TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN
PLANNER AND CITIZEN PARTICIPANTS
IN URBAN RENEWAL

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Submitted to the Department of City Planning on May 20, 1961
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master
in City Planning.

This thesis is addressed to the urban renewal planner. It has
been written in order to improve the techniques for making full use of
the tool of citizen participation. The citizens provide information
which they alone can give of their needs, their problems, and their
desires for the areas of the city in which they are living; the
planner should seek their opinions. All the steps taken collectively
by citizen participants and planners toward organizing renewal programs
and putting them into effect has been called "a collaborative approach
to planning."

The inability of the citizen participants and the planner to
communicate with each other inhibits the collaborative approach to
planning. This paper has looked for concepts and methods which will
contribute to the end of achieving two-way communication between the
two teams.

The communication model developed in mathematics and adapted
by the behavioral sciences is able to explain the basic relationship
which occurs between the planner and the citizen participants; at the
same time it indicates the causes of communication breakdown. All
communication has as its purpose the eliciting of a response from another
which means that there are two sets of responses: those sought
by the communicator and those sought by the audience. When the responses
differ, communication breaks down. The important factors which effect
responses are communication skills, attitudes, knowledge level and the
position within a social-cultural system.

Interaction is the more dynamic aspect of communication which
is implicit in the model. An analysis of the constructive and destruc-
tive elements in the process of interaction has led to the conclusion
that two things contribute to the solution of communication difficulties.
The first is the availability of the feedback mechanism. The second
requires insight into social organization. Both solutions attempt to
rationalize role positions by building-in, in different ways, the
acceptance of role. The need to understand the differences that exist
in groups occupying different statuses in the society is essential to
both of the suggested solutions.

Three issues in urban renewal have been raised which are related
to communication: organization, formal and informal channels of communi-
cation, and decision-making. The effectiveness of a particular
organizational structure depends on the information which can be made available through it. Similarly, formal communication depends on the willingness of the communication participants to adhere to protocol and the established chain of command. Informal communication depends on the willingness of the participants to given and receive information and to respect each other's role. Lastly, decision-making is the primal reason behind initiating two-way communication; in the collaborative approach to planning it is felt that certain information which is located within the citizenry will contribute to the creation of a better plan.

The three topics of community organization, conflict and cooperation, and persuasion support the collaborative approach to planning. Community organization is the technique which encourages individuals to come together and present their view on group problems and group goals; the planner can thereby obtain a great deal of information which will help the citizens realize their objectives through the development of the plan. A theory of community conflict has been analyzed in order to point out those things which cause disputes; we noted that it is possible for the planner to intervene because in many instances the antagonism is caused by communication difficulties rather than any real differences. Persuasion as a form of social control, has been suggested as the way to influence behavior in the collaborative approach to planning; in order to have influence over the audience the communicator must establish himself as a "high credibility source."

Lastly, three experiments in organization, group cohesiveness (another form of social control) and participation have been evaluated for their ability to elucidate the previous concepts.

All of the concepts and the experiments have been gathered from fields outside of planning; each one has been tested for its applicability to planning situations by subjecting it to an actual planning case. The Riverview Redevelopment Project in Cambridge, Massachusetts is the major case analyzed for this purpose; some samples from the Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Project in Chicago, Illinois and the West End Redevelopment Project in Boston, Massachusetts have also been used.

The theories which have been collected exhibit a utility for both analysis and problem solving. The conclusions of the thesis, based on evidence from the preceding material, are that two-way communication between citizen participants and planner will be facilitated:

(1) if their respective roles are clearly defined: the division of responsibilities should be mutually satisfactory and there should be no duplication of activities;
(2) if a close relationship between the two teams can be established;
(3) if their relationship is established early and on a continuing basis;
(4) if sufficient information is provided to avoid that opposition which arises out of misunderstanding.

Thesis Supervisor: John T. Howard
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organizations for urban renewal and their relationship with municipal urban renewal administrations.

My thanks are given also to my thesis advisor, Professor John T. Howard, Head of the Department of City and Regional Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to evolve concepts which will be useful to the urban renewal planner -- administrator or staff -- for establishing two-way communication between himself and the citizens in order to achieve a collaborative approach to planning. It is my single-minded purpose to improve on the techniques for utilizing a tool which has been devised and is available for use in urban renewal: the tool is that of citizen participation. The techniques are not nearly as well advanced as those developed for evaluating the quality of housing and the environment such as the APHA technique, or those for implementing a plan such as zoning, subdivision regulations and redevelopment restrictions. Even with these techniques the accuracy of analysis and the success of implementation are intimately related to citizen participation.

It is not necessary to defend the importance of citizen participation as a planning tool. Federal law described in the Workable Program and state laws require citizen participation, support and endorsement at community and project levels. In addition, cooperation between public agencies and private individuals (bankers, builders, home owners) is particularly important given our democratic form of government and our economic system. Whether we are following the prescribed precepts of law or working within the bounds of democracy and "free
enterprise," pragmatic considerations and empirical observations indicate the costliness of public confusion, conflict and mistrust, not only in preventing the political consensus necessary to make the plan official, but in inhibiting the implementation of specific planning proposals which, to a large extent, depend on the cooperation and involvement of private citizens.

Citizen participation, as described above, pays homage to two facets of the same phenomenon. First, the daily, individual decisions of the citizen to rehabilitate or to let deteriorate, to remain or to move, and so on are among the important factors which are determining the development of the city. Secondly, citizens with a cause or a complaint pool their individual voices and organize: this is called, "organization at the "grass roots" level." It is with the second aspect of citizen participation, organized citizen participation, that this paper is concerned.

No matter the degree of enthusiasm with which it is accepted, one cannot deny the fact that organized citizen participation is becoming increasingly popular in American communities. Those who are most skeptical about it are so because they see it come to town, most typically, on a wave of civic indignation. But even this should not be cause for great alarm because it indicates a re-awakening interest in the local community: Coleman points out that controversy goes hand-in-hand with membership participation.¹ Organized citizen participation...  

participation is an accurate barometer of the degree to which community life is important enough to become concerned about. It also is a vehicle by which individual citizens get training and experience in leadership. Getting accustomed to organize and the practice of leadership have been accepted by many as the "best," the "most efficient," and the "most democratic" means of guiding, encouraging and assuring the growth of a community in the direction of goals which are determined collectively rather than individually.

**Basic Premises**

This paper recognizes two active teams in the planning process: the planning staff and administrators of an urban renewal agency and the citizen participants. They work with each other for various reasons. The planning official will be striving to attain some goal of his profession, of some public interest, objective stated in law, in administrative regulations, or in his own professional convictions. The citizen participants, on the other hand, are concerned with protecting their families, their properties, and their neighborhood interests in relation to the official plans and activities.²

²The "citizen participants" might differ depending on the proposed treatment in combination with their attitudes toward the treatment. For example, in one clearance area, the residents who will have to be relocated might not care or have any particular problems and the neighborhood association might, instead, be composed of the residents who will remain after redevelopment and are, therefore, concerned with the re-use of the site (i.e. Riverview in Cambridge). Where relocation is a particularly pressing problem (i.e. Boston's West End Project) the citizen participants should properly be the relocatees themselves in order to communicate their concerns and their needs to the city urban renewal administration. In rehabilitation or conservation areas it goes without saying that the broader the membership of a neighborhood organization, the better.
A collaborative approach to renewal planning includes all the steps taken collectively by citizen participants and planners toward organizing renewal programs and putting them into effect. The ramifications of this are two-fold: it is possible to renew or restore the physical aspects and the economic values of residential areas by coordinating all the public improvement programs, by providing adequate school and recreation facilities, by improving street patterns and traffic facilities, and by rehabilitating some structures and demolishing others; it is also possible to put into effect a broad-scale program of social improvement for the well-being of the neighborhood and of the entire community by reviving and re-orienting the old way of life to conform with the environmental changes, by teaching the residents how to use the new facilities, and by proposing changes which represent to the type of people who live or intend to live in the area a comfortable way of life.  

The social and the physical aspects taken together give substance to the underlying assumption of this paper: a collaborative approach to planning is the best way to initiate and execute planning programs; the material and cases which will be presented support this as true. Said in another way, urban renewal is the meeting point of social and physical planning. As stated in the previous paragraph, it makes obvious sense to consider the social life of a community when planning for environmental change: until one begins to understand the social environment it is difficult to plan the physical environment which

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will house it.

A concomitant assumption of this paper is that the citizen participants can make a contribution to both the social and the physical aspects in a way that facilitates the work of the city planner (traditionally the physical planner) and the social worker (traditionally the social planner) by organizing their energies to focus on a community problem. The purpose of organized participation by the residents of a community is to cooperate with each other and with city officials, to promote ideas among themselves and with the proper city departments, and to determine their needs and their problems and exchange their ideas with the arm of government that can best see their desires realized.

The citizen and the planner should, therefore, have a mutual interest in eliciting the cooperation of the other. Their reasons for the partnership may differ, but the fundamental need is not altered. The problem of fully exploiting this relationship is the subject of this paper.

Conclusions

The major conclusion of this thesis is that many of the problems that arise in the citizen-planner relationship stem from an inability to communicate with each other. To further the end of two-way communication, this paper will show that:

1. The specific responsibilities of the planner and of the citizen should be properly the business of the one and not more appropriately the concern of the other. One of the aims of this paper is to clarify the diverse meanings of "role" which citizen organizations should assume, under different circumstances, within the perspective of the planner's role.
2. It is imperative to establish a close relationship between citizen and planner. This paper will show that there are many patterns of organization to accomplish this, but that there are basic considerations which will facilitate interaction.

3. Communication should start before the stage of making planning proposals. The process of establishing a two-way communication system is a long one. It is necessary to meet on a continuing basis in order to work out the aggressions against "city hall" and to solve some of the smaller problems, and then to think in broad-scale terms and to give and take ideas about the community.

4. The best approach for achieving two-way communication is the one which provides sufficient information (more than objective data and fact-giving) to avoid that opposition which arises out of misunderstanding. The planner can try to influence and direct the citizen participants in the direction that he thinks they ought to go; then the citizens will tug the planner where they think they want to go. This is a process of mutual education.

Difficulties are still bound to arise in establishing a collaborative approach to renewal planning. Very often inadequate communication is not the cause of misunderstanding; there may also be genuine conflicts of interest which are irreconcilable. For example, the planner may "communicate" very clearly that a certain area is to be cleared. It is assumed that a lot of consideration has been given as to why there should be redevelopment at all. Nonetheless, the residents of that clearance area will not want to accept the fact of redevelopment because it will necessitate their relocation. Whereas this difference of opinion cannot be reconciled, the two-way relationship can be re-established on a different level, that is, communication and collaboration about relocation problems and needs.

In other cases, however, conflict of interest is a result of the different world views held by citizen and planner. Such a
difference can be remedied by devoted effort to educate the citizen about planning concepts and by attempting to accommodate or compromise the differences. Collaborative planning starts with the first, education, but never dismisses the use of the second, accommodation and compromise.

In summary, the planner's role in a collaborative approach to renewal planning is an active one: he must guide people's choices, stimulate wants and know when it is proper to sacrifice perfectly sound planning principles in the short-run in order to make long-term gains. The way in which the planner handles this encounter with the citizen participants is the turning point at which the application of a small amount of knowledge and effort can have a total effect far beyond its immediate consequences.

In this paper we will look for theory and methods which will be useful to the planner for establishing two-way communication between himself and the citizen participants for the purpose of achieving a collaborative approach to renewal planning. The planner should understand and have some control over the possible consequences of his own actions and the actions of the citizen participants.

**Technique: Explaining Two-Way Communication**

In order to achieve two-way communication between planner and citizen participants it is useful to interpolate from principles developed in other fields. The communication theory, developed in the field of mathematics and adapted by the behavioral sciences, offers a comprehensive overview of the situation in which citizen and planner find themselves involved. Because it deals with the dynamic
rather than the static aspects of the relationship it can potentially contribute to a planning tool which requires continual adjustment to the vicissitudes of unique situations. In other words, a theory such as this is useful because it allows for the differences between personalities and between groups of personalities.

The communication theory suggests a useful strategy to follow because it concentrates precisely on the connections, or the layout, of channels of communication and indicates methods for their maintenance. Since it is felt that the coherence of a particular form of organization can be measured (at least qualitatively) in terms of the communication network it will be possible to evaluate the importance and function of organization itself in this relationship under study. This last point will lead us to consider the problem of control, since it is some type of control which regulates the behavior of organization.

Approaching the relationship between planner and citizen via the communication theory is only one of several possible ways. The subject has been of concern to many, and three groups have written demonstrations for the HHFA along these lines. Two of the studies have given close attention to the problem of enlisting citizens in a renewal effort. The purpose of these demonstrations was to use and develop community organization techniques in urban renewal situations in order to see to what extent they could be relied upon by the planning unit to secure the participation of the residents of a project area.

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The third demonstration concerns itself with the question of assessing the effects of citizen participation and in evaluating the significance of their role in contrast to the parts played by other interests and organizations.\(^5\) Whereas the dynamic aspect of communication is considered in these studies, more careful attention is devoted to the nature of citizen participation. In this paper, on the other hand, more attention is devoted to the nature of two-way communication between planner and citizen.

In addition it has been necessary to investigate disciplines which offer an understanding into the attitudes and mechanisms necessary for achieving communication. The field of community organization gives us additional insight into the relationship between organization and communication, and also describes the possible roles of the citizen participants. In this case, I will not go into the methods of enlisting citizen participants or the ways of coordinating their efforts. The social sciences have made several contributions. First, they offer a method of studying human social relationships as social; in this sense, social science offers tools for analysis rather than subject matter. Some of the problems in which sociology has been interested, however, offer us insights into subject matter relevant to the study of communication: the place of conflict and the control of it (and communication in general) by persuasion will be discussed.

Theoretical analysis, then, is one method which I have used. As such it is useful only insofar as it can be converted into behavioral terms for analysis and solving of the problems inherent in the relationship between citizen participants and planner. In the long-run, I hope that it might be possible for this conceptual scheme to generate a theory which will yield suitable hypotheses that can be tested. In this paper, I have not been able to test that which seems evident from the theory analyzed, but if the semblance of a model is suggested, some advance has been made. Robert Angell has said,

[social science] makes propositions about reality which are not reality itself... The fascinating prospect of it is that man, whose actions can at least in part be reduced to law, can use those very laws to guide his actions.\(^6\)

In other words, the model itself may prove useful. In fact, we use models, which are symbols and rules invented to account for phenomena we perceive, whenever we try to think systematically about anything: it is impossible to retain the myriad of details of the thing itself.\(^7\)

The abstractness of this approach is mitigated by the inclusion of experiential concepts from the fields of community organization and industrial management. The field of industrial management has come the closest to utilizing the purely theoretical data in studying labor-management relations; it has, therefore, proved useful as a control in realizing the bounds and limitations of applying the theory and


methods from the other fields; it has also proved useful by analogy, as far as this could be done, to the citizen-planner relationship.

The second method which I have used is investigation of case material. The case material is of two types: controlled laboratory cases and field cases. If the laboratory cases prove comparable to the conceptual framework, this is a good sign. If the conceptual framework proves useful in analyzing and solving some of the problems of the citizen-planner relationship described in the field cases, the objective of this paper will be met. As a further check, the field cases will be compared with the laboratory cases.

What I call "field cases" are of three types: some are hypothetical, but nevertheless, potentially real examples of typical urban renewal situations of the kind that involve citizens and planners; others are examples of situations found in the demonstrations and other reports -- they are, therefore, second-hand accounts; the third, and the one on which I am depending the most is a case which I followed and made inquiry into myself -- the Riverview Redevelopment Project in Cambridge, Massachusetts. A brief case history follows:

The Riverview Redevelopment Project

Fronting the Charles River on one side and bounded on the others by an old but pleasant neighborhood known as "The Marsh" is the irregular two and a quarter acre Riverview Redevelopment Area. The site contained eight houses in poor condition, a machine shop, a storage yard for trucks, a laundry, a few stores, and some garages.

Riverview was the explorative project for a new set of agencies, committees and organizations in Cambridge. Activity began on April 15, 1952 when the Cambridge Housing Authority voted approval of an application to Washington for preliminary planning funds. On June 11th, an advance of $7600 was authorized for this purpose.

The selection of Riverview was protested by some, including a group of residents from the abutting area who called themselves the Marsh Defenders. The Marsh Defenders felt that this project was an "expression of the will and power" of the Brattle Street people, and so they attempted to defend the rights of the individuals whose homes were being threatened.

A delay by the courts to test the constitutionality of the State urban renewal enabling legislation provided the excuse to stop further action on Riverview.

During this period of about two years, however, the citizens of Cambridge were organizing for action. The thirteen neighborhoods which Mark Fortune identified in a pamphlet called Thirteen Neighborhoods: One City began to organize. By the Spring of 1954 there were seven operating neighborhood associations, and together they met and proposed by-laws for a new Cambridge Council of Neighborhood Associations. Also, civic groups, such as the Cambridge Civic Association, the League of Women Voters, and the Chamber of Commerce's Home Betterment Committee, began to call for expanded renewal efforts.

With popular support for renewal at its height, the official machinery was put back into operation by the adoption of the Federal Housing Act of 1954, and a subsequent decision by the Court to sustain the state enabling legislation. The City Council set up a Coordinating Committee to prepare the Workable Program. When it was submitted in May, 1955, it recommended, among other things, the establishment of a Redevelopment Authority to direct renewal programs and an independent, high-level citizens' committee to act in an advisory capacity to it. In September, 1955, the Workable Program became official.

Almost a whole year went by before the Citizens' Advisory Committee was established in April, 1956 and in August of that year members were appointed to the Redevelopment Authority. The Riverview Project was then reactivated after a lapse of four years.

Although the Cambridge Council of Neighborhood Associations had been in existence for two years, Neighborhood 10, of which the proposed redevelopment project was a part, had not been organized: it was felt that (1) the residents were involved in so many civic activities that knowledge of what was going on would get into the
neighborhood, and (2) the CCNA would be able to mature without being dominated by the highly articulate and well-educated Brattle Street people of Neighborhood 10. But feeling that the people surrounding the project should have knowledge about and be consulted as to the ultimate disposition of the land, a meeting was called in February, 1957 and it was voted to organize formally.

The neighborhood and the city were now ready to tackle urban renewal. That which follows will be given in greater detail throughout this paper.

In June, 1957, the Neighborhood 10 Association invited Thaddeus Beal, a member of the Redevelopment Authority, to speak about the status of the Project. The Marsh Defenders who were present restated their position against redevelopment, and an abutter to the project expressed the point of view of many of the Association's leaders when he said that he was in favor of redevelopment, but not the type that would create high densities and traffic problems, and raise a "Chinese Wall" along the Charles River.

In July, 1957 Draveaux Bender, Assistant to the Manager for Urban Renewal, accompanied by an Association member, delivered letters to each home in the project area asking them to cooperate with a resurvey of the area.

The resurvey confirmed the Authority's intention to clear the area. A public hearing was scheduled for September 13, 1957 to approve an application to Washington for additional planning funds: the funds were approved.

The attention of the Neighborhood Association could now be devoted to the question of re-use. In November, 1957, Association members met with John Connelly, the Authority's Executive Director since June, and were told that no final action had been taken on the request for a planning grant, but that two appraisers were working to determine the "highest and best use." Also, Planning and Renewal Associates had been hired as consultants to help draw plans, and the Authority was considering five possible re-uses, ranging from the high rise apartment originally proposed to single-family residences, or possibly a park.

The end of November the Redevelopment Authority invited the Association to present its views on the "sociological implications" of the project and the re-use alternatives.

Following the mid-December meeting there was no further communication from the Authority to the Neighborhood Association until the Summer of 1958 when the Redevelopment Plan was forwarded to the Association. In August, the plan was approved by Washington and a public hearing was scheduled for September 8, 1958. The
Council approved the Riverview plan by a narrow margin of five to four. In May, 1959 when the Council met to appropriate the local funds to match the Federal grant the vote changed to a four to four tie. "A week of frantic political activity occurred." The final vote was six to two. Riverview was cleared once and for all.

A developer was selected whose plan proposed an eighty foot apartment building as the core of the redevelopment with fourteen units of two and a half story duplexes. With this decision, the objectives of the Riverview Neighborhood Association were sufficiently defeated. The members felt unable to communicate their ideas to the Redevelopment Authority. In order to get control with regard to parking, traffic and open space requirements, the Association threatened to sue on the variance to amend the present zoning for the redevelopers, and thereby obtained the right to review plans submitted by the developer to the Redevelopment Authority.

The Riverview case provides us with an example of the encounter between renewal planners and citizen participants. The analysis will show that many of the difficulties in the relationship were ones of communication. Subjecting the specific relationship described in this history to the theoretical material and the laboratory cases confirms the utility of the latter, (1) for analysis of passed events, (2) for suggesting ways to handle similar encounters in the future, and (3) for suggesting solutions to certain problems during the actual encounter.

In Summary: Planning is facilitated by the collaboration of citizen participants and planners in urban renewal. This is seen as true because planning for environmental change requires both physical and social improvements. The two active teams of citizen participants and planner can contribute to both aspects by the proper division of responsibilities and exchange of information before and during the stages of making planning proposals, and at the time of program...
A factor that often inhibits a collaborative approach to planning is the inability of the citizen participants and the planner to communicate with each other. In order to overcome this difficulty it is useful to look for theory and methods in the fields of communication, community organization, industrial management, and the social sciences.
CHAPTER ONE

THE ENCOUNTER OF PLANNER AND CITIZEN PARTICIPANTS

Negative Aspects

This paper continues on the premise that organized citizen participation can contribute to a planning process which is mutually satisfactory to both the renewal administrator and the technician, on the one hand, and the citizen participants on the other; we have called it "a collaborative approach to planning." At this time it will do well to mention the two most significant negative aspects which critics of organized citizen participation point out.

The first argument is that organized citizen participation is an impediment to the efficiency of government. It is said that it tends to slow up calculable administrative/bureaucratic procedures. The attempted solution to be heard in a society of concentrated power, characterized by "big government" and large, well-organized interest groups, was for the mass of individual citizens to concentrate their own voices: the result of their efforts is known as "grass roots", organized citizen participation.\(^9\) Local government was, therefore, confronted with an additional articulate group, a comparatively

\(^9\)See Angell, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

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I do not believe that this negative aspect attributed to organized citizen participation can be taken any more seriously than the disruption which other special interest groups cause to the smooth functioning of bureaucratized government. In fact, the rest of this paper hopes to show how these newly articulated groups can make a real contribution to the professional officials of government, for example, renewal planners, by more clearly defining their roles and their responsibilities.

The second argument is that organized citizen participation is a divisive political organism. Two states have successfully passed or attempted legislation which provides us with extreme examples of how organized citizen participation can become a divisive political organism.\(^\text{10}\) The legislation actually grants the organized citizen participants the planning power.

The purpose of such legislation was two-fold: first, it meant to give urban neighborhoods powers similar to those which new subdivisions or small suburban governments now have; it was an attempt to give the estranged citizen an active role in his government and in the shaping of his environment; secondly, in the absence of a municipal planning board, or in the case of an ineffective one, it allowed planning to proceed on a neighborhood, rather than a city-wide basis. Although short-term planning objectives could undoubtedly be achieved with such a mechanism, it is my opinion that in the long-run, the legislation

\(^{10}\) See The Michigan Neighborhood Improvement Act and The Illinois Neighborhood Redevelopment Act, 1941.
would (1) obstruct sound, comprehensive planning, planning for a coherent and equitable land-use and circulation system on a city-wide or metropolitan basis, and (2) would be a drastic curtailment of the democratic process: it would consciously discriminate by giving political power to a minority of the public and eliminate the sanction or the approval of the citizenry at large by not allowing them a referendum as voters of the city.

Citizen participation can also be termed divisive when it has been purposely organized against change which threatens the status quo. The world view of people who are able to organize themselves on a neighborhood level is sometimes limited to the neighborhood; the larger community, the city, the metropolitan area are often beyond their line of vision. Even this difficulty, however, seems to suggest its own solution. Education is a tool which is available to the planner. Thus far, educational efforts have brought the vocabulary and some of the concepts of planning and renewal to a lot of people. As a device, therefore, it is potentially available for establishing a more comprehensive perspective of the world.

Positive Aspects: Multiple Objectives

The tool of participation, and the encounter between citizen and planner, is not a new one. Its tradition was first established as a counter measure to that which was previously called "big government" and it took the form of a commission of citizens which was assigned directive powers in municipal planning offices; it was felt that the job of planning should not belong only to the public officials.
In the trial and error of broadening participation citizens have assumed various roles. In contrast to the commission form, these roles are usually advisory in nature rather than directive. Generally, there seem to be three broad categories to which the role of citizen participation has been assigned: as active participants in the planning process, as a sounding board for official plans, as a means of citizen and community-wide education. The categories are not mutually exclusive. The real distinction between them has its locus in the planner's attitude toward the participants.

**As Active Participants in the Planning Process:** This category covers the gamut in which the characteristic activities range from data gathering and research, education, support and promotion of the project to planning, enacting necessary legislation and coordinating the planning activities of public and private organizations. An excellent illustration of such complete coverage by the citizen participants is found in the Hyde Park - Kenwood Urban Renewal Project in Chicago.

The citizens' organization, the Hyde Park - Kenwood Community Conference, played an essential part in the movement that culminated in the renewal plan. During the planning stage the Conference kept alive the issues of inter-racialism, housing for low and middle income groups, and proper relocation procedures which were the backbone of the plan. The South East Chicago Commission, under the dominant influence of the University of Chicago, became the planning unit. In addition, the SECC served in a watch-dog capacity insuring conformance to municipal codes and ordinances. The two urban renewal agencies in the city were relegated to the roles of transmitting the finished
documents to the Housing and Home Finance Agency, acquiring and clearing land, and relocating residents where necessary. The Hyde Park-Kenwood example will be used throughout the paper, but this outline suffices to show the extent of community participation.

There are, of course, innumerable variations on this theme. For example, in the pre-planning stage, interest does not necessarily have to emanate from the community; the planner can make the proposal, but then the citizens' group usually focuses community interests on the program, and where there are political obstacles it brings public opinion to bear. Or, in the planning stage the municipal planning unit can assume the main function with the citizens' group serving in an advisory capacity or even having a formal vote which has the power of approval or rejection of the proposal.

This last semi-directive role is conveyed best by reference to the Detroit planning program:

After numerous block discussions and general public meetings, during which the citizens participated helpfully in decision-making . . . the delegates of the . . . blocks . . . voted four to one in favor of the proposed . . . plan recommended by the staff as modified by the residents' suggestions. . . . [This] . . . has continued throughout the subsequent planning stages. It proved a most valuable experience of planning in a democracy.

The same program includes citizen volunteers who work in the offices of the City Planning Commission.11

Concomitant to this overview of the citizens' role is the education of the planner. What I mean is that in order for the planner

to be educated he needs information from the citizenry. The principle which follows is that planning starts with the citizen's horizon of interests and identifies ways of securing the kind of community development improvement which he (the citizen) sees as desirable. The underlying assumption seems to be that the citizen is capable of appreciating the values of planned development and of assuming a positive and responsible role in improving his environment.

As a Sounding Board for Official Plans: With this objective in mind the citizens' organization has as its primary function providing the planner with a place to test ideas. By obtaining the reactions of a small group to a particular proposal, the planner is able to get a good idea of how the community at large will react when the proposals are made public.

The citizen organization which fills this role also offers the planner support: support for planning as a function of government, and support for a particular program or a particular set of plans. In order to carry out this function, the organization must be enlightened as to the planning proposals from the earliest stage. Aaron Levine, in discussing citizen participation in Philadelphia, suggests that in this manner success is real because "responsible suggestions can be incorporated, differing viewpoints resolved, and the public agencies are able to muster the support required to sustain their proposals".13

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Part of the reasoning behind the fashioning of the sounding board function is the need to test the political feasibility or viability of a plan. After all, formal public policy is determined ultimately by elected officials. Because opinion formation influences the elected officials in their decision-making, it is necessary for the professional officials of government, i.e. the planners, to rally the necessary support behind their plans via the formers' constituents. Indeed, persuading the elected officials in this manner is just as important as the vote in influencing policy formulation. As Aaron Levine said, "It is unfair to expect political leaders to vote for measures which are unknown or unpalatable to their constituents."\textsuperscript{14}

As a Means of Citizen and Community-Wide Education: The objectives of this function are several-fold. In the most general sense, education is the means by which to develop a broad understanding of the nature of planning and urban renewal problems and practices, and solutions. A more specific reason is to teach people how to achieve improvements in their dwellings and in their neighborhoods. This means enlightening the citizens as to how much they can expect the city to do for them, seriously considering the bounds and limitations of this type of action, and also enlightening them as to what they can feasibly hope to accomplish by themselves and with the cooperation of their neighbors. The third reason for education as an objective is double-headed: An educated citizenry is necessary for the planning administrator and

\textsuperscript{14}Tbid.
technician in order to obtain the background and perspective into community life which is requisite for sound problem solving; accordingly it is necessary to bring the energy of the citizen leaders to focus on pertinent issues so that plans can be modified in the light of their knowledge of what can feasibly be achieved.

The Morton Neighborhood in Philadelphia illustrates the multi-purposes to which a broad citizen education program can be put. The Germantown Settlement, which assumed the responsibility of organizing the citizens' efforts, had five principal objectives in mind:

1) To discover leadership which will carry maximum responsibility for sustaining the program. This implies growth of citizen participation and social responsibility within the total neighborhood.

2) To involve neighbors in various courses of action leading to improved housing conditions.

3) To involve neighbors in the solution of related environmental problems.

4) To develop a long-range comprehensive land use plan for the neighborhood to be used as a basis for future action: a) based on citizen action -- cooperation and voluntary spirit emphasized; b) related to the surrounding area -- time spent in getting neighbors to accept the plans.

5) To develop a pattern of city-neighborhood cooperation which will make maximum use of all resources in order to achieve the most desirable and effective results. The ultimate test will be the neighborhood's ability to make continued use of government services.\(^\text{15}\)

The Encounter of Planner and Citizen: A Balance of Power

The present power age defines and evaluates everything in terms of power. To this common and accepted view the field of organization has been no exception. It is universally assumed that the function of a people's organization is similar to that of any other kind of organization which is to become so strong, so powerful, that it can achieve its ends.16

It was said before that citizens organized in response to the need to be heard in a society characterized by concentrated power. It is obvious, in the encounter of planner and citizen participants that the latter's interests require getting involved in what governmental authorities are doing or should be encouraged to do. "Thus," Arthur Hillman feels, "when community councils are genuine expressions of local democracy, they have a foot in the political arena and constitute a threat to whatever machine bosses and partisan pressure groups may exist in the community. . . . They must have some potential political weight or they will be confined to innocuous busy work in the community."17

The statement by Hillman raises the two points which I want to make concerning power. The first is that a citizens' organization almost automatically becomes an intrusion and a threat to the existing power arrangement. This was illustrated in an interview I had regarding the relationship of the Cambridge neighborhood associations to the City Council. The respondent said that the City Council is

generally uneasy about citizen participation. The respondent characterized each councilor as being a kind of "community organizer," interested in a part or parts of the city: "After all, this is how they get their votes." In other words, an organized neighborhood detracts from the councilor's unique role as guardian and spokesman for a particular mass of citizens. Once the citizens are organized they become their own spokesman, their own leader, and can force the councilor into following.

The second point more nearly describes the relationship between the professional official, the renewal planner (in contrast to the elected official), and the citizen. The nature of the relationship is assumed to be mutually beneficial. In this case, the potential use of power remains dormant unless some deficiency in the relationship causes conflict that takes power to resolve. This paper is written in the hope of presenting theory and methods for improving the relationship between planner and citizen, thus eliminating the need for bringing power to play within the bounds of this single relationship.

In Summary

According to its advocates, citizen participation in urban renewal contributes to the planning process in two general ways. First, a better plan is drawn up because the real needs of the people of the area, as expressed through their participation, can be incorporated in the plan. Second, the plan gains success in execution because the citizens will support change which they have helped to create or which is compatible with their way of life. The planning process which incorporates citizen participation is one of planner influencing citizen and citizen influencing planner.
Here in America we tend to talk a lot about democracy in planning. What we mean by that is not always clear, but it somehow connotes that anyone who has a contribution to make has an opportunity to make it; that all genuinely good ideas are cordially welcomed and their sources acknowledged. On the other hand, democracy gains nothing from efforts to get participation where there is no basis of interest or competence.

From the planner's point of view the basic test of sound citizen participation is to be found in the political and social atmosphere which allows the carrying out of the final, "official" plans. Citizen participation is of administrative necessity: besides being required by law, it becomes the means by which the renewal administration can gain a stable and responsible group, to get the neighborhood cooperation which is necessary to put across a program and to obtain the information which is necessary to create a good plan.

This means that the two active teams will find it mutually beneficial to be in communication with each other. Their relationship focuses on a common interest; this common interest is one in which both teams are planning for environmental change, i.e. urban renewal. The world in which citizen participants and planner interact looks something like this:

![Diagram of citizen participation and planner relationship]

(1) The Planning Unit
(2) The Organized Citizen Participants -
   The Neighborhood Association
(3) The Residents -
   At-Large
(4) The Project Area

CHAPTER TWO

THE COMMUNICATION THEORY

Part I. Analysis

A Communication Model

The communication model which will be described here was developed by Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver. Shannon and Weaver were talking about electronic communication, not human communication, but the generality of the model has been found useful by the behavioral scientist; it deals with those basic relationships which hold in general, no matter what special form the actual case may take. Its generality is exactly what is most useful because we are able to investigate certain fundamental elements of urban renewal, in which the planner is involved with the citizens of a project area, without getting involved in the usual panacea of bureaucracy called "organization." Graphically, the model looks like this:

\[\text{Diagram of communication model}\]

The only factors which are requisite to communication at this level are: the information source, the transmitter or encoder, the message, the channel of communication, the receiver or decoder, and the destination.

The information source is some person or group with a reason for communicating and the encoder takes the idea of the source and puts it into the form of a message -- these two together will now be called the communicator. For our purposes, the communicator can either be the planner or the citizen participants. The channel is the medium over which the message is carried. For our purposes the channel will mainly be "speech" and to some extent also "writing" and "graphics."

The decoder takes the message from the encoder and puts it into some form that the receiver can use, and the receiver is the person or group for whom the message is intended -- these two will now be called the audience. Again, the audience can either be the planner or the citizen.

Communication, then, enables two or more individuals to coordinate their actions, by the use of language or signs, so that they may convey the information which is necessary to achieve some goal. The more obvious implications of communication are: (1) that communication occurs for the purpose of affecting the behavior of the "other"; (2) that each component of the communication system must perform its particular function for the system to survive; (3) that the failure of any component to participate as expected in this network of relationships disturbs and sometimes destroys the entire network.
Communication and Purpose: All communication has as its purpose the eliciting of a response because, by definition, communication either affects or is without effect. It is necessary for the person initiating the communication (the communicator) to consider why the particular audience to which he is addressing himself should be receptive to his message, why it is approaching the communication experience. In other words, there are actually two sets of responses: the response sought by the person sending the message and the response sought by the person receiving the message.

When the responses sought by the communicator and the audience are incompatible, communication breaks down. When they are compatible or independent, communication can continue. One dramatic illustration of communication breakdown caused by a difference of purpose between communicator and audience is found in the Riverview case. The Redevelopment Authority invited members of the Neighborhood 10 Association to a meeting in mid-December 1957 to make a presentation of their views on the sociological implications and the effect on the neighborhood of various possible uses.

The spokesman for the Association described the characteristics of the existing neighborhood and concluded that Neighborhood 10 favored low-rise buildings which would encourage young families with children. He said that if it were financially possible the Association would not like to see a tall apartment building on the redevelopment site because

21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
they feared the parking and traffic problems which might accompany high density development. He felt that one of the objectives of redevelopment should be the renewal and upgrading of the surrounding neighborhood and not just the maximizing of the resale price.

One member of the Authority, McKay, expressed his displeasure over the continued pressure for housing other than a high-rise apartment and said that it would be financial nonsense to build anything else. Dean Jose Luis Sert, Chairman of the Planning Board, felt that aesthetically and financially an apartment house was the best use. He also stated that in his experience neighborhood associations were "protectionist and negative" and, therefore, their proposals needed to be judged accordingly.

This response to a well-documented presentation was obviously not expected by the Neighborhood 10 Association. Similarly, it seems clear that the Redevelopment Authority did not expect the Association to respond to its invitation in the manner it did. Following this explicit difference of purpose, communication between the Redevelopment Authority and the Neighborhood 10 Association broke down.

Besides two sets of desired responses, there are also two levels of responses which refer specifically to the receiver: the intended and the unintended. One of the problems for any communicator is to transmit his message to the intended receiver. This potential difficulty manifests itself in the planner-citizen relationship. The planner is obligated to "be in communication" with every member of, for example, a project's population. As a result of the potential

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Ibid.
power or influence of a neighborhood organization in combination with the possibility that its membership may not actually be representative of the area of concern, the planner may not succeed in reaching the entire, intended population.

Seen at another scale it can be said that the planner, who is often employed by a city, ideally has as his clientele the "people of the city," meaning the entire public with a supposedly unanimous "public interest" which the planner is obligated to serve. In reality, of course, this public interest is made up of many separate and conflicting interests, not the least of which are the local concerns of a project area which the planner encounters in an urban renewal situation. The neighborhood association is organized as the spokesman for a limited geographic area; its very representation is bound by a multitude of social and economic norms which are limited and locally defined. As members of the "people of the city" they are entitled to be heard. The planner must contend with the dilemma of how to weight their voices with the multitude of others. Basically the problem is irreconcilable, but in the chapters which follow we will discuss some methods which are able to allay the difficulty of the conflict.

In general, the purpose of communication can be seen as a spectrum with consummatory and instrumental purposes at either extreme. Consummatory purposes are those which are concerned with ends. In the case of the citizen-planner relationship the consummatory purpose is the relationship itself in order to achieve some specific objective,

\[24\text{Ibid., pp. 17-18.}\]
such as redevelopment, in the relationship between the Redevelopment Authority and the Neighborhood Association. On the other hand, the specific objective of the consummatory purpose may be basically incompatible, as in the case of the Redevelopment Authority and the Marsh Defenders in the Riverview Area. In either case, the specific objective, i.e., redevelopment is instrumental to the maintenance of the relationship between planner and citizen participants; it is concerned with means rather than with ends. This paper maintains the point of view that the one basic consummatory purpose is the relationship, or two-way communication itself; the instrumental purposes are all the means used to obtain this relationship for the purpose of achieving a collaborative approach to planning.

Determinants of Communication Effectiveness: Communication effectiveness has to do with the amount of information sent, the type of symbolization used, and the way in which messages are encoded and decoded. One technique which can be employed for determining communication effectiveness is content analysis; another technique is purely quantitative, using measures devised in the mathematical theory of communication. A third technique, and the one which will be used in this paper, is qualitative. Such an approach attempts to take into account the unique characteristics which may occur within any possible combination of planner and citizen groups. Furthermore, it is both analytical and predictive.

This technique looks for basic factors within the communicator and the audience which determine the effectiveness of communication. Berlo points out four: communication skills, attitudes, knowledge level,
and the position within a social-cultural system. 25

Communication skills are concerned with the purely technical problems. They are the simplest to remedy: The conditions and methods of sending spoken, written and graphic symbols to a particular audience must be paid attention to. The other three factors seem to have a causal relationship to this technical problem because communication skill is influenced by one's attitudes, knowledge level, and social-cultural position.

Attitudes, favorable or unfavorable, toward the audience and toward the subject matter are clearly communicated to the audience and, therefore, affect responses. For example, if the planner does not agree with the collaborative approach to planning, his contact with the citizen participants will be different from the planner who does agree with the collaborative approach to planning. Another illustration comes from the Riverview case: One member of the Neighborhood 10 Association interpreted the Redevelopment Authority's "silence" after the mid-December meeting in 1957 as meaning, "After we gave them the support that they needed in getting the plan accepted in Council, they had no more use for us." The audience's attitude toward the communicator and toward the subject matter is similarly affected.

This paper has assumed the attitude that the collaborative approach to planning is most favorable, because it makes available a larger number of ways of looking at a problem by making available a larger number of possible solutions and a larger number of criticisms with which to judge the effectiveness of a

25 Ibid., pp. 41-50.
particular proposal. Such an attitude is effective to the extent that responsible neighborhood responses can be communicated to the planner, that the planner responds favorably to its ideas and suggestions and that their attitudes towards each other are ones of mutual respect.

Knowledge level affects communication. One cannot communicate what one does not know or understand. Such an argument lies at the basis of citizen education in planning. On the other side, the planner cannot plan for a community which he does not know. Knowing too much can also affect communication. That is, a planner might fall into the trap of not being able to communicate his technical knowledge in a manner that can be understood by the citizen participants. Lastly, knowledge of communication affects communication. The evidence for making such a statement is being analyzed in this chapter and will be applied in the following ones.

Every communicator and every audience operate within a social-cultural system. The social system is that which describes one's position in the world. Some of the problems which arise in the planner-citizen relationship are manifestations of the complex and sometimes contradictory nature of the roles which each must assume. The planner is a part of a planning unit which is inclusive of the administrator, the staff planner, and, indeed, the entire agency or authority which, in turn, is functionally joined to the municipal government. Occupying such a position in the world the planner is sometimes caught in the dilemma of balancing conflicting dominant interests: economic, social, political, and so on.
The citizen participants, so limited by this paper, are the organized members of a neighborhood or project area who speak consciously on behalf of the other residents. Again, the problem is endemic to the situation. This was mentioned previously in regard to their limited geographic interests which are bound by certain norms characteristic of race, ethnic origin, and economic condition.

A very excellent working analysis of the four factors which determine communication effectiveness was presented by Herbert Gans in a critique of "The Human Implications of Current Redevelopment and Relocation Planning," in the West End Urban Renewal Area in Boston. Gans feels that in the selection of a redevelopment area it is necessary to consider both the physical conditions and the social images which the residents of the area seem to display (technical knowledge level and attitudes toward the audience).

To date, Federal standards for determining eligibility focus almost entirely on the physical condition, which is not a sufficient criterion. Decisions are based on an exclusive hierarchy of values which reflect limited value patterns. Such standards are desirable as bases for public policy [representing the abstract social-cultural system of the 'public'], if they were followed by a program which provided the residents of the area with better housing. In the case of the West End, the resulting suggestions for relocation housing were not acceptable to the residents because they were not fitted to the extended family needs of the relocation population [failure to take account of a unique social-cultural system].

However, the Redevelopment Agency is not required by law to understand the consequences to the residents of its official acts; and the agency, therefore, had no real opportunity for learning how letters and announcements were received or interpreted [all four factors; most certainly lack of communication skills]. The agency believed that relocation would improve living conditions for the residents and that redevelopment was for the good of the city, and so they were unable to understand the hostility and the unwillingness to cooperate of the project residents. [Misunderstanding of the social-cultural system of relocatees and low knowledge level.]

This basic misconception stemmed from the communication
difficulties between the redevelopment agency and the West
End residents. The residents were opposed to redevelopment
and, in general, the working class is hostile towards govern-
mental authority [attitudes toward subject matter and audience].
Unfortunately, the Housing and Redevelopment Authority failed
to take the residents' attitudes into consideration while it
followed the letter of the law. For example, their communication
followed local and federal regulations, and they were careful
not to give information about which they were not certain or
which was not required [lack of communication skills].
Therefore, an informational vacuum was created which was
filled with rumors. The West Enders, who have little contact
with bureaucratic procedure, tended to interpret such communi-
cation in personal terms -- i.e. the delay between the announce-
ment of redevelopment and final taking of the structures was
assumed due to the city's desire to confuse and scare them out,
and thereby reduce the acquisition costs and the relocation
problem [misconceived attitude toward the communicator].

Since there was little vocal opposition the redevelopment
agency interpreted this to mean that they had accepted their
fate [low knowledge level and lack of understanding of the
social-cultural system]. Of the information that was communi-
cated, the agency was vaguest on topics which were of the most
concern to the residents -- namely on relocation and clearance
scheduling [lack of communication skills].

Gans' critique is followed by proposals for correcting the
inadequacies of the present system. However, the four factors which
increase communication effectiveness raise the significant issues and,
at the same time, suggest a redefinition of objectives and a rational
process by which to align them.

Part II. Problem Solving

Communication and Interaction

In the preceding section the function of the contributing
actors -- communicator and audience -- was examined. This was a
more-or-less static overview of the way the two components in a
communication system behave. But the attempt of the communicator and
the audience to effect each other implies a dynamic aspect in which they try to bridge the gap between two individuals, or a plurality, and become a social unit.

Communication ... involves ... an interpretation of the attitude or intent of the person whose word or gesture supplied the stimulus. ... Communication is a process or form of interaction that is interpersonal, i.e. social in the narrower sense. The process is complete only when it results in some form of understanding. In other words, communication is never merely a case of stimulus and response. ... It is rather expression, interpretation and response.27

Interaction and communication are synonymous. However, there are different types of interaction. If planner affects citizen and citizen affects planner, this can be called mutual interaction. Mutual interaction is the relationship present in a collaborative approach to planning. A second type of interaction is the absence of interaction. In the absence of interaction planner and citizen do not affect each other -- they are independent. The absence of interaction can be both negative or neutral depending on its context within the larger framework of interdependence. A third type of interaction is when planner affects citizen, but citizen does not affect planner, or when citizen affects planner, but planner does not affect citizen.28

Examples of the three types of interaction which are descriptive of the over-all citizen - planner relationship in a particular urban renewal situation are plentiful. But these three types can also occur

at different times within a single case. Riverview can be used to exemplify this:

Clearance and redevelopment as the method of treatment for the two and a half acre site was agreed upon by both the Redevelopment Authority and the Neighborhood 10 Association. The elected and professional officials wanted to select an area with few problems in terms of clearance, relocation, and resale for Cambridge's first project. Riverview seemed to meet all the requirements which would put urban renewal in a good light in the City of Cambridge. The Neighborhood 10 Association was in favor of redevelopment for Riverview: the mixed uses on the site were deleterious to the surrounding property.

Mutual interaction was imperative. The citizens were dependent on the Redevelopment Authority to utilize the powers vested in an urban renewal agency to achieve redevelopment of the site. Similarly, the Redevelopment Authority needed the support of the neighborhood to get the funds from City Council to carry out an urban renewal project. Consequently, the atmosphere was extremely friendly.

In June, 1957, the Association invited Thaddeus Beal, Chairman of the Redevelopment Authority, to address it in regard to the considerations for re-use proposed by the Authority. Beal was unable to say to what use the land would be put, or if there would be any redevelopment at all, but he added that the Redevelopment Authority was most anxious to consider the wishes of the residents and to cooperate with them in any way it could.

In July, 1957 the two teams met for the purpose of getting the project moving again and through the Council. At that time the Assistant
to the City Manager, in charge of urban renewal, and the vice president of the Association personally delivered letters to the homes of the project residents of the proposed project area to tell them that the area was about to be resurveyed and to ask their cooperation. The resurveying was done and an application for additional planning funds was prepared by the Redevelopment Authority.

To prepare for the public hearings of the finance committee of City Council, the Authority asked the Association to send cards to its members in order to inform them of the hearing. As a result, there was a large turnout at the hearing and the Council voted to approve the funds eight to one.

Mutual interaction was tolerable and desirable as long as the issue was concerned with the topic, redevelopment versus no redevelopment. In Part I of this chapter, we termed such an issue a "specific objective"; the consummatory purpose, the relationship between the Association and the Authority, was established in order to achieve redevelopment.

It is clear that the instrumental purposes should also be characterized by mutual interaction. In Part II we termed the question of re-use "instrumental" to the specific objective of redevelopment, but mutual interaction over the question of re-use did not occur. To explain: Informational meetings were held in November, 1957, and although both teams were physically present at these meetings there was no two-way exchange between planner and citizen which would have allowed the Redevelopment Authority to learn the Neighborhood Association's reaction to the content of the information which was
being told to it. In other words, there was action, but there was no reaction.\textsuperscript{29}

The Association was given one opportunity to express its reaction to the favored re-use of the Authority, namely high-rise buildings. The content of the mid-December meeting was discussed in Part I of this chapter. It was said that when purposes are incompatible, communication breaks down. In terms of interaction, Berlo calls this "definitional physical interdependence" -- words, token recognition based merely on physical proximity, but absence of interaction.\textsuperscript{30}

Regarding the absence of interaction it was said that it could be either negative or neutral. The Association had two avowed purposes. One was to act as liaison between the residents and the city; the second was to make sure that the re-use of the site was complementary to the adjacent neighborhood. In terms of the liaison function of the Association the lapse in communication after the mid-December meeting had a completely negative effect. The Association members felt that they were being treated as tools of the Authority and they interpreted the next six months as "six months of silence." The members were unable to see the Redevelopment Plan until it had been returned by the HHFA in June of that year (1957). They discovered via the grapevine that the plan had been returned to the Authority for lack of

\textsuperscript{29}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 109.
\textsuperscript{30}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 108.
a neighborhood plan, and when they thought that this might be a good chance to get their preferred re-use through because of its basic consistency with the rest of the neighborhood, they were told that the neighborhood plan "was only a formality." Thus, in their communication or liaison function they felt that they had been completely undermined.

However, in terms of their second avowed purpose, actually to insure a complementary re-use, they were partially successful. Upon receiving the plan in June they discovered that their presentation had made an impression on the Authority; the criteria included were broad enough to allow for low buildings. In the long-run, the absence of interaction with the Authority had been neutral.

At the public hearings to approve the plan a rather strained mutual interaction was achieved in order to get it through Council -- past Councilor Wise who jeopardized the entire project by wanting to introduce additional restrictions to limit the rent structure of the proposed redevelopment, and past other renewal skeptics on the Council. The specific objective of the redevelopment was uppermost with the Association and so it backed the Authority and was willing to trust to its judgment and good faith in obtaining the best possible use.

The one example of weighted interaction, or where citizen affected planner, but where planner did not affect citizen occurred in 1960 when the Neighborhood Association threatened to sue on a variance requested by the chosen redeveloper to increase the maximum building height to 73 feet.31 By the time the decision was made to

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31This is only a fair example of citizen affecting planner because the process resorted to was that of "power" rather than "communication".
build an apartment of this height the Association had been sufficiently
defeated in one of its major objectives; therefore, it sought control.
The Association demanded the opportunity to review the building plans
and submit suggestions. In addition, it insisted on the inclusion of
other restrictions which would insure adequate parking, landscaping of
service and parking areas, and a play area for children residing in
the neighborhood. The suit was dropped; however, the requests and all
of the restrictions were written into the variance.

There is purposive motive behind this lengthy analysis.
If the planner can begin to recognize the difference between constructive
and destructive elements in the process of interaction with the citizen
participants, he will more likely be able to adjust to new situations
which follow. He will also be able to avoid certain mistakes from
re-occurring in the future if he has understood the reasons for the
first one. It would be ideal if all planners were possessed with
empathetic skills in order to predict the expectations of the citizen
participants.

If this is asking for the impossible, the planner can at least
develop skill in what Berlo calls action-reaction, or the technique of
utilizing responses from the audience to effect subsequent responses:
this is known as feedback.\textsuperscript{32} Feedback requires the communicator to make
observations from his own vantage point, using the audience's behavior
as the source for his information. It enables the communicator to

judge the efficiency and accuracy of his stimuli and to modify or readjust his efforts to a new level in order to meet conditions which have been made apparent. A concomitant characteristic of feedback is that the audience is able to gain some control over the communicator: it influences the communicator's future behavior by the way it reacts to the transmitted message.

The Redevelopment Authority missed the opportunity to utilize the feedback mechanism which was readily available; in fact actually articulated to it at the mid-December meeting. Connelly, the Director, was willing to keep the Association informed, with one exception, but he was not interested in action—reaction by making use of its presentation on the sociological implications and the effect on the neighborhood of various uses at that mid-December meeting. He said to me that he was never clear what the Association leaders meant when they kept talking about the "young scientist," the university people whom they would like to see in the neighborhood after redevelopment.

At least a partial reason for this lack of communication effort can be explained by the difference in role assignment which one team ascribed to the other and to itself. The Neighborhood 10 Association felt that it should have been a part of the planning process from the beginning. It was with this purpose in mind that the Association had been formed. Aside from the support it gave to the Authority in getting funds and then the plans through Council, its role, as they saw it, was not fulfilled. It was said before that the Association threatened to resort to court action to get the degree of control it desired.
In an interview, Connelly said that the citizen's role fell into two stages: in the early stages the citizens can promote the concept of renewal; in what he termed the idea stage, "there is not much the citizen can do. Not that planning is done in an ivory tower, but the technicians must explore all the possible concepts." He then made an analogy by saying that, "you need a meeting with an agenda" -- that you must take something to the citizens. Indeed, Connelly never used the Neighborhood Association as an instrument for gleaning information from and about the neighborhood. He merely used the Association as the medium for apprising people near the site of what was happening.

Connelly expressed another idea which is significant for understanding the limitations he put on the role of the neighborhood association. He said that he would like to see a "community expeditor" or "coordinator" in each project area. He emphasized that he did not mean a community organizer, but just a person who liked people and who could pave the way for the planner and set up meetings for the planner to present information. He said that at one time in Cambridgeport, another urban renewal area in Cambridge, they had such a person from the Cambridge Community Services who used to go into the neighborhood to find out what was happening. Working under the direction of the Authority, which feels that it must deal with "everybody," this person went separately to different organizations and groups in the neighborhood,

33 See Chapter III, "Decision Making."
including the neighborhood association. This method of attack dealt a death blow to the Cambridgeport Neighborhood Association. But the Redevelopment Authority was only interested in spreading the necessary information and explaining the technicalities. It was not interested in implementing two-way communication.

Basically, this self-orientation was substituted for a lack of understanding or reluctance to accept the Neighborhood Association’s own conception of its role in urban renewal. To some extent, the same also applies to the Neighborhood Association.

The simplest thing to say in retrospect is that a lot of the misunderstanding could have been avoided if the two teams had been able to sit down together and come to some overt agreement on this matter; interaction involves reciprocal expectations and predictions of each other’s behavior. Compromise and accommodation would be necessary. While the multiple objectives for the citizen-planner encounter have been recognized by both citizen and planner, these objectives must be mutually agreed upon in every particular relationship.

There are other techniques for achieving a better understanding of role expectations and role predictions which will be given in the following section.

Understanding Social Organization: A Tool for Communication and Interaction

The concept of social organization describes the status-role bundle of individuals or groups of individuals.\(^3\) It has been used

\(^3\)Role is what one does in his society; it is the dynamic aspect of status. Status is a pattern of privileges and responsibilities, and represents a person’s position in the value hierarchy of his society. Mercer, loc. cit.
most by sociologists who want to analyze existing or changing patterns of interaction between persons or groups of persons. Looking at it this way, patterns of interaction are a result of the reciprocal expectations of each other's behavior (expressed through what I have called the "status-role bundle"). There is another approach which offers a problem-solving device rather than merely an analytical tool. This interpretation says, in contrast to the first approach, that the basis for developing reciprocal expectations of each other's behavior is found in the existence of patterns of interaction.

A knowledge of the composition and workings of a social system is useful in making predictions about how members of that system will behave in a given communication situation.35

In order to accomplish some objective men relate their own behaviors to the behaviors of others.

When two or more individuals are interdependent, the attempt is made to specialize functions and stratify their behavior so that they do not duplicate each other in the relationship. In the previous section it was said that one probable reason for the unsatisfactory interaction between the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority and the Neighborhood 10 Association was the inability of each to collect, sort and associate their behaviors, expressions of the status-role bundle, without duplication. In addition, each team did not accept the behavior which the other ascribed to it.

35Berlo, op. cit., p. 135.
This suggests two solutions. The first solution, mentioned at the conclusion of the last section, is to come to an open agreement on the matter. Berlo offers four possible bases for deciding how labor may be divided. The first was according to the difficulty of performing a given role. It suggests that roles can be separated and ranked according to the labor performed and the skills which are necessary to perform it. This means that the technical know-how of the planner would only be performed by the planner. This also means that the neighborhood's knowledge of itself -- of what it is -- should be supplied by the neighborhood (the neighborhood association in this case). In the collaborative approach to planning these are only the most basic lines along which labor is divided. In the case of Riverview it is difficult to say whether the conflict over the re-use of the two and one half acre site was a question of poor communication, the Redevelopment Authority's inability to understand and accept the messages sent by the Association at the mid-December meeting, or whether it was not a question of communication at all but just bad planning.

The second basis is according to the availability of people competent to perform a given role. This suggests that the planner must recognize the differences between neighborhoods and be more flexible in assigning tasks to himself and to others. In the case of Riverview, it is not difficult to imagine a fifty-fifty division of labor. The people of Neighborhood 10 were well-educated and extremely articulate, with its members ranking high in the professions and as business leaders;

36 Ibid., p. 138.
the leaders knew and were able to express what they were. In other neighborhoods comparable information might have to be collected by the planner. The conditions under which differences between neighborhoods become evident will be explained in the next section of this chapter.

The third basis for a division of labor is according to the relative dependencies between two roles. This suggestion is similar to the first except that it connotes less a division of labor and more a mutual sharing of responsibilities. In the case of Riverview, it suggests that the planner should have been responsible for the planning while the Association should have been accepted as the source from which the Authority would gather its information about the neighborhood. The Cambridge Redevelopment Authority conveyed the impression that it was not interested in accepting this as a function of the Association. Basically, the third way suggests the need for interdependence between planner and citizen, which is the underlying assumption of this paper.

The fourth way Berlo suggests is according to the values attached to behavior associated with a given role. Like the second way, this suggests that differences will be found between one neighborhood and another. It implies that varying degrees of effort will have to be expended in order to develop sound leadership and to teach the importance or value of assuming responsibility for a certain role. However, many of the main characteristics of a group may only become evident as it involves itself with another group, i.e. the planning unit. For example, a neighborhood which is apparently void of leadership may be motivated to organize only at the time the planner enters the
neighborhood. The planner should recognize this force and attempt to
direct these energies in participation in order to avoid opposition.

The first general solution suggests four possible bases for a
division of labor. The second solution which utilizes information about
social organization is similar to the social-cultural factor which was
explained in Part I. 37 It says that when we know something about the
social systems to which a particular audience belongs it will aid us
in the prediction of that audience's behavior and attitudes regarding
what it believes, what it knows and how it will act in a given
situation. 38

One means for making predictions about the audience is to be
sensitive to or to account for the audience's own conception of its
"role position." 39 In Chapter One, one of the negative aspects of citizen
participation was that it slows down the normal bureaucratic adminis-
trative process. By eliminating this additional cog in the wheel
we may get what we want more quickly, but in doing this we may damage
the "self-perceptions of people whom we have by-passed. We may have
threatened their position, communicated to them we do not feel their
role to be essential in the operation of the system. This is not
tolerable to the individual who receives such a message." 40 Not
understanding this information gleaned from the concept of social
organization can cause communication to break down.

37 See Determinants of Communication Effectiveness, p. 32, supra.
38 Berlo, op. cit., p. 151.
39 Ibid., p. 155.
40 Ibid., pp. 156-157.
This occurred in interesting fashion in the Hyde Park - Kenwood Urban Renewal Area in Chicago. The South East Chicago Commission, being primarily a power group, directed its energies to the city government and the speed with which it tried to get things through downtown left little time for public relations in the Hyde Park - Kenwood community. For example, the SECC proposed a park in a certain area, announcing it cold. One hundred and thirty-two families were suddenly faced with relocation. A block group organized resistance, objecting to the fact that the SECC had neglected to inform them or initiate discussion prior to the announcement of the planning proposal. If the SECC had taken the time to explain why the proposal was desirable, and if plans for relocation had been offered with the proposal, such resistance might have been avoided.

Along the same line, the SECC and the municipal department were in conflict over the pace of renewal. The SECC did not understand that no one project could occupy the entire attention of one department and, consequently, the Chicago Park District took the position that it could not approve the proposal at that time.

Opposition from these two fronts forced the SECC to drop the plan. This experience demonstrates the limits established by municipal agencies with their precedents and techniques and by organized citizens whose energies can just as easily be directed in opposition as in cooperation.\textsuperscript{41}

The urgency with which the SECC approached renewal and ignored others' role positions was mitigated by the presence of the Hyde Park -

\textsuperscript{41} Rossi and Dentler, \textit{op. cit.}
Kenwood Community Conference which usually provided the necessary public relations. The Conference and the SECC had a clear understanding of, and a respect for, each other's role positions. There was a mutually accepted division of labor in which the Conference stayed clear of direct contact with the city government and the SECC avoided the grass roots contact.

One statement which it is possible to make is that the communicator has to adjust his own role position to that of his audience. Berlo offers three suggestions for building in the acceptance of role:

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**Role Prescriptions:** the formal, explicit statement of what behaviors should be performed by persons in a given role. [This as I said, can be accomplished by sitting down together and allocating different functions to each of the two teams.]

**Role Descriptions:** a report of the behaviors that actually are performed by persons in a given role. [This requires the technique of observation and feedback.]

**Role Expectations:** the images that people have about the behaviors that are performed by persons in a given role. [This has been discussed in the first part of this section.]

If these three factors differ a great deal, communication will break down. This is true if we think back to the two levels of responses and realize that major discrepancies in the role position which one team assigns to the other will result in incompatible responses. The different prescriptions, descriptions, and expectations assigned to the Neighborhood 10 Association by the Redevelopment Authority, as

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42 In this case the Conference was also uninformed.

opposed to the rules it assigned to itself, is ample evidence of this.

In summary, communication is related to social organization in three ways. Social organization is a result of communication; contrary-wise, once social organization is established we are able to make predictions about it because social organization is at the basis of certain behaviors which affect communication; lastly, knowing the roles which individuals or groups of individuals occupy in the social system(s) gives us useful information regarding their expectations of role, and aids us in predicting their expectations.

The usefulness of social organization as a tool for communication and interaction seems evident. It would be necessary to test it in a field situation. However, when Connelly complained that he did not understand what the Association was getting at in certain instances, common sense tells us that if he had understood the social system in which the Association operated, he would not have complained so about the system.

Leadership and Participation: A Variable Affecting Social Organization and Communication

Gunnar Myrdal in An American Dilemma points out the American reliance on leadership, a trait of worshipping success and an unmatched capacity for vicarious satisfaction in watching others fight.

Luck, ability and drive in others are more tolerated and less checked. . . . Climbing is more generally acclaimed. Leadership is more readily accepted.
So it becomes more natural, and more possible . . . to associate the dynamic forces of society with individuals instead of masses.

For in all America it is assumed that every group contains leaders who control attitudes of the group. Everywhere . . . the method of reaching a goal is assumed to be the indirect one of first reaching the leaders, and through them, influencing the masses. The leaders are organized locally in civic clubs of all sorts, and they are conscious of their role.\(^{44}\)

Other social scientists agree with Myrdal that one of our biggest problems stems from mass passivity and the difficulty in finding people of certain social-cultural backgrounds to assume the responsibility of leadership. Saul Alinsky asks us to look for leadership among the "... little Joes, who are the natural leaders of their people, who are the biggest blades in the grass roots of American democracy."\(^{45}\) This is easier said than done.

Robert Lane finds that there is a lesser degree of (political) participation in lower status groups. This is partly accountable because (1) there is less leisure time available for (political) activity; (2) there is less economic security and, therefore, a feeling of a sense of less control over their environment; (3) the relation of public policy to the group stakes at issue is less visible; (4) there are cross pressures re: community leadership and their own small group leadership; and (5) they are less aware of the larger social environment -- being less satisfied with it, they withdraw.\(^{46}\)


\(^{45}\)Alinsky, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 177.

It has been found that the variables which affect participation are occupation, income, and education: These variables seem to be directly correlated with the ability to communicate and the other characteristic differences in the value system, mentioned above. An understanding of these variables would be helpful in formulating norms for anticipating the amount and kind of professional help which will be required to elicit participation in certain neighborhoods.

From the basic premise of this paper, which is concerned with achieving a collaborative approach to planning, understanding these difference becomes of vital importance. In both redevelopment and rehabilitation areas participation can make the difference in locating and defining the problem, in establishing the mutual confidence which is necessary to see a program successfully carried into action, in carrying out the joint "social planning" which is necessary to assure the lasting success of physical improvement, and in informing people of code requirements, financing, relocation services, and so on.

The very secret to collaborative planning might be found in the question of leadership because strong leadership insures against what has been called the "salesman approach" in planning. Using the salesman approach, the planner assumes that the citizens, passive or active, should follow his leadership. Such a planner foresees changes, but he has his own ideas in mind and then he presents a plan, modifying it enough so that the neighborhood will finally buy it.


48 Interview with Mark Fortune, Director, Cambridge Community Services.
This approach is not only contrary to the premise of this paper, but it is pragmatically unsound. These things with which the planner is contemplating tampering are steeped deep in emotions and if there is no apparent leadership in a certain neighborhood, some will be quickly motivated to act when ideas for change threaten property and families.

One reason for the hesitance of some municipal agencies to relinquish the leadership role is that the lay members on their boards are also considered to be the lay leaders. Their one misconception is that "they don't understand that you can't do good for people, but with people."\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{In Summary}

The communication model which has been adapted by the behavioral sciences is able to explain the basic relationship which occurs between the planner and the citizen participants. In Part I we observed this relationship in terms of the purpose of communication (both consummatory and instrumental) and the different meanings of response. This, we found, meant recognizing the fact that both the planner and the citizen participants (as either communicator or audience) engage in communication with the expectation of sending or receiving a certain response from the other.

Four factors were pointed out as being significant in effecting response, or "communication effectiveness": communication skills, attitudes, knowledge level, and the position within a social-cultural system. The four factors seem to be useful in terms of

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
In Part II, we went into the more dynamic aspect of communication, which is implied by the model. We described it in terms of interaction, making a distinction between mutual interaction, the absence of interaction (negative or neutral) and weighted interaction (where one team affects the other, but not vice versa). An analysis of the Riverview case was made in the hopes of showing how the planner might begin to recognize the difference between constructive and destructive elements in the process of interaction.

The analysis led us to the conclusion that two things contribute to the solution of communication difficulties. The first is the availability of the feedback mechanism. The second is having insight into social organization. There are also two general types of solutions regarding the latter communication tool. Berlo offers four possible bases for deciding how labor may be divided: according to the difficulty of performing a given role; according to the availability of people competent to perform a given role; according to the dependencies between two roles; and according to the values attached to behaviors associated with a given role.

The second solution takes account of the social-cultural factor in predicting an audience's behavior and attitudes. We said that in order to rationalize role positions it is possible to build in the acceptance of role according to role prescriptions, role descriptions and role expectations. We said that if these three factors differed too much, communication would break down.
The last section in Part II dealt with an important variable in interaction -- leadership and participation. Different degrees of participation have been found to exist in groups occupying different statuses in American society. Occupation, income and education are the three variables which cause the differences; they seem to be directly correlated with the ability to communicate.
CHAPTER THREE

THREE ISSUES IN URBAN RENEWAL RELATED TO THE COMMUNICATION THEORY

Part I.

Communication and Organization for Urban Renewal

The meaning of organization as a physical or formal structure and its relationship to two-way communication will be examined. As individuals or groups of individuals are members of social systems, which more often than not have some form of organization (i.e. the PTA, the Catholic Church, the councilors of municipal government), the physical structure within which communication takes place has significance.

The citizen-planner relationship typically centers around groups of individuals -- a neighborhood association and a planning unit (inclusive of the entire administrative set-up for urban renewal) -- each with its own physical or formal structure. In addition, it is useful to consider them as a single functioning organization; when there is collaborative planning each unit would have its own identity but the division of labor would be so well-defined that the two could feasibly be considered one.

It is neither possible nor wise, however, to look for an ideal form of organization for urban renewal. The particular
structure should be dependent on the unique combination of characteristics in the relationship between the citizen participants and the planning unit involved in a renewal effort.\textsuperscript{50} In Chapter Two those variables which tend to make each encounter between the two teams a unique one were discussed.\textsuperscript{51}

It will be more helpful to examine (1) the tools existent in Federal legislation for the creation of an organization which will best encourage interaction and (2) some guidelines for approaching full-fledged interaction between citizen participants and planner in urban renewal. A consideration of the former will enable us to examine critically the strengths of the weaknesses of Federal policy on this topic. A consideration of the latter will enable us to place organization per se in its proper perspective with the aspects of communication which have been discussed previously.

The Federal Government's Contribution: Citizen participation became a recognized device in urban renewal with the Housing Act of 1954. Point Seven of the Workable Program requires submission of evidence of citizen participation at both community and project levels. The reason for citizen participation, as described in a pamphlet published by the Urban Renewal Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, is to assure community-wide participation on the part of individuals and representative citizens' organizations which will help create a general awareness of the importance of urban renewal and to provide, both in the community and in selected urban areas, the understanding and support which is necessary to


\textsuperscript{51} See \textit{Determinants of Communication Effectiveness, Understanding Social Organization, Leadership and Participation}, Chapter Two.
insure success.52

A year later this point of view was enlarged: effective citizen participation should result in community groups feeling a share of responsibility with local officials for carrying out the objectives of the plan. On the level of neighborhood participation, for example, it says:

Selection of a neighborhood for study may well begin with discussion and meetings with occupants of the area. Local voluntary or paid help may assist in making a neighborhood survey. In studying a neighborhood, the local leadership should consult with individual property owners and tenants. When a project has been formulated, consultation offered may include architectural advice, assistance to owners in interpretation of local housing requirements. . . . Opportunity to participate should be available to all neighborhood interests so that there is built up full understanding of the program by occupants of the affected city blocks. Those affected by the program should have an opportunity not only to be informed, but to express their views, fears or apprehensions, which can be properly taken into account by the local administering agency.53

All of the multiple objectives presented in Chapter One are suggested with regards to the citizen participants' role. The benefits to be accrued by the planner participating in this process are neither suggested nor implied.

With Federal legislation of this type, however, the most significant influence is through the costs it is willing to share with the local government. The major eligible costs for citizen participation in urban renewal (related to rehabilitation) are: (1) staff or consultant services in connection with the establishment and maintenance of an organization of project residents and property

owners for rehabilitation, or furnishing services to existing neighborhood groups -- "the development of neighborhood organizations, the provision of certain advisory services and general education efforts are essential activities for which the LPA must make provision;" (2) rental space for holding neighborhood meetings sponsored and arranged by the LPA; and (3) establishment and maintenance of a project office to provide educational services and to serve as headquarters for neighborhood groups. Costs for community-wide citizen organizations and other organizations not directly related to project activities are ineligible.

The most obvious impression gained from this outline is that citizen participation becomes an off-shoot of, or at least closely aligned to, the LPA. There would seem to be a basic danger when citizen participation becomes so intimately hinged to local government. The organization should not be subject to pressures from public sources; there is always the danger of a city council withdrawing funds. Because of the very nature of citizen participation there is a real possibility of this occurring. The business that a neighborhood association or a community council usually gets into almost automatically constitutes a threat, to a greater or lesser degree, to the existing power arrangement.

In addition, it seems fairly explicit that the objective of citizen participation, as outlined above, is primarily to provide services and information to the residents through the establishment of


a neighborhood association. The major objective, in other words, is educative. Furthermore, it is now clear that education is limited to the education of the citizen; there does not seem to be recognition that the citizen will, in turn, contribute to the education of the planner. This is not to say that there cannot be two-way communication -- that depends on the particular case -- but the eligible costs are unflexible and insensitive to the infinite varieties of participation outlined under the three major categories in Chapter One.

Lastly, the strict elimination of all organizations other than those related to project activities is unfortunate. It is possible to think of many instances when better community relations could be achieved, better advice and better information could be given and received by including an area which is not necessarily identical to that of the project area. A lollipop offered by the Federal Government, however, is likely to inhibit a LPA from venturing any distance from its source of funds and, consequently, from the project area if it is dependent on public sources to finance its program of citizen participation.

Project orientation, then, limits the type of organization which would most likely develop. It is possible to distinguish two extreme types of organizational groups: the functional group and the project group.\(^5\)\(^6\) The functional group emphasizes the organization of individuals who perform work along a line in which they tend to specialize. The project group is task-oriented, each member adjusting

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to a new role within the framework of a particular project which is being performed at a given time.\textsuperscript{57}

Organizations of project residents and neighborhood associations are typically project groups, or task-oriented. The activities which they perform are characterized by the development of a fairly specific program -- cleaning-up back yards, securing a play lot, getting the "most desirable" type of redevelopment on blocks X,Y,Z, and so on. Within this type of organization there is the ability to change group structure to meet the demand of each program.\textsuperscript{58}

The functional group is usually found at a different geographical level than the organization of project residents or the neighborhood association. For example, a federation of neighborhood associations (which would include the project area plus the larger community to which it belongs) is most likely functionally grouped. A major part of its work is committee-oriented which means that each one of the committees is responsible for a certain phase of the federation's total program.

An organization of this type can serve a useful role which is not one that is typically met by each member association -- and yet the costs of such an organization are ineligible for Federal funds. The primarily functional group, or a federation of associations, can serve as an inter-neighborhood-organization clearing house for testing

\textsuperscript{57}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{58}Not all of the activities of these organizations can be described by the project group. For example, the Neighborhood 10 Association created a special Riverview Committee to deal with the exigency of redevelopment. Although the committee form typifies functional-type groups, it is not descriptive of the over-all and general pattern.
the feasibility of one member association's plans in light of the larger area, for obtaining more technical information which could be investigated by a special committee of the federation, and for developing a working relationship with the administration of the city on behalf of the interests of the member associations. The Cambridge Council of Neighborhood Associations was an example of one. Its role in helping to organize almost all of the neighborhoods in Cambridge was very important; they were not appendages of local government, but they were generally sensitive and responsible to city-wide interests because of their affiliation with the CCNA. 59

The fact that our cities display so many varieties of organizations for citizen participation would seem to indicate that the Federal Government's limited contribution has not proved to be too inhibiting. The tremendous variation from the Federal requirements, however, does point to the need for readjusting the legislation to fit the present, expanded meaning of citizen participation which, according to the premise of this paper, should operate in full collaboration with the local urban renewal administration.

Guide Lines for Achieving A Collaborative Approach to Urban Renewal: The Demonstration conducted and written by William C. Loring, Jr., Frank L. Sweetser, and Charles F. Ernst offers some guide lines for approaching full-fledged citizen participation which is sensitive to the function of interacting with the municipal urban renewal administration. 60

59 See Part III, p.73, infra.

60 Loring, Sweetser, and Ernst, op. cit.
participation for collaboration in urban renewal are of two types: the first is the representation of the dominant elements of the community social structure -- the economic, religious, educational, welfare, civic and domestic interests; the second is the representation of the different geographical levels or planes of participation.61

The diagrams on the following pages illustrate what the authors mean. What is significant in terms of structural organization for relating planner and citizen is the high degree of respect given to the role of protocol.62

Respect for protocol and the chain of command is essential in working with bureaucratic structure. Once protocol was satisfied, the Demonstration found direct horizontal communication at the district level facilitated routine business.63

Each level and form of association has its distinctive place and character which cannot be usurped by any other one.

The stratifying of roles by dominant elements and geographical levels performs the dual function of providing for interaction or inter-communication between citizens and citizens, and between citizens and planners. In this scheme there are horizontal links between citizen groups on each participation level and, at the top, with the urban renewal administration of the city. Vertical links unite groups on different planes.64 The inference seems to

61 Ibid., p. 162.
62 In Part II, Formal and Informal Communication in Urban Renewal, this scheme will receive further consideration.
63 Loring, Sweetser, and Ernst, op. cit., p. 165.
64 Horizontal communication means that communication takes place on the same level -- levels being either social, economic, political, or geographical. Vertical communication means that communication takes place between different levels. Concerning citizen participation in renewal efforts to date, it has been predominantly horizontal.
CHAIRMAN SITS ON
LEADING CITIZENS' URBAN RENEWAL
ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Source: Frank L. Sweetser,
Community Structure and Analysis,
ed. Marvin B. Sussman (New York:
be that the more each level and form of association devotes itself to a single role, the better the community will be served.

The organizational structure suggested by the Demonstration attempts to achieve a clarification of role differentiation and role assignment through the organization of the working structure. A clear-cut location of responsibility and division of labor characterize the relationship between citizen and city, and between neighborhood, district and city-wide citizen groups. The citizens' groups from the bottom up and from the top down identify needs and problems and bring them to the attention of the organization at the proper participation level, or, at the top, to the city's renewal administration. At the highest participation level, with vertical communication to the levels below, the citizens' group helps to determine goals of development with the planners. While the planners are concerned with the technical considerations, the citizens at all of the participation levels discuss, study and advise the officials in accordance with the protocol and the chain of command established in the organizational structure. And, in turn, the city's urban renewal administration is able to advise and discuss according to the same procedure.65

It seems evident that a scheme for organization which is dependent on the devices of role differentiation and role assignment cannot be guaranteed by the organizational structure alone. In order to achieve the two-way communication system described in the model it is necessary to comply, to some degree, with those basic concepts

65See Loring, Sweetser, and Ernst, op. cit., especially Part II, Chapter 5.
presented in Chapter Two of this paper. Therefore, it does not seem to be unfounded to relegate the place of organization to a position of dependence on those concepts.

The organization of the Hyde Park - Kenwood Urban Renewal Project was completely different from that suggested by the Demonstration. Its difference demonstrates the dependence of organization on role differentiation and role assignment in combination with other factors. In contrast to the stratified organization suggested by the Demonstration (from neighborhood, to district, to city-wide level), the Hyde Park - Kenwood example is "inner-oriented": participation and planning took place entirely within the project area.66

The planning and participation functions were divided and shared respectively by the South East Chicago Commission and the Hyde Park - Kenwood Community Conference. The SECC was an on-the-scene planning unit and the planners, even in the absence of two-way communication, were highly sensitive to the needs of the local area.67 The Conference contributed to an acceptance of the SECC's actions by taking on the role of the communication channel between the planning unit and the citizenry. Besides acting as a transmission belt, the Conference also insured success by blanketing the community with opportunities for learning about almost every detail of the

66 This is true with the exception of the project planning unit which took care of any necessary communications with the municipal departments.

67 For example, the SECC took it upon itself to carry to completion a number of extremely popular issues such as crime control, illegal conversions and building maintenance. Rossi and Dentler, op. cit.
plans. There were block group meetings, sub-area information sessions, public hearings and block group leader conferences with the planning unit. 68 As distinct from the Demonstration's model, there was little respect for protocol and the chain of command, and a lot of encounters took place between citizens and planners on every conceivable level.

In summary, the value of organization lies in its effectiveness for gathering, analyzing, and recombining information for the purpose of achieving some goal. Therefore, communication is the essence of organization. Organization is so dependent on communication that "the pattern of the communication network is the determinant of the working structure." 69

The more complex the problem and the larger the number of directions in which effort may be expended towards solving it, the greater is the dependence on communications in reaching solutions by joint endeavor. Without communication there is no possibility of organization, or coordinated action by a group of individuals. 70

Part II.

Formal and Informal Channels of Communication In Urban Renewal

In the communication model, the channel was described as the medium over which the message is carried. 71 Whatever the channel actually is -- speech, graphics or the written word -- its most important characteristic is as the device by which the communicator and the audience are coupled, allowing them the opportunity to communicate.

68 Ibid.

69 Trachtenberg, op. cit., p. 27.

70 Ibid.

71 Chapter Two, Part I, supra.
In this section we want to consider two genera of channels: the formal and the informal. Formal communication is communication which takes place according to pre-established and known roles, as, for example, between the "Neighborhood Association" and the "Redevelopment Authority". Informal communication is built around social relationships which may or may not be similar to one's primary formal role, as, for example, in the case of "a housewife", member of the Neighborhood Association and "Mr. X", the administrator of the Redevelopment Authority.

In the same way that organization is no guarantee of interaction or two-way communication, the presence of formal and informal devices do not assure the action-reaction sequence. Nevertheless, it will be useful to evaluate the gains and losses to be derived from both of these types of communication channels in order to add to our general body of information on the citizen-planner relationship.

Frank L. Sweetser, one of the authors of the Demonstration, lists five criteria for judging the structural soundness of any city's formal system of inter-communication for urban renewal:

1). Relevant dominant elements (economic, educational, religious, welfare, civic, domestic and governmental) should be included.

2). Necessary citizens' groups should be present on each plane of participation.

3). Adequate horizontal relations should link groups on each participation plane.

4). Adequate vertical relations should link citizen groups on different participation planes.

5). Satisfactory liaison should exist between citizens'
groups and the city's urban renewal officials.\textsuperscript{72} The scheme of organization which exhibits these criteria was discussed and diagrammed in Part I of this chapter.

The formal communication channels which link one level to another are created by individuals who perform different role assignments according to the level on which they are participating. For example, the chairmen of the District Councils serve as members of the Leading Citizens' Urban Renewal Advisory Committee, which is the direct link to the city's "urban renewal coordinator." The family, or domestic dominant, is represented in different ways. The president of the neighborhood association sits on the District Council. In addition, horizontal relations of the neighborhood associations with the dominant structures are built up, characteristically, through the inclusion of family heads who are also identifiable as members of some church, or occupational group. The different neighborhood associations are horizontally linked by the membership of their delegates to the district council.\textsuperscript{73}

Applying the criteria to the formal communication channels of the Cambridge Council of Neighborhood Associations, Sweetser is able to point out the flaws which might be indices of its failure.\textsuperscript{74}

1) The Cambridge Council of Neighborhood Associations is weak in possessing no formal liaison with other city-wide dominant elements. Only weak, informal links to two other private

\textsuperscript{72} Frank L. Sweetser, "Organizing Communities for Urban Renewal," \textit{Community Structure and Analysis}, op. cit., p. 201.

\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 196.

\textsuperscript{74} See p. 64, \textit{supra}. 
groups exist on the city-wide participation plane.

2) The Council is strong in linking eight neighborhood associations, representing eight of the thirteen neighborhoods into which the Planning Board has divided the city.

3) Horizontal relations on the city-wide plane are not adequately provided for, since a formal liaison structure is entirely lacking between the Council and other citizens' groups. On the neighborhood plane, the Council itself serves as the liaison among the neighborhood associations, and communication channels are adequately built into the organizational structure.

4) Vertical relations from neighborhood to city-wide planes are adequate, although limited to a degree by the inadequate (rather, nonexistent) horizontal relations of the Council to other dominant elements.

5) No formal liaison to city government at all is provided by the organizational structure.75

Significantly, in October, 1959, five years after its formation, the CCNA voted to suspend activity "because of the lack of cooperation in the city."76 One person who was interviewed said that the Redevelopment Authority and the City Council were apprehensive of the potential power the CCNA could gain. The Citizens' Advisory Committee supposedly fulfilled the need for a city-wide citizens' organization, but the CAC members were appointed by the City Manager, and although financially independent, they seemed to represent the big powers in the city, rather than the grass roots elements which were represented in the CCNA. The respondent said that although they were represented on every committee of the CAC, representation was token and, generally,

75 Sweetser, "Organizing Communities for Urban Renewal," op. cit., p. 205.
their views were at variance with the "big" dominants.

That which we said previously about inter-communication depending upon factors other than organization also seems to be true with regard to the formal channels of communication which are provided within the organizational structure. The reasons for the failure of the CCNA to achieve adequate two-way communication with the city government and other city-wide dominant elements exemplifies the limited role of formal channels of communication in the absence of the other major determinants.

The case material described in Chapter III and IV of the Demonstration suggests that "personal contacts and informal communications between groups ... are usually more important for developing mutual understanding and getting a program going than the formal messages channelled through the horizontal or vertical structures." Informal channels of communication, however, depend on the formal skeleton to initiate the informal process and to perpetuate it. For example, in the Riverview Project the formal communication link between the Redevelopment Authority and the Neighborhood 10 Association was direct: Connelly said, "The doors here [at the Authority] are always open." Yet, in Riverview, the informal channels were particularly strong: the Association "took their complaints to Beal [Chairman of the Authority] who lived in Neighborhood 10" and other Board members.

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Loring, Sweetser, and Ernst, op. cit., p. 163.
Connelly was rather pessimistic about both formal and informal linkages of this type -- "Channels of communication is a good phrase, but it doesn't work in practice" -- and he said that in most cases the Authority used the press as the medium of communication. He was quick to point out that when an article appears in the paper the Redevelopment Authority gets reactions to it "an hour after it appears on the news stands."

However, it is the general opinion that much more is needed than giving information through the press. "The impersonal type of public relations program does not satisfy the resident who feels his property or his family are in jeopardy or under stress." 78

Joseph Klappier summarizes what seem to be the most significant generalizations about the effects of the mass media:

1) It doesn't, by itself, produce effects in the audience. It is one of many influences.

2) Other influences make it a contributory agent in a process of reinforcing the existing conditions. Therefore, it is more likely to reinforce opinion rather than change it.

3) Where it functions in the service of change, one of two conditions is likely to be present: (a) either the other influences are inoperative, or (b) the other influences themselves will be tending toward change.

4) The effect of it depends upon the situation in which communication occurs such as whether there is actually available a channel for action in response to the communication. 79

The telephone at the Redevelopment Authority served as the available "channel for action in response to the communication." However, its

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78 Ibid., p. 12.

inadequacy for producing change or influencing opinion should discourage its use in the absence of other channels of communication.

The last type of communication channel to be considered is an informal medium known as "the grapevine." It is impossible to insulate a community from this process. The need for the grapevine at different times in a communication system seems to be governed by the interest of one member of the system for information which is not available either through the informal or the formal channels of "when social controls relevant to the situation are external to most of the members of the public."80

It is difficult to evaluate the grapevine in a general way because its advantages and disadvantages are about equal. While it discourages frankness because of the danger that information may leak out and spread about, it does allow information to be transmitted that no one has thought about or bothered to transmit. While the information that gets out is very often inaccurate, it serves as a "barometer of public opinion" which the administrator can listen to and thereby apprise himself of topics that are of interest to him and the other members of his organization.81

In the history of Riverview, the Redevelopment Authority always seemed to turn advantage into disadvantage by reason of the fact that they were completely ignorant of these communication processes. The one time that rumor was operative in the Riverview case, the

81Simon, op. cit., p. 162.
Association found out the plan had been returned from Washington for want of a neighborhood plan. This proved rather embarrassing for the Authority which did not have any intention of taking advantage of developing a detailed neighborhood plan like the Association wanted. As a consequence of this leak in information, the Authority's relations with the Association were worsened.

In summary of Part II it is interesting to note a research finding about the "diffusion of ideas and information." The experiment, recorded by Sanders, was conducted for the purpose of finding ways of "transmitting the scientific facts gained by research in . . . agricultural experiment stations to the farmers for whom the research is . . . done and who must apply the findings if the research is to prove justifiable."\(^{32}\) The findings can be summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diffusion Stage</th>
<th>Order of Importance of Sources</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Mass media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Awareness</td>
<td>b. Agricultural agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Neighbors and friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Interest</td>
<td>d. Agricultural salesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Trial</td>
<td>a. Neighbors and friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Agricultural agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Acceptance</td>
<td>c. Mass media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Agricultural salesman</td>
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</tbody>
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Source: Adapted from Agrisearch (October, 1955).

I think it is interesting to note that in the stages when people become aware of and interested in something they are most stimulated

\(^{32}\) Sanders, op. cit., p. 69.
by the formal media, including mass media. But in the trying-out stage and in accepting it, the informal media, including the grapevine are most important, with the mass media now in third place.83

This experiment puts the discussion of Part II in good perspective. As we said, formal channels of communication are important for getting a program going by establishing a respect for protocol and the chain of command. In accordance with Klappier, the mass media serve primarily as a contributory agent be reinforcing the existing conditions. Informal channels of communication become important for developing mutual respect and for perpetuating the common concern. Lastly, the experiment indicates that the grapevine is advantageous in the trial and acceptance periods. We have noted the disadvantages of all of these communication links in the absence of certain other factors which are the fundamental determinants of two-way communication.

Part III.

Decision-Making and Communication in Urban Renewal

At the foundation of the collaborative approach to planning is the idea that a lot of information which will contribute to a planning proposal is located in the citizen body. Said in another way, the primal reason behind initiating citizen participation in urban renewal, as far as the planning unit is concerned, is for the purpose of accumulating enough information about a given subject in order to determine

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83 Ibid., p. 70.
and evaluate alternative proposals.84

Only in the case where the man who is to carry out a decision is also the man best fitted to make that decision is there no problem of communication and no reason for organization. In all other cases means must be devised for transmitting information from its organizational sources to decisional centers, from centers where component decisions are made to centers where these are combined, and from the latter to the points in the organization where the decisions are to be carried out.85

It has already been presumed that the collaborative approach to planning for environmental change is not merely for the purpose of communicating the "issues," the facts of the planning proposals. It is just as significant to get information from the citizen participants regarding the facilities, the designing, the regulations which will be most congruent with the needs and life patterns of that particular social-cultural group of people. The planner can learn this by assessing the effects of things in the present environment on the residents. For example, he may inquire into which elements in the environment add to the well-being of the families living there and to the maintenance of their property; conversely, which are the elements in the environment that detract? The planner, in upgrading an environment, should be interested in reinforcing the good qualities and eliminating the bad ones.

One example of the failure of the above-mentioned process to operate can be found in the Riverview case. The members of the Neighborhood

84Simon, op. cit., p. 156.
Association, concerned with the re-use of the redevelopment site, prepared a plan of their own incorporating the type of things which they would like to have in the neighborhood. The plan included a lot of data about the present neighborhood which surrounded the redevelopment site: density, social and economic characteristics, amount of open space for various recreational needs, and so on.

The Association's plan presented what, in its opinion, would enhance the elements which were liked most about the environment and would eliminate the deleterious factors. The proposals of the Neighborhood 10 Association called for the construction of single-family dwelling units -- large, three bedroom houses which would find their market with young families of a professional type with pre-school or school-aged children. The estimated cost of such a dwelling unit was about $35,000.

The Association felt that its proposal was equitable to both the residents living adjacent to the site and to the city which was interested in assuring itself of a good tax return from redevelopment. Besides achieving social congruence and a good tax return, the Association was interested in making sure that new development of any type would not add to the traffic and parking problems, and would contribute to the neighborhood's need for additional play space.

The Association used the plan as a device for transmitting its "message" to the Authority which hopefully, would incorporate the

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86 At $35,000, which would be in high demand by the type of family that would want to live in the Harvard Square area, the city could get a one and one-quarter million dollar return on redevelopment of this type. Interview with Hope Kay, member, Neighborhood 10 Association.
information gleaned from the message into the official plan. Unfortunately, only the message itself is transmittable -- that is, the bare words, the code; it seems that "meaning," by itself, is not in the message but rather in the message-user. The meaning which the Association intended in the message was not understood by the Authority. Connelly's reaction to this message from the Association was that, given the price of land, the cost for single-family dwelling units would have been higher than the price estimated by the Association and, therefore, very impractical.

Instead of using this message as a device for gaining relevant information about the residents who lived near and would have to live with the new development, Connelly only read the specifics of the message which was transmitted to him. He saw in the plan only the financial impossibility of it. Consequently, the response to it was negative at the mid-December meeting in 1957.

Connelly was unable to understand the increased anxiety of the Neighborhood Association following that meeting. He said that the Association's criteria for landscaping and open space were embodied into the plan; the re-use criteria were left open; and whereas the study by the Neighborhood Association had indicated a density of thirty-seven families per net residential acre in the existing neighborhood, the plans, following suit, proposed a maximum density of forty families per net residential acre. The Neighborhood Association, however, did not find out until much later that the criteria which it had favored had actually been included.

Perhaps the main function of the planner, who in this instance is involved in a decision-making process, is to decide when he has
accumulated enough information to enable him to suggest specific proposals. In the Riverview case it is difficult to say how much Neighborhood 10's plan was finally decisive in influencing the incorporation of the criteria, or to what extent it was just an accumulation of the Association's persistent efforts and nagging, or to what extent it was just the Authority's estimation of a good planning decision.

Similarly, it is difficult to assess the real intentions of the Neighborhood Association in submitting a plan. If the Association had had sufficient power to bring the plan to bear as it was explicitly stated, the Authority would have been forced to incorporate some of the specifics of the Association's proposal. Weighing the Association's specific proposals against those of the Authority -- low-rise versus high-rise -- would have necessitated either compromise or accommodation on the part of one of the two teams.

One of the apparent weaknesses in the decisional process associated with collaborative planning is thus brought to light. That is, very often when a program is sufficiently important to arouse the concern of another party, the citizen team, the end result is that the plan has to become bland enough to attract an adequate number of supporters to put the plan successfully through the governmental machinery. This point can be illustrated from the Hyde Park - Kenwood Urban Renewal Project.

In the Hyde Park - Kenwood preliminary plan there were proposed five hundred public housing units and middle income housing in accordance with the highest objectives of the Hyde Park - Kenwood Community Conference. In contrast, in the final plan there were only one hundred
and twenty public housing units proposed and no provisions for middle income housing. The Conference still wanted these elements included, but they never pressed for them for fear of endangering passage of the entire plan.

This disadvantage in the citizen-planner relationship as it affects decision-making cannot be given any more weight than all the other processes in a democracy which require compromising an extreme position. In this paper we have been equally concerned with the instrumental purposes of communication as they reinforce the consummatory purpose. There are very obvious gains to be made when we understand that the responses which we elicit concerning one thing "load the dice" for the next time; the means which we employ to achieve our ends can have a total effect far beyond their immediate consequences.

In Summary

Three issues in urban renewal have been raised which are related to the communication theory: organization, formal and informal communication, and decision-making. The effectiveness of a particular organizational structure depends on the information which can be made available through it. Similarly, formal communication depends on the willingness of the communication participants who compose the organization to adhere to the prescribed protocol and chain of command. Informal communication, developing from the formal, depends on the willingness of the communication participants to give and receive information and to respect each other's needs, problems, and ideas which are made evident in the process of communicating. Lastly, decision-making is the primal reason behind initiating two-way
communication. In the collaborative approach to planning it is felt that certain information which is located with the citizenry will contribute to the creation of a better plan.

It is possible to say that the decisional process in a collaborative approach to planning brings together the other two issues of organization and formal and informal channels of communication. The formal channels of communication are devised for the purpose of gleaning information from a designated source. This source has a location in relation to others which is determined by the information which it acquires, stores, and transmits. The factor of location, in turn, determines the nature of the organization. All three issues, however, are dependent on the fundamental determinants of two-way communication discussed in Chapter Two.
Community Organization

Community organization refers to both a profession and a process. It is a technique for getting people to act together and with other groups in an effort to obtain group goals and to solve common problems. Community organization concentrates on organizing masses to participate in the affairs of their environment. Planning for environmental change, such as in urban renewal, is only one focus of community organization, but perhaps it can encourage the process because it gives a community an issue and a purpose for which to organize.

Every community which is organized is unique. The organization of it involves understanding the conditions of the group and the varied patterns of values and beliefs which the group holds. All of the diverse elements are then accommodated within one organization and given consensus.

The technique of community organization represents a new kind of interest in the community when it is used in renewal efforts. As distinguished from the usual type of public relations techniques -- conducting public meetings, using the newspaper, publishing pamphlets and other media of one-way communication -- community organization
concentrates on stimulating the interest and the constructive participation of people. The purpose of community organization as a tool comparable to that of public relations is to offer to the communicator, the planner who previously used the media of one-way communication, an audience, a response to his efforts of communication.

This technique simplifies the planner’s problem of learning the social characteristics of the area he is planning for. Community organization, as a mechanism, helps prepare the citizens of a particular district to concentrate their individual attitudes and opinions and present them in a unified manner. In this sense, community organization is a sort of substitute for the mass public opinion surveys that have become so popular in a mass-America.

When community organization is really effective, however, the new tool is not a tool to work with, to manipulate according to one’s own design, but rather an articulate group of human beings to work for. A major objective of community organization, then, is to give individuals a new voice and vitality that was previously hidden in the anonymity and apathy of the urban masses. This only makes the obvious and well-worn cliché of "planning for people" imperative. In other words, while community organization can offer to the planner a new way of gathering data about a certain area it must be remembered that since the community has a real voice and is more than a lot of answers to particular questions, it also has the strength to respond to proposals and make its own suggestions too.

In this sense, community organization goes way beyond the scope of the public opinion survey. It is up to the planner, and not to the
community organization specialist, to take advantage of this opportunity of having available a real two-way communication device.

Part II. Attitudes

Conflict and Cooperation

When any two people interact the tenor of their relationship can be described as falling somewhere within a continuum bounded on one end by cooperation and on the other by conflict. In the relationship between citizen and planner who are communicating with each other for the purpose of affecting environmental change, varying degrees of conflict or cooperation come to play at different times. The fact that there is change, actual or proposed, means that people and groups of people must adjust to new circumstances. This is an open invitation to conflict since in most communities there is a natural conservatism, a built-in resistance to change.87

In the collaborative approach to planning, however, the general relationship may be pictured as one of cooperation because the consummatory purpose of two-way communication is the maintenance of the relationship itself; in cooperation "... the parties make a shared end ... or some procedural principle which is mutually agreed upon, the basis of the choice among the ends which are at issue."88 In addition, we are interested in studying the character of the interaction which occurs within any one relationship. The Riverview case provides us

87 Sanders, op. cit., p. 387.
with a typical example. Both the Association and the Redevelopment Authority were in favor of redevelopment, but the teams came into "conflict" over the re-use of the land.\textsuperscript{89}

The sociology of conflict offers insights into the characteristics of conflict and the conditions which lead to its abatement. James Coleman presents a concise analysis of this process in an article entitled \textit{Community Conflict}.\textsuperscript{90} His theory permits us to make general statements about community conflict (conflict occurring between groups in a larger social system, the community) and about the factors in the community which affect and interfere with its growth. Because his analysis is concerned with conflict within group structures and over issues which are of interest at the scale of the community, it is almost directly applicable to the planner-citizen relationship. Some points which are not relevant have been eliminated from what follows:

The most striking fact about the development and growth of community controversies is the similarity they exhibit despite diverse underlying sources and different kinds of precipitating incidents. Once the controversies have begun, they resemble each other remarkably.\textsuperscript{91}

\textsuperscript{89} A subtle distinction needs to be made in the case of Riverview. At no time did the Neighborhood 10 Association attempt to act outside the bounds of the proposals of the Authority. Before the general re-use was decided, the Association presented its point of view in the form of a plan. When the re-use was fixed and an apartment building was to be built the Association brought its power to bear to assure the inclusion of certain criteria to guard against excessive traffic and parking problems and to provide play space. What was in actuality a form of accommodation (choosing to make the ends of another one's own) was interpreted by both teams as conflict. This interpretation stems from the fact that the communications between the two were so bad, really non-existent, that each conjectured that the one was trying to make its ends prevail over the other's. This point will become clearer as we study the sociology of conflict.

\textsuperscript{90} Coleman, \textit{Community Conflict}, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{91} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 9.
Events, incidents, policy, and attitudes which lead to disputes display the following common elements: (a) they must touch an important aspect of the community members' lives, such as an environmental change which affects families, property and tax base; (b) they must affect the lives of different community members differently, as between the "highest and best use" and "compatible" neighbors; (c) they must be ones in which the community members feel that action can be taken, and not ones that leave the community helpless, as the Council's approval of planning funds for redevelopment left the Marsh Defenders.

The content of the issues and the areas of life it affects are most often: (a) economic -- an incident; (b) power or authority -- an event; (c) cultural values or beliefs -- policy; (d) opinions of persons or groups -- attitudes. The source of the disputes is in the different values and goals which people share differently and attempt to reform.

As a dispute develops the issues undergo change: (a) there is a characteristic shift from the specific to the general; (b) new and different issues are brought into the arena of dispute; (c) emotions and attitudes change from ones of disagreement to ones of real antagonism.

There is also usually a corresponding change in the social organization of the community as the dispute develops: (a) there is a polarization of social relations which is part of the process of getting rid of all social 'encumbrances' which impede the action necessary to

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92 Ibid., p. 4.
93 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
win the conflict; (b) new organizations are formed and new leaders emerge to serve as communication centers; (c) community (-wide) organizations tend to be drawn in; (d) there is increasing use of word-of-mouth communication.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 11-13.}

Let us see how the citizen-planner relationship in the River-view case fits Coleman's model. This will be a very microscopic view of a situation which had important ramifications for the entire city of Cambridge. Since it was the city's first urban renewal project, grassroots organizations, civic organizations and City Council were all testing their machinery, setting the stage for future encounters with the several municipal planning bodies which were just in the process of getting on their feet after a long period of upheaval.

It goes without saying that the content of the issues which led to the dispute between the Neighborhood Association and the Redevelopment Authority adhere closely to the model set forth by Coleman. As the dispute between the teams grew, the Association took upon itself the burden of assuming symbolic representation for all the neighborhood associations in Cambridge. Connelly was told at the beginning that if their relationship was good and the development was satisfying, he would have in them the greatest possible reference.\footnote{Interview with Hope Key, member Neighborhood 10 Association.} Therefore, even within the scope of the two teams, the issue was elevated to the point where a larger and more general one was at stake.

Before redevelopment of the site was officially secured, it is interesting to note that when the issue of renewal-in-general was raised...
(usually in City Council) the Authority and the Association temporarily united. This is indicative of the fact that the actual conflict over the question of redevelopment versus no redevelopment was taking place city-wide.

Once redevelopment was at least a working reality, however, the intensity of the basic differences between the Authority and the Association increased, focusing on the re-use of the site. The Authority was seen as bending to economic interests only -- the interests of the market place -- according to the Neighborhood Association. The Association's proposal for a re-use compatible with the existing neighborhood was seen as economically unfeasible and protectionist, endorsing the status quo, by the Authority in its turn.

A lot of the antagonism seems to have been caused by the lack of information which each party was able to acquire from the other. In other words, the hostility prevailed in the minds of the two parties to the dispute rather in a real situation stemming from actual differences. The Association did not know that the Authority had actually incorporated many of its criteria into the plan, including density maximums and the possibility of allowable height minimums; similarly, the Authority did not understand the meaning behind the content of the plan which the Association had submitted.96

Regarding changes in the social organization of this micro-community several things happened to both sides. Within Neighborhood 10 there were two factions in the beginning: the Association which

96 See Chapter Three, Decision-Making and Communication in Urban Renewal, pp. 80-85, supra.
was pro-redevelopment; the Marsh Defenders who were anti-redevelopment. The Marsh Defenders attempted to stop the proposal for redevelopment in Council, and when their issue was defeated and planning funds were made available they collapsed. The Riverview Committee was formed in order to focus the Association's attention on the re-use of the site. The Committee tried to bring in the Marsh people as committee members, but they felt that the Committee and the Association stood for the wrong thing, and therefore, they could not become a part of it. Consequently, the Marsh people swiftly lost their role in the dispute; they did not recognize the Committee as the new communication center. One might generalize on this point and say that mere unlikelihood of interest never creates either conflict or harmony, but merely a neutral role of indifference and inactivity.

The two municipal planning bodies also underwent internal alienation. During the mid-December meeting, Sert, who was sitting in for the Planning Board, reversed Mark Fortune's (Executive Director of the Board) earlier recommendation supporting the Association's low-rise development scheme. This incident, in addition to another incident not at all related to the Riverview project, resulted in Fortune's resignation, and with regard to the second issue, also Sert's.

This disruption actually affected the dispute between the Authority and the Association more than it affected the planning bodies themselves. With the resignation of two key figures on the Planning Board, the Redevelopment Authority was free to act in the narrow role of supporting the "highest and best" use; the members of the Authority, acting in their traditional roles as businessmen, reinforced this market-oriented tendency.
Administratively, the Authority was now only responsible to itself and consequently its deliberations and decisions did not require responsible interaction with any other body representing community-wide interests, such as the Planning Board. This was magnified even more by the hiring of a private consultant to do the actual planning for the site. As an example, when a neighborhood plan was requested by the HHFA no pressure was brought to bear on the Authority from any other public body to take this request seriously and to develop a full-scale plan which would emphasize the neighborhood adjacent to the site and would have, perhaps, acted as a vehicle to create more of a balance between the "purely economic" and the "purely social" criteria.

If other forces had not intervened, the apparently dichotomous criteria might have caused a lasting schism between the Authority and the Association. Coleman mentions two forces which interfere with conflict that apply to Riverview: (a) the structure of authority in which norms and laws determine the way to handle the problem, and (b) cooptation or the technique of bringing the opposition inside to voice its criticism, either really, or as in illusion.97

The Association always accommodated officially-concluded action. In addition, they were formally invited to present their ideas to the Authority, and in preparing for that meeting they had the illusion of being included in the planning process. The lapse in communication following the mid-December meeting was not long enough, information was obtainable through the grapevine and in the

97 Coleman, op. cit., pp. 15-17.
end it was discovered that the most important criteria of the Association had been incorporated. Lastly, when the selected redevelopment plan was one which called for an apartment building, the Association was able to resort to legal action to get the control of the development which it desired.

I also think it is significant that the Authority and the Association had a single specific objective in mind -- redevelopment. To achieve it, each party was, to some extent, dependent on the other for success. For this reason there was a basic attempt to achieve consistency. If one can envisage the Association and the Authority as a single group whose function it is to effect a certain change for the purpose of achieving a common objective, the task and the mutual goal together imply an attempt to cooperate.

It seems apparent that a relationship of cooperation is fundamentally the most congruent in a collaborative approach to planning where the consummatory purpose is the relationship itself. Robert Havkes presents five hypotheses which support this idea: (1) more information will be exchanged in cooperative groups than in competitive groups; (2) there will be more group learning in cooperative than in competitive groups; (3) the amount of information available to the group will be more completely utilized in cooperative than in competitive groups; (4) cooperative groups encourage specialization of effort (role assignment and role differentiation); (5) cooperative groups will produce a greater product than competitive groups.98

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Persuasion: A Form Of Source-Oriented Influence

Persuasion is one of many types of social control; it has been singled out as the most important one in the collaborative approach to planning. In the absence of this basic premise coercion would be a possible form of influence, although it has stringent limitations in a democracy. Manipulation would be another possibility, but in the collaborative approach to planning the point is not to control or influence others by devious means.

Persuasion is an attempt to influence or induce concurrence by appeal to any or all of the emotional and rational faculties which are possessed by those who are listening. As such, it can take several forms: One form is suggestion or advice which consists of giving opinions and recommendations which will allow the audience to reach its own decision. A second form is exchange in which two parties both give and take and thereby modify the original situation. A third form is clarification in which the presentation of alternatives affects or changes future behavior. A last type is illustration in which another similar or identical situation is presented that will influence the audience to accept that which is before it. One can imagine that all of these types are used in a collaborative approach to planning.

The purpose of influence is to affect or control the audience's response to the communication. In Chapter Two we learned that information can bring varied responses from individuals and groups of

99 Sanders, op. cit., p. 173.

individuals occupying different positions in the social system. We can now add to our understanding of this by starting from the "other end" and studying a finding by social psychologists which says that information affects audiences differently according to the nature of the source, or what we have been calling the communicator.

The point of origin of the communication is relevant information that enables the audience to interpret its meaning. Hovland, Janis, and Kelley have tested four hypotheses on the subject of "source credibility": (1) communication attributed to a low credibility source tended to be considered more biased and unfair in presentation than identical ones attributed to high credibility sources; (2) high credibility sources had a greater immediate effect on audience opinions than a low credibility source; (3) the effects of a communication were not a result of differences in the amount of attention or understanding, but variations in source credibility seemed to influence the audience's motivation to accept the conclusions advocated; (4) the positive effect of high credibility sources and the negative effect of low credibility sources tended to disappear after a period of several weeks.101

The simplest conclusion to be derived from these hypotheses is that it is important for the planner to establish a reputation for himself as a high credibility source. In reference to our previous discussion this would require definition according to the knowledge

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level, attitudes, and social-cultural background of the planner's audience. The fourth hypothesis allows no ground for excuse in the citizen-planner relationship. Contact in a particular project area is usually prolonged and when the planner enters a new community his reputation has been established from his activity in other communities.

Both the Hyde Park - Kenwood and the Riverview cases illustrate the relevance of the concept of high credibility sources. Even after a fairly considerable disruption in communications -- such as the six month's lapse of information in Riverview or the untimely park proposal in Hyde Park - Kenwood -- an equilibrium was soon re-established based on general satisfaction with the source over a period of time.

The concept of source credibility has still broader ramifications. What I mean to say goes beyond the context of any single encounter in a project situation and bears a direct relation to the general education -- the planning education -- of the citizens. There is adequate proof from planning cases across the nation that the propensity of the citizen to be influenced by planning proposals is the result of exposure to planning concepts. Furthermore, the type of education proposed comes close to what is commonly known as "role playing," in contrast to merely passive exposure.

Citizen understanding doesn't operate in a vacuum. There must be some over-all image of what a city is, what its problems are. . . . otherwise effort will be diffused, unrelated, and finally mediocre.102

Prior to moving into an active urban renewal program in St. Louis, a series of television programs were sponsored. Small

groups of citizens met weekly in the various neighborhoods of the city to listen to a half-hour talk on some planning topic. This was followed by a ninety-minute break during which time the citizen groups discussed the previous half-hour presentation among themselves. The program then resumed for another half-hour discussion by a panel of qualified people. It was found that when the time came to move into a particular community, the citizens were both receptive and helpful. Everything seemed to be set for a collaborative approach to planning. 103

Irwin Sanders, in a general sociology of community, notes a similar correlation between receptivity and the level of knowledge about the community. He supports the value of the latter as a "reality-checking" device, "since the more extensive one's communications contacts, the more objective is the perception one has of [the] community." 104

A high level of community knowledge would seem to be associated with a cluster of statuses which have, as the common element, orientation toward the community. "Local" individuals possessing such statuses are, in a certain sense, truly members of the community. They live there; they work there; their goals and interests are intertwined with those of the community itself. Such individuals apparently are tied to the community by a multitude of bonds, and it is this cohesion which provides both the means of obtaining knowledge and the motivation to do so. 105

The television programs in St. Louis attempted to instill a high level of community knowledge on a mass audience in order to achieve that which Sykes identifies with a certain "cluster of statuses"

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103 Ibid.
104 Sanders, op. cit., p. 64.
Those with a community orientation are more apt to be integral parts of the informal patterns of communication which transmit information about local affairs, a fact which is "circularly self-enforcing," according to Sykes.107

The most significant attribute of persuasion seems to be in the form of that which we identified in the beginning of this section as suggestion -- influence by giving one's opinions and recommendations, but allowing the audience to arrive at the conclusions on its own. This is a way of initiating thoughts which will make the audience actively participate and feel that they have initiated the thoughts themselves (a type of role playing). The cumulative and long-run effect of this kind of persuasive technique culminates in a real collaborative approach to planning in which both parties exchange information and thereby modify the original situation in order to achieve a new level of consensus.

Education in planning concepts is a particularly important technique of persuasion in renewal efforts. Education is a means of establishing high source credibility and it tends to complement the long-term nature of the encounter between planner and citizen which is typical of all renewal situations.

In a collaborative approach to planning it is also necessary for the citizen participants to establish themselves as high credibility sources. Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler tried to assess the effects of the citizens acting through the Hyde Park - Kenwood Community

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106 This finding also suggests a practical remedy to the negative, protectionist nature frequently attributed to neighborhood associations.

107 Sanders, op. cit., p. 64.
On this score, there exists no hard and fast data to bring to bear. Both the block directors and the Planner endorsed the view that many changes in the plan were made as the result of block discussions of the Preliminary Plan and of the intelligence conveyed to the Planners through the block directors. . . . However, it is impossible to evaluate these statements and give them specific content.

However, records were kept of the Conference's representation at the hearings . . . on the Final Plan . . . Thirty-two changes were requested by the Conference. Eight of these, or one-fourth, were accepted . . . and the Plan changed accordingly. Another four requests were listed . . . as "recommendations" . . . and two of these were definitely enacted later. . . .

The Chairman of the Conference said the following when the question of influence was raised:

The Conference was most important in getting the planning program started. Our specific impact since then has not been great. We all know that, and we all know too that we have had some isolated successes.108

The suggested conclusion, in the Hyde Park - Kenwood Urban Renewal Area was"that citizen participation acting through Conference organization played a relatively negligible role in determining the content of the Final Plan."110 One critic of the authors' conclusion suggested that it was not fair to judge the Conference's successes on the basis of the public hearing, but rather that the citizens were shaping the content of the plan in all the formal and informal encounters with the planners -- that "influence is not something that takes place only at final hearings."111 We have observed this to be true in the case

108 Rossi and Dentler, op. cit., Chapter 5.
109 Ibid., Chapter 5.
110 Ibid., . . . .
111 Ibid., footnotes, Chapter 5.
of Riverview.

Although we have been talking in terms of a micro-relationship -- that existing between citizen participants and planner -- it is clear that the total setting in which the interaction occurs is not like this simple one-to-one ratio. For example, a number of political pressures and, not the least, professional standards could have actually persuaded the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority to include the criteria for redevelopment suggested by the Neighborhood 10 Association.

It is difficult to evaluate the effect of the communicator's persuasion on the audience's response in any precise way. As it was mentioned in the previous paragraph, the citizen-planner relationship ultimately cannot be reduced to this simple level. However, the meaning of persuasion does indicate that both teams have a responsibility to establish themselves as high credibility sources. Chapters Two and Three contributed concepts and methods to this end since the notion of high source credibility is especially important for achieving the objective of a collaborative approach to planning.

In Summary:

The three variables of community organization, conflict and cooperation, and persuasion are significant concepts which support the collaborative approach to planning. Community organization refers to a process and a technique by which masses are encouraged to concentrate their energies on group problems and group goals and present their views in a unified manner. In a way, the planner provides a new and extended service to these citizen groups: He works for them in order
to help them realize their highest aspirations.

A relationship of cooperation complements the basic premise of this paper. However, it was said that conflict is almost inevitable when environmental change is proposed. The Riverview case was analyzed in terms of James Coleman's theory of community conflict and we noted those factors which lead to disputes, the characteristic ways they develop, and, finally, those forces which interfere with their growth.

Although Coleman describes what seems to be a "natural" chain of events it is useful for the planner to understand the sequence and attempt, personally, to intervene and resolve the issue which is causing conflict. Intervention is possible when the antagonism is resulting from communication difficulties -- conflict over an issue which is caused by misunderstanding rather than real differences.

A responsible approach to collaborative planning is a two-way process of planner influencing citizen and citizen influencing planner. In this chapter we have seen that mutual respect is dependent on the ability of the communicators to establish themselves as high credibility sources. We described a form of "role playing" as an educative technique to encourage this in the prolonged contact between citizen and planner which is typical of an urban renewal situation.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH TO COMMUNICATION

Part I.

A Study of Communication in Three Organizational Configurations

by Alex Bevelas and Dermot Barrett

Purpose: Given a specific statement of task it is possible to show that many communication patterns may be devised which will adequately serve the performance of the task. The purpose of this experiment was to examine which pattern of communication will yield the "best" result.

Experiment: Test groups of five individuals were set up and three different configurations of communication channels were provided between these five individuals. All three configurations had one thing in common: The individuals could exchange messages either directly or indirectly via some route and, therefore, share ideas.

Result: The following results were observed during the performance of a simple group task:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPEED</td>
<td>Slow</td>
<td>Fast</td>
<td>Fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCURACY</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORGANIZATION</td>
<td>No stable form of organization</td>
<td>Slowly emerging but stable organization</td>
<td>Almost immediate and stable organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMERGENCE OF LEADER</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Marked</td>
<td>Very pronounced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORALE</td>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: An "index of dispersion" was calculated and, relative to this index, an index of CENTRALITY and an index of PERIPHERALITY were calculated for each position in every pattern.

1. The rapidity with which organization emerges and the stability it displays are related to the gradient of the indices of centrality in the pattern.

2. The leader was invariably that person who occupied the position of highest centrality in those patterns in which leadership emerged.

3. Those individuals who occupied positions of low or zero peripherality showed in their actions as well as in self-ratings... that they were satisfied, in high spirits, and generally pleased with what they had done.

4. Those individuals who occupied positions of high peripherality invariably displayed either apathetic or destructive and uncooperative behavior during the group effort, and rated themselves as dissatisfied and critical of the group's operation.

5. A word of caution should be given concerning the slow, but happy "circle" pattern. Subsequent experiments... indicate that this pattern possesses unusual abilities for adaptation to sudden and confusing changes of task -- a quality lacking in the other two patterns.

Clearly it is difficult to judge which configuration is "best" because, as the researchers point out, it depends on the variables you are striving for: speed, accuracy, organization, leadership, morale or any combination of them. Traditionally, the administrator is most
interested in speed, accuracy and efficient organization which will stabilize who-does-what-to-whom. On the other hand, in industry or in a collaborative approach to planning, where there are essentially two groups -- labor and management, citizen and planner -- which have different role assignments, different role expectations, different reasons for performing a certain task, but which have, nevertheless, a mutual dependency on each other for the realization of their objectives, morale and satisfaction in participation are essential to the well-being of the organization.

Since the three configurations yield different results, all of which are desirable in a collaborative approach to planning, it would be ideal to be able to include those specific factors at the times when they are most needed. This suggests that flexibility, or the ability to change, is desirable. One conclusion of the experiment was that configuration "A" was best adapted to do this. However, according to the experiment flexibility (and high morale) can be obtained only through sacrificing the other four factors.113

A further complication is that the three configurations operate on two levels: the "real" or actual formal structure, and the "attitudinal" structure or that which seems real in the minds of the two participating teams. This distinction has been implied throughout

113 In the next chapter a skeleton model of organization for two-way communication in urban renewal is proposed. The proposal is an attempt to minimize some of the defects found in formal organization: the rigidity of it, the formality of it (as against the advantages of informal communication) without sacrificing advantages such as clear role differentiation, assignment, and position.
the paper. Stating it the way it has been mentioned previously, we can say that formal organization facilitates interaction because it makes explicit role prescriptions, descriptions and expectations; but communication is the primary, and not the secondary, contributor which makes the mechanism of organization run smoothly. Only if the communication network and the organizational machine are identical, are the "real" and the "attitudinal" synonymous.

A discrepancy between the two was evident in Riverview at different times and in different ways. Prior to the time the project proposal was taken to City Council to request additional planning funds there was a "real" and "attitudinal" structure of communication which came closest to configuration "A". Morale was high. Mr. Beal expressed the intention of the Authority to work closely with the Association and to consider its opinions; Mr. Bender, Assistant to the City Manager, and a member of the Association worked together to inform the project residents of the forthcoming re-survey of the area. The speed of the re-survey operation could have been increased without this introduction to the community, but the gain in speed would have been negligible. Accuracy, organization, and leadership were not relevant at that time.

Following this period, and up to the mid-December meeting in 1957, there was an increasing divergence between the "attitudinal" and the "real" impressions of communication structure held by the Authority and the Association. The "real" communication structure was permitting two-way communication between planner and citizen participants. However, the Authority was transmitting factual, objective information;
the Association was transmitting substantive, subjective information. Also, the Authority actually occupied a position of higher centrality or authority because of its firm predisposition to a high-rise building for the site. Therefore, in this stage the "real" communication structure came closest to configuration "C".

On the "attitudinal" level, the Authority was certain that it was eager to listen to and accept advice from the Association -- this can be called the intended attitude (configuration "A"). The Authority's unintended attitude was one of superior command (because of its predisposition), but it was willing to keep the Association informed (configuration "C"). The Association naively accepted the same democratic basis with which the previous stage had been executed (configuration "A") and never adjusted its future communication behavior in recognition of the Authority's bias.

At the mid-December meeting, when the "real" communication structure was made apparent, the morale of the Neighborhood Association was extremely low. Because the information which was exchanged at the meeting was of doubtful importance to the Authority (in reality) it is difficult to evaluate the other factors which are of interest to Bavelas and Barrett. Following the mid-December meeting there was a lapse in any sort of two-way communication.

In the collaborative approach to planning, however, all five of the factors are of real concern. It is probable that the organizational model described by the Demonstration expected to perform all of them. The hierarchical nature of the proposed model maximizes organizational stability through the efficient assignment and
differentiation of roles which are known at the various levels and by the city renewal officials. Speed is achieved within the citizen organization because there is no duplication of tasks or repetition in transmitting messages. This accelerates the speed by which messages are transmitted to and from the city since transmission and receipt occur between only one person or level (unlike any of the configurations in the Bavelas-Barrett experiment, where at least one person has to give and receive information to both the "right" and the "left").

Accuracy is improved in the same manner. The high degree of centrality, similar to the experiment, makes the location of leadership clear.

We are left only to wonder about the morale of those groups in the structure which are most peripheral to the decision-making function occupied by those in the positions of highest centrality. If the study of small groups can be made applicable to the study of larger social systems, our prediction of morale at the level of the neighborhood associations would be that it most likely will be extremely low. Some compensation is made for this in the Demonstration model by the manner in which the different levels of the structure are linked: communication links are human which means that at least one person at a particular level occupies a position at one or more different levels.

The Bavelas-Barrett experiment is a useful basis by which to evaluate the organization of a two-way communication system. The five factors selected for the experiment are measurable. This would enable one to judge the "real" and the "attitudinal" structure, thus offering information as to the basic soundness of the organizational mechanism itself and the extent to which interaction, or two-way communication,
is a working reality. Such a technique of analysis is practical because it can be applied to correct flaws in an existing organization.

**Part II.**

**A Study of Cohesiveness: A Form of Group-Oriented Influence**

by Kurt W. Back

**Purpose:** This experiment was designed to test the hypothesis that "the greater the cohesiveness of a group (the stronger the forces acting on the members to remain in the group) the greater will be the amount of influence that can and will be exerted on the members."

**Experiment:** Subjects in the experiment were paired off into "high" and "low" cohesive groups. The distinction was made by the type of pre-experiment indoctrination given by the experimenter before beginning the task. The task was for each member of a pair to write a story based on the interpretation of three pictures. The set of pictures given to each member differed slightly, so that a change of interpretation was quite possible. Then the members came together and discussed the stories. The discussion was introduced as an opportunity to improve their own stories. After, the pair separated to rewrite their stories. Among the experimental variables introduced was "task direction," or the mediation of other goals. However, the identical conclusions were reached, irrespective of the nature of attraction to the group.

Influence was measured by the amount of the change from the preliminary story to the final story. The stories were coded and separated into changes toward the partner's position and those which

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were independent. In addition, the discussions were recorded in terms of methods used to influence the other, reactions to attempted influence, and communications not concerned with influence.

Explanation:

1. High cohesive groups tended to try to eliminate the difference of opinion while low cohesive groups reacted to the realization of difference by withdrawing.

2. In the high cohesive groups the members later reported that they felt some pressure to change; the subjects tried hard to influence their partners and were more willing to accept their partners' opinions.

3. While both members of the low cohesive groups were changed about equally, in the high cohesive groups it was possible for one member to be changed very much; this is called the pressure toward uniformity.

4. If the pressures toward uniformity are weak, agreement can be established only in a way which requires little change for each member. If it is high, influence can be exerted on some members to change a lot.

5. As the pressure toward uniformity increased, the subjects were more willing to use the discussion as a means to achieve uniformity, again displaying the willingness to change.

6. As the discussion group became more important to members, they were more willing to give each other an opportunity to press their points.

7. The discussion was more effective in producing influence and partners changed more toward the other's position.

In Chapter Four persuasion as a source-oriented influence was discussed; it is also important to see it as a form of group-oriented influence. We know from everyday observation that not everybody is influenced by the same set of circumstances. Attitudes, beliefs, and opinions which certain people hold have their basis in some "reference group" which is considered significant for a variety of reasons.
Hypothetically, the performance of a specific task, at least during the length of that task, can become an important point to which individuals may refer. The forces to communicate become more or less inevitable once the reference group is established because, similar to one of the explanations given above, the force to communicate will increase as the degree of relevance (of the task) to the functioning of the group increases.\(^{115}\)

This is the fundamental assumption behind collaborative planning. In fact it is collaborative planning itself. It has been said that the motives behind the planner-citizen relationship differ for the two teams. It is important in a collaborative approach to planning for the two teams, which are separate reference groups in the beginning, to come together. The initial recognition of the "degree of relevance" of a task is basic to the realization of this end.

Establishing the group would seem to be dependent on what we called "source-oriented influence" in Chapter Four, but once the task direction of the planner and the citizen participants is made firm, it seems that the group-oriented influences are the most important. In order to maximize the exchange of information (two-way communication) it is necessary to maintain that which Back calls a high cohesive group. This would be, according to Back, a kind of "insurance" for the continued exchange of information because: (1) there is an increased pressure to communicate to others in the group as some

discrepancy occurs with regard to the performance of a particular task; (2) there is an increased pressure to communicate the more it is perceived that the communication will change another member's opinion in the desired direction.\textsuperscript{116}

The Riverview case can be interpreted in light of these two hypotheses. An example of the first hypothesis occurred after the disastrous mid-December meeting in 1957 and the subsequent lapse in communication. In order to show that they were still interested, and to show graphically what they desired for redevelopment, the Association members built a model and took it to the Redevelopment Authority. Another incident occurred during the same period which illustrates the second hypothesis. When the Association found out that the plan had been returned to the Authority for want of a neighborhood plan the Association thought that this might give them another chance to put their own plan across. The Association contacted both the Planning Board (which it had heard was preparing such a plan) and the Redevelopment Authority to offer its aid.

In the Riverview case these two hypotheses only operated in one direction. The side of the Redevelopment Authority can be explained by a third: The force to communicate will decrease to the extent that one is not perceived as a member of the group, or to the extent that one is not wanted as a member of the group.\textsuperscript{117} The six months' lapse

\textsuperscript{116}Ibid., pp. 8-9.
\textsuperscript{117}Ibid.
in communication was seemingly due to a feeling by the Authority that, because of the apparent discrepancy in ideas, the group could subdivide and therefore exclude those who retained another point of view.

This was a most unfortunate circumstance which indicates the rather fragile legs supporting true collaborative planning. The Redevelopment Authority thought that it could get what it wanted without the aid of the Neighborhood Association. The Association knew that it could not get what it wanted without the aid of the Redevelopment Authority. In the short-run, the Authority's point of view would probably hold true; in the long-run, however, it still depended on the support of a group like the Neighborhood Association to establish renewal in Cambridge on a solid foundation. In rehabilitation-conservation-type renewal mutual interdependence is much more obvious and, therefore, group subdivision seems less likely.

Those who are most strongly motivated to retain membership in a group will be less resistant to change. Contrary-wise, the amount of change in opinion will decrease when it is seen that more similar opinions, attitudes, and beliefs are held by another group. In line with the first statement, the Neighborhood Association always worked within the bounds of those proposals made official by the Redevelopment Authority. In line with the second statement, it can be clearly seen that, operating in a world that goes beyond this two-team relationship, the federally based objective to achieve (in

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118 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
119 Ibid.
redevelopment) the "highest and best use" found more sympathy with the economic dominants of the city.

Perhaps one solution which would relieve the frequently conflicting goals between citizen and planner would be achieved by a restatement of Federal objectives in urban renewal. An organization such as the Redevelopment Authority really holds an ambiguous position as (1) a representative of the public interest -- including both economic and domestic interests, and (2) an administrative body that depends, to a great extent, on Federal funds in order to carry out its function in the name of the public interest.

In summary, the idea of group cohesiveness is another concept relevant to the maintenance of two-way channels of communication for achieving a collaborative approach to planning. The experimental data collected by Back and Festinger point out the correlation between the propensity to discuss and exchange information and the feeling that it is necessary to remain in the group. Such a concept is not directly useful as a tool for planning. Nevertheless, as it stands -- a theory of inter-group communication -- it brings to light some important ideas for the planner to consider as one-half of the team in the collaborative approach to planning; it is important to establish and maintain a single group oriented to the execution of a particular task or tasks in order to establish a two-way channel of communication.
A Field Experiment in Participation

by Lester Coch and John R. P. French, Jr.\textsuperscript{120}

Purpose: This experiment was designed to study the role of participation in determining the impact that various experiences have on an individual and on the process of learning.

Coch and French observed the effect of worker participation on the resistance to change. They noted that upon reassignment to new work, even the most productive operators in a certain factory required considerable relearning time, and exhibited a resistance to change which was manifested by a high turnover rate, low efficiency, less than maximum output, and complaints about piece rates on the new assignment. All of this occurred in spite of transfer bonuses which were given when work was changed so that no loss in earnings was suffered in relearning a new process.

The researchers found that skill was a minor factor in comparison to worker motivation. For example, relearning often took longer than the learning required when the operator first entered the factory. They observed that the resistance to change resulted from the individual's reaction to frustration (imagined loss of status) and forces acting within the group of operators performing the particular operation.

Experiment: Based on the preliminary theory that "resistance  

to change is a combination of an individual reaction to frustration with strong group-induced forces, it seemed that the most appropriate methods for overcoming the resistance to change would be "group methods." Therefore, employing variations of democratic procedure, two test groups and one control group were formed.

In all three groups the competitive conditions of the business were explained as the reason for the transfer. In the control group only that was explained and the group members were told what the piece rates would be. In the second group, in addition to the explanation, management presented a program which involved the training of a few operators, setting the piece rates by their example. The representatives' training would then be followed by training for the whole group. The representatives were selected by the group and the former immediately displayed a cooperative attitude and made suggestions for designing changes to be made on the job. The third group's indoctrination was the same as the second's except that instead of participation through representation, there was total participation by all the members in designing the changes.

Results: The control group exhibited all the tendencies noticed prior to the experiment: resistance to change, lack of cooperation, deliberate restriction of output, quitting, complaining, etc. The second group, with representative participation, showed good relearning abilities, and within 14 days they were up to their former level of output; within one month their piece rate was 10% higher than it had been before reassignment. They had a cooperative attitude working among themselves and working with the supervisor. The third
group reached its former production level within five days, and within one month their rate was 20% higher than it had been before reassignment.

Explanation: Since the test groups were as close to identical as possible, the important variable is clearly the experimental treatment rather than skill or aggressiveness. The group set up under the representative system showed the same results as the group of total participation, but the latter displayed much stronger characteristics with regard to cooperation, learning, and the ability to excel. The difference between the two test groups and the one control group was that in the former two management successfully communicated the need for change and stimulated group participation.

The experiment seems to prove conclusively that the audience's preconditioning is very important. Similar to the labor-management situation, communication between citizen and planner requires more than just getting together to relay a bit of information. This same point was made before when we spoke about the tendency of the citizen to be influenced as a result of previous exposure to planning concepts -- a type of education that comes close to role playing.121

This experiment also tells us something about active participation in preparation for a particular task: direct involvement with the privilege and the problem of "designing changes" is proportionate to cooperative attitudes and constructive behavior. Many planners and group organizers point out that the citizen participants can make a big contribution by collecting data and by participating in and

121 See Chapter Four, pp. 99-101, supra.
conducting opinion polls.\textsuperscript{122} Whether their proposals are based on expediency alone is beside the point. The long-run good that can be achieved by stimulating participation is what is significant.

Another point can be made which applies to active participation: Under certain conditions the joint experience of planner and citizen can improve what we have considered to be an "inevitable" relationship in the collaborative approach to planning. This was demonstrated in Riverview at the time the project was being re-activated. Mr. Bender, Assistant to the City Manager, probably did not realize just how significant it was when he asked a member of the Association to accompany him to the homes of the project residents. And on the other hand, Mr. Connelly probably did not realize how detrimental it was to send the final plan to the HHFA on what seemed to the Neighborhood Association to be a unilaterally-based decision. As a result of the former episode, the Association proceeded cheerfully and constructively to gather information about the neighborhood and to present its plan to the Redevelopment Authority. This beginning could have been the basis for a real collaboration. As a result of the latter episode, however, the Association was put on the defensive. The fact that they found it necessary to threaten legal action at the time the variance was requested illustrates this point. More than this, however, was the damage done to the future citizen-planner relationship city-wide.

The cumulative effect of discouragements and defeats in its attempt to establish liaison with the city officials culminated in the dissolution of the Cambridge Council of Neighborhood Associations.

Paul Pigors makes the point, referring to management and unions, that "if communication is to help [them] get anywhere together, the will to work together must be communicated, whatever factual items of episodic communication fall by the wayside."123

In the early stages of accommodation relationship, however, the desire to "get cooperation" is not always implemented by the will to "give cooperation." One reason for this is lack of confidence in the other party.124

The attitude of the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority exemplifies this point. The Authority never seems to have progressed beyond what Pigors calls the "armed-truce stage" -- "when executives send some information across to [union] officers but not necessarily in such a way or at such a time as to improve relationships."125 In an interview Connelly said that there was a lot of communication with the Association, but it was of no effect because the Authority gave every impression, according to the opinion of one Association member, of not listening to what was said in return.

This field experiment tells us that active participation is necessary for achieving and maintaining the cooperation and constructive contribution of the citizen to the planning process. This requires giving and sharing certain activities of a short-run

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124 Ibid.

125 Ibid., p. 502.
nature for the purpose of attaining a responsible and perceptive citizen body which is imperative in a collaborative approach to planning.

Complementary to the French-Coch experiment, Paul Pigors lists the "ingredients" that are usually found absent when such an approach fails to establish a relationship of this kind.

1. [The planner's] willingness
   
   a. To share authority by delegation all the way down its own line of command and with [citizen] representatives.

   b. To recognize [citizen] representatives from the outset by offering them a share in [planning].

   c. To see a [citizen group] gain prestige during a joint program of talk and action.

   ...

2. [The citizen participants'] realistic acceptance that
   
   a. [Planners] cannot do the job single-handed. . . .

   b. [Neighborhood Association leaders] should use their influence in urging members to pitch in and help to get results. This is in contrast to the frequent . . . formulation of their job to needle. . . .

3. Effective planning, by joint committees, for carrying over the achievements of one communication episode with another and of verbal communication with action. Among other things, this necessitates joint planning of realistic programs to carry forward the practical solutions and cooperative spirit achieved in talk about a common aim.  

In Summary

In the introduction to this paper it was said that an examination of the experimental approach to communication would be worthwhile if the cases proved to be useful for analyzing and solving some of the problems of the citizen-planner relationship described in the field.

126 Ibid., p. 506.
cases and comparable to the conceptual framework which has already been presented.

The Bavelas-Barrett experiment with three organizational configurations gave us added insights into the meaning of organization which was studied in Chapter Three. By making a further distinction between the "real" and the "attitudinal" communication structure it became possible to understand some of the reasons for the dispute which developed between the Cambridge Redevelopment Authority and the Neighborhood 10 Association. Therefore, the experiment clarified the theoretical concepts which were presented regarding not only organization but also formal communication, and conflict. The results of the experiment seems to be directly applicable in a practical way because they can be used to correct the flaws in an existing organization.

Kurt Back's experiment in group cohesiveness added to the concept of influence which we examined in Chapter Four. We learned that, in addition to source-oriented influence, group-oriented influence is important for the maintenance of a group during the performance of a single task. This is true because, as his hypotheses showed, the force to communicate increases as the degree of relevance of a task to the functioning of the group increases. In high cohesive groups there is pressure to communicate to others, to exchange more information, to use discussion, and to change towards the other's position. In light of these hypotheses and others it was possible to analyze some of the flaws in the communication system of the Redevelopment Authority and the Neighborhood 10 Association. It was seen that it is imperative
to establish and maintain a single group oriented to the execution of a particular task in order to establish a two-way channel of communication.

The last experiment by Coch and French showed that active participation in preparation for a particular task and direct involvement with designing changes is proportionate to cooperative attitudes and constructive behavior. Thus, preconditioning prior to the actual performance of a task influences the audience's response to it. Again, this supports what was said in Chapter Four concerning a "role playing" type of education in planning concepts. Finally, we learned that such a process requires the participation of both teams together.
CHAPTER SIX

ACHIEVING TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION

Part I.

A Model for Two-Way Communication

The model which will be presented is based on the philosophy of a collaborative approach to planning. The underlying assumption is that the planner is striving to give the people of the city an improved environment by providing new and extended services in each district or community of the city. The belief, then, is that a plan can be created by the people and the process by which this is achieved is to help people to help themselves. This means that the citizens will be required to use their own energies, talents, and income in collaboration with all the municipal departments that can help them achieve particular goals.

The assumption and the process indicate a new willingness on the part of the planner to give the citizen participants the framework and the farsightedness which is necessary in order to obtain their constructive participation in and contribution to planning for environmental change. In other words, the scheme which will be offered is one of planner influencing citizen and citizen influencing planner. The planner tries to persuade them to exert their own pressure and, finally, to tug him where they want to go. By challenging people where their
interests lie and where their energies are directed, it will be possible to have citizen participants who can evaluate plans and programs with a high degree of intelligence.

Organization

Keeping in mind that the collaborative approach to planning means the involvement of both the citizen participants and the planner, the organizational structure of this model attempts to complement both teams. The model enables the citizen participants to form their own perspective of the general field of planning in order to cultivate a broader outlook on the subject of urban renewal. For the planner, this model takes account of the fact that the city's administrative machinery for urban renewal is hinged to a bureaucratic structure within which there is a division between administrative and staff functions.

To begin with, the city should be divided into Residential Renewal Planning Areas. Where possible, the physical and the social boundaries should coincide. The delineation of Planning Areas is useful for both the planning unit and the citizen participants. The planning unit will be able to assign priorities to different areas on the basis of whatever criteria seem most advisable for the particular city. This will coordinate the city-wide renewal program and indicate to the residents the approximate schedule for treatment and the conditions of the different areas in which they are living. The citizen participants will be able to identify and coordinate their own programs with those of the city and provide physical identification for the participants at the various geographical levels.
The Planning Unit's Function: A planning team will be sent into each Planning Area before there is any specific program or project selection. The planning team should consist of the entire planning unit -- the administrator and the staff. The administrator is the policy maker. It is his job to coordinate the planning of all the city's Planning Areas. Therefore, the administrator is a "visitor" to each Planning Area; he is not a part of the permanent service that will be offered in each district. The staff, on the other hand, will be permanently assigned to a Planning Area for as long as necessary. It will consist of a chief planner and a variety of "resource people."\[127\]

The planning team is only one of many services to be offered in each area. An outline of the entire municipal organization can be described by four major phases. The first phase is the pre-planning stage in which general policy will be determined. Prior to specific area planning the chief administrator of the city plays the most important role.\[128\] It is his job to present to the focal organizations of the Planning Areas how their human and physical resources fit into the city or metropolitan scheme. Discussion should be initiated and geared to the subject of an area's role in the future -- encouraging present trends of development, halting them, or beginning new trends of development.

The second is the planning phase in which a development plan will be composed. Municipal participation will fan out to include,

\[127\] For example, relocation officers, legal and financial experts, architectural consultants, etc.

\[128\] The chief administrator may either be the mayor or the development administrator, such as the head of the city planning department.
besides the Renewal Administrator, the administrators of the other operating agencies which will contribute to the planning of an area. The administrators, together with the Planning Areas' focal organizations will begin to devise development plans on the basis of the general policy that has been drafted in the pre-planning phase.

The third phase will be selecting programs for action. The administrators of the operating agencies will begin to work with committees of the focal organizations. For example, the Renewal Administrator, in addition to meeting with the focal organization, will begin to dig deeper into the development plan with the organization's urban renewal committee.

The chief planner who is permanently assigned to an area will both contribute to and coordinate the information given to the focal organization and the various committees from the operating agencies.

The fourth phase will be to deal with the problems raised as the renewal program progresses. After project areas have been designated, the resource people from the Renewal Administration will work mainly with the subcommittees of the urban renewal committee. The resource people can be most useful in answering the many concerns brought from specific neighborhood and interest groups.

Again, the chief planner who is permanently assigned to the area will both contribute to and coordinate the information given to the various subcommittees from the resource people.

The Citizen Participants' Function: The focal organization is the district or community council. The council is composed of representatives from the neighborhood associations and other major,
CITY

CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR

ADMINISTRATORS OF OTHER OPERATING AGENCIES

CITIZENS

NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHER DOMINANTS

FOCAL ORGAN

PHASE 1

FOCAL ORGAN

PHASE 2

COMMITTEES

PHASE 3

FOCAL ORGAN

FOCAL ORGAN

PHASE 4

RESOURCE PEOPLE

SUB-COMMITTEES

CITIZEN AND MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION FOR

TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION IN

RESIDENTIAL RENEWAL PLANNING AREAS
non-domestic interests which are located within the Planning Area.

The committees of the council should be flexible, developing as the plans, programs and problems become known. Membership should be as broad as possible in order to represent all the dominant interests of the Planning Area.

The subcommittees are the real "grass roots" organs of the council. Membership will consist of those people who have a particular interest or concern in some special phase of the program. The subcommittees will be small enough, and contact with the most qualified specialists from the renewal administration should make the encounter frank enough, so that people will feel free to say what they want.

Staging

The staging has already been suggested by the description of the planning unit's function. As it was said before, the planning unit moves in early, but no program should begin until the community is ready for it. To be "ready for planning" means four things. The first stage requires gaining the support of the Planning Area. The planner has to know politics (rather politicing) because in this stage he will be bombarded with all the community's aggressions against city hall. He will need to be able to explain away the "negro problem" or to bring together the dominant factions of the community. The planning area must begin to think of itself as a whole, and not as many fragments.

The second stage is the one in which some of the small problems of the area are worked out. In this stage the area discovers that it

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129 Suggested by Richard Green, Boston Redevelopment Authority.
can work together and, even more importantly, with little things out of the way the community can begin thinking in broader terms.

The first two stages lead up to the third stage in which the community is now prepared to think in broad-scale terms. It is in this stage that renewal planning begins with each Planning Area embarking on a self-survey which may include making a land-use map, a "general appearance" map, a traffic and safety map, and so on. At the smaller geographic levels the collected data will have a more immediate result. For example, out of the "general appearance" map may come a neighborhood clean-up committee. The data gathered and brought to the focal organization (the district or community council) will have a large influence on the final plan for the entire area.

The fourth and last stage is to obtain the citizens' ideas of their community. The four-staged attack will hopefully encourage the people to articulate their concerns and their needs so that they become a part of the plans in a way that is compatible with and sympathetic to city-wide development plans.

Advantages of the Model

The organization and the staging is a way of "building into" the citizens an understanding of the planning process. The most significant point to emphasize is that it is a scheme which calls for the involvement of citizens and planners together.

The major advantages of the model as a device for achieving two-way communication between citizen and planner are the following:

1. There is a fair balance in meeting individual and local needs and in addition it should be possible to fulfill the larger objectives of area-wide and city-wide development.
a. It is a process that invites the participation of all individuals, organizations, and other community interests.

b. The particular role of each participant has a major contribution to make to the total program and each one's responsibility is well-defined.

2. There is respect for protocol and the chain of command.

a. Role differentiation and role assignment can be discussed and decided upon early in the encounter between citizen and planner at each participation level.

b. Role assignment can be left flexible up to the time of the encounter since this model assures it on every participation level.

c. This allows the planner, at each level, the opportunity to assess the human resources of the particular area.

d. At the grass roots level, however, the planner's and the resource people's roles are clearly defined by their expertise which is the very reason they are participating on the subcommittees.

3. Plans, programs, and problems can be discussed simultaneously at the higher level, but they can also be discussed separately at the other levels without destroying the broad perspective.  

a. There are comparable vertical channels of communication between the planning unit and the citizens so that discussion within the citizen organization or the planning unit can take place at the same time it is occurring between them.

b. Horizontal channels of communication between citizen and planner on each participation level will encourage informal communication.

c. There is ample opportunity for feedback to occur both within and between the citizen organization and the planning unit.

4. The entire organizational structure for two-way communication can be expanded or contracted according to the scope of the development program.

130 This has the advantage of taking into consideration the diverse capabilities of the different participants.
a. The process of organizing and developing the plans and the programs can be carried on one at a time or simultaneously depending on the degree to which a particular community is organized.

b. If progress should stop at one level collaboration between citizen and planner can continue by initiating interim program or studies to be carried on independently of the larger framework for collaboration.

This model embodies the advantages which can be attributed to organization and to formal communication in the collaborative approach to planning. It by no means assures two-way communication. Two-way communication depends for its success on the understanding of those processes which bind individuals and groups into working social systems. All of the relevant concepts will be summarized in the concluding part.

Part II.

Conclusion

This paper has been written for the purpose of improving the techniques for using the tool of citizen participation. Since this planning tool necessarily establishes a relationship between human beings -- the planner and the citizens -- it seemed logical to try to glean relevant concepts from the Communication Theory which has been adapted by the behavioral sciences.131

The utility of discussing the relationship between planner and citizen by means of the Communication Theory must be evaluated according to the following:

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131 Communication, by definition, means to convey something to another, which necessitates establishing a relationship of some kind.
to the degree of similarity between the model which the theory describes and that which is being modeled in reality. In this paper, we have perhaps given the model special additional quality, namely a definite stand on the issue, a point of view that the collaborative approach to planning is the best way to initiate and execute urban renewal programs.

The Organizing Ability of the Model: The ability of the model to organize or order and relate disjointed data and isolated pieces of information is one function which a good model should serve. In the simplest sense, the relationship between the source or the communicator on one end, and the receiver or the audience on the other is close to the picture we envisage in the collaborative approach to planning. Basic as it is, it is extremely useful to speak in terms of cause and effect, as indeed it is (or should be) in the collaborative approach to planning.

The purpose of communication is implicit in the model. Eliciting a response from another requires recognizing that both the planner and the citizen participants (as either communicator or audience) engage in communication with the expectation of sending or receiving a certain response from the other. With the purpose of communication in mind we pointed out the factors which seem to be significant in affecting responses and then went into the more dynamic aspect of communication which we called "interaction."

After accumulating the basic characteristics and understanding the implications of the model, it was possible to check the ability of the model to analyze organization, formal and informal channels of communication, and the decision-making process. This proved to be
useful because we were able to make some conclusions as to the significance of these three issues in urban renewal for furthering the end of two-way communication. The relationship of the three issues to communication is not new in the fields of public administration or industrial management, but to the planner who has not been trained in these disciplines it offers a discriminating way to view them.

The model is also able to integrate information from other disciplines which can contribute to the end of furthering two-way communication between citizen and planner. For example, with the inclusion of data from sociology we were able to arrive at some conclusions with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of formal and informal channels of communication in light of the criteria of communication effectiveness and facilitating bureaucratic procedures.

In addition, the concept of communication as interaction raised the question of interdependency or inter-relatedness which caused us to examine the concepts of group behavior such as the study of group cohesiveness and the control of it through a type of influence known as persuasion. These concepts are analogous to the interest of the social sciences in the study of social systems on which we also elaborated.

What the Communication Theory did not suggest for analysis was made obvious by our interest in the collaborative approach to planning. For example, the idea of participation is not necessarily suggested by communication. Upon examination, however, it was found that the effect of communication on eliciting cooperative and constructive behavior was significant. The factors which cause conflict, the characteristic ways conflict develops and the forces which tend to
The ability of the theoretical framework to place a wide variety of data into a coordinated and meaningful pattern has two major contributions to make for the planner to whom this paper is addressed:

1. The vocabulary and the relationship between different concepts may facilitate their storage in memory and their recall with greater ease.

2. The construction of a model has the accompanying effect of contributing to the recognition of communication defects in a particular relationship.

The Predictive Ability of The Model: The second function of the model, the predictive, emphasizes the utility of the model as a problem-solving device more than an analytical device. There seem to be two general ways to solve problems. One is to apply to a new situation that which one has learned from the past. The other is to be able to predict what will happen in the future.

According to the first way, if it is possible to understand and analyze past events then it is possible to apply the knowledge learned from the analysis to similar, but new events. This is not so simple as it seems, because requisite to it is an understanding of the past through analysis. The Riverview case points out the inability of the public agency to do this during the time of action (feedback) and even in retrospect. On the other hand, on the basis of the analysis made on the Riverview case, we have evidence of its utility.

The other way of problem solving is prediction, or the ability to forecast the outcome of certain events before they happen. This makes use of evidence acquired from the theory; it is not based on experience like the first way. Using this method it seems that certain
things are more possible to do than other. For example, the theory, buttressed by the casework which has been done in organization, channels of communication, persuasion, cohesiveness, and participation can tell us:

1. The advantages or disadvantages of each;
2. the effect that will result by deviating from a certain pattern;
3. the extent to which we might expect these processes to take place given certain known factors such as social background data.

The consideration of social organization (of social systems) led us to the conclusion that an acceptance of role differentiation and role assignment are strategic in order to solve many communication problems. However, these factors seem to depend on the variables of income, occupation, education, and other social-cultural differences. The exact relationship of these variables to the two factors is not clear, although evidence from a study of the relationship between participation and leadership potential indicated that there was some kind of correlation between the variables and the ability to communicate.¹³²

The technique of survey analysis should be able to contribute a lot to filling in the missing data and tell us conclusively exactly how the variables affect the factors. Communities which are already organized should be able to indicate something about the way they regard role prescriptions, descriptions and expectations. In the collaborative approach to planning the process of achieving two-way communication between planner and citizen makes allowance for considering these factors upon contact in a community.¹³³

¹³²See Chapter Two, pp. 52-55, supra.
¹³³See this chapter, Part I.
A Non-Intuitive Approach: One thing which seems conclusive about the technique for achieving two-way communication between citizen and planner which has been explained in this paper is that it avoids an intuitive approach for resolving the problems inherent in the relationship. A planning tool which relies on intuition alone is not a sound one. After all, it is by a process other than intuition that has guided the development of housing and environmental standards.

It also seems pragmatically unsound to have to rely on "rules of thumb" when dealing with human beings. Such an approach is extremely unrefined for a subject which displays a tendency for infinite variety. For example, in the Demonstration the authors attempt to conclude the "when of citizen participation." They say that in clearance projects the time for starting participation is when official thinking about the feasibility of redeveloping an area arrives at the first point at which news about official intention becomes public, e.g., upon requesting a city council vote of approval of submission of application for federal preliminary planning advances.

And in the case of rehabilitation or conservation situations, the starting time is prior to any such news break, so that the formal official decision to study the area may come after some neighborhood invites official attention to the possibilities of the neighborhood, and so creates an impression of requested cooperation rather than officious intervention.

Although the suggestion makes sense, and it may actually prove to be the "best" way in most situations, in the long-run it undermines the basic intent of the collaborative approach to planning.

The things learned from this paper seem to indicate that the "when," "what" and "how" of citizen participation in collaboration with

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134 Loring, Sweetser, and Ernst, op. cit., p. 221.
135 Ibid.
the professionals of the municipal renewal administration are best answered by taking into account the following, which are given as conclusions:

**TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CITIZEN PARTICIPANTS AND PLANNER WILL BE FACILITATED IF THEIR RESPECTIVE ROLES ARE CLEARLY DEFINED; THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES SHOULD BE MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY AND THERE SHOULD BE NO DUPLICATION OF ACTIVITIES.**

(1). Role differentiation and role assignment are affected by the social-cultural differences, attitudes, knowledge levels and communication skills of the communicator and the audience. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the differences that exist in groups occupying different statuses in the society.

(2). Rationalizing role positions according to prescriptions, descriptions and expectations facilitates communication by building in the acceptance of roles.

(3). The social systems to which individuals belong have formal structures which enable the communicator to develop expectations about the audience's conception of its own role position.

(4). An organizational structure for planner and citizen participants facilitates the assignment of roles to the extent that the established protocol and chain of command are mutually acceptable.

**TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CITIZEN PARTICIPANTS AND PLANNER WILL BE FACILITATED IF A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO TEAMS CAN BE ESTABLISHED.**

(1). Informal channels of communication are the most effective means for developing mutual respect and perpetuating the common concern.
Informal communication is made easier by the existence of a formal structure within which social relations (rather than one's formal role) may operate.

(2). Source-oriented influence is important at the time of establishing the relationship. It is necessary for the communicator to establish himself as a high credibility source in order to influence the audience's behavior.

(3). Group-oriented influence (or cohesiveness) is important for the maintenance of a group during the performance of a task because the force to communicate increases as the degree of relevance to the functioning of the group increases.

(4). There is a direct correlation between cooperative and constructive behavior, and involvement or participation in designing changes.

TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CITIZEN PARTICIPANTS AND PLANNER WILL BE FACILITATED IF THEIR RELATIONSHIP IS ESTABLISHED EARLY AND ON A CONTINUING BASIS.

(1). Cooperation characterizes the type of interaction in the collaborative approach to planning, but since conflict is almost inevitable when change is proposed it is necessary for the planner to achieve an equilibrium before the stage of making planning proposals. The planner can intervene in any stage when the antagonism is caused by communication difficulties -- conflicts over an issue caused by misunderstanding rather than real differences.

(2). Role playing, which affects the knowledge level of the audience, is a useful educative technique in the prolonged contact
which characterizes the relationship between the citizen participants and the planner.

(3). If ideas and reactions are invited, suggestions must be considered. It is necessary to establish the importance of responsible interdependence.

(4). The will to work together must be communicated -- this is the most important information that can be transmitted in establishing a collaborative approach to planning.

TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CITIZEN PARTICIPANTS AND PLANNER WILL BE FACILITATED IF SUFFICIENT INFORMATION IS PROVIDED TO AVOID THAT OPPOSITION WHICH ARISES OUT OF MISUNDERSTANDING.

(1). Feedback is a mechanism which allows the communicator to make observations from his own vantage point using the audience's behavior as the source for his information. It also enables the communicator to judge the effectiveness of his efforts of communication and to modify future communications in order to meet conditions which have been made apparent.

(2). The formal channels of communication are devised for the purpose of gleaning information from a designated source. The source has a location in relation to others which is determined by the information which he acquires, stores, and transmits.

(3). High cohesive groups maximize the use of discussion, the exchange of information, and express a willingness to change towards the other's position.

(4). Community organization is the technique by which individuals are encouraged to concentrate their energies on group problems and group
goals and present their views in a unified manner. In this way the planner is provided with a great deal of information about the renewal area and its residents.

Citizen participation thus will be very helpful in urban renewal planning; many planners, however, have not thought of it as a planning tool but rather as an instrument for public relations. The reluctance to accept citizen participation as a direct aid reflects the planners' fear of becoming too involved with the residents of a project area. This is a fear stemming from their lack of success in gaining the support of people for their plans and programs; it is also the result of confusion arising from the fuzzy line drawn between social and physical planning.

By a collaborative approach to planning, the professional planner becomes fully involved with the citizen participants; the techniques for achieving two-way communication presented in this paper may serve to overcome the hesitancy of planners from becoming too involved with residents in project areas. Only then will the potential of citizen participation as a planning tool be fully exploited. An enormous quantity of new information can thereby be made available which will contribute to the better physical planning of cities. The attempt to draw too strong a line between "physical" and "social" planning should therefore be reconsidered.

Collaboration between planners and citizens makes use of the planners' professional knowledge in matters pertaining to the physical environment; the citizen provide information which only they can give of their needs, their problems, and their desires. In the past the
planner has offered opinions; henceforth he will seek opinions and carry them out in the interest of all elements in society.


