

In presenting the dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from the Georgia Institute of Technology, I agree that the Library of the Institute shall make it available for inspection and circulation in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I agree that permission to copy from, or to publish from, this dissertation may be granted by the professor under whose direction it was written, or, in his absence, by the Dean of the Graduate Division when such copying or publication is solely for scholarly purposes and does not involve potential financial gain. It is understood that any copying from, or publication of, this dissertation which involves potential financial gain will not be allowed without written permission.

0 11 0 10
V

7/25/68

PLANNING FOR NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTERS

A THESIS

Presented to

The Faculty of the Graduate Division

by

James William Curtis, II

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

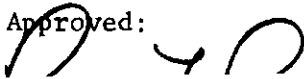
Master of City Planning

Georgia Institute of Technology

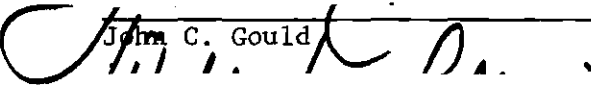
July, 1972

PLANNING FOR NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTERS

Approved:



Roger F. Rupnow, Chairman



John C. Gould

William W. Allison

Date approved by Chairman: July 31, 1972

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Roger F. Rupnow, my thesis advisor, for his guidance in the preparation of this thesis. For their advice and assistance in this effort, I also express my thanks to Professors Malcolm G. Little, Jr. and John C. Gould. I wish to acknowledge my debt to Mr. William W. Allison, Executive Administrator of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., and his staff for their contributions of time, information, and experience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.	v
SUMMARY.	vi
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
Objectives	
Assumptions	
Approach	
Organization	
II. THE NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTER	5
Background of the Concept	
The Center as Part of the Community Action Program	
III. PARTICIPANTS IN THE PLANNING PROGRAM.	9
The Board of a Community Action Agency	
The Agency's Staff	
The Community's Planning Agency	
The Neighborhood Residents	
Other Community Agencies	
IV. DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES PROGRAM	17
Formulation of Goals	
Defining the Neighborhood Service Areas	
Survey of the Neighborhood Service Areas'	
Characteristics	
Analysis of Existing Poverty-related Programs	
Program Preparation	

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Chapter	Page
V. IMPLEMENTING THE NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES PROGRAM	52
Selecting An Initial Location	
Resident Participation in Program Revision	
Refining the Program	
VI. PLANNING THE PHYSICAL FACILITY.	69
Resident Participation in Facility Planning	
Determining the Type of Facility	
Selecting the Location of the Facility	
Designing the Facility	
VII. CONCLUSIONS	95
APPENDICES	
I. NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES PROGRAM	101
Outreach	
Counseling	
Service Activities	
Social Action	
II. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE.	112
Community-wide Organization	
Neighborhood Center Organization	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	126

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Planning Sequence for the Development of a Neighborhood Services Program.	96
2. Generalized Organization Chart of a Community Action Agency.	114

SUMMARY

The purpose of this thesis is to determine a logical planning procedure for developing a program of neighborhood services, establishing a neighborhood service center, and locating its physical facility.

Based on a review of available literature and interviews of personnel in operating neighborhood centers, a two-phase planning process was defined. The preliminary phase of planning for the establishment of neighborhood centers is the development of a basic program of neighborhood services. This planning phase involves (1) formulation of program goals, (2) division of the community into neighborhoods to be served by the individual centers, (3) survey of the characteristics of these individual neighborhood service areas, (4) analysis of existing programs serving the poor, and (5) preparation of a program of action to be administered through the centers. The second phase of planning involves the implementation of the program in the individual service areas. In the implementation phase, emphasis is placed on (1) selection of an initial location for the center, (2) organization of resident participation in neighborhood-level planning, and (3) revision of the service program to meet local needs and conditions.

Planning for a physical facility to accommodate the operations of a neighborhood center involves: (1) determining the type of facility; (2) selecting the location; and (3) designing the structure or physical layout. The first step in planning the facility is to determine the type

of functions that the facility will perform. In determining the functions of the facility, community goals, neighborhood needs, and the potential for financing must be considered. Once the concept of the facility has been established, the location of a center is selected on the basis of accessibility to those served, proximity to complementary facilities, potential for exposure to the public, and the space requirements. If a new building is to be constructed or an existing structure modified, the final step is the design of the facility.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The neighborhood service center is a basic administrative unit of a community action agency that provides services to the poor. In 1964 the Economic Opportunity Act authorized federal funding of local anti-poverty programs through approved community action agencies.¹ By decentralizing anti-poverty services to the neighborhood level, the neighborhood center's program is able to reach the poor and deal more readily with their problems.

Objectives

The first objective of this thesis is to set forth a logical planning procedure for developing a neighborhood services program. Examination of the planning decisions for locating and establishing neighborhood service centers in poverty areas of a city will be the second objective. To provide a background for the discussion, the thesis will examine the framework of objectives, programs, and administrative organization which influence the decision-making process of the planning program. Participation of a community's planning agency and the residents of the poverty areas in the planning process will be emphasized in this thesis.

Assumptions

In developing a logical planning procedure for preparing a program and locating the neighborhood service centers, certain basic assumptions were made.

(1) The neighborhood service center is a valid approach to poverty area problems and should become and is becoming a permanent community facility.

(2) Adequate preliminary data analysis and planning are essential in developing a fully effective neighborhood services program.

(3) The participation of the local governmental planning agencies and the neighborhood residents is essential for effective planning of a neighborhood services program.

(4) The planning agencies are the logical source for much of the information needed in the planning process and are available to provide technical assistance to the community action agency and the neighborhood residents.

Approach

Analyzing the operational and locational needs of the neighborhood service center was the basic approach taken in this study. The functions of the neighborhood service center were examined in two ways: first, in relationship to the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and second, in relationship to the independent role a center fulfills in the local community. A planning process was developed on the basis of the goals of community action planning² and the concept of the neighborhood service center,³ as discussed in current Office of Economic

Opportunity literature. Examples of neighborhood centers in the United States were included for illustration. Further information for this thesis was obtained from personal interviews with officials of both local community action agencies and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. (EOA) was chosen as a case study. Atlanta's application was submitted to the new Office of Economic Opportunity immediately after the passage of the establishing act. As a result, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. became one of the first funded programs in the country.⁴ Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. is especially appropriate for examination because the fourteen centers within EOA offer examples of alternative approaches to: the delineation of service areas; the implementation of programs; the development of resident organizations; and the location of physical facilities.

Organization

The subsequent chapters are devoted to an analysis of the neighborhood service center and the planning process for developing and initiating a neighborhood services program. Chapter II examines the history and definition of the neighborhood service center. The roles of the participants in the planning process are presented in Chapter III. Chapter IV discusses the initial phase of development of a basic program of services for a neighborhood center. Chapter V examines the planning procedure which should take place at the neighborhood level in the establishment of a center. Chapter VI discusses the planning process for determining the concept, location, and design of the physical facility. Chapter VII presents the conclusions and recommendations of this thesis. A detailed

discussion of community action agency organization and neighborhood services is furnished in the appendices.

CHAPTER II

THE NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTER

The neighborhood service center is analyzed here specifically in relationship to the Community Action Program, because that is the most recent and extensive application of the concept. However, the idea of a neighborhood center offering a unified multi-service approach to local problems is not exclusively the product of the Community Action Program. This approach to poverty area needs draws upon the experience of previous programs which promoted decentralization of services at the neighborhood level.⁵

Background of the Concept

While centralization may contribute to administrative efficiency and economy, it has been found that some services are much more effective if located at the neighborhood level. Settlement houses pioneered in the decentralization of many services that were later taken over at the neighborhood level by city administration.⁶ A number of cities, including Los Angeles and San Diego, have established branch administrative centers to facilitate decentralization of specific service activities to the residential areas.⁷ Private agencies, such as the Salvation Army and the Boys' Clubs operate programs on the neighborhood level. In neighborhood rehabilitation programs, results have been most effective when the urban renewal agency located a local office within the neighborhood.

Pilot programs, such as New Haven's Community Progress, Inc.,⁸ or Action for Boston Community Development, helped develop the neighborhood center approach to problems in the poverty areas.⁹ The implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act has given new impetus to this neighborhood approach.

The Center as Part of the Community Action Program

The funding of local public and private non-profit agencies by the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity is authorized by Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, As Amended.¹⁰ The stated objective of the Community Action Program is "to stimulate, through local community action agencies, a better focusing of resources on the goal of individual and family self-sufficiency."¹¹ These local community action agencies administer city-wide and neighborhood-level programs. The agencies attempt to mobilize pertinent public and private agencies in a coordinated effort to serve the poverty area neighborhoods.¹² The Economic Opportunity Act specifically encouraged the establishment of neighborhood centers and the funding of programs to be administered through those centers.¹³

The neighborhood service center is the focal point of the local community action program.¹⁴ The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, As Amended defines the neighborhood center as a multipurpose facility "designed to promote the effectiveness of needed services in such fields as health, education, manpower, consumer protection, child and economic development, housing, legal, recreation, and social services," which are "responsive and relevant to the range of community, family and individual

problems and are fully adapted to neighborhood needs and conditions."¹⁵
The responsibility of the individual neighborhood center is to conduct programs at the neighborhood level to eliminate poverty and the specific causes of poverty.¹⁶

The neighborhood services administered through the center are not intended to replace public assistance or welfare services. Instead, these coordinated anti-poverty activities undertake a whole new approach to the crippling problem of poverty. The long-range goals of the neighborhood center's anti-poverty programs are assisting the underprivileged individual in dealing effectively with his problems and providing him with the means to improve his own earning power so that no further assistance is needed.

The problems that block underprivileged individuals from improving their economic conditions are many and varied.¹⁷ A major cause of poverty in urban areas is chronic unemployment and under employment.¹⁸ A low educational level, lack of marketable job skills, and poor health are frequently cited as reasons for unemployment or under employment.¹⁹ The neighborhood center attempts to determine actual reasons for an individual's inability to deal with his personal problems or economic situation. Programs are then instigated by a center to assist the individual in alleviating these problems.

Counseling services, family planning programs, legal aid, consumer education programs, job placement, health services, advice on operating small businesses, and old-fashioned encouragement are only a few of the needed services. Young people in a poverty neighborhood also

require special attention. The center can initiate programs to aid needy children. Many of these children are so isolated from society that they require pre-school orientation and special assistance to function in the educational system. The time to prepare them for useful citizenship and full participation in society is while they are still of school age. These young people need guidance, encouragement to stay in school, assistance in preparing for higher education, aid in finding part-time jobs, orientation for future employment, or on-the-job training.

CHAPTER III

PARTICIPANTS IN THE PLANNING PROGRAM

A community action agency must begin by organizing a planning process that can develop an efficient and effective approach to achieving the goals of the program. The effectiveness of the community action agency's "funding decisions and its strategies for carrying them out is substantially dependent upon the quality of the planning process."²⁰

The planning program must be developed so the initial establishment of goals will be followed by a continuing process of review of program results, examination of community need, reevaluation of program goals, development of operational improvements, and stimulation of more extensive efforts at program coordination. To be fully effective, participation in this planning process must involve:

- (1) the board of a community action agency, which establishes policies for program development;
- (2) the agency's staff, which actually coordinates and plans the program;
- (3) the community planning agency, which adds its expertise in planning to the process;
- (4) the residents of the neighborhood, who define the needs and wants that must be satisfied; and
- (5) the other public and private community agencies which serve

the needs of the poor, such as the public housing authority, the welfare agency, the school system, and the legal aid society.²¹

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations recommended that comprehensive planning for meeting the social needs of a community be made a prerequisite for funding of a community action agency.²² In this case, "comprehensive planning" referred both to a unified plan of action for all the program components of an agency and to the coordination of planning efforts between the community action agency and agencies operating related programs. The Commission stated,

Complex and unnecessary paper shuffling could be avoided by the affected agencies, and the planning process itself could be made more effective, if the affected agencies are involved from the start in the planning process. It seems logical, for instance, that the CAA would attempt to engage appropriate public agencies in its plan-development process, just as it is required to engage them through the check-point procedure in the submission of grant applications.²³

The Board of a Community Action Agency

The board or governing body of the community action agency establishes the policies which guide program development. "The board, of course, can define its own role. Normally, a board will either set up a planning committee to oversee this particular function or it will reserve approval of planning assignments to itself and establish a task force to monitor each planning program undertaken."²⁴ Generally, the board members do not participate in the research, analysis, and program development phase of the planning process. The board usually reviews alternatives presented by the agency's staff, establishes priorities, and allocates resources after completion of the actual planning effort.

The Agency's Staff

The principal responsibility for planning the neighborhood services program rests with the community action agency staff. The staff has the initial responsibility for "putting identified needs in a logical analytical framework; identifying interrelationships; and determining the magnitude, severity, and implications of the needs."²⁵ The agency's staff should develop recommendations on the content of a neighborhood services program within the policy guidelines established by the agency's board. The proposed program must then be submitted to the board for final approval before implementation. Effective staff planning will provide the board with realistic alternatives and good supporting analyses. When developing recommendations upon any aspect of the neighborhood services program, the staff should be able to rely for assistance, advice, and information upon the planning agency and other public agencies in the community.

The Community's Planning Agency

The planning agency and the community action agency staffs should work closely together from the early planning stages of the neighborhood services program. The staff of a planning agency is made up of specialists in dealing with the interrelationship of social, economic, design, and organizational considerations related to the long range, comprehensive, and general development of an urban area.²⁶ Since a comprehensive planning program is a functional element of most urban governments, the planning agency will generally already be staffed.

The planning agency will already have or can gather considerable data that are pertinent in developing the neighborhood service program,

including the most current information on land use, structural condition, housing, transportation, and employment centers. The planning agency is generally responsible for maintaining current population, economic and social data; and can assemble information on the adequacy of public facilities, the extent of public services, and the location of future capital improvements. The community action agency should utilize the resources of the planning agency to the fullest extent to avoid duplication of efforts and to profit from already assembled information.

The Neighborhood Residents

A major goal of the planning program of a community action agency is the involvement of the poor in the planning process.²⁷ This requires the development of an organizational framework to encourage such participation. The residents of a neighborhood have a voice in development of a neighborhood center and its program by two primary means: (1) the poverty area residents elect part of the membership of the board which establishes policies and allocates resources for the neighborhood services program, and (2) the residents may define neighborhood goals on a local level and develop program proposals through neighborhood organizations which are promoted and assisted by the community action agency.

When the poor assist in planning the program of neighborhood services, they become a part of the decision-making process and give their insights to the professional planners.²⁸ Involvement in the planning program through neighborhood organizations can help the poor to understand and identify their needs and learn problem-solving techniques. Also, by participation in the program through expression of their needs and ideas,

the neighborhood residents' confidence in their ability to rectify problems will be stimulated by observing the success of the neighborhood services and the effectiveness of the neighborhood center.²⁹

Through participation in the planning effort and articulation of neighborhood needs, resident groups can have a positive impact on decisions made by local governments, school systems, public and private social service agencies, and physical and social planning agencies, thereby benefiting the entire community.³⁰ The active participation of the poor in the decision-making process can strengthen the social fabric of the community by encouraging the other citizens of the community to understand, care about, and help solve the special problems and needs of the poor.³¹

Other Community Agencies

One objective of a neighborhood services program is the development of a coordinated approach to the needs of the poverty areas by all the various public and private community agencies.³² There are a wide variety of public agencies that serve the needs of the poor, including the public housing authorities, the welfare agencies, the urban renewal authorities, the school systems, and the state employment agencies. Private groups also function in the poverty areas of many communities addressing specialized needs, such as tenant rights, consumer services, family planning, legal aid, and alcoholism. In addition there are many other types of public and private organizations which have been established in various cities to address the numerous problems that face the poor. The planning effort should function to coordinate all these programs into a smoothly functioning network that attacks the problems of the poor on a comprehen-

sive basis and in a priority order.³³

Various forms of interagency organization exist which could serve as a method of program coordination and development. These intergovernmental structures include interagency committees, CAA technical advisory committees, social welfare councils, and councils of government.

Interagency or Technical Advisory Committees

A traditional approach to interagency coordination, when several agencies have been involved in dealing with a problem, has been the establishment of an interagency or technical advisory committee by local government.³⁴ Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, offers an example of an interagency committee appointed for the purpose of social planning. In mid-spring of 1964, at the request of Mayor Barr of Pittsburgh, a War on Poverty Planning Committee began to meet regularly in the Mayor's conference chambers at city hall. The committee was composed primarily of professionals representing the public and private welfare-related agencies. It was that committee that laid most of the groundwork for Pittsburgh's community action program.³⁵

Examples of technical advisory committees, established as structural elements of local agencies, are found in Atlanta, Georgia, and Chattanooga, Tennessee. Such committees, composed of technical and administrative representatives drawn from the the poverty related programs, can serve as an interagency vehicle for information exchange, analysis of program needs, review of program effectiveness, and coordination of resources.

Social Welfare Councils

Social welfare councils have also traditionally offered a means within a community of bringing the various poverty-related agencies together for program coordination and collective planning. The Health and Welfare Association of Pittsburgh is an example of social planning by a social welfare council. The Association working with the Homewood-Brushton Citizens Renewal Council and ACTION-Housing, Inc., developed a social plan for the Pittsburgh neighborhood of Homewood-Brushton. Using census data and information supplied by the Community Council, school board, and by social agencies operating in the neighborhood, the plan established the levels of schooling, job training, counseling, and other social services and facilities that would be needed over a twenty-year period.³⁶

Councils of Government

In an increasing number of metropolitan areas, voluntary associations of local officials have been organized to encourage cooperation on an area-wide basis.³⁷ These organizations have generally been described as "councils of government."³⁸ The functions of councils of government are quite varied, but all seek to develop better channels of communication among governmental agencies. Research is also usually a council activity, with most organizations having a staff which gathers data, prepares reports, and makes recommendations on matters of area-wide concern.³⁹ The executive committee of a council of government will usually appoint standing policy committees for each major area of interest, such as transportation, planning, public safety, or social services.⁴⁰ These

committees might include appointed officials with special technical skills; or the committees might be assisted by sub-committees or "technical advisory groups" composed of administrative and technical personnel whose organizations or personal qualifications might contribute toward solutions to the problems under study.⁴¹

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES PROGRAM

The initial phase in planning for the establishment of neighborhood centers is the development of a basic program of neighborhood services. To develop a basis for neighborhood organization and to convince the residents of the program's value, some services must be available initially to generate interest and attract participation. These services may be relatively uncomplicated, consisting of programs that will be needed in most of the community's centers. A neighborhood center's full program of services should be determined later with the aid and participation of the residents.

This chapter examines in detail the various stages of planning involved in the preparation of a basic program of services prior to the establishment of neighborhood centers. These stages are: (1) the formulation of program goals by the board of the community action agency, (2) the division of the community into neighborhoods to be served by the individual service centers, (3) a survey of the characteristics of the individual neighborhood service areas, (4) an analysis of existing programs that serve the needs of the poor, and (5) the actual preparation of a program of action to be administered through the centers.

Formulation of Goals

The enunciation of the goals of a neighborhood services program is

essential for clearly establishing the direction and focus of program efforts, for defining the role of neighborhood centers in the community, and for mobilizing available public and private resources in unified action. The basic goals of a neighborhood services program are long-term in nature and will be quite general in the statement of overall program aims. A "goal" may be defined as an end that one strives to attain."⁴² For example, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. stated a general community development goal "to train, organize, and develop leadership among the poor in order to provide access to full benefits and responsibilities of American citizenship."⁴³ From the identified goals, more explicit program objectives are developed which define the individual needs for which a detailed program of services must be developed.

The process of formulating goals for the neighborhood services program offers a chance for identification, discussion, and resolution of the basic problems which determine the general nature of the program. When determining goals, the position and role of neighborhood centers in the poverty areas must be examined. For instance, should centers and programs be designed so that they are accessible to the largest number of residents or accessible to those with the most critical need for assistance? In most cases, the final decisions on goals will indicate where the board of a community action agency believes center activities should place emphasis.

The formulation of goals is primarily the responsibility of the board of a community action agency. From this essential beginning, the staff of the agency, the planning agency, and affiliated organizations

may proceed in their planning activities. The designated goals of a neighborhood services program will evolve over a period of time, and the initial direction of program efforts will be influenced and altered by "each planning cycle" as needs and programs are analyzed.⁴⁴ In the planning program, there should be a continuing process of refinement in which the overall goals are subjected to constant review and revision, resulting in program changes which more accurately reflect the needs and wishes of the poor.

Defining the Neighborhood Service Areas

The actual areas to be served by the individual neighborhood centers should be delineated so that the center can function efficiently and effectively. In practice, the community action agencies have delineated the centers' service areas to function as:

- (1) fixed areas for statistical analysis to determine resident needs;
- (2) manageable planning units for development of a basic program of services;
- (3) the target area for implementation of the resulting concentrated service effort;
- (4) an administrative district within which inter-agency activities can be coordinated; and
- (5) a territorial unit for the purpose of community organization activities.

The sections of an urban area served by centers have been described as neighborhoods, target neighborhoods, target areas, service areas, and

neighborhood service areas by various community action agencies across the country. Sanford Kravitz in discussing the Office of Economic Opportunity's original concepts on a neighborhood services program stated, "Our model of how the community action program would work went something like this: a community would carefully study its poverty problems, locate the most severe pockets of need, and identify them as target areas slated for intensive effort."⁴⁵ The target areas, the geographical areas to be served by a community action agency, are always the low-income neighborhoods of a city, but not all of the target area residents will be below the poverty line.⁴⁶ An individual community action agency may have several target areas within its jurisdiction, and not all will necessarily be contiguous.

A community's planning agency is best equipped to undertake a study delineating the service areas for a neighborhood services program. A planning agency or a community's planning consultant would have the personnel trained to execute a study of this kind and could evaluate information on the physical layout of the community as well as the administrative operations of local government. A planning agency would probably already have most of the data assembled because of its pertinence to other areas of planning. The agency's staff would be familiar with the sources for additional information and would already have established procedures for coordination with other governmental departments.

Delimitation of a Community's Poverty Areas

Those sections of a community seriously affected by poverty must be identified before the areas to be served by the neighborhood centers

can be defined. The community action program in Atlanta, Georgia, offers an example of the utilization of census data to define the poverty areas of a city. Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. evaluated all the census tracts within the agency's area of responsibility on the basis of an "index of poverty."⁴⁷ The service areas were defined to include those census tracts with the highest "index of poverty." This indicator was based on the incidence of families within a census tract whose income was below the "poverty threshold." The standard for this poverty line is determined by the United States Government on the basis of current buying power. For example, the "poverty threshold" as defined by the government for an urban family of four in 1970 was an annual income of \$3,968.⁴⁸

The Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, community action program offers another city's approach to determining which sections of a community are affected by a high incidence of poverty. Neil Gilbert in his discussion of Pittsburgh's community action efforts commented,

The Planning Committee wanted Pittsburgh's program to cover as many of the poverty areas in the city as possible. As a guide to the selection of these areas, an urban level-of-living index, prepared by the Health and Welfare Association of the Department of City Planning was utilized. This index provided a figure for each census tract in Pittsburgh, based upon the following criteria: income, education, employment, home ownership, housing conditions, public assistance, and juvenile delinquency.⁴⁹

Delineation of Neighborhood Boundaries

Factors that should be evaluated in establishing the dimensions of a center's service area are varied and include:

- (1) the size of the population to be served;
- (2) neighborhood identity (the ability of residents to associate themselves with a recognized section of a city);
- (3) physical boundaries (barriers, such as rivers, rail lines, or expressways, that physically separate one section of a community from another);
- (4) administrative service areas (the administrative areas of other community agencies that also serve the poor); and
- (5) census boundaries (the subdivision of a community into census "tracts" and "city blocks" for statistical survey and analysis by the national decennial census).

Not all the criteria suggested for delineating a neighborhood service area may be applicable in a given urban area. The various factors influencing the location of the service boundaries should be mapped for comparison. Once all the relevant information is available, an effective compromise for the limits of the neighborhood can be determined.

Size of the Neighborhood Population. When used by the Community Action Program, the term "neighborhood" is synonymous with the service area of a center and refers to a definable, cohesive community or subarea within a city. The ability of a center's staff to efficiently and effectively provide services to the neighborhood residents and develop a functional community organization is related to the size of the population which is served. The service area of a center could encompass a population that would be too small to efficiently provide a broad range of services, or the population of the area served by a center could be too large

for the mobilization of a cohesive neighborhood organization that might unite neighborhood residents for effective social action.

Standards were not fixed by the Office of Economic Opportunity on the minimum or maximum population that could be served by a center. A survey taken by Kirschner Associates for the Office of Economic Opportunity observed that the populations, which are served by neighborhood centers located across the country, ranged from 3,000 to 200,000 persons.⁵⁰ A population of 35,000 residents was suggested by the Office of Economic Opportunity as an optimum size for a service area.⁵¹ This was considered small enough to organize residents into an effective unified body for group action, and large enough to permit the staffing of a full-scale facility. In discussing a realistic size for a center's service area, the National Commission on Urban Problems suggested that a population range of 25,000 to 50,000 persons would permit the efficient operation of public services at the neighborhood level.⁵² The Committee for Economic Development in evaluating neighborhood size theorized that a "neighborhood district" of about 50,000 residents would be an optimum size for enlistment of active citizen participation in local efforts to clarify neighborhood needs, propose constructive solutions, and mobilize voluntary services.⁵³

Neighborhood Identity. A neighborhood is a general geographic area in a city with which the residents associate and identify.⁵⁴ Individuals possessively associate themselves with a given area of a city and tend to develop a common bond with the institutions and residents of that area.⁵⁵ Consideration should be given to the intangible local loyalties that exist in various sections of a city. If possible, the service area of the center

should correspond to a neighborhood unit that is traditionally recognized by the residents.

Organizing the residents for effective community action is an important objective of the center.⁵⁶ If the service area is clearly the neighborhood with which they identify, the residents can more easily accept the center as their own. An organization drawing upon a unified neighborhood for support could more easily develop goals, and the residents are more likely to have common concerns.

Frequently, community facilities serve as focal points of a neighborhood. Local commercial groupings that cater to the residents' service and convenience shopping needs can serve this function. Schools, churches, settlement houses, fire stations, or other community facilities may traditionally serve as focal points for an area.⁵⁷ These facilities, which can act as a "center of gravity" in a neighborhood, often serve as a cohesive influence.

Most sections of the community affected by poverty are located in the older, declining parts of the city. Such older sections generally retain an identity as a definite neighborhood. In metropolitan areas these neighborhoods may have been suburbs or independent municipalities that were incorporated into the central city. The residents may have changed, but the section will still be distinguished as a separate neighborhood. Research by the planning agency on historical growth of an urban area and the annexations of the city will help in distinguishing such traditional neighborhoods.

Physical Boundaries. Specific physical boundaries have frequently

become accepted as the physical limits of a neighborhood.⁵⁸ The existence of significant natural or man-made physical barriers that would limit access to the center is clear justification for establishment of a neighborhood border.⁵⁹ Major highway arteries, railroad lines, rivers, large commercial and industrial areas, or established public open space may be understood as the physical limits of a neighborhood.⁶⁰ However, when no such physical features are present, the limits of a neighborhood can be quite arbitrary.

Administrative Service Areas. The service area of the neighborhood center should be coordinated with the administrative areas of the other agencies that serve the residents of the poverty blighted sections of the community.⁶¹ Various types of administrative units may overlap in a neighborhood. The administrative units of municipal and county services should be mapped, and the rationale for the boundaries and size of these units should be analyzed. Police precincts and school districts usually have the most clearly defined boundaries. The areas that are served by fire stations, recreation centers, branch libraries, health centers, branch welfare offices, and legal aid centers will probably be more general in their delineation. Neighborhood rehabilitation projects and urban renewal areas in a general neighborhood renewal program should be compared with the neighborhoods that are traditionally recognized by the residents. Public housing project areas and the administrative areas for scattered turnkey public housing units should also be noted.

When agencies decentralize their services and incorporate them into the neighborhood center's program, their service areas must coordinate in

order for a referral, counseling, and follow-up program to function. Even when an allied agency decides to maintain staff autonomy, similar delineation of administrative areas is important for referring clients and cooperating through technical coordinating committees. Partially overlapping administrative areas would force a center to refer clients to confusingly scatter locations for aid and would probably discourage the individuals from following through. Comparable data are essential in planning and coordinating services. The existence of dissimilar service areas will make difficult the job of applying information gathered by one agency to other agency programs.

Census Boundaries. Census tracts or "city blocks" used in taking the national census are other forms of subdividing a metropolitan area. The boundaries of such districts often follow clearly defined physical features and political divisions. The ability to compare statistical data supplied by the census with the neighborhoods will be very valuable in developing programs and evaluating progress. As mentioned previously, the community action program in Atlanta offers an example of the use of census tract boundaries to define the service areas of the individual neighborhood centers. Through combinations of census tracts, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. (EOA) formed target areas of reasonably comparable physical size that roughly matched recognized neighborhood areas. Correlating the neighborhood boundaries to the census tracts might not always be feasible. However, in such cases, consideration might be given to combining the smallest statistical units of the census--the city blocks.

Survey of the Neighborhood Service Areas' Characteristics

In order to identify the needs of the residents, the nature and magnitude of the problems of poverty in the various service areas must be determined. Three types of information about a neighborhood's poverty problems are required: (1) the social and economic characteristics of the persons affected by poverty must be established, (2) the physical and environmental characteristics of the neighborhood in which they live must be determined, and (3) the transportation factors affecting their mobility must be evaluated. The population characteristics guide the development of specific programs oriented to the individual problems present in a neighborhood.⁶² Physical and environmental characteristics, indicating physical blight, point to neighborhood problems that require specialized services. The transportation factors, defining the problems of mobility affecting the poor, establish the neighborhood requirements for improved public transportation. This information is essential for preparing a proper program of neighborhood services.⁶³

Commenting on the need for adequate data collection in program planning, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations stated,

The very nature of the war against poverty requires the quantification of certain social and economic problems for the first time. Many of these problems reflect human suffering previously hidden from the national conscience. The difficulty of defining poverty and its related problems among different groups in the population is an extremely complex job. Yet the development and execution of a successful campaign against poverty demands adequate data to guide program development and administration.⁶⁴

A wide range of basic information is pertinent in developing a neighborhood services program. Dr. Harvey S. Perloff recommended that such data be organized on the basis of "neighborhood and group profiles."⁶⁵

Social statistics organized both by the neighborhood and by the various identifiable groups such as: families with less than a designated annual level of income, youths separated by age levels, older persons, minority groups, and so-called "problem families," could assist in identifying changing social patterns and defining major unfulfilled needs. Dr. Perloff explained, "The group and neighborhood profiles could serve the same general 'organizing' purpose (for social planning) as the economic accounts have served in the economic field."⁶⁶

Socio-economic Characteristics

Social and economic characteristics that directly reflect the problems of the poor and which can be useful in understanding a neighborhood include: low average income, presence of migrant labor, high unemployment, low educational attainment, and high incidence of disease. Other data might be compiled on the number of: arrests, individuals on probation, welfare cases, aid to dependent children cases, old age assistance cases, registrants rejected by selective service, and on such related factors as: school absentee rates, percentage of rentals, and public housing occupancy. These factors are called "social indicators."⁶⁷

In addressing the problems of applicability in social statistics, Doris B. Holleb of the Center for Urban Studies, University of Chicago, recommended the use of a set of "social indicators," explaining,

The essential and distinctive feature of a social indicator as distinguished from other social statistics is that it be a representative monitor of changing conditions in welfare terms, that is, in terms of the achievement of explicit social goals For example, if the goal is improving education, information about pupil-teacher ratios or expenditures on school buildings and, indeed, most of our educational statistics would

not be good social indicators. However, information that reflects pupil achievement such as the reading and mathematics scores used in the Coleman Report, dropout rates, or percentages of individuals that go on for further training would constitute suitable social indicators. In improving public health, to give another example, information about changes in the number of hospital beds, physicians and paramedical personnel, or immunization programs would not as such constitute good indicators. But, rather, it is such data as the rate of infant mortality, morbidity, or life expectancy among population groups that would be significant.⁶⁸

In quantifying social and economic data, an evaluation should be made of already assembled information on the problems of poverty in the community. The existing sources of data on the characteristics of the poverty area neighborhoods may then be amplified and up-dated with more detailed and current information. Sources of current information on neighborhood socio-economic characteristics include the school board, the welfare department, private assistance organizations, state labor departments, the public housing authority, and the 1970 Census of Population. The census information is available by blocks, enumeration districts, and census tracts, while the data assembled from the local governmental agencies may generally be tabulated by locally defined administrative districts.

Physical and Environmental Characteristics

The physical and environmental characteristics of a neighborhood should be evaluated on the basis of their influence on the residents. Poor structural conditions, inadequate light and air, low maintenance level, overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, and absence of adequate plumbing, electrical, and heating systems are some of the characteristics of residential housing reflecting the blighting influence of poverty. The

type of incompatible land use, costs of renting, population densities, vehicular accident rates, adequacy of neighborhood facilities, and safety problems in the neighborhood are environmental factors that can also offer valuable information on types of neighborhood services that are needed. The Census of Housing can supply information on housing quality and structural conditions. Windshield surveys can furnish additional information required on the physical environment of the neighborhood, and sample house-to-house surveys can supplement and amplify the housing information furnished in the census.

Transportation Characteristics

Resident mobility should be evaluated when defining the needs and problems of a neighborhood. Many of the problems of the poor can in part be linked to a lack of mobility. An individual that cannot get from his place of residence to the sources of employment will be unable to either obtain or hold a job. Families cannot take advantage of social services, public assistance programs, training program, or educational opportunities if they cannot reach them. Even when some form of public transportation is available, the problems of reaching a distant destination are frequently beyond the capability of the rural immigrant or other individuals who may be unfamiliar with large cities or public transit systems.

An examination of the transportation problems of the poor should focus primarily on the modes of public transportation which are available to the poverty area residents. Existing bus and rapid transit service in the poverty areas should be evaluated for adequacy of coverage, convenience of transit stops, frequency of service, and adherence to schedules. The

spacing of transit routes in poverty neighborhoods should be designed to place service within convenient walking distance of most residents. The National Committee on Urban Transportation suggested the spacing of transit routes at approximately half-mile intervals in built-up areas, which would provide transit service within a quarter-mile walking distance of individual residences.⁶⁹

To determine if the transit routes are sufficiently related to the needs of the poor, the routing of the entire transit system should be compared with the travel requirements of the poverty area residents. Passenger load data for routes that serve the poverty areas are indicative of the transportation demands of the poor, and field surveys of transit users can establish the origins and destinations of neighborhood residents who use public transportation. However, neither approach may accurately reflect needs, since inadequate service may deny the poor opportunities for employment or services and reduce the actual use of public transportation. An estimate of these requirements may be developed by comparing the residential distribution of the poor with the location of employment centers, retail facilities, and public offices, which would logically provide jobs and services if adequate transportation were available. The projected travel pattern of the poor should be compared with the existing transit system to determine if the poor can reach desired destinations with reasonable directness so transfers in route are held to a minimum.

Analysis of Existing Poverty-related Programs

A community action program should undertake to meet needs that are not presently being served. A survey should be made of all poverty-related programs of agencies that serve the poverty areas.⁷⁰ The study should catalogue all existing services of these local programs and evaluate their effectiveness. Duplication of existing services would contribute very little and would dissipate limited resources. However, there may be instances where existing services may be reinforced or complemented. The recommendations of the study should cover improvements in existing services. The services of the allied anti-poverty agencies that could be effectively decentralized to the neighborhood level or incorporated into the neighborhood center's program should be noted.

The National Commission on Urban Problems urged that local governments undertake studies to: examine intensively the relative quality of the services and facilities that they provide to low-income neighborhoods; develop, publicize, and apply standards designed to assure equity in services for those neighborhoods; and move as rapidly as possible to remedy identified deficiencies in public services and neighborhood facilities.⁷¹ The Commission noted that the low-income neighborhoods, which actually need the most services, are too often receiving the least amount of help. Such government practices contribute to urban blight and social unrest.⁷²

There are basically two approaches to the preparation of this type of study: (1) one agency assuming or being delegated responsibility for analyzing and coordinating the entire spectrum of poverty-related programs; or (2) the affected agencies developing a structural organization

through which they may coordinate their activities.

The Office of Economic Opportunity recommended that the local community action agency assume responsibility for promoting "community-wide coordination of antipoverty efforts" by acquiring and exercising the authority of superior knowledge and planning capabilities.⁷³ The agency's staff was visualized as independently analyzing the individual programs of the various community agencies and developing recommendations on improving program effectiveness.⁷⁴ This type of approach assumes professional knowledge, technical skills, and staff resources that may not be at the disposal of a community action agency. Also, the role of coordinator and critic would probably generate conflict with the agencies being studied.

In contrast, a cooperative interagency effort offers certain advantages. The staff of the community action agency needs the information and ideas that the various agencies can offer. The work of the community action agency would be simplified if the agencies involved identified the weaknesses in their own services and developed a means of meeting those needs. In discussing program development, Lowell E. Wright of the Community Planning Division, United Community Funds and Councils of America, commented,

Program coordination means program cooperation; it means mutual recognition that each of our disciplines in the community has a common accountability to our supporters to give leadership in the common cause of renewing both the people and the places where they are to live and work. In terms of structure, program coordination seems to me to call, not for a topdown, over-all comprehensive planning authority in which subordinates follow instructions, but a coalition or federation in which each discipline is welcomed into partnership--in which each service system recognizes its interdependence with other service systems if its own achievements are to be maximized.⁷⁵

As discussed in Chapter III, there are a variety of mechanisms for interagency coordination which could be employed in studies of related services and facilities in the poverty areas. A municipally-appointed study group, a community welfare council, a policy committee of a council of governments, or a technical advisory committee under the sponsorship of a community action agency could, first, promote interagency cooperation and, second, study solutions to poverty needs. A technical advisory committee functioning within the structure of a community action agency is usually designated as the organization, or "study group," to conduct the analysis. This committee is generally composed of representatives from all the various public and private community organizations which provide services to the residents of the poverty area neighborhoods. While this type of organizational structure is not necessarily more effective than other methods of interagency coordination, a community action agency can initiate such a committee under its own sponsorship, if other organizations for coordination do not exist.

An analysis of the programs already functioning in the poverty neighborhoods can achieve a variety of objectives. These are: (1) to obtain a clearer understanding of the true effectiveness of each agency's efforts; (2) to assist the agencies in the development of more effective programs through the identification of gaps in existing services; (3) to prevent the community action agency from duplicating the efforts of existing agencies; and (4) to help the community action agency determine ways of reinforcing programs administered by the other existing agencies.

In conducting this analysis, the technical advisory committee

should organize the study so the resources available to them may be utilized effectively. In developing a study plan, the committee should attempt to make a preliminary diagnosis on the limitations and problem areas of community services.⁷⁶ In formulating a preliminary diagnosis the committee should establish the specific questions that need to be resolved about the service activities, such as: (1) who is responsible for providing each type of service; (2) who are these activities intended to serve; (3) do the programs actually reach these persons; (4) what specific needs are these services designed to meet; (5) do the programs effectively serve these needs; and (6) what improvements can be made. The committee can then determine the available sources of information for defining the service needs of the residents and the true effectiveness of existing services. The committee should find out as a means of comparison the potential sources of information on the procedures and standards of similar programs in other communities. Having established the data sources, the committee may then define the responsibilities for research and analysis of each field of service activity and resident need.

The overall analysis could be organized by the major categories of service activities that are currently available to the poor. One technique of research would be the designation of small study groups, or subcommittees, to evaluate each of these fields of service activity. A study group would be assigned to examine one category of service activity, such as neighborhood recreation programs. For example, this study group might analyze the recreation requirements of the poor, the existing recreation programs in the neighborhoods, and the available recreation facili-

ties. The study group could be composed of those committee members whose agencies deal with some aspect of the recreation needs of the poverty area residents. Such a study group would probably include representatives of: the school system, the municipal parks department, athletic associations, organizations from the private sector of the community, and any other agency that may have a recreation program. The analysis of recreation needs may then be approached from the aspect of what contributions each of the agencies is making, and how each of the programs may reenforce the efforts of the others.

A study group evaluating the recreation opportunities for youth in underprivileged neighborhoods might identify a number of potential service needs that are not being fulfilled. While an athletic program in the public schools would probably exist, there might be few existing recreation opportunities for young people after school or in the evenings. High school sports will reach a few students, but many young people lack the ability or incentive to participate in those programs. Perhaps this need could be filled by a neighborhood-level intramural sports program co-sponsored by the city's recreation department and local civic groups. Part of the school age youth in a neighborhood might be interested in after-class shop sessions utilizing school equipment. Such a program would allow students to learn a valuable skill and at the same time work in crafts which they enjoy, such as carpentry, metalwork, or automobile mechanics. Recreation needs might also be identified which are not within the resources of the agencies represented on the committee. For instance, neighborhood youth clubs might be needed to offer a focal point for

activities and a place for the young people to congregate. The results of the study might indicate that to operate, such a program would require funding assistance through the community action program. The utilization of study groups to examine a sector of community services in the poverty areas permits: emphasis on coordination of activity, cross-feed of information, exchange of concepts and ideas, and the expansion of efforts toward a common goal.

The approach of examining a category of service activities is superior to the detailed critique of a single agency's overall operation, because the technique permits a combined research effort toward the common goal of meeting a specific requirement of the poor, without paramount emphasis placed on the inabilities or failures of a given agency. A critique singling out the activities of an individual agency would probably be resisted by that agency, since it places the staff representative on the committee in a defensive position. Also the isolation of one agency's activities at a time might permit that agency to dominate the investigation due to superior knowledge in that field and greater familiarity with the information. If one agency did achieve dominance in the proceedings of such an intergovernmental organization, then that organization could not function effectively.⁷⁷

Program Preparation

A basic program of neighborhood services should be prepared by the community action agency prior to the establishment of centers in the individual neighborhoods. This preparation is undertaken by the board of the community action agency, the staff, the community's planning agency,

and the residents of the neighborhood, as noted in Chapter III.

Analysis of Specific Neighborhood Needs

Prior to developing a particular program of services for the individual neighborhoods, the actual needs of the residents of each neighborhood must be analyzed and clearly defined. In the previous discussion, it was suggested that a survey of the neighborhood service areas would provide a catalogue and evaluation of the characteristics of each neighborhood and its population. An examination of these data should indicate the problems with which the neighborhood residents are confronted. The significant unmet needs of a neighborhood may then be determined by comparing the identified requirements of the poor with the extent and quality of the programs that are presently serving the neighborhood. The respective requirements of each neighborhood should then be evaluated to determine the severity and implications of these poverty problems. This analysis should examine identified needs in the perspective of the total problems of the poor and assist in establishing the relative importance of various requirements.

Frequently, a detailed analysis of an identified problem will indicate other related factors affecting the poor. For instance, a high "drop-out" rate from school may be the result of more basic problems, such as an important need for poor students to work in order to help support the family. As more is learned through identification of critical facts, the analysis of this background information may reveal causes which will require a redefinition of neighborhood needs. This may necessitate an entirely unique course of action for the particular neighborhood.

To achieve a complete understanding of the interrelationship,

magnitude, and deeper causes of the problems of the residents, the impact of identified needs on the individual and the family unit must be examined in a logical and systematic manner. One example, development of "group profiles" as advocated by Dr. Perloff, involves an analysis of data on population characteristics within the framework of identifiable groups in a neighborhood.⁷⁸ Such "profile information" might be developed on the basis of age groups or other similar factors which could be useful for correlation of facts and comparative analysis of various needs. Other criteria which could be used as a common basis for comparison and evaluation of resident needs might include: educational attainment, income level, employment, family size, ethnic background, or source of family income.

Dr. Perloff has suggested that social data also be evaluated in terms of the impact on the family unit to provide information on the conditions and needs of the households involved.⁷⁹ He contends that the long term welfare of the individual and the family is the main concern of social planning, and information oriented to the family unit would offer a means of evaluating the effectiveness of social service activities.⁸⁰ The family unit best reflects important functions, such as income-sharing, home-sharing, and child-rearing. Examination of information on the basis of the family unit would offer a measure for evaluating the realization of community objectives, such as family self-support, more jobs, better income situations, and more satisfactory housing conditions.⁸¹ Household income information offers perspective on employment information. Job-holding information recorded by family unit could reflect the extent of

multiple bread-winners, moonlighting, steady as against periodic employment, and other significant factors. For example, a different perspective is placed on the periodic unemployment of a family member if that individual is providing the only support for a family, rather than supplementing the family income.

Identifying and Analyzing Program Alternatives

Once the actual problems of the neighborhood residents have been analyzed, the staff of the community action agency must decide how to solve these identified needs. Key factors in successful program planning are the identification of all relevant alternatives for satisfying the defined needs and selection of the best solutions.

In establishment of these alternatives, the planner can assist the agency's staff in answering the diverse economic, social, and physical questions that are involved in the development of a comprehensive program of social action for a neighborhood. In examining the function of the planner in social planning, David C. Ranney commented, "Most of the recent thinking about the proper scope of the planning function has moved away from the idea of compartmentalizing planning into physical, economic, and social components."⁸² Ranney recommended that urban planners should have a positive role in devising alternative plans for social action and in developing a systematic basis for choosing among these alternatives.

The discussion of alternatives should include potential activities of both the community action agency and other organizations. Programs of local or state agencies, such as the welfare department, public housing authority, urban renewal authority, or board of education, that could be

expanded, modified, or initiated in the service areas should be evaluated in the study as potential neighborhood services.

Neighborhood programs do not necessarily have to operate through the center to be effective. In fact, not all needs of the poor can effectively be served by decentralizing services to the neighborhood level. Some activities, which require specialized facilities, such as neighborhood day care centers and neighborhood public health clinics, are probably more effective if operated separately. Job training programs, which serve a limited number of persons drawn from the entire community also would require training equipment and specialized classrooms.

The analysis should evaluate these alternative courses of action within the framework of the identified requirements of the poor. The potential services designed to meet the same specific need should be considered together for comparison. In this manner, the potential linkages of employment counseling, job training, job placement, and job follow-through programs could be identified and evaluated.

Establishing Priorities

Prior to allocation of resources among the various service activities of the centers, the board of the community action agency should establish priorities to serve as a framework for guiding program planning and decision-making. By establishing priorities, the board will determine where emphasis should be placed in developing the service programs of the individual centers. In reviewing the basic concepts developed at the beginning of the Community Action Program, John G. Wofford commented, "It was thought important to maintain flexibility of priorities because

conditions differed so much from community to community. Indeed, the very articulation of local priorities was thought to be an essential part of community action, one of those instructive exercises that a community had to do for itself."⁸³ The establishment of basic priorities is critical since there is always a tendency in decision-making to ignore broader goals and focus attention on the merits or popular appeal of specific programs.

In distinguishing priority of need, the relationship of a problem to the individual's ability to escape from the cycle of poverty and the significance of that particular need in relationship to the overall problems of the individual must be considered. In establishing priorities, the board is faced with choosing between programs that can serve the requirements of the largest number of persons affected by poverty and programs that have restricted application but meet very critical needs. The results will differ in communities which evaluate their individual needs for family planning clinics, maternal and child care services, rodent control programs, and narcotics prevention and rehabilitation programs. Employment and educational programs are intended to assist the individual in meeting his own needs and achieving independence from assistance; in contrast, housing, health, and social services tend to concentrate on alleviation of problems caused by poverty. The line between programs concerned with poverty prevention and services intended to ameliorate the conditions of poverty is not always clear. For instance, services which address basic personal problems, such as alcoholism, or provide basic necessities of urban living, such as food and shelter, tend

to be directly linked to the ability of a client to initially maintain a job.

Establishing Program Content

Recommendations, submitted by the staff to the board of the community action agency, should summarize the existing and proposed services to be administered by both the agency and other community organizations. The board of the agency may then make the final decisions on programming the overall service requirements of a neighborhood.

The recommended program of neighborhood services could include: (1) locally funded programs operating in the neighborhood; (2) services provided by other agencies in cooperation with the community action agency; (3) services administered by delegate agencies that receive funding assistance through the community action agency; and (4) services which are operated by the community action agency. A preventive medicine clinic operated independently in a neighborhood by a county would be an example of a locally funded service operating in a poverty area. In Atlanta, the State Labor Department in cooperation with Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. places employment counselors in the individual centers. The services provided by the community action agencies or their delegate agencies are generally financed through cost-sharing agreements between the community action agencies and an appropriate federal agency.⁸⁴ Those services operated on a cost-share basis with the Office of Economic Opportunity are funded by grants which must be reviewed on an annual basis.⁸⁵ To obtain funding for such a program the community action agency must prepare and submit to the Office of Economic

Opportunity a funding request which documents the program content, performance of the agency, and eligibility of funding.

The recommendations, addressing an individual neighborhood's problems of poverty, could include an immediate program of services and proposed additional services that might be added to a center's operation at a later date. The initial services chosen would generally deal with problems that are common to most of the centers. A summary of potential services is presented in Appendix I of this thesis. While the summary does not cover every possible service that could be included in a center's program, activities which are common to many of the community action agencies are included to provide understanding of the purpose and scope of neighborhood center operations.

Neighborhood-level development of a service that pursues an individual neighborhood's goals permits the residents to state their own views on the direction and emphasis which the program should take. David C. Ranney noted that many planning decisions must be based on value judgments. He commented, "If the planner must base his decisions on values, it follows that a planning decision is not simply right or wrong. Planners using different value premises may arrive at entirely different decisions concerning the correct planning policy."⁸⁶ Since this is the case, plans that have application to a restricted locality should reflect local objectives if they are to achieve the necessary acceptance and be fully effective.

Staff Recommendations on Program Content. When developing a center's program, the community action agency staff must balance the uniqueness of each neighborhood's needs against the broad requirements

of all the poverty areas of the community. The cost and effectiveness of each alternative should be evaluated by the staff in determining the composition of each center's program and selecting the individual services. Joseph A. Kershaw, the former Assistant Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, in discussing the role of cost-effectiveness studies in the planning process pointed up the difficulty in evaluating the real effectiveness of many programs. Using the Head Start experience as an example, he noted that success was based on a relative measure of the program's impact. If there is a significant improvement in educational attainment of Head Start youngsters when compared to others of similar socio-economic background, then the program is achieving its stated goals.⁸⁷

He went on to comment,

Our principal aim in bringing cost-benefit analysis to bear is, of course, to help us in choosing among various programs and in deciding which to eliminate first as lower and lower budgets are forced on us. The plan, in other words, should offer options with different costs attached to each, but with each level being the most effective that can be devised for a particular price tag.⁸⁸

Thus the goal of obtaining the greatest possible results for the poor necessitates that the staff compare long-term cost and the probable effectiveness of proposed alternatives.

Program Coordination with Parallel Agencies. The board of the community action agency has no direct control over the program policies of other community agencies. The community action agency can only attempt to persuade these other agencies to bridge service gaps that would logically be considered within their operational responsibility. Persuasion should initially take the form of direct interagency coordina-

tion or joint program development efforts.

In recent years, increasing attention has been directed toward the decentralization of public service functions to the neighborhood level. The National Commission on Urban Problems has strongly advocated that the municipal governments provide certain services through local offices set up in neighborhoods.⁸⁹ The Commission regards the establishment of branch administrative centers, frequently nicknamed "little city halls," and neighborhood centers as essentially the same concept. The Commission stated,

Chief candidates for decentralization are the health and welfare agencies; but partly depending on the size of the districts, the following municipal services could also operate on the neighborhood level; job recruitment and certain training programs, building and housing code inspection, police-community relations work, some recreation activities, and an office to entertain citizen complaints and problems (variously titled an ombudsman, human relations council, or review and appeals board). The city might even find it helpful to have collection of some fees done on a decentralized basis. Periodic property tax and utility payments are examples.

All such offices should be located close together to lessen the confusion and strain on the unsophisticated client, who may well be trailed by several small children as she makes her visits.⁹⁰

When interagency efforts fail to persuade other agencies to develop services that are more responsive to the needs of low-income areas, the community action agency has the options of: undertaking the needed service activity itself; implementing the service through a delegate agency; or mobilizing the neighborhood in an attempt to influence policy through collective action. The strategy of implementing a particular specialized service, such as job development which would normally be handled by the state employment agency, is intended to demonstrate the need and feasi-

bility of the program. For example, the Central City Neighborhood Service Area in Atlanta has an excessively high unemployment rate. The state Department of Labor locates employment counselors in the neighborhood centers of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., but the job placement program in the Central City Neighborhood did not adequately meet the needs of the area. Neighborhood center personnel were assigned the task of undertaking a job development program to demonstrate the need for a different approach to the neighborhood unemployment problem. Under the new program approximately twice as many individuals were located in jobs during the first six months of 1971 as were located through the center during the entire previous year. This demonstrated the inadequacy of using just the "job listings" to find positions for clients and placed pressure on the state employment counselors to modify their methods of operation.⁹¹ A discussion of neighborhood organization activities and resident tactics for community change is presented in Appendix I of this thesis.

Policy Decisions of the Board. To fully evaluate the recommendations of the staff, the board of the community action agency must have at its disposal all the pertinent information on the identified neighborhood needs, the potential program resources, and the possible alternative courses of action. In reviewing these recommendations, the board has several responsibilities in determining that the proposed program of services for the centers makes the most effective use of resources. (1) The board should determine if the detailed plan of implementation reflects the program emphasis that was initially established based on the priorities of need. (2) The board should review the proposed selection of programs

to determine if the optimum alternative courses of action were chosen.

(3) The combinations of services, which are unified into functional groupings within a center, should also be evaluated to determine if the broader objectives can be best achieved through the suggested coordinated systems. (4) The board has the final responsibility for designating the schedules for initiation of the individual centers and implementation of the services within the centers. (5) The board also must establish the funding levels for the individual programs and approve the items of the detailed budget.

While the board has full prerogative to reorganize the program content as it desires, a decision on reordering of program emphasis should be considered in the perspective of the system of priorities that has been established. For example, a coordinated employment program for those mothers who are the sole support of their families, might include: employment counseling, vocational training, job placement, day care centers, and employment follow-up services. If the day care program were dropped from this package of services, it might mean that mothers, who had the necessary skills and the opportunity to obtain permanent employment, would still be unable to hold a job because there would be no facilities for their pre-school children during the day. Alterations in one aspect of a neighborhood services program may necessitate changes in other services.

Involving the Residents in Program Development. To the maximum degree possible, the residents of the individual neighborhoods should be involved in program development. However, a study conducted by the

Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, concluded that a neighborhood organization "needs the support of services if it is to have any chance of being effective among the most hard pressed and needy members of low-income areas."⁹³ Therefore, until a neighborhood center can become operational and develop a functional neighborhood organization, an alternative means of bringing resident opinions into the planning process must be found. Even without a truly representative means of neighborhood policy development, a neighborhood has the right to (1) a full explanation of information on which program decisions are to be made and (2) a vehicle to express to the decision makers residents' reactions to the policies.⁹⁴

The appointment of ad hoc advisory committees composed of residents from the neighborhoods offers one method of communications.⁹⁵ For example, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. at the start of their neighborhood services program, selected key individuals from each of the target areas to serve on ad hoc committees to work with the agency's staff on preparing programs for the individual centers.⁹⁶ However, advisory committees present problems of selection. There is less likelihood of reaching the more "disaffected, inactive members of a community," and there is no certainty that those chosen will remain in touch with the community.⁹⁷

The goal of establishing a broadly representative committee might best be achieved by bringing together key individuals from all existing neighborhood organizations and private groups that are active in a

neighborhood. Local organizations that could be requested to send representatives would include: church groups, parent-teacher associations, home owner organizations, merchant groups, and neighborhood clubs or lodges. Citizen action groups, that may be active in a neighborhood or actively involved in a neighborhood's problems, might include organizations which represent public housing occupants, tenants that rent from private landlords, welfare recipients, or local consumers. A civil rights group, such as the Urban League or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, may also be actively involved in a neighborhood and intimately knowledgeable about resident needs.

It may be difficult to find individuals that can effectively represent elements of the community, such as the very poor, the aged, or the transient, which are not generally members of any organized group. An alternative is the selection of individuals who may be intimately familiar with the needs of the unaffiliated poor. To obtain the participation of individuals that can contribute this type of knowledge, membership on the committee may need to be extended to persons that are active in a neighborhood, but who are not actually residents. Physicians, clergymen, lawyers, or case workers from private organizations or foundations may be in this category.

Continuing Nature of Program Development. Once the neighborhood centers are established and operating, program planning at the community level should continue. The goals and objectives of the centers should be altered to satisfy the changing needs of the neighborhoods. In the perspective of revised data, the agency's staff should: reevaluate

the needs of the poor; reexamine alternatives for meeting newly defined needs; select the alternatives which are the most viable; and propose a reallocation of resources to meet these changing requirements. A detailed discussion of this cycle of review and revision of center programs is presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

IMPLEMENTING THE NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES PROGRAM

The implementation of the neighborhood center's program in the service area is the second phase of the planning process. In this phase, emphasis is placed on (1) determining the initial location of the facility, (2) developing effective resident participation in the planning activities, and (3) refining the center's service program.

If meaningful resident participation in this planning process is to be achieved, an effective organizational framework for communicating resident needs and formulating neighborhood goals must be developed. The development of an effective neighborhood organization involves both the organization of "block committees" or "area blocks" and the election of a neighborhood advisory committee. A block committee or area block is based on the concept of mobilizing the residents in a locally recognized sub-unit of the neighborhood as a vehicle for group action. A neighborhood advisory committee is generally composed of appointed members and elected representatives of the residents. The neighborhood advisory committee functions as a neighborhood spokesman and provides representation for the poor in the policy formulation of a center. These components of a neighborhood center's resident organization are reviewed in greater detail in Appendix II of this thesis.

Neighborhood level planning should be a joint effort of the professionals and the residents. While the staff of a neighborhood service

center will have the principal responsibility for guiding the planning activity, all proposed programs and changes should be discussed in detail with the representatives of the neighborhood residents. In guiding the planning effort a center may rely upon the planning resources of the community action agency, the community planning agency, and the neighborhood technical coordinating committee.

The community action agency can provide the residents with information and analysis on areas of local interest. The normal administrative staff of the agency offers experience in many fields that will be pertinent to neighborhood problems. The agency can also employ competent technical specialists to assist the residents in local planning efforts, or it can hire consultants to work with the resident organizations.⁹⁸

Another source of information and continuing assistance to the resident organizations of the individual neighborhoods will be the planning agency of the community. Representatives of the planning agency can be assigned as technical advisors to the neighborhood center. The staff member of the planning agency assigned to assist the center is also the city's representative at neighborhood meetings. He functions as both an advisor and a coordinator. The staff representative of the planning agency can advise the neighborhood center committees and the staff on the community's long range plans and future capital improvements. He can also keep them posted on urban renewal plans and the available state and federal programs.

A neighborhood technical coordinating committee is generally composed of professional representatives from the various agencies operating in a neighborhood. Such committees are established at the neighborhood

level to provide a method of inter-agency program coordination designed to facilitate an interchange of ideas and coordination of effort.

Selecting An Initial Location

In instituting a service program in a neighborhood, the first step is to establish a physical base of operations. Since emphasis must be placed on establishing contact with the residents, a location for the center should be chosen to permit immediate implementation of the program without unnecessary delay. The establishment of an operating facility at the outset of the program provides administrative offices for the staff members and a focal point for residents to seek assistance. One of the most important reasons for the early establishment of a physical location within an area is to offer a tangible assurance to the neighborhood's residents from the beginning that the program will be a permanent service in the community.

Locational Factors

The characteristics and location of the structure initially housing the center's operations should be carefully considered, because this initial facility will probably have to serve the neighborhood's needs for an extended period. After six years of operation, a number of the centers in Atlanta are still housed in the same structure that was initially chosen. The choice of location for this facility should be based on such factors as accessibility, visibility, and the physical relationship to other community facilities. These criteria are essentially the same for initial and subsequent locations. These factors will be discussed in Chapter VI, "Planning the Physical Facility."

Types of Structures to Consider

A variety of structures have been chosen to initially house the operations of neighborhood service centers. These include (1) vacant commercial structures, (2) neighborhood shopping centers, (3) existing public buildings, (4) residential structures, and (5) prefabricated units. Existing buildings are generally selected to accommodate a center's offices, since the delay and expense of constructing new facilities are unwarranted in the early stages of program development. The building selected should be easily adaptable for use as office space and flexible enough to meet changing program needs and space requirements as the services are amended. In choosing a building, structural characteristics that offer low maintenance cost are desirable.

Vacant commercial structures are frequently adaptable to use as a center. In most declining areas of a city, many such commercial structures are available. Store front locations are generally well suited to house a center's offices and have certain advantages as the initial site for a center. Residents will already be familiar with the location and appearance of an existing commercial building and will recognize a commercial area as a focal point of community life. A commercial structure will have economical maintenance cost and can offer flexibility in arrangement of office space.

Where available, store front space in an existing neighborhood shopping center might provide a most suitable location for a neighborhood service center. A shopping center location is desirable because of the convenience of the site to the neighborhood service center's clientele.

A shopping center would generally have adequate off-street parking, accessibility to major streets, and proximity to public transportation. Such a location generally provides good exposure to the public and is easily recognizable by prospective clients.

Existing public buildings might provide the initial location for a neighborhood center's operation. Vacant space in an operating school should not be used to house a center unless the school building has been designed or modified to accommodate the center. The activities of a center could conflict with or disrupt the normal educational activities of the institution. However, when the office space available to the center's staff is physically separated from a school's classroom and activity areas, the arrangement could be quite satisfactory. An example of the successful use of an existing school facility to house a center's operations is the Forest Park Neighborhood Service Center in Atlanta.⁹⁹ The band room, which was situated to provide physical separation from the rest of the school plant, was converted into office space and classroom-work areas. Another example of the use of space in a public building was the initial location of the Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center in a structure provided by the Atlanta Housing Authority in the Amanda Gardens Public Housing Project.¹⁰⁰

Existing residential structures have been used, but an older residential structure tends to have higher maintenance costs and higher modification costs. A residential structure does offer the advantages of an informal atmosphere. In Atlanta two centers, the Pittsburgh and the West End Neighborhood Service Centers, reflect the limitations of using former

residential structures to house a center's operations. In both cases, the buildings exhibit marked deterioration due to the difficulty of maintenance, and the office space is congested and poorly arranged for convenience or efficiency. In the case of the West End Neighborhood Service Center, the deteriorated condition of the center may be accelerating the decline of the surrounding residential setting.¹⁰¹

An alternative choice for the initial facility would be the use of prefabricated units or trailers. Such units might be available through the public housing authority, the urban renewal authority or the school system; or an arrangement could be made with a private firm for rental. The units could then be located on publicly owned land or positioned on available private property. This type of approach can provide a center with accommodations that are inexpensive, can offer flexibility for relocation under changing conditions and can be occupied in a relatively short time. Pre-assembled modular units would tend to be more adaptable for the use of a medium-size administrative facility than a large multipurpose operation. The floor space would be restrictive, less flexibility could be included in the layout for operational changes, and the inclusion of conference rooms, classrooms, or similar facilities would be unnecessarily costly. On a long-term basis, the maintenance cost tends to be less economical than a permanent structure. However, recent advances in the modular housing industry have produced a wide-variety of modular units that can offer considerable flexibility in arrangement.¹⁰² Also, there are modular units currently available on the market that conform to nationally accepted construction standards and resemble conventional structures when placed on permanent foundations.¹⁰³

Resident Involvement

In selecting the initial location of a center, resident involvement in the selection process should be actively promoted by the community action agency. Prior to the development of a functioning neighborhood organization, the participation of the residents may be achieved in a number of ways: (1) site committees established to evaluate locations should include residents, (2) open meetings can be held in the neighborhood to discuss the alternatives with the residents, and (3) neighborhood-wide referendums can permit the residents to make the ultimate decision on site selection.

Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. when implementing its neighborhood services program, utilized a site committee approach in each service area to select locations for the proposed centers.¹⁰⁴ The site committees or "task forces" were generally composed of staff members of the individual centers and key individuals chosen from the neighborhoods. The actual canvassing of a service area for potential locations was usually carried out by the professional staff members. Once the staff had established the possibilities, the entire committee looked at the various sites. The committee narrowed the selection to those choices that they considered feasible, and the residents of the neighborhood service area then determined the location by neighborhood-wide balloting.

Resident Participation in Program Revision

Resident participation and understanding is essential for the effective planning of a neighborhood services program. Programs developed

independently by specialists for a neighborhood may not pursue objectives or offer services which are truly needed by the residents. If neighborhood residents do not recognize a program as responding to their needs, local support and involvement will be absent. Individuals and neighborhood groups will tend to resist decisions and programs which are imposed upon them.¹⁰⁵ For real program effectiveness, an awareness of the need for action, and the consequent pressures for action, must come from within the neighborhood.¹⁰⁶

The Residents' Role in Decision Making

To achieve effective neighborhood involvement in the planning effort, the community action agency must go beyond simply consulting the residents on proposals and soliciting their reaction. Too often professionals' develop programs based on what they think to be the interests of the poor, and the poor are placed in a position of ratifying the professionals' interpretation of neighborhood needs and priorities. The residents and their representatives must actually be placed in a position where they can directly influence a center's program planning. The residents of the poverty area neighborhoods should be active in program development through: (1) elected representation on the board of the community action agency, (2) elected representation on the neighborhood advisory committees, (3) participation in neighborhood-wide and area block meetings, and (4) neighborhood referendums on key issues.

Full autonomy of the neighborhood organization as a policy-making body is not possible, since much of the resources for center operations will come from the community level. The board of the community action agency will have to weigh community-wide needs against the desires of the individual neighborhoods.¹⁰⁷ However, to maintain the active interest of

the poor in a neighborhood organization, there must be an early demonstration that the people participating in the neighborhood-level planning process will be able to make meaningful decisions and that their views will result in corrective action.¹⁰⁸

To increase the real effectiveness of resident participation, the staff of a center will have to assume a positive role in the planning process by providing detailed information, analysis, and guidance on the issues that are under examination. Local experiences indicate that sympathetic and patient staff support is required to make resident participation really work.¹⁰⁹ Although this staff direction in the planning process is warranted, the aim is to provide the residents an opportunity for participation and leadership. The intention is to work with the residents on a collaborative basis.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the participants should have sufficient freedom to have the final voice in this determination of local decisions and policies, even to the point of allowing them to make unwise decisions or create conflict and controversy.¹¹¹

Benefits of Resident Participation

Resident participation in program planning can aid the effectiveness of the neighborhood services program through (1) more responsive program development, (2) continuing program evaluation, and (3) development of local leadership skills.

Responsive Program Development. Neighborhood residents, participating in "area block" sessions, neighborhood-wide meetings, or the neighborhood advisory committee, can alert professional staff members to local problems that might otherwise be overlooked, since many problems in a

neighborhood may not be readily evident to an "outsider."¹¹² The representatives elected from the neighborhood can aid in establishing priorities by clarifying where the residents believe program emphasis should be placed. Lacked of participation in a program may be due to the manner of presentation and administration rather than an absence of need.

Continuing Program Evaluation. The participation of the neighborhood residents will offer a continuing reevaluation of the effectiveness of the program. Without both an awareness and an understanding by the residents, this invaluable aid to planning and operation of the center would not be possible. Charles R. Ross, commenting on the failure of social planning to involve those which the plans are intended to serve, noted,

A more understanding consultative process between the planning profession and the black community, might have avoided some of the conflicts arising from programs established for ghetto areas. We all had a tendency to project plans which we thought best, and failed to give due consideration to the black community's concept of what it considered to be the public interest.¹¹³

Development of Local Leadership Skills. A stated purpose of the community action program is to aid the residents in developing their ability to deal effectively with their own problems.¹¹⁴ This operates on an individual basis with a resident acquiring the knowledge, skill, training, or outlook necessary to alleviate economic problems and function in our modern urban society. This same objective should be pursued at a neighborhood-level. The local leadership, knowledge, and attitudes should be developed so the residents can work together to eliminate neighborhood problems. Participation in the planning program through the neighborhood organization will develop understanding of group action and community

organization. In this context, participation within the neighborhood organization is a form of citizenship training in which the residents working together to solve neighborhood problems "learn to value and appreciate cooperation as a problem solving method."¹¹⁵

A functional neighborhood organization with effective local leadership offers a structure that community leadership can recognize and work with in addressing neighborhood needs and problems. An effective neighborhood organization also provides continuity to local planning and neighborhood development efforts, even when residential patterns shift and individuals within the group change. The ability of the residents to establish a dialogue among themselves will permit them to determine their own goals, evaluate alternative courses of action, and plan their own self-help programs. This increase in the competence of residents to function within a neighborhood organization and to effectively involve themselves in planning efforts will permit more extensive local direction and administration of the neighborhood center's service program.¹¹⁶

Refining the Program

A basic program of services is determined for each neighborhood service center by the board of the community action agency. This initial program offered through the center serves as a vehicle for attracting participants and for convincing the neighborhood residents of the value of such a facility. When a service requirement appears to be unique to one or a few of the neighborhoods, development of that service should be delayed until the neighborhood organization is functioning, so the neighborhood residents can participate in the planning process. Once a neigh-

neighborhood organization is developed and a neighborhood advisory committee is operational, attention should be given to the modification and expansion of the neighborhood program to meet the specific local needs and conditions which are encountered.

Relationship of Agency and Neighborhood-level Planning Activities

The process of refining the program of an individual neighborhood center is a continuous process of review, analysis, and revision, which takes place at both the neighborhood level and at the community-organization level. When a particular service is not fulfilling the need for which it was intended, the neighborhood advisory committee should evaluate the program to seek specific changes that will result in operational improvements. These ideas, generated at the neighborhood level, should be submitted to the community action agency board for review and consolidation into the community-wide program.

The administrative staff of the community action agency should also be attempting to assemble pertinent information on the individual neighborhoods from all possible sources. Utilizing this data, the staff at the agency level should continually be reexamining identified needs of each service area and determining potential alternative means of dealing with these requirements. The alternatives developed by the agency, for amendment of existing services or implementation of additional programs, should be proposed to the neighborhood organizations for examination and discussion. In this manner there is a continual cross-feed of information and proposals between the community-level and the neighborhood-level organization.

Because of training, experience, and more extensive sources of information, the professionals on the staff will probably be the principal instigators of most neighborhood proposals and strategies. Neil Gilbert, in commenting on the initial three years of Pittsburgh's community action agency, the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources, Inc. (MCHR), observed that citizens' groups made some proposals and demands, but these actions had clear indications of professional prompting and guidance.¹¹⁷ The planner and the professionals on an agency's staff assume the position of advisors to assist the resident organization in clarifying ideas and giving expression to them. This closely follows Paul Davidoff's concept of the professional's role as an advocate for the poor.¹¹⁸ As an advocate, the planner would furnish the neighborhood organization with the pertinent information, analyze the neighborhood problems from the perspective of the residents, and propose to the neighborhood organization plans that are oriented to the needs and desires of the poor. In this process, the members on a neighborhood advisory committee should be encouraged to contribute their own suggestions to the discussions. Residents who can examine community needs without commitments to prevailing practices or concepts can sometimes offer a different viewpoint on a problem.

Though the board of the community action agency retains final approval over the utilization of resources, the residents of the individual neighborhoods, working through their neighborhood advisory committees and area block meetings, can significantly influence agency policy and programs by establishing an effective planning program and exercising independent initiative in program development. The neighborhood residents, through

their neighborhood organization, should define neighborhood needs, formulate neighborhood goals, analyze available resources and opportunities, identify alternative solutions, and prepare detailed plans. The neighborhood residents can most effectively promote revisions in the content of the center's program by presenting the agency with specific proposals for change which are backed by a clear presentation of facts and analysis of need.

A Center's Planning Activities

If planning is to be fully effective in a neighborhood, the goals and program objectives formulated by the residents must be specific, realistic, and achievable; otherwise energies will be dissipated and disappointment will discourage continued participation.¹¹⁹ The neighborhood advisory committee with the assistance of the staff needs to decide which proposed alternatives offer the best possibility for program success and which alternatives offer the greatest probability of being accepted by the board of the community action agency. In determining the probability of agency backing, the neighborhood organization should consider whether the proposed objectives of their plans conflict with interests of other poor and non-poor groups in the community.¹²⁰ If plans will require local implementation, the probability of program success may depend on the availability of the resources needed to realize the proposed goals. Especially in developing a neighborhood-level self-help program, the neighborhood advisory committee should consider whether the projected timetable for carrying out each phase of a plan and achieving the program goals is realistic.¹²¹

A neighborhood center's program development activity requires effective coordination between the center and a variety of other organizations. However, a center will sometimes encounter resistance to innovation in parallel agencies. When interagency coordination on development of a needed service does not produce results, the center must either independently develop the program or promote its development outside the normal channels of agency coordination. In discussing this aspect of neighborhood center program development, Milton R. Lincoln, Center Director of the Edgewood Neighborhood Center in Atlanta, commented,

The neighborhood service centers in Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. have started off many types of specialized services, but as the programs matured other agencies began to pick-up the responsibility for these specialized functions and began to implement the services themselves. The neighborhood center in the guidelines has supposedly been a service-oriented facility, but we have assumed this role many times to bring about institutional change, to prove that certain kinds of functions could practically be undertaken, and to identify services that are needed. The neighborhood center has also functioned as an experimental agency, to explore new kinds of services so these services could later be transferred to other agencies that are designed to handle those types of activities.¹²²

The Central City Neighborhood Service Center in Atlanta offers an example of area residents recognizing local problems and promoting the development of a service to meet these needs. The Central City residents expressed the need for a neighborhood health center. After attempting for three years to interest the Fulton County Health Department in establishing a branch health center within the area, the Central City Neighborhood Service Center obtained permission to use a building owned by the Georgia Institute of Technology and convinced twenty-five doctors to volunteer their time to operate a clinic in the evenings, when the residents

would be able to visit the facility. The center director regards the operation of the clinic by the Central City Neighborhood Service Center as only temporary until enough pressure is brought to bear on the county health department to convince them that a public facility should be established in the neighborhood.¹²³ Another center director in Atlanta commenting on this aspect of neighborhood center service operations noted,

The neighborhood service centers in Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. have on occasion bridged service gaps as a technique in community organization. A neighborhood center by supplying a service and getting the residents accustomed to the service can then refocus the community's attention in the direction of those agencies that should actually be supplying that service.¹²⁴

Individual service programs of a neighborhood center are frequently taken over by "delegate" agencies which assume responsibility for the program and continue the activity with their own personnel. Centers will assume the role of an initiator of needed programs and subsequently convince other agencies to carry on the activities. In Atlanta, the Pittsburg Neighborhood Service Center utilized its own resources and staff to initially provide a variety of specialized services, which included a head start program, home management courses, and a housing department that provided referral and counseling services.¹²⁵ Subsequently, the responsibility for the head start program was assumed by the school system; the recreation program for neighborhood youth was taken over by a private "delegate" agency within the community; and the Model Cities Program accepted responsibility for home management and consumer counseling and provided a Model Cities consultant to handle the neighborhood housing problems. Another example occurred when the Edgewood Neighborhood Service

Center operated a "family planning clinic" until the Dekalb County Public Health Department was convinced that a need existed and that the operation of such a program at the neighborhood level was feasible. Once the Health Department took over the function, the "family planning clinic" was re-located to the branch public health center in the neighborhood.¹²⁶

CHAPTER VI

PLANNING THE PHYSICAL FACILITY

Planning for a physical facility to accommodate the operations of a neighborhood service center should be guided by community goals, neighborhood needs, economic considerations, and the administrative requirements of the service program. The first step in the planning effort is to determine the type of functions the facility should perform and the concept on which the center will be modeled. Once the general characteristics of the facility have been established, a suitable location for the center must be determined. If a new building is to be constructed or an existing structure modified to house the center's operations, the final step will then be determining the design for the center.

The concepts that guide selection of the initial location for a center and the selection of a subsequent location are essentially the same. However, with a neighborhood center functioning in an existing center during the planning process, a new location may be selected after careful study without the urgent pressure for immediate occupancy. Also in planning for a subsequent location, a center does have an option of being housed in another structure under a short or long term agreement. Also a "permanent" location in a publicly-owned facility that has been built or modified to house the center or in a privately-owned structure leased under a long-term agreement can provide the staff with a modern efficient facility that is specifically designed to accommodate a center's operations.

Resident Participation in Facility Planning

Planning for the physical facility of a neighborhood service center should be a collaborative effort of the neighborhood residents and the professional specialists. The National Commission on Urban Problems advocated that in planning a neighborhood center the views of a neighborhood should be actively sought from the very beginning in order that the residents can identify with the center and its activities.¹²⁷ If the concept, location, and design of a center does not reflect the needs and priorities of its intended clientele, the facility may not be effective in achieving resident participation within a neighborhood.

The professionals have the responsibility to identify and discuss the potential alternatives with the residents and translate the neighborhood aspirations and functional priorities into concrete proposals. The professionals have the role of assembling and analyzing information on community goals, neighborhood needs, and financing which is pertinent to deciding the type of facility that should house a center's operations. The staff of the community action agency, the planners, and the architects should cooperate to develop recommendations on the space and operational requirements of the proposed facility, possible sites, and physical layout. The alternative proposals and available data should be examined jointly with the resident representatives on the neighborhood advisory committee during the actual development process. The active presence of the residents at this stage in the planning process assures that their value systems and interpretation of the facts are reflected adequately in the ultimate recommendations.

When the neighborhood advisory committee has narrowed the possible choices on concept and location, public meetings can be held in the neighborhood to present the alternatives and solicit comments and recommendations from the general population residing in the area. Resident reaction would probably be more representative if these meetings were conducted in the individual sub-areas of a neighborhood or by block committees. The residents should then be afforded the option to make the final selection through a neighborhood-wide referendum. The balloting could be a selection between designated alternatives or could, in special cases, be a simple ratification or rejection of a proposed project. An example of the latter approach occurred in the Nash-Washington Neighborhood Service Area of Atlanta. The residents voted in a neighborhood referendum on the issue of whether to approve participation of the neighborhood center in a joint facility proposed by the public school system. In that case, the residents had the option to ratify the proposal or vote to retain the existing facility.

Determining the Type of Facility

Before plans are developed on either location or design of a center, a policy decision must be made on the type of facility in which a center's operation will be housed. The function and physical layout of a center will vary depending on the offices and facilities of other community agencies that may be housed in the structure. Community goals, neighborhood needs, and the potential for financing must all be considered when developing the concept of a facility which will accommodate a center.

Neighborhood center facilities range from complex multi-purpose

structures designed to achieve a variety of goals to single-purpose facilities which house the administrative staff of only one type of service. In New Haven, Connecticut, the Neighborhood Employment Centers are an example of a single purpose facility operating out of a simple storefront location.¹²⁸ These centers, which were established by Community Progress, Inc. provide counseling and referral services in the areas of training and employment. In general, neighborhood service centers are more complex operations, which are staffed with personnel of the community action agency and various delegate agencies and offer a broader package of services. A sophisticated version of grouped services is the branch administrative center which houses both neighborhood center operations and a variety of decentralized municipal services. The concept of a branch administrative center, branch "civic" center, or "little city hall" has also been implemented in various cities, including Los Angeles, San Diego, and New York.¹²⁹

Community Goals

In planning a center, consideration should be given to the achievement of goals which have been established for the community. For example, the community action agency in Pittsburgh, based on a community goal of strengthening existing neighborhood-level organizations, decided to implement its neighborhood services program through the existing settlement houses which were already present in four of the target areas.¹³⁰ Other community goals might result in planning emphasis being placed on coordinating the network of programs serving a neighborhood, or on stimulating the decentralization of community services to the neighborhood level.

A neighborhood center based on the branch administrative center concept is an example of a design that would function to achieve the goals of efficient and convenient service to the residents of a neighborhood.¹³¹ The facility is convenient for clients who can go to one known, permanent location to contact all neighborhood-level public services. In addition, the branch administrative center could potentially offer functional economies and increased administrative efficiency through reduced development cost, easy inter-departmental contact, flexibility to adjust space requirements to program changes, and the joint use of physical plant facilities such as parking space, telephone switchboards, conference rooms, rest rooms, mail service, and janitorial services.¹³² In this type of jointly occupied facility, the staff of the community action agency would generally interview all the new clients visiting a center and refer them to the appropriate services. This would save the time of several agencies' intake personnel and would save an applicant the stress of having to repeat the interview process with each agency.¹³³

Neighborhood Needs

Another important consideration in planning a center is the facility's potential for serving neighborhood needs. A center functions to improve community services in a neighborhood, but the potential of a center goes beyond the limited objectives of providing a program of related social services. While duplication of already existing neighborhood facilities should be avoided, a neighborhood center could accommodate a diversity of activities that would appeal to the entire neighborhood and encourage maximum use of the facility on a seven-day-a-week basis. A

center's physical plant could be designed as a multi-purpose complex that meets a wide variety of neighborhood educational, cultural, social, and recreational needs. Recreation facilities, youth centers, and neighborhood assembly halls are examples of community needs which might be compatibly integrated into the physical design of a neighborhood center.

The housing of schools and neighborhood centers in a single physical plant is another example of centralizing all the services needed in a neighborhood under one roof. Facilities, which implement this concept of a "community school" linking neighborhood center and public school operations, may be found in Flint, Michigan; New Haven, Connecticut; Atlanta, Georgia; and Chattanooga, Tennessee.¹³⁴ In Atlanta, the John F. Kennedy School and Community Center houses the three grades of a "middle" (junior high) school, a community auditorium, recreation facilities, adult education facilities, and the neighborhood offices of a number of agencies, including the community action agency, the welfare department, the recreation department, and the housing authority.¹³⁵

Financing

The planning of any public facility must be influenced by the availability of funding. The policy decisions concerning a center's functions, the site location, and the type of structure must be based on both administrative requirements and economic considerations. The Office of Economic Opportunity will share the cost of renting neighborhood center office space, but community action funds cannot generally be used to purchase real property or to construct buildings.¹³⁶ However, the fact that the Office of Economic Opportunity cannot fund construction of a building

does not limit the locational choices to existing suitable structures. A community action agency can become the tenant in a facility constructed by another public agency or a private developer. Therefore, the feasibility of remodeling an available public structure or building a new facility may be determined by whether adequate funding can be obtained from potential federal and local sources for a construction project. A community action agency also has the option of agreeing to a long-term lease in exchange for construction of a facility to the agency's specifications by a private developer.

Programs for funding the construction of community facilities are available from the Department of Housing and Urban Development; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Department of Commerce; and many state governments. Disadvantaged neighborhoods may be served by centers incorporated in projects constructed under the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Urban Renewal and Model Cities programs.¹³⁷ Financial assistance for construction of multi-use educational facilities may be obtained through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under specified conditions.¹³⁸ Communities with economic problems can obtain assistance in construction of comprehensive health facilities from the Economic Development Administration of the Department of Commerce.¹³⁹ Special note should be made of Section 703 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, which authorizes grants to cover up to two-thirds of the costs of construction or renovation of neighborhood facilities. This "Neighborhood Facilities Program" gives funding preference to multi-purpose neighborhood centers which are designed to serve low-income families and which further the goals of community action programs.¹⁴⁰

When Federal funds are used to construct or remodel a facility, local assistance is required to provide the necessary matching funds. The source or sources of local funding for construction costs will depend upon the functions that the facility is to perform. Construction of a facility that houses the offices of a center's staff and a variety of decentralized administrative services might be financed by the municipal administration as a branch administrative center for the city hall. When the concept of development involves the joint sharing of the new facility with the school system, the recreation department, or the health department, then that public agency will function as the project applicant and provide matching funds for the federal "Neighborhood Facilities Program" grant. This type of public funding and joint occupancy highlights the necessity of the early planning activities involving all pertinent agencies which serve the neighborhood residents.

The lease of a facility specifically designed by a private developer for the needs of a neighborhood center's operations is not common, but the potential for such an arrangement does exist. In general, a community action agency will rent a suitable structure on a short term basis, and the property owner will make minor modifications to adapt the facility to the operational needs of the staff. Capital expenditures for the actual construction of a facility or the major remodeling or renovation of a structure generally will only be made by a developer if he is certain that the return on the investment can justify his investment.¹⁴¹ To be sure that the capital costs for a special facility, such as a neighborhood center, can be amortized, a property owner must require the protection

afforded by a long-term lease. A long-term lease will also permit the lessor to obtain mortgage financing of the construction costs. An example of this approach is the Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center in Atlanta.¹⁴² In exchange for a long-term rental agreement from Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. a private developer constructed a facility to the agency's specifications at an approved location in the neighborhood.

Selecting the Location of the Facility

A center's location will be a compromise between various desirable characteristics. The site of a neighborhood service center should be chosen on the basis of (1) accessibility to those it will serve, (2) the relationship to other facilities in the neighborhood, (3) the prominence of the location, and (4) the space requirements of the facility. The choice of location should also be considered in the perspective of the probable changes that may occur in the neighborhood during the life of the structure. The locational factors which should predominate in a given service area must depend on the characteristics of the particular neighborhood and the goals established for the center's program.

The community planning agency is the most qualified, because of physical planning expertise, to develop proposals for the alternative locations and make recommendations on the most appropriate site for a facility. In planning for the location of a center, the staff of a planning agency can draw upon the experience gained in community facilities planning. The development of plans for the location of public facilities involves the evaluation of functional requirements, convenience standards, space needs, and spatial relationships. The planners will need to

coordinate their proposals with the center's staff, the neighborhood advisory committee, and any community agencies that will share the facility. If a new center is to be constructed, the planners will need to consult with the architects on site requirements.

Geographic Centrality vs. Proximity to Hardcore Problem Families

While a center should be accessible to everyone in the neighborhood, the facility should be most convenient to those residents to whom the services are oriented. Since a neighborhood may contain a broad spectrum of the community, the population center of a delineated service area may not be the best location for that segment of the residents who need the services most. The social data assembled by blocks can define those sections of a neighborhood with the highest concentrations of poverty. The board of the community action agency must decide if the location of a center should be chosen primarily for accessibility to the general population of the neighborhood or to those with the most critical need for assistance.

Accessibility

Accessibility is the key factor to consider in choosing a site for the neighborhood center. The primary reason for locating a center in a neighborhood is to provide services where they will be convenient to the poor. The locational decision should therefore consider both the street pattern and physical barriers. A street pattern can facilitate or hinder access to a center. Major arteries, rapid transit lines, freeways, railroad yards, and industrial areas can obstruct pedestrian access from part of a neighborhood to an improperly located center.

A neighborhood center's location should take advantage of any special mode of transportation that may be available in a neighborhood.¹⁴³ The presence of economical public transportation can increase the effective service radius of a center; and bus or rapid transit lines provide greater convenience for the residents since public transportation plays a large role in the lives of the poor. A rapid transit station within easy walking distance of the center makes following through on referrals to downtown agencies much easier for the clients. A suitable alternative may be a location on a bus line that provides feeder service to a rapid transit station. If a site directly on a bus line is not available, an agreement might be made with the bus company for an alteration in the existing route to provide access to the center. Consideration should also be given to the hours of operation of bus lines to insure maximized public usage of the center. If buses stop running on a route after normal working hours, those persons who are dependent on public transportation could be cut off from convenient access to the facility in the evening.

Standards have not been established by the Office of Economic Opportunity on the positioning of a center within a neighborhood. In general, a center should be located so that it is accessible to the poor either by public transportation or by walking. This type of standard would be comparable to the locational requirements of neighborhood schools, recreation facilities, or health centers. These facilities, which are the most common types of community service uses that might be linked with a center, have locational requirements which are complementary to the need for accessibility of a neighborhood center.¹⁴⁴ In the case of school

plants¹⁴⁵ and recreation centers,¹⁴⁶ extensive guidance is readily available on accessibility standards which could be used in locating the new facility. High schools and community recreation centers, which have service area populations similar to a neighborhood center, have an access radius of one to one-and-one-half miles as standard walking distance for users.¹⁴⁷

Functional Relationships

Consideration should be given to locating the center in proximity to existing and planned public facilities, since this arrangement can more effectively promote the coordination of programs and referral of clients. It is a common complaint of people who must use government services that they are directed about the community from one public office to another.¹⁴⁸ If the branch offices of the various public services were located closer together, the confusion and strain on the client could be lessened.¹⁴⁹ An informal grouping of branch offices could be an alternative to the actual housing of all the services of the various agencies in one center.

In selecting the location for a center, a site should be chosen that takes advantage of any existing concentrations of public services. If several branch offices have located in the same general area, that location has probably established a reputation as a community service area. To determine whether such informal groupings of service facilities do exist, a survey of existing branch offices and projected plans for additional branch locations should be conducted. Prior to development of a plan for branch administration centers in San Diego County, California, a survey was taken of all branch county operations and of departmental plans for

new branch offices.¹⁵⁰ This type of survey notes already recognizable focal points of community services, discloses locations that could potentially be developed as focal points for branch offices, and reveals projected plans of service agencies that could reinforce service concentrations.

If a grouping of branch offices does not exist, the center could promote the creation of this type of service area by encouraging agencies operating in the neighborhood to locate in the general vicinity of the center. The resulting concentration of agency offices could take the form of a complex of physically related structures or a group of independent buildings located in the same general vicinity. The Los Angeles Master Plan of Branch Administrative Centers envisioned the city's "minor" centers as being composed of separate buildings for individual service agencies grouped on a single site or in convenient proximity to one another.¹⁵¹ Whatever the final form may be, the important result is the creation of a grouping of public facilities that is recognized by the neighborhood residents as the place to seek assistance.

Visibility

A facility's visibility is a factor to consider in selection of a location. A prominent location can offer maximum exposure to the residents, making the center an easily identifiable fixture in the community and linking the facility with the neighborhood being served. A site on a major street is desirable both for the advantage of increased accessibility to clients and for visibility to the resident population.¹⁵² A location on an established bus line or near a rapid transit station would also be

desirable for the exposure to the traveling public, as well as the convenience to the clientele. A site near a focal point of community life could also provide a prominent location. The typical focal points of a neighborhood are the community school, the traditional shopping area, a community center, a park, a recreation area, or a grouping of public service agencies.¹⁵³

The exposure offered by a prominent location in a neighborhood is more significant for the initial location chosen by a center, than for subsequent locations. The initial facility needs a visible location (1) to advertise its presence to the resident population, (2) to be easily recognizable to prospective clients, and (3) to stimulate interest and acceptance through identification with the neighborhood. Because a center's operation is limited to the neighborhood within which it is located, the recognition a center may receive from a highly visible location is less essential once the facility has become established in the community. Dissemination of information among the local residents on the service function a center performs is most effectively achieved through an intensive outreach program, neighborhood organization efforts, and informal contacts among the residents. More critical to the long-term effectiveness of a center will be a location's convenience to the clients and physical proximity to other neighborhood service facilities.

Neighborhood Trends

The choice of location for the center should be influenced by both the present form of the neighborhood and the projected future changes. The Land Use Plan, the Transportation Plan, and the Community Facilities Plan of the city can be examined for proposals that might influence the

locational decision. A projected school, park, recreational center, or rapid transit station are compatible public facilities which may be desirable in proximity to a center. Other factors that might also be considered are proposed freeways, rapid transit lines, or non-residential land uses that would block access from part of the service area to a potential location for a center.

A center's location should also be evaluated in respect to projected shifts in the location or concentration of hard core problem families. Public housing projects, low-cost rental apartments, housing projects for the elderly, or urban renewal projects are future alterations in a neighborhood that could influence the locational choice since they may change the density or character of the population to be served. If the occurrence of significant population shifts is projected, a location that would be oriented to future concentrations of the poor may be more desirable than one that is geared to the existing residential pattern of poor families.

Site Requirements

The site must be large enough to contain the center or center complex, and, in addition, accommodate necessary parking space, appropriate landscaping, and allowance for future expansion. In addition, provision must be made for any public-use areas, such as recreational facilities, that may be projected for the center. The site should be large enough to provide for integrated extensions to the projected structure or construction of supplementary buildings to increase the administrative floor space. Admittedly it is difficult to predict the least amount of land which will prove adequate for a permanent site of a center.¹⁵⁴ It is a

much safer policy to acquire at the beginning more than the minimum area necessary. The San Diego County Planning Commission recommended that the sites for branch administrative centers provide enough space to double the initially required floor area.¹⁵⁵

Every center needs and should have adequate off-street parking. The space devoted to parking must be related to the size of the ultimate facility it is to serve, not just to the initial unit.¹⁵⁶ The amount of space that will be required for parking may be determined by the number of employees' cars, the number of public vehicles that may be provided for agency use, and the projected volume of clients that will drive to the center.¹⁵⁷ Since the level of automobile ownership is less in the poverty areas than in the general population, a significant proportion of the clients may be expected to ride public transportation or walk to reach the facility.

Cost of land acquisition and preparation will, of course, be a significant factor in site selection.¹⁵⁸ Land values are rapidly increasing in most inner-cities, and the cost of acquiring a site on which to locate the new facility may be a major element in the capital expenditure. If a permanent facility, occupied by a center's operations, is owned by the local government, the power of eminent domain may be used in acquiring a site. High property values may make an otherwise desirable site prohibitively costly. However, a site should not be evaluated just on the basis of its cost.¹⁵⁹

Designing the Facility

Once a policy has been established on the basic form and function

of a facility and a site has been chosen, the construction or renovation plans for the facility should be prepared by architects based on the requirements of the center's service operations and the functions that the facility may be expected to perform. In designing the facility, the space requirements of the individual functions must be established, and a physical layout must be developed which permits the compatible operation of the various activities. The aesthetic values and psychological needs of the prospective clients should also influence the design process.

Space Requirements

A principal consideration in designing a physical plant to house a center is adequate accommodation of the space requirements of administrative and service activities. These requirements are dictated by the types of services that will be offered, the functional relationship of the various agencies located in the facility, and the size of the staffs. Multi-agency facilities will usually require telephone switchboards, conference rooms, public rest rooms, and reception areas.¹⁶⁰ The floor space required by the individual agencies will include both actual office space and any storage space that may be needed.¹⁶¹ The floor area required for user-oriented facilities which are linked with a center, such as youth centers, senior citizens' clubs, day-care centers, or neighborhood recreation centers, should be determined by the types of activities that those facilities propose to conduct and the projected daily patronage.

The space requirements of the individual agencies can be established by evaluating the floor space the agency is actually occupying, the additional space needed at present,¹⁶² and the projected space needs. The

San Diego Planning Commission, in discussing branch administrative centers, recommended that each center should have ample space for the agencies assigned and should allow for a twenty-five percent increase in use of floor space without new construction.¹⁶³ This flexibility is especially important because of the innovative role of a center in developing new services to demonstrate their necessity and feasibility.

The principal demand for office space in a neighborhood center's physical plant will probably be generated by the staff of the community action agency. The actual size and composition of a center's staff are variable depending on the available funding, the size of the service area, the number of clients that the center handles, the client response to various services, the skill and training of the staff, and the orientation of that particular neighborhood program. Without well defined guidelines on staffing, each center's organization will have to develop with the evolution of the neighborhood's service program.

Design

The physical layout of a neighborhood service center will not be distinctive from administrative offices of other public service activities. A facility that is specifically designed to accommodate a center's operations should be (1) functional, (2) attractive, and (3) client oriented. The layout should be functional because the facility houses important public services and should serve to improve administrative and operational efficiency. The structure should be attractive because the center is a prominent feature of the neighborhood in which it is located and should act as a focal point. An attractive facility can function to stimulate

the upgrading of both the immediate setting and the entire neighborhood.

The design of a neighborhood center should be oriented to the client from both the standpoint of convenience and physical appeal. Based on their cultural perspectives, the poor will have their own images of a desirable appearance and physical organization for a center. It is the architects' responsibility to resolve the functional considerations posed by the facility's staff with the image of a center that is held by the clients. To ensure that a center's design is responsive to the aesthetic desires and psychological needs of the individuals to be served by the facility, the architect should seek methods to actively involve a center's clients in the design process.

The physical design of a neighborhood service center cannot be stereotyped. The type of structure that will house a neighborhood center can take a variety of forms depending on the policy decisions which determine the concept of the facility. The center can be a single building, a complex, or a group of loosely related structures. The Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center in Atlanta is a single purpose structure that houses only the offices of the Center's staff and certain delegate agencies. In contrast, the Summerhill-Mechanicsville Neighborhood Service Center has office space located in a complex of related structures constructed by the Atlanta Model Cities Program to accommodate their own administrative offices and a variety of decentralized municipal services. In another part of the city, the John F. Kennedy School and Community Center is a multi-purpose structure that accommodates a school, recreation facilities, the neighborhood center's operations, and the branch offices of various community services.

Functional Considerations. The decisions that dictate the functional concept of a center establish a basis for planning the physical layout of the structure. Since a center may house the offices of a number of neighborhood oriented service activities, such as employment and counseling service or a welfare casework service, the physical plant should be designed to reflect the operational interrelationships of agencies and facilitate an integrated program of client services. If the layout simplifies inter-agency coordination, considerable economy in time can be achieved both by personnel housed in the facility and by the general public visiting the center. Consideration must also be given to the physical relationship of administrative offices to other neighborhood facilities which the building is intended to house. If the center's administrative offices are linked with a community school, a recreation facility, a neighborhood health center, or other specialized facility, the design must provide for the physical separation of the functions within the structure or complex. This is necessary to avoid functional conflicts that would be detrimental to the effectiveness of each operation.

Control of public access to administrative offices should be provided for in the design of a center. A reception point and waiting area, where contact with visitors is initially established and individuals may be directed to the proper staff member, is essential for the systematic operation of a center. This type of arrangement is not intended to isolate the staff from the clientele, but to regulate the flow of clients to provide staff members an opportunity to give adequate attention to each individual. In a multi-agency facility, the staff of the community

action agency would logically be responsible for this reception and initial interview of new clients. The National Commission on Urban Problems noted that the delegation of this responsibility to one agency would be more efficient and would function to improve inter-agency coordination on individual cases. The necessity of each agency having its own intake personnel would be eliminated and the individual clients would be spared the irritation of repeating their case histories to a series of strangers.¹⁶⁴

The physical layout of a center should also include provision for staff members to conduct confidential interviews with clients. Staff counselors, who spend most of their time interviewing and advising clients, will need private offices for this purpose. Intake personnel will spend only part of their time in initial interviews obtaining case histories from new clients; therefore, the privacy necessary for those personnel may best be achieved by constructing partitions between desks or providing a limited number of interview rooms for the use of the entire staff.

For the most effective utilization of available floor space, the potential for multiple use of facilities within the structure or complex should be explored. Since residents should be encouraged to use the center both during the day and in the evenings on a seven-day-a-week basis, there will be many activities which are scheduled at different times that could use the same floor space. It would, therefore, be desirable for a center's facilities to be designed for flexible multi-purpose use. For instance, an area that is used for home management classes in the morning, might be used for a senior citizens' program in the afternoon, and an adult basic education class at night. Floor space could be planned so

movable partitions might be opened to create large unimpeded floor areas or closed off to form smaller classrooms or meeting rooms. In a multipurpose complex, areas that are used for school activities during classroom hours might be utilized for an integrated program of education, recreation, and community activities in the evening, oriented to all age groups.

When a structure is specifically constructed or renovated to accommodate a neighborhood service center, the facility is expected to meet the needs of that community for many years. Therefore, two factors that should be considered in a center's design are extensibility and maintenance. The design should make provision for future additions to the basic structure, since the facility may need to increase the existing floor space to accommodate program changes as the characteristics of the resident population change and the population density increases. The building materials used in a center should be evaluated in the perspective of economic maintenance cost through the projected operational life of the building. The entire facility, especially those elements intended for public use, will receive heavy usage and may be subject to a high incidence of vandalism. In a facility of this nature, the materials selected for areas of constant public use should both facilitate the daily cleaning operation and provide long term durability under heavy wear. Materials that would be costly to repair or difficult to replace in case of vandalism should be avoided.

Aesthetic Considerations. A neighborhood center can have a significant impact on surrounding land use and can function to stabilize or

regenerate a declining section in a neighborhood. Because of the facility's importance as a focal point within a neighborhood, a center's physical appearance should be compatible with surrounding development and exert a positive influence on its environmental setting. If a center is one element in a complex of institutional facilities, the exterior design should contribute to the continuity of the overall complex. An exterior appearance of a office building would be suitable for a location in the vicinity of a commercial area; but in a residential setting, a facade that blends with the surrounding development might be more acceptable to the neighborhood's residents. Of course, the acceptability of a center's physical appearance is based on the cultural perspective of the individual, and a consensus of resident opinion on an aesthetically pleasing design for a particular setting may vary from one neighborhood to another.

Within the limits imposed by functional requirements, the interior design should minimize the institutional appearance of a center. A center should strive to become part of the neighborhood and specifically orient to the residents and their needs. The experiences of the poor in institutional environments, such as schools, courts, welfare offices, and employment services, have generally been unsatisfactory and frequently unpleasant. It is not surprising that the poor tend to be ill at ease in the formal administrative environment that is found in most public offices and institutions. To create a pleasant environment which will encourage clients to visit the facility and use its services, the interior design of a center should create an informal atmosphere in which the residents of the neighborhood can feel comfortable.

Involvement of the Clientele in Design Preparation. A neighborhood service center, if it is to be fully effective in meeting the needs of the neighborhood it serves, should create a pleasant environment for the residents which use the facility. During development of the plans for a center, an architect will tend to rely heavily on the staff for guidance on the operational and aesthetic requirements of the facility, but the cultural and psychological perspectives of the clients may differ drastically from those of either the architect or the facility's staff. Therefore, the views of those clients must be actively sought during the design process. Recognizing this need, an architectural firm in Atlanta employed a different approach in the design research for the Edgewood Parent-Child Center.¹⁶⁵ The methods used in that study offer a technique for effective client participation in design preparation.

In the design development of the Edgewood Parent-Child Center, a delegate agency of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. established to educate neighborhood parents in child care and better home management, the architects actively sought the clients' ideas on the idealized parent-child center and explored their concepts and perceptions of this type of facility. The architects then compared their findings with the results of a parallel study that was being conducted using more conventional methods that relied primarily on the facility's staff to establish design requirements. They concluded that the views of the poor were ignored in the traditional approach because the poor did not "talk the same language" as the professionals and were unable to verbally articulate their ideas in terms that were understandable by the middle-class professional. To

overcome this barrier, the architects used a combination of verbal and non-verbal techniques in their design research to obtain the clients' ideas. The following techniques were used.

(1) The parents were encouraged to build, with sheets of foam core, their own idealized version of the proposed facility.

(2) The parents were shown hundreds of slides of exterior and interior views of various kinds of structures and furnishings and were requested to select those illustrations that most closely matched their own images of how the facility should appear.

(3) The parents were asked specific questions about their opinions on the physical requirements of the facility, such as room size, layout, furnishings and desired physical relationships of various elements of the center.

The findings in the research for the Edgewood Parent-Child Center indicate that the poor do have definite ideas about the orientation of facilities that serve their needs. The clients involved in the study visualized the center in terms of a home probably because this was the type of environment with which they were most familiar and in which they were most comfortable. They wanted the exterior of the structure to have an appearance similar to the average residence located in that neighborhood, and they indicated that the classrooms of the facility should be designed to look like livingrooms. Many of the ideas of the staff professionals were rejected by the clients. The clients did not comprehend the need for an administrative area that was set apart from the classrooms and resented the idea that the staff might want to be separated from them. The clients also rejected the concept of specifically designated

space for offices, testing areas, or utility rooms. "What was most important to the parent-student was the relationship between their classroom and the children's play area. They insisted that the parents in the classroom should have visual contact with their children."¹⁶⁶

The approach used in the Edgewood Parent-Child Center study has application in the more complex design process of a multi-purpose neighborhood service center. The architect has the responsibility to explain to the clients the functional requirements of a center and to assist those clients in articulating their own views in practical and concrete terms. Those views may best be obtained through a combination of graphic and verbal explorations of the clients' perception of the idealized facility. A generalization can be drawn that the staff of a facility may not be fully cognizant of the aesthetic and psychological perspective of the clients. Therefore the architect must balance the functional considerations posed by a center's staff with the image that is held by the clients. A fixed rule cannot be established on whether the staff's or the clients' perception of a facility should dominate the design process. It would be logical to conclude that both the staff and the clients can make positive contributions to the development of an acceptable design.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the research of literature in the field and the examination of actual operating neighborhood centers, certain conclusions have been reached. The planning process for a neighborhood services program should function at two separate levels in the community action agency's organization. The preliminary phase of planning and program development should be executed by the agency at the community level prior to initiation of the centers in the individual neighborhoods. In the second phase, which involves the establishment of the operating facility in the neighborhood service area, emphasis should be placed on neighborhood-level planning activities with the residents assuming a significant role in the planning and program development efforts. The sequence of events in the planning process is graphically illustrated in Figure 1 on the following page.

The initial phase of planning is the development of a basic program of neighborhood services for each of the centers to be established. The planning and program development activities of the community action agency should proceed in the following sequence.

1. The board of the community action agency formulates a set of goals for the neighborhood services program.
2. The actual areas to be served by the individual neighborhood centers are delineated with the objective of defining boundaries that can

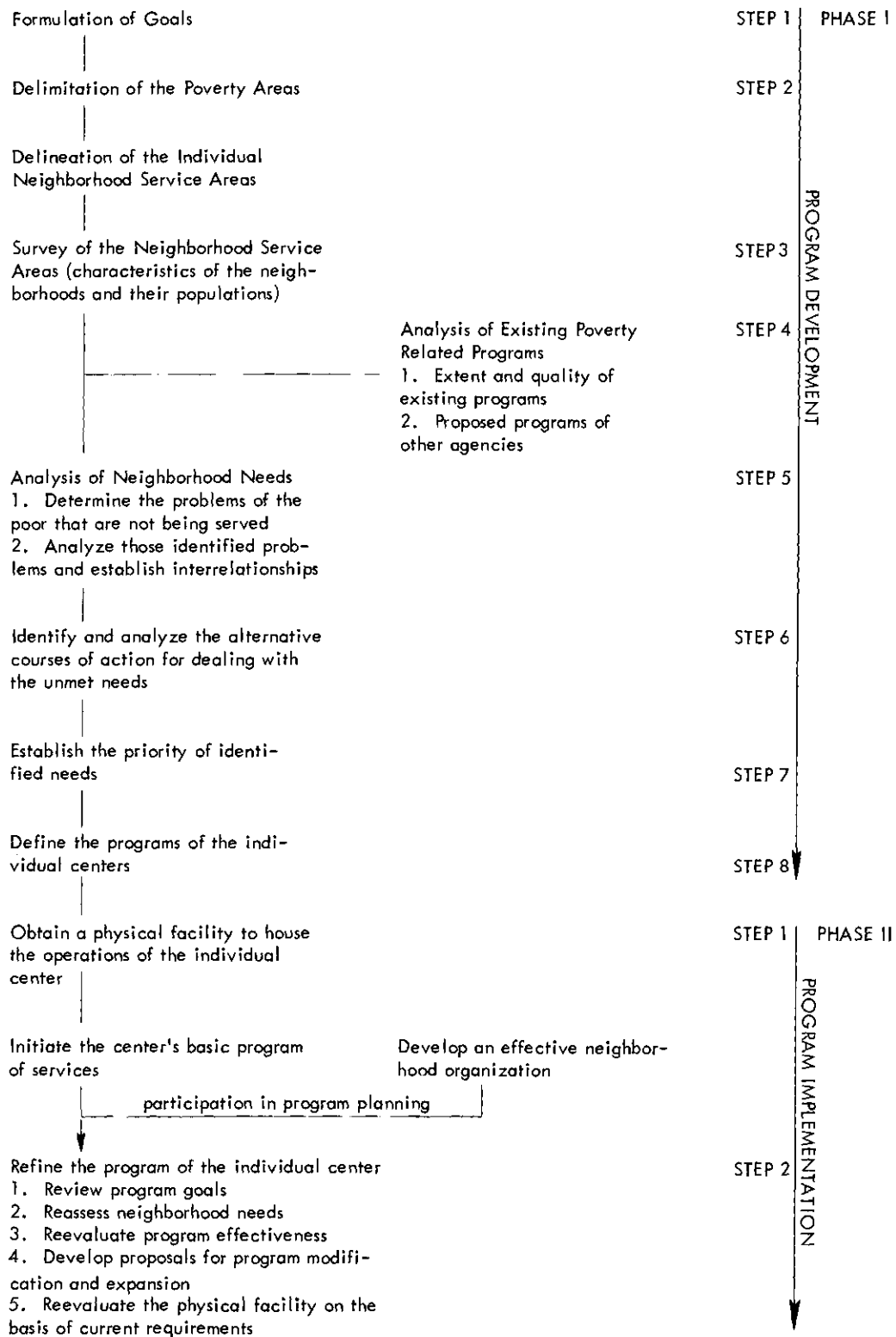


Figure 1. Planning Sequence for the Development of a Neighborhood Services Program

be efficiently served by the center and that promote the goals of the neighborhood services program.

3. A survey of the community's poverty areas is undertaken to define the problems of the poor and provide a detailed analysis of the individual neighborhoods.

4. The staff of the community action agency develops the basic programs for the individual centers in the following manner.

a. Initially, the needs of the residents of each neighborhood are defined and analyzed.

b. The alternative courses of action for addressing these recognized needs are identified and evaluated.

c. The board of the community action agency establishes a framework of priorities based on the relative significance of the various requirements of the residents.

d. The staff of the agency prepares recommendations on the organization of a center's service programs and the allocation of resources among the various services. Using these recommendations as a basis for study, the board then develops policy decisions on the program content and administration of the center.

The second phase of planning for a neighborhood service center involves the implementation of the program in the individual service areas. This phase concerns the selection of a location for the facility, the initiation of a basic program of services, and the refinement of a center's programs.

1. When instituting a service program in a neighborhood, the first

step is to choose an initial location for the facility to provide a base of operations.

2. Emphasis is placed on organizing resident participation in the neighborhood-level planning. This requires the development of an organizational framework through which the residents of the poverty areas take an active part in the planning program.

3. After a center is established and the neighborhood organization is functioning, attention is given to modification and expansion of the neighborhood program to meet the local needs and conditions which are encountered. This program planning activity is a continuous process of review, analysis, and revision, which takes place at both the neighborhood level and at the community-organization level.

The procedure for planning a center's physical facility has also been analyzed. The first step is to determine the type of functions the facility will perform and the type of structure in which the center will be housed. Community goals, neighborhood needs, and potential for financing must be considered when determining the type of facility that will accommodate a center. Neighborhood center facilities range from complex multi-purpose structures to single purpose operations in store front locations.

After the general characteristics of the facility have been established, a location for the center is chosen. The location of a center is selected on the basis of accessibility to those served, proximity to other facilities and services operating in the neighborhood, the location's potential for exposure to the public, and the space requirements of the

facility. If a new building is to be constructed or an existing structure modified to house the center, the final step is the design of the facility.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES PROGRAM

This appendix presents a short review of the neighborhood services program to provide perspective on the purpose and function of neighborhood centers. This discussion does not cover every possible service that might be provided through a neighborhood center, but only considers those activities that are common to many community action agencies. Services offered through neighborhood centers are quite varied because the needs and problems of the poor cover a wide range.¹⁶⁷ Poverty is a complex social and economic issue; it is rooted in an extensive array of social and individual causes.¹⁶⁸ The same problems are not prevalent in every service area since the people affected by poverty come from widely diverse backgrounds and settle in neighborhoods with differing characteristics. Therefore the type of programs offered by a neighborhood service center should be determined by the needs of the residents of that particular neighborhood.

The function of a neighborhood center is the development and administration of a multi-service program to aid the underprivileged residents within its service area.¹⁶⁹ A center's planning effort should determine the need for new services and promote the creation of such services.¹⁷⁰ These neighborhood service activities may include appropriate Office of Economic Opportunity-funded programs and the traditional social services of allied public and private agencies.¹⁷¹ While all of the services mentioned in this appendix might be provided by personnel of a

community action program, most of the services mentioned are generally operated in a center by other public agencies on a decentralized basis. Most of these neighborhood services could also be administered by personnel of "delegate agencies." A "delegate agency" refers to an organization that operates a service which is funded through the community action agency. The term is also used to mean an agency which has been delegated the responsibility for a program which the community action agency formerly operated.

The center serves as the vehicle to coordinate services on an individual "case basis" and to integrate programs.¹⁷² Good coordination within a center allows referral of cases to the proper agency and collaboration between allied anti-poverty agencies in problem solving. The neighborhood service center permits a variety of separate agencies to cooperate in a well-organized collective effort to eliminate the causes of poverty at the local level.

The neighborhood service center's programs can generally be divided into four categories.¹⁷³ The first, "outreach," is the activity of contacting the residents, learning about their problems, informing them of the center's services and encouraging them to come to the center for assistance. Second, "counseling," which is one of the center's most important functions, is the evaluation of a client's basic needs or problems and referral of the individual to the proper center program or allied service agency. Third, the actual "service activities" offered by various neighborhood centers are numerous. A number of the possible service activities of a neighborhood center will be discussed in the following section. However, these activities, which were commonly mentioned in

association with neighborhood centers by Office of Economic Opportunity literature are not the only possible services that may be required to deal with the multiplicity of local problems potentially found in the poverty-affected neighborhood. Fourth, the "social action" or "community action" role of the neighborhood center involves the organization and motivation of the neighborhood's residents for participation in collective action to promote the general interests of the entire neighborhood. The goals of a resident organization might focus on pressure for modification of existing services, action to create new services, activities to change the neighborhood environment, or other collaborative efforts at problem solving.¹⁷⁴

Outreach

Contact with the poor must usually be initiated by the neighborhood service center or by other service agencies in the neighborhood. The residents can learn about the center from the news media or by contact with individuals that have received aid, but the most effective response is achieved when the center actively seeks to reach those who need aid.¹⁷⁵ The three major sources of contacts will be through the neighborhood residents' organizations, the referrals of other community agencies, and an aggressive program by the center's staff.

An "outreach" program carried on by paid members of the center's staff is one of the most effective methods for contacting the poor.¹⁷⁶ This type of job is best handled by the neighborhood aides.¹⁷⁷ Since an aide is a local resident, the individuals contacted are more likely to

feel at ease and discuss their problems. The outreach effort by the staff may be initiated by a referral, a contact in a meeting, or a general door-to-door survey. During an interview, a neighborhood aide attempts to determine the problems confronting the family, informs the individuals of the services that are available, and encourages them to come to the center for counseling. This interview technique is also a good source of general information on the overall problems existing in the neighborhood.

Counseling

The neighborhood center's counseling service can be divided into three phases.¹⁷⁸ "Intake" is the initial interview of the client at the center. A counselor or aide attempts to place the individual at ease, discusses family and personal problems, and notes all basic information for future reference. Once the background information is gathered, the staff member tries to define the client's needs and determine what services are available to meet these needs.¹⁷⁹

The "referral" phase of the counseling may involve only personnel within the center or could also include several allied agencies, which operate poverty-related programs. The client's case might be turned over to a professional staff member that specializes in one phase of counseling, such as education or employment. The client might be encouraged to enroll in one or more of the programs offered by the center, or the individual may be referred to an allied anti-poverty agency for a specific service. The advantages of decentralization are clearly seen in "referral." If a representative of an allied anti-poverty agency, such as the welfare

agency, is present in the center, a client requiring assistance could be directly introduced to the representative. The probability that the client will not carry through with the center's recommendations is reduced, and complete "case" information can be clearly and efficiently exchanged between the neighborhood center's counselor and the staff member from the allied agency.

The third phase of the counseling service is the "follow-up" program. After the client enrolls in a service program or is referred to a service program of an allied anti-poverty agency, the staff must continue to maintain personal contact. The staff members aid the client in contacting the recommended allied agency and supply necessary information to that agency. The neighborhood aides should periodically check to make sure that the individual is receiving the proper services and has not withdrawn from a program because of confusion, discouragement, or personal problems.

Service Activities

The following programs are possible service activities which might be administered through a neighborhood service center. All of these services will usually not be required at an individual neighborhood center. The exact composition of the neighborhood services program of a specific center should depend on the unique set of individual and community needs found in that service area.¹⁸⁰

Employment Services

Unemployment and underemployment are the most common problems in the poverty neighborhoods.¹⁸¹ Employment counselors may be assigned to

the neighborhood center under a contract with the state labor department. These staff members provide the clients with job counseling and placement services. Since the individual's employment problems usually result from lack of education or training, the employment counselor's duties include the enrollment of clients in job training or education programs. Because the problems of unemployment and lack of training are so closely related, education services have been developed that combine training and work programs.

Educational Services

The educational services administered through a neighborhood center include programs for the elementary school children, the high school youth, and the adults. The programs for the children and teen-agers are oriented to aiding educational development and preparing the individual for future employment. The adult programs are primarily directed toward training the individual in a marketable skill.

The educational services for the elementary school children include preschool and in-school assistance. The Economic Opportunity Act funds local community action programs to undertake "Project Headstart," which is a program oriented to assist underprivileged children who have not reached school-entry age, and the "Follow Through" program which is directed to children in kindergarten and elementary school. These programs, which operate at the neighborhood school level, are designed to provide comprehensive health, nutritional, education, counseling, and social services.¹⁸² School social workers and case work aides, also working through the neighborhood center, can assist the student with family and personal

problems through individual counseling, securing psychiatric or medical aid for the child, or bringing a family in contact with the neighborhood center's counseling and referral services. Classroom aides can be assigned through center-funded programs to the neighborhood schools to handle supervisory duties and free teachers for instruction.

The youth and adult educational services usually focus on the community school. The community school program uses the classroom and vocational facilities of the local junior or senior high school after the normal school day ends. The services for the high school students include after-school study programs, job training programs for the older students, and Neighborhood Youth Corps. The Neighborhood Youth Corps allows a student to continue in school while earning money on a part-time job, rendering useful services to the community, and learning good work habits.¹⁸³

The adult education services include basic education courses, vocational training, educational enrichment classes, and assistance for advanced education. Many unemployed adults are hindered by a low-level of educational attainment. Basic education and literacy courses are linked with the job training programs to deal with this problem. As a community service, courses are also usually offered that enrich resident's lives, cater to their leisure interest, and expand their educational horizons. To aid young adults in finishing their advanced education, the neighborhood center can help the student find part-time employment, summer jobs, or scholarships.

Social Services

A wide range of social services may be offered through the neighborhood center. In poverty areas disintegration of the family and lack

of orientation to the urban society are problems that confront the residents. Family counseling and child guidance services staffed by trained social workers can help the clients to deal with these problems. Home management instruction and consumer education programs offer important assistance to the residents, and day-care services release parents for job training or employment. Neighborhood credit unions to help meet financial emergencies and small business development programs to finance and advise neighborhood businessmen offer assistance that is basic to the economic stability and self-sufficiency of the residents.

Many of the social services of allied public agencies could be more effectively administered through the neighborhood center. Already existing neighborhood programs of independent agencies could be relocated to the neighborhood center, and allied agencies should be encouraged to initiate new services within the administrative framework of the center. These programs might be located in the center through a contractual arrangement or by informal agreement. The welfare agency could station representatives in the neighborhood service center to administer public assistance and food distribution programs. The neighborhood center could be used by the city's housing authority as headquarters for a neighborhood rehabilitation program or a relocation program. The local community relations council or human rights commission might want to locate representatives in the center, and the police could assign an officer to the neighborhood center in a police-community relations program.

Neighborhood recreation programs can be administered through the neighborhood service center with the city's parks or recreation department

decentralizing summer programs, league sports, and senior citizen's programs to the neighborhood level.¹⁸⁴ The center, tot lots, public parks, and the facilities of the neighborhood school can be used in such programs. The recreation technician to administer these programs might be located in the center under a contract with the recreation department, and the remainder of the supervisory personnel for the recreation program can be comprised of neighborhood aides.

Legal assistance is a highly specialized type of social service that can include legal aid, probation assistance, and parole assistance. In this area, the Economic Opportunity Act established the "Legal Services" program which funds local community action programs to mobilize lawyers and legal institutions to assist the poor by providing help in civil cases including housing, consumer matters, domestic relations, welfare agency, and juvenile problems.¹⁸⁵ To further this concept, the local legal aid society or public defender's office can be encouraged to actually locate a representative in the neighborhood center. In a related effort, the center should also try to have the city or county schedule times for a parole officer to be present at the center. This type of service would certainly be more convenient and may be the only initial contact the center will have with some individuals.

Social Action

The strategy of organizing the residents of the poverty areas to participate in and influence the social and political life of their community is referred to by varied terms: social action, community action, and community development. This approach to poverty area problems is

based on the concept that the poor, faced with an increasingly large scale organization of services and the inevitable bureaucratization, should have the opportunity and means to take collective action to ensure that those services actually meet their needs.¹⁸⁶ Essentially, social action involves the identification of community needs by residents and the organized action of those residents to bring about the changes necessary to achieve their aims. The activities of neighborhood organizations have included "self-help" activities, actions to mitigate individual problems, and efforts to bring about changes of public policy. This type of collective action by neighborhoods has been particularly successful in bringing about changes in specific community or individual problems. Problems such as the local practices or policies of community services, the conditions in particular housing projects, the conduct of particular landlords, the conditions in a particular school, or the inadequacies of neighborhood facilities, street lighting, and garbage collection have been corrected through social action.¹⁸⁷

These "self-help" activities are the most controversial aspect of neighborhood center operations because they involve the organization of the poor into political action groups.¹⁸⁸ These resident organizations are essentially a "low-income lobby" which operates to promote the specific interests of the poor, including pressure for basic changes in the operation and organization of public institutions.¹⁸⁹ Neighborhood organizations are not necessarily only instruments of community action agency policy. Once the residents are organized and have developed their own local leadership, the ability of an agency's staff to direct the activities

or influence the policies or concerns of an organization may become limited. In fact, the objective of effective social change leads directly to the issue of power and political influence within a community, specifically the power of the poor to change their status.¹⁹⁰

APPENDIX II

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

This Appendix presents a generalized analysis of the organization and operation of community action agencies to provide a background for the discussion of planning methods presented in this thesis. A generalized knowledge of community action agencies is essential to a functional understanding of the planning process. In low-income neighborhoods, the neighborhood service center is the administrative unit of the community action agency. To clearly understand its organizational structure, the neighborhood service center must be examined as a part of the total administrative framework of the community action agency.

This analysis is based on a review of organizational charts of a sample of community action agencies, on a survey conducted by Kirschner Associates,¹⁹¹ and on personal interviews with regional officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity. To make generalizations that would apply to all community action agencies would be extremely difficult. As of April, 1969, the Office of Economic Opportunity listed 1042 community action agencies as grantees.¹⁹² Since rigid standards were not established by the basic legislation or by the Office of Economic Opportunity, communities have approached the problem of administrative organization in a variety of ways. It is not the objective of this appendix to undertake a detailed survey of the organizational patterns of community action agencies. However, a generalized summary of the most common characteristics

and an organizational chart (Figure 2) of a hypothetical agency is presented to provide a foundation for discussion of planning processes. The community-wide organization of community action agencies will be examined first, and then the neighborhood level structure will be discussed.

Community-wide Organization

The internal structure of a community action agency consists of the the policy-making organization and the staff.¹⁹³ The community action agency's organization for deciding on basic policy extends from the neighborhood committees to the unified community-wide bodies and is comprised of both appointed and elected representatives. The staff of the community action agency contains administrators, professional technicians, and non-professional aides.

Policy-making Organization

The policy-making organization of the community action agency is generally composed of a governing body, community-wide advisory committees, and neighborhood advisory committees.¹⁹⁴ The various governing bodies have been designated by a variety of titles including board, council, committee, and commission. The governing body of community action agency is an autonomous group vested with the responsibility for all policy decisions.¹⁹⁵ The community-wide advisory committees vary in composition, but the objective of such committees has generally been to bring all interested factions into the forum of the community action agency.

Governing Body (Board of the Community Action Agency). The composition of a community action agency's governing body is partially dictated by the Office of Economic Opportunity's requirements for funding. As

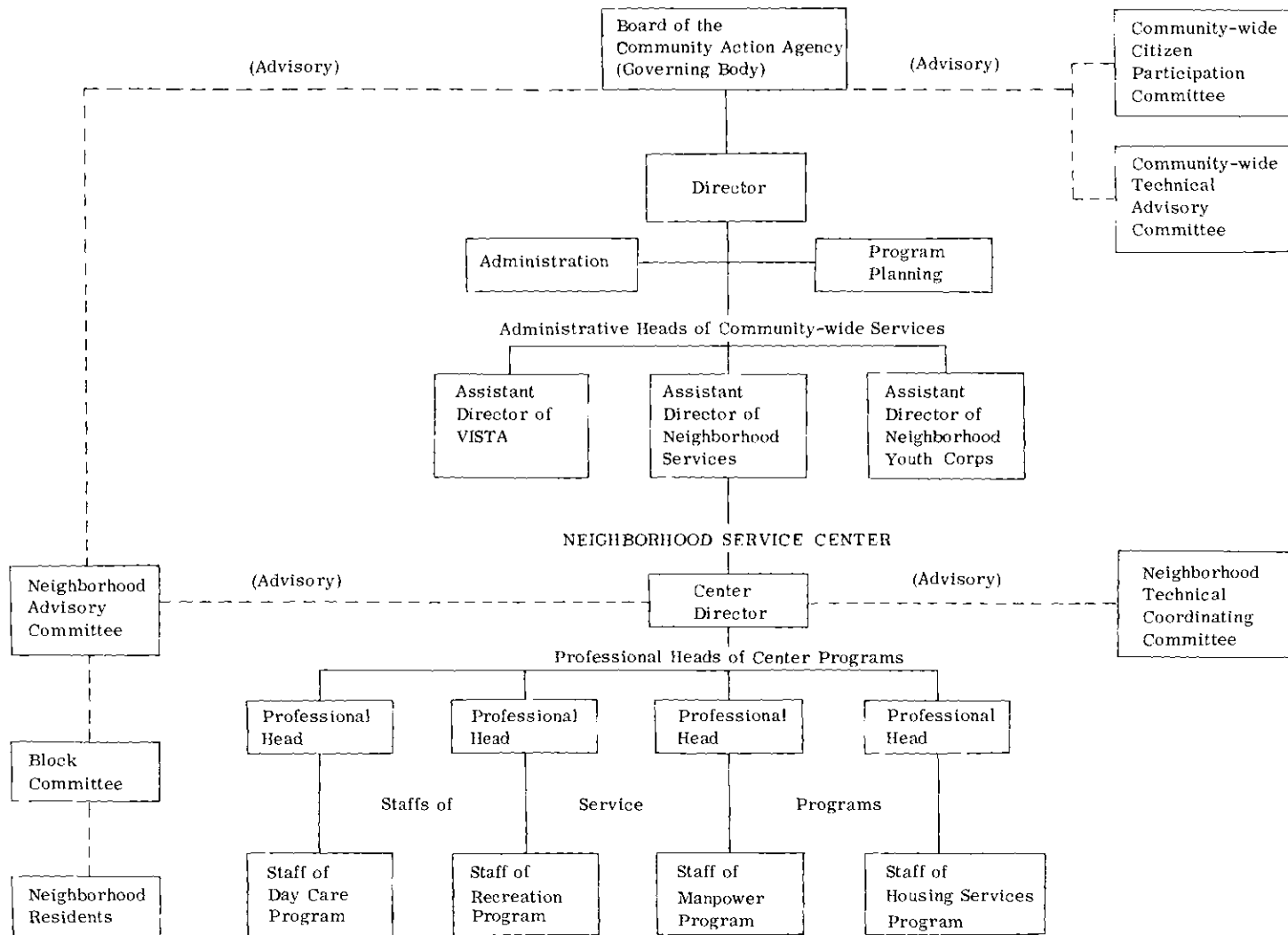


Figure 2. Generalized Organization Chart of a Community Action Agency

amended, The Economic Opportunity Act requires that at least one-third of the membership of the body that established policy shall be composed of "persons chosen in accordance with democratic selection procedures adequate to assure that they are representative of the poor in the area served."¹⁹⁶ Under a broad interpretation of these requirements, the Office of Economic Opportunity has encouraged local community action agencies to establish standards to ensure that the poor will actually serve as representatives, rather than just having the privilege of voting on representatives. The representatives of the poor may be directly elected by the residents of the poverty areas in community action agency-sponsored balloting, or the representatives could be selected by neighborhood bodies that are elected by the poverty area residents. The Office of Economic Opportunity guidance also encourages that there be "at least one representative selected from each of the neighborhoods or areas in which the community action program will be concentrated."¹⁹⁷

The Office of Economic Opportunity recommends that the other two-thirds of the membership of the community action agency's governing body be divided between representatives of the public agencies responsible for services and programs concerned with poverty and representatives from appropriate community groups.¹⁹⁸ A great deal more flexibility is permitted in interpreting this latter recommendation than is allowed in implementation of the requirements for one-third representation of the poor.

Every major public agency concerned with the problems of the poverty areas should be given representation. This should include appointed representatives of the mayor, city council, county commission, and elected school board, and of all political units served by the agency. Represen-

tation should also be afforded any governmental agency, such as the Housing Authority, the Welfare Department, the local office of the State Employment service, or the Recreation Department, that serves the residents of the underprivileged neighborhoods. Appropriate community groups, including private charitable or social service agencies, labor unions, religious or minority racial organizations, or any other group that deals with the problems of the poor, should also be permitted to appoint representatives to the governing body.¹⁹⁹

The governing body of the community action agency must be vested with full decision-making powers.²⁰⁰ Public bodies that are elected at large cannot qualify as the governing body of a community action agency because of the Office of Economic Opportunity's regulations governing the representative composition. Since a city council or other public body would have to delegate all policy and administrative powers to a properly constituted autonomous board while still retaining legal and fiscal responsibility, few existing public agencies or governmental units attempt to qualify as an agency. Most communities prefer to sponsor independent corporations, commissions, or authorities as the community action agencies. These independent agencies may ultimately be subject to the legal powers of a parent governmental agency or agencies, but the Office of Economic Opportunity requirements for funding state that the community action agency's governing body must actually have the authority and responsibility for administration of the community action programs.

The governing bodies of some community action agencies in metropolitan areas or multi-county regions are too large to function smoothly

in day-to-day decision making, because they seek to assure adequate representation for all appropriate groups and agencies. As established by the Economic Opportunity the only specification as to size of the governing body is a maximum limit of fifty-one members.²⁰¹ However, if membership exceeds a functional limit, the governing body can designate an executive committee to handle routine policy and administrative decisions. Where important policy-making functions or responsibilities are delegated to an executive committee, at least one-third of the members must be representative of the poor. In general, the makeup of this committee should resemble the composition of the governing body as closely as possible.²⁰²

Community-wide Advisory Committees. Advisory committees at the community-wide level in the community action agency serve to broaden the base of representation and bring in more diverse opinions and interests. While the composition of the agency's governing body would be limited by efficient operating size, advisory committees may be as large as is necessary to secure the desired participation. The citizens' participation committee and the technical advisory committee are two types of community-wide advisory committees found in many community action agencies.

A citizens' participation committee could be composed exclusively of the poor. Such a committee would be able to provide first hand information on needs, goals, and response to programs. The members of the committee could establish special interest sub-committees dealing with specific program needs. The representatives to the committee might be selected directly from the poverty areas by the neighborhood advisory

committees, neighborhood councils, and block committees.²⁰³ Thus, a continuous chain of communications could be established from the poverty area resident to the governing-body through this committee.

A technical advisory committee might be composed of experts from related fields selected from the community at large, representatives of all the local agencies dealing with poverty area problems, and chiefs from the various sections of the community action agency. The committee could serve as a channel to secure additional technical advice and to coordinate inter-agency efforts. Its proper functioning could assure coordination of related programs, prevent wasteful duplication of efforts, and aid in program planning.

Staff Organization

The organizational structure of the staff of community action agencies varies greatly from one local agency to another. This has occurred because the Office of Economic Opportunity established no rigid standards for organization. Local initiative in organizational matters allowed community action agencies to experiment widely in administrative structure.²⁰⁴

However, a number of generalizations about the various approaches to staff organization can be made. The staff is always headed by an executive administrator or director, who advises and reports to the decision-making body of the community action agency. As the chief executive of the community action agency, he is directly responsible for hiring personnel, implementing policy decisions, and overseeing the operation of the staff.²⁰⁵ The administrative staff organization of most agencies can

usually be logically separated into staff and line operations.²⁰⁶ The staff function in the administrative organization of a community action agency is usually divided into program and administrative sections headed by assistant administrators. Generalizations on the organization of the line functions of community action agencies are difficult since line operations vary widely because of differing local needs.

The line functions can usually be divided into community-wide programs and neighborhood services. The community-wide programs are those that will function best on a city-wide basis under a unified administration. Those programs that are better adapted to administration at a neighborhood level are relegated to the neighborhood service centers.

Depending upon the nature of the services required by communities, the scope of services offered, and the emphasis on the various programs, the types of administrative divisions of the action programs have been quite varied. Many community action agencies place an independent director over each of the community-wide services and a director over the neighborhood service center program. In some agencies there are only two directors. One supervises all the community-wide programs, and the other heads the neighborhood service centers. In some community action agencies because of local needs or orientation, a number of programs may be grouped administratively under one director.²⁰⁷ For instance, the various staff personnel which administer the Head Start Program, summer school program, pre-college program, and educational program for unemployed adults might be supervised by a single director, who could maintain a unified contact with the local educational systems. In highly rural areas, some community action agencies have administratively divided programs

between a director responsible for rurally-oriented services and a director responsible for urban-oriented services. In some multi-county community action agencies, a director has been placed over the administration of all the programs in each individual county.

Neighborhood Center Organization

The organizational structure at the neighborhood level includes a center director, professional and non-professional staff members, and a neighborhood advisory committee.²⁰⁸ The neighborhood advisory committee acts as an advisory body to the neighborhood service center staff and serves as the representatives of the residents at the neighborhood level. The organization may also include block committees and technical coordinating committees.²⁰⁹

Neighborhood Advisory Committee

The neighborhood advisory committee, which various agencies have titled a center advisory council, neighborhood citizens' council, or a neighborhood board, functions as the neighborhood's spokesman and as an element of the community action agency's policy-making organization. Since one of the key objectives of the community action program is active participation of the poor in the policy decisions that affect their environment, an effective representation of the poor is important. The principal duty of the neighborhood advisory committee is to inform the center director and staff about the needs and wishes of the area's residents.²¹⁰ The committee members also represent the center in the neighborhood, advise the residents about the center's programs and policies,

and aid in organizing and motivating the neighborhood's residents in community activities.

Though the role of the neighborhood committee is generally purely advisory, this function is highly important to the director of the neighborhood center.²¹¹ The committee is the director's best source of information on the residents' reception of various programs and his only source of advice outside of the staff. The committee members are also effective representatives of the center to the neighborhood residents.²¹² Therefore, the director should keep the neighborhood advisory committee informed on policies and the progress of the programs. The committee should have an important say in planning the location of the neighborhood service center and the composition of the center's programs.

The neighborhood advisory committee should have a composition that is roughly similar to that of the governing body of the community action agency. Since the committee has a major part in the policy-making function, the Office of Economic Opportunity funding standards require that at least one-third of the committee's membership be elected by the residents of the neighborhood.²¹³ Though the advisory committee could be composed entirely of elected representatives, the practice has generally been to have two-thirds of the members of the advisory committee appointed. The neighborhood center's director usually appoints individuals that serve as leaders or spokesmen in the neighborhood. Also, local service organizations, community groups, and governmental agencies working in the neighborhood generally appoint representatives to serve on the committee.

Block Committee

The block committee, club, or group, is the smallest element of the community action agency organization for involvement and participation of the residents.²¹⁴ This committee is composed of all the residents in a sub-area of the neighborhood, such as several city blocks, and is based on the concept of organizing the whole neighborhood on a block by block basis.²¹⁵ The block committee provides the residents with a channel of communication with the neighborhood advisory committee, a means of learning about the center's programs, and a vehicle for effective community action.

In Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., this sub-unit of a service area is termed an area block. Area blocks in Atlanta may be delineated to include only two or three contiguous city blocks or can cover an eight or ten block area. The area blocks closely approximate the "natural neighborhoods" defined by Suzanne Keller as small, cohesive, locally recognized units within a community, which find their limits where personal relationships and interaction stop.²¹⁶ In many cases, division of a service area is conducted on a geographic basis with a recognized area, such as a public housing project, being defined as an area block. However, delineation can also be based on common interests, goals, or problems shared by a group of residents. For example, one area block in Atlanta's Nash-Washington Neighborhood Service Center was organized around the issue of inadequate bus service for this locality.²¹⁷

Neighborhood Technical Coordinating Committees

Technical coordinating committees in the neighborhoods should be composed of the professional staff members of the center and professional

representatives of the allied agencies working in the neighborhood.²¹⁸ Such committees can promote cooperation in neighborhood services, make appropriate referral of clients, coordinate on case work, and create an interchange of ideas. This closely parallels the concept of "interagency neighborhood field organizations" in Hartford, Connecticut, where welfare workers, planners, redevelopers, housing inspectors, and employment counselors are assigned to individual neighborhoods to work as a team in assisting families affected by urban renewal.²¹⁹ A neighborhood technical coordinating committee can also function as an advisor on program planning for centers and the neighborhood-level resident organizations. In Atlanta, such committees, called interagency councils or coordinating councils, work to coordinate programs and bridge existing service gaps.²²⁰

Neighborhood Center Staff

The neighborhood service center's staff generally consists of a director, the technical personnel, and the neighborhood aides.²²¹ The actual service needs of the neighborhood residents or "clients" are the principal determining factors of the composition of the neighborhood service center's staff. The population of the service area, the quantity and quality of community services available in a neighborhood, and the contractual agreements with other governmental agencies that a center negotiates, will influence the staff organization.²²² Centers range in size from five staff member organizations to two hundred person enterprises.²²³

The staff should be composed of as many of the residents of the neighborhood served as possible. The needed technical and professional skills cannot usually be found within underprivileged neighborhoods, but

the non-professional positions can be filled by the poor.²²⁴ Jobs involving contacting the residents, organizing the residents, and secretarial tasks should be handled by neighborhood residents. These residents can be trained for their positions through orientation courses, in-service training, and periodic evaluation sessions. There are many tasks that the residents can be trained for that will release the professional staff for more technical duties.

Director. The director of a neighborhood service center is the chief administrative officer.²²⁵ He formulates all administrative decisions based upon the policy and administrative framework established by the community action agency and the recommendations of the neighborhood advisory committee. All personnel on the staff, including employees, aides, and workers contracted from other agencies, are administratively responsible to the director of the center. The center's director is in turn responsible to the community action agency's administrator of the community-wide neighborhood services program.

Technical Personnel. The technical staff of the neighborhood service center are the professionals and the office workers.²²⁶ The secretaries, typists, receptionists, and personnel for similar positions should be recruited from the neighborhood. The professional positions that require a background of special education and experience will generally have to be drawn from outside of the service area. These professional positions can be filled by either community action agency employees or by employees of allied agencies whose services are supplied under contract or through an informal agreement.

Neighborhood Aides. Neighborhood aides are local residents employed by the community action agency to handle the non-professional duties that would otherwise consume most of the professional staff members' time.²²⁷ This concept can be applied to all the programs of the neighborhood service center. The neighborhood aides are also able to assist personnel of allied agencies and the teaching staff in the neighborhood schools. A basic assumption in hiring neighborhood residents is that residents of low-income neighborhoods can establish contact with the area residents more easily and can communicate with other low-income persons more effectively than professionals.²²⁸ Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. utilized indigenous non-professionals to establish contact with neighborhood residents in house-to-house interviews. When the Atlanta neighborhood centers were initially established, the centers' neighborhood aides visited individual families in the service areas to explain the programs that the centers proposed to offer and to encourage residents to avail themselves of the services.²²⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Literature Cited

1. U.S. , Congress, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, As Amended, Public Law 88-453, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1964, Sec. 210.
2. U.S. , Office of Economic Opportunity, CAP Management Guide: Planning for Community Action, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968, pp. 5-11.
3. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action: The Neighborhood Center, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 2.
4. Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., Community Action in Atlanta: First Annual Report of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., Atlanta: EOA, 1965, p. 4.
5. International City Managers' Association, Principles and Practices of Urban Planning, Washington: the Association, 1968, pp. 216-217.
6. National Commission on Urban Problems, Building the American City, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1969, p. 350.
7. Bigger, Richard, Dvorin, Eugene P., and Jamison, Judith Norvell, "Branch Civic Centers," National Civic Review, XLVI (November, 1957), pp. 511-516.
8. U.S. Conference of Mayors, Community Action in New Haven, Community Relations Service Experience Report 104, Washington: the Conference, 1965, p. 4.
9. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Neighborhood Service Centers, by Robert Perlman and David Jones, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, pp. 1-33.
10. U.S., Congress, loc. cit.
11. Ibid., Sec. 201.
12. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Intergovernmental Relations in the Poverty Program, Washington: the Commission, 1966, p. 60.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

13. U.S., Congress, op. cit., Sec. 224.
14. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., p. 1.
15. U.S., Congress, loc. cit.
16. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, loc. cit.
17. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, loc. cit.
18. U.S., Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs for the Urban Poor, A Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, New York: the Committee, 1970, p. 10.
19. Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, op. cit., p. 9.
20. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, CAP Management Guide: Planning for Community Action, p. 10.
21. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, op. cit., p. 167.
22. Ibid., p. 166.
23. Ibid., p. 167.
24. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., p. 13.
25. Ibid., p. 16.
26. International City Managers' Association, op. cit., p. 298.
27. U.S., Committee for Economic Development, op. cit., p. 33.
28. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., p. v.
29. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, CAP Mission Guide: Participation of the Poor in the Community Decision-making Process, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, p. 23.
30. Ibid., p. 2.
31. Ibid.
32. Wofford, John G., "The Politics of Local Responsibility: Administration of the Community Action Program 1964-1966," On Fighting Poverty: Perspectives from Experience, edited by James L. Sundquist, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966, p. 75.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

33. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, CAP Management Guide: Planning for Community Action, p. 6.
34. Brussat, William K., "Recent Institutional Innovations in Government," Planning 1967, Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1967, p. 77.
35. Gilbert, Neil, Clients or Constituents: Community Action in the War on Poverty, San Francisco: Josey-Bass, Inc., 1970, p. 48.
36. International City Managers' Association, op. cit., pp. 309-310.
37. Goodall, Leonard E., The American Metropolis, Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1968, pp. 89-91.
38. Hickey, James J., "Associates of Local Governments," Planning 1966, Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1966, pp. 50-58.
39. Goodall, Leonard E., loc. cit.
40. Parker, John K., "Cooperation in Metropolitan Areas Through Councils of Government," Government of the Metropolis, edited by Joseph F. Zimmerman, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1968, pp. 324-326.
41. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Metropolitan Councils of Governments, Washington: the Commission, 1966, p. 12.
42. Loeks, C. David, "The Individual's Identification of Self-Interest," Urban Planning in Transition, edited by Ernest Erber, New York: American Institute of Planners, 1970, p. 167.
43. Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., 1970 Year End Report: Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., Atlanta: EOA, 1971, p. 3.
44. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., p. 8.
45. Kravitz, Sanford, "The Community Action Program-Past, Present and its Future?" On Fighting Poverty: Perspectives from Experience, edited by James L. Sundquist, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966, p. 60.
46. Kershaw, Joseph A., Government Against Poverty, Washington: The Brookings Institute, 1970, p. 51.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

47. Interview with Mr. Amos Parker, Director of Neighborhood Services, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 22, 1971.
48. "Any End to Poverty," U.S. News and World Report, July 12, 1971, p. 55.
49. Gilbert, Neil, op. cit., p. 53.
50. Kirschner Associates, A Description and Evaluation of Neighborhood Centers, A Report for the Office of Economic Opportunity, Contract No. OEO-1257, Albuquerque: Kirschner Associates, 1966, p. 24.
51. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action: The Neighborhood Center, p. 11.
52. Kolter, Milton, Neighborhood Government: The Local Foundations of Political Life, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969, p. 28.
53. U.S., Committee for Economic Development, Modernizing Local Government, A Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, New York: the Committee, 1966, p. 47.
54. Keller, Suzanne, The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective, New York: Random House, Inc., 1968, pp. 88-90.
55. Ibid., pp. 90-91.
56. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., pp. 8-10.
57. Keller, Suzanne, op. cit., pp. 91, 103-106.
58. International City Managers' Association, op. cit., p. 568.
59. American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, Planning the Neighborhood, Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1960, pp. 1-3.
60. Keller, Suzanne, op. cit., pp. 88-89.
61. International City Managers' Association, op. cit., p. 217.
62. Ibid., p. 300.
63. Ibid., p. 217.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

64. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Intergovernmental Relations in the Poverty Program, p. 178.
65. Perloff, Harvey S., "New Directions in Social Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXI (November, 1965), p. 301.
66. Ibid.
67. Holleb, Doris B., "Social Statistics for Social Policy," Planning 1968, Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1968, p. 82.
68. Ibid.
69. National Committee on Urban Transportation, Better Transportation for Your City, Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1958, p. 51.
70. International City Managers' Association, loc. cit.
71. National Commission on Urban Problems, Building the American City, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1969, p. 349.
72. Ibid.
73. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, CAP Management Guide: Planning for Community Action, p. 6.
74. Ibid., p. 33.
75. Wright, Lowell E., "The Need for a Change of Attitudes," Planning 1966, Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1966, p. 68.
76. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., p. 33.
77. Ives, Richard, "Techniques for Success," Planning 1966, Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1966, p. 47.
78. Perloff, Harvey S., loc. cit.
79. Ibid., p. 300.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ranney, David C., Planning and Politics in the Metropolis, Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1969, p. 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

83. Wofford, John G., op. cit., p. 96.
84. Kershaw, Joseph A., Government Against Poverty, Washington: The Brookings Institute, 1970, pp. 152-160.
85. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Applying for a CAP Grant, CAP Staff Instruction 6710-1, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, Section I, pp. 1-2.
86. Ranney, David C., op. cit., p. 14.
87. Kershaw, Joseph A., "Planning the War on Poverty," Planning 1966, Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1966, pp. 18-19.
88. Ibid.
89. National Commission on Urban Problems, op. cit., p. 350.
90. Ibid., p. 351.
91. Interview with Mr. Paul Morgan, Center Director, Central City Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 16, 1971.
92. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., pp. 46-47.
93. Ibid., p. 72.
94. National Commission on Urban Problems, op. cit., p. 351.
95. Ibid., p. 352.
96. Interview with Mr. Amos Parker, Director of Neighborhood Services, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 22, 1971.
97. National Commission on Urban Problems, op. cit., p. 352.
98. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, CAP Mission Guide: Participation of the Poor in the Community Decision-making Process, p. 12.
99. Smith, W. Eugene, "Help Without Welfare," The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, August 6, 1967, p. A-8.
100. Interview with Mrs. Bonita S. Gude, Social Services Counselor, Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 17, 1971.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

101. Based on the observations of the author, comparing the neighborhood setting in 1967 and 1972.
102. Bair, Frederick H., Jr., Regulation of Modular Housing, With Special Emphasis on Mobile Homes, Planning Advisory Service Report No. 271, July-August, 1971, pp. 12-13.
103. Ibid., pp. 20-25.
104. Interview with Mr. Amos Parker, Director of Neighborhood Services, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 22, 1971.
105. Wofford, John G., op. cit., p. 77.
106. Burke, Edmund M., "Citizen Participation Strategies," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIV (September, 1969), p. 289.
107. Schaller, Lyle E., "Ten Commandments for the Citizen Advisory Committee," Mayor and Manager, April, 1966, p. 119.
108. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., p. 4.
109. Kravitz, Sanford, op. cit., p. 63.
110. Burke, Edmund M., op. cit., p. 293.
111. Ibid., p. 289.
112. Schaller, Lyle E., loc. cit.
113. Ross, Charles R., "Public Participation and Decision-making," Urban Planning in Transition, edited by Ernest Erber, New York: American Institute of Planners, 1970, p. 172.
114. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., p. 50.
115. Burke, Edmund M., op. cit., p. 288.
116. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., p. 46.
117. Gilbert, Neil, op. cit., p. 170.
118. Davidoff, Paul, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXI (November, 1965), p. 333.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

119. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., p. 8.
120. Ibid., p. 15.
121. Ibid., p. 16.
122. Interview with Mr. Milton R. Lincoln, Center Director of the Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 16, 1971.
123. Interview with Mr. Paul Morgan, Center Director of the Central City Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 16, 1971.
124. Interview with Mr. Milton R. Lincoln, Center Director of the Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 16, 1971.
125. Interview with Mrs. Mary M. Stephens, Housing Assistant, Pittsburg Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 19, 1971.
126. Interview with Mrs. Bonita S. Gude, Social Services Counselor, Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 16, 1971.
127. National Commission on Urban Problems, loc. cit.
128. U.S. Conference of Mayors, op. cit., p. 7.
129. American Society of Planning Officials, Civic Center Planning, Planning Advisory Service Information Report No. 83, Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1956, p. 9.
130. Gilbert, Neil, op. cit., pp. 57-58.
131. San Diego County Planning Commission, Master Plan: Branch Administrative Centers, San Diego: the Commission, 1954, p. 1.
132. Ibid., p. 9.
133. National Commission on Urban Problems, op. cit., p. 351.
134. U.S. Conference of Mayors, op. cit., p. 7.
135. Brown, Junie, "A New Kind of School," The Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine, March 28, 1971, p. 36.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

136. U.S., Office of the Vice President, The Vice President's Handbook for Local Officials, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 247.
137. Ibid.
138. Ibid., p. 225.
139. Ibid., p. 236.
140. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action and Urban Housing, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 84.
141. Community Builders' Council, The Community Builders Handbook, Washington: Urban Land Institute, 1960, p. 347.
142. Interview with Mrs. Bonita S. Gude, Social Service Counselor, Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 16, 1971.
143. International City Managers' Association, op. cit., p. 217.
144. International City Managers' Association, Local Planning Administration, Chicago: the Association, 1959, pp. 291-297.
145. National Council of Schoolhouse Construction, Guide for Planning School Plants, Nashville, Tenn.: Peabody College, 1958.
146. International City Managers' Association, op. cit., pp. 261-269.
147. American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, op. cit., p. 9.
148. American Society of Planning Officials, op. cit., p. 7.
149. National Commission on Urban Problems, loc. cit.
150. San Diego County Planning Commission, op. cit., p. 6.
151. Bigger, Richard, et al., op. cit., p. 515.
152. Chapin, F. Stuart, Jr., Urban Land Use Planning, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965, p. 415.
153. International City Managers' Association, Principles and Practice of Urban Planning, p. 217.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

154. San Diego County Planning Commission, op. cit., p. 14.
155. Ibid., p. 13.
156. Ibid.
157. American Society of Planning Officials, op. cit., p. 10.
158. Ibid., p. 18.
159. Cincinnati City Planning Commission, A Study of the Grouping of Public and Quasi-Public Buildings of the Central Type, Cincinnati: the Commission, 1946, p. 48.
160. San Diego County Planning Commission, op. cit., p. 9
161. American Society of Planning Officials, loc. cit.
162. San Diego County Planning Commission, op. cit., p. 13.
163. Ibid.
164. National Commission on Urban Problems, loc. cit.
165. Kinser, Bill and Billingsley, Nat, "Design of a Parent-Child Center" (unpublished monograph, Atlanta, 1971).
166. Ibid.
167. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 14.
168. Kravitz, Sanford, op. cit., p. 59.
169. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action: The Neighborhood Center, pp. 8-9.
170. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
171. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
172. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 44.
173. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
174. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
175. Ibid., p. 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

176. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 31.
177. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, loc. cit.
178. Ibid.
179. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
180. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 32.
181. U.S., Committee for Economic Development, Training and Jobs for the Urban Poor, A Statement on National Policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, New York: the Committee, 1970, p. 10.
182. U.S., Congress, op. cit., Sec. 222.
183. U.S., Committee for Economic Development, op. cit., p. 33.
184. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 34.
185. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Legal Services Program Fact Sheet, Washington: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1969, pp. 1-3.
186. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., p. 74.
187. Ibid., p. 62.
188. Goodall, Leonard E., op. cit., p. 223.
189. Ranney, David C., op. cit., p. 156.
190. Dyckman, John W., "Social Planning in the American Democracy," Urban Planning in Transition, edited by Ernest Erber, New York: American Institute of Planners, 1970, p. 34.
191. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., pp. 7-9.
192. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Agency Atlas, OEO Manual 6003-1, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, pp. 3-7.
193. Kirschner Associates, loc. cit.
194. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program Guide, Washington: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1965, pp. 16-18.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

195. U.S., Congress, op. cit., Sec. 211.
196. Ibid.
197. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, loc. cit.
198. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Memorandum No. 57, Washington: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967, pp. 3-6.
199. Mogulof, Melvin, "Coalition to Adversary: Citizen Participation in Three Federal Programs," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXV, No. 4 (July, 1969), pp. 225-226.
200. U.S., Congress, op. cit., Sec 212.
201. Ibid., Sec. 211.
202. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, loc. cit.
203. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., p. 47.
204. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
205. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
206. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, CAP Management Guide: CAA Organization, OEO Guidance 6410-1, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968, pp. 18-19.
207. Ibid., p. 21.
208. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 21.
209. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
210. Ibid., p. 21.
211. Ibid., p. 10.
212. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., p. 49.
213. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Memorandum No. 57, p. 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

214. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 37.
215. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., p. 48.
216. Keller, Suzanne, op. cit., p. 100.
217. Interview with Mr. Charles E. Geer, Center Director, Nash-Washington Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 20, 1971.
218. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action: The Neighborhood Center, pp. 6-7.
219. Lehan, Edward A., "The Municipality's Response to Changing Concepts of Public Welfare," The Revolution in Public Welfare: The Connecticut Experience, edited by R. Levenson, Storrs: Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, 1966, p. 53.
220. Interview with Mrs. Bonita S. Gude, Social Services Counselor, Edgewood Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 16, 1971.
221. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, op. cit., p. 16.
222. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., pp. 78-80.
223. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 38.
224. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, loc. cit.
225. Kirschner Associates, op. cit., p. 10.
226. Ibid.
227. U.S., Office of Economic Opportunity, loc. cit.
228. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, op. cit., p. 55.
229. Interview with Mr. Paul Morgan, Center Director, Central City Neighborhood Service Center, Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., July 16, 1971.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (Continued)

Other References

- Arnstein, Sherry R., "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXV, No. 4 (July, 1969), p. 216.
- "Chattanooga Pioneers in Neighborhood Services Program," Tennessee Town and City, XIX, No. 3 (March, 1968), p. 9.
- Gibbons, Sam, "Advances in the War on Poverty," American County Government, January 1, 1967, p. 12.
- Gilbert, Neil and Eaton, Joseph W., "Who Speaks for the Poor?" Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXVI, No. 6 (November, 1970), p. 411.
- Hyman, Herbert H., "Planning with Citizens: Two Styles," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXV, No. 2 (March, 1969), p. 105.
- Martin, James L., "Lets Reorganize the War on Poverty," American County Government, February 1, 1967, p. 12.
- Moynihan, Daniel P., Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty, New York: The Free Press, 1969.

Other Sources

- Interview with Mrs. Marie S. Carl, Planning Officer, Office of Economic Opportunity, Region III.
- Interview with Mr. Omar Buchwalter, Supervisor, Planning and Technical Assistance, Office of Economic Opportunity, Region III.