NEW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BASED ON UNIQUE IDEOLOGY: CASE STUDY OF DAR AL-ISLAM AND SOUL CITY

by

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
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TO

My family,

who give me all the love, trust, and prayers.

All Malaysians,

who have collectively paid for my education.
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ABSTRACT

This report studies the development process of building a new community which is based on unique ideological goal. Two cases of Soul City and Dar Al-Islam new communities are utilized. Soul City, located in North Carolina was built in 1969 to be an example of the Black’s comprehensive assimilation with the concept of American "democracy and free enterprise systems" in gaining greater political power, economic base, and social upward mobility needed to achieve "the American dream." Dar Al-Islam, located in New Mexico was built in 1980 to be an example of the "Islamic society" that accepts, practices, and advocates maximum Islamic way of living in the non-Islamic environment.

The developers are very committed to their symbolic goals. When they face severe economical, political, and social constraints in different stages of development, they would rather delay or terminate specific projects than sacrifice the goals on account of practical consideration.

The findings demonstrate that new community development is not an efficient and practical means utilized in promoting symbolic goals.

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Ralph Gakenheimer

Title: Professor of Urban Studies and Planning and of Civil Engineering
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This research has given me the opportunity to sharpen my thinking, develop my field experience, test my patience, and reinforce my self-confidence.

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The primary challenge in this research has been the collection of data from the developers, residents, and professionals involved in the ventures. In this connection, I acknowledge the help of Mr. Bobby E. Roberson and Mr. Andy Harris of the Greenville Planning and Community Department, Mr. Charles Worth of the Warren County Manager and his secretary, Professor Shirley F. Weiss and Ms. Saleha Yusof of the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Mr. Abdullah Nuridin Durkee, Mr. Sahl Khairi Kabbani, Mr. Yusof, and many people in Dar Al-Islam. This research would not materialized without their help.

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INTRODUCTION

Analyzing a "city" is not a small task. Imagining an "ideal city" is a challenging exercise. Consequently, developing an "ideal city" is a risky business. Unfortunately, there are many people who are involved in this business do not have a precise understanding on the prerequisites to make the venture successful. I believe that knowledge can be gained by analyzing and evaluating the results of the implemented "new ideal city" developments. Such learning is extremely useful in order to avoid the same costly mistakes and constraints faced by the developers of those new cities.

This research proposes a general terms of reference to guide politicians and technicians in making decisions on whether or not to support a development of "new community or city" promoted to achieve a symbolic ideological goal. A detailed understanding of the risk involved in such venture can force us to evaluate other alternative actions that might produce the same or better results.

This report will study the processes involved in developing two new communities called Soul City and Dar Al-Islam. They were founded to promote special goals
related to symbolic ideologies:

1. Soul City, located in North Carolina was built to be an example of the Black's comprehensive assimilation with the concept of American "democracy and free enterprise systems" in gaining greater political power, economic base, and social upward mobility needed to achieve "the American dream."

2. Dar Al-Islam, located in New Mexico was built to be an example of the "Islamic society" that accepts, practices, and advocates a maximum Islamic way of living in non-Islamic environment.

In analyzing the cases I will explore three fundamental areas:

a. The reasons why the developers advocate those symbolic ideological goals.

b. The reactions of the developers and residents when they were faced with a number of constraints. Did they change a "specific objective" while preserving the "prime goals" or did they sacrifice the prime goals in order to implement the stated specific objectives?

c. The reasons of whether or not a new community is an efficient and practical means utilized in promoting symbolic ideological goals.
DEFINITION

Before I define "prime goals" and "specific objectives," I quote one paragraph from a book by Burby III and Weiss entitled, New Communities U.S.A., subtitled "The Future of New Communities:"

The reality of new communities is in fact many realities. New Communities under development in the United States share some common elements. They are large. They are planned (through sometimes to varying degrees). Their growth has been guided by a unified development organization. Beyond this, new communities differ -- in the motivational and social consciousness of their developers, regional context for development, stage and pace of growth, and government structure. These and other differences make generalization difficult and even somewhat risky. The shining success of one new community may be the faltering stepchild of another (Burby and Weiss, 1976: 485).

In the course of studying the development of "new towns or new communities" within the last two years I found a significant number of materials dealing with the elements mentioned above, except for the one dealing with the motivational and social consciousness of the developers and the residents. I believe this element is one of the important aspects in the development process which has been overlooked by the experts. I will focus this study on the motivational and social consciousness of the developers and residents with respect to their "symbolic ideological goals" and the effects these would have on the development planning, implementation, and monitoring.
The "prime goals" is defined as the symbolic things promoted by the developers and the pioneer residents. The "specific objectives" on the other hand is defined as a specific project objectives that act as means of promoting the prime goals.

It is very important that the developers' goals and objectives, are something special that can create momentum in the development process. The new residents or beneficiaries will give the community its visibility and credibility. Consequently, the developers and residents have to work together and try to avoid conflicts when they are faced with constraints that force them to either sacrifice or adhere to the goals.

A new community development in this report is defined as a process of creating a large planned community in undeveloped environment. The developers have to create and shape the stated environment to make it a viable place to live and continue to grow in the future. They have to build all the infrastructure, houses, economic base, governing bodies, social organizations, and other services needed in order to attract people to that place. In the subsequent chapters the term new town may be used inter-tangibly with new community. There is no specific facts that can be used to differentiate these terms. In the literature and legal statutes influenced by Europeans this kind of development is referred to as new town while the
Americans term it as a new community. However, there are some differences in the definition of the term new community or new town. This is because people have different perceptions on what a new town is supposed to be, or how it should function. This differences in definition will always exist as long as people view the new town as a means and not an end in itself. Bodner supports the above view when he concluded his intensive literature review on the definition of new town, "... new towns can be viewed as a means and not an end in themselves, a phenomenon which may count for some of the conceptual difficulties in the definitional problem" (Bodner, 1970: 8).

An evaluation of the cases will reveal how these symbolic elements are intertwined with the economic and political forces in shaping the development strategies, location, governmental structure, financing, and rate of growth.

RESEARCH ANTICIPATION

The momentum in the development process of these communities is based on symbolic concepts held by the developers. Two distinctive sets of phenomena can occur as the development process continues. First, the prime goals might be changed or sacrificed on account of practical consideration. Second, the specific objectives
might be changed in order to preserve the goals. For example, Dar Al-Islam is now experiencing a lack of capital to finance its development projects. If it decides to borrow capital from commercial banks that charge interest or "riba" in order to finance the planned projects, I consider it as sacrificing the prime goals since borrowing capital with interest is prohibited in Islamic. On the other hand, if it decides to stop the project until it receives future funding that is not associated with interest, I view it as changing the specific objectives in order to preserve the prime goals.

I suspect the impacts of either one or both sets of phenomena have significant influence on the degrees of success in achieving the prime goals. The cases will show if the symbolic goals are successfully achieved. Consequently, I will utilize those findings to conclude whether or not "a new community" is practical and efficient to be used as a principal means in a venture intended to promote symbolic goals.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research utilize both primary and secondary data. The primary data were gathered through site visits, interviews, and photographs. The secondary data were from literature and other available sources. A comparison and contrast within the cases and with other new community
developments are used to clarify or argue the findings.

RESEARCH REPORTING

First stage: a brief synthesis on the process usually take place when charismatic people are pursuing their symbolic goals and the differences of new city/community development based on symbolic ideological goals from other developments is presented in the next section. This will give us the necessary background in performing further analysis on the subject.

Second stage: a case write up concerning the development process, project, and impact for each community is presented in chapter two for Soul City and in chapter three for Dar Al-Islam. The "process" section covers the development goals, concepts, criteria, institutional setting, and other issues. The "project" section demonstrates what really happened in the community in terms of its population, housing, economic base, services, institutional capability, and land uses. The "impact" section scrutinizes whether or not the people in the respective community benefit from the development effort.

Third stage: a comparison and contrast between cases and other references is made in chapter four to explore the reasons for the successes or failures in the development process. An assessment on the ability of the
new communities in promoting or fulfilling the symbolic goals of both the developers and residents is performed. A description of risks involved in this type of development is also included in this chapter. Finally, a conclusion of whether or not a "new community" is practical and efficient to be used as a principal means in a venture intended to promote symbolic goals is presented. A set of recommendation on some policies or actions that might improve future development (if there are future developments having similar characteristics with the cases) is added in this closing chapter. The recommendations are for the private developers, government agencies, and individuals who involved in the development process.

CHARISMATIC INDIVIDUAL, SYMBOLIC GOAL, POWER, AND PUBLIC SUPPORT

Almost all charismatic individuals have some kind of symbolic goals that they want to achieve. In the process of pursuing their goals they accumulate power, whether it is political, economical, scientific, or social in nature. They will manipulate the power in order to gain public support. Their success or failure then will be determined by the quality or importance of the goals to the public, the means being utilized to achieve them, and the desire to make them happen.
An "authority" or power gives a structure to the organization established to achieve the symbolic goal. In the long run the symbolic goal might be accepted by a lot of people and turned out to be a universal goal or rejected in totality. A close look at Max Weber's topologies of "authority" and charismatic individuals will provide a basis of accepting the reality of power. He states that charismatic authority is based on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism, special achievement, character of an individual person, and the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him. This kind of authority has a very personal relationship linking the powerful leader and the followers. A charismatic movement needs to achieve some kind of stability and permanency in order to be successful. Consequently, it has to establish a "new" traditional structures or a rational-legal structures that might eliminate the "personal relationship" developed in the initial stages of the movement.

Weber goes further by implying that charismatic leader emerge in time of crisis or in a time where a quick transformation is forced to occur in order to maintain or keep pace with rapid changes that occur around political, economical, social, educational, and technological structures (Scott, 1981). The charismatic leader understands that there is a need for change and he will be
laughed at or ignored in the beginning. Once he establishes some power people will scrutinize his activities and then decide for themselves whether they want to support, oppose, or be indifferent to what he represents.

Almost all dramatic changes in man's history were led by charismatic individuals. These changes could be viewed as good or bad depending on how the events were interpreted. Acknowledging that there are charismatic leaders and symbolic goals in every popular new movements, I am interested to know what are the elements or "energies" they have to overcome the odds.

What are the qualities of these people? A book by Napoleon Hill entitled, Think and Grow Rich outlines some of the qualities that these people naturally have, or have to learn, in the process of planning and implementing the means necessary to achieve the special or symbolic goals. Those qualities are:

1. They have the ability to think through the significant of the "symbolic goals" they want to achieve.
2. They have the desire and obsession to win in any undertaking.
3. They have firm faith on what they are doing.
4. They have special knowledge needed to complete the task. They also know how to use the services of
experts.

5. They have imagination in starting new things or doing excellent improvement of old things.

6. They know how to organize and plan the whole process.

7. They always make prompt decisions and know when to change them if necessary.

8. They have the persistency in implementing the plan in light of all odds.

9. They have good relationship with people of the opposite sex or even the same sex who believe in what they are doing. The relationships generate energies, especially in times of hardships.

10. They have the "sixth sense" or "gift" that might warn them of some impending dangers, and of the opportunities to be taken.

11. They control their negative fears that can impede their abilities to think and make the right decisions (Hill, 1960: 19-254).

The above qualities are referred back and forth in the later chapters while assessing the developers' effectiveness in pursuing the symbolic goals through building the "new communities." The next section is devoted to explain the basic framework used in defining the nature and function of a new city/community development based on symbolic ideological goals. A
synthesis on the history of city formation and the evolution of new city development is attached in appendix 1 for a more intensive review.

THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY BASED ON SYMBOLIC IDEOLOGICAL GOALS

In the fall of 1985, ten colleagues and myself attempted to define the concept of a new town. The exercise was used to fulfill part of our Master in City Planning Program core practicum requirements. We found that the new town concept had evolved from ideas explored by Ebenezer Howard in his book entitled To-morrow: A peaceful Path to Real Reform in 1898, which for some unknown reason, was reissued as Garden Cities of To-morrow in 1921 (Howard, 1945). Most of the new town development literature written in the twentieth century made references to this historic publication. Our working objectives at that time were to identify the forces behind each development, examine the development concepts and criteria, understand the opportunities and constraints faced in the implementation process, and evaluate the results of the developments. After that we compared the whole development process with Howard's theory and the new towns he built in Europe. We reached a conclusion that in this century people built new towns for many reasons. People tried to adopt Howard's ideas even though their
reasons and objectives of building the town were totally different from the ones advocated by Howard.

Unfortunately, most of them experienced difficulties in the implementation process because the adaptation did not work. We believed that those costly mistakes could be avoided if people knew what their goals were in building the new town, and did a thorough analysis on the preconditions and assumptions of the venture.

We classified new towns based on the goals, working assumptions, and preconditions for such developments. The four categories are:

b. Planned-Germ Model.
c. Planned-Mix Model.
d. Unplanned-Germ Model.

(Definition and explanation of each model are in appendix 1)

In this research I classify the development of new community based on symbolic ideological goals as a representative of the Planned-Mixed Model. This type of development has two goals. The prime goal is something symbolic to be achieved, or represented in the newly built town. The secondary goal is to make the town grows and functions as other towns. Soul City falls into this category because its prime goal is to be the symbol of Black political, economical, and social achievements. Its
secondary goal is to make it function as an urban entity and a center for future growth of the region. Most developers of new town classified under the Planned-Mixed Model decide to build the town not because of the proven potential economic growth but on the potential influence of the emotional value being promoted. Examples of such new towns are Brasilia in Brazil, Abuja in Nigeria, Atlantis in South Africa, and Olympic town in Korea. Brasilia was built as a symbol of national unity and a door for further growth of the Amazon region. Atlantis city was built to settle the Black in one concentrated location; implicitly the City represents the total control of Whites over Blacks in South Africa. Olympic town in Korea was built to be the center piece of Korea in 1988 Olympic. When the Olympic is over, the City might be populated by people from Seoul metropolitan area who desperately need housing.

Some important characteristics embedded in this type of new towns are:

1. Planned and supported by government or one developer who believes the importance of the symbolic goals being promoted. This organization decides the location, accumulates funds, and determines development standards and infrastructure provisions.

2. Activities that enhance the symbolic goals are
carefully monitored and given a higher priority in the development process.

3. The town is expected to grow and provide a distinguished living environment to its population. It should have a strong economic base that can support the population in the city and its region. It also try to be the resource base for aspirations and examples for other cities.

4. Location decision is made based on the view that it has a strong historic link to the symbolic goals. In general the developer has to deal more with the constraints being generated by the symbolic goals itself rather than with others. The measure of success is whether or not the symbolic goals are achieved and its existence is recognized by the public.

The Planned-Mixed Model new town is developed as a means, not an end in itself. Therefore, its functional growth needs special set of prerequisites and planning approaches. A failure to recognize these phenomena from the beginning of the development process will cost the developers a lot of money and an agony of defeat, whether they are government or private entrepreneurs.

The theme of this research is to understand the process occurs in a new community development based on a unique ideology classified under the Planned-Mixed Model. The two case studies of Soul City in North Carolina and
Dar Al-Islam in New Mexico, are presented in chapters two and three, respectively. The two sites are excellent laboratories for such development types. A critical review on the issues discussed is necessary in order to understand the opportunities and constraints, the misconceptions embedded in the development concepts, the level of mental sacrifice demanded, and the ability of the development in promoting the pursuit of unique ideologies.
CHAPTER TWO

CASE STUDY OF SOUL CITY, NORTH CAROLINA

INTRODUCTION

The cases are intended to be used as "data" to discover of whether or not a new community development based on a unique ideology is practical and efficient. The two cases selected, Soul City and Dar Al-Islam, are presented individually in order to magnify the details involved in the whole process. The first part of each case highlights my experience in the field trip. The second part examines the development goals, objectives, and processes the developers and pioneer residents take in planning, implementing, and monitoring activities in the new community. The third part reveals the things being actually implemented and functioned in that new community. The fourth part surveys the impacts resulted from such development to the new community and its surrounding. The final part gives some opinion on the potential of each development based on the historic facts, and the plans being considered for future implementation by the developers and residents. The first case is Soul City, followed by Dar Al-Islam.

REFLECTION ON DATA COLLECTION APPROACH

In late September 1986 I had some discussions with
Professor Ralph Gakenheimer and Visiting Professor Alfred P. Van Huyck on some issues related to large scale land or new community development that might be educationally stimulating and actually contributing a new set of knowledge to the field of development planning, both for the developed and developing countries, as a thesis topic. One of the topics we discussed was the difficulties involved in the development of new community as a result of ill-defined goals.

I decided to use case studies as a basis for the whole analysis. Initially, I came up with five possible cases:

1. Dar Al-Islam, Abiquiu, New Mexico (Islamic environment).
2. Soul City, North Carolina (Black community development).
3. Levittown Development Projects (city and American Dream).
5. Rajneeshpuram New Community located near Antelope, Oregon (spirit and matter).

After conducting a preliminary and lining up contacts for each cases, I dropped cases number three to five because of inadequate information. At that time, I thought it was unfortunate for having only two cases. Now I feel less so.
since the patterns that emerge from the cases studied are quite similar with the ones partially described in the literature of numbers 3, 4, and 5. In order to demonstrate this I will make some cross references to those cases throughout this report when necessary.

The fundamental constraints I faced in this study is the short time frame and limited budget. Those constraints prevent me from devising an elaborate scientific research methodology that might increase the degrees of accuracy and scope of the data. I am aware of this trade off and assume responsibility for all the short comings and results of my investigative methods, borrowed and simplified from the sociological and anthropological fields.

I visited both Soul City and Dar Al-Islam new communities in search for a closer look and greater understanding. The general sequence of each visit are as follows:

1. Established a contact person who can guide me to the right people in the process of accumulating the data.

2. Arrived at the community and met with the contact person who introduced me to other people whom he thought might have the right information, or could answer the basic and detail questions contained in the research proposal.
3. Gathered as much pertinent information as possible from each person I met or interviewed. Made some cross references when there were some contradictions or vague answers from different individuals.

4. Took numerous photographs of significant or important places in the community.

5. Brought all data back to Boston and analyzed them.

My contact person in the Soul City case was Mr. Andy Harris, the Assistant Director of Greenville Planning and Community Development, North Carolina. I left Boston Logan Airport at 4 p.m. on 11/06/1987 and landed at Raleigh-Durham Airport at 8 p.m. Afterward I drove my rental car to Chapel Hill and stayed overnight. In the following morning I drove to Warrenton City to meet with Mr. Charles Worth, the county manager of Warren County. He worked with the Soul City management for a number of years before assuming his current position.

Mr. Worth provided me with one and a half feet of files containing information about Soul City from the beginning of its formation to the present situation. I also had a two-hour car tour around Soul City and its surrounding areas with him. The entrance to Soul City has a very impressive appearance. A piece of sculpture rising a full twenty feet to the sky bears the Soul City name and
the logo is standing proudly to be observed by anyone passing the U.S. Highway 1 and Soul City Boulevard. The sculpture is composed of steel and concrete embossed with a wood grain texture. There is a broken sport light in front of the sculpture. It was supposed to light up the area at night. Mr. Worth told me that every time it was fixed, somebody would break it, for reason still not clear. Perhaps the act was to express some disappointment with the city’s inability to function as planned.

The City is located between Henderson and Warrenton cities in Warren County, a northeastern section of the state of North Carolina (see map 1). Warren County and other four counties of Granville, Person, Vance, and Franklin are called the Planning Region K or the Kerr-Tar Region (see map 2). In a larger perspective Soul City is located in a region referred as the Industrial Piedmont along with big cities such as Richmond, Raleigh, Greensboro, Charlotte, and Atlanta served by highway I-85 and the Seaboard Coastline railroad (see map 3). The City is about one hour drive from Raleigh, five hours from Washington, D.C., and eight hours from Atlanta. It was planned to be a free standing modern city within an area of 5,180 acres. The population in Warren County was predominantly Blacks. That was one of the reasons why Soul City was labelled as Black City by its critics. I think the critics were afraid of the ability of Soul City
MAP 1. SOUL CITY AND VICINITY

Source: Hammer, Greene, Siler Associates.
Counties:
Franklin
Granville
Person
Vance
Warren

Source: Warren County Economic Development Commission
in stimulating Black’s ingenuity and thinking toward greater political, economical, and social participation in America rather than the Black City per se.

An interview with Mr. Worth gave me both the developer’s and resident’s perspectives on that venture. At present he maintains a real estate office in Soultech I, an industrial and office complex and have a house in one of Soul City’s residential areas. An informal discussion with his secretary who also had worked with the Soul City developer before joining the Warren County office revealed the mix feelings of hope, disappointment, and proudness with the venture. I took her feeling as representative of how the people felt around that region. A brief telephone interview with Mr. McKissick, the Black developer who was also a nationally known constitutional lawyer and former National Director of Congress of Racial Equality gave me his feeling of faith, determination, and hope with his new community.

In the next day I was in Soul City for about three hours taking pictures and familiarizing myself with the orientation of the City and trying to make a connection with the goals and objectives needed to be achieved by the developer. I drove back to Chapel Hill that afternoon with a lot of information at hand.

I spent the whole Sunday in the library of the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of
North Carolina at Chapel Hill reading the collection of Soul City literature. On Monday I had an interview with Professor Shirley F. Weiss, one of the many people in that university who gave professional assistant in the planning process of Soul City. Her professional insight into, and arguments on, the linkage effects of the whole venture are incorporated in my observation on Soul City. She is an expert in new community development and revitalization planning. Her faith in Soul City’s ability to change its economically depressed region, is very strong. Now she is working together with Mr. McKissick in devising strategic plans for the development of Soul City and its region. I left Chapel Hill back for Boston after finishing the interview with her.

DEVELOPMENT GOALS, OBJECTIVES, ISSUES, AND PROCESS

DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The history of Soul City begun when Floyd B. McKissick formed the Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises in January 1969 with a mission to develop a new city that could serve as means to promote Black economic and political advancement in the United States. A new town built by Black entrepreneurs would "provide an opportunity for the establishment of Black economic and political power without challenge to those already in control of existing cities" (Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, Inc.,
Soul City was planned by Floyd B. McKissick and his development crews to be a new town built by Black entrepreneurs open for all people. The founder stated, "It's not going to be an all-black thing, and never was intended to be an all-black thing" in a respond to the allegation made by many newspapers around the United States that the new town would be a "Black Town" (Site Selection Handbook, 1976: 321). Nevertheless, he emphasized that the primary obligation of the city was to serve the interests of the poor Blacks and minorities (Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises Inc. and the Soul City Company, undated). Based on the literature, the goals of the Soul City development were as follows:

1. To establish Black economic and political power.
2. To provide sense of optimism among American's Black.
3. To develop the most depressed area in the region where Soul City was located.
4. To reduce out migration to the big cities among the poor in that region.

McKissick utilized the opportunities from the federal government in securing cooperation and finance for his new city available under the New Communities Act of 1968 and the subsequent enactments which were administered through
the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). In fact the whole venture was planned, implemented, and monitored according to HUD’s guidelines. It took McKissick and his development team four years before the first physical development (ground breaking) was initiated. Soul City development was terminated in 1978 only after five years in implementation process when HUD announced it as a failure. HUD gained control over Soul City in May 1981. Consequently, HUD stopped any further development and sold the land parcel by parcel to private sector, including corporations and individuals (Raleigh News and Observer, April 15, 1982). The critics labelled it as a wasteful boondoggle project administered by incompetence people.

DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES

The objectives described below were the specific projects the developer planned to implement or promote in Soul City. McKissick believed that these specific projects would encourage and speed-up future growth through the forward and backward linkages. These objectives shaped and influenced the whole political, economic, and social processes during the development period. The developer’s working assumptions in planning and implementing the specific projects were:

A. Attracted a multi-racial population of 50,000
people over 16 years of development (this figure was quoted in various documents) within its city boundary. That was the basic figure used to project the employment, infrastructure capacity, land allocation, and other services. I believe the figure was selected by McKissick and his development team based on the figures used by many new towns they visited or read.

B. Expanded the city area up to 5,180 acres. They had an option to buy 1,800 acres of land when the development proposal was submitted to HUD. At the same time the developer also had the rights of first refusal of more than 1,000 acres located around the first 1,800 acres.

C. Completed the new city within 16 years after it was started.

The above working assumptions were utilized in major studies executed by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Department of City and Regional Planning (faculty members and students) and the Hammer, Siler, Associates consulting firm. The University’s study was directed to produce three development concepts and designs and to assess their potentials. They came up with three development models:

i. The Social Services Model. This model was based on the British, Dutch, and Swedish new community
building approach. In this model government played an important role in the development planning, implementation, and monitoring processes by declaring the new town venture as promoting public objectives. The model showed that the developer could make some profit in the venture and predicted a population of 50,000 people in the year sixteen.

ii. The Market Oriented Model. This model assumed a private entity would carry out the whole development process. This entity had to negotiate with a variety of local governments and boards in every aspect of the project and to compete in a free market system for its product. This private entity had to make profit in order to maintain the development processes. The results was discouraging because the developer could lose a lot of capital and only able to predict a population of 39,000 people in the year twenty.

iii. The Multiple Objectives Model. This model required the developer not only to achieve social objectives, such as providing houses, jobs, and life opportunities for the disadvantaged groups, but also to seek profit. Government agencies also played supporting and complementary roles in the development process. The proportional of the
developer's commitment was stated as 60% for social and 40% for market concerns. These concepts seemed to work and the developer could make some profit and predicted a population of 41,598 people in the year sixteen (Department of City and Regional Planning University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1969).

The study prepared by Hammer, Greene, Siler Associates was directed to examine the potential of developing a sound economic base for the new city. The study explored the "market" of the potential economic enterprises that Soul City had to compete, the leverage it would be able to obtain compared to other places, and the prospective industries that might be recruited to locate in the City based only on a free market decisions. The study concluded that there were possibilities to achieve the developer's objectives if the market functioned as predicted and Soul City satisfied all the development pre-condition stated (Hammer, Greene, Siler Associates, 1969: iii-iv). A further discussion on the influence both studies had in the subsequent decision making process is in chapter four. The Warren Regional Planning Corporation and Gantt/Huberman Associates also created a plan for the City (see appendix 3). I believe this was the plan adopted and implemented by McKissick Enterprises. The comprehensive plan was adopted because it met with most of
HUD's requirements for funding. The plan incorporated data and recommendations from previous studies and came up with a detail plan. The Three-Year Plan and the Thirty-Year Plan spelled out the specific project and program objectives for the City, and the land allocated for each type of activities. These specific project and program objectives are presented below.

A. Developer

1. Soul City would be developed by Black entrepreneurs headed by Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises Inc. However, this didn't mean that other non-Black entrepreneurs were excluded in the process. In fact, the developer would seek cooperation and help from any public agencies or private enterprises that wanted to participate in building the City (The Soul City Company, undated: 2 and Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises Inc., undated: unpagenated).

2. The people who lived in the city would participate actively in the effort to promote further growth.

B. People distribution

1. The new city would be open to all people although it put an emphasis of promoting Black and minorities capital ownership and control.

2. The population would come from within the region
and also outside the region. They would bring with them diverse expertise and background needed in ensuring the growth of the City.

3. The new city would be an alternative to the people who wanted to migrate to the big cities.

4. The total population predicted was 44,000 people by the year 2004 (30 years period). That is practically doubled the time frame initially used by McKissick Enterprises in doing the market analysis and other feasibility studies.

C. Economic Base

1. The city would have an economic base that can support people who lived in the city and its region.

2. The city was a "free standing community" in terms of its dependence to nearby metropolitan center. Therefore, it would strike to be the center of this depressed region on its own capacity.

3. The main economic activities would be manufacturing and service industries. Micro scale enterprise was expected to develop as the city and its region grow.
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Table 1 shows the total projected number of jobs demanded within 16 years of development in order to meet the targets and development pace. The 9,000 basic are the industrial jobs need to be attracted as the main economic base. The other 9,000 dependent are jobs generated as a linkage of the basic, such as civic employees, domestic help, businessmen, professionals and employees of other services. The economic feasibility study concluded that the success of Soul City was highly dependent on its ability to create those basic jobs.
D. Housing

1. The new city will provide all types of housing guided by a function of income and willingness to pay of the population. It includes single-family detached, duplexes, garden apartments, and mid-rise apartments. Houses in different price levels would be integrated in each villages. There were about 13,200 housing units planned to be built in eight villages within the 30-year period. About two-thirds of them were multi-family units, such as townhouses and garden apartments. The single-family units were located in clusters. All housing units would be connected by pedestrian walkways to the Activity Center. The first residential area would consists of roughly 350 housing units. Soul City Development Inc. would build some of those units. The rest would be left to individuals and private builders.

E. Services

1. The town would provide urban amenities to its inhabitants as soon as the development begun. This would include the building of good water and sewer systems, electricity, road, shopping center, and school.

2. Other services required by the community would
evolve with the initiative of collective resident
or individual efforts along the development period.

F. Land

1. Initially McKissick Enterprises, Inc. would develop
the 1,800 acres of land that it had already bought.
Consequently, within 30-year period the development
would cover an area of about 5,180 acres which the
developer had already bought or has an option to
buy.

2. Land use was planned very carefully to include
1,878 acres of residential areas, 928 acres of
industrial park, 250 acres of commercials, 570
acres of institutional use, and 1,554 acres of
park, open space, and other recreational facilities
(see appendix 3 for details plan).

6. Institutional Setting

During the initial stages of development the Soul
City Company would have the control over this community.
Consequently, a public governing body would emerge and
took over the control as the community grows and more
people get involved in the process. A Soul City Sanitary
District was established on May 23, 1973 to act as "local
government" with the same powers as a municipality or a
county. It could operate public services and raise
capital through taxation or issuance of bonds to support the activities.

DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

A. Site Potential

The developer considered the site good because of its strategic location between two growing regions of Industrial Piedmont and Boston-Washington Megalopolis. Economic base study by Hammer-Greene-Siller Associates (1979) justified this notion. However, the study projected the potential of growth in terms of economic base, transportation, population and labor force, and some others with assumption that decisions made by the developers, public authorities, and potential private investors were based on free market environment. Studies conducted by the students and faculty members in the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill also did not mention even the probability that the private investors might be disinclined to invest or locate their plants in the City because it was controlled by Blacks.

B. Financial Availability

The Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises would provide the initial development cost. Subsequent capital would be solicited through government loan guarantees and grants,
private capital market including banks, savings and loan associations, insurance companies, and individual investment for profit making projects. The developer did not have sufficient equity to be invested in the project in case of delays or cost overruns.

C. Social Structure

Soul City was intended to be a multi-racial community with mix income status. The main problem was that the majority of the population in the region were poor Blacks. A large scale movement of Blacks in the area would increase the Black concentration in the whole region. The impact of this structural social transformation was not studied carefully in the planning process.

D. Site and Regional Development

The development of Soul City would be closely related to the development of the region. A number of projects not only benefited the City, but also its surrounding areas. For example, the building of a regional water system meant there was a divergence of capital from site investment that specifically benefited only Soul City, to regional investment that benefited both Soul City and its region. The developer did not have a specific criteria on how to balance the capital distribution for projects beneficial to both the Soul City and its surrounding...
areas. Furthermore, most of the federal and state grants were awarded to projects which benefit the whole region. Consequently, the total capital invested in the Soul City site was lower than what the critics thought.

E. Administrative Capability

The developer promised to bring the most qualified people into the projects. It was very difficult to predict how these people would behave and function in a totally new environment. Qualified local people were rare. Time and capital devoted to training were exorbitant.

PROJECT ANALYSIS

This section examines the actual development process occurred at Soul City. The realities are compared with the objectives stated for each project. Some of the reasons for project's success or failure are also elaborated.

A. Planning Process

Floyd B. McKissick announced his intention of developing a new town in early January 1969. The first national wide coverage about the plan was made by the New York Times on January 14, 1969. Although McKissick had pointed out earlier that the new town would be open to all
people regardless of color, race, and religion, the article itself created an image that the town was by Black and for Black. He was confronted by a destructive image of being a Black separatist. This image haunted him and his development team for the rest of the project when the firms and manufacturing companies, both Blacks and Whites recruited were afraid to locate in the City because they didn’t want to be labeled as proponents to the radical movement.

The planning process begun when McKissick approached the Department of City and Regional Planning at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill for professional advise and possible help. The department agreed to assist him in his effort through its faculty members, students, and other resources. The "university group" asked him whether he had been to Reston Virginia or Columbia Maryland. He replied "no" and added that his city would not be like Reston (Weiss, 1986). However, not long after that day McKissick and his associates spent two weeks in Columbia to have a feeling on what they wanted to produce and learned from Rouse Company the problems that they might face in the near future. Evidently, the planning experts in the University of North Carolina and Rouse Company helped him to formulate and refine his development objectives.

He proceeded by assembling his development team,
including planner Harvey Gantt, economic consultants of Hammer, Greene, Siler Associates, several Harvard-trained young Black professionals, and many individuals that pledged to work with him. Harvey Gantt had a degree of Master in City Planning from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Hammer, Green, and Siler Associates had a reputation of being a fine economic consultant group. McKissick also had his White associate, Gordon R. Carey who were respected by local people both Whites and Blacks. The professional development teams enhanced McKissick’s reputation as a new town developer and gave him confidence that there were many fine people who shared and wanted to work together to achieve the goals he pursued.

In the financial side he was initially backed by Irving J. Fain, a close friend from Providence, Rhode Island and the Chase Manhattan Bank (Cambell, 1976: 125). The Soul City Company was formed as a partnership between McKissick Enterprises, Madison and Madison Inc., and the National Housing Partnership. It propelled McKissick one step ahead in actually implementing Soul City. There were other agencies that participated in the planning and implementation process in developing the Soul City (see exhibit 1).

1. Main Developer

The main developer was the Soul City Company. This company was responsible for making sure that the City was
developed according to the plan approved by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

EXHIBIT 1.

AGENCIES RESPONSIBLE IN THE SOUL CITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

1. MAIN DEVELOPER
THE SOUL CITY COMPANY
(MADISON-MADISON INTERNATIONAL INC., FLOYD B. MCKISSICK ENTERPRISES, INC., AND NATIONAL HOUSING PARTNERSHIP)

2. PROJECT COORDINATOR
(THE SOUL CITY COMPANY)

A. CITIZEN'S ASSOCIATION
   i. THE SOUL CITY PARKS AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION

B. LOCAL GOVERNMENT
   i. THE SOUL CITY SANITARY DISTRICT
   ii. THE SOUL CITY UTILITIES COMPANY

3. OTHER AGENCIES IN SOUL CITY

A. THE SOUL CITY FOUNDATION, INC.
   i. SOULTECH I
   iii. CULTURAL ARTS
   ii. SOCIAL ADVOCACY
   iv. LEARNING LAB

B. HEALTHCO, INC.
   i. THE HOME HEALTH AGENCY

C. THE WARREN REGIONAL PLANNING CORPORATION
   i. THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

D. THE SOUL CITY INVESTMENT CORPORATION
   (AN EMPLOYEE INVESTMENT CORPORATION)

E. MCKISSICK SOUL CITY ASSOCIATES

F. MADISON AND MCKISSICK DEVELOPMENT COMPANY

4. OUTSIDE AGENCIES

i. VARIOUS FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT AGENCIES
ii. VARIOUS WARREN AND NEIGHBORING COUNTIES AGENCIES
iii. VARIOUS BANKS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS
iv. VARIOUS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

SOURCE: RECONSTRUCTED FROM SEVERAL REFERENCES.
2. Project Coordinator

The Soul City Company had to coordinate all the development projects with care and integrity. The Soul City Parks and Recreation Association, representing the people in the city were part of the decision making group. Local government agencies were represented by the Soul City Sanitary District and the Soul City Utilities Company.

3. Other Agencies in Soul City

The Soul City Foundation, Inc. was responsible for planning, developing, and implementing a broad spectrum of human and social service programs needed by the population of Soul City and its environs. As a non-profit public foundation, it strived to create opportunities for self-development and dynamic interaction among the people within and outside the society. Projects under direct supervision of the Soul City foundation were the Soultech I (office and industrial use building), the Cultural Arts Center, the Social Advocacy Groups, and the Learning Lab.

The HealthCo, Inc. was responsible for implementing a quality health service and maintenance to the public in Vance and Warren counties. The agency would provide, under a prepaid system, health education, disease prevention, medical care, and dental care based on
individual patient and families need.

The Warren Regional Planning Corporation (WRPC) was responsible for planning, implementing, and expanding the industrial potential of Soul City. It also developed the whole plan for the City. In later years WRPC was also providing assistance to the minority-owned businesses.

The Soul City Investment Corporation was formed in April 1971 as a public profit making organization. The principle objective of the corporation was to get a piece of the economic action. The first venture was to develop an interim housing for the project, valued at $250,000. It also planned for involvement in commercial ventures.

The McKissick Soul City Associates and Madison and McKissick Development Company were other profit making corporation operate in Soul City. They planned to participate in land development, construction, and other profitable activities.

4. Outside Agencies

The outside agencies involved in Soul City were various federal and state government agencies, Warren and neighboring counties agencies, banks and financial institutions, and other public and private organizations.
B. SPECIFIC PROJECT ACHIEVEMENTS

1. Population

There are about 200 multi-racial persons living in Soul City. Blacks constitute about 50% of the population. This proved McKissick’s claim that Soul City is not only for Blacks. They are mostly middle-class people working in either public or private sector around Warren county.

2. Employment

The first and only industrial incubator building constructed within the 928 acres of the A. Philip Randolp Employment Park was the Soultech I. The building has a 73,000 square foot space for both office and industrial uses. An information center is located in the north wing of the building and serves as a multi purpose facility for disseminating information about Soul City and its activities. At present the only industry occupying the building is the Central Sportswear Company, an apparel cutting company employing 125 people. The reasons for the lack of industrial and commercial growth are as follows:

i. There are no real industrial employment base in Soul City or its surrounding area.

ii. There are not enough skilled work force to do high tech jobs.

iii. There are a better competing industrial parks in Henderson and Oxford. Their cost to lease is
cheaper than the one in Soul City, and has a better facilities. Soul City lacks natural gas although it has excess capacity of water and sewage.

iv. The whole new community project has a negative image among the prospective investors. They are afraid to be associated with the Black image although some of them find the area to be efficient and comply with all basic criteria for plant location.

Warren Regional Planning Corporation (WRPC) was the agency responsible for developing a comprehensive plan for Soul City and to study the impacts of it on the region, with funding from the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE), U.S. Department of Commerce. It also engaged in developing the legal, financial, and engineering materials needed for HUD approval process. When the plan was ready for implementation, WRPC started assisting the developer and some small minority businesses in actually bidding and completing the projects. It also work together with the Soul City Company in recruiting industries. Both agencies failed to bring industry or other form of jobs into the City. On January 1, 1978 the A. Philip Randolph Employment Park was changed to the Warren Industrial Park with Mason address in order to eliminate the image of Black it had carried over the years. The name change was made after the Soul City Company retained the Arthur D.
Little as its consultant. The changes was a big sacrifice to McKissick because he lost one of the souls he had fought very hard to establish. However, he assured everybody that he would never change the name of Soul City for whatever reasons.

The Soul City Company and the WRPC promoted the Warren Industrial Park through personal contacts, industrial trade advertising, trade shows, industrial contact program, industrial development conferences, and others. Unfortunately, they couldn't attract any client except the Central Sportswear Company. Until now Perdue Chicken Company is the only company planning to locate its plant in the Industrial Park in the near future. The inability to provide the basic jobs was the first sign of failure for the Soul City venture.

3. Housing

There are about 168 completed lots available in two subdivisions (villages) of Green-Duke and Pleasant Hills. Only 40 houses occupy those lots. The remaining are now full with green trees and signify a lot of unused expensive investment. Maybe more houses can be built on those lots in the future. Unfortunately, Mr. Worth told me that real estate sale in the county was very slow. The only anticipated development was the building of a retirement home in one of those sites.
4. Services

The developer was successful in building a regional water system for three counties, waste water treatment plant, roads, and electricity. All of these represent a concentration of sunken capital. The cost of building those facilities were around $3.5 million. He also completed the public park and recreation center (swimming pool, recreation center, games fields, and an open park). Other significant achievement was the establishment of controversial Healthco, Inc. that provide health services to the people of Vance and Warren counties. It was accused of spending too much money before opening its door to the public and for not serving an acceptable number of patients.

The success of building or establishing those services in a limited budget impressed David Hall, Executive Director of the British Town and County Planning Association when he said the following statement before the House Subcommittee on New Communities:

... Soul City, which I visited recently is very impressive by normal British new town standards, from the point of view of what it has so far done in relation to funds available ... Now I do not think there is a single British new town that has ever had much more than sewage system, water supply, a few roads, one factory for occupation, and a few other items of that sort after 2 years ... (Sammons, 1977: 53).
D. THE CONSTRAINTS

1. Symbolic Goals and Social Acceptance

The goals pursued by McKissick to establish Black economic and political powers and sense of optimism through the development of new community called Soul City was not socially accepted with open hand. Many Blacks were pessimistic with the abilities of the new community as a tool to enhance their social, political, and economic upward mobilities. The new community concept didn’t fit very well with the objectives considered important in the civil rights movement. Most Whites viewed the project as a first step toward Black separatism that would change the social structure of American Blacks. Consequently, people were very reluctant to move into Soul City.

2. Economic and Financial

Soul City was located in an economically depress region. Warren County was classified as 100% rural in 1960 U.S. Census and one of the poorest county in North Carolina. The main economic base was small agricultural activities which accounted for more than 39% of the total employment of 4,970. Low valued, unskilled labor intensive manufacturing activities accounted for about 19% of the total employment. This means Soul City did not have any existing regional advantage for industrial development that it could use. It had to build everything
from scratch.

The financing of the new community was very expensive. The developer did not have a development tract record that enable him to borrow a large amount of capital from conventional lending institutions such as banks, insurance companies, or savings and loans institutions. Furthermore, not many lending institutions were willing to lend capital for a development of a new community or city because the risk was too.

McKissick borrowed the seed capital from the Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A. because his own equity was not enough even to cover the administrative costs involved in the planning process. He then directed his effort to get the federal loan guarantee scheme embodied in the New Communities legislation. Under the 1970 New Communities Act, the loan guarantee applied by developers could be as high as $50 million for developing one city. This guarantee would enable the developers to borrow long-term capital from the private money market at lower interest rate because the federal government would assume the loan if the developers were not able to pay in a specified date. The federal government would also provide individual grants and loans to the developers or local governments where the new city was located to support the process. McKissick submitted a preapplication for a Federal Loan Guarantee to HUD on April 1, 1969. The final
application was submitted on February 24, 1971. The offer for loan guarantee of up to $14 million commitment was received from HUD in June 1972. The first debenture was only $5 million. Subsequent issues were contingent upon the abilities of the City to show that it could provide at least 300 primary jobs, completed the roads, and there were funds available to construct water, sewer, and storm drainage lines. The City met all the restrictions and finally issued another $5 million bond. As of March 1975, six organizations in Soul City had been awarded $10.2 million of which $4.6 million had been spent. In addition the Federal government also awarded $6.9 million to the State, county, and local governmental units and to a private contractor (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1975: 2).

The U. S. General Accounting Office investigated Soul City Development Company and other agencies participated in the development process when Senator Jesse A. Helms, Republican from North Carolina demanded the action (Report RED-76-50, 1975). The investigation didn't find any evidence of serious wrong doing in part of the Soul City Development Company and other agencies involved in the development process. Not long after that the state of North Carolina also tried to initiate its own investigation. McKissick acted fast by voluntarily providing all information requested before formal
investigation was conducted. In order to reduce pressure from the federal and state governments, HUD refused the developer to issue the remaining $4 million guaranteed loan. Other grants and loans were also reduced or delayed. The financial problems of Soul City was apparent when the developer neither have enough money nor able to borrow capital to sustain further development as a result of HUD’s action because it didn’t have any asset to be used as collateral.

3. Political

In the early development stages there were no evidence of strong resistance from individual or local and national political groups directed to Soul City or its developer. I examined one letter that has a political dissident tone written by Mrs. Robert A. Short to Governor of North Carolina Robert K. Scott (see appendix 5). The opposition was mainly based on her feeling of helpless and angry with the potential harms done by Soul City to her land ownership. I did not find any opposition from a well organized political group. However, the media always focused on the negative aspects, such as the issue of Black Image, the incompetent people involved in the project, and the possibility of corruption to confuse the public. Damaging articles and cartoons appeared in the Raleigh News and Observer, the Wall Street Journal, the
Durham Morning Herald, the Chapel Hill Newspaper, the New York Times, and other newspapers around the nation. Finally, the political drama began when U.S. Senator Jesse A. Helms and U.S. Representative L. H. Fountain requested an investigation by the General Accounting Office of federal spending at Soul City. Although the results of the findings did not show any significant wrong doing as accused, the process itself deterred the credibility of the developer and the ability of Soul City to attract private investment. Subsequent inquiries by the State Legislature made the situation worse. The cutting and stopping of federal and state grants and loans during and after the inquiries affected the financial health of the project. I believe the damaging news and cartoons in the newspaper were the only major politically tuned opposition, but they were very successful in detaining the potential progress of Soul City. Another sad fact in this case was the weak support or endorsement of the Soul City had from the Black political groups. It seemed that McKissick and his ideology of building a city in order to intensify the Black’s political, economical, and social mobility was ignored by other Blacks. He had to fight the political opposition alone, without the support from its own people nationally.
DEVELOPMENT EFFECTS

1. Direct Effects

The principal direct effects resulted from the Soul City venture was the involvement of different level of governments and several private agencies in spending money in the already neglected and depressed region. The money had been used to build the infrastructure that was never fully used. The only significant benefits were derived from the multi-county water and sewer systems, from the HealthCo. Inc. health services, from the swimming pool, sports center, and vast recreational park, and from the road built or upgraded by the cities.

2. Indirect Effects

The most significant indirect effects resulted from the Soul City development was the ability of Blacks to organize political and social organizations. The emergence of strong leaders such as Floyd B. McKissick, Evelyn W. McKissick, Lewis H. Myers, Gordon R. Carey, T. T. Clyton, Eva Clyton, Charles C. Allen, and Dorothy L. Waller gave the Soul City and the Warren County young breeds who were dedicated to augment the political, economical, and social status of the Blacks. These men and women leaders worked hard to encourage the Blacks to participate and take charge in public and private organizations around the county. The political scene in
Warren County changed from totally controlled by the Whites to a mix of both Blacks and Whites since Soul City was actually implemented. However, the Whites still control the economic power.

FUTURE OF SOUL CITY

The Soul City new community added to the figures of unsuccessful new community or new town development. Sadder than that, its inability to grow represents more than under utilized physical facilities. It represents the difficulties faced by the Black Americans in the process of gaining political, economical, and social upward mobility. The new community was not able to offer the Black people the promised "American dream." The community was not able to integrate Blacks into the mainstream of American life. The Soul City new community also demonstrates that American racism is still pervasive and all efforts for the betterment of Blacks will be opposed in a variety of ways by those in the government, the media, and in the complicated institutional decision making process.

The future of Soul City is gloomy without massive investment poured into the City. As stated earlier, the majority of the population in this region are poor Blacks. Based on an economic perspective in a free market system, Soul City has the potential for future growth since it is
located between two growing regions. However, looking deeper into its social, economic, and political structure I still wonder if the potential opportunities forecasted since 1969 will ever be achieved. The statement by McKissick in his book entitled the Three-Fifths of a Man, "within one generation there could well be two or three states that are black led, black controlled, and predominantly black populated" (Miller, 1969: 40) seems as true as Soul City is not achievable.

Despite all the odds, McKissick is coming back leading a group of nonprofit organization and professional people in devising strategic plans for the development of Soul City and Warren County. They want to use the infrastructure already in place to promote further growth. The Warren County Committee of One Hundred and the Warren County Industrial Development are working together with McKissick and the faculty and students from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to revive the Soul City. The main target is to promote the Warren Industrial Park as a good place to locate an industrial plant and to promote Soul City as a retirement place. The recent major development in the City is the opening of the Perdue Chicken Plant, and the development of one retirement house. This time they are more careful and have learned from the experience on how to approach development in this place. An incremental planning approach might be the
practical to be utilized in the process.

As for McKissick, I credited him as a dedicated and idealistic person that has all the qualities of a charismatic leader. He believes in his ideas and dreams and working hard to achieve them regardless of the odds he faces. I conclude this case by quoting a statement by Dr. Shirley F. Weiss, an expert in new community development in the United States, and a person who had been working with McKissick for a long time, "As long as McKissick alive, I still have faith on the development of Soul City" (interview on November 10, 1986).
CHAPTER THREE
CASE STUDY OF DAR AL-ISLAM, NEW MEXICO

REFLECTION ON DATA COLLECTION METHODS

My contact person in Dar Al-Islam was Abdullah Nuridin Durkee, one of the developers of the new community. I arrived at the community on October 11, 1986 and stayed there for four days. During that period I met with most of the residents and visited many specific project sites in the community.

The entrance to Dar Al-Islam community is not very impressive. A wood sign board with an old painting stands on the right side of the U.S. Highway 84, if you come from Santa Fe. The mud road that connect the community with the highway is in its worst condition in a rainy day. The impressive mosque can be seen from the highway. About a half mile from the wood sign board there is an Abiquiu Inn and a motor workshop.

Dar Al-Islam, translated as a "Place of Surrender" is located at Abiquiu, New Mexico. It is about 60 miles from Santa Fe, the capitol state of New Mexico. The largest city, Albuquerque is about 160 miles (see map 4). The location is at 34.12 degree north latitude and parallel with many major Islamic centers in the world like some of those in Afghanistan, Iran, Samarkand, and Buhara (see map 5).
MAP 4. REGIONAL LOCATION OF DAR AL-ISLAM

Source: Abdullah, T. M. 1985.
MAP 5. TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP OF DAR AL-ISLAM

ADAPTED FROM A TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP
COMPILED FOR DAR-AL-ISLAM BY
MR. ADNAN M. SALEEM

Datum is mean sea level

Source: Abdullah, T. M. 1985.
On the first day of the trip I was invited to come to an akikah party (an Islamic traditional gathering to celebrate a newly born baby) in Yusof’s house. He was a pioneer resident who also one of development team members. He guided me during my staying and touring in the community. There were a lot of people in the party, maybe about two-thirds of Dar Al-Islam’s population. Most of them were newly converted American Muslims. Some people from Santa Fe and other neighboring communities also attended the party. It was a very good time for me to meet and talk to the people. A lot of them were very interested to help me in any way possible. In the conversation we talked about Islamic religion, politics, economics, and other subjects. The first impression I got from these people was their desire to sacrifice their lives and families in the process of living in an Islamic environment. The interaction between male and female adults were very formal and done according to the Islamic principles.

During the visit I stayed at the community guest house. The house was designed to accommodate visitors in its early development stages. Right now the visitors can also stay overnight in the Abiquiu Inn located at the commercial zone along the highway. This motel is run by the Crescent Leasing and Development Inc., a profit making organization headed by Shal Khairi Kabbani who is one of
the community developers.

On the second day Yusof guided me to visit the mosque, school, motel, and several houses. It was a rainy day. I had an interview with Kabbani for about thirty minutes. He was very busy taking calls and arranging meetings concerning his enterprises. He told me that he had just brought a new manager from Egypt to run the enterprises.

On the third day I had an interview with Abdullah Nuridin Durkee in his office. We discussed the goals, progress, and future of Dar Al-Islam. He was very optimistic on the project. He cited some sentences from the materials he sent me when I did the preliminary research. Unfortunately, I could not get the financial figures of the project. I think this is the major drawbacks that I faced in this case. I also had several interviews with the school staff and some residents. In the process I found out that my survey design was useless because it was too complicated to these people (see appendix 5). Furthermore, they were more comfortable to talk freely without any notes being taken. Most of the time they would spell out their true feelings after some provoking but carefully phrased questions. Some of the forms I circulated were never returned.

On the fourth day I walked around the commercial zone of Dar Al-Islam and Abiquiu communities (located parallel
to the highway) to see the people interactions between these two communities. It looked like they had a mutual understanding and good relationship. They greeted each other when they met on the street and local trading stores. I left for Boston on the afternoon of the fifth day with some data base and personal feelings about the newly created Islamic community.

DEVELOPMENT GOALS, OBJECTIVES, ISSUES, AND PROCESS

DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The history of Dar Al-Islam begun when Abdullah Nuridin Durkee, an American Muslim student at Makkah University who just converted to Islam met unexpectedly with Sahl Khairi Kabbani, a businessman from Saudi Arabia during a rainy night at the Kaaba in Mecca. They talked about the Islamic movement and the life style of the newly converted Muslims in the West. Kabbani told Durkee about his dream of contributing something meaningful in bringing and spreading Islam to the United States, in appreciation of the education and treatment he received when he was in the United States. Durkee on the other hand had the vision of creating a genuine Islamic living environment for the Muslims, especially the newly converted in the western world. They acknowledged that the best way in bringing and spreading Islam to the non-Muslim countries was by familiarizing the people with
the Islamic teaching and true way of living. They believed it could be accomplished by establishing a community where Islamic principles could be practiced by the residents without much hardships. Based on the trust to each other, both Durkee and Kabbani made an accord to work together in making their symbolic but challenging goals a reality in that first meeting.

The subsequent meetings were devoted to discuss the essential steps and means needed to be followed in setting up the organization and securing financial supports. They used their personal networking to persuade some professionals and wealthy person to join the crusade. Some of the prominent figures who initially supported the proposed project were King Khalid and two of his daughters from Saudi Arabia, Dr. Hassan Fathy from Egypt, Dr. Abdullah Umar Naseef from Saudi Arabia, Dr. Mohammad Shafi from Pakistan and numerous Muslims from around the world (Abdullah, 1985). A personal supports and commitments of these individuals to the project convinced Nuridin and Kabbani to form a formal organization called Dar Al-Islam Foundation.

Dar Al-Islam Foundation was established in 1979 in the state of New Mexico as a nonprofit foundation with the main purpose of disseminating knowledge of Islam to the American Muslims. Its first project was to develop an Islamic community at Abiquiu, New Mexico (Evans and Klamm,
1986).

The project is still in the implementation process. There are 35 families or about 180 people living in Dar Al-Islam area. Most of them rent their houses from the Crescent Leasing and Development Inc., the subsidiary of Dar Al-Islam Foundation. They pay rent of about $235.00 per month. Each house has the basic amenities such as bedroom, living room, bathroom, kitchen, water supply, electricity, and sometimes telephone.

During the visits to the houses I found that these families have the basic household items such as radio, television, cooking fixture, refrigerator, table, and other living room items. They live as an ordinary people using all available resources to get the maximum benefits.

The developers' prime goal, although not clearly written is to establish an Islamic community built by the Muslims. This community should function as a place where Muslims, either converted or born can practice Islam in all aspects of living without having a feeling of treat from the non-Muslim environment. These functions can be categorized as below:

a. A place where the people can perform their duties as Muslims without much pressure from the challenging non-Muslim environment.

b. A place where people are respecting their neighbors' privacy and also working together to
create a better environment for raising their children.

c. A place to provide jobs to its residents. The incomes or goods produced from such activities must be enough or surplus to support a decent standard of living of the people in the community.

d. A place where an Islamic teaching or *dakwah* can be spread out in the United States and the entire western world.

The above goals are symbolic because they advocate a true concept and practice of Islam. All actions and activities in the community are subjected and guided by the Islamic principles. The functions of this community goes beyond its spatial boundary because it is intended to be the center of the Islamic civilization model for other Islamic communities in the western world.

**DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES**

These goals lead the developers to act based on a more concrete development objectives. The objectives are:

1. Build a mosque in the center of the community.

2. Build houses for the people who want to live in the area.

3. Build a "madrasah" or a school for Islamic education.
4. Build an Islamic higher educational center.
5. Build a center for traditional Islamic crafts.
7. Establish a commercial activities in the area.
8. Establish an agricultural activities.

(see maps 6, 7, and 8 for some of the considered physical projects in three different plans).

These objectives are for both short and long terms. The developers have not yet decide which development plan they want to adopt. However, the developers are trying to incorporate the above objectives on those plans. They already have three different development plans under consideration. For the purpose of this study I will use facts and information frequently stressed by Durkee and Kabbani.

There is no comprehensive plan or development concept that really elaborate the whole activities planned for this community. However, there are some fragmented statements concerning the development concept based on a specific activity as described below:

A. Developer
1. Dar Al-Islam will be developed by Muslim entrepreneurs headed by Dar Al-Islam Foundation and Crescent Leasing and Development Inc. It will use
A Proposed Master Plan For Dar-al-Islam
By Dr. Hassan Fathy - 1981

KEY
1. Main Cross Road
2. Student Playground
3. Housing Block
4. Residential Service Road
5. Vegetable Garden
6. Vaulted Sitting Area
7. Residential Private Sector
8. Center Front Piazza
9. Residential Private Walkway
10. Day School Courtyard
11. Day School (under const.)
12. Existing Mosque
13. Clinic Dispensary
14. Media Center
15. Main Theater
16. Print Shop
17. Piazza
18. Boys' Dormitories
19. Girls' Dormitories
20. Boarding School Courtyard
21. Boarding School
22. Jumma Mosque
23. Caravansary
24. Women's Center
25. Administration
26. Main Square
27. Cafe/Restaurant
28. Suq
29. General Store
30. Parking Lot
31. Fire Station
32. Public Bath

Source: Abdullah, T. M. 1985
A Proposed Master Plan For Dar-al-Islam
By Besim S. Hakim - 1981

KEY
1. Existing Mosque
2. Day School
3. Male Boarding School
4. Female Boarding School
5. Women's Center
6. Shared Offices
7. Lecture Hall
8. Library
9. Print Shop
10. Jumma Mosque
11. Mosque Annex
12. Ablutions
13. Suq
14. Public Bath
15. Restaurant
16. Clinic
17. Administration
18. Hotel
19. Village Square
20. Coffee House and Islamic-style Garden
21. Parking Space (220 cars)
22. Parking Space (156 cars)
23. Housing Plots (117 units)
24. Space for Expansion of Housing
   (approx. 50 units)

Source: Abdullah, T. M. 1985.
MAP 8. PROPOSED MASTER PLAN FOR DAR AL-ISLAM BY
EL-WAKIL ASSOCIATES

MAP 9. Part of Map 8.
both Muslims and non-Muslims labor. However, it does not encourage non-Muslims private projects.

2. The people who live in the community will participate actively in the effort to promote further growth.

B. People Distribution

1. The new community is open to all Muslims because its principal objective is to promote a fully Islamic environment.

2. The population will come from all over the United States, or beyond. They would bring with them diverse expertise and background needed to promote the growth of the new community.

3. The new community will be an alternative to Muslims who want to practice Islam in its totality.

4. The total population is not predicted as rigidly as possible. The development effort is characterized as an incremental rather than a comprehensive development.

C. Economic Base

1. The new community will have an economic base that can support people who lived in the community.

2. The new community will not depend to the surrounding areas for economic base. However, it
will work together with the surrounding communities to promote Abiquiu’s growth.

3. The main economic activities would be commerce, small manufacturing, and agricultural. These activities are expected to develop as the new community grows. No concrete numbers of jobs estimation is available.

D. Housing

1. The new community will provide or help the residents in building houses. At this point the developers only consider low cost housing and some apartments as adequate for the new community. Projections of housing need is about 100-200 units located on the plateau. The developers are thinking of building more houses in different parts of the new community boundary. Durkee stated that during the first five-year of development he would like to locate five families per year, 10 families per year on the fifth to tenth years, and fifteen families per year after the tenth year. Initially, all building would be erected using the adobe systems. It is an ancient traditional building construction using earth originated from the Arabic world. This type of construction systems had also been used in the New Mexico region during the
Spanish era.

E. Services

1. The new community will provide necessary amenities to its inhabitants such as water and sewer, electricity, road, shopping facilities, and school gradually in the development process.

2. Other services required by the new community will evolve with the initiative of residents or individual efforts.

F. Land

1. Initially the Dar Al-Islam Foundation and the Crescent Development Inc. will develop the 1,200 acres it first bought. The focus of the development at this moment is the plateau (see map 10). The Foundation has another 7,000 acres which is not yet planned and also considering of buying more land in the future (Durkee, Interview in 1986).

G. Institutional setting

During the initial stages of development the Dar Al-Islam Foundation and the Crescent Leasing and Development Inc. will have total control over this community. Consequently, a public governing body founded on an
MAP 10. DAR AL-ISLAM PLATEAU

Source: Abdullah, T. M. 1985.
Islamic principles and laws will emerge and take over the control as the community grows and more people involved in the process.

DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

a. Site Potential

The developers consider the site good because of its rural setting and located parallel to other great Islamic cities. Unfortunately, it is located in one of the poorest county in New Mexico. Further growth in the region seems impossible without any major regional development efforts. There is no economic feasibility study done to justify the potential growth of the community. The site has a mix of mountain and valleys around it. This will make development very difficult since the environment is very sensitive to change. The problems will include soil erosion, actual building location, and other factors related to environmental deterioration.

It seems that the strategy is to let economic opportunities come as the new community grows. There is also no formal planning or interaction between the Dar Al-Islam community and other communities around Abiquiu.

B. Financial Availability

The financial supports for this new community are
solicited through private donation, appropriation of zakat (required disbursement of capital of about 2 1/2 % of property value above the one specified by Islamic laws) each year, and private investment in specific projects. It is difficult for the Foundation to estimate on how much money it can get each year. Consequently, some projects are delayed or cancelled because of no available capital.

Dar Al-Islam Foundation follows Islamic guidelines in all of its financial transactions. Money or capital that has connection with interest or riba is prohibited.

C. Social Structure

The new community is intended to be a Muslim community. A policy of whether or not non-Muslims should be allowed to stay is not clearly defined. The adaptation process between the newly convert Muslims and the rest of the community needs very careful attention. The large number of students that will be attracted as the school and boarding houses are completed also needs special policy guidelines.

D. Relationship of on Site and Regional Development

At this time Dar Al-Islam focuses only on site physical development. Relationship or planning for regional development with other communities doesn't exist. Efforts outside the community boundary are limited to the
teaching of Islam through individual contacts, lectures, and literature.

E. Administrative Capability

The developers are promising to attract the most qualified people to administer and implement specific projects. Inhouse training is also offered to people who are willing to participate in the development process. This problem is very clear when Crescent Leasing and Development Inc. has to bring experience management team from different parts of the world to manage its enterprises. They also have difficulties to attract professionals to live in the area. I believe Durkee is using all his past experience gained in developing a commune called Lama Foundation near Taos to alleviate the problems.

PROJECT ANALYSIS

This section examines the actual development process occurring at Dar Al-Islam. The realities are compared with the objectives stated for each project. Some of the reasons for project's achievements are also elaborated.

A. Planning Process

Abdullah Nuridin Durkee and Sahl Khairi Kabbani started assembling the development teams and building the
Dar Al-Islam Foundation and Crescent Leasing and Development Inc. in early 1979. The goals of creating a new Islamic community in the United States was disseminated throughout the United States and Middle East. They bought 1,200 acres of land with a grant money from the King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. Dr. Hassan Fathy, a well known Islamic architect who wrote *Architecture for the Poor: An Experiment in Rural Egypt* agreed to be the architect and master planner of the project (Durkee, 1984). The first building being built was the mosque at the center of the plateau (see map 6). It was built using an adobe system using brick and mud as the building materials. Consequently, Dar Al-Islam Foundation commissioned two more master plan studies. One done by Besim S. Hakim and the other by El-Wakil Associates. In his three part reports Hakim (1981) presented a detail analysis on developing city based on Islamic architectural and design principles (see map 7 for his plan). El-Wakil Associates' plan (maps 8 and 9) show quite an elaborate building and community facilities design (El-Wakil, 1985). However, the developers are proceeding the development without adopting any of these plans.

Durkee and Kabbani have been personally responsible for actual implementing and monitoring all projects in Dar Al-Islam. They employ experts on a part time or piece work basis. There are two agencies involved in the
project. The first one is Dar Al-Islam Foundation, a nonprofit organization headed by Durkee and the second is Crescent Leasing and Development Inc., headed by Kabbani.

C. SPECIFIC PROJECT ACHIEVEMENTS

1. Population

There are thirty five families living inside Dar Al-Islam and about six more outside the area. Most of them have more than three small children. These people have varied backgrounds in terms of previous economic activities, religious, and standard of living. Durkee stated that this figure is above the target since the boarding school has not yet been built.

2. Employment

Crescent Leasing and Development Inc. is helping the residents to open small scale industries or business. The commercial area is located near the highway. Businesses located in that area are the Abiquiu Inn and its restaurant, one service station, and one general store. Other two activities located outside the commercial area are the furniture and brick making businesses.

At present most employment are generated through building activities. The mosque and schools also employ some people. When I was there a group of residents were planning and working with the regulator agencies to
establish a slaughter house in the area. Dar Al-Islam needs more and better paid jobs if it wants to keep and attract people.

3. Housing

There are thirty five completed houses in the area and some still in the building process. The houses are rented for about $235 a month. They just discovered a new building material called "pumice" which is cheaper and easier to build than the adobe materials. The Foundation and Crescent Leasing and Development Inc. are targeting to build housing with cost under $35,000 in the near future. The apartment complex planned by Crescent Leasing and Development Inc. near the commercial area is expected to attract more professional and others into the area.

4. Services

The Foundation is trying to provide infrastructure services like water, sewer, electricity, and road as efficient as possible. The standard used is equivalent or better than the one existing in the region.

5. Mosque, School, and Library

The completed mosque is utilized everyday. The school is in operation although some part of the building is not completed. The school committee is working with
the state and local regulatory body for accreditation. The curriculum in the school is stressed on both Islamic education and science and technology. The two primary problems faced by the school are lack of funding and difficulty in attracting a highly qualified and dedicated teachers. The library that has more than 10,000 volumes of Islamic books and journals are open for the students and public.

D. THE CONSTRAINTS

1. Symbolic Goals and Social Acceptance

The goals pursued by Durkee and Kabbani to establish an Islamic community in the United States are received with mix feelings from the Muslims around the world. The idea is attractive. However, many are skeptical with the end product.

The residents in Abiquiu seem to accept the Islamic community without much opposition. I wonder why this is so. Maybe they think the community is very small, or they ignore the feeling of opposition because Dar Al-Islam employs a lot of local people for construction activities. In a place where unemployment is very high, any activities that bring jobs will be welcome as long as there is no immediate threat to them. The most important question is how they will behave when this community grows and more Muslims move into the region.
2. Economic and Financial

Dar Al-Islam is located in an economically depressed region. The main economic base of the region is small scale agriculture. It is going to be very difficult for the Foundation to attract even small industries into the area. A lack of suitable infrastructure will be the main constraint for many years to come.

The Foundation is having a financial problem. Large private donations from wealthy individuals have become infrequent since the recent oil price crisis; thus many projects such as the boarding schools, additional classrooms, and housing are currently shelved. The Foundation is very strict not to use any money with interest rate attached to it. It would rather delay or stop a project than to use the money with interest. To avoid interest in the banking transactions, the Foundation has negotiated with the banks not to pay interest on the money kept in exchange for free service charge.

I do not have access on the figures of future financial need, or on what already spent by the Foundation. Based on land, administrative, building and infrastructure, labor, and consultant costs I believe the whole projects cost might already totaled up to more than $10 million. More money is needed if the community want to expand its economic and social activities. Kabbani and
Durkee are working very intensively to convince wealthy Muslims from around the world to donate, or invest their money in Dar Al-Islam projects.

3. Political

At this stage of development there is no overt political opposition from individuals or groups. I fear that opposition will be evident when the community has grown, and getting much unneeded attention from the press. This happened to the newly formed community called Rajneeshpuram New Community that preaches the development of spirit and matter, located in Oregon. One reason was that the Rajnees were getting bigger, and started to change the political structure of the region. Neighboring communities and towns rallied and protested at the establishment of the new community. During the early stages of development neighboring communities hardly voice any strong opposition (Fitzgerald, 1986).

DEVELOPMENT EFFECTS

The development of Dar Al-Islam changed the population structure of a tiny town of Abiquiu. The incoming people have a different religion from them. Furthermore, the number is increasing almost every month.

Some people I interviewed told me that they were happy to live in Dar Al-Islam although they had to
sacrifice a lot, such as better jobs. Furthermore, most of the people who lived there came from an economically poor backgrounds. They were happy to get jobs and to escape from the big cities. All of them stated that the new community was a good place to live and raise children. That seems to be the main reason for them to live and try to survive in the community. They have a strong belief and faith in an Islamic way of living. They want to practice Islam in its totality.

The new community still lacks formal social organization. Members said that Dar Al-Islam Foundation has a total control over the community. Clearly, when more people move in, this situation will change although it might be very slow.

In terms of spreading Islam, the Foundation is working with many Islamic organization around the United States and world. Durkee himself is frequently invited to give talks on Islamic development by many organizations from around the world.

FUTURE OF DAR AL-ISLAM

Based on the present rate of development I believe Dar Al-Islam will grow very slowly in the years ahead. The capital availability is the determinant factor for future growth. A stronger economic base is needed to attract professionals and middle class people into the
area. It is clear that the financial support base of the new community is world wide, and thus unpredictable in nature. However, the strong faith of the developers and the present residents in facing many odds, may convince others to donate money for the cause of spreading Islam.

I respect the developers effort to develop this Islamic community. However, I am rather skeptical about the community's potential as a base for future growth and center for Islamic education in the United States. Both Durkee and Kabbani have a long way to go before the goals are achieved. Neither Durkee nor Kabbani is depicted as more charismatic than another. In fact both of them are charismatic people. They were able to influence King Khalid from Saudi Arabia. This is very impressive for individuals that didn't have any previous relationship or political affiliation with the King. They were also able to accumulate millions of dollars based on their personal guarantee that the project is for the cause Allah, and will work as planned with the help from Allah. Since major decisions are made jointly by both men, they seem to be equally important in the development process. But one distinct characteristic stands quite clear. Durkee is an anti-urbanization while Kabbani is more open to development and progress, as long as Islamic precepts are followed.
CHAPTER FOUR
CASE ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

Now it is time to analyze the observations made on Soul City and Dar Al-Islam new community developments. After that, I will explore the forces that influenced those results. Then, I will identify the reactions and decisions made by the developers and residents when they were faced with constraints. Did they change the "specific objectives" while preserving the "prime goals" or did they sacrifice the "prime goals" in order to implement the stated "specific objectives?" Finally I will make a generalized statements of why the development of new community based on a unique ideology is very difficult to succeed. Although the facts are derived from the projects implemented in the United States, I believe they hold true for the same kind of projects implemented in the undeveloped or developing countries.

DEVELOPMENT OUTCOMES

Soul City case indicates that in different stages of development the developer was faced with heavy economical, political, and social constraints. Dar Al-Islam developer faced the same problems with the exception of political resistance. These constraints slowed down the physical
and social development processes necessary to promote growth. Consequently, they were not able to attract enough people and capital for more investments. Today Soul City venture is not able to function as planned. It has a lot of unutilized expensive infrastructure and serviced land. The symbolic goals being promoted was not strong enough to generate a solid moral and financial supports even from Blacks. Dar Al-Islam venture is stagnant at this point because of not enough capital available to be used to implement the specified projects.

DECISION AND REACTION TOWARD CONSTRAINTS

The Soul City and Dar Al-Islam cases show that the developers were very much committed to the goals they first announced. They still believe that the new community can work as means to enhance their symbolic goals. Some examples of the developers' and residents' sacrifices of specific projects in order to maintain the goals are presented below.

SOUL CITY

1. McKissick initially adopted a time frame of 16-year in all of the studies concerning Soul City development. He discovered later that the time frame was too short for such large scale development. Consequently, he changed the
development time frame to 30-year in order to make the development plan looked more operational, and also to give him more time to promote the goals.

2. He changed the A. Philip Randolph Employment Park to Warren Industrial Park after a considerable discussions and consultancies with his development team. He made sure that the decision made was not contradicted with the goals. He made it clear to everybody that he would not change the name Soul City for whatever reasons. The name of the City represents his ultimate goals of giving the Blacks new souls of economic, political, and social upward mobilities.

3. He knew that he had to work with his neighboring communities in order to convince people and federal government that his efforts were dedicated to enhance the new community and the region. That really increased his work load, but he did it because he believed it would augment the credibility of his project.

4. The residents who lived in the City were also willing to sacrifice by working with the developer all the way until the project were terminated by HUD. They were trying very hard to use all available resources to enhance their political, economical, and social upward mobilities as
preached by McKissick.

Dar Al-Islam

1. It strives very hard not to use any money that has interest attached to, thus delaying most of its specific projects such as larger schools, more dormitories, and more houses.

2. The developers encourage the non-Muslims to visit and stay for some time in the area. However, they are reluctant to accept non-Muslim living in the community since the prime goal in developing the community is to build a totally Islamic environment and social structure.

3. The developers realize that they have very little control over the financial resources. In order to reduce big expectation on the results of the venture, they choose not to adopt any specific plan yet. This will give them a buffer if an assessment is made on the development progress. The incremental planning and implementation processes give them a chance to concentrate on one project at a time, and show achievements one by one.

4. The developers understand that the time frame needed to implement all necessary projects in this new community is very long term. Therefore, they are very reluctant to give the residents a power to
organize some kind of residents group that can undermine the developers' power. The developers have a total control on what they want to do in the community in order to enhance the prescribed goals.

LESSONS FROM THE CASES

1. Developer

The developers described in the cases are following a parallel process in their efforts of convincing people on the importance and uniqueness of the goals being pursued. In that process they emerge as charismatic leaders that have the power to transform the present condition into something better and meaningful. Consequently, they have to establish organizations that have rational-legal authority in order to enable them to function more formally and effectively with outside agencies. Weber suggested that when a rational-legal authority is formed the charismatic leader will let other people assume more responsibility and reduce the leader's "personal relationship" with other parties involved in the movement.

This phenomena does not happen in the cases. The developers maintained the power they had as tight as possible, especially in the decision making process. McKissick participated in almost every organization created in Soul City, whether it was in an administrative or advisory capacities. Durkee and Kabbani are the most
important figures in the day to day operation of Dar Al-Islam. In fact there is no formal organization being formed by the residents in order to balance the power structure in the newly created society.

This demonstrates that the developers have a responsibility to manage and oversee a number of activities simultaneously. If they lack of the organizational, management, and even political skills, the whole project is prone to fail. The developers seem to have thought out the logical relationship of the symbolic goals and the new communities being built. They have the desire, faith, persistency, and imagination on what they plan to do. They also have special knowledge on the subject, able to organize the tasks and experts, and dare to make important and risky decisions promptly in the development process. They have strong supports from their wives and other members of the family. Mrs. McKissick and Mrs. Durkee work together with their husband in developing the new community. I believe their faith and contribution in the process have significant effects to the husbands.

2. New Communities, Symbolic Goals and Location Decision

The developers of Soul City and Dar Al-Islam expect their new communities to grow to the maximum potential in order to prove to the world that the symbolic goals are achievable. This is the reason why I classified the cases
as representative of the Planned Mixed Model. The developers must understand the prerequisites and characteristics of growing cities if they want the cities to grow and able to enhance the symbolic goals. The Planned-Germ Model demonstrates that new community built to be growing and acting as center of the region needs a strong economic base and activities linkages inter and intra community. Usually that kind of city is located in a region that has resources and potential for growth. A growing newly built community usually have an excellent accessibility and a wide range of economic, political, and social activities. It also needs a full support from the government.

Assuming that the developers knew the risks embedded in the new community development ventures, they made the first mistake by making critical decisions such as the site selection, resources allocation, and project emphasis based on their own emotional values without adequate knowledge on the economical and political factors.

The developers of Soul City and Dar Al-Islam ignored the fact that the cities they wanted to build should be located in regions with growth potential. Soul City and Dar Al-Islam are located in relatively poor areas. McKissick should have had asked the questions on the range of developments or changes that could enhance the political, economical, and social mobilities of the Black
in the region, rather than a new town could be developed in the region or not. If he had asked such questions he might have been able to do more good than to his new city project. For example, he could build an industrial park near the existing cities and used the existing facilities rather than building a new city from scratch. If he had analyzed the difficulties faced by the North Carolina Research Triangle Park in attracting industries and learned from the experience, he could have made a different decision. True, McKissick selected the Soul City site because it was located in a middle of two growing regions, had an excellent excess, had an abundance labor supply, and the Blacks were already concentrated in the area. Unfortunately, he made a mistake since Soul City is definitely located in an economically depressed location that has a lot of comparative disadvantages compared to other cities such as Raleigh, Richmond, and Charlotte. I also feel Dar Al-Islam development does not fulfill the prerequisites needed to make it as a center for Islamic civilization. Historically, great cities such as Mecca, Madinah, and Buhara were in existence before Islam. They were centers of trade, attracting variety of economic activities and diversity of people. A fact that Dar Al-Islam is located parallel with the great Islamic cities does not guarantee that it will turn out to be like those cities, because it doesn’t have an adequate
population and economic base. I detected a feeling of anti-urbanization among the developers and residents of Dar Al-Islam. Whether this is true in fact is difficult to say. But anti-urbanization is not conducive to making Dar Al-Islam the Islamic center of the United States.

Another element in this type of venture is to understand the ideologies or goals being publicized. The developer should assess from the beginning whether or not the goals are strong enough to attract supports from the public, government agencies, and private entrepreneurs. In both cases the developers do not have a clear understanding of their support base.

McKissick's crusade to enhance the political, economical, and upward mobilities of the Blacks. But most Black politicians, social workers, and professionals were rather indifferent. They neither supported nor opposed the concept of Soul City. The same phenomenon happened with the Dar Al-Islam idea. Most Muslims did not openly support or oppose the concept. The explanation is obvious. They did not want to be blamed, if the project failed. The developer should know from the beginning that the new community based on a set of religious ideas was difficult for people to understand, hence reduce the broad base supports.

The developers of Soul City and Dar Al-Islam and many others might contend my argument by stating that symbolic
goals and grandiose projects can stimulate people in thinking and acting beyond their present capabilities. People might use the combination of symbolic goals and grandiose projects to give them new self esteem. McKissick wanted the Blacks to look at Soul City as symbol of inspiration that Blacks too could achieve great success in America. Durkee and Kabbani wanted to let the Muslims all over the world know that Islam can be practiced in its totality even in the U.S.A. Even if the grandiose projects failed, the developers have been successful in planning and implementing something beyond the imagination in terms of symbolic goals. Isn’t that what charismatic leaders always do? I might answer, in some cases symbolic goals might enhance the implementation process of grandiose projects. But the charismatic leaders and their supporters have to be ready to pay the high cost associated with the projects. If there are other alternatives that can be implemented to achieve equivalent results with the grandiose project, select the cheaper alternative.

3. New Community and the Pioneer Resident

The pioneer residents depicted in both cases have little part in the decision making process. However, they have confidence in the developers' efforts to succeed in promoting the stated goals. The Soul City residents who
are mostly members of the middle class and who are willing to forgo living and working in the big cities in order to give the new town some sense of community. The same thing happen to the residents of Dar Al-Islam. They are trying to practice Islam to the utmost possible, while avoiding any conflict with the American laws. They are also happy to be a part of a holy crusade lead by Durkee and Kabbani. They know the future of the communities are dependent upon the availability of well paid jobs, good school systems, and other activities that a community needs. People will not move into the community if the above conditions are not met.

They are also willing to participate in the economic and social activities if they have the chance to do so. These help them to adapt to the new environment. However, they are very careful not to interfere with the developers' philosophies or actions. Residents of Dar Al-Islam feel that some of their present needs are neglected by the developers, but are reluctant even to mention it to each other.

RISKS IN DEVELOPING NEW COMMUNITY

Risk exists in the new community development because the developer is unable to make perfect forecast on what will happen in the future. In this analysis I define risk as the probability of not achieving what is expected,
whether it is in monetary or symbolic terms.

1. DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT RISK

The developer of a new community based on symbolic ideological goals will always run the risk of inappropriate development concept. The development concept, among other things includes the agencies and individuals participating in the development process, such as the development team, the population targeted, the infrastructure and services to be provided, the settlement system planned, the land use system adopted, and the institutional system created for the new community. Many problems arise in the form of technical mistakes, wrong choices, or decisions made. Since the developers' actions are governed by a set of formal and informal values and personal preferences, technical mistake can be traced to a chain reaction of a wrong set of choices. The developers must realize that developing a new community or city is a complex process with multiple assumptions, projections, and anticipations. A gut feelings on what needed to be done is not adequate, if the right facts from an indepth analysis are not available when decision is to be made.

McKissick did not have any set of alternative activities that could be implemented to promote his goals when he decided to build Soul City. His decision was based on his experience, and his gut feeling that Soul
City would be acceptable and supported especially by Blacks. He also did not make an indepth research on the willingness of Whites in general and the industries in particular to move into a Black controlled city. Consequently, he was over optimistic. Durkee and Kabbani assumed that an isolated new community in the rural setting was the best way to show the non-Muslims the true Islamic way of living. They should have considered other methods, or at least located the community in an area easily accessible (near a big city) to a large number of non-Muslims.

An appropriate development concept will influence the whole development process and the rate of growth of the community. Failure to recognize this important element will cost the developer his reputation and a lot of capital because he has to make many unnecessary mistakes that can be avoided in the first place.

2. DEVELOPMENT TIME FRAME

The time frame needed in developing a successful new community can be very long. New town expert Llyod Rodwin (1985) of the M.I.T Department of Planning and Urban Studies and new town developer Tom Steel of Perini Land Development Inc. and M.I.T Center of Real Estate Development (1986) suggested a minimum time frame of at least twenty years. This means the developer has to be
ready to face several good and bad times during that long period. A complete valuation of whether the developer is successful theoretically, can only be done after twenty years.

The developer has to make the decisions and actions based on an extended plan. He has to implement his development concept systematically and efficiently. Decision must be made on which parts of the whole program must be implemented first. He is facing a correlated project risks. If one component of the program performs negatively, other projects will be affected. For example, if the infrastructure building is behind the schedule, housing can’t be occupied. Industrial and economic base development will also stagnant. People will not be attracted to come. Without people, further development is not possible. Soul City was faced with this type of chain reaction. When the developer failed to attract jobs, they were no people coming to the City. Dar Al-Islam has to delay the school and boarding house development, which will definitely extend the time frame further before it can attract more people and greater economic activities. The developer can’t afford this type of mistake because it will increase the nominal and opportunity costs of the whole project.
3. DEVELOPMENT FINANCIAL RISK

Extended time frame with concurrent and multi-layer projects force the developer to deal with complex financial structuring and cost recovery system. Most planners and developers fail to incorporate this factor in their development programming. Consequently, they have a lot of difficulties to convince the institutional lenders or potential private investors to invest in any type of activities in a new community.

The lenders and investors are very much concerned with the degree of risks, and the expected rate of returns associated with each investment. They might view the risk as "the chance or probability that the investor will not receive the expected or required rate of return that is desired on the investment" (Pyhrr and Cooper, 1982: 318).

Both profit and non-profit new community developers should know how the industries calculate and manage the risks before investing. McKissick and his development team failed to anticipate the effects of politically, socially, and economically Black controlled city in the investment decisions of the Whites. Durkee and Kabbani faced the problem of non-interest associated investment decision. They have to convince the Muslim and non-Muslim investors that the investments will generate at least equivalent returns, compared to others. New community developer has to carry an enormous overhead capital to pay for all the
development prerequisites, such as planning and infrastructure buildings costs. He also has to seek the long term financing either on project by project basis or accumulated multi-project basis. The income will be generated through land and property selling or rent. If this income does not even cover the cost of financing, the developer is expected to lose money. The availability of money is depended upon the activities in the financial market and general economic situation. The extended development time frame will force the developer to go through several economic cycles which influence the rate of investment in a specific moment.

In Europe the government are actively financing the new town projects. Although they have to go through the same economic cycles, government will have a better chance to obtain financing than the private sector in a very tight capital market. The government also set some incentives for private investors to invest in these new towns. American new community developers have to go through the process by themselves and face difficult constraints in obtaining enough capital at favorable cost. The Federal Loan Guarantee scheme granted under the Title IV program is not helping the developers very much although it gives the developers some room of getting capital on accumulative multi-project basis. The developers themselves have to create incentives to attract
investors. Project that does not able to generate investors like Soul City is bound to fail. The developers of Dar Al-Islam who do not even have a financial guarantor have to move very patiently and slowly in getting capital. They have to finance on a project by project basis. Without a strong government back-up and involvement, (investment in income generation activities or special projects) a new community development is very difficult to succeed, especially when the symbolic goals being pursued by the developers are directed to help the minorities or the poor.

4. TARGET POPULATION RISK

The groups or subgroups of people the developer expects to be the residents of the new community constitute the target population. If the development is based on symbolic ideological goals, definitely the developer has a smaller range of target population. These residents will calculate the costs and benefits before coming into the new community. The challenge faced by the developer is to provide the environment, services, and functions (good housing, mix of people, schools, jobs, administrative capability, and opportunity of upward mobilities) that make the benefits of living in the new community better than in other places. Developer who doesn’t know his target population and where they are
presently located, will be in trouble in his campaign to attract more people. For example, McKissick did not know precisely the type of Blacks and Whites who would move to Soul City. Consequently, he failed to attract enough people to populate Soul City. Durkee and Kabbani also have some difficulties in selecting the people who are qualify and should be allured to live in Dar Al-Islam.

5. ECONOMIC BASE RISK

A new community which is targeted to grow and have some influence to the region has to have a strong economic base. If it doesn’t have a comparative advantages, it will have difficulties in attracting industries to the area. The location of the new community is very important. It should have potential resources that can be explored, good accessibility and transportation networks with other cities, surpluses skilled labor, and socially conducive for living. The risk for new community based on symbolic ideological goals is the inability of the industries and investors to accept those goals. If they don’t accept the goals although everything is perfect for plant location, they will not locate their plants in the new community. I suspect the investors and industries are very much reluctant to be associated with a risky concept of a community. They don’t want the Black to control their activities. White investors and industries might
also think they will be an easy target of violence in a racial disorder. In Dar Al-Islam case the investors and industries are reluctant to do business with a group that denounce interest rates in the transaction process.

6. POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

The developer of a new community based on a symbolic ideological goals is faced with a political constraints. The Soul City case portrays the process clearly. During the initial stages people were indifferent or not willing to voice their opinion publicly. Opposition was on the sly. The local governments affected by the project cooperated if they would gain some benefits. When the project had a clear chance of succeed or failure, people begun to organize politically to support or oppose the efforts.

The failure of the developer to manage the pressure from the political groups is not good for his image. The developer should pay attention to the mass media's comments and critics. Opinions will always be enormously influenced by the media's reports on the project. Every opposition signals an increase in the difficulty of convincing the public on the credibility of the project.
7. MASSIVE ORGANIZATION RISK

The new community developer also has to establish a massive organizational structure in the planning, implementation, and monitoring processes of the development. He also has to deal with a lot of agencies and firms who participate in the process. A decision on whether to include the residents in the decision making process influences the degree of freedom the developer has in controlling the whole development process. The cases show that the developers will maintain the power as much as possible, even though they seem to encourage the residents to get involved in many activities or decision making process.

The inability of the developer to manage the massive organizations that emerge in a short period and lead mostly by inexperienced but dedicated leaders, will cause him great problems. Good public relations officials must be available to handle inter and intra agencies conflict if it occurs.

The analysis in this chapter shows the complexity and difficulties that have to be faced by the developer of a new community in general and a new community based on symbolic ideological goals in particular. It also shows that the development of new communities based on symbolic ideological goals were not achieving their objectives in the agreed time frame. When there were constraints and
conflicts the developers and residents would rather delay the specific project objective than sacrifice the symbolic goals.

CONCLUSIONS

The practicality of building a new community directed to achieve symbolic goals pursued by the developers, whether it is creating "a new unique lifestyles" or bringing "a new hope for gaining political, economical, and social changes" for the residents has been questioned and explored intensively. The facts prevail that "a new community" is not the most practical and efficient means to be used in pursuing symbolic goals that require massive structural changes in behalf of the new residents or expected followers.

The greatest challenge is to convince the existing economical, political, and social institutions that the symbolic goals are worth pursuing and a new community is an excellent place to demonstrate or prove to the public of the accomplished goals.

The developers and pioneer residents would rather discontinue a specific project objectives than sacrifice the symbolic goals being pursued. Consequently, the final result is either a very slow growth community or a total abandonment.

The risks embedded in the new community development
process are very high. They includes development concept risk, time frame risk, financial risk, target population risk, economic base risk, political risk, and massive organizational risk.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Do not build any new community based on symbolic ideology if there is no strong financial, political, and social supports from the general public and the targeted population.

2. Without strong public and government supports a development of community based on ideological goals will face very heavy constraints.

3. If a development of a new community based on symbolic ideological goals is viewed as an urgent need by the developer, then the following tasks are recommended:
   a. Do an indepth analysis on a set of alternatives development choices that might produce the same results as the new community project.
   b. Do two economic feasibility studies. One based on a free market assumptions and another on a free market that takes into the account special elements that might intensify or prevent growth because of the goals. This will give the developer the true capability of the region and people in accepting
the new community.

c. Make decisions based on an in-depth analysis that takes into the account economical, political, and social factors.

d. Realize that there must be enough capital to be diverted into the projects for a long time, such as 25 years before a true profit can be gained.

e. Comprehend the facts that his decisions and actions carry a correlated risk. The success of the project is dependent upon his ability to implement the right concept with a solid economic, political, and social foundations.

I feel the cases, especially the Dar Al-Islam case could have been better if I have had the opportunity to examine financial data from the developers. Financial data are crucial in this type of analysis. New community developers should make financial data easily accessible to researchers in order to enhance the learning process gained by other people from examining and debating the issues arise in the ventures. Nevertheless, this research uncovers many overlooked elements which are embedded in the process of developing a new community based on symbolic ideological goals. I hope these findings will help the planners, developers, investors, politicians, and others involved in the development of new communities to make more informed decisions.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. NEW TOWN OR NEW COMMUNITY CONCEPT: A SYNTHESIS
CITY AND ITS FORMATION

There is no simple set of rules or guidelines that can be utilized in analyzing a city and its formation. Each discipline of knowledge has its own views and methods of approaching this subject. In this endeavors I will not take one specific approach, but rather making a descriptive cross references from an established concepts in many disciplines.

Philosophers look at a city not only its physical form but also human values of its inhabitance. A city is one form of human settlement that represents the spatial, where people live in a variety of life styles. Then what is the difference between the city, and other form human settlements? If we accept the notion that the original human settlement is an individual family, then we are referring to a significant differences in lifestyle. Earlier family settlement operated as a close system among its members in a location. Here each member of the family interacts in a comprehensive way with each other. Combination of more families created a village. Since the number of people is quite small the people still interacted as in one large family. A daily routine of one individual would bring him into contact with others in the village. The village is his world, visible and familiar to him, and he could live with sure sense of his place in it (Haworth, 1963: 15). The city on the other hand is full of specialized roles that make people interact with others only the affairs that concern with their lives.

Sociologists characterize the wholeness and intimate relationships in such human settlement as "Gemeinschaft" and the fragmented, large scale, and specific relationships in nature as "Gesellschaft." However, this pioneer work by Tonnies and Durkheim does not adequately explains the formation and growth of city (Krap, Stone, and Yoels, 1977: 28). Further works by Park, Simmel, Spykman, and Wirth strengthen the concept of modern city in urban sociology. All of them at lest agree that "city" should have large population and large space. It functions far beyond the boundary line to its periphery. The economic organization of the city is depicted as highly specialized and complex division of labor. Money is an important part in exchanging goods among the urban population. Socially urban population are having less
social contact with each other (Karp, Stone, and Yoels, 1977: 52-57).

Geographers emphasize the location of the city in their analysis. They want to know where the city is located and why it grows in that space. Merchantile city is historically located at trade-route intersections, harbors, mouth of rivers or other places that have good transportation connections for efficient trade activities. Cities like New York, Tokyo, and Singapore share this common characteristic. The city also housed a large number of population and has its own form of government, social services, and physical appearance to support those population (Hosken, 1973: 1).

Architects and planners are concerned with the physical form of the city: the location of the trade activity, residential, school, cultural, and industry (Howard, 1965). They also emphasize the transportation modes and distant from one type of activity to another. Their most powerful tool, at least in the United States is the "zoning law." They also talk about comprehensive plan (in Europe it is called the structural plan), public interest, environmental impact, building standard, and others that have some relationships with the land, its use, and people. However, in recent years some of the planners shift their interests into subject areas like economic development, labor dispute, and other social issues that focus on "people" rather than "land."

Economists do not have any significant concept or method in analyzing the city per se until the mid-1950's (Hall, 1984: 39). The reason for this can be traced back to the work of Adam Smith entitled the Wealth of the Nations. In this most influential book of modern economics, almost nothing is mentioned about the "city." Economists are no concerned with the "invisible hand" in the city as long as it satisfies the supply and demand principles. The phenomenon of ignoring the functional or operational significant of the city also occur in the work of Karl Marx.

The above pattern changes in the mid-1950's when more economists were convinced that the city itself had some influence on the economic system, mainly the issue of "productive city." Today there is a study called the "urban economics" devoted mainly in analyzing the city problems and opportunities from the point of view of spatial location, people concentration, and political structure. I believe the involvement of economists in the city's issues will become more important in the future as more and more people are challenging the true function of
city in influencing the total economic system. The problems being faced by the rural Americans such as land foreclosure, disappearance of small cities, and migration to big cities will force the economist to offer some kind of solutions. The only way to do it is by devising a concrete concept on how they view the city.

There are also a body of literature classified as an anti-urbanization in the American history. Most of these depicted the conflicts that occur between the city's rural's way of life. These can be found in the writings of Morton and Lucia White, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Hemingway, and others. In examining the literature concerning the nature or pattern of anti-urbanization, Leo Marx concluded that "the bias of American intellectuals against "the city" is more apparent than real, and not a cause of puzzlement so much as a misconception" (Mark, 1984: 163-80).

After giving a synopsis on how people in general or professionals in particular look upon a city, I will present the history and transformation of the "new town." In the United States most of the time it is referred to as the "new community." A special attention must be given to the reasons why the subject of new town development has attracted many people with diverse goals although the results for such undertakings are seldom satisfactory.

NEW TOWN CONCEPT

What are the new towns? Who built them? Why they are built? How are they being built? Are they function as intended? These are some of the questions that often asked when the issue of new town arises in a discussion. The answers to these questions are varied. Consequently, each answer tends to refer to a specific new town project. How can it be? Let us trace the history behind the concept and the reality that makes the concept evolves.

Men has been and will always be inventors of "new things." Usually, they hope the inventions will give the people a better life. Lewis Mumford, a respected western sociologist, urbanist, and writer made a comment, "At the beginning of the twentieth century two great inventions took form before our eyes: the aeroplane and the Garden City, both harbingers of a new age" (1969 and 1970). He was right, at least to some degree. These inventions do influence some people's way of living directly or indirectly. What is common in these two things? It is a fact that both concepts have evolved as people want to use
these products for their specific needs. For example, aeroplane was invented because to prove that human beings also could fly in the sky as birds. Then the basic concept was modified and enhanced. Another common criterion is the cost of producing both products. More expensive aeroplanes are being built today for the sake of power and prestige.

The same process occurs in the subject of new town. In the fall of 1985, ten of my colleagues and I attempted to define the present concept of new town. We classified the new town based on the goals, working assumptions, and preconditions for such developments. The four categories are:

b. Planned-Germ Model.
c. Planned-Mix Model (explained in chapter one).
d. Unplanned-Germ Model.

First, the Original New Town Model was still in line with the objectives of the Garden City, City Beautiful, and New Town movements. Ebenezer Howard (1945) believed his Garden City idea would be the ultimate solution to the overcrowded, evil, and unmanageable industrial cities of his life time. He was convinced that the benefits of living in the big city, such as "social opportunities, high money wages, chance of employment, well-lit streets" and others were outweighed by the disadvantages, such as "closing out of nature, isolation of crowds, high rents and high prices, fogs and droughts, costly drainage and slums." However, he also realized that living in the countryside didn’t have the benefits received by the people in the city although country living had "the beauty of nature, fresh air, low rents, bright sunshine, and clean water." Garden City idea was presented within to mix the good quality of life in the countryside and with those of the city.

Garden City’s basic concept are as follows:

1. It should be built in a large area of about 6,000 acres. This land can be purchased cheaply in undeveloped countryside. Construction should be done simultaneously since everything has been planned in advanced. Consequently, the overall cost of building the town is cheaper than if it were built in the existing city. Housing and services are provided to the working class people. Single ownership of land during initial stages of development doesn’t necessarily mean that the planning responsibility is up to the developers. In fact the planning process must be done by
experts from diverse backgrounds so that the product can be acceptable to all.

2. This self-sustained city then grows organically in a balanced way until it reaches a maximum population of 32,000 in a 1,000 acres developed land. No growth after that.

3. The remaining 5,000 acres should be kept as "greenbelt" area. Activities permitted are like agricultural, forestry, and park. This area serves as a buffer and growth control of the new city.

4. All urban amenities are provided in this new city. The availability of residential, commercial, industrial, and cultural activities determines that the city is self-contained and self-sufficient.

5. There is a circle of other Garden Cities around the region so that a "Central City could emerge in the center of these Garden Cities. High speed rail is the main transportation between these cities.

Quite a similar concept is adopted by the new town movement in the United States where new town are defined as follows:

1. City that provides all advantages but without problems as the existing one (Augur, 1937: 38-42 and 1948: 32).

2. City that provides sufficient economic base so that people can live and work in the same place, varied housing price, full range of community facilities, advance land use planning, and sufficient size (Welsh, 1968: 2).

3. New town must be big enough to accommodate all city activities such as industry, business, education, government services, and others. All of these things need to be organized, designed, and controlled (Mumford, 1963: 3).

Other definitions employed by many writers revolved around the above issues. Based on that historic perspective my group were convinced that the main objective of the Original New Town Model is to create a town free of problems. The common features of the new town include:

1. Planned from the beginning by the promoters.

2. Self-sufficient and self-contained in terms of its
activities.

3. Very normative or utopian in its approach.

4. Limited spatial and population growth.

5. Efficient and standardized approaches.


7. Intended to be almost independent from its peripheries.

Cities built based on the above concepts were Letchworth near London, Reston in Virginia, and many others. Almost all of them were built near big cities and function like suburban communities. Their success, usually after more than twenty five years of operation are heavily correlated with strategic location and heavy investment by both the private and public sectors. The success stories reveal one very important general fact. These cities need a large flow of people in and out of the "new city." The do not stand by themselves as expected by the developers.

Second, Planned-Germ Model is the one built to be the catalyst of further development in the undeveloped region. The concept of "catalyst" can be traced back to the locational and regional development theories, such as Growth Poles, Growth Centers, Central Place, and others promoted mostly by geographers. The main objective in building this type of new town is to open an undeveloped region that has a potential for future growth. This growth might be assessed based on the availability of abundance natural resources, such as oil, tin, gold and others. Examples of this type of new town are the Bintulu New Town in Malaysia, Ciudad Guyana in Venezuela, and many new towns in the Soviet Union.

The important features embedded in the Planned-Germ model are as follows:

1. Planned and supported by the government in terms of its location, financial availability, development standards, infrastructure, and other services.

2. Viewed as a door to the region where it is located. This means the new town will attract investment to the region. A lot of tax or service incentives are provided by the government.

3. Dependent upon peripheries or other regions for economic base, administrative linkage, and
population being attracted.

4. Growth will influence or being influenced by the potential activities to be generated in that region. The growth is evolutionary in nature.

5. Concerned with both an efficiency and equality measures from a regional and national point of view.

6. Population growth is a necessity, not a problem.

In summary the measures of success in building this type of new town are its ability to generate growth in the town and the region. Heavy investment in the early years of development is expected to be recovered when the town starts growing and able to attract more public and private activities. If the potential of economic growth or other basis for growth is not promising, the investment will not be made at all.

Third, Unplanned-Germ Model is the one existed gradually to achieve a socio-economic equality. This is a spontaneous local/community responses to unjust socio-economic situation such as lack of land and housing. Examples of this type are cluster of towns existed around Brasilia in Brazil and Hai Ettadhamen near Tunis, Tunisia.

The main characteristics of this type of new town are:

1. The existence is unplanned town either by a government or single private enterprises. A group of people proceed with the planning and implementation processes, although they might be viewed as performing illegal activities by the government.

2. The town represents a struggle for space, survival, and economic opportunity.

3. The economic base is closely related to the nearby major city.

4. Massive population growth speeds the town's incremental development process.

5. At one stage the government will intervene the development process as the new town keeps demanding for government assistance in providing infrastructures and other services. At this time the government will set some development policies
and plans to guide an orderly growth. The people still have a strong position in the decision making process.

The measure of success is the ability of the people to gain an equal excess for land and economic opportunities. Cooperative decision sets the direction of an incremental growth.

The new town models presented above show that they are developed as a means, not an end in itself. Their functional growth needs different set of prerequisites and planning approaches. A failure in recognizing these phenomena from the beginning of the development process will cost the developers money and a sense of defeat, whether it by government agency or the private sector.
APPENDIX 2. SUMMARY OF THE THREE AND THIRTY YEAR PLANS OF SOUL CITY

THE THREE-YEAR PLAN

During the first three years, 265 acres of Soul City will undergo intensive development. The three year plan consists of two distinct districts: 1) an employment park area, and 2) a residential neighborhood. The two districts are given continuity by a 60-acre lake which will serve as buffer between the industrial park and the residential and commercial areas of the city.

The southern boundary of the industrial area has a community park area adjacent to the lake. This park is intended for the use and enjoyment of the employees, residents, and the public.

South of the lake, the first residential area will consist of approximately 350 housing units. Two-thirds of them will be multi-family units—townhouse and garden apartments. All single-family developments are located in clusters of from 18 to 40 houses. Housing units are connected by pedestrian walkways terminating at the Activity Center.

The Activity Center is designed as a pedestrian mall and will offer a health service clinic, convenience commercial shopping facilities, (grocery stores, drug stores, barber shops, etc.), recreation facilities, a child care center, and entertainment facilities. A fire station will also be located in this area. A tourist and office complex with lodging, entertainment, and shopping facilities will anchor the northernmost end of the mall.

The Activity Center is within a few minutes walking distance of all housing units. Although designed for the pedestrian, access to the Activity Center for automotive traffic is provided from Soul City Boulevard, the main entrance in the early development years. This area will become the "life blood" of the new town during its infant years. Water, sewer, safety and emergency services will be developed in conjunction with residential and industrial development.

THE THIRTY-YEAR PLAN

The master plan for Soul City developed by Warren
Regional Planning Corporation and Gantt/Huberman Associates, Architects and Planners, utilizes existing North Carolina secondary roads that bisect the site, in particular secondary road 1100, which connects Axtell with Manson.

The dominant land use area will give the town a distant urban-type character in a rural setting: 1) the industrial area, 2) the Soul City Plaza, and 3) the Educational Park. The Employment Park has been concentrated at the northern border of the site because of its accessibility to major transportation corridors and because of the flatness of the land. Conceived as a series of industrial parks this area will be the major employment center in Soul City.

Directly south of the Employment Park is the Soul City Plaza, the Town Center, which is designed as a major regional shopping, office, government, entertainment complex; the melting pot and meeting place for Soul City residents and non-residents.

The third major special land use area anchors the southern end of the main street. This is the Educational Park, which will provide all educational services from junior high level to the university level. Elementary schools will be located in each residential village.

Other elements of the thirty year plan are: the Activity Centers, residential development plans, community parks and recreation facilities, and the Afro-American Cultural and Trade Center.

Of the 104 acres allocated for the development of activity centers, 51 acres are categorized as convenience commercial. The remaining acres will house community recreation activities, neighborhood parks, community buildings for village meetings and social events, day care center, churches, etc.

The eight distinct residential villages will reflect good tenant-mix in terms of income, race, and life styles. The plan is to integrate low-income residents inconspicuously in each village by providing housing similar in design and quality for all.

Approximately 13,200 housing units will be built. The units will range from single-family detached to townhouses and garden apartments to mid-rise elevator apartments grouped near the Activity Centers and elementary schools.
Nearly 1,500 acres of land within Soul City are designated for recreational and open space use. Five community parks will be scattered throughout the new town in addition to the major municipal park of 150 acres. The remaining areas, over 900 acres, which are characterized by heavy tree cover and stream valleys, including 120 acres of man-made lakes, will be retained as permanent open space and wilderness areas.

A network of public transportation connecting the prime activity area of Soul City will be available to residents. Most of the population will be within 5 minutes walking distance of a transit stop.

For the most part pedestrian traffic will be separated from vehicular traffic. A pedestrian and bikeway system will connect major activity points in the town. The traffic pattern will also eliminate truck traffic inside the residential areas.

Roads, sewers, waste disposal facilities and services, power and a modern communication system will provide the necessary physical base for the community. All the utilities will be underground.

A regional water system will provide Soul City, Henderson and Oxford with water from Kerr Lake. The major treatment plant will be located at the lake. At its peak demand period in year 30, Soul City will have at its disposal in excess 8.8 million gallons per day.

This is a direct quotation from the Soul City Company brochure entitled, Soul City North Carolina, Undated: 12-14. Five maps are included in the report.
MAP 13. SOUL CITY: 30 YEAR PLAN (ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FORM)
APPENDIX 3. A PROPOSAL FOR FUNDING, SOUL CITY

Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, Inc.
360 West 125th St.
Suite 6
New York, New York 10027

PROPOSAL FOR FUNDING

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW TOWN

INTRODUCTION

There is an urgent requirement to make multiple and coordinated attacks on the problems facing the poor --both Black and White, rural and urban. There is also the incontrovertible realization that the rural poor will continue to pour into our vast metropolitan areas. The cities are unprepared to receive them. Lack of planning foresight and concern relegate these new migrants to the crime and disease ridden slums and the menial, meaningless jobs, if they are able to find work at all.

The decay of America's cities is self perpetuating. Poverty, racism and inadequate, demeaning welfare systems guarantee the continuation of chaotic conditions in America's urban centers.

America's cities have been built haphazardly; they have been randomly expanded to meet the ever-increasing demands of burgeoning populations. No real attempt has been made to coordinate their growth. No well planned, large scale effort has been made to provide services commensurate with the needs of the people.

Black people suffer more from these conditions than do others. Many approaches are required to alleviate the ever increasing slum squalor. There must be massive programs to rehabilitate our cities; there must be an equally intensive movement to improve rural life; and simultaneously there must be increased efforts to build new cities.

One of the main problems existing in cities across the United States is that of ever-crowding, resulting in hazardous, unsanitary conditions as well as increased crime and inadequate public services, is most acute in the
ghetto areas inhabited by Black Americans. This true primarily because Blacks have historically been excluded from the American economy, resulting in political powerlessness. Consequently, when city governments are faced with fiscal difficulties, the first place which services are curtailed is the ghetto. In many instances, the only way Black people have been able to call attention to their plight is by destruction and violence. Therefore, there have been an abundance of urban rebellions in recent years. Of course, the comparatively meager resources allotted for the ghetto as a result of these rebellions have been accompanied by more strenuous police action as well as increase hostility and resentment from surrounding white communities. The end result has been perpetuation of racial tensions and fears, themselves one of the root causes of urban blight.

America’s cities are currently so over-burdened that new cities are needed. Such a concept is no unprecedented. European countries have been experimenting with new cities for a relatively long period of time. In the United States, there are scores of serious attempts to build new communities.

Building new cities, with their own industries, civic services and residential areas may prove to be the most important innovation which can help to relieve the problem of the present or future urban dweller. Black people, however, will benefit little, if at all, by current efforts. Few of the new towns will achieve economic integration. Even fewer will achieve racial integration. The few Blacks who may live in these communities will be lost in a sea of white suburbanites and will find themselves even further from the ability to determine their own affairs.

To date, there have been no major attempts to build new Black-oriented cities; new cities which can accommodate large populations; new cities which can provide opportunity for Black youth, which can provide new homes for Black families, new locations for industry. Further expansion of cities already over-burdened is no answer. Transfer of political and economic power to ghetto Blacks within existing cities would offer a partial solution but Black have been struggling for years to affect such transfer, to no avail.

New towns built by Black people would provide an opportunity for the establishment of Black economic and political power without challenge to those already in control of existing cities. They would present a chance to use the experience of Urban America to avoid repetition
of the problems now facing our cities. They would provide
an opportunity to develop educational systems truly
responsive to Black children.

New urban centers, carefully designed and coordinated
by a competent central organization, would necessarily
avoid duplication of effort and waste of valuable energies
and resources. The building of these new cities would
provide needed work for many Black unemployed and
underemployed. It would provide opportunities for
creative young Black architects and planners. Perhaps
even more important it would contribute to a necessary
sense of optimism among American Blacks. The tangible
evidence of a new city, planned, built and operated by
Black people could bring hope to the most depressed areas
of the nation.

Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, Inc. can provide much
of the initiative for such undertaking. Investigations
for available land have already been made. One suitable
location is in Warren County, North Carolina.

ACTION PROGRAM FOR CONSTRUCTION OF A
BLACK CITY UNDER THE NEW COMMUNITIES ACT OF 1968

Since McKissick Enterprises believes that the
development of new towns can be a most fruitful answer to
some of the problems faced by Black people; and since it
also hold that the present development of new towns will
accomplish little or nothing of Black people, we propose
to develop a new town which will be planned, designed and
created by Blacks. Persons of any color or persuasion
will be welcomed as technicians for this city, and as
residents. However, this town will be built with primary
concern for the interest and welfare of Blacks and other
disadvantaged minorities.

McKissick Enterprises has already pledges for support
from a number of highly competent sources. Primary among
these is the Rouse Company. The Rouse Company is
responsible for building Columbia Maryland, the most
notable successful new city in the United States
metropolitan areas.

The New Communities Act envisioned a controlled
experiment aimed at employing the resources of the Federal
Government and the expertise of private industry to create
entirely new communities on surplus federal land
physically removed from existing major metropolitan areas.
THE TOTAL ENVIRONMENT

Initial plan for the development of the "New Community" call for staged population growth levels of approximately five, ten and 18,000 persons.

The proposed new town would incorporate all aspects of urban life in such a fashion as to provide maximum opportunities for individual growth and civic life. The town would include commercial and industrial development as well as residents. It would, of course, incorporate all other institutions which are integral to modern life, i.e., schools, churches, recreation, sanitation, and adult education and training.

The tentative location under consideration for this new town is in Warren County, North Carolina. An option has been secured on over 1,800 acres of land. The purchase price is $5,000,000. This location has the following advantages:

1. It is located in the Black belt of N. C.
2. It is located in the South. Most new city developments are located in the West. A Southern site could be made extremely attractive to Black persons who would otherwise migrate to the major metropolitan areas.
3. North Carolina has a political climate which is conducive to official cooperation.
4. It is within commuting distance of several larger communities.

BLACK ORIENTATION OF THE NEW COMMUNITY

Through the new community will not be limited to members of one race (and in fact will provide an opportunity for Blacks to admit incoming whites on the basis of their performance alone), its primary purpose for being will be to demonstrate the capacity for innovation, administration and productive work of Black Americans.

As a "Black community" the new city will not further segregation, but rather provide a source of inspiration to Blacks throughout the country and a living prove to members of all other races that the Black man can hold his own modern economy, and can, in fact, exercise a role of leadership for the entire nation. Hopefully, the technology and industry which will be attracted to the new
community will be of the most sophisticated sort. Eventually, the New City should become an exporter of Black Talent.

TRAINING

In order to achieve the type of city which is envisaged, large scale training programs will be required. Training will be essential:

1. for the technicians, planners, skilled tradesmen, and other employment in planning, developing and constructing the new town.

2. for the employees of the industry to be brought in. It is estimated that at least 50% of the residents of the new town who will constitute the potential working force of the primary employers will come from rural occupations and will require training.

3. for the town population in general. Since this new town will be a new experience and a major life opportunity for its residents, there will be unique opportunities for adult community education. Such education can encompass a broad variety of educational activities aimed at preparing a large disadvantaged population for democratically achieving a model community.

4. for school children. It can be assumed that a substantial number of the school age children will have substandard educational backgrounds. The school system will be established to utilize the most advanced and effective methods available.

RURAL AREA DEVELOPMENT

Almost all proposed new towns, with a few notable exception are being planned for the suburbs or immediate vicinity of present large metropolitan centers.

Such placement serves the community with cultural and social facilities and services available in the nearly major city. But it deprived the community of the possibility of establishing a "new environment" of its own, designed to produce a leap minority groups in the shortest possible time.
Essential to the concept of the envisioned community is total control of the inhabitants over their own economic and social activities. In no other way will they be able to demonstrate conclusively to themselves and the nation that they can design, construct, and operate such a city with their own minds and hands.

This is a direct quotation from Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, Inc. undated document.
APPENDIX 4. LETTER OF OPPOSITION: SOUL CITY

May 24, 1972
Route 2 Box 70
Norlina, N.C. 27563

Gov. Robert K. Scott
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Sir:

I am writing you as governor of our state, for information about a matter that I am vitally concerned. This is the development and building of the proposed black town of Soul City, in Warren County. I have been very concerned about this since the plans for it were announced some years ago. You see I have a very personal stake in this matter as I now understand Soul City has purchased a tract of land joining the farm on which I live, and has an option on another farm joining the other farm that I own. Since they purchased the original 1800 acre[s] tract, we have had to go through the Soul City site getting from one of our farms to the other. In fact, if you go down the road about half a mile from my home you can look across and see the trailer which serves as the office for the place.

My husband and I bought this farm and have been living here for the past 25 years. Our family has grown up and also established home here. You see we sunk our roots here and prepared for our future and that of our family. I might add without any government grants and help such as Soul City is getting. We bought a run down farm that no one would hardly want and by hard work, sweat, perseverance, thrift and good management we now have a place of which we are very proud. My husband went into the woods and cut and sawed most of the timber himself which went into the buildings on our place; as well as put up these buildings. He put in many hard years of labor here and in 1970 he died suddenly as a heart attack, and now it is up to me to keep things going. You see we love this place! I appeal to your sense as a man and not as a politician for I am sure you have the same feelings about your farm at Haw River and your family before you that have passed on. I also feel that you would be very disturbed if Soul City were located just down the road from your home. You see most of the other people who own land joining Soul City site, have also owned it for years and years. Is no consideration to be shown for them and their feelings?
I was reading in the paper that the non-profit Warren Regional Planning Corporation announced it had received $128,000 from the N. C. Dept of Administration, State Planning Division. I also read that Floyd McKissick is the developer of Soul City and also president of the Warren Regional Planning Corp. He reported that this money would allow them to carry out the detailed planning for Soul City and study the impact of it upon Warren and Vance count[ies]. The impact shouldn’t have to be studied — it is quite evident that the surrounding area will be swallowed up by it! It is sort of like sending the fox in to guard the chicken coup. With the kind of money they have gotten and expect to keep on getting what can one expect? I would like to know by what authority the taxpayers money can be taken and used for such a purpose? From listening to a tape on Soul City on WHNC AM, May 14, I understand it is not incorporated as yet and the developer Floyd McKissick will maintain control over it. Why all the favoritism to the negro when the whites are being forced against their will to go all the way with the integration laws of the land?

Another reason I am concerned is that long before I heard of Soul City, I had seen an exact copy of a map from the secret files of the communist party, showing a 120,000 square mile area; which represented what the communist hope some day would be the Negro Communist Republic in the South. I also read of how they planned to use the negro to bring this about. After hearing the huge grants, (state and federal) it is getting and hopes to continue to get, and its future plans for development, I can’t help but wonder if this is now in the beginning stages. It is easy to see how white families who don’t want to become a part of this thing, could gradually be pushed from surrounding areas. I have been assured on good authority that this map is authentic and is on file in Washington, D. C.

I am concerned about the members and type of people who may be moved into this area; and can you imagine the impact on politics for the region! I was reading in the June 12, 1971 issue of Human Events of the "Change in the Democratic party in the deep south from almost all-white five years ago to integrated today to largely black tomorrow." If you look at a 1070 census map at the location and percentages of black population you can see this reading.

I am wonder if you could tell me more about the Kerr-Tar Region K area and its C[O]uncil of Government, which I understand is one of seventeen set up by you in the state in 1970. Why was it set up and what is its working
relationship to the State and Federal levels of government, and its purpose and connection with HEW if any?

With conditions what are in our county today, I think it is time all its people become concerned of it is not too late already.

There are many people concerned over Soul City and the grants it is getting. I would appreciate an answer to my letter of inquire soon. Thank you so very much.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Robert A. Short

This is a direct quotation from the copy of an original letter.
APPENDIX 5. DAR AL-ISLAM SURVEY FORM

DAR AL-ISLAM COMMUNITY SURVEY
OCTOBER 1986

MOHD SHAMSUDDIN BIN DAMIN

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN STUDIES AND PLANNING
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

ALL INFORMATION PROVIDED WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL. NO INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY WILL BE REVEALED IN THE ANALYSIS AND REPORT.

PLEASE USE (+) SIGN TO MARK THE BOX THAT CLOSELY REPRESENTS YOUR ANSWER.

PLEASE WRITE YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED FOR OPEN-ENDED QUESTION.

YOU CAN BASE YOUR ANSWER ON THESE AND OTHER ELEMENTS THAT YOU FEEL CORRESPOND TO THE QUESTION:
   a. Population
   b. Economic
   c. Housing and real estate
   d. Land use
   e. Social and physical services
   f. Religion or belief
   g. Administrative or politics

DATE OF THE SURVEY: ____________
QUESTIONS:

1. WHEN DID YOU MOVE TO DAR AL-ISLAM? ____________

2. WHERE DID YOU COME FROM? CITY: ____________
   STATE: ____________

3. COMPARE THE SITUATIONS IN YOUR FORMER COMMUNITY TO DAR AL-ISLAM IN ORDER TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.
   
   A. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT LIVING IN DAR AL-ISLAM?
      LIKE [ ] DISLIKE [ ] NO COMMENT [ ]

   B. COULD YOU GIVE ME THE REASONS?
      (LIST FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON TO THE LEAST).
      IF YOU NEED FURTHER CLARIFICATION, SEE PAGE ONE.
      i. ______________________________________________________
      ii. _____________________________________________________
      iii. ____________________________________________________
      iv. _____________________________________________________
      v. _____________________________________________________

   C. IF YOUR ANSWER IS DISLIKE OR NO COMMENT, WHAT ARE THE REASONS THAT KEEP YOU ON STAYING HERE?
      (LIST FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT THING TO THE LEAST).
      i. ______________________________________________________
      ii. _____________________________________________________
      iii. ____________________________________________________
      iv. _____________________________________________________
      v. _____________________________________________________

4. ARE YOU BORN AS A MUSLIM OR BEING CONVERTED TO ISLAM?
   BORN [ ] CONVERTED [ ]

   A. WHEN WERE YOU CONVERTED? ____________

5. WOULD YOU LIKE NON-MUSLIMS TO LIVE IN THIS COMMUNITY?
   YES [ ] NO [ ] NO PREFERENCE [ ]

   A. WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR YOUR ANSWER?
      (LIST FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON TO THE LEAST)
      i. ______________________________________________________
6. HOW LONG DO YOU HAVE TO COMMUTE TO WORK?

_________ HOURS

A. ARE YOU COMMUTING LONGER OR SHORTER THAN YOU DID IN YOUR FORMER COMMUNITY?
   LONGER [ ] SHORTER [ ]

B. ARE YOU ECONOMICALLY BETTER-OFF LIVING IN DAR AL-ISLAM THAN IN THE FORMER COMMUNITY?
   YES [ ] NO [ ]

7. WOULD YOU LIKE THIS COMMUNITY TO GROW? (MORE JOBS, MORE PEOPLE, MORE HOUSING, MORE SERVICES, ETC)
   YES [ ] NO [ ] NO PREFERENCE [ ]

   A. COULD YOU EXPLAIN WHY?
      (LIST FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON TO THE LEAST)

   i. __________________________________________________________
   ii. __________________________________________________________
   iii. __________________________________________________________
   iv. __________________________________________________________
   v. __________________________________________________________

8. DO YOU THINK DAR AL-ISLAM CAN FUNCTION AS A PROMINENT ISLAMIC CENTER IN THE FUTURE?
   YES [ ] NO [ ]

   A. COULD YOU ELABORATE YOUR ANSWER?

   i. __________________________________________________________
   ii. __________________________________________________________
   iii. __________________________________________________________
   iv. __________________________________________________________
   v. __________________________________________________________

9. DO YOU THINK THAT THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF THIS COMMUNITY ARE USING THE RIGHT APPROACH?
   YES [ ] NO [ ] NO COMMENT [ ]
A. COULD YOU EXPLAIN WHY?
   (LIST FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON TO THE LEAST)

   i.  __________________________________________________________
   ii. _________________________________________________________
   iii. _________________________________________________________
   iv.  _________________________________________________________
   v.   _________________________________________________________

10. IF YOU HAVE THE CHANCE TO DO SOMETHING FOR THE
    BETTERMENT OF DAR AL-ISLAM, WHAT WILL YOU DO?
    (LIST FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT THING YOU WANT TO DO TO THE LEAST)

   i.  _________________________________________________________
   ii. _________________________________________________________
   iii. _______________________________________________________  
   iv.  _______________________________________________________
   v.   _______________________________________________________