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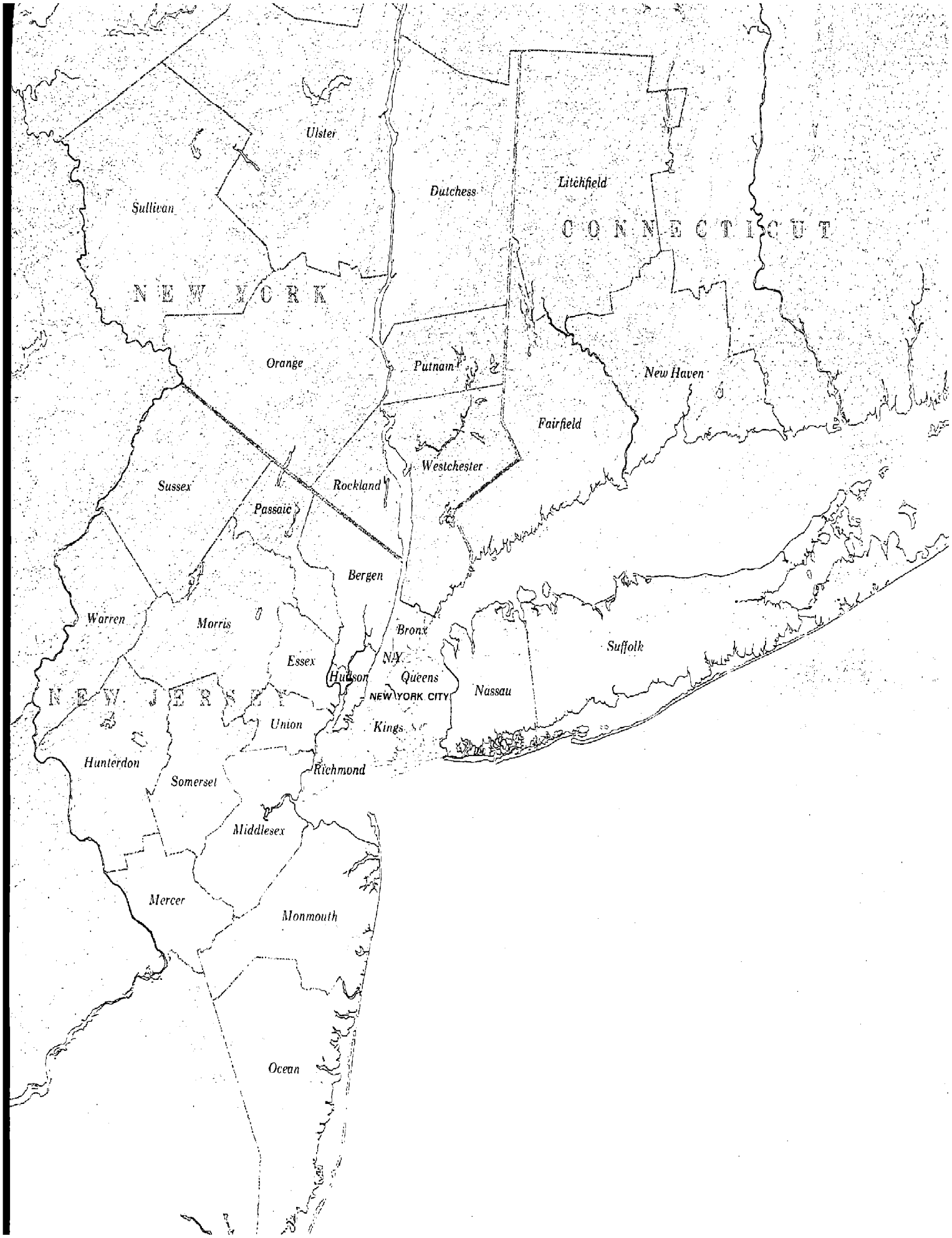
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Regional Plan Association is a nonprofit citizen organization which has been working since 1929 for the efficient and attractive development of the Metropolitan Region surrounding the Port of New York and for expanding opportunities for all its residents.

The Study Area, shown at the left, is the geographic context of the Association's current work on a Second Regional Plan, a successor to the pioneering Plan of New York and its Environs of the 1920's. The Study Area is deliberately drawn larger than would be required to accommodate the most extensive of several development patterns being evaluated for the year 2000, the time horizon of the new plan. The area includes 31 counties in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut with a population in 1965 of 19 million and a land area of 12,748 square miles.

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN REGIONAL PLANNING

REGIONAL PLAN ASSOCIATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE NOAA
COASTAL SERVICES CENTER
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This report was written by William B. Shore and edited by John P. Keith.

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FOREWORD

The spark which ignited the public consultation process described in this report was a suggestion by a distinguished advisory committee to the Harvard economic studies (described below) at its final meeting on June 30, 1959.

The Committee recommended that Regional Plan take all its findings to a broader public than the Association had ever before reached, including use of educational television.

This concept was pressed forward by Amory H. Bradford, then Chairman of Regional Plan, and John P. Keith, Executive Vice President. The ensuing "Goals for the Region" project was developed by Regional Plan's staff and Telic, Inc., under the leadership of William B. Shore, RPA Information Director, with Louis B. Schlivek, author of **Man in Metropolis.** It broadened the program from just dissemination of findings to include consultation with organized groups of television viewers and other publics.

This report describes the pioneering public participation process which is playing an important role in shaping the Second Regional Plan.

Preparation of the Second Regional Plan began with basic projections of the Region's future prepared for the Association by the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration (published in ten volumes between 1959 and 1961). The Association staff added an analysis of prospective land use and its implications in Spread City (1962).

All of these projections were translated into a sketch of what living conditions might be like if present policies and trends continued. This was discussed with many groups, as described in this report, including some 5,600 persons in the Goals for the Region Project (1963). The public response programs demonstrated serious citizen dissatisfaction with the prospects which the uncoordinated decisions of thousands of individuals and organizations appeared to be bringing.

The Second Regional Plan is a response to the problems identified in these earlier projections. The Plan will propose directions toward which development should be guided and will set out a strategy for changing the unplanned trends toward patterns better suited to the Region. It will not be a rigid blueprint for the year 2000; it will be a basis for judging the long-term validity of current decisions.

The Plan will include proposed locations for major regional activities (e.g., factory and office jobs, higher education, major shopping, the arts), a network of regional transportation, standards of public services (e.g., education and welfare) particularly for the older cities, principles of urban design and amenity, and ways of preventing the pollution and waste of the Region's natural resources.

The first Regional Plan, **Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs,** was financed by Russell Sage Foundation in 1922 and published by Regional Plan Association in two volumes (1929 and 1931) after the completion of ten research reports. It was the first metropolitan plan in the world. This civic effort was a landmark in its advancement of the art and science of urban planning and in the beneficial impact it was to have on the development of the New York Region.

Regional Plan Association, an unofficial citizens group organized in 1929 to foster and develop the first Regional Plan, has continued to pursue the goal of improving the lives of the people of the tri-state Region surrounding the Port of New York.

Most of the broad development policies of the first Regional Plan, such as the expressway and river crossing system, most of the local planning standards and many specific regional park and other projects, have been carried out.

Second Plan research is being financed by the Avalon, Ford, Old Dominion, Rockefeller Brothers and Taconic foundations. Other stages of Association work leading to the Plan were also financed by these foundations and the Merrill, New York, Twentieth Century and Victoria foundations.

In the decade 1957-67 during which this work was conducted, the Association was led by Harold S. Osborne, Amory H. Bradford, James S. Schoff and Max Abramovitz. Each has contributed significantly to the making of the Second Regional Plan.

This publication has been reviewed and accepted by Regional Plan's Executive Committee for transmittal to the Committee on the Second Regional Plan and the public.

C. McKim Norton
President

Grammatical note: This publication does not follow the American style of making collective nouns singular. It is clumsy and too often sounds wrong. The frequent use of such collective nouns as the majority, one-third, 35 percent would make the clumsiness intolerable. So, in what follows, the majority are — not is.

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...The future environment offers many big choices for public decision that will affect our whole way of life. But it is not the kind of choice available in a supermarket: selecting this or that item from among many independent products, according to personal taste at the moment. Our environment comes in enormous and expensive packages today, with the contents predetermined and very difficult to exchange for something one might like better. The only way to affect it is by influencing the big decisions that produce the package. To do that it is necessary not only to know what we want but also to understand the possibilities and limitations of the production process, and how the various elements in the package fit together.

Fortunately it is not the citizen-consumer's responsibility to acquire and apply this knowledge entirely on his own. Politicians, experts, critics, civic leaders, the press, all have important roles in translating the complexities of the physical environment into understandable terms and choices, a role which they have been fulfilling more and more in recent years. And "planning" in a democratic society is primarily a means of proposing and explaining possible future packages for public acceptance, rejection or modification.

Mrs. Catherine Bauer Wurster,
"Framework for an Urban Society"
in *Goals for Americans,*
The Report of the President's
Commission on National Goals,
November 16, 1960

THE PUBLIC'S ROLE IN REGIONAL PLANNING

1. THE SEARCH FOR PLANNING GOALS

Footloose describes our era.

The factory is freed from its sources of raw materials, from rivers and railroads. The worker need not be within walking distance of his job as a century ago nor even within walking distance of subway, railroad or street railway as sixty years ago. Recreation areas for day-long trips can be anywhere in the metropolitan region—and most will be crowded on nice days wherever they are.

Fast-changing also describes our era.

The bulldozer can turn a slum into a desert in a few days. Landscapists can turn it into a park shortly after—or construction workers into houses or offices. Nor does it take long for residents to turn a nice neighborhood into a slum.

Fantastically productive also describes it.

Our economy now produces three times as much as in the booming years of the '20's (measured by the same dollar), and production of goods and services per capita leaps by about one-fourth each decade.

The planner, accordingly, is increasingly freer of economic and transportation limitations. Many locations are about equally efficient for production and distribution of goods and services—and with our increasing wealth, other values more often than before challenge efficient production and distribution as important criteria.

With basic economic necessities of diminishing importance in regional planning, issues more related to personal taste come to the fore, and planners have become sensitive to the possibility that the choices they would make for a metropolitan area may not be the same as others would make.

These planning decisions are important. How we build a community and a metropolitan area will shape the way we live in it:

—the degree of choice of jobs, goods, services, education, entertainment, mode of travel, friends and culture;

—the amount of time we can spend on each and the amount of time we probably will spend on each;

—the degree of sociability and sense of community (and therefore social restraint) we shall have;

—the political and social friction likely;

—the variety in types of people, topography and structures with which we shall have contact;

—the over-all appearance and feel of our environment.

We might, perhaps, agree on a few "objective" goals: for example, a sense of community for most residents; a physically and mentally healthy environment; a place that offers wide opportunities and choice, where some can find backwaters while others are stimulated; an arrangement whereby man can live in concert with nature, not in conflict. But we will find that such goals, even if unanimously approved, offer little guidance when decisions are to be made. All too frequently they are incompatible, and someone must choose among them.

Nor do the standard books on "a good metropolis" offer dependable guidance. How could the planner choose among them? Is Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City better than Jane Jacobs' Greenwich Village or Corbusier's Ville Radieuse or F. J. Osborn's garden city or Lewis Munford's good metropolis? None gives a rationale on which to base a choice among them.

Then where should a planner find guidance? Increasingly, he is learning to use the values people express in their behavior. Through statistical analyses and mathematical models, for example, the choices people make today of transportation mode, type of housing, willingness to pay to save travel time, and other conditions can be translated into predictions of what people would choose in alternative situations in the future. Present behavior seems a more certain indication of future choice about some conditions than response to direct hypothetical questions.

But a plan which simply projects today's choices into the future will miss the opportunity to offer far better choices. A truly imaginative regional plan requires something more than present behavior as a guide to what people will want.

The search for that additional guidance is the subject of this report.

2. THE PLACE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

The political scientist and confirmed democrat instinctively probes a decision-making process to see whether, how and where the people who are affected can influence the decisions. The policies that shape a metropolitan area usually are subject to the ordinary democratic process. Either the public official at one level of government or another makes the decision, subject to the existing machinery of public responsibility; or a corporation executive makes it, subject to the discipline of competition, public regulation, or the perpetual threat of public regulation should his behavior require it. At this stage, then—when highways are approved, office buildings sited, university campuses constructed, urban renewal funds voted, etc.—at least theoretically, the public has its say.

But there are two parts to regional planning: constructing a long-range comprehensive plan and translating it into specific projects or advice on projects. And there is no formal public participation in the first stage, as the long-range plan evolves. This might not matter, since nothing tangible happens until the second stage, when projects are actually initiated within the democratic process. But the long-range plan is rapidly increasing its influence in the debate on the projects themselves, and seldom are the premises of the plan questioned then.

The relationship of the conceptions in a long-range regional plan to the shaping of a metropolitan area can be illustrated with (1) the first **Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs,** (2) some ideas taking shape for the Second Regional Plan, and (3) a 1960 park and open space plan.

The first Regional Plan proposed a system of radial and circumferential highways.

On the basis of this over-all conception, the location of the George Washington Bridge, originally proposed to be at 57th Street, was changed to 179th Street. Most of the other pieces of the network have, one by one, been placed in relation to each other.

One of the ideas taking shape for the Second Regional Plan is that the anticipated growth in radial movements toward the center of the Region should be handled by public transportation; on the other hand, many sectors of the Region should have improved circumferential arteries (around the center) because these trips are difficult to serve by public transportation.

Regional Plan has applied this long-range view in a recent debate to support priority for the proposed Cross-Brooklyn Expressway (circumferential) over a proposed Bushwick Expressway (radial).

The 1960 Regional Plan Association park and open-space report

- set standards for local and county park acquisition,
- identified places particularly valuable for state and federal parks,
- proposed new legal techniques that would allow builders to be more respectful of natural features and conservation, and
- set out a broad principle that all remaining open oceanfront should be publicly owned and the Appalachians should remain a green backdrop for the Eastern Seaboard.

Specific projects based on the long-range plan have been

- the acquisition of Breezy Point beach in Queens, Sandy Hook in New Jersey, Fire Island National Seashore, Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, and several New Jersey State parks,
- five large state bond issues for state and local parks,
- several county programs to meet Regional Plan's recommended standards for that area, and
- the organization of the Open Space Action Committee to encourage conservation and keep open key tracts in the face of swift development.

Regional plans are gaining influence perhaps because the increased dissatisfaction with an unplanned region has created a presumption of wisdom in a regional plan. More important, the federal government now requires a regional planning process before grants-in-aid are made for highway construction, public transportation, parks and other urban facilities. This seems likely to invest the regional plan with the power of giving or withholding federal grants. But whether the plan carries the power of federal funds or merely of public receptivity of regional planning, recommendations based on a regional plan are felt to be

authoritative, yet the plan has not filtered through any democratic process. Therefore, public participation at that stage seems advisable.

We can illustrate the value of public participation in long-range planning with two examples:

Had a complete expressway plan for the San Francisco area been projected and widely considered, it is conceivable that the Embarcadero Freeway, which has been halted halfway by public protest, would never have been begun or would have been designed to be acceptable.

Had the early conception of urban renewal been set out more comprehensively and discussed with the whole gamut of social and economic groups, we might have recognized that there were other values of importance in addition to and often superior to a clean apartment with a bathroom of its own. As it was, we did not hear the grumbling of those assumed to benefit until several years had passed, many neighborhoods had been tossed aside and a few hundred thousand persons were housed less well than they might have been.

All of this, we think, explains the role of public response machinery in regional (metropolitan) planning. It doesn't substitute for the usual democratic process when decisions on actual projects are made. It raises for conscious attention the basic values to be considered when the long-range plan is evolved because the plan will carry special weight when projects are considered.

Finding out what people want

To find out what people want in a regional plan, we can ask them, we can infer it from their behavior as noted, and we can extrapolate from psychological tests. None of these ways is very satisfactory by itself.

For example:

Because average lot size of new subdivisions has been increasing swiftly, we might infer that people prefer large lots to small. But the cause could have been the fiscal pressures on municipalities, which local governments tried to thwart through large-lot zoning, rather than a considered choice by the home buyer.

White middle-income families with children are moving out of older cities. Why? Poor schools, fear of physical harm or theft, social status, air pollution, more indoor space for the money, or more private outdoor space?

By asking those moving onto large lots and those leaving the cities, we can increase our understanding somewhat, but we would then only know their conscious reasons for their current choice, not what they would have chosen had they known all the alternatives that could have been available.

One could try to convey some alternatives in word, film or photograph, but many people would find it hard to imagine the effect on them. Furthermore, people vary considerably in their ability to imagine what they have not experienced or seen, so that a polling technique applied to all in the same way would not produce comparable replies from different types of people.

Furthermore, a great deal of information must be included in presenting alternatives to assure that the full implications of each choice are considered. For example, one question might ask whether the respondent prefers a house on a large lot. The obvious attractiveness of this choice could be conveyed in pictures. But it would take words—and a fairly large number of them—to get across all the effects on living conditions of even a single neighborhood of houses on large lots and more words and pictures to convey the effects of uniform large lots covering an area for miles around. Even then, the issue is only partly laid out. In addition to convenience, "feel" and aesthetics, there are costs to be considered. And in addition to costs, cost allocations. For example, if the highway and road network needed to serve housing on one-acre lots would be more expensive than that needed to serve the same number of families on smaller lots, who should pay the extra costs?

Many of the questions, in fact, relate more to public policy than to private preference, and one's preference for a particular pattern of development usually will be affected by the public policies needed to attain that pattern. For example, we might determine by survey that families are reluctantly moving from the older cities because of the concentration of poor people there, with the attendant difficulties of schools in

coping with children from the poverty subculture. But whether people will want this condition changed will depend on what public policies are needed to change them.

That personal choices are not simply a matter of readily discernible tastes but are a conglomerate of public decisions and private preferences is illustrated in this observation by a French geographer very conversant with American planning:

> Young couples in the middle-income brackets with children prefer to move out to suburbia and even exurbia in the United States; they prefer to stick to the center of large cities in France; they prefer peripheral locations in England. . . . As one studies the differences in modes of suburban transportation, in credit for and taxation on housing, and the availability of it, in Greater London and Greater Paris, one realizes that the "fashions" of suburbanization in the former and clinging to the central nucleus in the latter are essentially dictated by sordid economics and very little the result of "patterns of culture." National policies of credit and taxation on one hand, the organization of the metropolitan transportation network on the other, are essential controls anywhere of the existing pattern of land use and housing distribution.*

So, merely asking people why they made the choices they did and what they might have done if they had had certain described alternatives is only a beginning.

We need only recall the thought process through which a couple chooses a house to see the way our minds must simplify complex issues for handling. Aesthetics, transportation, social life, play area, children's playmates, school quality, adequate living space, and many more are thrown together—not individually evaluated—in the comparison. How much more so must we try to simplify the elements both of what we want and what it will cost in money, time and human disruption when the choice is a regional pattern.

In regional planning, then, the kind of guidance from public opinion that seemed to make sense to Regional Plan Association was continuous response to the planners' research as it went along. In preparing a new plan for the New York metropolitan area, Regional Plan Association has followed this process:

1. The future of the Region was projected, assuming that present policies and trends would continue—in other words, the Region we would have without a regional plan. Then the problems that seemed likely to result were identified. (**Spread City,** 1962.)
2. This projection and set of possible problems were presented to as wide a public as possible. Is this the kind of regional environment they would want? Are the problems worth worrying about? Are they bad enough to warrant strong effort to turn present prospective trends toward a more satisfactory metropolitan pattern?
3. When the responses from random groups indicated that the problems seemed serious to nearly all respondents, a basic alternative pattern was sketched which seemed likely to meet most of the problems. Some rough ideas of steps that would be needed to achieve the alternative also were suggested. Then, in a Goals for the Region project, described in Part II, the Association tried to test all of this more systematically on a wider audience. At each stage, the discussion with various groups resulted in the modification of some of the ideas.
4. Finally, a long-range plan is being developed, constantly checked by various groups and adjusted to their comments.

In other words, the public is asked to respond to a whole planning package, not simply to market research questions dealing with segments of issues which really cannot be segmented (though a few questions of here-and-now preferences and satisfactions were included in the Goals project and proved useful).

In choosing the questions themselves, we try to make the classic distinction between technical questions, on which planners are expert, and value questions, on which everyone is equally expert and which never can be settled with certainty.

The decisions to be considered

In this process of planning and public consultation, the planner essentially asks the public: Does this make sense? But the public must be helped to see beneath the planner's analysis and recommendations. The key to finding the right questions with which to challenge the planner's recommendations seems to be the word "assumptions." Preceding any analysis and underlying any proposal are a number of assumptions which normally are not brought out and may not even be in the planner's consciousness. The four planning steps

*Jean Gottmann, **Economics, Esthetics, and Ethics in Modern Urbanization**, New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1962.

which Regional Plan follows help to dig out the assumptions behind the evolving plan: we make clear what we assume to be problems or inadequacies likely to follow from present policies and trends; we make clear what development changes we assume would better satisfy the broadest public and why; we make clear what policy changes will be required to achieve the development changes; and we test our assumption that these changes would be acceptable.

When the plan deals with concrete proposals, the word "assumptions" is an even more important tool. In one case, for example, a metropolitan freeway network was proposed and all but accepted when one planning commission member asked a seemingly insignificant question: "How fast do you figure people will be able to travel during rush hour on this network?" "About 35 miles per hour" was the reply. "What would be the difference in the necessary highway system if rush hour drivers only travelled at 32 miles an hour?"

The difference was millions of dollars and a good deal less disruption.

Now, 35 miles per hour may have been the correct assumption; but this is the kind of question the planning commission, i.e., the general public as opposed to the expert planner, should determine. That particular commission was led by the query on speed to question other assumptions—for example, that a person should be able to live on one side of a large metropolis and work on the opposite side and get to work in a reasonable time. Is this reasonable freedom of choice? And what is a reasonable time?

Some of these questions can be answered (and probably were answered by the planners) on the basis of people's behavior. How much money people typically pay to save travel time and how this price relates to the cost of building and operating the expressway system for various speeds (including the cost of compensating for disruption) probably were considered in preparing the design. But the ramifications of typical travel behavior in a future highway network could well give the public second thoughts about their choices, and the public certainly should have a chance to question the basic assumptions as this planning commission ultimately did.

By uncovering these assumptions, the public can choose among the inevitably conflicting goals. In the highway network example, the choice was between speed and cost-cum-disruption. There are more subtle conflicts in regional planning, of course. Improving commuter rail service certainly will ease traffic jams and probably prevent some deterioration in the functioning of the central business district, on which the whole regional economy rests. But another goal may be defeated by better rail service—encouraging those who work in the city to live in the city and take responsibility for it. This kind of goal conflict should be faced consciously.

Finally, the public should safeguard the planners against inadvertently hurting or neglecting a particular segment of the population.

For example:

Most people favor the right of those living in a locality to determine its future, rather than having an outside agency come in and do it. But the needs of people who would live in that area if different plans were made for it are not considered. Nearly all the added population in the Study Area of the Second Regional Plan, some 11 million people by 2000, will be living on what is now vacant land—a majority in municipalities now populated by relative handsful of people. Probably under 2 million people have been determining the residential pattern that could prevail for the added 11 million. We might conclude that the people already there will have tastes in residential design very similar to those who will be moving there, so the newcomers should be glad to have those already there work out the residential pattern. But, in fact, the newcomers and the present residents have different interests. In many municipalities, the first goal of the zoning ordinance is to keep out as many people as possible, particularly families with school-age children and most particularly low-income families. For this reason, the over-all pattern of housing location, though not the neighborhood design, becomes a regional issue and one on which the public of the whole region should speak.

In our view, then, the function of public participation in regional planning is to uncover the assumptions lying behind the planning recommendations in order to (1) weigh the values in conflict and (2) identify forgotten factors. The process is to inform the participants as fully as possible about the issues, identifying the conflicts in values as clearly as possible. Generally, this will take the form of projecting the prospective problems facing the region and the proposed solutions to those problems, including the price of the solutions not only in money but in governmental policy changes, human disruption, and other negative factors.

Evaluating responses

Evaluating the replies is as difficult as presenting the issues and asking opinions on them.

First, what constitutes a reliable sample, i.e., what groups are known to have similar interests and views on regional planning matters so that a sample of them can stand for the whole?

To illustrate, we generally associate wealth and education with individualism, but on metropolitan issues this does not always follow. For example, a study by political scientists James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield found "citizens who rank high in income, education, or both" have "an enlarged view of the community and a sense of obligation toward it. [They] . . . are likely to have a propensity for looking at and making policy for the community 'as a whole' and to have a high sense of personal efficacy, a long time perspective, a general familiarity with and confidence in city-wide institutions, and a cosmopolitan orientation toward life." This referred to Chicago. A study of several elections in the Cleveland area showed consistently strong support for metropolitan government proposals in the higher-income neighborhoods.

Nor do we know whether other characteristics affect choices. Take ethnic background, for example. More Jews than Catholics or Protestants said in the Goals project that they liked living in apartments. Does this reflect taste which is likely to continue, historical accident, or other causes which may or may not remain relevant? Do Negroes have the same preferences for housing types and neighborhood as white people with the same education and income? Limitations on their housing choices eliminate meaningful inferences. There is some preliminary indication that women and men react differently to the same degree of crowding; must all sample characteristics be divided by sex, also? And by age?

Second, respondents undoubtedly vary in their ability to imagine experiences they have not undergone or options they do not now have. Are the answers to be weighed equally? If not, how do we determine who can and who cannot project himself into different situations?

A further puzzle: how can we determine the different degrees of concern about the choices at hand? The American political system registers intensity of feeling about issues that pass through the usual political processes. Often, for example, a program that is favored by a majority without much enthusiasm is blocked by the strong opposition of a minority that does care very much. This can happen in reverse, too, with the enthusiastic minority getting a program for which the opposition is numerous but relatively indifferent. If the informal process of surveying opinion on a regional plan is to simulate the political system in this country, how strongly people feel about an issue should be mixed in the total consideration of the planner. This may be especially important in regional planning, in fact. Some people live narrowly, confining their interests to their homes and their work places; many don't even notice what they pass in between. Others live in the whole region; they want easy relationships among its parts to enlarge their choice of jobs, goods, services, activities and friends; they are sensitive to what they see.

At this point in history, the indifferent may well constitute a majority of the region's residents. But should the region be built according to what their choices would produce? Two conditions argue against —the greater intensity of feeling of those who **do** care and the probable increase in the number who **will** care a generation from now.

No public response program can be taken at face value without some adjustment for opinion and attitudes of the future. Most of the issues will affect the children or even grandchildren of those consulted far more than they will affect the respondents themselves. And we can have confidence that the next generation will, on the whole, be better educated and have more income and more leisure than the present generation. (See Regional Plan Association, **The Region's Growth,** 1967.) Furthermore, they will have grown up in an age of affluence rather than during the depression and so be more prepared to use their added leisure and income in a satisfying way.*

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*A Regional Plan staff member, enjoying the Piazza San Marco in Italy, noticed that the man next to him was an American. "Isn't it magnificent?" the planner asked. "Yeah," replied the other American. "Too bad we can't afford it." It is a constant wonder to American aesthetes: why can poor countries afford beautiful public places, well maintained, while we can't? The answer usually implied by those who point this out is that in other countries, a majority of people demand beautiful public places whereas in America, only a minority care. In fact, the probability is that in poorer countries the aesthetes have gotten away with burdening the poor to build and maintain their public places—that if the issue of cost had ever been raised democratically, probably the majority in those countries would have voted no, too. It is, of course, a perpetual question as to whether sometimes a state must do something to raise the intellectual-aesthetic standards of its subjects as a parent tells a child that he knows what's best for him. (This question even tripped that apparently wholehearted democrat John Stuart Mill when he concluded that Socrates' taste must count for more than a pig's.) Today, the affluence of our economy makes the cost of higher standards of design and maintenance of urban areas less burdensome to those who do not care about beauty and orderliness, and the swift spread of sensitivity promises to reduce their number.

3. THE PUBLICS TO BE CONSULTED

Keeping in mind these uncertainties about evaluating responses and also the kind of information Regional Plan wants from the public, we have identified five distinct groups to be consulted. Each requires a different approach for effective consultation.

Civic leaders (volunteers)

There is a kind of person who wants to vote on everything, who wants to help shape society. These are the people who become civic leaders, who attend meetings, write their congressmen, organize citizen action groups and demonstrations, and occasionally get themselves elected to non-fulltime public office. (Those elected to fulltime public office or important party posts become different political animals.)

In regional planning, the civic leaders probably care most about the region's future—and will do most to make it what they want. They tend to live in the whole region, not just their own locality. They want a wide choice of jobs, goods, services, friends.

Also, they are easiest to recruit. Issue a call, and they come. These are the people who come to Regional Plan's annual conference—1,500 plus in recent years. More than 5,000 participated in our Goals for the Region project via television and mailed questionnaires in 1963. (The Goals project is described in Part II.) Mixed among them in these meetings are those with a special interest in regional development—who may also be civic leaders, of course: professional planners, some local, state and federal officials, builders, etc.

Non-volunteer middle class

Though the majority of the region's residents probably are less sensitive and concerned about planning issues than the volunteers, it is, of course, necessary to assure that their interests and values have been considered. Their participation seems best obtained through organizations whose main purpose is not civic activity (since these are the people who are not terribly interested in that). Trade unions and church mens and womens clubs bring together the largest and broadest range of non-volunteers, probably.

Response from these groups would have to be tailored to their convenience; by definition, they wouldn't walk across the street to talk about regional planning. Their interest has to be won while they are a captive audience.

The difficulty of recruiting non-volunteer types to such discussions was illustrated by Regional Plan's effort to bring an abbreviated Goals project to an ethnically mixed lower-middle-income neighborhood in the Bronx in a full-day's meeting arranged by neighborhood leaders. (See pages 62-63.) These local leaders spent weeks organizing the meeting and rounding up promises to attend. Regional Plan spent weeks writing fairly simple background reading and questionnaires and translating some copies into Spanish. Then, only about 100 persons appeared, many for only half of the meeting, and much of the discussion was turned to immediate neighborhood problems—admittedly pressing—rather than to regional issues that affect the locality less immediately and obviously.

The poor

Recently, many organizations have sprung up to represent the interests of the poor, and it is conceivable that planning participation can take place through these organizations. Often, however, there is a sharp difference between the opinions of spokesmen for the poor and opinions of the poor themselves—and the poor have been too inarticulate or felt themselves too powerless to take part in the kind of response program we have outlined.

Then, too, there is difficulty in winning the interest of the poor to issues that do not seem to relate to them at all. Their problems are immediate, not long range —just living, not choosing a place to live. But when they have had a chance to understand the relevance of regional planning issues to their lives, some poor people have been interested. A group of women living in Harlem public housing, all receiving Aid-To-Dependent-Children payments, formed a Goals for the Region group through the persuasion of a welfare worker in the area. Not only did they continue through the whole program, they continued to meet for over a year, discussing community, welfare and personal problems and how to solve them. Some have attended Association annual conferences since.

Showing how the issues are relevant, simplifying them for those with little education, and testing whether the unrepresented differ in their opinions even from poor people who might be recruited will be especially difficult. We may have to use depth interviews of those who serve as listening posts in slums—e.g., barbers and bartenders—rather than going directly to large numbers of low-income people. We also will try to tap the observations of welfare workers, public housing managers, and leaders of organizations sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Representatives of major institutions

Major institutions and groups directly concerned with regional planning issues, such as large corporations and their professional advisers (i.e., lawyers, public relations firms), labor organizations, public and higher education, the arts, civil rights, information media, foundations, churches, architecture and building, women's organizations, conservation and transportation, have great influence on regional planning decisions made by government. Their own actions are important, too, and these actions result from a difficult-to-trace blend of leadership, logic and followership. These institutions and major groups, therefore, are worth consulting through their spokesmen.

Experts in planning-related fields

Since regional planning aims at weaving together a dozen or more threads spun out by separate professions and industries—education, health, the arts, retailing, home building, ecology-conservation-recreation, industrial and office location, and more—a good deal of discussion between regional planners and experts in these fields seems advisable. In many cases, these professions and industries are not planning for the future of the services they provide; in such instances, regional planners can stimulate them to look ahead and can provide economic and demographic projections on which planning for this segment of regional affairs can be based. In any case, the special conditions governing each of these areas of activity must be known to the regional planner for his own work. Furthermore, the planner's way of looking at these activity areas should be known to the experts so they can respond thoughtfully to the final recommendations.

In addition to experts in planning-related fields, the regional planner should consult professional planners for municipalities, counties and states.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Fortunately, there are many "best" plans for a region; each involves so many trade-offs of what people would rather not have for what they really want that it becomes all but impossible to say decisively: this is the best of all. Therefore, we need not be compulsive about getting all the opinions of all the Region's residents, giving them all the proper weight and adding them into a workable montage. It is fortunate because —of course—we could not do it.

Nevertheless, we feel that plans worked out in consultation with the public will more closely reflect the public needs and preferences.

Although recognizing that we are far away from a perfect process, we do have some conclusions from these considerations and Regional Plan's experience:

1. Systematic surveys of public opinion should be fed into regional planning in the process of developing a long-range comprehensive plan, in addition to the usual public participation in debate on specific region-shaping projects.

2. The surveys are only dependable if those responding have considerable information and if the questions are discussed in the context of regional planning (rather than simply market-research kinds of answers—what kind of house or yard do you like?—unrelated to regional planning issues).

3. Therefore, it is most satisfactory to obtain public response to the planner's concepts in the regular course of planning—first projecting present trends and policies and identifying possible inadequacies of urban development if the trends continue, then proposing solutions to prospective inadequacies, and finally proposing the policy changes needed to achieve the solutions. Public response should concentrate on the value questions as distinguished from the technical questions on which planners are expert. On the value questions, there are no experts.

4. The clearest way to reach value questions is through the word "assumptions." The public should be told the assumptions on which the planner's conceptions are based and asked whether they are acceptable.

5. All possible differences in interests should be surveyed. This means trying to reach as many different groups as possible—different in income, education, ethnic background, age, sex, location in the region and any other factors that appear to produce different responses to the planner's assumptions.

6. But in evaluating the responses, some special considerations must be fed in subjectively. We do not yet know the socio-economic divisions which produce different opinions on planning issues, or how to compensate for the fact that some people are better than others in imagining what does not yet exist. Also, adjustments ought to be made for changes in taste which might be predictable over the coming generation. Finally, intensity of feeling as well as sheer numbers is important. Nevertheless, we believe that an open-minded planning organization, genuinely concerned about public opinion, can be guided by the ideas and insights in environmental needs and preferences revealed by a wide-ranging public consultation program.

7. In practice, we have identified five groups which should be sought out for consultation, each in a different way:

- civic leaders (who volunteer to participate)
- non-volunteers among the middle class
- the poor
- representatives of major institutions (the establishment)
- experts on elements of regional development.

How Regional Plan has tried to consult with some of these groups and what the results have been is the subject of Part II.

Our proposed development policies program, when completed, will have an element never before embodied in any other regional plan in this country (and probably anywhere else). We are making this plan literally in a goldfish bowl. When it is finished it will not be just the product of a technical staff and committees (like the 1929 Plan). Our Plan will have been exposed to several development committees of leading citizens, our board of directors, . . . several thousand active citizen kibitzers, . . . county planners, New York City's planners, Tri-State Transportation staff, chamber of commerce and other civic organizations staffs, state planners and the Region's elected municipal and county officials (MRC). We do not expect unanimous approval of our recommendations. We shall, however, have a large working consensus. And we will know who disagrees and why they disagree and how serious the opposition is. Our regional plan will not go on the shelf, because it will already be in the blood stream of the Region's decision-makers before it is published.

Progress Report on the Second Regional Plan, December 31, 1966.

CONSULTING THE PUBLIC ON THE SECOND REGIONAL PLAN

Acknowledgements

In addition to Regional Plan Association staff members, the following made significant contributions to the Goals for the Region project described in Part II.

On recruiting participants: David B. Rauch, then Director, Adult Education Program, Great Neck Public Schools; Pearl H. Hack, then Lecturer in Political Science, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York; George Case, public relations consultant; Hans Neurath, Case Supervisor of the Social Service Center of the City of New York.

On preparing and analyzing questionnaires: Mrs. Sanci Michael of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, and Allen Barton, the Bureau Director; Joan Gordon, Research Director, Center for New York City Affairs, New School for Social Research; Joel I. Brooks, then with Elmo Roper and Associates. Dr. Barton also brought together a group of social scientists to review the plan of the project and gave a preliminary report on the results at the 1963 annual Regional Plan Conference.

On producing the television series: Telic, Inc., (Elwood Siegel, President, and Edwin Bouton, Vice President and Executive Director); WPIX (Edward M. Roberts, then Production Manager, Otis Freeman, then Vice President in Charge of Engineering, and Leavitt J. Pope, then Vice President in Charge of Operations).

Participating in the television shows: Mason W. Gross, President of Rutgers—The State University; Mr. and Mrs. John W. Morris and their children (now of New Rochelle, New York); Dorothy H. Cronheim, then Director of the Newark Commission for Neighborhood Conservation and Rehabilitation; Mabel Walker, Executive Director of the Tax Institute of America; L. Clinton Hoch, Partner, The Fantus Company (industrial locaters); Paul Windels, former Corporation Counsel of the City of New York.

Probably most credit for the project's results belongs to the more than 600 chairmen of small groups around the New York Region who recruited their group members, arranged for meeting places, chaired the discussions and saw to it that written questionnaires were returned. Nearly half also gave us useful comments after the project was over on how public participation could be improved.

5. THE GOALS PROJECT PROCESS AND PARTICIPANTS

In 1963, Regional Plan Association had completed preliminary steps toward the Second Regional Plan: projections of what the Region would be like in twenty-five years if present trends and policies continued—how many more jobs and people, where (in a general way) they would live and work, and what the sum total of living conditions probably would be—particularly what problems could be expected—if present trends and policies continued.

For nearly three years, we had been reporting these projections. Wherever possible, we tried to get the reaction of audiences. In all, well over 100 speeches were made to a variety of groups with almost unanimous reaction: the prospects are not good enough. Can't we plan a better pattern of development? However, we did not know who our respondents were, in a scientific way, or whether there were people who disagreed and had not spoken up. In early 1963, when it was time to go on to plan alternatives to current development trends if people really were dissatisfied, we carried out a more systematic effort to get public response to the prospects and some guidance for the alternatives we would plan: the Goals for the Region project. Since 1964, when work on the Second Regional Plan actually began, we also have consulted with over 100 representatives of leading institutions of the Region in a Committee on the Second Regional Plan and with experts on education, health, cultural facilities, retailing, advanced communication and transportation technology, office and industrial location, and libraries, and with other professional planners.

The Goals Project was a series of five meetings (April 2, 16, 23, 30 and May 7, 1963) in which a total of 5,600 persons participated in at least one meeting, with the fewest responses from any meeting 3,650, the most 4,750. Most groups were small, under fifteen, and met in homes of participants, though a few groups met in churches or other public meeting places. There were 680 groups the first week; these decreased slightly to 648 at the fourth meeting. The last week, only 606 groups met because of an unavoidable conflict with annual school meetings in many New York State suburbs. Even that week, many persons read the background booklets and sent in questionnaires without benefit of the meeting, so the number of questionnaires filed was about the same as after the third and fourth meetings.

The process

Participants received background booklets about ten days before each meeting. Between half and two-thirds indicated they had read each of the booklets at least "fairly carefully," one in six said they read it "in detail or more than once." The number not reading it at all varied from 5 percent to 14 percent.

At the meeting, participants first watched a half-hour television show covering the same points as the reading. The points were made in conversation among three to five panelists, about half of the time speaking over illustrative films taken especially for the program.*

Then participants were to spend 1¼ hours discussing key questions listed at the end of the background booklets. (Reports indicated that many discussions went far into the night.)

Finally, each individual filled out a questionnaire that had been mailed in bulk to the group chairman. The questionnaires were anonymous, but they were keyed to a biographical questionnaire filled out before the programs began so that characteristics of persons giving certain replies could be determined, e.g., attitudes toward different types of housing could be cross-tabulated with the kind of housing then occupied. The questionnaires were mailed by the group chairman directly to Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, where they were coded and analyzed.**

The process had been discussed with a number of competent social scientists in advance and worked out with a sociologist and an adult education expert.*** It was tested on three pilot groups in different types of communities—an old city, Newark; an old suburb, Great Neck; a growing suburb, New City.

*The films were directed by Louis B. Schlivek and produced by Telic, Inc. The shows were put together by Mr. Schlivek and William B. Shore, the Information Director of Regional Plan. The panel chairman, Rutgers University President Mason W. Gross, contributed greatly toward shaping the programs.

**Mrs. Sanci Michael of the Bureau prepared the questionnaires with the Regional Plan staff and analyzed the responses. Dr. Allen Barton, head of the Bureau, worked with Mrs. Michael and Regional Plan at several stages in the analysis.

***Dr. Joan Gordon was the sociologist, then at Columbia University now at The New School; the adult educator was Dr. David B. Rauch, then Director of Adult Education for the Great Neck public schools and now Community Relations Director there.

The participants

Recruiting of chairmen was done mainly through organizations. In addition, there was considerable newspaper publicity, and staff members mentioned the project in many speeches and distributed descriptive brochures to hundreds of contacts. A sample of organizations that were asked to publicize the project through their newsletters, meetings or mailings or by selecting participants to represent the organization are listed in Appendix 1. By and large, chairmen recruited their own groups.

Chairmen received biographical questionnaires in advance and gave them to persons recruited to their group. When these were returned by the individual participant to the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, the return address was torn from it and sent to Regional Plan as a registration. From these, addresses for background reading were taken. The number 5,600, used as the total of participants, is the number who returned a biographical questionnaire and at least one of the weekly substantive questionnaires.

Characteristics of participants. The Goals for the Region participants are in many ways unlike the population of the Region as a whole.

1. The newly developing areas of the Region were overrepresented, New York City underrepresented, though the Regional Plan staff spent more effort recruiting from the older parts of the Region. On the whole, the farther from the center, the higher the ratio of participants to population. Somerset County had by far the most participants per population, followed by Orange and Morris Counties. Brooklyn and the Bronx had the lowest ratio of participants to population. New Jersey respondents were far more numerous than New York and Connecticut in proportion to population. This may be because the League of Women Voters of New Jersey earlier had begun a two-year study of regional planning, or it may have resulted from especially enthusiastic support by a few New Jersey newspapers while New York City newspapers were on strike. (See Map 2.)

Table 1 **TYPE OF AREA RESPONDENTS SAID THEY LIVED IN**

City	23%
Suburb	60
Rural-non-farm	13
Rural farm	4

Table

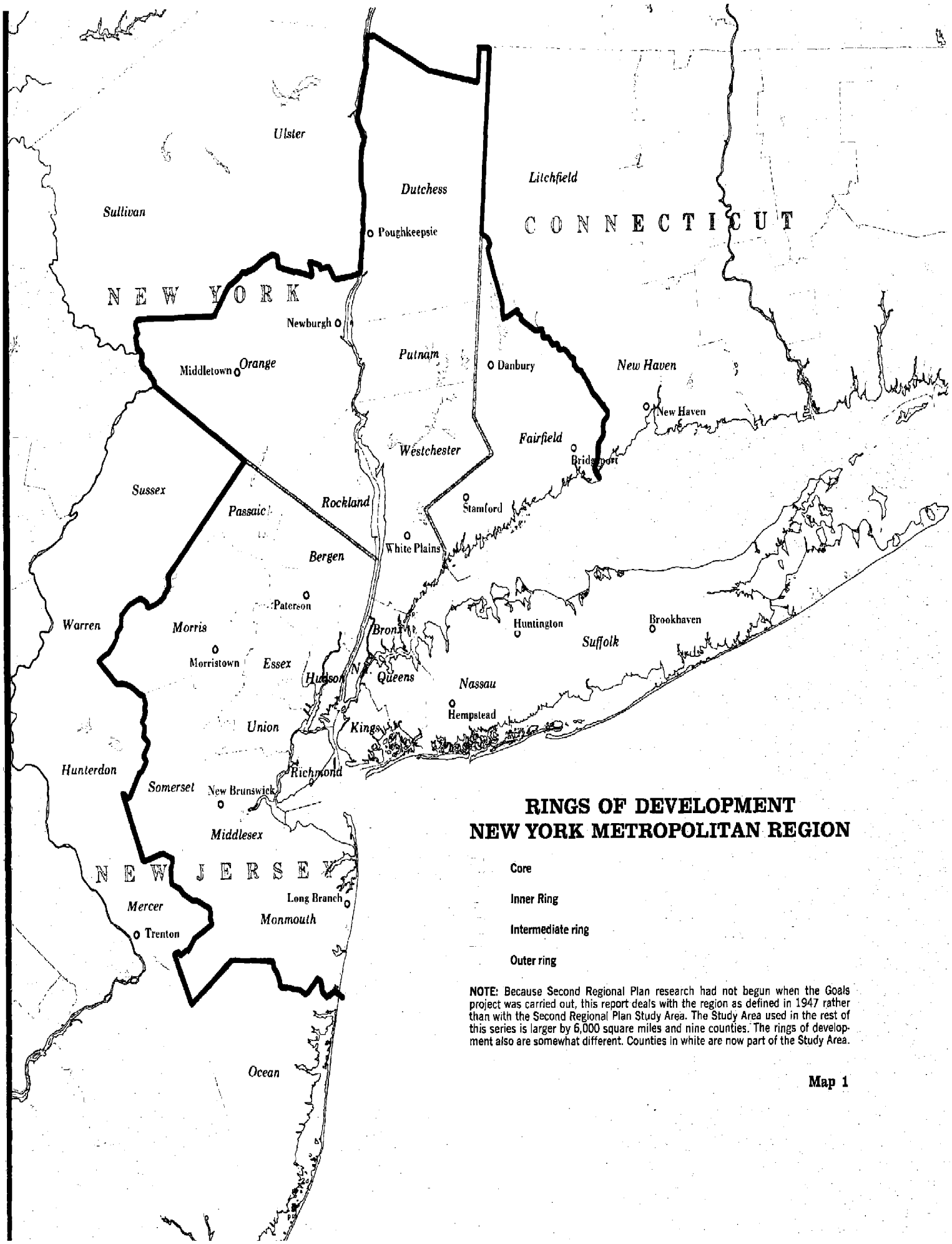
COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND COUNTY OF WORK OF GOALS PARTICIPANTS

	County of Residence		County of Work	
	percent of participants living in . . .	percent of Region's 1960 population in . . .	percent of participants working in . . .	percent of Region's 1960 employment in . . .***
CONNECTICUT				
Fairfield	2.3%	4.0%	1%	3.9%
NEW JERSEY	53.3	27.2	39	24.6
Bergen	10.0	4.8	4	3.5
Essex	11.4	5.7	11	6.3
Hudson	1.4	3.8	3	4.1
Middlesex	7.2	2.7	5	2.3
Monmouth	2.2	2.1	1	1.2
Morris	7.5	1.6	4	1.1
Passaic	1.9	2.5	3	2.4
Somerset	5.1	0.9	2	0.7
Union	6.6	3.1	6	3.0
NEW YORK (outside N.Y.C.)	24.9	20.4	13	13.9
Dutchess	1.0	1.1	1	1.0
Nassau	7.0	8.1	3	5.3
Orange	4.9	1.1	4	0.9
Putnam	0.1	0.2	*	0.1
Rockland	2.2	0.8	1	0.6
Suffolk	1.9	4.1	1	2.2
Westchester	7.8	5.0	3	3.8
NEW YORK CITY	16.7	48.2	37	58.8
Bronx	2.0	8.8	1	3.6
Brooklyn	3.7	16.3	3	9.6
Manhattan	5.7	10.5	30	37.6
Queens	2.9	11.2	2	6.4
Richmond	1.4	1.4	1	0.6
RING OF DEVELOPMENT (See Map 1.)				
Core	17.3%	53.1%	45%	65.7%
Inner Ring	41.1	26.8	24	20.0
Intermediate Ring	31.7	17.4	18	12.3
Outer Ring	9.3**	2.6	9**	2.0

Total does not equal 100% because small numbers farther out of Region were excluded.
* Less than 0.1%
** Including small number just outside the boundaries of the Region as then drawn.
***Regional Plan Association estimate.

2. A smaller percentage of participants than population worked in New York City (Table 2) because the over-weighting of outer area residents was so great; but of those living outside the City, a percentage greater than the average commuted in to jobs in New York City.

3. They were volunteers. Regional Plan made an intensive effort to recruit people of every income and educational level, of many ages and skills, from every county in the Region, but the Association had nothing to offer participants for their time except the chance to have their viewpoint considered on issues that would affect the lives of participants and their families. They were, therefore, persons capable of sensing the importance of relatively abstract questions which, on first thought, do not seem to directly affect them personally. And they were very likely to have been involved in civic affairs since most were recruited through organizations.



RINGS OF DEVELOPMENT
NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION

Core

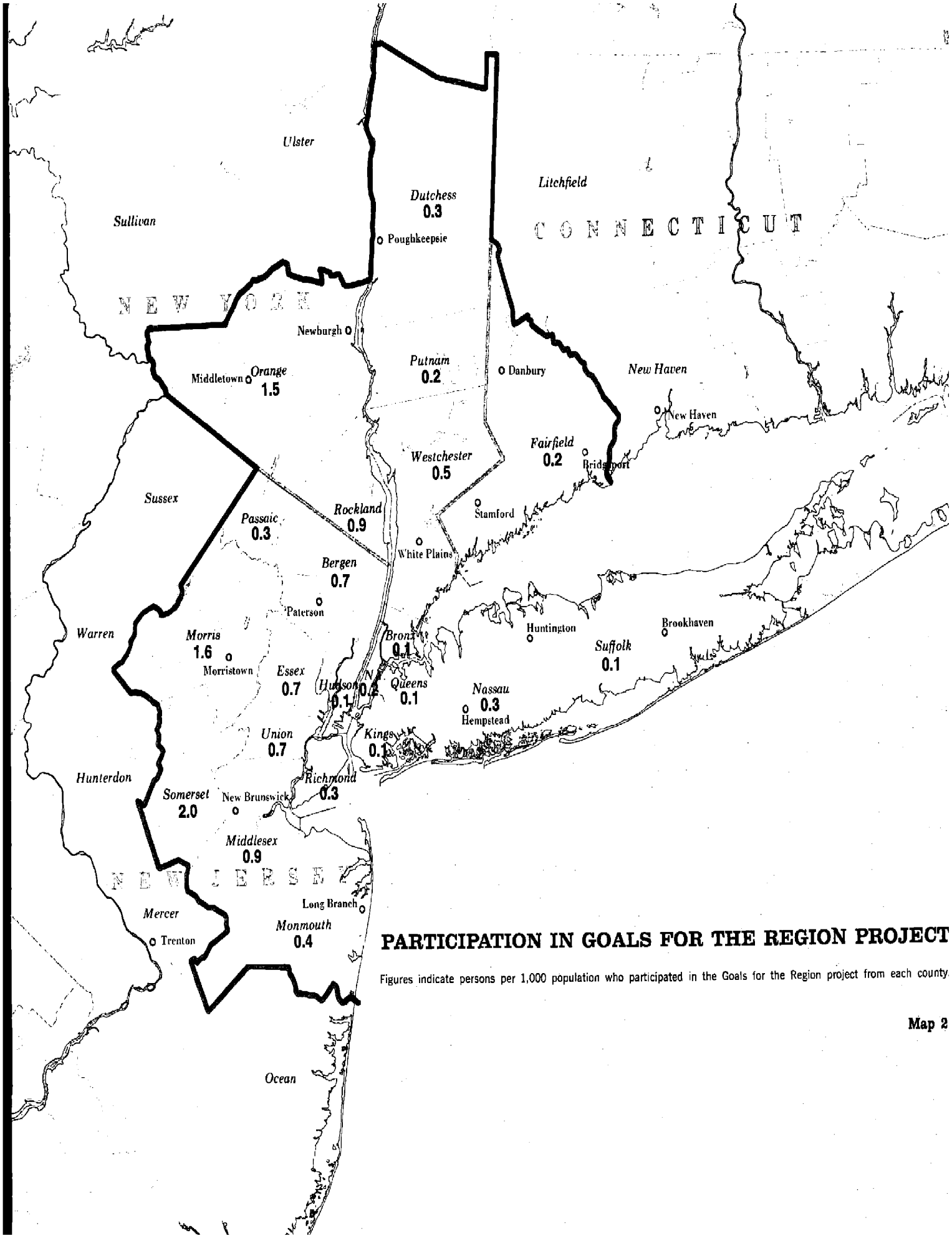
Inner Ring

Intermediate ring

Outer ring

NOTE: Because Second Regional Plan research had not begun when the Goals project was carried out, this report deals with the region as defined in 1947 rather than with the Second Regional Plan Study Area. The Study Area used in the rest of this series is larger by 6,000 square miles and nine counties. The rings of development also are somewhat different. Counties in white are now part of the Study Area.

Map 1



PARTICIPATION IN GOALS FOR THE REGION PROJECT

Figures indicate persons per 1,000 population who participated in the Goals for the Region project from each county.

Map 2

Table 3

ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTION: Number of organizations to which you belong which regularly meet in the New York Metropolitan Region (excluding church membership but including church-related civic, social or educational groups).	**0** - 10.0% **1** - 15.8 **2** - 21.5 **3** - 19.2 **4** - 12.2 **5** - 9.0	**6** - 4.9% **7** - 2.3 **8** - 2.0 **9** - 0.6 **10+** - 2.5
QUESTION: Number of these organizations concerned at least in part with civic affairs.	**0** - 15.8% **1** - 29.7 **2** - 25.9 **3** - 13.8 **4** - 6.6 **5** - 3.8	**6** - 1.9% **7** - 0.9 **8** - 0.6 **9** - 0.3 **10+** - 0.6
QUESTION: Number of meetings concerned with civic affairs you attended in the last month.	**0** - 22.2% **1** - 19.9 **2** - 18.5 **3** - 12.0 **4** - 9.7 **5** - 4.8	**6** - 4.3% **7** - 1.6 **8** - 2.0 **9** - 0.5 **10+** - 4.5

4. Goals people had much more education than the average resident of the Region.

Table 4

QUESTION: Highest grade you completed in school or college.

	Goals respondents 1963		Region's population over 25 (1960 Census)
8 grades or less	1.2%		38.5%
Some high school (no diploma)	4.4		20.0
High school grad.	14.0	17.5	24.0
Post high school training; secretarial, technical, etc. (not college)	3.5		
Some college, no degree	15.3		8.0
College grad.	33.3	59.9	9.5
MA. MS. or professional degree	15.1		
PhD or MD	3.1		
Graduate study (unspecified)	8.4		
No answer	1.7		

Note: Since 8% of the Goals' participants were under 25, and many had not yet completed their education, the disparity with the Region is greater than the table indicates. For example, about half of the 1.2% who had not completed eighth grade were in a class in an Ardsley, New York, elementary school.

5. Participants' income was considerably higher than that of the population of the Region as a whole, though the disparity in income between the Goals people and the whole population was not quite as sharp as the disparity in education.

Table 5

	Goals respondents, 1963	Family income in Region in 1959 (1960 Census)
Less than $3,000	1.0%	12.3%
$3,000 to $4,999	2.7	17.3
$5,000 to $6,999	8.0	23.9
$7,000 to $8,999	12.6	17.7
$9,000 to $9,999	8.3	6.1
$10,000 to $14,999	35.1	14.8
$15,000 to $24,999	24.9	5.7
$25,000 or more	7.3	2.3

Note: The table exaggerates the income disparity by giving 1959 figures for the Region, 1963 for participants. Family income went up about 10 percent from 1959 to 1963. The income disparity, nonetheless, is considerable.

6. The sample was drawn heavily from professionals and top management compared to the population as a whole: 44.2 percent fell in these two categories. In addition, 10.8 percent of the respondents were in families in which a second income producer was professional. By contrast, only about 19 percent of the Region's labor force is considered professional-executive according to the 1960 census.

7. Participants included fewer first generation but slightly more second-generation American residents than the Region as a whole.

FOREIGN BORN AND CHILDREN OF FOREIGN BORN Table 6

	Goals respondents, 1963	Region (1960 census)
Born outside U.S.	6.1%	15.3%
Born in Puerto Rico	1.3	3.0
One parent born outside U.S.	33.8*	27.8

*Fathers only

8. Furthermore, respondents' fathers and, only a little less so, the fathers of respondents' spouses, were well up the economic ladder.

9. There probably were more Protestants than in the Region as a whole and probably fewer Catholics. The Census does not inquire about religion, but a survey of 1952 data by the Protestant Council of the City of New York (published in 1958) provides a comparison (Table 7).

Table 7

	Goals respondents, 1963	Region, 1952
Catholic	18.7%	51.8%
Protestant	52.8	28.0
Jewish	19.4	18.0
Other	2.6	2.2
None	6.4	

10. Very few were non-white.

Table 8

Goals respondents, 1963		Region (1960 Census)	
White	96.3%	White	89.4%
Negro	3.3	Negro	10.1
Other	.4	Other	.5

11. A little over half were men.

12. Nearly all were married (Table 9) and 69 percent had children under 18 in the household.

Table 9

Married, female	**40.7%**
Married, male	**44.2**
Single, female	**6.3**
Single, male	**6.4**
Other, female*	**1.5**
Other, male*	**.5**

*Includes widowed, divorced, separated or status undetermined

13. Altogether, 72.3 percent had two generations in the household. More than 18 percent had children over 18 in the household. Nearly 5 percent had a third generation, and a handful had a fourth generation in the household.

Table 10

Total number in household:	
1	4.7%
2	17.0
3	17.3
4	28.6
5	19.3
6	8.2
7	2.8
8	1.1
9	0.4
10	0.4

14. Half the respondents were 31-45 years old, a third were older, a sixth younger.

Generally, then, the kind of people who showed enough interest in regional planning to fill out a lengthy biographical questionnaire and in a majority of cases attend all five meetings were middle-class families in their middle years with children living in their household at the time. They were unusually well-educated and with substantial enough incomes to allow them to turn to broad questions of a good environment. Three-fifths lived in new or old suburbs, though nearly half worked in the Core (New York City without Staten Island; Newark and Hudson County, New Jersey).

What of value can be learned from a sample biased in this way?

The meaning of the sample bias. While it is necessary to get other views on the planning issues facing the New York Region (see Chapters 3 and 8), the bias of this sample is in a useful direction. On policy issues, it is useful because this group is both interested and active in civic affairs. Regional Plan was asking not only whether the prospects for the Region without a plan looked unsatisfactory but also whether the respondents were concerned enough to support policy changes that would modify the trends. With this sample, an indication of support is likely to mean active support.

On personal preferences, the bias is useful because it is in the direction of the next generation, for whom we in fact are planning. That generation will have higher incomes than today's average and longer education and more skilled jobs, and probably a smaller percentage will have been born in another country or Puerto Rico. In fact, the 1963 sample had an income distribution not too different from that projected by Regional Plan economists for the Region as a whole for the year 2000—if present economic trends continue.

It is not certain what the bias toward Protestants and whites might mean in personal preferences. For example, whether Negroes, when freed of economic and other discrimination, will choose the kinds of environment chosen by whites in the same income and education category, we have too little evidence to tell. Our sample of Negro participants was too small to be valid.

The information presented

These are responses from people exposed to written and televised presentations about regional development, and we certainly feel that the replies would have been different without the information presented in advance. The question is: were the presentations fact or propaganda? About one in eight noted on the first three questionnaires that the presentations were one-sided. These sessions dealt primarily with prospective problems; understandably, the presentations seemed threatening to these people, who were, on the whole, very satisfied with current conditions. After the fourth and fifth presentations, where the direction of possible alternatives to present trends was sketched, the accusations of onesidedness diminished. There could have been many reasons for this, but we assumed that the reaction of the Goals participants was similar to that of the three pilot Goals groups (see page 23) and two three-day conferences held with business executives in 1961 and 1962. In these meetings, suspicion disappeared at about the same time—when the shape of the solutions to prospective problems became visible.

We do not contend that absolutely no bias or emotionalism crept into the presentations; not at all. We feel, however, that many of the participants started with enough suspicion—judging from the questionnaire comments, pilot meetings and also from questions asked at orientation meetings for group chairmen —so that they were alert to any threat of brainwashing. And since three-quarters had been to college and nearly half were professionals or executives, it seems far too flattering to the Regional Plan staff to assert that many respondents were unduly swayed by false argument.

In addition, we received comments on the drafts of the booklets from experts who don't always agree with the Regional Plan analyses, and we made some changes where the points were doubtful.

In all, it does not seem likely that either the printed word or the somewhat amateurish television presentations deceived the participants or emotionally (as distinct from rationally) swayed them to accept a particular line, even though Regional Plan had a point of view about the issues discussed, and we presented that viewpoint as clearly as we knew how.*

*Copies of the background booklets are available from Regional Plan on request.

6. WHAT WE LEARNED FROM THE GOALS PROJECT

Very briefly, the Goals replies provided the following guidance to Regional Plan Association. (Replies are analyzed in detail in Chapter 7.)

General concern about current trends

Most important, a strong majority of respondents indicated—on several questions over the five week period—concern that present development patterns would not produce as good a region as they would like and thought possible. This encouraged Regional Plan to go on to the preparation of alternatives to present development trends, a Second Regional Plan, and it probably contributed to the receptiveness of foundations and businesses which are supporting that work.

Furthermore, it indicated to the Association that at least the educated activists of the Region were ready for fairly sharp changes in the current development trend, even though they were, on the whole, highly satisfied with the present.

For example, support for metropolitan planning was almost unanimous. About two-thirds would have given the regional planning agency at least limited direct enforcement powers, and 86 percent felt that federal grants should be contingent on a project's conforming to a metropolitan plan, which certainly invests the planning agency with considerable power. This provision has since been incorporated in federal legislation.

We specifically raised the possibility that a person's self-interest as a local resident might conflict with his self-interest as a resident of the Region. First, we asked whether they thought local zoning "is or will be causing problems for neighboring municipalities or for the metropolitan area as a whole." The response: 82 percent yes; 5 percent no; 13 percent not sure. Then we asked whether municipalities should continue to have the final say on zoning. Seventy percent would vest some zoning power in a higher level of government, though there was disagreement on whether it should be a metropolitan agency (48 percent), the county (47 percent) or the state (28 percent). Since more Core residents than suburbanites favored transfer of zoning powers upwards and Core residents were underrepresented in the sample, the vote for land-use powers at higher-than-local levels probably underestimated the Region's support.

Even more favored county or state **review** of local zoning.

About three-fourths felt that "some means should be devised to reduce the effect of local tax considerations on local land-use decisions." This agreed with a suggestion made in the presentations that if many local zoning decisions are based on local financial needs rather than on a conception of good local development, elimination of local real estate tax pressures might eliminate conflicts between what is good for the locality and what is good for the Region. If so, simple review of local zoning decisions by a county or state agency, without amendatory power, might be enough to assure good land-use regulation for all affected.

On the first questionnaire, two-thirds recognized that people in their own community were considerably affected by what happened elsewhere in the metropolitan area. Only 1 percent said they were not at all affected.

All of this suggested that the Plan could propose strong solutions. It need not be limited to improving the neatness of the regional pattern that present trends would bring but could propose basic changes in the pattern itself with some expectation of support from those who usually take the lead.

Centers and public transportation

One issue of urban form was whether or not to group jobs in centers: 84 percent favored such centers. However, 34 percent favored large centers, 50 percent smaller ones. At present, Regional Plan research points to the greater usefulness of large centers. This added usefulness will have to be clear to win adequate support, the Goals responses warn.

Other replies were consistent with the choice of job centers.

For example, one of the characteristics of job centers is that they provide greatly expanded job choice with

only slightly increased average trip times to work. Most participants said they would tolerate a longer trip to work to avoid changing jobs or homes, an indication that job and home choice is more important than short work trips. While 41 percent were then travelling less than half an hour to work, 82 percent—exactly twice as many—said they would be willing to travel over half an hour. Nearly half said they would travel over an hour to work compared to less than a fifth who then travelled over an hour.

One of the reasons respondents gave for preferring job centers to more scattered work places was their support for increased use of public transportation, including public financial aid where necessary and allocation of some highway lanes exclusively for buses. Support for improved public transportation was just about unanimous.

Comments on personal transportation preferences and experience do not run counter to this. Those who used public transportation to work were no less satisfied with their trip than those who drove. Satisfaction with the work trip varied with its length in time but not with the mode used.

About 43 percent of the two-thirds who were then using their cars to get to work would switch to improved public transportation if conditions were changed, particularly if public transportation were faster. The importance of speed in choosing a travel mode has been demonstrated in other studies and is merely confirmed by Goals replies.

Desegregating the poor

Continued outmovement of middle-class whites from the older cities and continued in-migration of lower-income Negroes and Puerto Ricans to the older cities—i.e., growing separation of rich and poor, Negro and white—will cause harm and should be stopped in some way by public action, according to 58 percent; 21 percent said no. The fact that another 20 percent were still undecided suggests that in 1963, even civic leaders needed more discussion of this issue. Recent events may have eliminated the undecided vote.

More of those favoring action called for improving city conditions so middle-class whites would stay than specified opening the suburbs to lower-income Negroes. But a majority said they would accept public housing in their community and a majority would not be against having Negroes of their income level in their neighborhood. Only a minority **strongly** favored these conditions, however.

On another question, related to future traffic problems, an almost equal number favored "permitting construction of more housing that factory workers can afford near suburban factories" (72 percent) and "making city living more attractive to suburbanites working in the city who might then want to live in the city" (70 percent), though opposition to the former was somewhat higher (19 percent compared to 9 percent).

More federal and state aid for the older cities was one step a substantial majority said they would support to improve city living and so attract the middle class.

But would any of this sample—who were mainly middle- and upper-middle-income families—live in the older cities even if the cities had more money to make conditions better? About a fifth of the suburban sample not only said they would consider living in a city, they also showed in their other replies that their urban tastes dominated. (Altogether, two-thirds of the suburban respondents said they might choose to live in a city, but their other replies indicated most probably never would.) A greater sense of safety and better public schools were two of the requirements a majority of this urban-oriented group set for moving to a city. Regional Plan's approach to improving prospects for the older cities conforms with these responses—a program of better public services, particularly education. But larger housing units, i.e., more rooms, at a reasonable cost, also would be essential to attract many of these urban types, they told us. Also, the extent of active dissatisfaction with air pollution was revealed in Goals responses: 71 percent of New York City-Newark-Hudson County residents said clean air was very important to them (ranking third in a list of thirty-two living conditions in the number replying "very desirable"—right after "good public schools" and "personal safety"). Of those saying "very desirable," 63 percent of New York City-Newark-Hudson County residents were dissatisfied about the quality of the air. This was more pervasive concern than we had anticipated from urban types at that time. Their concern has since become politically effective. (We had rightly surmised that more suburbanites than city residents were very concerned about air pollution, but the difference was not very great.)

One fairly obvious point: responses substantiated that cities need strong urban attractions if many people are to choose to live in them. Nineteen percent said they would "like very much" to live in Manhattan and fewer than 6 percent were living there—latent demand if, as the question put it, respondents could find housing they could afford.

Residential density

While about 20 percent of the suburbanites might, with improved city conditions, move to a city, more respondents wanted to live in less dense residential areas than they now did. This parallels responses on a number of opinion surveys in other regions. Even families without children seemed to want one-family houses on relatively large lots—38 percent of those without children in the household wanted to live on a half-acre lot or larger. Regional Plan has generally assumed that most families without children would prefer apartments, and the recent apartment boom seems to confirm this. But the Goals responses contradict it and indicate that research is needed on housing choices of households without children.

There is a possible conflict between preferences for large lots and a preferred regional form. Respondents did like their large yards, for a variety of reasons, but expressed dislike of the prospect of extensive development consisting almost entirely of houses on large lots.

Regional Plan's basic guidelines for regional growth will not deal with residential lot sizes in detail; as of now, it seems likely that centers of regional activity served by public transportation can work even with lower residential densities than now exist in the Region as a whole. However, if the Region became a mosaic of the residential lot sizes respondents say they like, they would get less of what they want outside their home and yard. Regional Plan probably will encourage experimentation and design efforts to provide the amenity people now seek on large lots at somewhat higher densities than respondents felt they needed to get it.

The replies offer a warning, however, that space itself may be what people want and not just the illusion of it. If so, the challenge of regional planning will be to provide convenience, efficiency, urbanity and attractive appearance **with** large lots. Failing this, parts of the Region probably should be organized more tightly and part devoted to spread city to give people a choice. Responses indicate that some will choose one horn of the dilemma, some the other when faced with the mutually exclusive choice (if it turns out to be exclusive) between an urbane metropolis and large lots. Fortunately, this Region is large enough to provide both without interfering with each other: Great Neck and Huntington, Hartsdale and Chappaqua, East Orange and Holmdel.

Respondents also favored a good deal of interaction with their neighbors. While responding to abstract questions about conditions they felt were very desirable, many more said privacy than said neighborliness. The more education respondents had, the greater number emphasized privacy rather than neighborliness. However, when confronted with a question about real activities and neighborly relations, 90 percent did exchange favors (e.g., baby-sitting, car-pooling) with neighbors some of the time, 58 percent at least several times a month. And 84 percent socialized with neighbors some of the time, 44 percent at least several times a month. Furthermore, 13 percent would have liked to exchange favors more often than they did, and 21 percent wanted to socialize more than they did, compared to only 3 percent who would have liked less neighboring of each type. In other words, most people want privacy if it is defined as the ability to choose when and with whom to interact, but a substantial majority want a good deal of neighborly interaction.

As to the relationship of density and housing type to neighborly relations and privacy, fewer of those living on one-acre lots or larger in newly-urbanizing and still-rural areas were dissatisfied with both their privacy and the neighborliness available to them than the sample as a whole, while more of those living in the denser areas were dissatisfied. Multi-family housing residents did **less** neighboring than those on very large lots and many more of them wanted to have more interaction than did other respondents. Those on medium-sized lots neighbored the most, but many of them wanted to do more, too.

While this result does not closely correlate lot sizes with satisfaction over privacy, neighborliness and amount of neighboring—particularly since people want different amounts of neighboring and probably have different interpretations of privacy, it does indicate that large lots are not a bar to neighboring. We had thought they probably did interfere.

Open space

The sample was overwhelmingly favorable to spending a great deal more public money for parks—63 percent favoring this strongly, 22 percent somewhat (a total of 85 percent in favor), and only 5 percent opposing. The percentage strongly in favor rose slightly with income, so that businessmen earning over $15,000 a year were the most persuaded. Sliced geographically, Core residents included the most respondents saying "strongly favor." Political support for more park expenditures seems likely, then, and the Association has proposed a huge Appalachian park system paralleling the urbanized Boston-to-Washington corridor as well as acquisition of remaining open oceanfront along the urbanized Eastern Seaboard and the shorefront of major river valleys that are still in their natural state. This would place natural countryside in convenient places for most of the Region's residents, a condition that ranked eighth among the thirty-two living conditions in the number saying "very desirable."

While the participants did worry about access to outdoor recreation in the face of projected increases in population, leisure and income, they weren't hurting yet, apparently. Of those feeling that convenience to natural countryside was "very desirable," only 9 percent were dissatisfied; of those wanting nearby outdoor swimming very much, only 7 percent weren't satisfied; of those wanting "convenience to other large outdoor recreation areas" very much, only 6 percent were dissatisfied. And more than half the sample went off to ski, hike, picnic, swim, etc. in a large recreation area at least ten times a year.

Quality of the environment

Participants also were willing to spend substantial public funds on improving the appearance and general environment of the Region—particularly air and water pollution controls. Tighter public controls to preserve trees and natural landscape in new subdivisions were nearly as popular as air and water pollution abatement. Billboard and other sign control received the next largest support, followed by more open green spaces and small playgrounds in the cities. Between two-thirds and nine-tenths of the sample "strongly favored" all of these items and 88-98 percent favored them at least "somewhat."

But two of the Regional Plan staff's pet concerns about the appearance of the Region—subway stations in the City and parking lots in the suburbs—bothered the majority of respondents considerably less than they bother us. Only 31 percent strongly favored reconstruction of key subway stations, and another 31 percent somewhat favored it; only 27 percent strongly favored a requirement that parking lots be landscaped, and 27 percent somewhat favored it. While a majority were in favor of action in both instances, the two items were at the bottom of the list of thirteen proposed improvements in amenity and appearance. Even among Core residents (mainly New York City people), only 43 percent strongly favored subway station reconstruction.

Brief conclusion

To sum this summation, the Goals responses indicated strong support for more urbanity, more public transportation, more public open space, more beauty and greenery even if they cost a great deal in public funds and regulation. And more participants preferred their regional interests over their local interests than the other way around when in conflict, though they would hope that elimination of local real estate tax pressures would dissolve some of the present and potential conflict. Finally, they hoped they could get the region they want even while living on much larger lots (on the average) than they do now.

7. DETAILED REPLIES OF GOALS PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

Issues discussed in the Goals project can be grouped into eight packages:

1. Location of jobs and large-scale activities (drawing people from distances upwards of a few miles).
2. Transportation.
3. Living conditions in the older cities of the Region and their effect on the Region as a whole.
4. Housing, neighborhoods and neighbors.
5. Open space and outdoor recreation.
6. General appearance and amenity.
7. Relations of citizens to local governments.
8. Shifts of public power.

Location of jobs and regional activities

Job locations are—and will remain—the most important element in a regional pattern. Homes are chosen in relation to the job location of the breadwinner, and therefore land values are strongly affected by major job locations. The Region's transportation system is designed primarily to accommodate the trip to work.

In the Goals project, Regional Plan pointed to the growing scatter of newly locating jobs of the Region, mainly of manufacturing jobs, and to its significance in the way the Region operates. (Subsequently, we have observed that office jobs will increase far more than factory jobs, and the potential for shaping the Region is much greater with offices than factories.)

Three factors were associated in the presentations with the issue of scattered vs. clustered jobs—(1) number and variety of jobs convenient to people's homes, (2) the Region's appearance, and (3) transportation and its effect on the Region's appearance and functioning. Almost certainly, the general environment of the work place also was considered by respondents.

We asked:

Table 11

Suppose that some of the land in the **undeveloped** parts of the Region will be used for industry and/or offices and that the same amount of land will be used whatever job location pattern is chosen.* In general, do you think the land should be set aside primarily for . . .

a few large centers at key transportation points with direct access to railways and expressways	34%
a large number of smaller centers at key transportation points with direct access to railways and expressways	50
many smaller tracts scattered over the area	5
strips adjacent to roads and highways	3
No reply	7

***Note:** This biases the answers against centers because, in fact, centers would use considerably less land per job than more scattered job sites.

Other preferences did not seem to conflict.

For example, though some might oppose the clustering of jobs outside their community if it would lose them tax profitable development, three-fourths of the respondents favored "some means . . . to reduce the effect of local tax considerations on local land-use decisions," which would dissipate tax opposition to job centers.

Otherwise, the greatest possibility of conflict between preference for large job centers and other values would come in transportation: (1) the larger the job center, the greater the distance to be travelled to it on the average (though job opportunities rise much faster than distance and speed of travel would be greater to centers); (2) large job centers probably would require about half of the employees to use public transportation.

Attitudes toward their trip to work correlated closely with the time they travelled. The longer the travel time, the larger percentage of dissatisfied respondents, whatever mode of travel was used. Even so, fewer than half of those travelling more than an hour were dissatisfied with their work trip and nearly all respondents said they would tolerate longer trips to work if necessary to avoid changing jobs or home locations, should their job move. About 82 percent said they would travel 30 minutes or longer each way before changing jobs or

homes. At that time, only 41 percent travelled as long as 30 minutes to work. It is highly unlikely that job centers recommended in the Second Regional Plan would be farther than 30 minutes from any but a small percentage of employees, and no one need live 60 minutes away from a center of this kind. So length of work trip would be no obstacle if this sample is representative on travel time preferences.

Table 12 **TRIP TO WORK: CURRENT DOOR-TO-DOOR TRAVEL TIME AND MAXIMUM TIME WILLING TO TRAVEL**

Current travel time	Number of respondents	Maximum time willing to travel			
		Less than ½ Hr.	½-1 Hr.	1-1½ Hr.	1½ + Hr.
0-15 Min.	925	26.1%	54.4%	15.0%	4.5%
15-30 Min.	637	9.9	59.2	24.2	6.8
30-60 Min.	652	3.7	35.7	46.0	14.6
1 + Hrs.	499	2.2	9.2	41.1	47.5

Their willingness to travel longer than they do now to enlarge job and home choice is quite marked, as Table 12 shows. Of those travelling 15-30 minutes, 90 percent were willing to travel longer, 59 percent for as much as a ½ to ¾ of an hour **more,** 30 percent for even longer periods. Of those travelling from 30-60 minutes, 61 percent were willing to travel longer. Of all those travelling less than an hour (2,214), 35 percent would travel more than an hour: 27 percent 1-1½ hours, 8 percent for over 1½ hours. Apparently those who already were travelling an hour or more had become resigned to long trips; nearly half were willing to travel for 1½ hours or more. As to public transportation, there was no correlation between how respondents got to work and their satisfaction with the work trip. Nearly two-thirds were using their cars to get to work (a greater percentage of automobile commuters than among the Region's employees as a whole, which was 43 percent in 1960).

About two-thirds of the respondents working in the Core but outside Manhattan and about three-fourths of those working in the Manhattan central business district used public transportation, but only 8 percent of those working in the suburbs used public transportation. Of those going to work by car, 43 percent would switch to public transportation if one or another condition changed, particularly if public transportation were faster or one conveyance could bring them to their jobs. Willingness to switch to public transportation was slightly higher among the college educated than among those who had not finished college.

Furthermore, respondents regarded public transportation as a strong reason **for** centralized jobs (without which public transportation seldom can work) rather than as a condition they do not like but would tolerate to get job centers. In a question on "methods of trying to prevent traffic congestion as jobs and population rise," 90 percent favored "locating jobs in centers large enough to provide public transportation for people who wish to use it." Only 5 percent opposed. (See Table 15, page 37.)

Altogether, participants clearly seemed to prefer the general idea of job centers to scattered job sites, along with the conditions attendant on centralizing jobs—slightly longer trips to work on the average than present suburb-to-suburb commuters had and dependence on public transportation for a large number of trips.

Location of other large-scale activities. Table 13 shows the frequency with which the respondents used Manhattan, and for what. Note that—if we are to believe the replies—more than half of the respondents go to the theater or a musical event in Manhattan at least three times a year, and another 14 percent attend twice. Nearly half go to an art gallery or museum in Manhattan at least twice. More than half shop in Manhattan at least twice. Nearly half go to a restaurant, night club or movie in Manhattan at least three times. No other place is visited as frequently for any reason except professional services—even for restaurants-movies-night clubs or department and specialty store shopping—by as many of the participants. So despite the high ratio of non-New York City residents—five out of six—the respondents were attracted more often to the biggest center of the Region for specialized activities than to any other part of the Region.

Via television, Goals for the Region participants saw illustrations of some of the issues of regional life. Here, a Waldwick, New Jersey, public relations man starts his journey to work: 5 minute walk to an express bus, a 45 minute trip to the Port Authority Bus Terminal in Manhattan, then another 15-20 minutes crosstown to the East Side.

On the East Side of midtown Manhattan is the largest concentration of corporate headquarters in the country. The transportation center of the Region, Manhattan's central business district draws employees from every direction, and from greater distances than other job locations. Nearly all employees there come by public transportation or on foot.

Table 13 *About how many times a year do you go to Manhattan for . . .*

	0	1	2	3-5	6-9	10-14	15-23	24-39	40-51	52+	*
Theatre, opera, concerts, ballet, etc.	17%	8%	14%	22%	10%	11%	5%	2%	1%	0%	10%
Other entertainment (restaurants, night-clubs, movies, etc.)	28	6	11	17	8	10	5	3	2	1	9
Art galleries or art museums	29	18	14	15	5	6	2	1	1	0	10
Shopping (department stores, specialty shops, etc.)	32	9	10	14	7	9	4	3	3	3	8
Other museums (natural history, historical, planetarium, scientific, etc.)	35	22	15	12	3	2	1	0	0	0	9
Zoos and botanical gardens	57	18	10	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	6
Spectator sports (baseball, basketball, football, hockey, tennis, horseracing, etc.)	63	8	9	9	3	2	1	0	0	0	5
Professional services (doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc.)	72	5	5	6	3	3	1	1	0	0	4

*Respondent checked space rather than using a number.

Table 14 **NUMBER OF TIMES RESPONDENTS WENT TO MANHATTAN FOR ALL LISTED PURPOSES**

0	6%
1	2
2	3
3-5 or few times a year	8
6-9 or several times a year	11
10-14 or about once a month	13
15-23	14
24-39, or 2-3 times a month	12
40-51, or about 4 times a month	5
52 or more, or weekly plus	14
Went to Manhattan but frequency uncertain	12

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO WENT TO MANHATTAN AT LEAST TWICE A MONTH

By ring of development

1) Core	82%
2) Other cities	44
3) Inner suburbs	52
4) Outer suburbs	37
5) Rural	30

1) New York City except Staten Island, with Hudson County, New Jersey, and Newark.
2) Respondent said he lived in a city but he did not live in a Core county.
3) Respondent said he lived in a suburb in one of the following counties: Bergen, Essex West, Passaic South, Union, Nassau, Westchester South, Richmond.
4) Respondent said he lived in a suburb in one of the following counties: Fairfield, New Haven, Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, Morris, Passaic North, Somerset, Rockland, Suffolk, Westchester North, Litchfield, Hunterdon, Ocean, Sussex, Warren, Dutchess, Orange, Putnam, Sullivan, Ulster.
5) Respondent said he lived in a rural area, which in some cases was in an inner county listed in 3.

Other downtowns (including Bridgeport, Danbury, Norwalk, Stamford, Elizabeth, Jersey City, Morristown, Newark, New Brunswick, Passaic, Paterson, Hempstead-Garden City-Mineola, New Rochelle, Poughkeepsie, White Plains, Yonkers) do not compete as well; but for shopping, they were visited slightly more frequently than stores "elsewhere," presumably shopping centers. For restaurants, movies and professional services, the participants used other downtowns slightly less frequently than "elsewhere," but not a great deal.

Otherwise, the only indication of whether the respondents wanted downtowns as consumers (distinguished from wanting to work in them) is the response to whether they liked the pattern of new development the Region was then getting and had scheduled by present zoning ordinances. We had labelled that new pattern "spread city." It is distinguished, we said, by one-family houses, almost all on large building lots, with large-scale activities such as department stores, hospitals and cultural facilities scattered rather than concentrated.

To the question, "Does 'spread city' appeal to you as a place to live?" 52 percent said no, 23 percent yes, 25 percent not sure. Since both scattered activities and large lots were emphasized in the presentations, along with the heavy mesh of roads they would require, the centralization of large-scale activities may not have been the main factor considered, either by those who disliked or liked spread city. Some of the 23 percent might have wanted centers **and** uniformly large lots; some of the 52 percent might have been relatively indifferent to centers but have disliked the broad spread of one-family residences. But coupled with the earlier question on job centers, this response tends to support centralizing large-scale activities.

Other hints at the attractiveness of centers to the sample can be inferred from response to thirty-two conditions of living to which we asked degrees of desirability and degrees of satisfaction with present conditions. One-third felt it was **very** desirable to live conveniently to performing arts and museums, and half thought it was desirable. A fifth were dissatisfied with the inconvenience of reaching cultural activities at that

For other "downtown" activities, the Region's residents use Manhattan, smaller downtowns, shopping centers or scattered highwayside shops, restaurants, etc. White Plains (below) illustrated for Goals participants the characteristics of a downtown compared to a shopping center: more public transportation to and within it, offices mixed with shopping, parking garages drawing facilities closer together.

time. Two-thirds thought an "adequate public library" very desirable, and a quarter were dissatisfied. (Suburban centers would strengthen these cultural activities and put them close to more people than scattered sites would.)

Over 80 percent felt it desirable to get places by public transportation, and 28 percent were presently dissatisfied with the adequacy of public transportation.

Recalling that the participants were highly satisfied, on the whole, the degree of dissatisfaction with lack of public transportation and public libraries and inconvenience of performing arts and museums was large compared to dissatisfaction with other conditions. The only condition about which as many or more were dissatisfied was convenience to outdoor swimming, which was of interest to slightly fewer persons.

In all, however, we do not have a clear endorsement of the centers idea, which was not worked out as clearly before the Goals project as it is now. This is being discussed in clearer fashion in public response projects now. However, such evidence as these responses did provide indicated that it was reasonable to go ahead with the hypothesis of large downtowns for the Region.

Transportation

The strongest viewpoint expressed through the questionnaire was pro-public transportation. We asked:

Table 15 How strongly do you favor the following methods of trying to prevent traffic congestion as jobs and population rise?

	Favor strongly	Favor somewhat	Don't care	Oppose somewhat	Oppose strongly	No reply
By building more highways when traffic seems to be reaching capacity on any stretch	22%	34%	2%	21%	15%	6%
By improving public transportation	85	12	1	0	0	2
By locating jobs in centers large enough to provide public transportation for people who wish to use it	57	30	4	4	1	3
By permitting construction of more housing that factory workers can afford near suburban factories	38	34	6	13	6	3
By making city living more attractive to suburbanites working in the city who might then want to live in the city	39	31	18	6	3	3

We also asked:

Table 16 **Do you think a tri-state public agency should be created for the following transportation purposes:**

	Yes	No	Undecided
To arrange for improved rapid transit service (New York City subways and H and M Tubes, now PATH)	91%	5%	5%
To arrange for improved passenger service on suburban railroads	94	3	3

Since the question of commuter railroad subsidy was under public discussion then, we also asked who should support improved commuter railroad service:

Table 17

	Yes	No	Undecided
Federal	73%	17%	10%
State	87	7	6
Counties Served	75	14	11
Municipalities Served	68	19	13

Another question tested the preference for public transportation in competition with automobiles during rush hours:

Table 18 If a tri-state agency were to recommend that lanes be reserved for buses on existing expressways and major highways during rush hours, would you favor or oppose such a proposal?

Favor: 73%; **Oppose:** 7%; **Have mixed feelings:** 16%; **Don't know:** 5%

There also was interest in better transportation planning: 95 percent of the participants favored a tri-state public agency to make plans for and to coordinate state and federal programs for major highways and public transportation. We now have a Tri-State Transportation Commission to do that.

Older cities and the Region

We identified four possible problems related to the older cities of the Region on which questionnaire responses provided some information:

1. A growing separation of rich and poor, white and Negro, as the former leave the older cities while the latter are forced to remain.
2. Inferior conditions in the older cities for living generally and particularly for raising children.
3. Reluctance of people who would like to live in a city (as distinct from the suburbs) to do so because of certain conditions.
4. The possibility that even if these conditions were eliminated, so few people would want to live in older

Garden State Plaza (below), a shopping center in Paramus, New Jersey, was compared to downtown White Plains. The cluster of nearby Bergen Mall shopping center, several adjacent individual department stores and Garden State takes the place of a downtown for many families in suburban Northern New Jersey.

The power of social forces over physical in older cities was demonstrated to Goals participants on 94th Street. East of the Park, turn-of-the-century brownstones, owner-occupied, sell for upwards of $100,000. West of the park, very similar brownstones were occupied by as many as seventy per-

cities that as incomes rise, cities gradually would lose much of their population.

All four problems merge, in fact.

The questionnaire stated:

Table 19

> Regional Plan Association has reported the trend that large numbers of white middle-income families with children are moving from the cities to the suburbs, while lower-income persons and Negroes and Puerto Ricans are not moving out in large numbers. Do you think that anything should be done to slow or stop this trend?
>
> **Yes:** 58 percent; **No:** 21 percent; **Don't know:** 20 percent

What are participants willing to do about it? On an open-ended question (respondents wrote whatever they wished, rather than checking prepared answers):

Table 20

57 percent said improve city conditions and provide more middle-income housing—then, by implication, middle-income families will remain in the older cities;
46 percent urged more housing opportunities for lower-income families and minority groups outside the cities;
8 percent suggested eradication of the basic causes of the separation—prejudice and chronic low income of minority groups—via better education;
6 percent said no overt action is necessary.
(Some 20 percent gave more than one of these answers, and there was a handful of less classifiable responses.)

Slightly more people, then, were looking toward attracting middle-income families to remain in or move to the older cities than were recommending efforts to bring low-income families out of the cities (though considering what to do about city residents working in suburban factories and suburban residents working in city centers, the percentage favoring opportunities for the former to move out was about equal to the percentage wanting to encourage the latter to move in).

Attracting the middle class to city living. We suggested that better public services might help to attract the middle class to city living and asked:

Table 21

> Do you think the older cities of the Region have special problems warranting extra aid from the following sources:
>
> **Federal** **Yes:** 61 percent; **No:** 21 percent; **Undecided:** 18 percent
> **State** **Yes:** 72 percent; **No:** 14 percent; **Undecided:** 15 percent

Altogether, 74 percent said yes to one or the other level.

There was some difference in replies by where the respondents lived in the Region: 82 percent of the Core residents said yes to one or the other, 85 percent of those living in cities outside the Core, 73 percent of those living in the inner suburbs, 69 percent in the outer suburbs, 70 percent in rural areas. There also was some discernible difference by education, the more education, the larger the support.

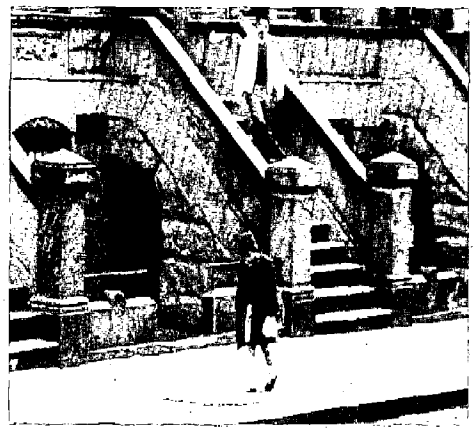
Note that only 58 percent felt after the first meeting that something should be done to slow the trend of separation of rich and poor, while 74 percent were willing to give cities extra state or federal aid after the fifth meeting.

Altogether, suburban residents among Goals people were not adamant against city living. More than two-thirds would consider it. While we think this is many more than would actually choose to live in an older city, we did identify a group, consisting of about a fifth of the suburban residents, who not only said they would consider city living but indicated elsewhere in the questionnaires more interest in conditions easily obtained in a city than in those easily obtained in more rural surroundings (e.g., convenience to specialty shopping, cultural activities and public transportation), less interest in rural values than other participants (e.g., quiet, private outdoor space and convenience to natural countryside) plus more tolerance of difficult-to-overcome city disadvantages (e.g., air pollution and dirt).

The conditions that this group set for moving to the city are therefore worth considering.

CHANGES IN CITY NEEDED TO INDUCE PEOPLE WITH URBAN TASTES TO MOVE FROM A SUBURB TO A CITY Table 2

Changes in these conditions	Total suburbanites with urban tastes	With children under 19	Without children under 19
Housing	34%	37%	28%
Safety	15	16	10
Schools	11	15	0
Traffic	9	7	10
Cleanliness	7	5	9
Parks	6	8	3
Congestion	5	6	3
Slums	3	2	6
Social undesirables	3	2	4
Political and civic life	2	2	3
Unspecified city changes	8	6	15



sons, mainly Negro and Puerto Rican poor, often a whole family to a room. A gradual program of renewal, with neighborhood participation, is underway.

In addition, 43 percent of the suburbanites with urban tastes who had children said they might move to the city if their family conditions changed, which we inferred to mean, in most cases, when their children left home. Judging from this response and recent apartment demand in Manhattan, there seems little doubt that demand for Manhattan housing will continue high, since, according to Regional Plan projections, the number of one- and two-person households with incomes above $10,000 a year will be over 40 percent higher in 1970 than in 1965, an added 220,000 households, with Manhattan jobs likely to be increasing, too.

The main source of middle-income families for the cities are lower-income families living in the cities now whose incomes will rise and whose children will get higher-paying jobs. New York City residents in the Goals project were fairly loyal. When asked to check whether they "like very much," "like," "have mixed feelings," "dislike" or "dislike very much" various areas or kinds of areas in the Region, three-fourths of the New York City residents said they liked living in the Region's Core at least as well as they thought they would like any other part of the Region. On the other hand, a larger percentage of city residents than of suburbanites were not very satisfied with living conditions.

When asked:

Table 23 In your opinion, how satisfactory are the living conditions . . . [for you in your community]?

Participants residing in	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Not satisfied
1) Core	51%	26%	23%
2) Cities outside Core	64	19	17
3) Inner suburbs	66	22	12
4) Outer suburbs	63	22	15
5) Rural	73	18	9

1) New York City except Staten Island, with Hudson County, New Jersey, and Newark.
2) Respondent said he lived in a city but he did not live in a Core county.
3) Respondent said he lived in a suburb in one of the following counties: Bergen, Essex West, Passaic South, Union, Nassau, Westchester South, Richmond.
4) Respondent said he lived in a suburb in one of the following counties: Fairfield, New Haven, Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, Morris, Passaic North, Somerset, Rockland, Suffolk, Westchester North, Litchfield, Hunterdon, Ocean, Sussex, Warren, Dutchess, Orange, Putnam, Sullivan, Ulster.
5) Respondent said he lived in a rural area, which in some cases was in an inner county listed in 3

Respondents also were asked to check their feelings about thirty-two living conditions, their degree of interest in them (i.e., "very desirable" down to "very undesirable") and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with them as these conditions existed where they lived. In eleven of the conditions, Core residents were considerably more dissatisfied than the sample as a whole:

RATINGS BY CORE RESIDENTS OF SELECTED LIVING CONDITIONS Table 24

Environmental Conditions	Saying very desirable	Saying dissatisfied
Good public schools	72%	38%
Personal safety	72	30
Clean air	71	63
Parking near home	58	31
Quiet	44	34
Private outdoor space	43	42
Opportunity to influence local policy	43	41
Convenience to natural countryside	40	45
Opportunity to influence school policy	39	35
Convenience to large outdoor recreation areas	33	31
Convenience to outdoor swimming	29	39

Here is a list of problems to be solved, certainly, to satisfy middle-income families who might live in the City. Many probably would apply to smaller cities of the Region as well.

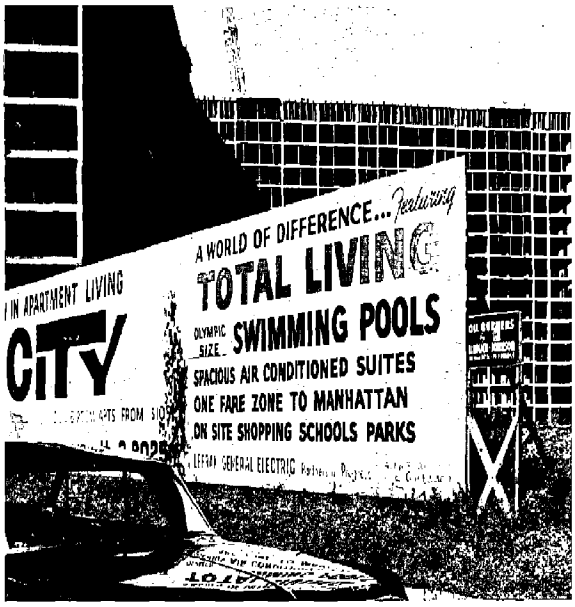
Further, city residents told us what might cause them to move to a suburb.

CHANGES IN CITY CONDITIONS THAT MIGHT INDUCE CITY RESIDENTS TO MOVE TO A SUBURB Table 25

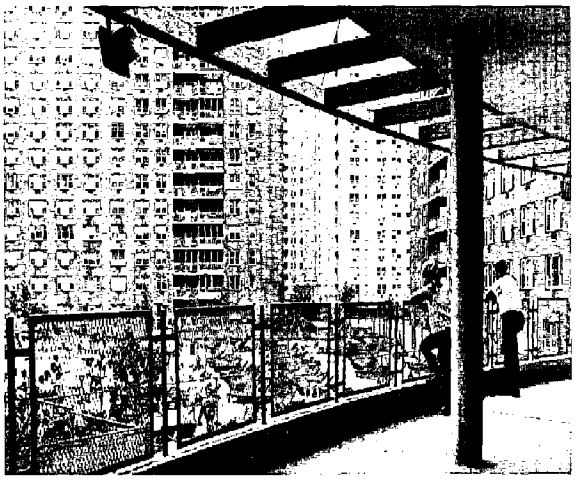
Changes in these conditions	Total city residents	With children under 19	Without children under 19
Housing	17%	19%	15%
Safety	11	11	12
Congestion	11	13	8
Social undesirables	9	8	9
Schools	8	12	4
Slums	7	8	6
Traffic	5	5	6
Cleanliness	5	4	5
Political and civic life	4	5	3
Parks	2	2	2

Note that housing and safety were at the top of the concerns of both city residents who might consider a move to the suburbs and suburbanites considering a move to the city, but housing was of concern to far more people than any other item. (See Table 22 as well as Table 25.)

We did an extensive analysis of types of housing respondents liked and number of rooms needed and amount of rent (or its equivalent) they were willing to pay and discovered that the size of housing units appar-



New apartments for middle-income families (renting for $25-40 per room) in New York City have been built mostly outside Manhattan. Above: Lefrak City rising on vacant land in Queens in 1963. In addition to low-cost travel to Manhattan, new middle-class apartments in New York City try to provide some separation from the City's problems, just as the suburbs do.



Lefrak City today. View from terrace overlooking swimming pool and recreation area.

"On Site" shopping at Lefrak City.

ently is far more important than most analyses of housing location preferences have indicated.

Crossing housing preferences with residential area likes, we found that among those who said they would like the Core as well or better than living elsewhere in the Region, 72 percent of the respondents with children in the household and with incomes of $10-15,000 and 80 percent of those with incomes over $15,000 felt they needed six rooms or more; of those without children, 21 percent and 29 percent felt they needed six rooms at least. Of these, about a fourth eliminated themselves for city living by liking only lots of ¼-acre or more (practically unavailable in New York City); but of the rest, about a third said they would be willing to pay more than $333 per month for an apartment or for a house on a small lot (over $50 a room) and another eighth said

Table

On Manhattan's East Side, new apartments at luxury rentals ($75-100 a room) were in sufficient demand to support the largest urban renewal program in history, without any public aid. But few of these apartments are large enough for families with more than one child.

they would pay between $250 and $333 per month ($40 plus per room). Only a sixth were unwilling to pay more than $167 a month ($28 a room). This seems to point to a good deal of effective demand for larger apartments and houses in New York City, but not certainly. Most of these people want to live only in or very near Manhattan, and rentals of unsubsidized housing are now running substantially above $50 a room there.*

Of the suburbanites considering a move to the city, a third would like to live in Manhattan but only about an eighth would like to live in Brooklyn or Queens and fewer in the Bronx. While preference for Manhattan increased with income, preference for the other boroughs decreased (with the exception of families without children earning $10-$15,000 a year, more of whom preferred Queens than households without children earning under $10,000). The lesson, clearly, is that people will put up with city living if there are compensating attractions since, in many ways, Manhattan has the most disadvantages in living conditions, but of course it has the most compensations. Altogether, it might be easier to provide the blend of suburban amenity and city attractions most satisfactory for those with urban tastes by increasing the city attractions outside Manhattan in the Core than by trying to introduce more spaciousness into Manhattan living.

A final observation: interest in living in a city was lower among those who had never lived in a city. Table 27 Among suburbanites, only 60 percent of those who always had lived outside a city would consider moving to a city, but 72 percent of those suburbanites who at some point in their lives had lived in a city would consider the move. Similarly, only 14 percent of those who always had been suburbanites said they would like living in the Core as well or better than some other place in the Region, while 31 percent of the suburbanites who had once lived in a city considered living in the Core as attractive to them as some other place. As the percentage of second-generation suburbanites rises, the potential for recruiting city residents may decline, then.

The reverse also was true. Fewer city residents who had always lived in a large city were considering a move to the suburbs.

In sum, respondents were concerned about abandoning the poor and minority groups in the older cities and wanted some middle- and upper-income families to remain in the cities. There seemed to be enough interest in city living among respondents (interest that went up with income and education) so that it seems feasible to try to keep some middle- and upper-income families in the city.

However, among those who had never lived in a city —an increasing proportion of the Region's population, the interest in city living was smaller than among those who had lived in a city. Changes in living conditions in the cities which seem most important to maintain more economically balanced residential communities are: (1) more housing units with six or more rooms, (2) continuing attention to personal safety, (3) better schools, (4) less air pollution. Outside of Manhattan, cities and boroughs should provide the advantages that compact population can support: cultural activities, specialty shopping, convenient public transportation, good libraries.

Housing opportunities for lower-income families in the suburbs. As to attitudes toward increasing housing opportunities for low- and moderate-income families and Negroes in the suburbs, we obtained four measures:

We asked whether "in choosing where to live," the "chance to associate with people from diverse backgrounds" was desirable or not. The response: very desirable—27 percent; desirable—54 percent; not important—17 percent; undesirable—1 percent; very undesirable—0 percent. Table 28

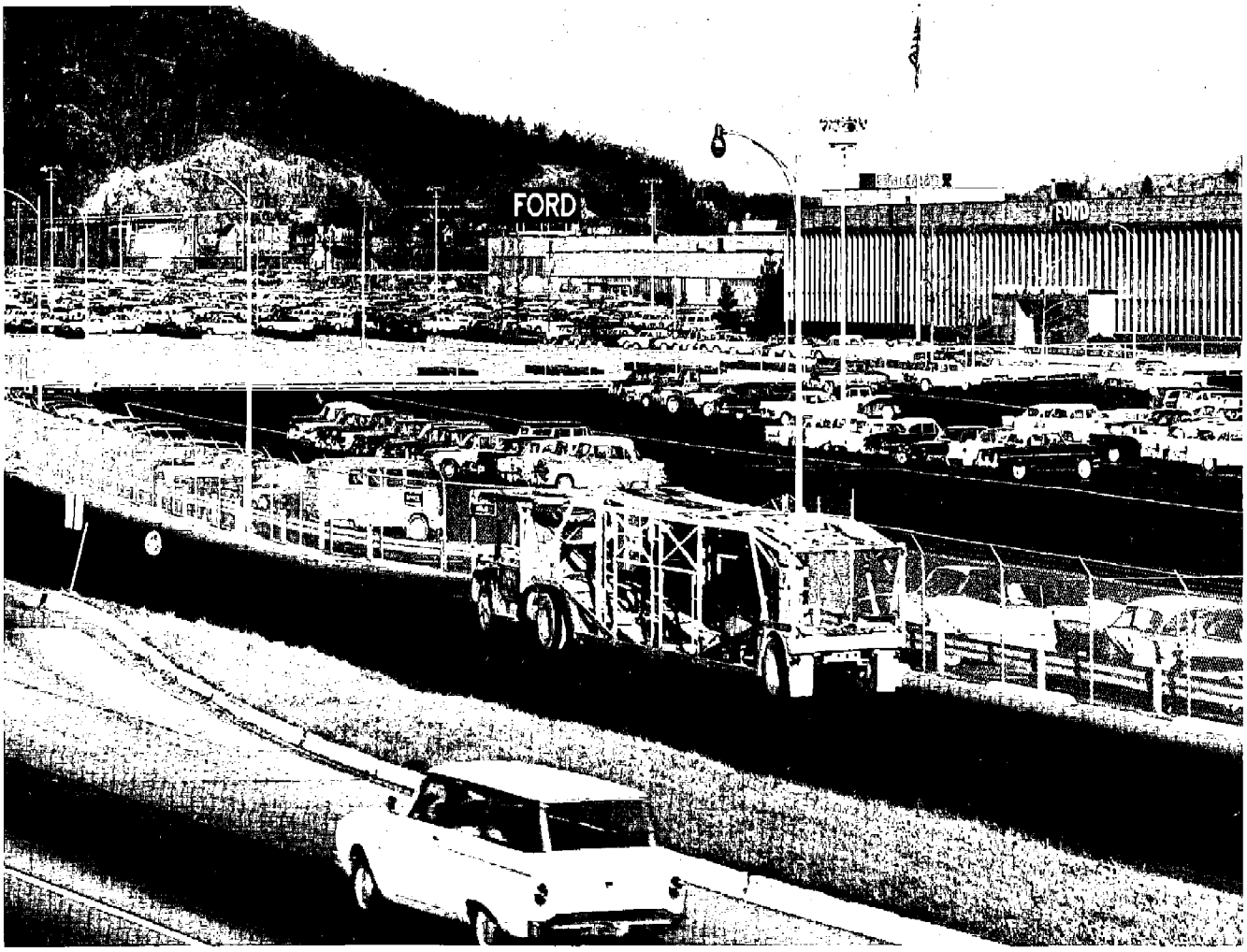
But their definition of "diverse backgrounds" may not include the poor and Negroes because we have reason to believe that few of the places where these people live would foster a chance to associate with the poor and with Negroes, yet when asked how satisfied they were with their present opportunity to associate with those of diverse backgrounds, they replied: very satisfied—14 percent; satisfied—50 percent; neither satisfied nor dissatisfied—24 percent; dissatisfied—10 percent; very dissatisfied—1 percent.

Zeroing in a little closer—on willingness to live among moderate-income families, of whom many in this Region would be Negro, we asked:

How would you feel if more factory workers were to live in your community? Table 29

Favor strongly	13%
Favor somewhat	20
Don't care	30
Oppose somewhat	24
Oppose strongly	12

*However, we did not ask how much more than $333 a month respondents would be willing to pay—some might have paid more. Also, most of these respondents were home owners who may not have been able to translate housing costs into rent easily.



Manufacturing has been moving outward from the Region's Core, but factory employees have not. This was illustrated for Goals participants by the Ford Motor Company's move—in search of more space—from Edgewater, New Jersey, adjacent to New York City, to Mahwah, thirty miles farther out. Housing in the Mahwah area is expensive; land is zoned for ½-acre lots or larger. So most Ford workers live far away, riding to work in car pools.

So only 36 percent would have opposed living in a community that included factory workers, with a clear majority accepting them into the community; but only 33 percent would have actively urged that they move in, and only 13 percent with strong feeling.

We also raised the question in a moral way:

Table 30 Suburbs wanting industry for tax purposes should permit a certain amount of housing to be built which industrial workers could afford.

Agree strongly	54%
Agree somewhat	32
Don't care	2
Disagree somewhat	7
Disagree strongly	4

Looking at even lower-income families, we asked:

Table 31 Apart from tax considerations, how would you feel about permitting the following types of housing in your community, assuming they were well designed and located and provided with lawns and recreational areas?

Low-income housing developments consisting of:	Favor strongly	Favor somewhat	Mixed feelings	Oppose somewhat	Oppose strongly	No opinion
Attached houses with private yards	24%	24%	16%	14%	21%	2%
Garden apartments (2-3 stories)	27	33	15	10	14	1
Medium-rise apartments (about 6 stories)	11	18	16	18	36	1
High-rise elevator apartments	6	8	11	17	56	2

A majority would not only accept but would favor low-income housing if the physical form were acceptable, 60 percent favoring garden apartments for low-income families compared to only 24 percent opposing. Nearly half would favor low-income row houses, against a third opposing.

We asked a parallel question about middle-income housing developments to try to identify how much more opposition there was to low-income families than to middle-income families. The greatest differential was in attached houses: 61 percent favored row houses for middle-income families, but only 48 percent for low-income families; 26 percent opposed row houses for middle-income families and 35 percent opposed row houses for low-income.

Table 32

This, again, does not show adamant opposition of a majority to having poor families in the community. Nor does the opposition to high buildings raise practical problems in the newer suburbs, where garden apartments and row housing would be economically feasible for low-income and lower-middle-income families.

Then we asked about types of people respondents wanted in their neighborhood. To us, neighborhood meant a much smaller geographical area than a community, but we cannot be sure that respondents distinguished the terms in this way. We asked:

How would you personally feel about living in a neighborhood where the people are: Table 33

	Like very much	Like	Don't care	Mixed feelings	Dislike	Dislike very much	Don't know
Similar race and similar income level	22%	30%	9%	18%	14%	6%	1%
Similar race and different income levels	10	36	11	26	13	4	1
Different races and similar income level	15	31	8	28	12	5	2
Different races and different income levels	10	14	7	28	26	12	3

Different income levels undoubtedly implied to this sample lower incomes, particularly in the context of the reading, TV programs and total questionnaire. The question came directly after one about moving to a city or from a city. Forty-six percent liked neighborhoods with varied income levels but the same race or with different races but the same income, compared to 17 percent who disliked such neighborhoods—a strong plurality for some neighborhood diversity. But when **both** income and race differ, (and here, certainly, respondents were thinking of Negroes with lower incomes than themselves), only 24 percent liked the idea while 38 percent disliked it.

So in this group, there was just about as much discrimination against those with different income as against those of different race, and significantly larger numbers were averse to a combination of racial and income differences. In fact, even adding the "don't

The difficulty of bridging the growing gulf between the poor (of whom many are Negroes and Puerto Ricans) and others in the Region was illustrated by this West Side Manhattan renewal program which placed upper-middle-income and low-income housing on the same site with a school between. Almost all of the school's students came from public housing, and over 80 percent of them were Negro or Puerto Rican.

cares" to the likes, which is logical for our purposes, still more people opposed than approved of—let us say it directly—low-income Negroes moving into their neighborhood. But 54 percent didn't mind having Negroes with their income level in their neighborhoods, compared to 17 percent who would not like that. Little positive effort to achieve mixed neighborhoods would seem likely by this group, however, since 52 percent liked homogeneous neighborhoods and only 20 percent did not. The rest didn't care, didn't know or had mixed feelings.

In sum, one can say that in middle- and upper-income neighborhoods, civic leader types (i.e., our respondents) would support open occupancy for Negroes of the same income as theirs in much greater number than would oppose, though even among these people, more actually wanted neighborhoods made up entirely of families of about the same income and race than favored racially diverse neighborhoods. And there was substantial opposition to low-income Negroes in the neighborhood. In a larger area, which we have called a community, a majority accepted low-income families as long as the public could afford to build garden apartments or row housing for them. And two-thirds didn't mind factory workers living in the community—but not necessarily in their neighborhood.

Since recent polls have shown that upper-income white people are more willing than lower-income white people to accept Negro neighbors, and other indicators show the type of sample we have as "public-regarding" more than most (in the words of Wilson and Banfield, see Chapter 2), the rather meager majorities for allowing low-income families and other races into suburban neighborhoods from this group suggest that there will be strong opposition from suburbanites as a whole. Recent events (e.g., efforts to locate public housing in Greenburgh, Westchester County, and in Queens) bear this out. Nevertheless, this survey seems to indicate a recognition that one **ought to want** a variety of people in one's community and that morally, the suburbs should not be restricted to upper incomes.

Politically, then, it would seem a more effective tactic to urge great investment in improving living conditions in the older cities in opposition to the acknowledged problem of a growing separation of rich and poor, Negro and white, and allowing housing for factory workers in municipalities getting new suburban factories. But one also could expect a spearhead of civic-minded people to make an effort to open the way to housing for lower-income families and Negroes in the suburbs, generally. Middle-income Negroes might find more support than opposition in moving into a suburban neighborhood; low-income Negroes would be accepted in the suburban **community** by the type of person in our sample, but a majority of even these "public-regarding" types do not think they would happily accept them in the smaller area, the neighborhood.

Housing space

It is clear that a majority of respondents wanted to live in more spacious surroundings than New York City, despite the attractiveness of Manhattan for a significant minority. The replies about the kind of housing and neighborhood respondents wanted can be applied to planning in the newer areas of the Region in two ways.

First, they tell us whether personal preferences might conflict with the regional policies on land use and transportation the respondents advocated. For example, will public transportation, a nearly unanimous preference, be feasible with the housing and lot-size preferences expressed?

Second, the responses can contribute to the design of housing, neighborhoods and communities for which Regional Plan might prepare prototypes.

Table 3

Assuming the neighborhood and community were satisfactory to you and you could find housing with the number of rooms you want for your household at a cost you could afford, how would you feel about living in the following housing types?

	Like	All right	Dislike	Undecided
Elevator tower of 20 stories or more	9%	11%	76%	4%
Elevator apartment building of about six stories	10	23	64	3
Rehabilitated multiple-dwelling walk-up housing	4	12	80	4
Walk-up garden apartment	13	32	50	4
Two- or three-family house	6	17	72	4
Attached one-family house	11	28	57	4
Detached one-family house	82	11	6	2

Of those who liked one-family houses, roughly half liked quarter-acre or smaller lots and half liked only half-acre or larger, with the largest number liking about quarter-acre, the smallest about an eighth-acre.

Note that respondents were asked only whether they liked, would accept or disliked various densities of housing—not their first and subsequent preferences.

Of all the sample living in multi-family dwellings, nearly half didn't like living in multi-family housing. Of those living in one-family houses on smaller lots (⅛- or ¼-acre), 35 percent did not like to live on such

small lots. On the other hand, given some incentive to do so, 16 percent of those living in one-family houses on small lots would have lived in multi-family housing, i.e., in denser surroundings. Of those living in one-family houses on lots of a third- or a half-acre, 18 percent didn't like living on that small a lot; but, given an incentive, 32 percent would have lived on an even smaller lot or in multi-family housing. Of those living on an acre lot or larger, one-quarter said they would like a house on a smaller lot, and 10 percent would have lived in multi-family housing if there were an incentive to do so.

Comparing the living arrangements of the sample as a whole with the densest arrangements they would "like," we find very little difference in demand for multi-family housing (though some living in apartments didn't like them, some not living in apartments did). However, there was some greater preference for larger lots than respondents as a whole then had.

Table 35

	Multi-family	One-family		
		less than ¼-acre	about ½-acre	1 acre or larger
Where the sample lived*	24%	40%	19%	17%
Maximum density "liked"*	23	30	26	21

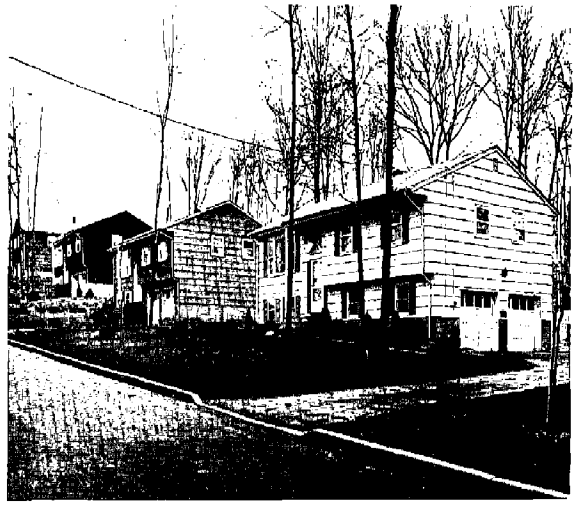
*These two are not exactly the same groups. Where respondents lived came from preliminary biographical questionnaires submitted by 5,600 persons. What they "liked" came from a question on Questionnaire III, which was answered by 3,550.

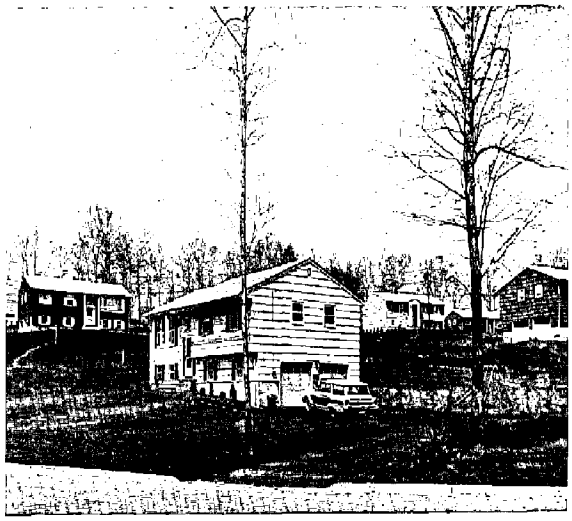
This being an unusual sample, particularly in that, as a group, they lived in more spacious surroundings than the Region's population as a whole, it is necessary to analyze preferences by type of respondent.

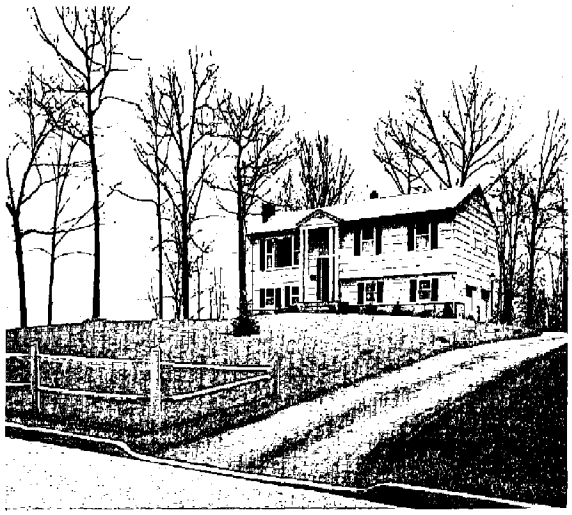
Reaction of respondents with children. About 35 percent of all respondents with children under 6 lived in multi-family housing, but only 21 percent of these respondents said they "like" multi-family housing; 31 percent of those with children under 6 lived in homes on lots of at least half-an-acre, but 45 percent said they only like a lot at least that large.

On the other hand, only 8 percent of those with school-age children (6-18) lived in multi-family housing, and 16 percent said they would like to; there was a slightly larger percentage of those with children 6-18 liking half-acre lots or larger than living on them—52 percent compared to 45 percent.

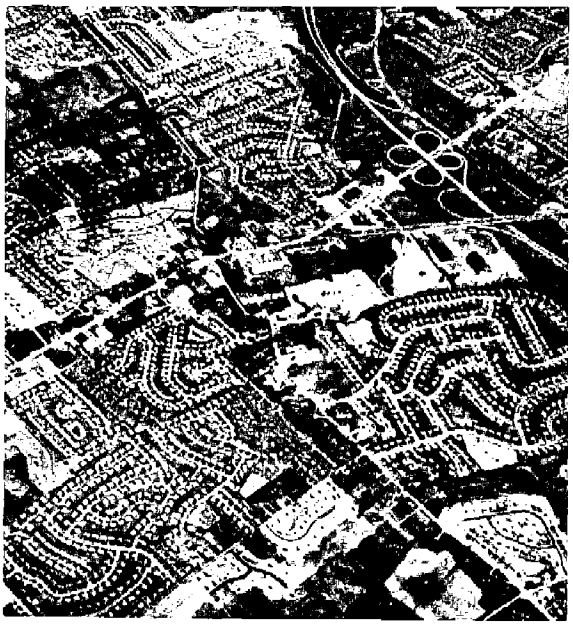
Though preference for one-family housing was considerably higher for those with children in the household, lot size preferences did not seem to vary much between those with children and without. A few more of those with children between 6 and 12 seemed inclined toward half-acre lots or larger, but there were







Suburban densities were illustrated for Goals participants. Here, the same basic "bi-level ranch house" is shown on lots of three different sizes: top, 7,500 square feet (1/5 acre); middle, ½ acre; bottom, 1 acre.



Families with modest incomes must now look for housing far from the center of the Region, beyond a ring of vacant land on which only houses on large lots may be built, by order of the municipal councils (see Map 3). Prices of houses on large lots usually are too high for families with modest housing budgets. Commack, Long Island, 40 miles from Manhattan in Suffolk County, was pointed out as one of the places beyond the large-lot zoning where house prices had been kept lower. Until 1960, Commack was largely open fields. Then, as Nassau County filled up and the land along the Nassau-Suffolk line was protected by 1-acre zoning, Commack quickly assumed the pattern shown here: a swarm of small homes on quarter-acre lots. Their price: around $15,000.

actually smaller percentages of those with children of other ages wanting half-acre lots or larger than those without children at all, looking only at those wanting one-family houses.

Responses by income group. Fifty-two percent of the respondents with family incomes below $7,000 a year lived in multi-family housing, but only 36 percent liked multi-family housing; 34 percent liked only lots of half-acre or larger while only 20 percent lived on such large lots.

On the other hand, the respondents with incomes above $15,000 liked multi-family housing in far larger numbers than actually lived in it; 23 percent of those respondents liked multi-family housing, but fewer than 14 percent lived in it. Well-to-do families (over $15,000 a year) with children and without liked multi-family housing in larger numbers than lived in it. The $20,000-or-over group in one-family housing was satisfied with its lot sizes, on the whole—about the same percentage lived on each lot size as liked it. Less affluent respondents liked larger lots than they had, taking the group as a whole.

In other words, the wealthiest families have bought what they like, though if given a reason, a significant number would go from one-family houses on small lots to apartments. Among less affluent families, many more wanted half-acre or larger lots than had them. While the percentage living on half-acre lots or larger went up with income, the percentage liking only lots that large did not go up in steady progression.

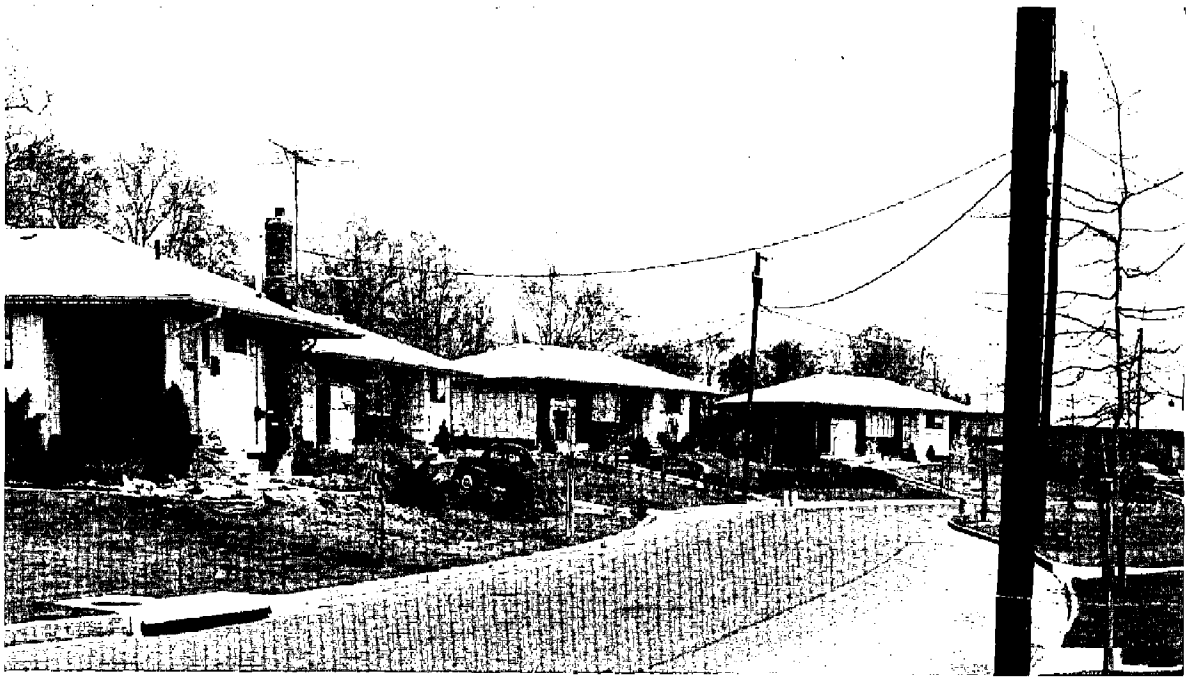


Table 36

	Incomes					
	Under $7,000	$7,000-$10,000	$10,000-$12,500	$12,500-$15,000	$15,000-$20,000	Over $20,000
Lived on smaller than half-acre lots*	80%	73%	69%	59%	55%	48%
Liked smaller than half-acre lots*	66	58	53	46	48	45
Percentage difference between households living on less than half-acre lot and households liking to live on these lots.	14	15	16	13	7	3

*These two are not exactly the same groups. Where respondents lived came from preliminary biographical questionnaires submitted by 5,600 persons. What they "liked" came from a question on Questionnaire III, which was answered by 3,550.

By religion. Of all religious groups in the sample, more Catholics seemed dissatisfied with the density of their living conditions than others: 26 percent lived in multi-family dwellings but only 22 percent liked living in multi-family (and the 22 percent were not necessarily those living in multi-family); while only 28 percent had lots of half-acre or larger, 46 percent liked only lots of that size or larger.

Respondents who gave their religion as "other" than Protestant, Catholic or Jewish liked multi-family living in greater numbers than lived there, as did those saying they had no religion. The same percentage of Jewish respondents liked multi-family housing as lived in it, and more Jewish respondents than any other religious category were then living in multi-family housing.

In each religious category, more persons liked only large lots (half-acre or larger) than lived on them.

By location in the Region. Seventy-eight percent of the respondents living in the Core were in multi-family dwellings, but only 54 percent liked living in them; almost none lived on lots of half-acre or over, but 18 percent liked only large lots. More Core residents with children than without disliked the density of their living conditions, understandably—75 percent with children lived in multi-family dwellings but only 43 percent liked to. On the other hand, some living in what they termed rural areas liked smaller lots than they had: 57 percent of those living in rural areas had acre lots or larger, but 50 percent would have liked smaller lots; 6 percent were living in multi-family housing, but 11 percent would have liked it.

More of those living in the suburbs liked multi-family housing than lived in it, too.

On the other hand, there were some in each location category who only liked larger lots than they then had.

Types of multi-family housing

In discussing density, above, we have considered multi-family housing as a single type. But there was a great deal of difference in the reaction to different kinds of multi-family housing.

"Likes" ranged from only 4 percent for "rehabilitated multiple-dwelling walk-up housing," to 6 percent for "two- or three-family housing," 9 percent for "elevator tower of twenty stories or more," 10 percent for "elevator apartment building of about six stories," 11 percent for "attached one-family house" (not really a multiple dwelling) and 13 percent for "walk-up garden apartments." Each of these categories meant a very clear housing type to the architects who helped write the questionnaire, but it is likely that they did not call up for respondents clear conceptions of what these kinds of housing could be like or usually are like. The one interpretation that seems fairly sound is that the garden apartment, the lowest-density type of multi-family dwelling (at least as it is typically built in this Region's suburbs), was clearly the favorite.

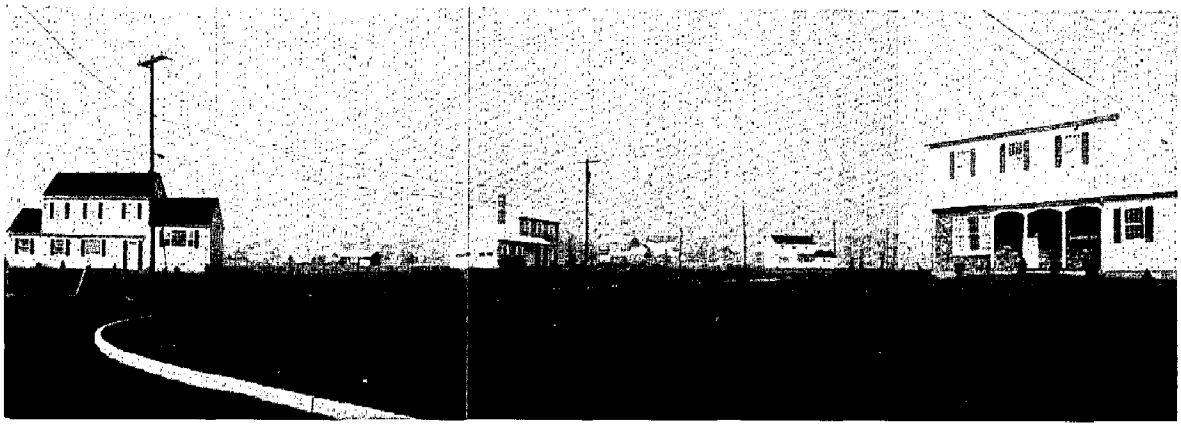
In cross-tabulating the replies, we found that high-rise elevator apartments were favored by substantially more respondents with incomes of over $20,000 a year than by other income groups. Even high-income households with children under 18 had a somewhat larger percentage favorable to high-rise housing than the total sample. But high-income persons were not as attracted to garden apartments as the rest of the sample. If high income generally correlates with preference for high-rise over garden apartments, this probably will mean a faster increase in demand for high-rise apartments than for garden apartments as households with high incomes increase.

Protestants were least accepting of every type of multi-family housing, with a slight exception of "walk-ups," where Catholics were less interested. (Perhaps the work ethic implied in walking up satisfied the Protestants; more seriously, fewer Protestants than Jews and Catholics probably associated the walk-up with a New York tenement.) Those saying their religion was "other" were most accepting of each multi-family housing type; those indicating no religion were next. As many Jewish respondents liked high-rise and six-story apartments as the "other" religionists, but fewer Jewish respondents liked walk-up or two- or three-family houses.

What do these preferences imply?

Possible conflicts of preference and policy. It is clear that this sample—though already living more spaciously than the Region's population, taking both as a whole—wanted more space per household. Even among those without children, 27 percent were living on lots of half-acre or larger but 38 percent liked only lots of that size.

On the other hand, twice as many respondents disliked as liked the "spread city" regional development



Large-lot zoning does limit the number of houses that can be built in an area, saving school costs, but it does not guarantee an attractive neighborhood, as illustrated for Goals participants by this subdivision with one-acre lots built on land that recently had produced corn.

pattern, which is characterized by increasingly large residential lots. And the respondents were all but unanimous in supporting public transportation, which cannot readily serve an area in which all residences are one-family houses on half-acre lots or larger. Yet 47 percent of the sample said they liked nothing more compact than a half-acre lot.

Nor does it seem likely that the pull of urban attractions will keep many of the respondents from actually buying the house on the large lot that they say they want. Cross tabulations indicated that the urban types, those respondents who were particularly interested in convenience to activities available only in densely populated areas, already liked multi-family housing or small lots—80 percent of those with predominantly urban leanings, nearly 60 percent of those with strong urban leanings but also a liking for more rural conditions. But the first group is only 19 percent of the total, the second only 15 percent. While this group may be sufficient to populate the older cities, as we said in the earlier section, it does not seem adequate to keep the newer areas compact.

This conflict between what individuals want for their homes and what they want for their Region probably should be resolved—if at all possible—through the design of housing and neighborhoods that satisfy what people want when they choose large lots, without the disadvantages of a very spread urban area.

It may be that a large number of participants who indicated they did not like multi-family housing or small lots were basing their judgment on the predominant examples of each housing type all around them.

Few people know the kinds of housing and neighborhoods that could be available to them. Reston, Virginia (outside Washington, D. C.), for example, is totally different from what most people in the Region conceive of when asked the kinds of housing and lot sizes they like. Even Radburn, which has been in the Region for a third of a century, is unknown to all but a handful. More recently, the stacked houses, Habitat, shown at Expo 67, offer a totally new type of compact housing. Most apartments in the Region, new and old, are ugly and overpowering; most small-lot subdivisions look crowded and monotonous.

On the other hand, we are only beginning to get large-lot subdivisions that are equally monotonous; until recently, large lots were confined to rolling country and were used for expensive houses, or they were in genuinely rural areas. Consequently, large lots call up a picture of attractive housing, small lots of unattractive. Similarly, the clear dislike of attached housing probably represents a reaction to the rows of dreary attached houses in Brooklyn, Manhattan and some other older cities, since there are few places in the Region where attached housing has been designed attractively.

Those who look around the world for attractive neighborhoods report that there are at least as many of quite high density as of very low. In fact, most of the new communities that have become known among architects, planners and designers as aesthetically outstanding are high density compared to the average new subdivision in this Region (which is about half an acre per lot).

It may be, however, that good looking houses and neighborhoods would not woo large numbers of the Goals participants to smaller lots or apartments. We asked:

Table 37 If you now live in a house with a yard, how important are these uses of your backyard?

	Most important	Important	Not so important	Not used for this purpose
Play area for children	58%	22%	8%	12%
Adult recreation	26	40	27	7
Outdoor entertaining and dining	29	39	25	7
Gardening and hobbies	41	37	18	4
Feeling of openness	56	32	9	2
Sense of privacy	57	32	9	3

All uses appear important, but a "feeling of openness," "sense of privacy" and "play area for children" are important for 80-90 percent. The first turns out to be most important of all, apparently, according to replies to other questions.

When asked about privacy, they leaned toward the privacy of distance more than of walls:

Table 38 The following lots differ in size and amount of privacy. Assuming that they cost the same, which would you prefer?

A fairly small lot completely enclosed by a garden wall	10%
A larger lot partially screened by fencing and shrubbery	65
A still larger lot completely open to neighbors, with shrubbery around the house	21
Undecided	4

When asked whether they would exchange some of their frontyard for more backyard space, 47 percent said "no," 45 percent "yes." Only 30 percent would exchange some frontyard for "more open space in a community park nearby," 56 percent would not. Even more decisive, only 18 percent would sell part of their frontyard, and 69 percent definitely would not. We can interpret this loyalty to the typical frontyard as a vote neither for privacy nor play space but simply for spaciousness and the particular kind of aesthetic that frontyards usually express.

Table 39

There was strong loyalty, also, to a private play space. Only about a quarter of the respondents would take a smaller yard (not specifying front or back) in exchange for a handy park; two-thirds definitely would not.

After the meeting two weeks later, however, respondents gave 72 percent to 12 percent support to "cluster zoning," which enables builders to take some land that typical zoning ordinances would require for each private lot and transfer it to community open space.

Perhaps more were convinced of the efficacy after two more weeks of pondering planning questions, including TV time devoted to Radburn and a new cluster development in Hillsborough, New Jersey. Perhaps the concept was presented in a more attractive way the second time than the first, leaving the impression, for instance, that only near neighbors would be using the community open space with clustering, rather than "strangers." Or perhaps the extra support for clustering came from people who wanted it available for others but would not want it themselves. We do not know.

Altogether, it seems that preferences for the consequences of more compact neighborhoods, i.e., more natural countryside, more variety in residential design, convenient public transportation and reduced auto trips, will clash with preferences for more spacious housing and neighborhoods. It is conceivable that better designed compact neighborhoods would convince these people that a very large private yard is not necessary for a sense of spaciousness. But if there is no decisive demonstration that well-designed compact communities can attract large numbers of home buyers, it seems likely that housing will continue to spread and the values with which spread development appears to conflict—natural countryside, variety, public transportation—will be impossible to achieve.

Other neighborhood characteristics

Types of neighbors. We discussed attitudes toward neighbors of other races and incomes in looking at the prospects for the old cities and their residents. Summing the responses a little differently from the analysis in the last section, about a quarter said they like similarity of both race and income; about a tenth said they like diversity of both race and income; about a fifth said they like racial diversity with income similarity; about a tenth said they like different incomes as long

The TV program on life in suburbia showed that new residential neighborhoods with lots of children seem to create a neighborliness—at least among the children. It also showed the dependence on the automobile for almost every trip.

as the race is the same; the rest were ambivalent or tolerant of all.

We also asked about other characteristics desired in neighbors.

Table 40 Some 82 percent wanted the same moral values among their neighbors and only 12 percent preferred neighbors of different moral values; but 43 percent wanted neighbors with different living styles and only 35 percent wanted similar living styles—the rest didn't care.

Table 41 As to age, 13 percent wanted the same ages in their neighborhood and 7 percent mildly favored that; 52 percent liked different ages in their neighborhood, with 11 percent less strongly in favor; and 18 percent had no clear preference.

Table 42 Even more of the sample favored variety in religion in their neighborhood. Only 6 percent strongly favored similar religious views in their neighborhood and 5 percent favored it less; 58 percent strongly favored religious diversity, with another 11 percent mildly in favor; 21 percent had no preference.

Interaction with neighbors. We had two measures of desired interaction with neighbors.

1. Items of "privacy" and "neighborliness" were among the thirty-two living conditions on which we asked respondents to indicate degrees of desirability and degrees of satisfaction with their present environment.

Privacy was more desirable to more respondents than neighborliness:

Table 43

	Very desirable	Desirable	Not important	Undesirable	Very undesirable
Privacy	56%	41%	3%	0%	0%
Neighborliness	27	59	13	1	0

The more education respondents had, the more this was true:

Table

	Percent saying "very desirable"		
	Not a college graduate	College graduate	Graduate education
Privacy	46%	56%	57%
Neighborliness	35	27	24

2. Questions on how much interaction actually took place between respondents and neighbors and whether more or less was desired also were asked.

Table

About how often would you say you and your neighbors usually exchange favors (e.g., babysitting, carpooling, books, garden tools, etc.) or help out in emergencies?

Several times a week	25%
Several times a month	33
Several times a year	33
Never	10

About how often do you and your neighbors usually get together for visits in the evening or a coffeebreak during the day or things like that?

Several times a week	13%
Several times a month	31
Several times a year	41
Never	16

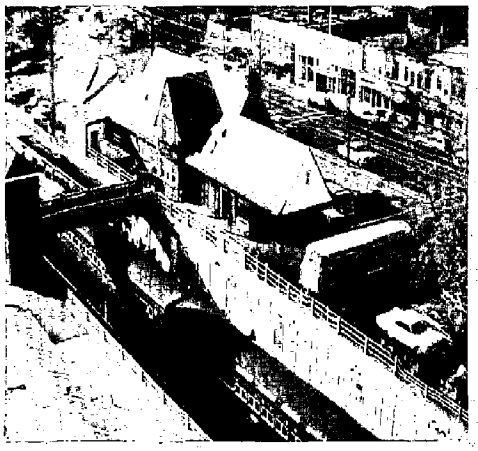
How do you feel about the amount of exchanging between you and your neighbors? Would you say it's

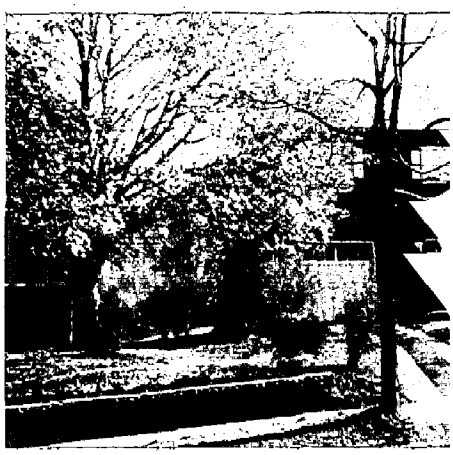
More than I would like	1%
Somewhat more than I would like	2
About right	83
Somewhat less than I would like	9
Less than I would like	4

How do you feel about the amount of visiting and get-togethers between you and your neighbors? Would you say it's

More than I would like	1%
Somewhat more than I would like	2
About right	76
Somewhat less than I would like	16
Less than I would like	5

As a substitute for spread city, in which almost all housing is spread on large lots and facilities are scattered, Regional Plan suggested that people might prefer more variety in housing densities along with centers of activity. The Great Neck peninsula illustrated how housing naturally varies





More than half the respondents exchanged favors frequently—at least several times a month (58 percent), and 90 percent did at times; nearly half socialized with neighbors frequently (44 percent) and five out of six did sometimes. There was a preference among 13 percent of the respondents for more exchange of favors compared to 3 percent who wanted less; there was a preference of 21 percent for more socializing with neighbors compared with 3 percent who wanted less.

This seems more reflective of actual feelings than the highly abstract concept of "privacy" and "neighborliness" on the thirty-two item list. It seems to demonstrate what can often be seen by the observing eye: even though everyone wants the maximum freedom to choose his friends and the frequency of interacting with them and, in the abstract, most persons fear getting "too involved" with neighbors, in practice, they very frequently do get involved with their neighbors and like it—and many want more interaction.

This being so, the apparent preference of many respondents for privacy over neighborliness probably should not be weighed heavily. It is a consideration to be tested again.

But even if people don't really want as much separation from their neighbors as they think they do, they are likely to include abstract feeling for privacy over neighborliness in their house-buying decision.

Looking at residential locations in the Region, city residents (Core plus other cities) were the least desirous of neighborliness and Core residents were next in desiring privacy to persons living in a rural area. Residents of other cities in the Region were least desirous of privacy, though. Looking at lot size, more of those living in one-family houses on lots of one-acre or larger preferred privacy and were indifferent to neighborliness than any other lot size.

Table 46

	Percent saying "very desirable"	
	privacy	neighborliness
Core* (New York City, Hudson County, Newark)	57%	25%
Inner Ring (older suburbs)		
Multi-family-⅛ acre	48	29
⅛-¼ acre	51	26
larger	57	30
Intermediate Ring (newer suburbs)		
Multi-family-¼ acre	52	26
¼-1 acre	53	26
larger	71	23
Outer Ring (mostly rural)		
Multi-family-¼ acre	52	32
¼-1 acre	50	32
larger	73	21

*Almost all Core residents live in multi-family housing or on the smallest lots.

Judging from respondents' satisfaction with their degree of privacy and neighborliness, people who prefer privacy should choose large lots. (Table 47.) Of those who felt privacy is "very desirable" or "desirable," 12 percent were dissatisfied with their degree of privacy. Core residents were far more dissatisfied than the average—18 percent. Elsewhere, lot size seemed to affect the degree of satisfaction with privacy.

in density in relation to centers or good transportation points. There are apartments in Great Neck Plaza around the Long Island Railroad station and local shopping. Then, moving out, there are ⅛ acre, ⅓ acre, ½ acre, and finally, 1- and 2-acre lots two miles from the station.

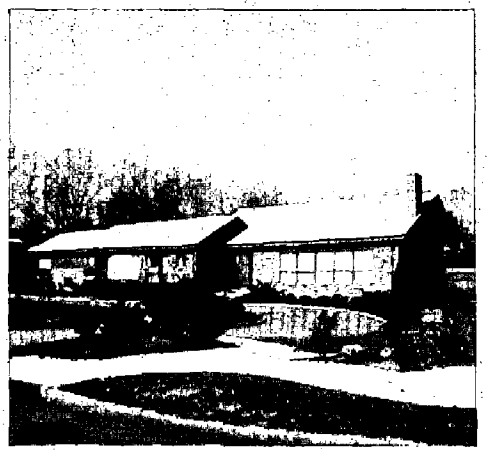
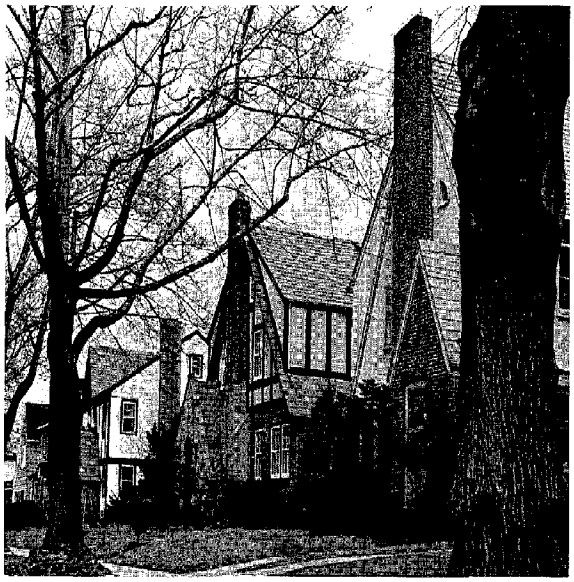


Table 47

	Percent saying "very desirable" who are dissatisfied with present condition	
	privacy	neighborliness
Core	18%	18%
Inner Ring		
Multi-family-⅛ acre	19	5
⅛-¼ acre	13	6
larger	6	4
Intermediate Ring		
Multi-family-¼ acre	20	9
¼-1 acre	10	5
larger	3	4
Outer Ring		
Multi-family-¼ acre	15	5
¼-1 acre	8	3
larger	3	3

While the numbers dissatisfied about neighborliness are small, the total table seems to suggest a need for further analysis of the relationship of lot size and neighborliness. We had assumed that lots of an acre or more tended to decrease neighborliness, but these responses raise a question as to whether this is so. It also has been assumed that city living provided a privacy of anonymity, i.e., that so many people were there, personal relations could be avoided unless deliberately undertaken. The fact that 18 percent of Core residents who very much desire privacy (and 15 percent of **all** Core respondents) are dissatisfied about their degree of privacy raises a question about this assumption. Or it may indicate that city residents are extremely touchy about privacy.



A neighborly-looking block of 1920's Tudor style houses on ⅛-acre lots in Nassau County, just across the Queens boundary. But among Goals respondents, it was those living on ⅓ to ½-acre lots of new suburbia who reported the highest degree of interaction with their neighbors.

Looking at actual behavior, frequency of interaction is lowest among respondents living in apartments, highest among residents of houses on one-third to one-half acre lots.

Table

	Apartment	2-3 family house	One-family house			
			less than ⅙-acre	⅙-¼ acre	⅓-½ acre	1 acre and over
Exchanging favors at least several times monthly	43%	52%	53%	62%	68%	56%
Socializing at least several times monthly	42	45	38	44	51	44
Wanting to exchange favors more	23	18	15	11	10	10
Wanting to exchange favors less	5	6	2	3	3	2
Wanting to socialize more	29	21	24	21	19	17
Wanting to socialize less	4	4	2	2	2	2

Percentages desiring privacy very much (on the thirty-two living conditions listed) and percentages exchanging favors frequently roughly correlate inversely: i.e., those living on the largest lots tend to want privacy in greater numbers and actually exchange favors in smaller numbers than those living on all but the smallest lots. Neighborliness and socializing among neighbors are less clearly related to lot size.

On the direct question of whether respondents would like closer or less close relations with neighbors, more expressed a wish for a change than expressed dissatisfaction a week later on the more abstract question about neighborliness and privacy.

The conclusion must be that people of all types have a good many neighborly relations; many want more than they have and only a few want less. But the relationship of lot size to satisfying one's neighborliness is less clear. The numbers are too small to be decisive, but (adding together the last four lines in Table 48), it looks as though the large lots satisfy on neighboring more than do smaller lots: the fewest respondents are unhappy about either too much or too little neighboring on one-acre lots or larger, the most are unhappy in apartments, then two- and three-family houses and houses on lots smaller than 1/8 acre and then 1/3-1/2 acre lots; 1/8-1/4 acre lots were next-to-the-most satisfactory.

Other environmental characteristics

All of the thirty-two living conditions on which respondents indicated their sense of desirability and satisfaction are listed below, ranked according to the number of respondents who deemed them "very desirable." For clarity, we have omitted middle-of-the-road responses, "desirable" and "not important," "satisfied" and "neither satisfied nor dissatisfied." They are not really diagnostic.

Table 49 A. In choosing where to live, how much do you want to have the conditions listed below?
B. How satisfied are you with the degree to which you have these conditions now?

	A.		B.	
	Very desirable	Undesirable	Very satisfied	Dissatisfied
Good public schools	77%	0%	30%	15%
Clean air	75	0	37	19
Personal safety	68	0	32	9
Parking near home	64	1	50	7
Adequate public library	64	0	24	23
Privacy	56	0	29	10
Private outdoor space	55	0	32	15
Quiet	53	4	35	11
Convenience to natural countryside	53	0	32	15
Convenience to school	51	0	31	7
Convenience to work	48	0	30	14
Opportunity to influence local decisions other than school policy	44	1	14	20
Opportunity to participate in community affairs	44	0	24	8
Not too many large buildings in neighborhood	43	4	40	5
Convenience to grocery and other regular shopping	43	0	31	7
Variety in design of buildings in neighborhood	42	1	25	12
Opportunity to influence school policy	42	1	16	16
Possible to get places by public transportation	38	1	17	28
Active religious institutions in the community	37	2	31	6
Convenience to friends	37	0	32	5
Convenience to outdoor swimming	33	1	20	24
Convenience to the performing arts, museums	33	1	13	21
Possible to walk to and from stores, schools, etc.	30	1	20	15
Only one-family homes in neighborhood	29	6	31	6
Convenience to other large outdoor recreation areas	29	1	17	15
Neighborliness	27	1	23	6
Chance to associate with people from diverse backgrounds	27	1	14	11
Convenience to good restaurants	20	0	17	10
Convenience to specialty shopping (imported goods, etc.)	17	1	14	13
Convenience to relatives	14	3	20	11
Possible to bicycle to and from places	13	3	10	12
Convenience to professional sports	9	3	10	8

Disappointments. Another guide to improving neighborhoods is the response to a question about disappointments in one's house or community after moving in. The most frequent responses were:

DISAPPOINTMENTS WITH CURRENT HOUSING OR COMMUNITY — Table 50

Transportation problems	17%
Cost and taxes	11
Neighbors dull, snobbish, conformist	11
Unexpected physical changes	11
Household maintenance problems	9
Noise	9
Urban amenities inconvenient	7
Poor municipal services	7
Schools not good enough	6
Neighborhood declining socially	5
Lack of playmates, playgrounds	5

While disappointments do not appear to have afflicted these happy people in large numbers, classifiable responses on open-ended questions like this were not high generally, so these items may have greater numerical significance than appears on the surface. At any rate, they may be some guide to house hunters about what to try to find out before moving.

Another indicator of the kind of environment liked and disliked—more a response to image than reality, probably—was the following question:

Suppose you could find housing accommodations at a price you could afford to pay and that your job could be located at a reasonable distance from your home. How much would you like to live in each of the following types of communities in the New York Metropolitan Region? — Table 51

	Participants then living in*	Like very much	Like	Have mixed feelings	Dislike	Dislike very much	No opinion
Manhattan	5.7%	19%	12%	20%	25%	21%	1%
Brooklyn	3.7	3	7	13	38	31	4
Bronx	2.0	1	4	12	41	33	4
Queens	2.9	3	9	18	35	26	5
Staten Island	1.4	2	10	22	32	22	9
Newark	1.6	1	3	12	41	33	6
Other large city (50,000-200,000)	4.0	2	11	26	29	19	6
Outlying smaller cities, older towns, villages	60.0	27	40	18	6	3	2
Newer areas, suburbs		18	35	25	12	5	2
Rural	17.0	25	24	22	16	7	2

*Some categories estimated

If responses on all lines are combined for each participant, the following general preference patterns appear:

24 percent liked "newer areas, suburbs" and "outlying smaller cities, older towns and villages" equally and best.

24 percent liked all the above plus "rural areas" equally and best.

14 percent liked only rural areas best.

11 percent liked Manhattan best (though only half that many lived there).

6 percent more liked some other place or places in the Core best—one of New York City's boroughs, Hudson County or Newark (more than 10 percent lived in these places).

9 percent liked Manhattan, "outlying smaller cities, older towns, villages" and "newer areas, suburbs" or "other large city" equally and best.

2 percent liked other large cities outside of New York best.

Other responses were even more mixed.

Comparing where the total sample lived and where they said they would like to live, a latent demand for Manhattan and rural areas appears. To these satisfied, well-educated, upper-middle-income people, the image of the Bronx and Newark is bad, Brooklyn almost as bad, and Queens and Staten Island scarcely less so.

Only outlying smaller cities, older towns, villages, newer areas, suburbs and rural areas attracted more likes than dislikes—in that order.

No surprises, except that 31 percent would like to live in Manhattan if they could find housing accommodations they could afford.

A final indicator for those planning the residential environment:

Table 52 Often members of a household are affected differently by the community chosen. In your opinion, how satisfactory are the living conditions for members of your household?

Number responding		Very satisfactory	Somewhat satisfactory	All right	Somewhat unsatisfactory	Very unsatisfactory
3773	Self	63%	22%	10%	4%	1%
3344	Spouse	59	24	10	6	2
655	Other adults in household	50	22	15	10	2
1478	Pre-school children	70	16	8	5	1
1678	Children 6-12	69	21	6	4	1
1212	Children 12-18	51	26	11	9	2
754	Children over 18	46	24	14	11	4

What comes through is that this Region—and probably that means mainly the suburbs, where 60 percent of this sample said they lived—doesn't provide as well for individuals 18 and over as it does for youngsters under 12 and their parents. The environment does not provide satisfactorily, according to respondents, for 15 percent of the children over 18 living with their families or 12 percent of other adults living with a family in which they are not the head or his spouse. Including the "all right" responses, more than a quarter of both groups were not served satisfactorily.

Nevertheless, even for children over 18, conditions seemed at least "somewhat satisfactory" to 70 percent of the respondents and "very satisfactory" to nearly half.

As to satisfaction for oneself: 73 percent of those living in rural areas are "very satisfied," 66 percent of those in the inner suburbs, 64 percent in cities outside the Core, 63 percent in an outer suburb, and only 51 percent in the Core.

Finally, comparing life in the Region with conditions elsewhere:

Table Compared to other places in the United States, in general, how do you feel about living in the New York Metropolitan Region?

Very satisfied:	38%
Satisfied:	38
Mixed feelings:	19
Dissatisfied:	3
Very dissatisfied:	1

Summary of housing, neighborhood preferences. In sum, respondents wanted large lots for privacy and play space. They also wanted frequent relations with their neighbors. A large minority wanted even more interaction with neighbors than they had. And a good deal of neighboring seems attainable even with very large lots.

Furthermore, fewer of those living in the Core, the densest part of the Region, were "very satisfied" with their living conditions (51%) than those living in a rural area (73%) or inner suburbs (66%).

On the other hand, the respondents also wanted, as we saw in earlier sections, the fruits of more compact settlement—primarily public transportation, proximity to cultural activities and other facilities of Manhattan, which large numbers of them used frequently. And they did not like the prospect generally of miles and miles of large residential lots surrounding present development. In short, one might say that the majority wanted to live on large lots with neighbors who did not.

As to types of neighbors, they clearly preferred mixed ages and religions and similar moral values. About an equal number preferred similar "living styles" as preferred different styles in their neighborhood. In income and race, many more liked similar incomes and races than dissimilar, but a bare majority would be satisfied living with people of other races but the same incomes or different incomes but the same races.

Open space and outdoor recreation

In the early 1960's, one of the hottest urban planning issues was saving open space. Regional Plan helped to stimulate interest in open space and outdoor recreation with a four-volume study in 1960,* which has had significant influence on park acquisition in the Region.

The Goals participants were in accord with the awakened concern for capturing natural countryside before urbanization spreads across the whole landscape.

Table 54 Do you favor, or oppose, large-scale public expenditures for acquiring land for parks, particularly the Region's seashore, mountains and scenic areas?

Favor strongly:	63%
Favor somewhat:	22
Mixed feelings:	10
Oppose somewhat:	3
Oppose strongly:	2
No opinion:	0

In sum—85 percent favorable, 5 percent unfavorable.

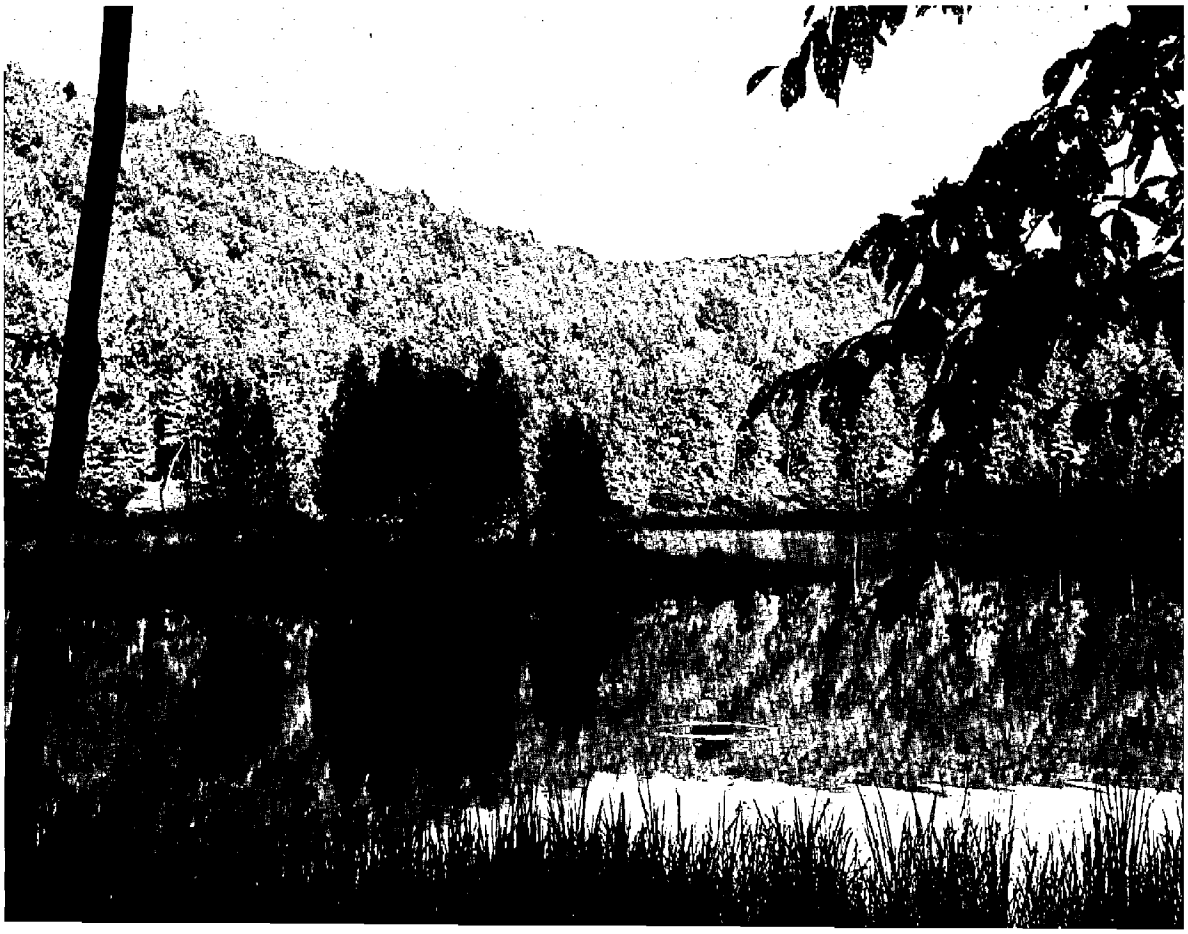
The percentage favoring "strongly" these large-scale park expenditures was slightly higher among Core residents than among others and also rose slightly with higher incomes. Businessmen with incomes above $15,000 a year included the highest percentage of those strongly favoring more large parks—72 percent. As incomes rise, then, we probably can expect more people to favor park expenditures.

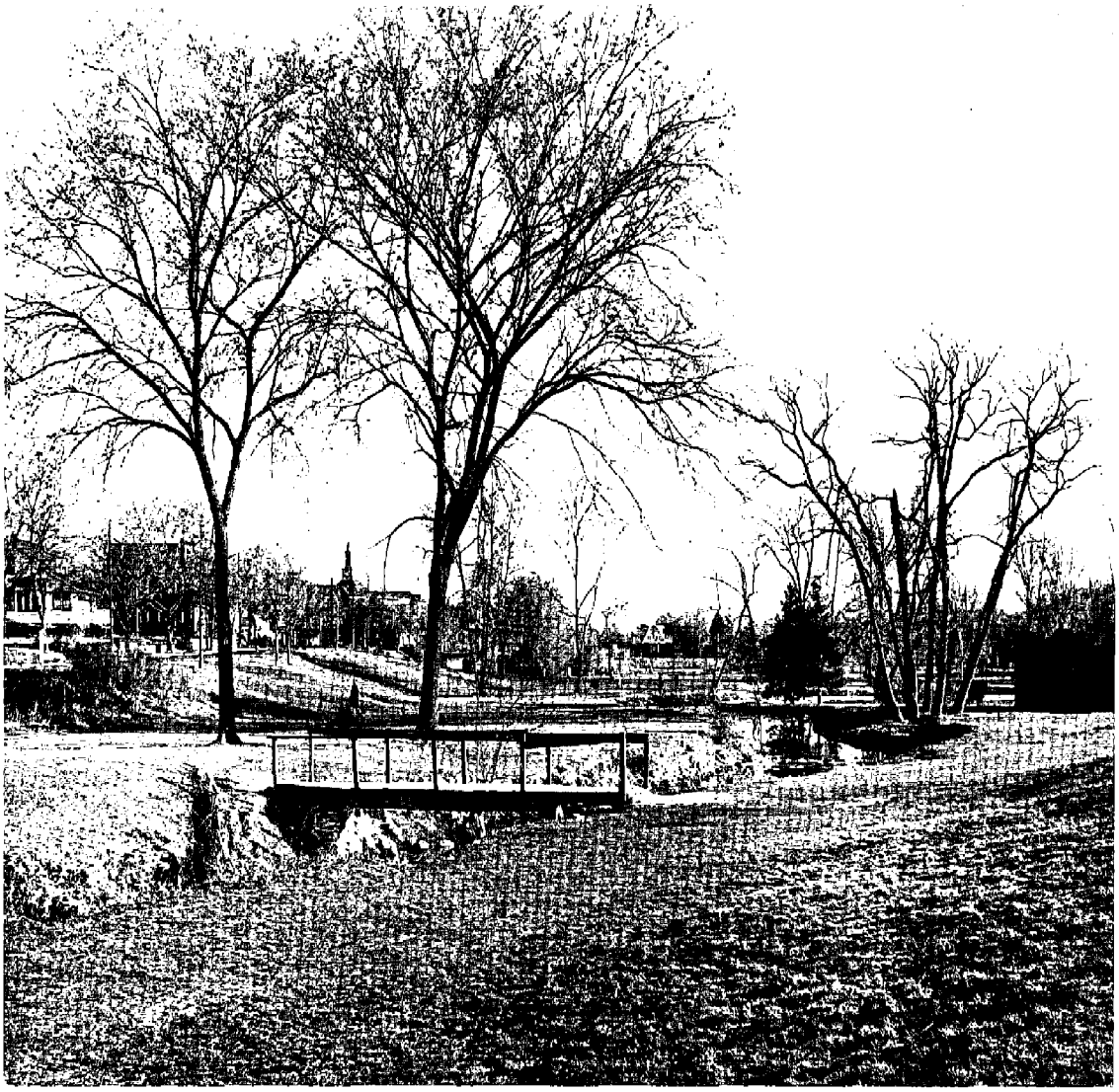
Living conveniently to natural countryside ranked eighth in the list of thirty-two environmental conditions in number of respondents saying it is "very desirable"; 53 percent said so. Of these 53 percent, 16 percent were dissatisfied with the convenience for them of reaching natural countryside.

That it is to a large degree the **feeling** of natural countryside rather than its use that is important might be indicated by the much lower rating respondents gave two other items: "Convenience to outdoor swimming"—only 33 percent rated that "very desirable"; "convenience to other large outdoor recreation areas"—only 29 percent said "very desirable." Of these, 35 percent were dissatisfied with convenience to swimming; 25 percent to convenience to other large outdoor recreation areas.

Convenient or not, seven out of eight used "large outdoor recreation facilities (parks, beaches, ski slopes, etc.)" at least once a year. Median use was 10 times a year; a quarter of the sample used these facilities about every-other-week; three-quarters used them at least three-to-four times a year.

*The Race for Open Space, Nature in the Metropolis, The Dynamics of Park Demand, The Law of Open Space.





The possibility of keeping nature close to homes despite the surge of population was illustrated with examples of close-in parks and "cluster" subdivisions. Here in Hawthorne, New Jersey, on the outskirts of industrial Paterson, Goffle Brook County Park provides a mile-long strip of natural backyard.

General appearance and amenity

We asked one set of questions about types of aesthetic-amenity improvements in cities for which participants would be willing to spend "substantial public investment" and accept "some public controls":

Table 55 Considering the fact that most of the improvements listed below will involve substantial public investment and some controls, how do you feel about the following ways of improving the appearance of the Region's cities?

	Favor strongly	Favor somewhat	Mixed feelings	Oppose somewhat	Oppose strongly	No opinion
Stronger measures to combat dust, smoke and other forms of air pollution	88%	10%	2%	0%	0%	0%
An accelerated program to stop the pollution of rivers, bays and shores to make them usable for recreation	88	10	2	0	0	0
Provision by developers of more on-site landscaped spaces even in very densely populated areas	66	22	8	2	1	1
Clearance to provide small public parks and playgrounds in built-up areas	65	25	7	2	1	1
Some community control over the appearance of new buildings and renovations	58	27	10	3	2	0
A large-scale effort to plant trees and shrubbery on city streets	50	29	13	5	2	2
Firm controls to preserve or large investment to restore the character of architecturally and historically distinctive areas	45	28	18	5	2	2
Major reconstruction of key subway stations to make them more attractive	31	31	17	7	3	12

Understandably, Core residents were slightly more interested in this list of improvements—which applied mainly to cities—than those living outside the Core, but in fact the difference in response between Core and non-Core residents was not very great. Suburbanites were more interested in on-site landscaping than Core residents, and Core residents were far more interested than suburbanites in tree planting and shrubbery on city streets and in more small parks and playgrounds.

(Is it that city people want green introduced into the city while suburbanites want buildings inserted in a greensward? Aesthetically, the difference is great—compare the use of green space in the typical new high-rise public housing projects in Manhattan with vest-pocket parks and trees along Manhattan curbs.)

Core residents also were much more interested in better subway appearance, but only 43 percent of them favored "strongly" the necessary substantial public investment. Perhaps these relatively high-income Core residents were not subway users.* Only 29 percent of non-Core participants favored improved subway appearance, the lowest interest shown on any item in this question. On other items, city and suburban responses were close to the same.

Then we asked about improving the appearance of suburban areas, emphasizing here "firmer public controls over private development plus some public investment."

Table 56

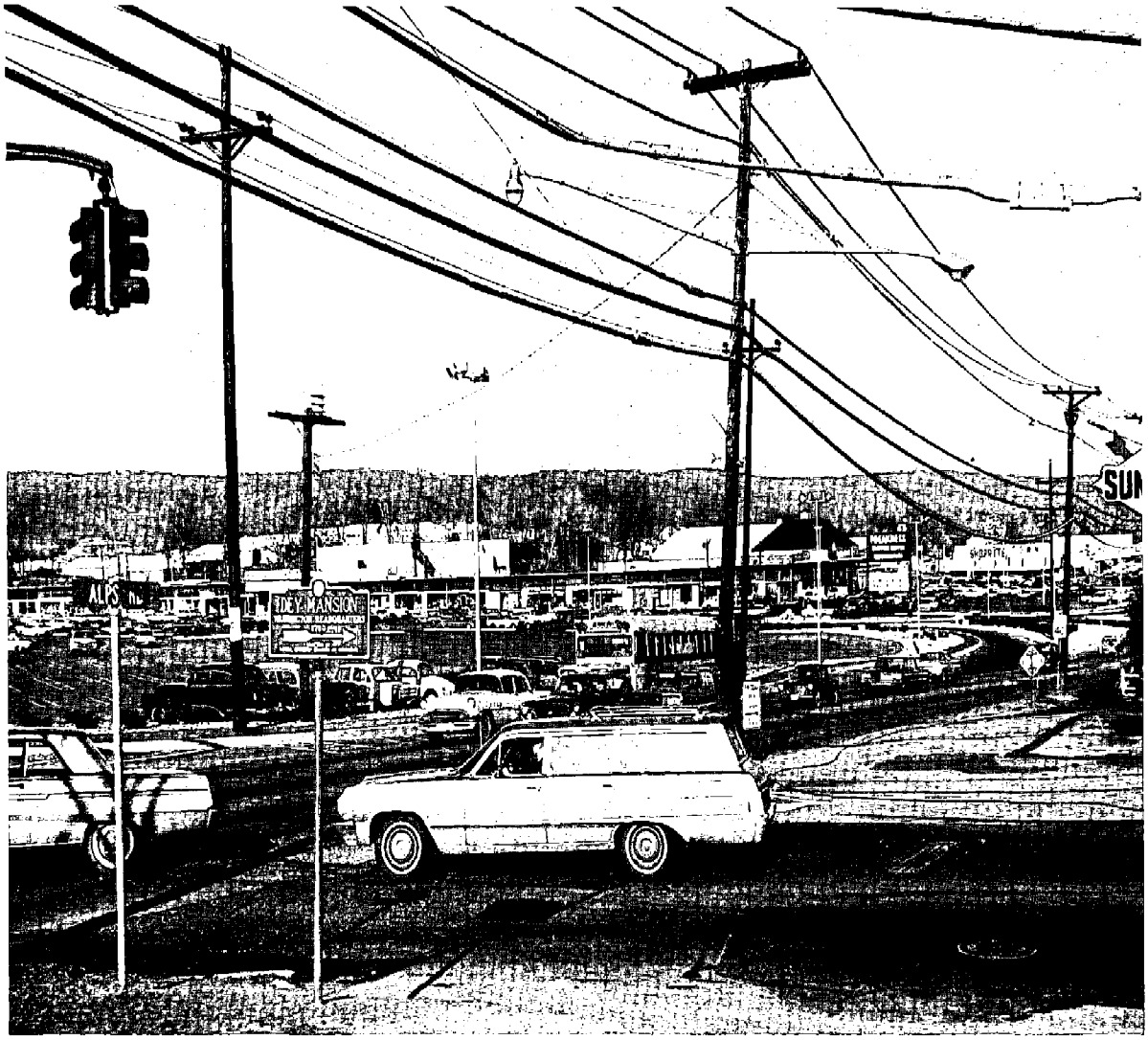
	Favor strongly	Favor somewhat	Mixed feelings	Oppose somewhat	Oppose strongly	No opinion
Stronger controls to preserve trees and natural landscape in new developments	80%	15%	3%	1%	0%	1%
Restrictions on billboards and other outdoor advertising even in commercial areas	72	17	7	3	1	1
Some community control over the appearance of new buildings and subdivisions	52	31	11	3	2	1
Stronger provisions against commercial development alongside of highways	49	23	16	7	3	1
Requiring that parking lots be landscaped	27	27	20	12	6	10

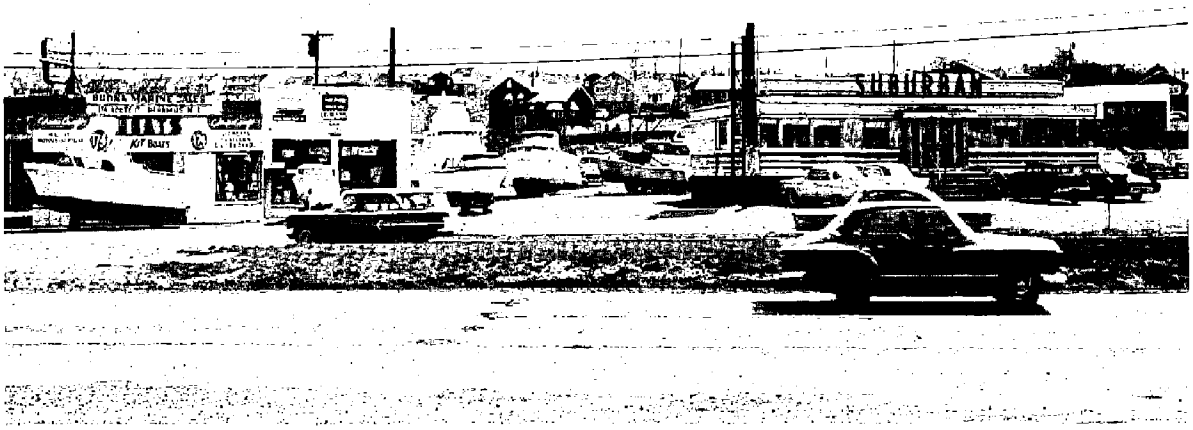
Table 57

Finally, we asked how much participants would be willing to add to the purchase price of a new house to bury electric or telephone lines. Twenty percent were undecided and 21 percent wouldn't pay anything, but 5 percent would pay $1,000, a quarter would pay at least $500 and another third would pay about $200—altogether, 59 percent were willing to pay at least $200.

Of the thirty-two living conditions we asked about, four related to appearance and amenity in the environment. Clean air ranked second in numbers saying "very desirable" (only good public schools ranked higher), quiet ranked eighth, "not too many large buildings in neighborhood" ranked fourteenth, and "variety in design of buildings in neighborhood" ranked sixteenth. Fewer Core residents than others ranked these items "very desirable."

*Mrs. Michael, who computed the data, suggests they may be subway users afraid of the disruption attendant on reconstruction of stations. But see page 63.





Goals participants were reminded of the ugliness that has been allowed to permeate the Region with scenes of such places as the Hamburg Turnpike and Route 17 in New Jersey.

Relations with local governments

Among the thirty-two living conditions, the opportunity to influence local decisions, to participate in community affairs and to influence school policy ranked twelfth, thirteenth and seventeenth in numbers saying "very desirable." The longer the education, the more likely that these items were considered "very desirable." In all three items, more people living in old cities outside the Core than anywhere else felt these were important.

As to dissatisfaction with present conditions, more residents of the Core, mainly New York City, were unhappy on all three items, and residents of other cities were next most dissatisfied. However, on influencing local government, it must be remembered that constituents of small municipalities can exercise a great deal of influence and still not affect many important issues of their lives, which increasingly are decided at higher levels of government. Large cities, on the other hand, still make many of the significant decisions for their constituents. Core residents' interest in and satisfaction with their opportunity to participate in community affairs were far higher than their interest and satisfaction in influencing local government or school policy.

We asked three questions about improving the relationship.

Table 58 Do you favor establishing the following in neighborhoods or groups of neighborhoods in cities and large towns?

	Yes, very important	Yes, somewhat important	No	No opinion
Set up special communication channels between municipal government and neighborhood civic and political groups	73%	22%	2%	3%
Sub-centers of city government to give people living in the area assistance and information on city programs	57	31	5	8
"Local" schoolboards with authority to act on some matters and with influence on policies set by the municipal or district school board	51	31	11	8

And on one local program, urban renewal, we asked "whether it is worth the necessary delay and cost to have people who are representative of those living and working in the area participate in the preparation of renewal plans." To this, 83 percent said yes and only 8 percent said no.

Shifts in public powers

Table 59 To the question, "Do you think that a pattern of land use and transportation should be worked out which is better than the one the Region is presently developing?", 68 percent replied yes and only 11 percent no. Further, in a large sample of responses to the open-ended question, "What are your goals for the Region?" only 2½ percent said no effort should be made to change the metropolitan development trends. About 90 percent specified or clearly implied in their answers the need for changes. Both these questions were asked after the fourth meeting. By this time, the participants were beginning to accept the possibility that there were better patterns of growth than the one the Region was embarked on and to raise the question of how to achieve them. On the goals question, 40 percent specified a need to change public policies regarding housing, transportation, open space and recreation facilities.

The entire fifth meeting was devoted to machinery of change.

Support for metropolitan planning of some kind was all but unanimous: Table 60
96 percent said yes, 1 percent no, 3 percent undecided. And 63 percent believed that the regional planning agency should have at least limited enforcement powers. Advocacy of limited enforcement power was most frequent in the Core (75 percent) and tapered off toward the outer edges of the Region, but even 61 percent of those who said they lived in rural areas favored regional planning with some power.

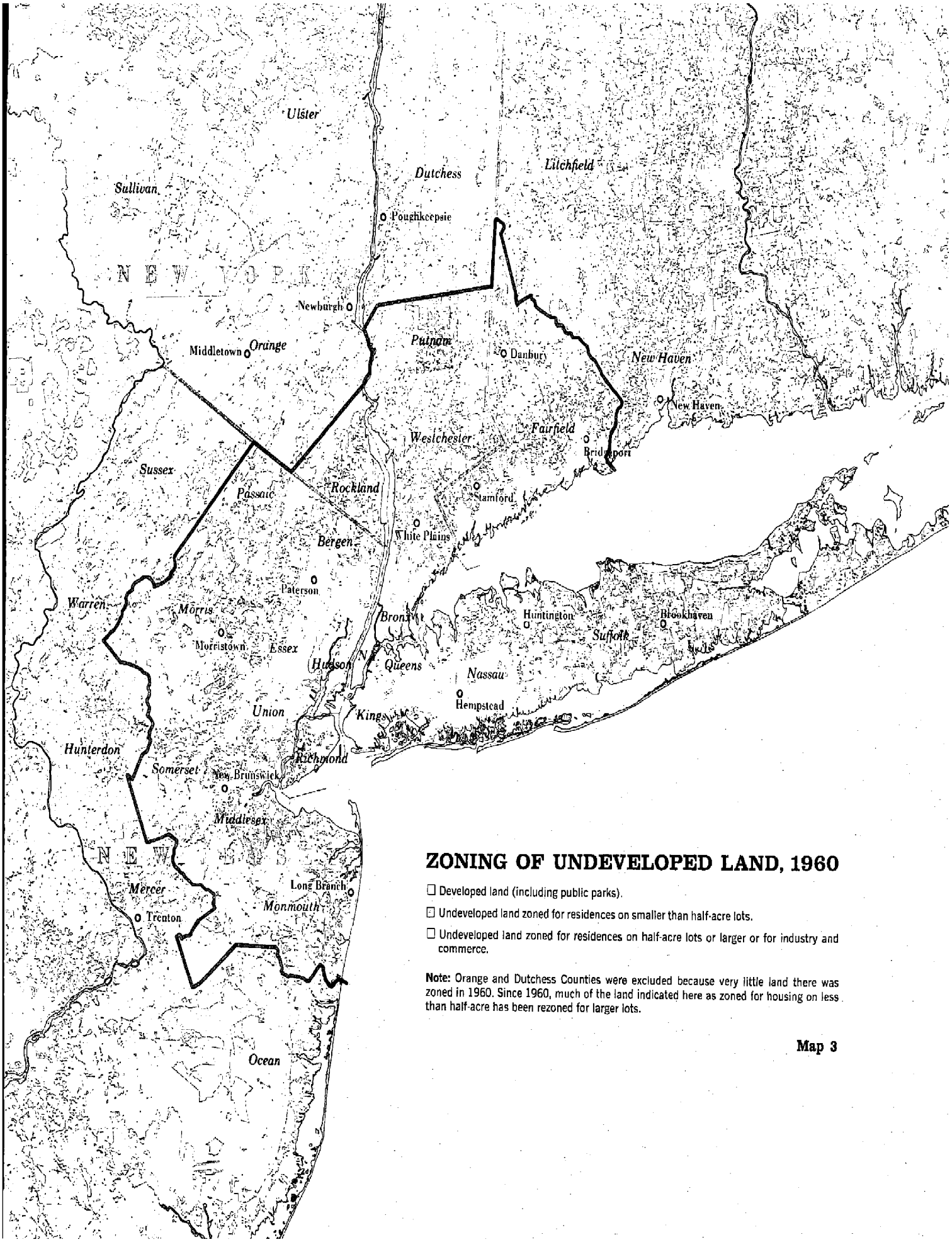
We asked about two types of enforcement power specifically: whether federal grants should only be given to urban areas if the investment will be made in conformance with a regional plan—to which 86 percent said yes and only 5 percent no—and whether local zoning powers should be modified. While zoning may not be the most important enforcement mechanism for regional planning—indeed, enforcement through the power of the federal purse could be more decisive—the zoning questions focused on possible regional-local conflicts and so tested relative loyalties on land-use issues. Table 61

First, 82 percent of the participants agreed that "municipal zoning is or will be causing problems for neighboring municipalities or for the metropolitan area as a whole"; only 5 percent said no. Table 62

So the conflict was recognized. What should be done?

Ninety-nine percent favored some zoning agency above the municipal level with at least review powers, and 70 percent said they would vest the agency with limited powers or a veto over some municipal zoning decisions. Table 63

But which level of government was a point of contention: county, state or metropolitan? Because of a



ZONING OF UNDEVELOPED LAND, 1960

☐ Developed land (including public parks).

☐ Undeveloped land zoned for residences on smaller than half-acre lots.

☐ Undeveloped land zoned for residences on half-acre lots or larger or for industry and commerce.

Note: Orange and Dutchess Counties were excluded because very little land there was zoned in 1960. Since 1960, much of the land indicated here as zoned for housing on less than half-acre has been rezoned for larger lots.

Map 3

split on the level of government that should have some zoning powers now exercised by municipalities, there was no majority for any one level on residential zoning, though a majority favored giving either the counties or a regional body some zoning powers over industrial and commercial activities. There were clear **pluralities** for metropolitan and county residential zoning powers and clear **majorities** for county (68 percent) or state (60 percent) **review** of municipal zoning on residences.

Table 64 Would you favor or oppose the following measures if zoning policies of some municipalities seem to be causing serious problems for neighboring municipalities or for the metropolitan area as a whole?

	Residential zoning			Industrial and commercial zoning		
	Favor	Oppose	Undecided	Favor	Oppose	Undecided
Review of municipal zoning by county agency which could recommend changes but not enforce its recommendations	68%	19%	13%	67%	21%	13%
Review of municipal zoning by county agency which could overrule a municipal decision after a public hearing	37	42	20	43	38	19
Transfer of some zoning powers to county	47	33	20	51	30	19
Review of municipal zoning by state agency which could recommend changes but not enforce its recommendations	60	26	14	60	26	14
Review of municipal zoning by state agency which could overrule a municipal decision after a public hearing	25	55	20	28	51	20
Return of some zoning powers to state	28	48	24	31	45	24
Transfer of some zoning powers to a metropolitan agency appointed by the three states	48	30	22	51	28	21

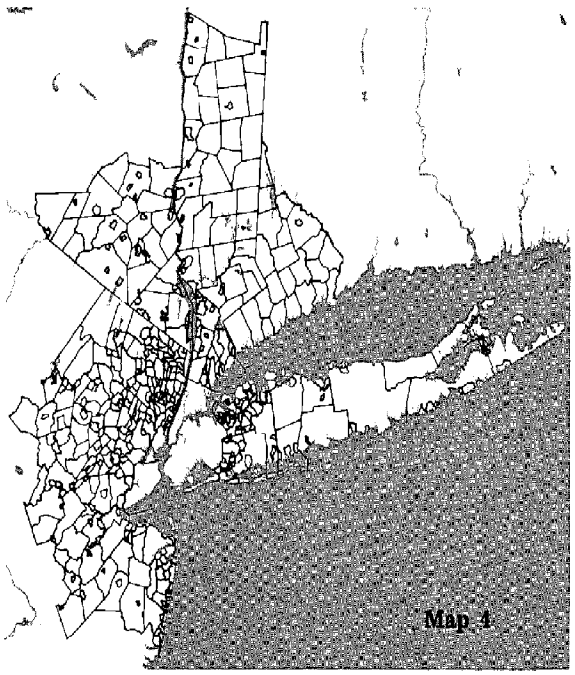
Since support for a zoning authority superior to the municipality was strongest in the Core and dropped off toward the outer parts of the Region, the heavy weighting of the suburbs and outer areas in the sample, compared to the Region's actual population, would indicate that there probably is substantial support in the Region for zoning powers above the municipal level. (See also page 63.)

Support for review of local zoning decisions by a higher level of government without any veto power must be based on the assumption that at least some differences can be worked out satisfactorily to both levels. A strong majority of respondents supported one method suggested in the presentations to mute the conflict between regional and local interests—moderating local real estate tax burdens. We suggested that many local planning decisions were being made primarily on fiscal grounds; 76 percent of the respondents agreed that "some means should be devised to reduce the effect of local tax considerations on local land-use decisions." Only 8 percent disagreed. Table 65

On specific proposals for reducing the effect of local real estate tax needs on municipal zoning, nearly half favored increasing state aid to localities, almost as many favored collecting real estate taxes countywide and distributing them to localities, and a slightly smaller number favored substituting another local tax for part of the real estate tax. Just over a third favored increased federal aid to localities.

About two-thirds of the respondents said they would support joint planning by a group of municipalities as long as the local planning boards retained their autonomy—about the same percent as said they would support county review of local zoning without power over it. Only 35 percent said they would support the **replacement** of local planning bodies by a board covering several municipalities—and 26 percent more had not made up their minds. Table 66

MUNICIPALITIES IN THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN REGION



In the 3 states of the New York Metropolitan Region, the 551 municipal governments have been given sole zoning authority.

Table 67

The Metropolitan Regional Council, composed of chief elected officials of counties and municipalities in the Region, is a forum for discussion of regional issues. It has no power. Eighty-two percent of Goals respondents favored it, 7 percent opposed. (Nevertheless, suburban governments refused it financial support about the time of the Goals project, and it is only now being revived.)

This set of replies seems to demonstrate that an educated group, given enough exposure to the issues, recognizes that their regional interests often are more important to them than their local interests, and a majority are willing to accept modification of present public powers to weigh more heavily their regional concerns. A large majority also favored real estate tax modification which might dissipate one cause of conflict between municipal and regional interests in land-use decisions. Where the possibility of local-regional conflicts was **not** spotlighted, (i.e., before questions were asked on local zoning powers), a decisive number of respondents supported regional planning with power.

The Hunts Point project

Shortly after the Goals project was completed, Negro and Puerto Rican businessmen in a Bronx neighborhood, Hunts Point, invited Regional Plan Association to join them in a community planning effort. Eager to strengthen the Goals sample among city residents and those with incomes below the regional average, we accepted. (Family incomes in Hunts Point in 1960 averaged $4,958 a year compared to $5,830 for the Bronx as a whole. Just under half the families had incomes below $5,000 compared to 38 percent for the Bronx. But incomes were higher in Hunts Point than in immediately surrounding neighborhoods.)

With a large committee representing the very diverse residents of this community, led by the elementary school principal and including clergy and civic leaders —Negro, Puerto Rican, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish—we worked out a one-day meeting following the Goals project format.

Background reading (in both Spanish and English) was distributed in advance. An oral presentation began the meeting in the morning, followed by small-group discussion and individual written questionnaires. A second round took place in the afternoon.

The project failed, however, as noted in Part I, despite the tremendous amount of citizen and Regional Plan staff effort. Only 81 persons answered questionnaires in the morning, and only 55 in the afternoon; many of the 55 were different persons than had appeared in the morning. Furthermore, the discussion that preceded individual questionnaire responses was almost entirely taken up by a single issue which was not really on the agenda, protection of the neighborhood from thieves. Many participants openly questioned the relevance for them of the agenda questions.

Nevertheless, some of the responses, though statistically insignificant, are interesting when compared to the earlier Goals project replies.

From a list of conditions "that bother some people in New York," we asked participants to check once those that bother them a little and check twice those bothering them a great deal. Following is a list of items that bothered them most, in order of the number of checks each received: (1) vandalism, (2) police protection, (3) general appearance of neighborhood, (4) parks and playgrounds too few or too small, (5) teen-age behavior (other than vandalism), (6) air pollution, (7) subway conditions, (8) bus service, (9 and 10) taxi service and parking in neighborhood. Sixteen other items received fewer checks.

We asked them to choose the three improvements in the City environment they most wanted action on. Better police protection got the most first place votes and the most second place votes, also. Better schools came in second in first place votes and total votes. After that, the vote split several ways; in total votes, more and better play space, parks and green areas was next, followed by better housing for middle-income people and then reduced unemployment.

On neighborly relations, Hunts Point participants did about as much socializing with neighbors as other Goals participants, and about the same percentage would have liked to socialize more. But fewer exchanged favors with neighbors frequently, and apparently about as many would have liked to exchange favors frequently because the percentage preferring more was considerably higher than in the Goals project, enough to compensate for the lower incidence of frequent exchanges.

The percentage liking apartments was considerably higher than for the Goals participants. Only a third chose a one-family house (in a question asking for one choice of housing type only), compared to 82 percent in the Goals project who "liked" one-family houses.

Nearly half chose apartments of various types, more choosing high-rise than lower apartments; and more than a fifth chose two- or three-family or row houses. Hunts Point consists mainly of relatively low apartments and row houses. Even Core residents among the Goals respondents—who, we estimate, had higher incomes on the average than the Hunts Point participants—preferred one-family housing in larger percentages: 46 percent did not like multi-family housing and row houses as well as one-family housing.

Of the small number liking one-family houses, only one wanted a lot larger than a Levittown lot, 6,000 square feet or about a seventh of an acre. Half of the respondents who wanted a one-family house chose the Levittown lot size, and the rest wanted smaller lots.

About half said that if they were to move, they would look for housing in the Bronx.

In this thoroughly integrated neighborhood, there was clear preference for varied neighbors—only 5 persons wanted people to be of the same race as they, and 5 wanted them all to be of a different race. The rest—52 in number—either actively wanted a mixture of races or didn't care. Almost the same response was given on religion, ethnic backgrounds, age and incomes, except that many more "voted" on those than on race—81 persons giving their opinion on age and only 62 on race, with numbers in between on the other characteristics.

Only 10 favored low-income public housing in their neighborhood compared to 39 who favored a middle-income project of the same size.

Only 3 thought it was good that middle-income whites were moving out of the City and lower-income Negroes and Puerto Ricans moving in, 49 thought it bad, the rest didn't know or didn't care.

Their priorities to help Negroes and Puerto Ricans living in slums were to end overcrowding **in** apartments and provide cleaner and healthier housing, both way ahead of the next item in the vote: mixing neighborhoods racially, ethnically, etc. Many participants probably had recently escaped the slums themselves.

On whether governments should acquire more parks, the vote was almost identical with the Goals response, heavily in favor. When asked to list a priority for types of parks, neighborhood playgrounds ranked first; then large parks with picnic areas, woods for hiking, playing fields, etc. within an hour of Hunts Point; and third, neighborhood sitting parks. Swimming ranked fairly low, even neighborhood swimming pools, though that was next. Distant large natural areas was fifth. Ocean and bay swimming was last.

On improved appearance and amenity, brighter, cleaner more attractive subway stations was the **most** important to Hunts Point participants. (Reconstructing subway stations was **least** important to Goals participants.) It was followed by cleaning up pollution of rivers, bays and other water that might be used for recreation. Air pollution control followed, then more trees and shrubbery on city streets, then landscaping among buildings when areas are renewed, which just about tied in the vote with historic preservation. There was somewhat less concern about appearance outside the City, but billboard control and keeping builders from unnecessary tree cutting and hill levelling got substantial support nonetheless.

In choosing what to do about the outmovement of factories, nearly half thought the best policy would be to require housing for factory workers near the factory; half as many chose city subsidies to keep factories in the City; and the same number chose cheap, fast transportation from the City to the outlying factories. Only a handful thought that better expressways for auto travel to suburban factories would be the **best** policy—though a majority favored trying all four policies.

Similar to the Core residents' responses in the Goals project, Hunts Point participants were quite willing to transfer some planning and zoning controls to a metropolitan agency. Only one person opposed. Nearly as many would accept state planning and zoning powers, but six would oppose instead of one. State or federal expenditures to purchase open space and good public transportation were enthusiastically accepted by a decisive number.

Most Hunts Point participants were not discouraged by their relations with City government. About twice as many respondents were satisfied as dissatisfied with the way the City government took their needs into consideration in policy-making and also listened to and acted on complaints.

In sum, separating out the pressing problem of police protection, the Hunts Point responses were different from the Goals responses in their preference for multi-family housing and their preference for neighbors with varied incomes and races. Otherwise, their tastes were not much different from the Goals respondents—except that they **did** want the subway stations improved.

8. FAILURES AND HOPES

We made mistakes in the Goals for the Region project, some from lack of technical skill, some due to incomplete theory of public participation when the process began. We knew we shouldn't plan the Region from our own closet, but we had not worked out exactly what give and take could fruitfully take place between the public and ourselves. Furthermore, we had not yet evolved a definition of regional planning issues—as distinct from county and local planning issues. As a result, many replies, while interesting, are not directly relevant to the Second Regional Plan except as we might eventually develop prototypes of new local development patterns.

The main inadequacy, of course, was in the sample. While the total population is gradually coming to be like the sample in income and education and while this group of civic leaders is most likely to shape the Region in the image they prefer once that image has crystallized through a plan, clearly we must consider other interests as well. That was not essential at the stage at which we organized the Goals project. Then it was enough to learn there was a majority of activists who would be interested in a new regional plan that would provide a different urban form than the one we would have without a plan.

Now that we have alternatives to propose, it is time to hear from more varied interests.

Committee on the Second Regional Plan

Over the past year, as ideas behind the Second Regional Plan have evolved, we presented them to a Committee on the Second Regional Plan, a high-level group from many different institutions, including labor and civil rights as well as business and finance. (See Appendix 2.) Meeting directly with the Association staff, this Committee has been able to comment on every facet of the material, not just the questions framed by the staff. However, the most important responses are the same as the most useful comments of the Goals participants—responses to such questions as: Does the presentation make sense? Will the proposals fit your needs? Is more evidence needed to persuade? Are our assumptions of public preferences valid?

The Committee also has discussed policies which might achieve the proposals.

One point on which the Committee on the Second Regional Plan has insisted is that poverty and race problems constitute a serious obstacle to satisfactory regional development and must be considered by Regional Plan as well as by the specialized social work-civil rights agencies. Additional research on specific aspects of poverty and race problems in relation to the Plan probably will be undertaken as a result of Committee concern. Other Committee responses which clearly have guided the Association's approach to the Plan relate to: the idea that large central business districts are needed around the Region (the Committee was almost unanimous and enthusiastic), the process of public intervention needed to achieve efficient and attractive central business districts (the Committee recommended strong public leadership) and a totally new public transport device (the Committee showed great interest).

Further public consultation

The Committee is a sounding board of breadth, experience and tested judgment, and it is small enough to allow direct interchange with the Association staff. It has provided an important initial review. But it is not a substitute for broader samples of the population.

Other public consultation programs anticipated—though some are not yet financed—are a continuation of the dialogue with volunteers in some format like the Goals project, an effort to reach non-volunteer types through churches and unions, methods for considering the interests of the very poor in the Plan's recommendations, and county meetings at which county planning leaders will apply the broad regional recommendations to their own area. The Association also will continue frequent formal and informal consultation with local, county and state professional planners.

Finally, the basic outline of the Plan already is being tested in the political-economic arena. Several organizations have begun to study the potential of enlarging specific central business districts to see whether public and corporate decision-makers can be persuaded to encourage large-scale development in renewed and new compact centers.

The Goals project, however, was the first effort to bring public vision and Regional Plan Association vision into mutual focus, so that both see our Region in the same way and generally have the same development Goals for the Region.

APPENDIX

1. Organizations Invited to Participate in the Goals for the Region Project

Some 5,000 organizations were asked to help recruit participants in the Goals for the Region Project. A random sample of these organizations, about 10 percent, is listed below.

Recruiting through organizations began systematically with invitations to a luncheon on October 18, 1962, at which a variety of national and regional organizations were asked for advice on how they might take part. Those invited were:

American Association of Retired Persons
*American Association of University Women
American Institute of Architects
American Institute of Civil Engineers
Americans for Democratic Action
*Associated YM and YWHA's of Greater New York
Chamber of Commerce, State of Connecticut
Chamber of Commerce, State of New Jersey
*Chamber of Commerce, State of New York
*Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
Community Council of Greater New York
Democratic State Committee, Connecticut
*Democratic State Committee, New Jersey
*Democratic State Committee, New York
Elks Association, Connecticut
*Elks Association, New Jersey
Elks Association, New York
Federated Garden Clubs of New York State
*Federation of Hispanic Societies
*Federation of Mental Health Centers
Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies
*Garden Club of America
Golden Ring Clubs of Senior Citizens
*Junior League of America
Kiwanis Clubs, New England District
*Kiwanis Clubs, New Jersey
Kiwanis Clubs, New York State District
Knights of Columbus
Knights of Pythias, State of Connecticut
Knights of Pythias, State of New Jersey
Knights of Pythias, State of New York
*Leading Club Women of New York
*League of Women Voters, Connecticut
*League of Women Voters, New Jersey
*League of Women Voters, New York City
*League of Women Voters, New York State
*League of Women Voters, Westchester County
*Liberal Party, New York
*Metropolitan Council of B'nai B'rith
*National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
*NAACP, Connecticut State Conference
NAACP, New Jersey State Conference
*NAACP, New York State Conference
NAACP, Regional Conference
*National Association of Social Workers
*National Audubon Society
*National Council of Catholic Men
*National Council of Jewish Women
National Federation of Business and Professional Womens Clubs
National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs
New York City Federation of Womens Clubs
*Puerto Rican Committee on Housing
Republican State Committee, Connecticut
*Republican State Committee, New Jersey
*Republican State Committee, New York
*Rotary Club of New York
*Savings Bank Association of New York State
*United Community Funds and Councils
United Italian American League
*United Neighborhood Houses
*United Parents Association
*United Synagogue of America
*Urban League
*Wildlife Preserves
*YMCA Central Atlantic Board
*YMCA National Board
*YWCA National Board

As active enrollment began, through staff speeches, press releases, and personal acquaintances, the snowball encompassed local organizations and chapters of regional and national organizations as well as the "organizations of organizations."

Many of the groups listed took the initiative to come to us for information after hearing about the project. In all, this list gives a flavor of the hectic recruitment that went on and particularly of where a major part of our recruiting efforts were invested. The names listed come from records of telephone messages and correspondence – a random selection, about 10 percent of total contacts.

Community Service

American Association of Retired Persons
American Association of Retired Persons, Union, N. J.
American Association of University Women, Bloomfield, N. J.
American Association of University Women, Islip, N. Y.
American Association of University Women, Madison, N. J.
American Association of University Women, New York, N. Y.
American Association of University Women, North Shore Branch, Manhasset, N. Y.
American Association of University Women, Nutley, N. J.
American Association of University Women, Stamford, Conn.
American Association of University Women, Washington, D. C.
American Veterans' Committee
American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry
American Jewish Committee
Bronx Housing and Redevelopment Committee
Community Council of Greater New York

*Indicates organizations represented at October 18 luncheon.

Community Relations Work Shop, **Lines of Communication,** Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania
Community Service Society of New York
Conservation Association of Rockland County
Council of Social Agencies, Group Work and Recreation Division, Newark, N. J.
Elks Association, Connecticut State
Elks Association, National Convention Committee
Elks Association, New Jersey State
Elks Association, New York State
Family Life Bureau, Fort Lee, N. J.
Federated Garden Clubs of New York State
Federation of Jewish Philanthropies
Federation of Mental Health Centers
Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies
Federation of Womens Clubs, New York State
Flushing Council of Women's Organizations
Garden Club of America
Good Neighbor Council, Elizabeth, N. J.
Health and Welfare Council of Bergen County
Hudson Guild, New York, N. Y.
Junior League of America
Junior League of New York City
Kiwanis Club, Bensonhurst and Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club, New York City
Kiwanis Club, New York State District
Kiwanis Club, Staten Island
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., Armonk, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., Hempstead, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., Kingston, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., Malverne, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., New Jersey District
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., North Massapequa, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., Ozone Park, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., Patchogue, N. Y.
Kiwanis Club International, Inc., Whitestone, N. Y.
Knights of Pythias, Grand Lodge, New York
Knights of Pythias, New Jersey
Leading Club Women of Greater New York
Lions' Club, New York State
Lutheran Welfare Council
Masons, New York, N. Y.
Mayor's Committee of 8, Bogota, N. J.
Men's Club, Pelham, N. Y.
Metropolitan Assembly of Civic Organizations
National Association of Social Workers, Hartford, Conn.
National Association of Social Workers, Massapequa, N. Y.
National Association of Social Workers, New York City, N. Y.
National Association of Social Workers, Peekskill, N. Y.
National Association of Social Workers, Summit, N. J.
National Audubon Society
National Council of Jewish Women
New Jersey Parks and Recreation Association
New York Archdiocesan Committee on Housing and Urban Renewal
New York Lodges of the Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks
New York Public Library
New York State Nurses Association
Rotary Club, New York, N. Y.
Rotary Club, Paramus, N. J.
Rotary Club, Pawling, N. Y.
Salvation Army, New York, N. Y.
Sasquanaug Association, Southport, Connecticut
South Branch Watershed Association, Clinton, N. J.
United Community Funds & Councils, New York, N. Y.
United Italian American League
United Neighborhood Houses of New York
Visiting Nurse Service of New York
Robert F. Wagner Youth & Adult Center, New York, N. Y.
Welcome Wagon *International*
West Side Tenants and Consumers, New York, N. Y.
Women's City Club, New York, N. Y.
Women's Civic Club of Katonah
Women's Clubs in Flushing
YMCA Central Atlantic Area Board, Newark, N. J.
YMCA of Greater New York
YMCA National Board
YM-YWHA, East Tremont, Bronx, N. Y.
YM-YWHA, of Greater New York
Youthtown Community Center, Brooklyn, N. Y.
YWCA, Orange, N. J.
YWCA, Yonkers, N. Y.

Religious Organizations

Archdiocese of Newark, N. J.
Bethany Lutheran Church, Bronx, N. Y.
Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Calvary Episcopal Church, Bayonne, N. J.
Cambria Heights Community Church, Cambria Heights, N. Y.
Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, New York, N. Y.
Catholic News, New York, N. Y.
Central Presbyterian Church, Newark, N. J.
Central Unitarian Church, Paramus, N. J.
Christ Church of Ramapo, Suffern, N. Y.
Church of the Messiah and Incarnation, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Community Church, New York, N. Y.
Diocese of Bridgeport, Vice Chancellor, Bridgeport, Conn.
Diocese of Brooklyn, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Diocese of New York of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York, N. Y.
Diocese of Paterson, Paterson, N. J.
Diocese of Rockville Centre, Rockville Centre, N. Y.
Diocese of Trenton, Chancery Office, Trenton, N. J.
Ethical Culture Society
First Baptist Church of East Orange, N. J.
First Baptist Church, Roselle, N. J.
First Baptist Church, Westfield, N. J.
First Presbyterian Church, Baldwin, N. Y.
First Presbyterian Church, South River, N. J.
Grace Episcopal Church, Nutley, N. J.
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, New York, N. Y.
Hitchcock Presbyterian Church, South River, N. J.
Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, Nutley, N. J.
Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, New Rochelle, N. Y.
Judson Memorial Church, New York, N. Y.
Methodist Church, Huntington, N. Y.
Meyersville Presbyterian Church, Gillette, N. J.
Mount Zion Baptist Church, Newark, N. J.
National Council of Catholic Men
New Jersey Council of Union of Hebrew Congregations
New York Federation of Reform Synagogues
New York State Council of Churches, Syracuse, N. Y.
Pilgrim Evangelical Lutheran Church, Bronx, N. Y.
Presbytery of Long Island, Huntington, N. Y.
Protestant Council of the City of New York
Rockaway Valley Methodist Church, Boonton, N. J.
Staten Island Division of the Protestant Council
Suffern Presbyterian Church, Suffern, N. Y.
Temple Bnai Israel, Elizabeth, N. J.
Trinity Methodist Church, Richmond Hill, N. Y.
Trinity Methodist Church, Staten Island, N. Y.
Union of Hebrew Congregations, New York, N. Y.

Uniondale Methodist Church, Uniondale, N. Y.
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, Cresskill, N. J.
Unitarian Society, New Brunswick, N. J.
United Federation of Orthodox Rabbis
United Presbyterian Church of Stewart Manor, Garden City, N. Y.
United Synagogue of America, New York, N. Y.
Urban Planning Commission of the Methodist Church, New York, N. Y.

Political Groups

Americans for Democratic Action
Democratic Party, Bergen County Democratic Women
Democratic Party, Bronx County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Committee for Democratic Voters
Democratic Party, Dutchess County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Eleanor Roosevelt Democratic Association, South Bronx, N.Y.
Democratic Party, Kings County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Lexington Democratic Club, New York, N.Y.
Democratic Party, Mt. Kisco Democratic Club
Democratic Party, Nassau County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, New Jersey State Committee
Democratic Party, New York County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, New York State Committee
Democratic Party, Orange County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Putnam County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Queens County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Richmond County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Rockland County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Suffolk County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Westchester County Democratic Committee
Democratic Party, Women's Club of the Town of Rye
League of Women Voters, Connecticut
- Bridgeport Chapter
- Newtown Chapter
- Westport Chapter

League of Women Voters, New Jersey
- Chatham Township Chapter
- Cranford Chapter
- Hoboken Chapter
- Hunterdon County Chapter
- Linden Chapter
- Middletown Township Chapter
- Monmouth County Chapter
- Montville Township Chapter
- Mountain Lakes Chapter
- Newark Chapter
- Orange Chapter
- Parsippany-Troy Hills Township Chapter
- Paterson Chapter
- Plainfield Chapter
- Princeton Chapter
- Sayreville Chapter
- Sparta Chapter
- Tenafly Chapter

League of Women Voters, New York
- Brooklyn Chapters
- Goshen Chapter
- Great Neck Chapter
- Hempstead Chapter
- Nassau County Chapter
- New Castle Chapter
- New York City Chapter
- North Brookhaven Chapter
- Northeast Queens Chapter
- Riverhead Chapter
- Roslyn Chapter
- Scarsdale Chapter
- Setauket Chapter
- Smithtown Township Chapter
- Westbury Chapter
- Westchester County Chapter

Liberal Party, Bronx County Committee
Liberal Party, New York County Committee
Liberal Party, Queens County Committee
Liberal Party, Richmond County Committee
Republican Party, Connecticut State Central Committee
Republican Party, Kings County Republican Committee
Republican Party, New Jersey State Committee
Republican Party, New York County Committee
Republican Party, New York State Committee
Republican Party, New York Young Republican Club
Republican Party, Setaukets Republican Club
Republican Party, Woman's National Republican Club, New York City Affairs Committee

Educational Organizations and Schools

Bedford, N. Y. Public Schools, Division of Adult Education
Bethpage, N. Y. Union Free School District No. 21
Bronx High School of Science, Social Studies Teachers
Brooklyn College of the City University of New York
Citizens Committee for Public Schools, New York, N. Y.
Columbia University
Connecticut State Department of Education, Bureau of Higher & Adult Education
Cornell University
Deep River, Connecticut Parent-Teachers Association
Drew University
East Northport, N. Y. Junior High School
Elmont, N. Y. Central High School District No. 2
Elmont Road School
Erasmus High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Fairleigh Dickinson University
Farmingdale, N. Y. Senior High School, Division of Adult Education
Federated Home and School Association, Ridgewood, N. J.
Flushing, N. Y. Association of Teachers of Social Studies
Flushing, N. Y. High School
Franklin Square, N. Y. Central High School District No. 2
Garden City, N. Y. Public School, Division of Adult Education
Glassboro State College, N. J.
Goshen, N. Y. Central School
Great Neck, N. Y. Public Schools, Division of Adult Education
Greenwich, Connecticut Parent-Teacher Association
Hempstead, N. Y. Parent-Teacher Association
Hempstead, N. Y. Public Schools
Hunter College of the City University of New York
Huntington Station, N. Y. Parent-Teacher Association
Jamaica, N. Y. High School
Jericho, N. Y. Union Free School District No. 15
Jersey City State College
Lafayette High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Long Island University
Mahopac, N. Y. Central School
Metropolitan School Study Council
Montclair, N. J. Public Schools
Morris High School, Bronx, N. Y.
National Education Association
National Education Service of the United States
Newark, N. J. Central Evening High School
Newark State College
Newdorp High School, Staten Island, N. Y

New Jersey Federation District Boards of Education
New Jersey State Department of Education
New York Adult Education Council
New York City Board of Education Districts 29, 30, 31, Brooklyn
New York City Board of Education
New York City Council on Economic Education
New York City Teachers' Association
New York State Adult Education Council
New York State Congress of Parents and Teachers
New York State Department of Education, Bureau of Adult Education
New York State School Boards Association
New York School of Social Work
New York University
North Salem School Board, Brewster, N. Y.
Orange County Community College
Peapack-Gladstone School, Gladstone, N. J.
Pleasantville, N. Y. Parent-Teachers Association
Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn
Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Central School District No. 1
Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Parent-Teacher Association
Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Putnam Valley, N. Y. Central School
Rutgers—The State University
St. Peters College, Jersey City, N. J.
Sarah Lawrence College
Scarsdale, N. Y. Public Schools
South Side Senior High School, Rockville Centre, N. Y.
Suffern, N. Y. High School
Tenafly, N. J. Public Schools
Tilden High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Union County, N. J. Department of Education
Uniondale, N. Y. Director of Adult Education
Uniondale, N. Y. Union Free School District No. 2
United Federation of Teachers, N. Y.
United Parents Association
University of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y.
Waldwick, N. J. Public Library
Wantagh, N. Y. Union Free School District No. 23
Wappingers Central School Board, Wappingers Falls, N. Y.
Washingtonville, N. Y. Central School Adult Education
Wheatley School, Old Westbury, N. Y.
White Plains, N. Y. Public Schools
White Plains, N. Y. Union Free School District No. 7
White Plains, N. Y. Workshop for Adult Education
Yonkers Association of Chairmen of Social Studies

Negro, Puerto Rican and Civil Rights Groups

Abyssinian Baptist Church, N. Y. C.
Afro-Arts Cultural Center, N. Y. C.
Antioch Baptist Church, N. Y. C.
Amsterdam News
ASPIRA
Bedford YMCA, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Brooklyn Council of Puerto Rican Organizations
Church of the Master, N. Y. C.
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor, Migration Division
CORE
Council of Puerto Rican & Spanish American Organizations
Countee Cullen Public Library, N. Y. C.
HARYOU
Lt. Joseph Kennedy, Jr. Community Center, N. Y. C.
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
NAACP, Brooklyn Branch
NAACP, Staten Island Branch
NAACP Conference, New Jersey State
NAACP Conference, New York State
Northside Center for Child Development
Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs
Puerto Rican Citizens' Committee on Housing, Bronx, N. Y.
Puerto Rican Leadership Forum
Puerto Rican Womens Club, Bronx, N. Y.
St. Phillips Church, N. Y. C.
Urban League of New York
Urban League of Westchester
YMCA, Harlem Branch

Business Organizations

Advertising Women of New York
American Women in Radio and Television, Inc.
Brooklyn Business and Professional Women's Club
Builders Institute of Westchester and Putnam Counties
Business and Professional Women's Club of Nassau County
Committee on Women in Public Relations
Electrical Women's Roundtable, **American Home** Magazine
National Association of Mutual Savings Banks
National Association of Real Estate Boards
National Home Fashions League, Inc.
New York Newspaper Women's Club
Savings Bank Association of New Jersey
Savings Bank Association of New York State
The Fashion Group, Inc.

Local Civic, Commerce, and Neighborhood Associations

Chamber of Commerce, Asbury Park Area, N. J.
Chamber of Commerce, Bergen County, N. J.
Chamber of Commerce, Elizabeth, N. J.
Chamber of Commerce, Greater Newburgh, N. Y.
Chamber of Commerce, Huntington Township, N. Y.
Chamber of Commerce, New Brunswick-Raritan Valley, N. J.
Chamber of Commerce, New Jersey State
Chamber of Commerce, New York City, N. Y.
Chamber of Commerce, New York State
Chamber of Commerce, Paramus, N. J.
Chamber of Commerce, Plainfield Junior Chamber of Commerce, N. J.
Chamber of Commerce, Regional Council, Middletown, N. Y.
Chamber of Commerce, West Milford Township, N. J.
Chamber of Commerce & Civics, Oranges and Maplewood, Orange, N. J.
Citizens League of Elizabeth, N. J.
Civic Association, Montclair, N. J.
Civic Association, Brewster, N. Y.
Civic Association, Tappan, N. Y.
Civic Associations, Federation of East Meadow, N .Y.
Community Council of Mid-Bronx, New York
Coordinating Committee of Neighborhood Associations, Village of Mamaroneck
Greater Elizabeth Movement
Larchmont Gardens Tenants Association, N. Y.
LENA—Lower Eastside Neighborhood Association, New York, N. Y.
Long Island Association
New England Colony, Montclair, N. J.
Pound Ridge Association, Pound Ridge, N. Y.
South Shore Discussion Group of Staten Island
U-Care—University-Clinton Area Renewal Effort, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Wakefield Taxpayers & Civic League, N. Y.
Westchester County Realty Board

2. Committee on the Second Regional Plan*

Chairman: Morris D. Crawford, Jr., President, The Bowery Savings Bank

Abrams, Charles, Chairman, Division of Urban Planning, and Director, Institute of Urban Environment, Columbia University

Adams, H. Mat, Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Board of Directors, Johnson & Johnson; Chairman, Middlesex County Sewerage Authority

Alexander, Archibald S., Jr., Attorney, Newark, New Jersey; Secretary, Lord Committee (advising the governor on state problems)

Allen, Alexander J., Director, Eastern Region, National Urban League

Allen, James E., Jr., President, The University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education

Ames, Amyas, Chairman, Executive Committee, Kidder, Peabody & Co., Inc.; President, The Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York

Barbash, Maurice, Long Island home builder; Chairman, Citizens' Committee for a Fire Island National Seashore

Barrett, Edward W., Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University

Bartholomew, Arthur P., Jr., Partner, Ernst & Ernst

Bebout, John E., Director, The Urban Studies Center, Rutgers—The State University; Consultant to Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D. C.

Blake, Peter, Editor, **Architectural Forum**

Bogdanoff, David, President, Jefferson Valley Corporation (builders); Westchester County Advisory Board of the Open Space Action Committee

Boyd, Hugh N., Publisher, **The Home News**, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Brassler, Norman, Chairman of the Board, New Jersey Bank and Trust Company; Board of Directors, Paterson Y.M.C.A.

Brim, Orville G., Jr., President, Russell Sage Foundation

Brown, Courtney C., Dean, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University

Brown, Raymond A., Attorney, Jersey City, New Jersey; President, Jersey City N.A.A.C.P.

Byrne, Very Reverend Monsignor Harry J., Assistant Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New York and Executive Secretary, Archdiocesan Committee on Housing and Urban Renewal

Chase, Stuart, Author and Consultant

Clark, Kenneth B., Director, Social Dynamics Research Institute and Professor of Psychology, City College of the City University of New York; Research Director, Northside Center for Child Development

*As originally appointed and with positions as of September 1, 1966. In a number of cases, positions have changed, and a few members have left the region.

Conklin, William J., Partner, Whittlesey, Conklin & Rossant (Architects and City Planners); Director, Foundation for the Arts, Religion and Culture

Connorton, John V., Executive Vice President, Greater New York Hospital Association

Craco, Louis A., Partner, Willkie, Farr, Gallagher, Walton & FitzGibbon (Attorneys); Chairman, Mayor's Task Force on Reorganization of New York City Government

Crawford, Morris D., Jr., President, The Bowery Savings Bank

Currier, Stephen R., President: Taconic Foundation; Potomac Institute; Urban America

Darrow, Richard W., Executive Vice President, Hill and Knowlton (Public Relations)

Davis, Kenneth N., Jr., Vice President and Treasurer, International Business Machines Corporation

DelliQuadri, P. Frederick, Dean, The New York School of Social Work, Columbia University; U.S. Representative to Executive Board of UNICEF

Diebold, John, President, The Diebold Group, Inc. (Management Consultants)

Dougherty, The Most Reverend John J., President, Seton Hall University and Auxiliary Bishop of Newark

Driscoll, John J., President, Connecticut State Labor Council, AFL-CIO

Dumpson, James R., Associate Director, Hunter College School of Social Work of the City University of New York; former Commissioner of Welfare, City of New York

Duncombe, Henry L., Jr., Chief Statistician, General Motors Corporation

Eisenpreis, Alfred, Vice President, Allied Stores Corporation

Epstein, Jason, Publisher and Vice President, Random House, Inc.; Founder, Doubleday Anchor Books

Etherington, Edwin D., President, American Stock Exchange

Fabricant, Herbert J., Partner, Fabricant & Lipman, Monroe, New York (Attorneys); Chairman, Orange County Park Commission

Faulkner, Bayard H., Chairman: New Jersey Taxpayers Association's Committee on Municipal and County Government; State's Commission on Local Government which developed the New Jersey Optional Municipal Charter Law

Gang, I. Lloyd, Attorney, Passaic, New Jersey; Chairman, Montclair Planning Board

Geddes, Robert L., Dean, School of Architecture, Princeton University

Gelb, Richard L., Executive Vice President, Bristol-Myers Company; Trustee, Committee for Economic Development

Gerber, Martin, Director, Region 9, United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO

Gero, Mrs. William B., President, New Jersey Division, American Association of University Women; Member of The Governor's Conference on Education

Gladieux, Bernard L., Partner, Booz, Allen & Hamilton, Inc. (Management Consultants); Chairman, Board of Directors, National Civil Service League.

Gould, Samuel B., President, State University of New York

Greenawalt, Mrs. Kenneth, President, League of Women Voters of New York State; Chairman, Urban Renewal Commission, Greenburgh

Greenough, William C., Chairman and President, Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America

Hadley, Morris, Partner, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy (Attorneys); Chairman of the Board, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Harris, Griffith E., Insurance Broker; Former First Selectman (Mayor), Town of Greenwich, Connecticut

Hart, William C., Manager, Programs in Community and Government Relations Service, General Electric Company; Chairman, Action for Bridgeport Community Development (anti-poverty agency)

Hawkins, The Reverend Edler G., Pastor, St. Augustine Presbyterian Church; Chairman, Long Range Planning Committee of the Presbytery

Hawley, Samuel W., President, People's Savings Bank, Bridgeport, Connecticut

Heckel, Willard, Dean, School of Law, Rutgers—The State University; President, United Community Corporation of Newark (anti-poverty program)

Heckscher, August, Director, The Twentieth Century Fund

Heiskell, Andrew, Chairman, Board of Directors, Time, Inc.; Chairman, Board of Trustees, Urban America

Hess, Walter J., President, Ridgewood Savings Bank (Queens)

Hester, James M., President, New York University

Heyman, David M., President, New York Foundation

Hill, James T., Jr., President, Interchemical Corporation

Hoguet, Robert L., Jr., Executive Vice President, First National City Bank, New York; President, Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center

Houghton, Arthur A., Jr., President, Steuben Glass; President, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Hudgins, William R., President, Freedom National Bank of New York; President, Interracial Council of Business Opportunity

Hull, Roger, President, Mutual of New York Insurance Company

Jacobs, Eli S., White, Weld & Co.; Member, Mayor's Task Force on Urban Design for New York City

Jacobs, Robert Allan, Partner, Kahn and Jacobs (Architects)

James, Dr. George, Executive Vice President, Mount Sinai Medical Center, and Dean, Mount Sinai School of Medicine; Member, Mayor's Task Force on Health Problems

James, Winfield H., Executive Vice President, New York News

Kelcey, Guy, Partner, Edwards & Kelcey, Inc. (Engineers); Advisory Committee, Department of Civil Engineering, Newark College of Engineering

Keppel, Francis, Chairman of the Board, General Learning Corporation; former Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (for Education)

Kerrigan, Charles H., Director, Region 9A, United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO

Kiermaier, John W., President, Educational Broadcasting Corporation (Channel 13-WNDT)

Kirk, Grayson L., President, Columbia University

Levy, Gustave Lehman, Partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co. (Investment Bankers); President, Mount Sinai Hospital

Lilienthal, David E., Chairman, Development and Resources Corporation; Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Lord, Clifford L., President, Hofstra University

MacFadyen, John H., Architect, MacFadyen & Knowles

McElwain, William H., President, Jersey Central Power & Light Company, New Jersey Power & Light Company; Trustee, Stevens Institute of Technology

McLaughlin, Frederick C., Director, Public Education Association, New York City

McMahon, M. T. J., Regional Manager, Civic and Governmental Affairs, Ford Motor Company, Trenton, New Jersey

McMurray, Joseph P., President, Queens College of the City University of New York

McQuade, Walter, Board of Editors, **Fortune**

Metzger, Karl Edward, Secretary, Rutgers—The State University of New Jersey

Meyner, Robert B., Attorney, Newark, New Jersey; Governor of New Jersey

Mills, Alfred S., President, The New York Bank for Savings; Trustee, Urban America

Mortlock, Eugene M., Chairman of the Board, First Federal Savings and Loan Association of New York

Mortola, Edward J., President, Pace College

Muller, John H., Real Estate Consultant, New York City; Chairman, National Council, Urban America

Nostrand, Dudley S., Chairman, Cross & Brown Company (Real Estate Management)

Nuñez, Emilio, Justice, Supreme Court of the State of New York

Oakes, John B., Editor of the Editorial Page, **The New York Times**

Osborn, Danby C., President, The Home Savings Bank of White Plains; President, White Plains Public Library

Ottaway, James H., President, Ottaway Newspapers-Radio Inc. (Middletown, N. Y. **Times Herald-Record**)

Pei, I. M., Partner, I. M. Pei & Associates, (Architects)

Perlman, Alfred E., President, New York Central System

Phalen, Clifton W., Chairman of the Board, New York Telephone Company; Chairman, Board of Trustees, State University of New York

Potter, The Reverend Dr. Dan M., Executive Director, The Protestant Council of the City of New York; Co-Chairman, Committee of Religious Leaders of the City of New York

Pough, Richard H., Chairman, Open Space Action Committee; President, Natural Area Council, Inc.

Raushenbush, Mrs. Esther, President, Sarah Lawrence College

Ravitch, Richard, Vice President, HRH Construction Corporation; Director and Vice President, Citizens Housing and Planning Council, New York City

Renchard, William S., Chairman, Chemical Bank New York Trust Company

Robinson, Cleveland, Commissioner, City Commission on Human Rights; International Vice President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO

Root, Oren, Executive Vice President and Counsel, Irving Trust Company; President, Charter New York Corporation

Roth, Arthur T., Chairman of the Board, Franklin National Bank

Rothschild, Walter N., Jr., President, Abraham & Straus

Rousmaniere, James A., Attorney; Member, Nassau County Planning Commission

Ruebhausen, Oscar M., Partner, Debevoise, Plimpton, Lyons & Gates (Attorneys); Chairman, Board of Trustees, Bennington College

Sadler, Marion, President, American Airlines, Inc.

Scudder, Richard B., Publisher, **Newark News**

Senior, Clarence, Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York; Member, Board of Education, City of New York

Sillin, Lelan F., Jr., President, Central Hudson Gas & Electric Corporation, Poughkeepsie; Temporary Chairman, Mid-Hudson Pattern for Progress

Simon, Robert E., Jr., President, Simon Enterprises Inc.

Simpson, Alan, President, Vassar College; Member, Hudson River Valley Commission

Spofford, Gavin, Executive Vice President, Summit and Elizabeth Trust Company; Board of Trustees, Greater Elizabeth Movement

Starr, David, Managing Editor, **Long Island Press**

Straus, Donald B., President, American Arbitration Association; Chairman, Executive Committee, Planned Parenthood Federation of America

Straus, R. Peter, President, The Straus Broadcasting Group; President, New York State Broadcasters Association

Strauss, Miss Anna Lord, INTERCHANGE, Past National President, League of Women Voters of the United States

Sutphen, James Ralph, Managing Editor, **The Record**, Hackensack, New Jersey; Vice Chairman, Bergen County Planning Board

Sviridoff, Mitchell, Executive Director, Community Progress Inc., New Haven, Connecticut; President, National Association for Community Development

Thayer, Walter N., President, **New York Herald Tribune**

Tillinghast, Charles C., Jr., President, Trans World Airlines

Trosky, Helene, Artist and Columnist, "Muse Roundup"; Columnist, **The Independent Herald**, Harrison, New York

Turner, H. Chandlee, Jr., Chairman of the Board, Turner Construction Company

Tyler, Gus, Assistant President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Tyner, Ralph T., Jr., Chairman of the Board and Director, National Bank of Westchester

Van Buskirk, Mrs. Lloyd A., Chairman, Tri-State Committee of the League of Women Voters

VanWegen, Paul M., President, Stony Brook-Millstone Watersheds Association; Director, Water Resources Association of Delaware River Basin

Wallace, Anthony E., Vice President, The Connecticut Light and Power Company; Executive Committee, Natural Resources Council of Connecticut

Webster, Bethuel M., Attorney, Webster, Sheffield, Fleischmann, Hitchcock & Chrystie; Trustee, The New York Public Library

Weinstein, Mrs. Sidney, Board Member and Chairman, Public Affairs Committee, National Council of Jewish Women

Whyte, William H., Conservation Consultant; Chairman, New York Governor's Conference on Natural Beauty; Member, President Johnson's Task Force on Natural Beauty

Williams, W. Daniel, President, New Jersey Natural Gas Company

Woodard, The Reverend George H., Jr., Executive Officer, Joint Urban Program, Executive Council of the Episcopal Church

Yaseen, Leonard C., Chairman of the Board, The Fantus Company (Industrial Locators)

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American Institute of Planners

The Board of Governors of the American Institute of Planners, acting upon the recommendation of the Fiftieth Anniversary Committee on Awards, hereby presents the

Fiftieth Anniversary Award

for achievement and contribution in Metropolitan Planning to the

Regional Plan Association

New York – New Jersey – Connecticut Metropolitan Area

Citation: Throughout virtually the entire half century the American Institute of Planners here celebrates, the New York tri-state metropolitan area has benefitted from the leadership of a typical American voluntary public-interest organization – the Regional Plan Association and its predecessor Committee on Regional Plan of New York and its Environs.

Thanks to the exceptional gifts of Thomas Adams, General Director of the original Committee and God-father of the successor Association, the New York Regional Plan pioneered in broadening and deepening both the theory and practice of city and regional planning in this country. Under his direction social and economic disciplines were merged with the traditional physical approach to urban planning, anticipating the direction of comprehensive city and regional planning in the United States over the ensuing decades.

Many distinguished citizens and professionals contributed to the Plan's preparation and accomplishments; two others must be cited.

Charles Dyer Norton's vision saw the need of a regional plan, and his enthusiasm launched the project. It was he who enlisted the essential moral and financial support of the Russell Sage Foundation.

His son, C. McKim Norton, has led the successor Regional Plan Association since 1941 in a quest for rational regional development unparalleled in this country. By happy coincidence, the Second Regional Plan, up-dating and re-directing the original Plan appropriately for our times, is being issued this very year.

This record of persistent progress toward constantly up-dated goals has directly affected major elements of the physical environment, mitigating the rush of urban development that has engulfed the New York area in recent decades. The work of the Regional Plan Association has had great national influence, not only in the techniques of planning but also in furthering the metropolitan planning movement and in stimulating the participation of citizen groups outside of government that is so essential to the workings of our pluralistic democratic society.

The presentation of this Award is made at the Fiftieth Anniversary Commemoration of the American Institute of Planners at Washington, D.C., on the 4th day of October, 1967

Irving Hand
President

Robert Williams
Executive Director

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