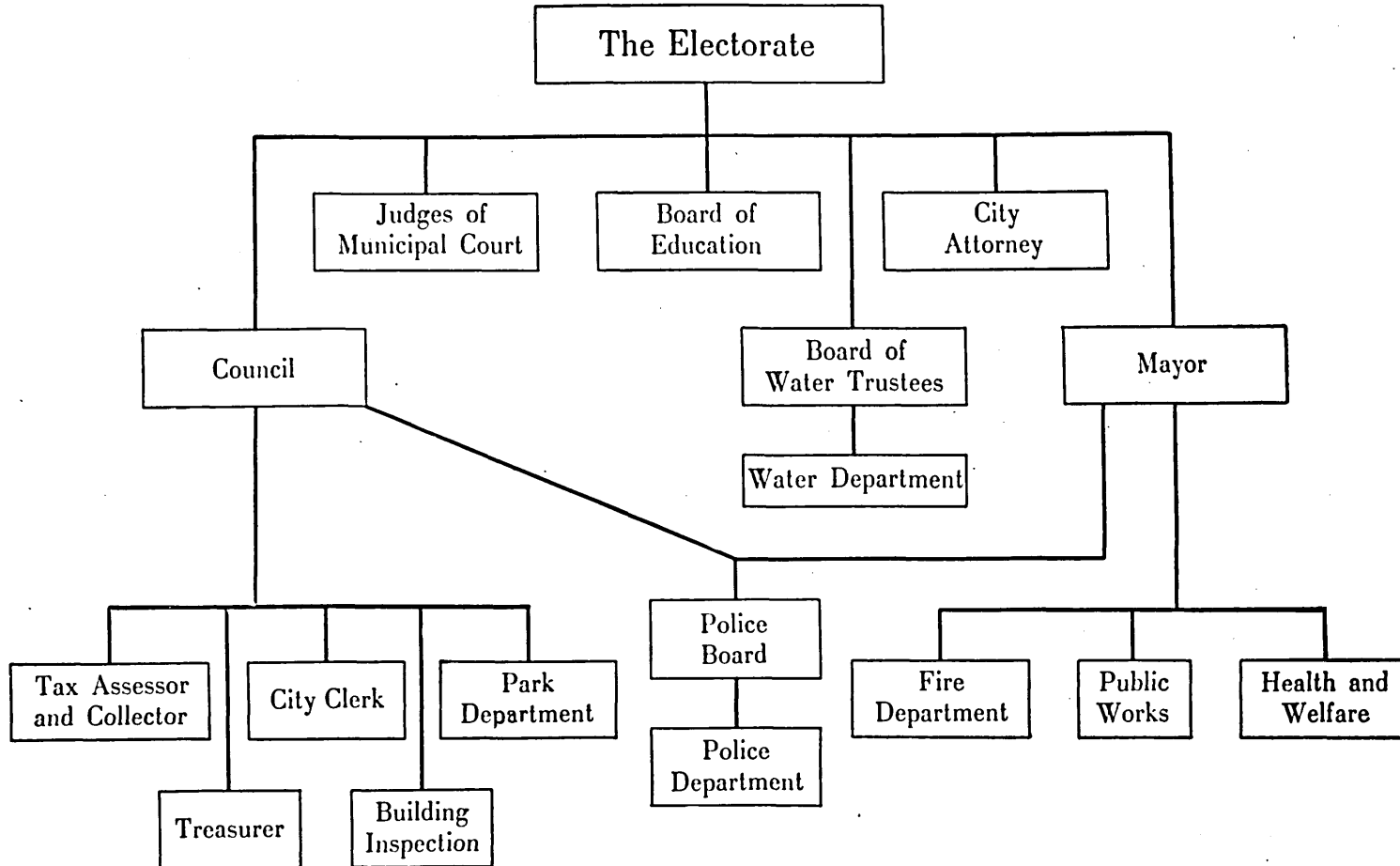


Fig. 1. Organization Chart of a Mayor-and-Council City, Diffused Type. The Mayor Appoints Police Board, But Appointees Must Be Confirmed by the Council.

CHART III

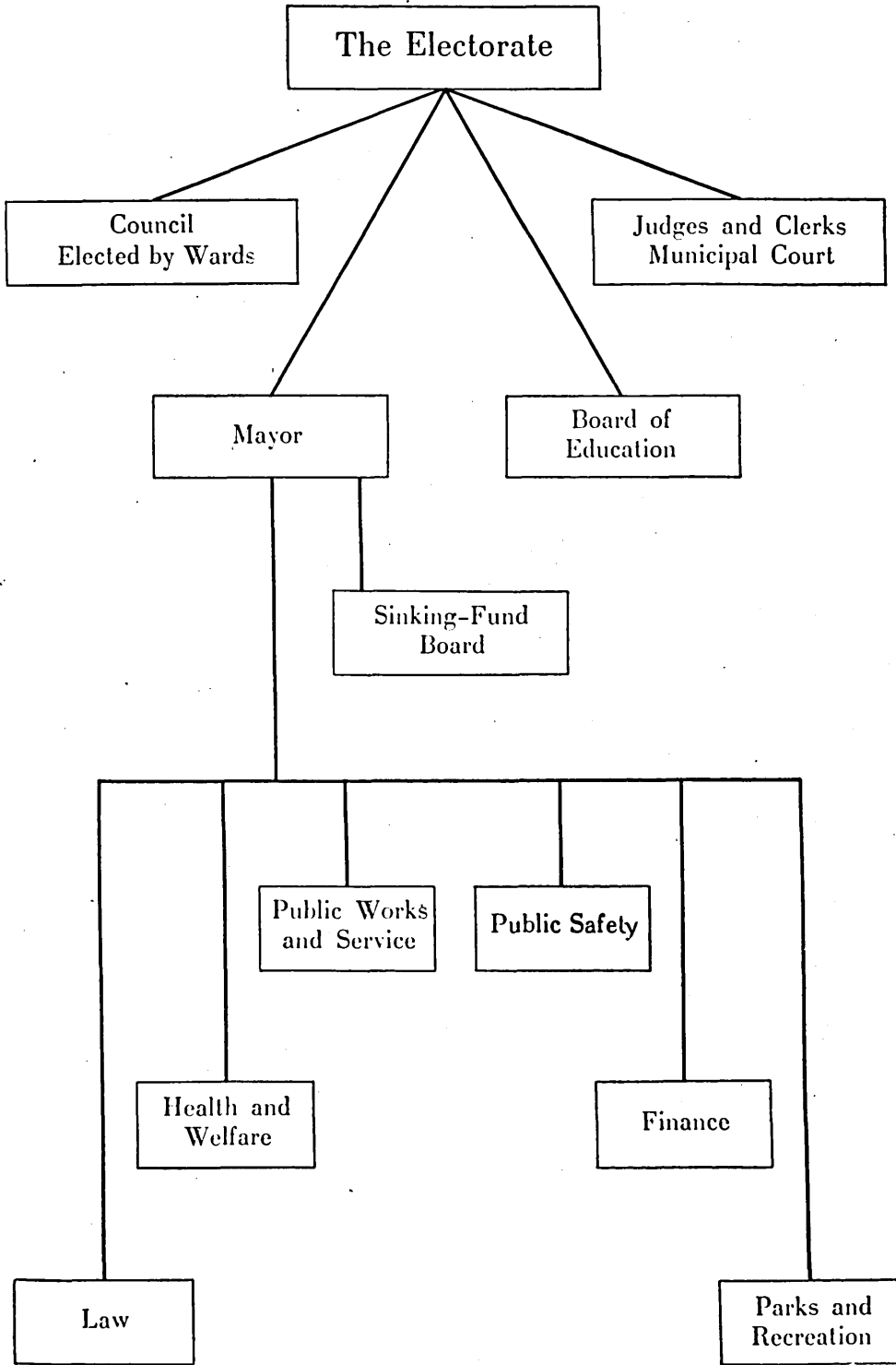


Fig. 2. Organization Chart of a Mayor-and-Council City, Strong-Mayor Type.

it becomes apparent that the first of these - the policy-making functions as an expression of the popular will and the basis for authority and the motivating force in democratic government - furnishes a logical starting point and basis of comparison. On this basis then, there are three* clearly distinguishable types or forms of municipal government.

1) - The Council-Mayor form with the council consisting of an elective body of representatives directly responsible to the popular will and exercising legislative authority delegated by that will. As such it is representative of the policy making function of government. The mayor is representative of the policy executing

*

It is commonly assumed that in addition to these three basic types, there is a fourth, namely, the City Manager form. However, this does not seem logical where the policy making functions are the basis of a comparative classification as is done here. The City Manager is representative of a more definitive interpretation of the policy executing functions in terms of management. He may be a part of the organization of any of the three basic types and thus, would comprise a variant of any one of them and is usually associated with the commission form. In this case the commission becomes the law making body and hires a manager to whom it delegates authority for carrying out its policy.

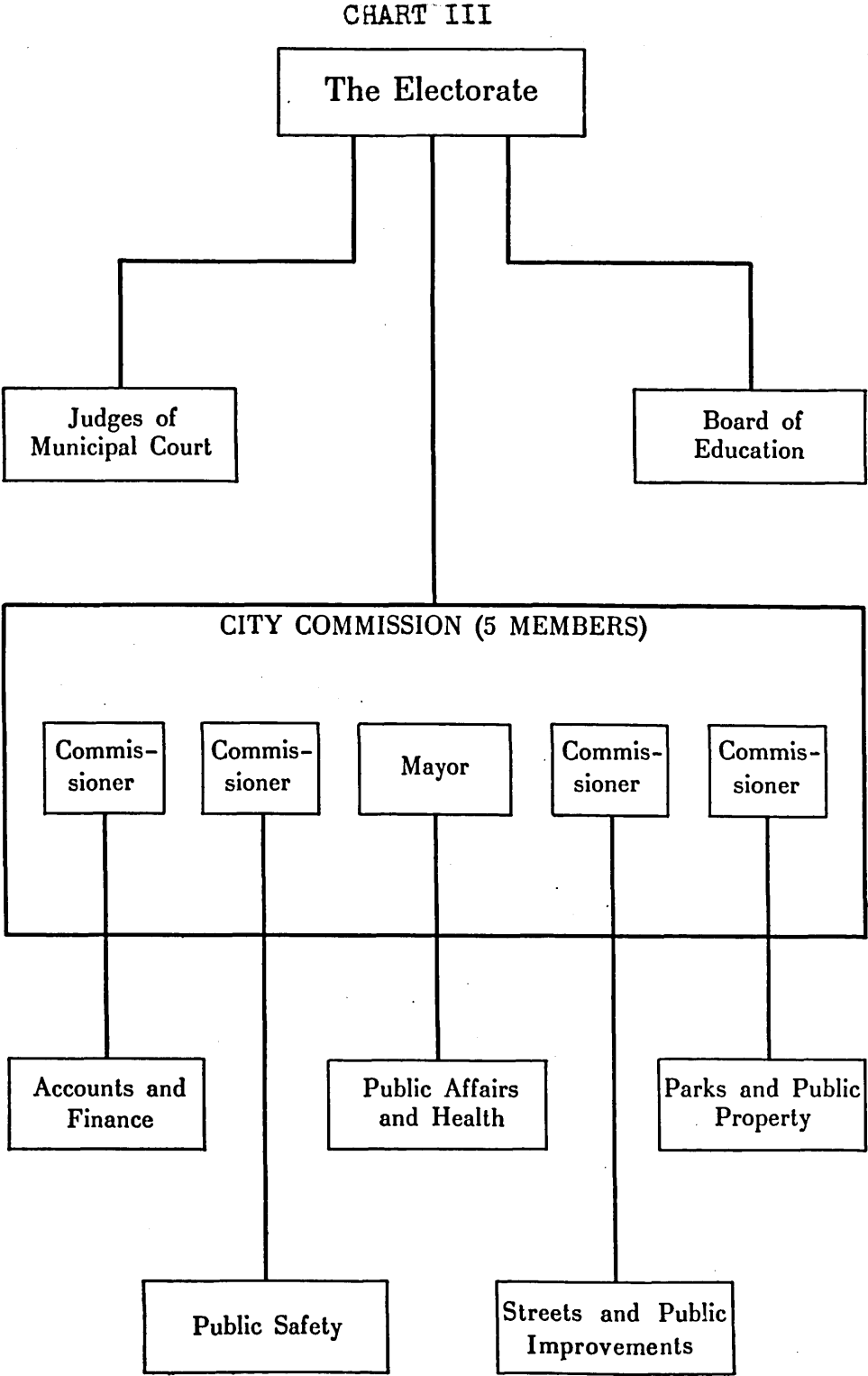


Fig. 3. Organization Chart of a City Having the Commission Form.

function and is either directly (when popularly elected) or indirectly (when appointed by the Council) responsible to the popular will for the exercise of administrative authority.

2) - The Commission form represents the idea of combining the policy making and executing functions in the same body of elective officials. It consists of a small body of commissioners (usually six) who act in concert as the legislative body and separately as heads of principal departments in carrying out the policy they have adopted.

3) - The New England town meeting is the oldest form of municipal government and is little changed since colonial days. Its central body is essentially an administrative one with no separate body exercising legislative functions. The townspeople or voters themselves constitute the legislative body and all participate directly in town meeting for the adoption of measures of major policy.

Organization

Municipal government fulfills certain prescribed functions with respect to the community,

CHART V

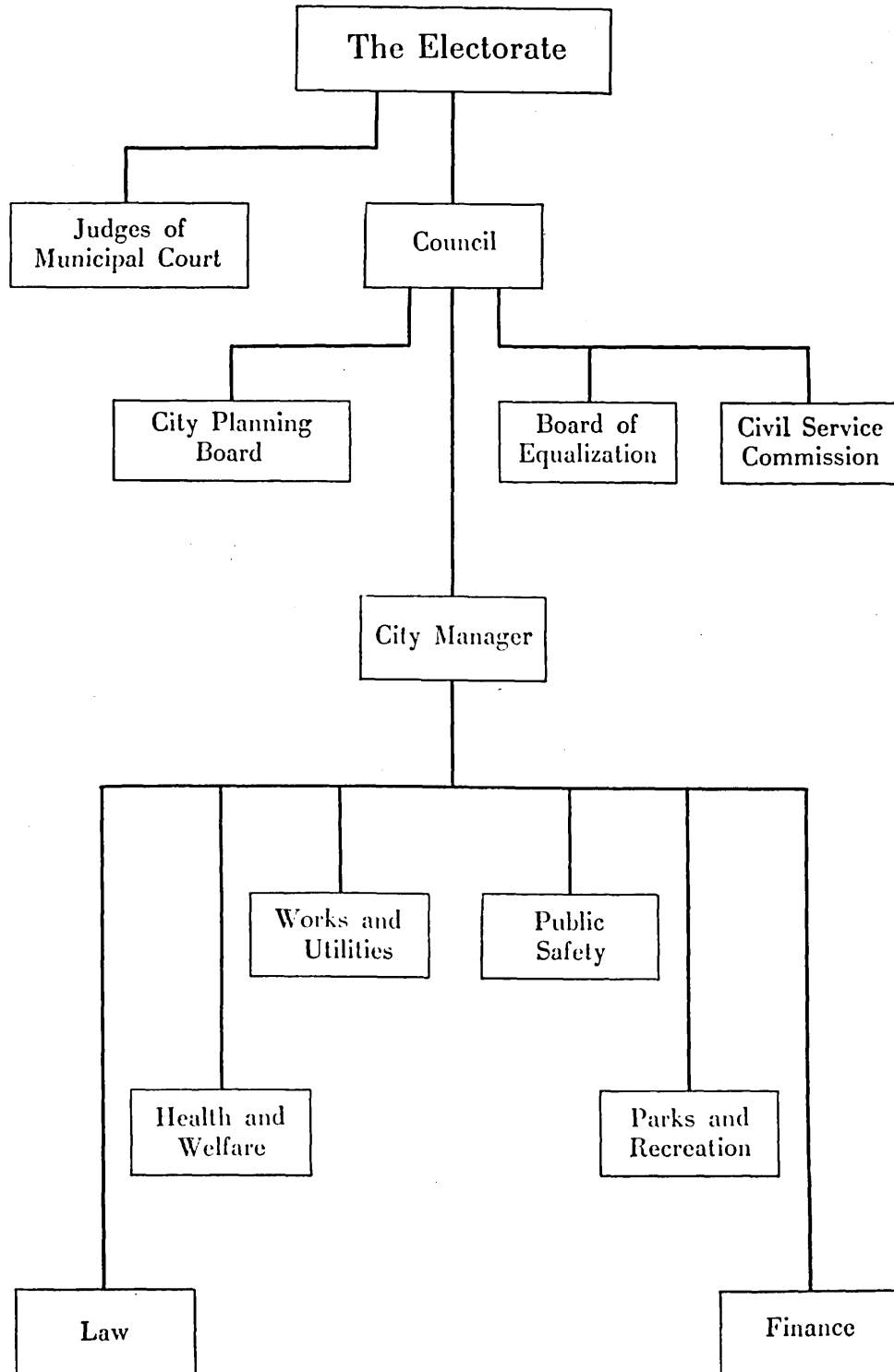


Fig. 4. Organization Chart of a Council-Manager City.

the scope of these functions being limited not only as to content but also to jurisdictional limits with respect to the higher levels of federal government as well as precise geographical boundaries. These are "facts" conditioning its organization.

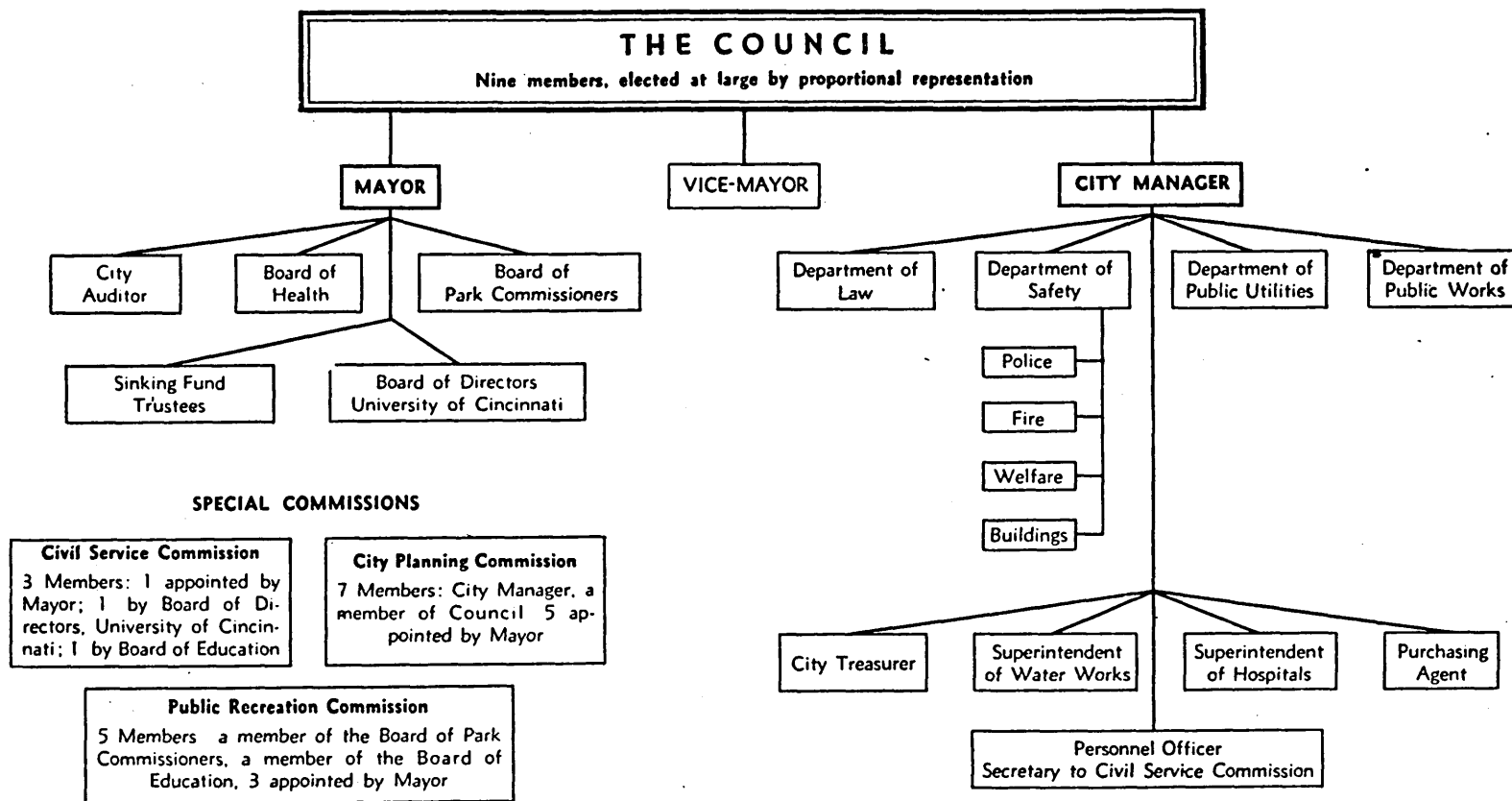
In the early days of local government the principal function was that of enforcement of laws which were generally made by a higher authority. Thus local government was actually the agent of the state and as such not only enforced the state laws but collected state taxes. For its own subsistence it had to rely on what few enterprises it was allowed to engage in, such as rentals and fees for city owned property, or the meager taxing powers it might be permitted to exercise.

Present day municipal government in contrast, is a highly complex affair with many functions and powers and a high degree of interdependence between it and the community. Because of its special restrictions the most important functions of municipal government center around the various services it

CHART VI

A MODERN CITY GOVERNMENT
The Organization of the Government of the City of Cincinnati

-85-



The Mayor and Vice-Mayor are chosen by the Council from its own membership; the City Manager may not be chosen from the Council. The Mayor's appointments are made "with the advice and consent of the Council"; the City Manager's appointments are not subject to Council approval, but his appointment of the Superintendent of Hospitals is subject to the approval of the Board of Directors of the University of Cincinnati.

renders the community as well as its traditional law enforcing functions. Its policy making body is therefore primarily concerned with a continually expanding number of services, mounting expenditures and restricted sources of revenue to pay for them. This has forced a consideration of the most economical methods to provide these essential community services and in consequence most of the major reforms of the last half century have dealt with measures of re-organization and improved techniques of management and the elimination of graft and waste of public funds.

The key to organization in municipal government is the departmental unit performing specific functions with relation to the community. The major problem which has been considered in the development of present day organizational structure has dealt with the overall interrelating of purposive departments and providing the means for over-all unity of control with a marked rise in the importance of executive functions. The marked similarity in the problems this raises and the problems of private en-

terprise has led to the adoption of much of the terminology and techniques of organization which were first developed in private corporate enterprises. Thus "municipal administration" and "business administration" have merged to a point where their values seem almost undistinguishable and the hallmark of good municipal government has come to be described in such terms as "efficiency", "economy", "solvency" and many authorities of political science are even beginning to look to the techniques of "rationalized" economy of motion - the time study, standards of input to output in terms of man-hours and the specific work unit.* Similarly there is an endless proliferation of organization charts with neatly boxed-in titles showing various functions which by means of tenuous lines pyramid to a director of public works or a city manager or a council and in some cases even to a cryptic title such as the "electorate".

One cannot belittle these attempts at rationalizing the functions of government for certainly they have been productive of benefits

* See Stone, Donald C. "The Management of Municipal Public Works" (Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1939), Chapt. III.

in terms of community. When one compares the machinery of municipal government in cities where there has not been such an effort to rationalize its functions with those that have expended some effort in this direction, many immediate advantages are to be seen. All too often, however, the pride a citizen may take in a "well managed" city government obscures the fact that his city still has slums, that many may be ill clothed, ill housed or ill fed on the other side of the hill.

In summary then, the organization characterizing municipal government is one designed to fulfill its specialized and generally restricted functions permitted under prescribed powers. Its policy making body functions in an area of government only partially capable of reconciling community problems with a rational solution. The complimentary functions of government at higher levels have not closed this gap. Thus its policy executing body operates in a similar vacuum and, while the process of internal rationalization of its functions which

has characterized the reforms of the last 50 years has had a noteworthy effect in terms of operational efficiency; their effect in terms of solving essential community problems is at best a tangential one. The dilemma which this poses is therefore one which transcends any individual community, it is one which demands consideration in terms of the total national community and the entire federal polity.

The city planner concerned with community problems is of necessity limited in his relationship to municipal administration by the capacities of municipal government to contribute to the rational solution of these problems. It is of relatively little importance whether or not that administrative process is subjected to the "dichotomy of staff and line" as Walker suggests* and thereby finds a place for him in the structure of municipal government. This of course does not imply that present avenues for the rational solution of community problems under existing restrictions and limitations have

* Walker, Robert A., "The Planning Function in Urban Government", (University of Chicago Press 1941), Chapt. VI, pp. 66 ff.

been exhausted and it still leaves open the questions Walker raises for a more effective use of planning techniques. However, it seems obvious he confuses the ends with the means. He actually is making a case for better government - more effective solution of community problems. Tinkering with the inner machinery may be essential, (even though that tinkering raises debatable points*). A good road map and a full tank of gas may be just as important.

*

See Henry A. Simon's "Proverbs of Administration" previously referred to for further comment, he says:

"Walker makes out a strong case for attaching the planning agency to the chief executive. But he rests his entire case on the rather slender reed that "as long as the planning agency is outside the governmental structure planning will tend to encounter resistance from public officials as an invasion of their responsibility and jurisdiction". This "resistance" is precisely the type of non-rational loyalty which has been referred to previously and which is certainly variable."

CHART VII

NATIONAL PARTY ORGANIZATION

-16-

NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTION

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman chosen by presidential nominee

One man and one woman from each state, and from District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Philippines, and (in Democratic Party) the Canal Zone; nominated as laws of the states require and ratified by the National Conventions.

SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Republican Party: 7 Senators appointed by chairman of conference for two year term.

Democratic Party: 6 Senators, appointed by conference for two year term.

Management of campaign activities in behalf of party candidates for U.S. Senate.

CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Republican Party: one member from each state with Republican representation in House, chosen by caucus of state delegation.

Democratic Party: one member from each state having Democratic representation in House, chosen by caucus of state delegation; in addition, one man and one woman from states without representation designated by chairman of caucus.

Management of campaign activities in behalf of party candidates for U.S. House of Representatives.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Democratic Party only, consisting usually of ten or more national figures.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A select executive organization varying in membership, but usually fifteen in Democratic and twenty-five in Republican Parties. Chairman of National Committee is usually chairman of executive committee.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Designated by executive committee to direct activities of National headquarters.

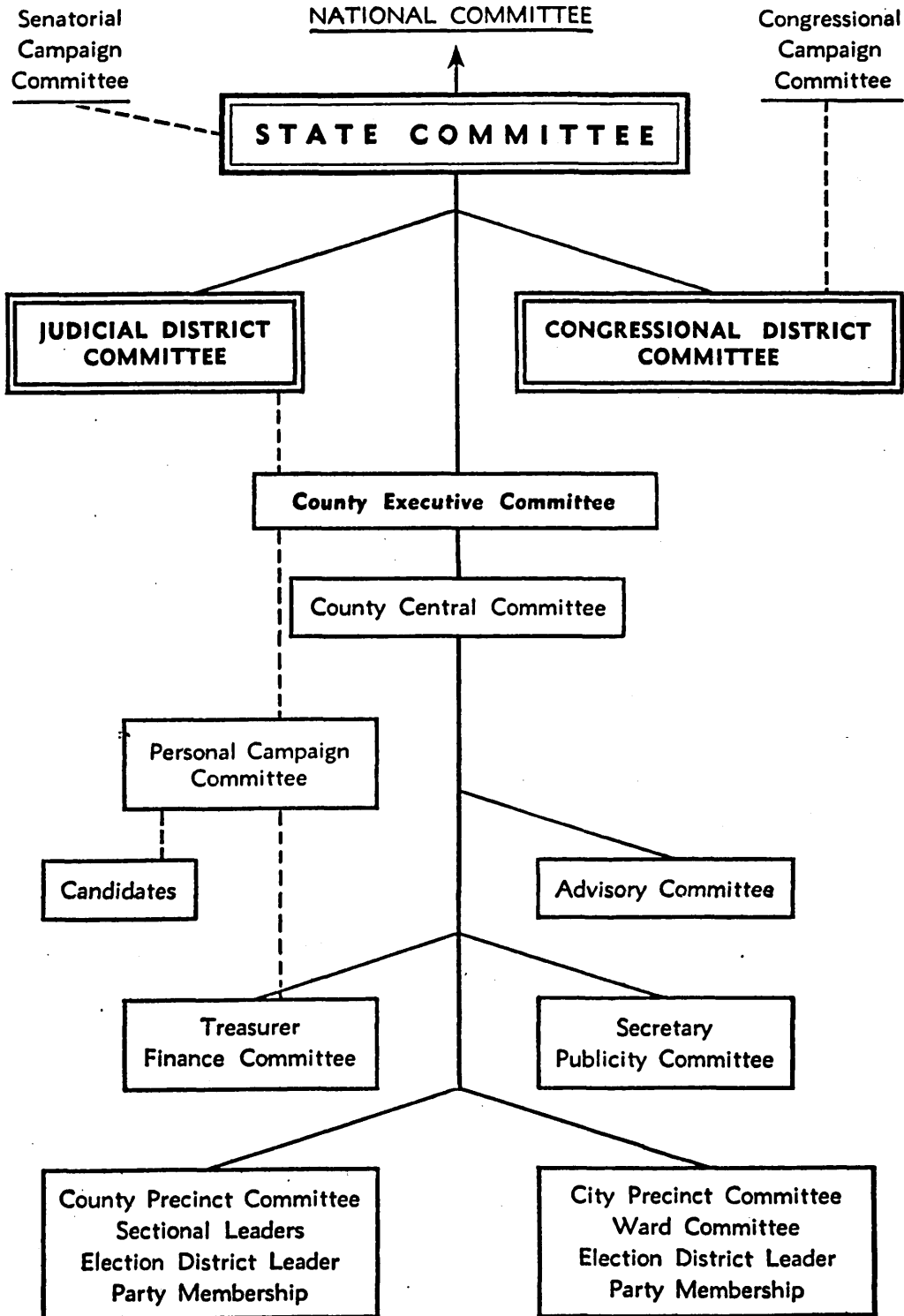
BUREAU OF PUBLICITY

Empowered by executive committee to conduct editorial and publicity activities.

Continuous lines: Regular permanent organization and contacts.

Broken lines: Campaign and casual organization and contacts.

TYPICAL STATE AND LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATION
Utah Party Committee Organization



Continuous lines: Regular permanent organization and contacts.
Broken lines: Campaign and casual organization and contacts.

F)

The Community and Elements of
Political Organization
(Relationship of Community to Government)

So far what has been discussed deals with relationships in the insitutionalized framework of government. The flow lines have been pretty much in one direction, that is, towards the community and from the top downwards. In order to complete the picture some consideration must be made of the forces and interactions which lie at the heart of the total fabric, namely, the relationship of the community to government and how its forces are generated and brought to bear on the processes of government.

There is probably no symbol of democratic government which more nearly epitomizes the relationship of community to government and the mutual responsibilities it implies than the ballot of the individual member of the community who, by his free choice of legislative officers (and in basic issues) confers not only his favor but delegates his authority to chosen representatives who are then directly held accountable to him for their

action. As a simple and uncomplicated act, this picture holds the highest place in any concept of democracy yet, like the ideal of democracy, it is a statement of ultimate ends for which means are to be devised and the "minds and hearts of men inclined".

Twenty years ago Charles Beard, in commenting on the matter of the "sovereign voter" in the American political scene had this to say:

"Nowhere has the "sovereign voter" received more adulation than in the United States, and nowhere has the power of sovereignty been more frittered away in futile agitations and the collateral incidents of practical politics in seeking to establish popular control through the ballot the American people have in reality called into existence an elaborate party organization to serve as an office-filling and spoils-sharing machine ... "invisible government" the complex election and party system makes it impossible for the citizens to exercise any real discrimination it has perverted the party from its function of concentrating

CHART IX

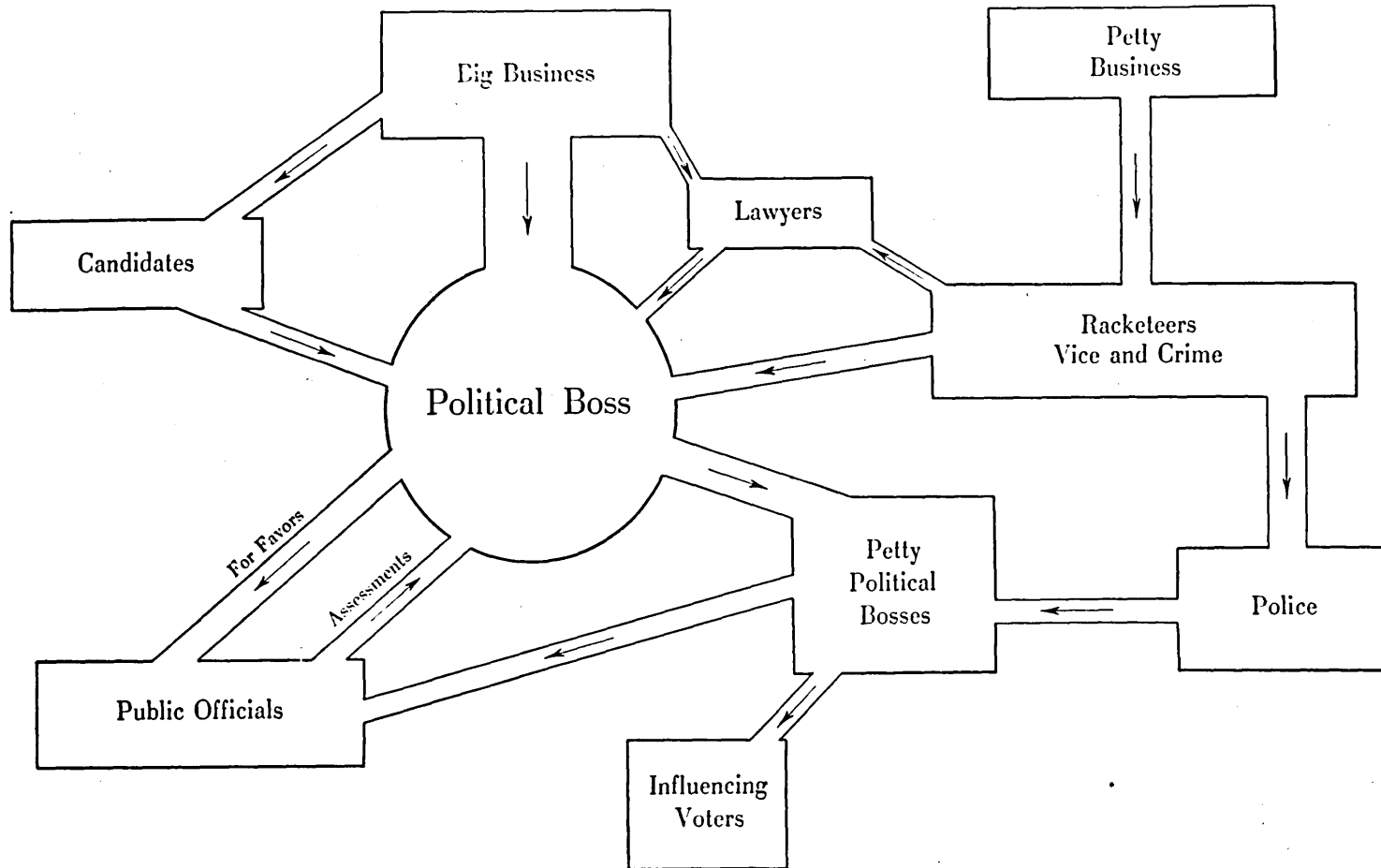


Fig. 5. Flow of Money in a Corrupt City.

opinion on issues it has excluded persons of independent character from political activities .. on account of the necessity of making terms with the office-filling machine.*

The great preoccupation of that day was the political machine and its paralyzing effects on the basic mechanisms of popular sovereignty. Today many of these same problems still exist, yet there are certainly numberless examples of efforts to find their solution in terms of accountability of government and responsibility of the individual or groups of individuals within the community. The political machine and the "Boss" are still with us but certainly vice, graft and corruption, which were almost synonymous with municipal government at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, now prevails to a far lesser degree and in fewer and fewer of our larger cities. The Urbanism Committee's supplementary report makes this clear enough in discussing the improved trends in

*

Beard, Chas. A. "American Government and Politics" (Macmillan Company 1926), pp. 517 ff.

municipal government and politics.*

The provocative, if not apt, term of "invisible government" used by Elihu Root to characterize the controls exercised by the political machines of his day might indeed be extended to that vast area which lies between the individual's ballot and the legislative or policy-making body of institutionalized government. It is in fact a twilight zone from which are resolved the ultimate forces shaping and controlling the functions of government.

There are two general aspects of this area of "invisible government". The first of which is concerned with the formalized body of political practice embodied in party structure and organization. It represents the more tangible aspects of politics with formalized relationships to government although they are essentially extra-legal ones. The traditions of political organization extend to colonial times and at the time

*

"Urban Government" ISupplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee, 1939), Vol. I, Part I, pp. 45 ff.

of the framing of the Constitution were represented in the duality of opinions and sentiments of Hamilton (Federalist) and Jefferson (Republican). This pattern of duality has become a firmly accepted tradition and, while there are many examples of new issues and new affiliations which have given rise to third or independent parties, they have eventually become resolved in the two dominant parties which have taken over their issues and platforms. Thus the American two-party system, particularly at the national level, has served to coalesce the various conflicting interests of individual groups into dominant issues upon which the "yeas and nays" of popular opinion might be focused and a simple crossmark on a ballot could resolve.

Government however is not a process which comes to a periodic halt while the people deliver their august decision on election day and thereby establish its policy and functions for a succeeding interval. Forces and issues which are capable of marshalling public support on election day are also

the forces and issues which are the continuum of politics and government. Thus the second element which is more truly "invisible government" appears. It consists of the simple everyday contacts of community association and living by which each individual member identifies himself either actively or passively with some organized part of the community's life and no one who is a member of the community can escape their political implications. If one considers, for example, the formalized aspect of political pressure and interest groups at the level of national government which represent generally measurable segments of the community's political power as exemplified in their ability to decide a critical issue at the polls, one comes up with some interesting conclusions as to the nature of the individual's part in shaping the day to day functions of government.

There are generally conceded to be some four hundred* organized lobbies in Washington which main-

*

see Stuart Chase's "Democracy Under Pressure", (Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1945), pp. 2 ff.

and not as commonly supposed simply on certain prescribed days of the year when he goes through a ritual involving a small rubber stamp and an obstinately devised piece of paper which like a road map defies all efforts to return it to its preconstituted form.

Every time he punches the time clock at his job, every time he puts a dime in the turnstile of the subway, or a nickel in the slot of a telephone, flicks on the switch of his radio, or buys a dozen eggs at the grocery store, he has identified himself with an element in the vast complex of the organized community of which he is a part. This has a political implication which is no less a part of the total pattern than his more direct association with particular aspects such as when he pays his dues to his lodge, his union or signs a petition for his neighbor's candidacy for a local political office.

Although these community relationships lie at the base of political forces, such forces do not just happen. They become articulate only when there is organized effort and purpose with which

they can become identified. All organized effort involves certain basic elements and functions. Its primary motivation arises out of the fact that:

a) It consists of people brought together by a common purpose which in itself is a matter of human choice and deliberation.

b) Through joint effort the group is capable of widening the opportunities and resources of those for whom it is established.

Thus, starting with people and a basic purpose which is shared in common by the group, it then becomes necessary to evolve an arrangement of relationships in which each member of the group will have certain functions and responsibilities with respect to the total effort in accomplishing the agreed upon purpose. It involves the relating of efforts and capacities of individuals within the group and in such a manner that each may contribute the maximum of his capacities. This in turn raises a highly complex consideration of human qualities since it implies cooperation by each individual.

It is a commonly accepted part of human experience that cooperation within a group rests on certain basic elements which are directly related to the accomplishment of the overall purpose to which the group is directing its efforts. Thus the basic conflict of subjective desires of individuals and the requirements for objective action by each individual in order to accomplish the ultimate purpose of the group must be resolved. This is a problem in human relationships and psychology and involves means to secure the greatest measure of personal satisfaction to the individual. The balance which is finally struck usually arises out of, and is in the nature of, a compromise in which subjective desires are resolved in terms of the common purpose.

*a) It is important, for example, that each member have as good a comprehension

*

The general outline presented here has drawn extensively on the essay by John M. Gaus, "Theory of Organization in Public Administration". (See previous reference, "The Frontiers of Public Administration"), pp. 66 ff.

as possible of the relationship of his particular function and responsibility in the organization to that ultimate purpose if his work is to be done intelligently and effectively.

b) The best effort of the individual is not put forth unless he feels that he has some share in creating the common purpose of the group and some degree of participation in determining how that purpose shall be made effective.

c) This raises the problem of leadership which is a phenomenon of human relationships as familiar in its outward manifestations as that of organization itself and it is further a matter of common experience that purposive action in a group depends for its ultimate effectiveness on the positive and assertive qualities associated with leadership.

d) Leadership implies a coordination of joint effort bringing it to bear on the central purpose and hence is dependent on the winning of response and consent from the members of the group. (It is in direct contrast to domination which im-

plies the ultimate compromise of subjective desire through fear and hence requires force or the threat of force to support it. It is essentially control from the outside rather than within the group*).

e) Thus coordination is the task of winning this active consent from the co-operating group in their day to day activities through:

- 1) Careful allocation of functions.
- 2) Cooperative evolution of working policy.
- 3) Securing and making available relevant knowledge.
- 4) The determination of priorities in processes and activities.
- 5) The delimitation and focusing of efforts and resources.
- 6) The recruiting and canalizing of ideas and energies of members of the group.

*

See Pigors, Paul, "Leadership or Domination" (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), Chapt. I and II.

With these basic considerations many of which are observable in even the most elementary of group associations, such as childrens' play groups, the community in a highly integrated society then is seen to consist of pyramiding layers of purposive association with conflicts resolving themselves into succeeding common purposes at ever rising levels. In a community, for example, groups which are in apparent conflict as to their immediate purpose may coalesce for joint effort at a higher level of purpose. The Chamber of Commerce and the local A.F. of L. may join with other community organizations to support a new park and recreation area for the local community or similarly conflicting interests may join to oppose certain developments and purposes that they find in conflict with their own purposes.

It has been the special attribute of democratic concepts and institutions as was pointed out earlier in the quotation from Carl Friedrich's discussion of democratic processes and planning,

that a means of compromise has been provided at any given level of purpose with its conflicting interests. This essentially is a winning of consent by pre-arranged agreement which, in any conflict to achieve a higher level of purpose, enables the contending groups and interests to align themselves into majorities, it being the special prerogative of the majority to win the consent of the total group for its support and cooperation in the action favored by the majority. Thus purposive organized effort resolves itself into dominant lines capable of a maximum degree of cooperation at the highest level of purpose, namely, at the level of the national community interest.

PART IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A)

General Considerations

The consideration of City Planning in its relation to Municipal Administration was first of all concerned with formulating a general hypothesis as to the nature of planning and government with respect to common or related ends and means. Certain basic assumptions or premises were accepted the first of which was an assumption that the ultimate end of government devolved on the individual member of the community and through a system of interrelationships, government in its various functions and processes represented the organized effort of the community to find a rational solution to the problems and needs raised by the dynamic interrelationships of a time-space environment, the community and the individual and their relation to that environment.

Thus, rationality or human intelligence, the exercise of human perceptions and judgment in solving those problems was considered in relation to the functions and purposes of planning and government. This was further appraised with respect to democratic concepts and to what extent the rational solution of community problems was dependent on them.

The basic conclusions or general hypothesis developed is then outlined as follows:

1) As a process which seeks to relate available means to given ends in a contemplated action, planning must be rational if it is to be the basis of rational action.

2) The ends are therefore accountable in terms of rationality since means are of the same order as ends.

3) Ends are however set in a dynamic framework of time and place and thus, subject to change. The means must also be considered as being in a state of dynamic relationship with respect to changing ends.

4) Rationality and hence planning will then consist in calculated probability for given circumstances or facts pertaining to a given end.

5) Effectiveness with respect to planning is concerned with bringing rationality to bear in the choice of means in a contemplated action (planning being the means for making a rational choice of means, or contemplated action, which are to be productive of desired ends).

6) The nature of rationality with respect to effectiveness and planning is first concerned with the 'will' capable of questioning the ends as well as the means, and secondly the level or degree of rationality of that 'will'. In its simplest terms then, this is cooperativeness of the 'will' or consistency, necessary in attaining effectiveness of planning.

7) Government as an institutionalized instrumentality of the community which has rational action to achieve desired community ends as its primary purpose, cannot be considered apart from the means of taking rational action - namely, planning.

8) The democratic process is expressive of a high degree of rationality since it places emphasis on policy determination (ends) by the actual members of the community. By doing so it assures a high degree of cooperativeness of the will capable of questioning ends as well as means,* which is the determinant of rationality with respect to effectiveness.

*

The community is always the ultimate repository of authority and hence constitutes the will capable of questioning ends and means even though it may mean revolution - see Carl J. Friedrich's "New Belief in the Common Man", Chapt. IV, "Majority Rule" for discussion of Constituent Power.

In essence Democracy does not say that a few are to guess what (and who) the community is going to support but depends on the community itself for the answer. It is obvious that this places rationality of the will in much higher brackets or upper and lower limits; thus, a synthesis is now possible of the foregoing propositions:-

9) With rationality, or the exercise of human intelligence as the ultimate means for a rational solution of common problems or desired ends, government represents the organized effort of the community to formulate ends, determine rational means and take rational action for their accomplishment. As such the ultimate effectiveness of the action in achieving the desired ends is conditioned by the limits of rationality in any of the succeeding interactions of means and ends, beginning with the will capable of questioning ends and means to which democratic concepts are essential for rationality; through planning or choice of means, in which rationality consists in calculated probabilities; to action taken and ends achieved. This in effect is a chain of inter-dependant relationships and reactions with the limits of rationality as the common limiting factor.

And thus the basic relationship of government and planning is restated.

10) The functions of government having rational action as their ultimate goal are dependent on the rationality of planning for the effective realization of that objective.

B)
Federal Organization and Structure

The major 'objective fact', conditioning the relationship between planning and American government is that of organization and structure in the federal system.

As a body of institutionalized precepts, the Constitution is then, the starting point of the analysis since it comprises the authoritative, over-all basis of organization and structure, establishing the pattern of general interrelationships between national, state and local levels of government.

In outline, the analysis was concerned with the following points:

A) General Principles and Purposes embodied in the Constitution.

1) The Preamble and its implications as a statement both of principle and purpose.

a) Popular sovereignty ("We the people").

b) Continuity (purpose expressed by "secure the blessings .. to ourselves and our posterity").

2) The Bill of Rights as expression of ideals of "natural rights" theories of revolutionary period. A reconciliation with reactionary purposes of framers of Constitution. Present day reinterpretation in terms of mutual responsibility.

B) Structure (and Organization)

1) Federalism - national, state and local interrelationships.

a) National level of authority as supreme but limited in scope.

b) State level - an indeterminate residue of authority.

c) Local - authority represents segment of state's - delegated powers - "creature of State".

2) Organization of National level.

a) Basic division of legislative, judicial and executive functions.

b) Overlapping functions - "checks and balances".

C) General implications in present day governmental relationships.

1) General principles and purposes.

a) Reinterpretation of "natural rights" in terms of mutual responsibilities based on "We the people" and "General Welfare", etc.

2) Organization and Structure

a) "Diffusion of powers" implied in the three separate levels of national, state and local reinterpreted in terms of interdependence and hence a basis for growth and development through integration of relationships.

b) Organizational concept of "checks and balances" in overlapping functions of legislative judicial and executive giving way to concept of policy making vs. policy executing functions, hence integration of functions and rise in importance of executive and administrative functions.

C)

Major Considerations of Organization and
Structure at the Local Level of Government

In the setting of local government are to be found the ultimate community relationships concerned with the realities of the individual and the community, of environment and the problems raised in terms of that environment.

Municipal government is thus a primary aspect of the local level and is specifically concerned with the problems of the urban segment of the total community. Planning in terms of the urban community is therefore concerned in the first instance, with the limitations of the local community in its framework of interrelationships with the total structure of government. It is in this light that the study of organization and structure of municipal government was undertaken and an outline of the principal aspects examined are as follows:

A) The Area of Municipal Authority

- 1) Corporate aspects of municipal government and their limitations.

a) No inherent rights, hence is corporate body receiving its authority from state either through general enabling legislation (general statutory grant) or charter grant (special statutory grant; 4 kinds).

b) Limitations on state authority exist solely through special state, constitutional restrictions guaranteeing non-interference with municipal government.

c) Local finance is based on local credit capacity, hence local tax base; primarily personal property assessment.

2) Jurisdictional Anomalies and Conflicts

a) Physical boundaries of urban areas vs. political boundaries.

- 1) Spread of urban population beyond political boundaries and limitations on support of central city, etc.
- 2) State boundaries in central city.
- 3) Multiplicity of separate jurisdictions of local governmental units - overlapping layers of tax jurisdiction, etc.

B) Functions and Services

- 1) New England Town Report as definitive list of functions and services (i.e., General Government, Protection, Health, Schools, Welfare, Streets, Utilities, etc.).

- 2) Limitations on service levels
(Area of function):
 - a) Local credit and finance.
 - b) Local to state to national relationships and hence limitations in Sect. (A) 'Area of Authority'.
- 3) These limitations in perspective of national community.
 - a) Urbanism Committee reports.

C) Organization and Structure

- 1) Administrative Criteria and Techniques.
 - a) General discussion and evaluation as rational approach to organization.
- 2) General forms of Municipal Government
 - a) Mayor Council, Commission, New England town.
 - b) City Manager variant.
- 3) Characteristics of Organization.
 - a) "Purposive" departmental unit.
 - b) Emphasis on services hence:
 - c) Managerial functions - efficiency and importance of executive.
- 4) Planning functions.
 - a) General limitations.

D) Elements of Political Organization
(In the Community)

- 1) The ballot and the individual as symbolic relationship between democratic government and the community.
 - a) Significance in terms of governmental control.
 - b) Majority vs. minority principle.
- 2) Realities of Organized Political Power.
 - a) Formalized political organization - the party.
 - b) Pressure groups.
- 3) The Nature of Organization in terms of the individual member of the community.

D)
General Conclusions

To consider the specific relationship between City Planning and Municipal Administration is first of all to consider the general proposition developed in this study, namely:

'The functions of government having rational action (for the solution of community problems) as their ultimate goal are dependent on the rationality of planning for the effective realization of that objective'.

In the setting of local government then, it becomes a question of bringing rationality or planning to bear on the processes of selecting means which are to be employed.

Thus, if City Planning is defined in terms of general community problems, as it has been here, it then becomes a problem of relationship between the policy formulation, policy adoption and policy executing functions of municipal government. The limiting factor in that relationship is not "City Planning" (as Walker has seemed to suggest*) but the limitations placed on municipal government.

* See previous reference: Walker, Robert A, "Planning Function in Urban Government" Chapters IV and VI.

While municipal government is at present characterized by many "unrational" limitations in its relationship with the total structure of national government, it is of necessity concerned with a specific, segmental part of the total urban community and as such will have limitations within the framework of a total hierarchy of government concerned with a total rational community.

In this light then, "City Planning" or community planning bears a similar segmental relationship to local government and local government can draw upon it only to the extent that its functions and limitations of power enable it to do so.

If, as Walker maintains, more effective use of the techniques and special competence of the City Planner will result from providing integration through a staff organized under the chief executive, there can be no argument as to its advisability. This, however, is but one aspect of community planning and government and occurs at the policy

executing level which, though concerned with an aspect of policy formulation, through limited executive powers and recommendation, does not take into account the fundamental processes of policy formulation which are essentially extra-governmental, the forces generated by the community itself and essential to the democratic concept.

It is therefore not a matter of considering city planning in terms of municipal administration alone - city planning is concerned with the total community. It is a matter of relating, in the first instance, the planning function as a rational method of selecting the means to solve community problems to the total structure of government and in terms of the total community. The relationship it will bear to local units of government will then be the relationship that a part bears to the whole.

The City Planner on the other hand, with his specialized techniques and specific competences, must be prepared to function within the prescribed limit of that competence which will be applied only

tangentially to policy formulation and execution - he can state the problem and say what may be done but it lies wholly within the province of the community and government to actually formulate objectives and say what will be done.

This by no means implies that he will be denied the human and quite understandable satisfactions of taking part in efforts to have his ideas accepted. The democratic way also provides avenues for this but also the rules.

Addendum - found in copy 2 of this tree

A P P E N D I X

- A) Selected Reference List
(From Citations of Text)

- B) General (Used in Pre-
paration of Text)

- C) Topical Reference List.
(From reading list for
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ADDENDUM

An Approach to Organizing City Planning
Functions and Some Significant Aspects
of City Planning and the Governmental
Functions at the Local Level

(An extension of the general study and conclusions of the Thesis entitled, "The Relationship of City Planning and Municipal Administration" submitted by James M. Webb in Course IV-B, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in City Planning, September 1946).

An Approach to Organizing City Planning Functions
and
Some Significant Aspects of City Planning and the
Governmental Functions at the Local Level

An objective approach for organization presupposes a central purpose with a subsequent definition of functions necessary to the effective accomplishment of that purpose. Therefore, in illustrating the applications of theories and criteria developed in the thesis, the first consideration would be concerned with arriving at an assumption or basic premise as to the central purpose of City Planning what are the functions to be encompassed and then what the interrelationships or organizational structure is to consist of in order to make those functions effective in the accomplishment of that purpose.

As an approach to, or rather, an illustration of the application of theory and criteria, it is not necessary to be excessively concerned with precise meanings implied by the term City Planning. What is of concern is to establish a starting point in delimiting the area of City Planning as a part of the generalized field of planning which has been the principal preoccupation of the Thesis.

It seems fairly obvious that a broad area of agreement exists with regard to the purposes of City Planning as defined by Thomas Adams in his "Outline of Town and City Planning", in which he says it is basically concerned with the "Shaping and guiding of the physical growth and arrangement of --- (communities) in harmony with their social and economic needs."

Accepting this then, as the general objective City Planning is to be concerned with, it is possible for means to be defined in the accomplishment of that objective, to draw possible lines of relationship between the City Planning functions and those of local government and, furthermore, it furnishes a basic approach in applying the general criteria of planning and organization which have been considered, to existing City Planning and governmental relationships and organization.

The general criteria and objectives we have developed are first of all, no different in their application to City Planning than for planning in general and their general functions fall into the same categories that have been previously considered.

They are concerned with:

- 1). Formulation of Objective.
- 2). Formulation of Means to obtain those objectives (Plan making).
- 3). Carrying Out of the Plan

While the correlated processes at each of these three stages are:

1. Acceptance of objectives by the total group which has a common interest in their accomplishment.
2. Acceptance of means (or plans) by that same group in order to accomplish the objectives in (1).
3. Acceptance of objectives and means by the group responsible for carrying them out.

In the first stage - Formulation of Objectives takes place at the community level and is properly a function of community organization (the imperfections in these mechanisms as we know them today do not detract from our contention here, rather they pose the continuing problem of achieving an effective democracy).

It is in this respect that the technical expert - in this case the City Planner and the organization representative of his special competence acts so as to supplement an otherwise limited and non-technical perception of the facts pertaining to the main objectives which are to be formulated and acted upon. It is not his function to determine the objective but to bring to bear a higher degree of rationality through a more complete knowledge and understanding of the facts.

Basically, then, the City Planner is concerned with, in this stage, Research and Information, with correlation of those facts and in means to communicate those facts to the community. Obviously a high degree of objectivity is necessary for effective communication since bias in presenting the facts implies directing them towards specific segments of the community, leaving out other segments.

The second stage - Formulation of Means - is the Plan Making stage. It presupposes stage (1) namely, that ends or objectives of a general nature have been accepted although it is not possible in

actuality to draw such hard and fast lines nor would it be desirable. There are reciprocating flow lines in all the three stages we have outlined. Thus in plan making there must be the opportunity for revision of objectives, with communication, of primary importance, which is implied in the measures for "citizen participation" receiving increasing attention in recent times.

In terms of our definition of City Planning it is in the plan making stage then, that the technical skills and specialized competence of the City Planner find their direct application. Essentially what he arrives at are means representing the calculated probabilities of contemplated actions achieving the general ends of stage (1).

Here again there must be correlated relationships with the community since like stage (1), acceptance of those means devolves upon the community. It cannot be said, however, that this stage is as directly concerned with the individual members of the community as is stage (1). This rests in the fact that decisions involving means are far more complex

than those of determining ends. Thus stage (2) becomes the common meeting ground between the representative forces of community organization which consist on the one hand of its various extra-governmental groups and on the other of institutionalized representatives of the community - namely: those of government. Acceptance by the first group of these two is the prerequisite for acceptance by the second since these are the same forces through which the community speaks and makes its will known and upon which government acts.

Stage (3), Carrying Out of the Plan, can immediately follow - and consists in the formalized adoption of the means chosen in stage two through the legislative processes of government consisting of policy adoption from which action through the administrative agencies follows.

It is in this latter stage the action stage that City Planning has a further function. The administrative functions whether at the local levels or high levels of government are concerned in the

first instance with major policy in which the lines of relationship are outlined above; however once major policy has been determined, adopted and it falls upon the administrative agencies of government to carry them out, there are a multiplicity of functions carried on by the administrative agencies of government that do not fall within the province of major policy. Practically all the line agencies, for example, have a wide latitude of jurisdiction in carrying out their activities, many of which are directly concerned with the physical growth and arrangement of the community. It is essential that all such activities should be correlated with the major policy and this will therefore devolve on the city planning functions and should be a part of them.

Organization for City Planning

Having considered functions and basic relationships of City Planning, the community and the governmental processes, it is now possible to consider organization in which those functions and inter-relationships may become operative.

The first of these functions as we have seen them are essentially Research and Information functions which require a maximum of objectivity, with proper means of communication.

The second are the planning or synthesizing functions, generally of a highly technical nature bearing a direct relation to the governmental processes as well as the organized forces of the community.

The third are correlating functions bearing directly on the administrative functions of government.

These are then, the three major functions or purposes for which organization is to be designed. Since the key to organization is the reality of circumstances in specific cases - the actual materials of human resources, of time, place, and environment, one is immediately placed in the position of being able only to make generalized statements as to what ought to be considered in order to achieve effective organization - in this case of the functions of City Planning. As such it is an approach which does not attempt arbitrary rules but rather an orderly process of considering relationships which are likely to be pertinent.

Therefore, starting with the acceptance of our three basic purposes as outlined, the first questions which may be considered are:

- 1) How best to serve these three distinct functions?
 - a) By separate organizations?
 - b) By a single organization?
 - c) By combining two of them?
 - d) By extension of functions of existing organization?
 - e) By variants or combinations of the above four possibilities?

- 2) What are the pertinent facts in such a decision?
 - a) With respect to questions of compatibility of the functions themselves: i.e., is the objectivity and lack of bias necessary for effectiveness of the Research and Information function of the first, going to raise conflicts with the necessary political and governmental integration of the second or Plan Making functions and what of the even closer integration with governmental organization necessary in the third function which is concerned with correlation of functions within the actual structure of government itself?

- b) With respect to compatibility with other existing organizations: Could such organizations logically have their functions extended to include a part of these three principal functions and, if so, to what extent?
- c) What are the factors of actual circumstance such as working relationships with the established forces of government and the community; how would such relationships be correlated to the new functions.

3) What about organizational considerations themselves?

Only when (1) and (2) above have been resolved in the light of actuality - of specific cases - can progress be made to this point. One must first know what is being organized and what is being organized rests largely in the answer to (1) and (2). The specific questions of organization can then follow as the orderly process outlined in the previous sections of the report which were concerned with such matters as:

- a) Personnel.
- b) The hierarchy of authority (span of control, etc.).
- c) Arrangement of and relationship of tasks and workers to serve purposes or processes or clientele or place, etc.

An Examination of Present City Planning Organization

There are probably few more definitive studies of the actual functioning and organization of City Planning

available in recent times than that of Robert Walker in his "Planning Function in Urban Government".

While one may disagree with proposed solutions he offers one is still faced with the facts he marshals in support of his arguments. Namely, that much planning is done but that little gets beyond the planning stage. That this can be attributed solely to faults of organization is indeed open to question no less than that the specific expedients relegating city planning to a purely staff function will resolve the problem of greater effectiveness. This somehow leaves one a little cold - it is too simple - it permits no alternatives - it raises the question: Is the chief executive to be made solely responsible for the planning function which in turn raises the question: Is City Planning solely an administrative function?

Standing at the opposite pole in its approach to the functions and consequently organizational relationships is the advisory commission which comprises the almost universally accepted form of organization for city planning in the United States. Certainly from the record of effective accomplishment it deserves further examination. The specific problem to be concerned with

does not stop at the mere consideration of improving or extending existing lines of relationship, but if we follow the line of reasoning developed here, must take into account a complex of factors which start with the specific functions or purposes to be accomplished by such an organization - it must plan itself before it can plan the community which means determining its own objectives and functions.

Thus, considering our three major functions the question first is whether the commission as it is constituted at present accomplishes the purpose of effectiveness in terms of the community process of formulating objectives and consequently of their acceptance by the community. Does it get across to the community the facts pertinent to and necessary for a decision on community objectives? Wherein do the principle shortcomings lie? Are they a matter of organizational relationships wherein a high degree of competence in securing and presenting these facts in an objective manner is possible?

Walker makes a considerable point in this respect in pointing out that the commission itself is made up of lay members, which though ostensibly intended to accomplish a high degree of objectivity and lack of bias, because of the fact that they are unpaid and lay members, has inevitably come to be weighted in favor of those members of the community whose independent means and hence leisure time enable them to take an unpaid job of this sort. This immediately throws the matter of objectivity and lack of bias into question for is such a group acceptable to all members of the community, are they capable of speaking for and to the community as a whole?

With respect to the second function of plan making is raised the matter of the part of the technical expert called in to assist the staff administered by the commission. This seems a highly debatable point purely on a basis of continuity of the planning process and certainly from past experience would seem to indicate that it tends to perpetuate or contribute to the spasmodic activity characterizing most community planning efforts with intervening periods of morbidity

in which all previous efforts are lost. It further presents a rather tenuous system of relationships extending first from the city planner through the commission to the community and to the governmental structure which is furthered in the latter instance by the tenuous relationship of the commission itself as an advisory body in the governmental structure and this brings us to the third function we have outlined, namely:

The relationship of such a body to the action or administrative agencies of local government.

As a purely advisory body the commission is capable of exerting only what may be considered as a persuasive influence in bringing about any correlation of the various functions carried on by the administrative and in turn the line agencies of government. This is to be done essentially by persuading the chief executive that the commission's ideas are good ones and selling him on them.

The obvious weaknesses of this concept have long been apparent and evolutionary trends have all been in the direction of establishing more forceful

and concrete relationships. Probably no instrument has been more useful as a means of all-over correlation than the executive budget and in turn the capital budget. New York's example is a prime example where the capital budget is prepared by the planning commission itself, thus bringing all capital expenditures under the scrutiny of a central planning body and further strengthened by the legal provisions for its acceptance and adoption by the legislative body.

There are of course other manifestations of this trend to strengthen the effectiveness of the commission with respect to the administrative functions of government in specific cities, yet by and large the lines still are tenuous in what appears as an emerging pattern.

It may be said then that the present status of city planning organization represents the beginning steps in an evolutionary process. The weaknesses and ineffectiveness which are apparent are gradually giving way to the increasing pressures for a rational solution of community problems concerned with the physical deficiencies of urban communities and make it imperative

that the functions implied by the term City Planning should be more clearly defined in order that they may be more effectively organized and bring to bear on those problems an increasingly higher level of rationality.

The three primary functions outlined here represent an attempt at such a definition or more properly the approach to such a definition. As such they are intended to illustrate how with such a definition concrete relationships and organizations may be considered and criteria applied for the more effective operation of those functions.

In the light of these functions and criteria present day organization for City Planning raises certain important questions in achieving:

1) Greater effectiveness in the process whereby community objectives can be formulated. Since the functions City Planning is concerned with in this regard consist to a large degree of Research and Information; clarification and correlation of the facts pertinent to the formulation of those ends it is then

also of concern to develop and utilize in the most effective manner all the means of communication the modern community has at its disposal. This implies complete objectivity since bias merely destroys communication with those segments of the community not favored by such bias. The object is complete dissemination of facts to all segments of the community.

This immediately poses the organizational problem of interrelationships with governmental structure. Is it to be a part of local government - a separate and independent department - what about small communities, how can they possibly afford the luxury of a separate function of City Planning such as this?

A possible avenue of approach might be to consider an organization which would be part of a State or Federal department (and this has been suggested at least in part by others*) with decentralized organization permitting direct local service and consequently local administration set up on some

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See N.R.P.B. reports previously referred to, also "Presidents Committee on Administrative Management".

regional basis consistent with the local need for such service. Its functions would consist in definitive studies of local problems and would, for example, include the gathering of such basic information as that necessary for comprehensive land use surveys, economic data pertinent to local problems, etc. and would serve not only the needs for basic material for City Planning but for the whole range of planning functions which devolve on the community at large. If such organization assumed national scope and logically it seems inescapable that it should, there would then be created a sound basis for the formulation of correlated planning policies at all levels of the national community's governmental structure. The glaring deficiencies in definitive information of urban communities on a national scale has all too often been cited by others to require further elaboration here, but suffice to say that the present subordinate position the urban community occupies in relation to its actual significance as a national factor cannot be properly assessed on the basis of the existing fragmentary

information and hence, while such a basic obstacle persists, a rational solution to its problems will be limited by that obstacle.

2) Greater effectiveness in the process of Plan Making

As was previously indicated the first consideration in organization for plan making is continuity of operation which implies a permanent administrative and staff organization with institutionalized organizational relationships to governmental structure and to the community.

The most highly variable factor affecting the organization of the plan making function is that of the size of the community. Organization on a Metropolitan scale like the Regional concept, is a noteworthy attempt at correlation and extension of a high level of service both with respect to planning and governmental services in general.

In the organization of the Los Angeles Regional Planning Commission a highly complex administrative organization has been devised consisting of a department responsible to the Board of County

Supervisors through the Regional Planning Commission. This is administered by the Chief Engineer as top executive with clearly differentiated line and staff functions under him. The line functions include three principal plan making departments which are: Land Use, including zoning, parks, recreation and conservation; Public Works under which are subdivision control, transportation, highways and traffic; Housing and Research with technical experts in the field of economics and statistics.

New York's set-up consists of a commission with six members, one of whom is ex-officio. The chairman of the commission is chief executive of the department as well and administers four principal departments of plan-making which are: 1) Division of Master Plan which includes land use, streets and highways, transportation and other services; 2) Division of Records, Statistics and Information; 3) Division of Mapping and Zoning which maintains the official city maps including the general official map and the zoning map; and 4) Division of Capital Budget and Programs which prepares the capital budget

and maintains memorandum accounts of all authorized capital projects and cooperates with other city departments in developing their capital budgets.

These two organizations then are representative of the extent to which a large organization may be carried in differentiating its functions. In a smaller community the whole set-up would of necessity be reduced and simplified and it has been the general practice to employ a staff under the city engineer (and may consist of no more than a single draftsman). While being under the direct supervision of the city engineer such a staff is hired by the planning commission. There is thus likely to be a low level of technical competence from a standpoint of continued planning activity and as was previously pointed out spasmodic activity occurs when the planning commission hires a technical expert and staff for a particular job followed by a moribund period when interest is merely in routine work carried on in the city engineer's office. It places the great emphasis on the two dimensional qualities of the master plan by accentuating the special occasion for its preparation - it becomes

an end in itself soon to be forgotten and only to be done all over at a later date.

The resources of the smaller city (50,000 or less) are really the more basic limitation to be considered rather than organizational relationships, since such cities are in a poor position to maintain the adequate organization to carry out city planning functions on a continuing basis. Our proposal made in the previous section would greatly ameliorate this through provision of state or federally supported Research and Information functions. This idea might then be extended with respect to organizing the technical expert in plan making on a regional basis with service to a number of communities on a continuing basis.

3) Greater effectiveness of the Action Stage

Here again the problem is largely one of financial limitations and in addition organizational relationships to the administrative functions of government and presents many unresolved and hence highly controversial problems. The problem stems from the fact

the administrative functions are not alone concerned with city planning, but with the whole range of planning functions, a large part of which are carried on within the separate departments.

The great emphasis in recent times on administrative efficiency and hence economy mitigates seriously against any extension of total expenditure. This is particularly evident when one considers that the long term Capital Budget and the portion to be included in each succeeding annual budget is largely predicated on a residue of funds or resources left over after operating expenses are paid. Thus community need with respect to physical facilities comes last in the consideration of total expenditures.

Partial headway can be made by considering Federal Grants in Aid, yet this has been so weighted with political considerations that its functions and long term value seems uncertain although it seems inescapable that there should be a growing extension of local credit by state and Federal measures.

Now as to actual organizational relationships, much can be done to establish firmer correlation of the functions of over-all planning and in particular

the city planning functions with the administrative functions. While it seems quite logical that the City Planning functions should be carried on by a separate department since they are of a generalized nature and do not logically fit into any of the regular city departments, it does present the serious problem. Walker has considered with respect to effecting greater force in correlating the functions of the various departments concerned with "physical growth and development of the community". His proposal however seems too arbitrary in its approach in that it consists in saying 'there are only two alternatives: the staff organization under the chief executive or the advisory body as at present, the chief executive is in a position to get cooperation from his departments, hence it should be a staff agency under him'. This of course has certain undeniable logic but only with regard to this latter function of the three we have been considering.

With the first of our functions - Research and Information - organized as an extension or local administrative unit, and a part of a national body, the Plan Making functions still require a considerable degree of objectivity since they imply that the

community is to choose alternate means that are proposed and hence communication of those means must not be restricted by bias.

If then, the process of "functional accretion" Walker refers to as the "natural" process whereby functions originating in the community are eventually made a part of institutionalized government, it seems far more likely that city planning will not be submerged as a mere staff function but rather that measures indicated by present trends will continue to strengthen the position of the commission, assigning it a greater measure of responsibility. Steps which have become particularly apparent in such cities as New York where a two-thirds vote is necessary by the legislative body to over-ride a recommendation by the Planning Commission and also the important functions implied in the preparation of the Capital Outlay Budget.

Compensation for members of the Commission is a highly debatable point in the minds of many but the real consideration is how to get a truly representative body. If paying them is going to be the way then it should be done if no other way is possible.

With this discussion then we conclude our study. No pretense is made to ultimate solutions. It is rather to be considered in the light of a method of attack on the special problems of more effective City Planning. There are of course many pertinent factors which have had scant if any attention. This does not indicate that they are considered to be of lesser importance. To have included them all would have required far more time and space than was available to say nothing of limitations in the competence of any single person to compass all the phases of a highly complex problem.