17 Planning for diverse human needs

Social planning—to be effective—must be an integral part of all physical, economic, and fiscal planning. The social planner should be an interpreter: he or she must understand the goals and limitations of physical, economic, and fiscal plans in order to articulate the elements of each in achieving an integrated and workable plan. At the same time the social planner must be able to interpret the highly technical elements of the physical, economic, and fiscal plans to the community, and also to articulate the community's needs to the planners. The roles of goal definition, needs analysis, development of action steps, and implementation—in the setting of the community—are at the heart of the social planning process.

Social planning by its very nature incorporates the elements of physical, economic, and fiscal planning into a broader planning context that is responsive to the needs and the demands of the community. Too often social planning is oversimplified and is defined as "planning for social services." While planning for social services is an important element of social planning, effective social planning is much more than planning for recreation, education, and job training.

Social planning is, increasingly, being defined as a profession—or as one component of the planning profession. The social planner is often someone trained in physical or economic planning, public administration, or social work, who is also socially sensitive and is thus able to perform the important function, mentioned above, of articulating the needs of the community.

Often, the social planner is a local official in another capacity. As the planning director or city manager, he or she understands the concept of social planning well enough to integrate goals and objectives which complement each other and include the requisite physical, economic, and fiscal elements. He or she can do this in a number of ways, all of them difficult, and the ultimate result of such a process will be a socially responsive plan. Local officials who work in this capacity, then, can be defined as socially responsive planners. They fulfill this definition by training, by vocation, or simply by meeting the demands of an increasingly active citizenry.

The causes and effects of social problems have always been the concern of organized society, but the concept of specifically addressing social planning through organized institutions is relatively recent. Current definitions of social planning range from generalizations such as "thinking about the problems of society" to such narrow descriptions as "time-phased programming."[1]

For purposes of this discussion, planning is defined as "a method of determining policy under which developments may take place in a balanced, orderly fashion in the best interests of the people in a given area."[2] This definition supports the position that distinctions among social, economic, and physical planning are largely artificial since one cannot be effective without the others. The consequences of economic planning are invariably social in nature, and economic and physical planning performed without consideration of social impacts can easily damage vulnerable groups located in urban settings.

While it is possible to pinpoint the need for social planning, it is rather difficult to delineate its terrain. Public policies are defined as overt actions of govern-

ment or agencies which operate in the public sector. Social policies are often defined within the context of public policies that are directly responsive to human needs. Such a dual definition, however, tends to distort rather than to clarify, because few, if any, public policies have no social consequences. Choices are continuously made simply through the allocation of funds for government programs. These choices, whether implicit or explicit, often have far-reaching social consequences.

A brief history of social planning

The beginnings of social planning in the United States can be traced to the early social programs of the nineteenth century. Early social planning was the province of the churches. By the mid-nineteenth century local and state governments had become involved in educational planning.[3] The concept of the social responsibility to provide relief for the poor was furthered by the emergence in the mid-nineteenth century of the Charity Organization Society and the settlement house movement.[4] The Charity Organization Society's concern was to avoid duplication of services, while the settlement house movement wished to affect the political process as a means of changing public policies. Emerging patterns in the development of present-day social planning reflect the efforts of both groups.

The growth of the social welfare profession and the development of specialized social service agencies in the early twentieth century were the result of an increasing interest in social reform. They were also evidence of the early realization that physical and economic planning were insufficient to provide for the individual's needs.

This movement for social reform and the institutions it engendered took place at the local level only. The federal government was as yet involved only in a few social planning areas: military medicine, merchant marine hospitals, public health programs in environmental sanitation, military pensions, and old soldiers' homes.[5] It was not until the Depression of the 1930s that the federal government began to be involved officially in social planning, with the creation, by President Roosevelt, of the advisory National Planning Board.[6]

Several historical points are relevant to an understanding of contemporary social planning. First, social planning was not undertaken only to address the needs of the poor but also to address the needs of all levels of society, including the military. Yet social welfare (and consequently social planning) was often narrowly defined solely as the provision of services for the disadvantaged. This is still an important element of social planning, and it is referred to as social service planning or social welfare planning, but it is only one specialized aspect of total social planning.

The second historical point is that social planning was initiated and carried out almost entirely at the local level until the 1930s. Today a major part of the responsibility for social planning still rests with municipalities. The federal government has yet to enact a comprehensive national policy, although a number of federal programs address social needs. It may be that in a society as diverse as that of the United States a truly comprehensive urban policy is not possible. Therefore, the best that might be feasible would be a reaffirmation on the part of the federal government that it will give the needs of cities high priority when it creates its major domestic and international policies.

The third point is that, historically, social planning in this country has displayed a strong reactive element which has stood in the way of comprehensive long-range planning. Most social planning has responded only to immediate and pressing problems: the plight of immigrants in the nineteenth century; the problem of increasing urban slums; the plight of unemployed millions during the Depression; and the plight of the nation's cities as reflected by the urban riots of

The village and the jungle In most American cities there are two major types of low-rent neighborhoods: the areas of first or second settlement for urban migrants; and the areas that attract the criminal, the mentally ill, the socially rejected, and those who for one reason or another have given up the attempt to cope with life.

The former kind of area, typically, is one in which European immigrants—and more recently Negro and Puerto Rican ones—try to adapt their nonurban institutions and cultures to the urban milieu. Thus it may be called an *urban village.* Often it is described in ethnic terms: Little Italy, The Ghetto, or Black Belt. The second kind of area is populated largely by single men, pathological families, people in hiding from themselves or society, and individuals who provide the more disreputable of illegal-but-demanded services to the rest of the community. In such an area, life is comparatively more transient, depressed if not brutal, and it might be called an *urban jungle.* It is usually described as Skid Row, Tenderloin, the red-light district, or even the Jungle.

Source: Excerpted from Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 4.

the 1960s. In this respect social planning differs little from economic or fiscal planning in our society. Long-range measures are easy to articulate but difficult to enforce. A society based on private enterprise will resist public sector dominance except in a time of emergency.

The above brief historical background requires some discussion of the context of social planning. This follows immediately below. Next, the chapter takes up the subject of the relationship of the government to the community in the area of social services. Identifying the client and the client's needs is next discussed; after this, attention is given to ways in which values are determined and preferences are established in social planning. Comprehensive planning is then described briefly. Finally, the following are set forth as the elements of social planning: task definition, policy development, policy implementation, and evaluation. An evaluative conclusion emphasizes the importance of social planning at the local government level.

The context of social planning

While there is little consensus on the precise definition and scope of social planning,[7] many would agree on the following definition: social planning is the process by means of which planners define society's goals and translate them into effective plans and programs.

The debate centers around the scope of social planning. Some define it strictly as planning for social services with the less privileged in society being those who primarily benefit from such planning. Others define it as a separate component in planning that is not encompassed by physical, economic, and fiscal planning. Still others see it as the use of all elements of planning to bring about desirable social change. These diverse points of view have one element in common: social planners must define society's goals and translate them into effective plans and programs. Social goals are seldom defined for the planner, and he or she in practice often encounters conflicting goals which must be reconciled for the sake of an effective plan.

Local governments often make the task of the socially responsive planner more difficult by separating physical planning (performed by local departments of development and planning and local departments of public works) from social planning (performed by human services agencies). Even in cities such as those in Santa Clara County, California, where social planning is an officially man-

dated element in the city plan, the process is designated as *human resource planning* and is carried out by such diverse entities as an ad hoc study group (in the city of Campbell) or a human relations commission (in the city of Hayward).[8]

Few cities have emulated Pasadena, with its planning team composed of representatives from the city manager's office, the advance planning department, the school district, United Way, and the community service commission.[9] This group is working concurrently to revise Pasadena's general city plan and to develop a social element by integrating all aspects of the plan.

Goals and social planning

The socially responsive planner should begin by identifying social goals. General goals—reflecting societal values—are easily agreed on. It is difficult to oppose such goals as better housing or universal education. The socially responsive planner needs to provide specific definitions of these goals with explicit statements of what will replace unsatisfactory conditions.[10] Reaching consensus

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Working class perception of middle class life   My limited observations suggest that, on the whole, the advantages of working-class subculture do outweigh the disadvantages. The latter are real, and ought to be removed, but they are not overwhelming. Thus, given our present knowledge, there is no justification for planning and caretaking programs which try to do away with the working-class subculture. John Seeley has suggested why it should not be done away with in his description of a Polish working-class group with whom he once lived:

"No society I have lived in before or since seemed to me to present so many of its members . . . so many possibilities and actualities of fulfillment of a number at least of basic human demands: for an outlet for aggressiveness, for adventure, for a sense of effectiveness, for deep feelings of belonging without undue sacrifice of uniqueness or identity, for sex satisfaction, for strong if not fierce loyalties, for a sense of inde-

pendence from the pervasive omnicompetent, omniscient authority-in-general which at that time still overwhelmed to a greater degree the middle-class child. . . . These things had their prices, of course—not all values can be simultaneously maximized. But few of the inhabitants whom I reciprocally took 'slumming' into middle-class life understood it or, where they did, were at all envious of it. And, be it asserted, this was not a matter of 'ignorance' or incapacity to 'appreciate finer things,' but an inability to see one moderately coherent and sense-making satisfaction-system which they didn't know as preferable to the quite coherent and sense-making satisfaction-system they did know."

Source: Excerpted from Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 267. Seeley quotation from John R. Seeley, "The Slum: Its Nature, Use and Users," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 25 (1959), p. 10.

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on specific goals, however, is not an easy task. Vague and ambitious goals make planning difficult and evaluation almost impossible. While a degree of vagueness has come to be accepted in social planning, in contrast to physical planning where specific goals must be set forth so that detailed specifications for the engineer and the architect can be drawn up, it is just as dangerous to have vague social plans as it is to have vague physical plans.

The socially responsive planner may find that the general welfare, and also employment growth, are goals on which the community can agree, but it is only when these goals are defined in *specific* terms that planning can begin, that re-

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sources can be allocated, and that effectiveness can be measured. Being specific also enables planners to realize that there are different perceptions of what constitutes the common good and the means by which it is served.[11] In a sense all planning may be seen as a process of resource allocation,[12] but with the increasing costs of social services, social planning assumes greater importance.

The difficulty of resource allocation in the social planning process is emphasized by the problem of determining values. Communities differ in the delicate balance between individual and community rights, in the role to be played by government, and in the allocation of individual and community resources. Most communities seem to agree that the aim of social policies and programs is to achieve a quality of life acceptable to the community as a whole. Although the concept of quality of life is nebulous in the contexts of social accounting, performance evaluation, and national goal setting,[13] communities generally find it relatively easy to agree on the ends of social policies. The difficulty comes in defining the means.[14] Too often a grave disparity exists between the stated ends of social policies and the ends achieved.

Policies and social planning

The reasons for the disparity between stated goals (as articulated in political rhetoric and preambles to laws) and the policies which implement these goals are many.

Social policies are often reactions to problems rather than dynamic actions. This is caused partly by the frequent changes in the composition of policymaking bodies, and also by the fact that it is difficult to implement social policies that affect the individual directly and personally.

The key to formulating effective social policies lies in integrating three factors: social needs, political feasibility, and value preferences. This was amply demonstrated by both the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Model Cities policy initiatives.[15] Social needs can be determined in a variety of ways, since sociological and economic measures exist to measure change and variation from stated social norms. Political feasibility is most often tested early in the drafting stage of policy, since policymakers frequently refrain from implementing initiatives that are politically unacceptable. Perhaps the most difficult to determine— and most cursorily addressed—is value preferences, which permeate all decisions of the social planner.

Identifying and defining social values

The socially responsive planner has to identify and define social values with skill if a plan is to be effective. A plan which goes counter to the values of those who are to benefit is doomed to failure. For example, the bilingual education legislation that has been passed in twenty-one states runs counter to the "melting pot" values of a monolingual country of immigrants, has been difficult to implement in local schools, and has largely failed to educate children who speak a native tongue other than English.

The socially responsive planner should seek ways to mobilize community groups. He or she should either work with a community organizer or assist diverse groups in pursuing common goals. The socially responsive planner should help identify and define goals which will induce groups to organize around common interests. And when groups have varying interests, effective planning helps define common ends that are not antithetical to diverse particular interests. In fact, *the common good* is defined as the interaction of these particular interests in relation to overall social policy.

For socially responsive planning to be effective in the United States, it must value both individual liberty and community needs. Americans are skeptical

about the ability of large bureaucracies and corporate structures to solve social ills. They often feel that the growth and development of human identity and a sense of community are shunted aside in large scale planning.

To be effective, then, social planning must maximize individual participation in decision making. When people have a say in what happens, they are more committed to acting on the outcome. These citizens know what the issues are. It is the responsibility of the social planner to involve individuals and groups in the community's accountability structure. The planner should involve the largest possible numbers of persons and groups in efforts aimed at the common welfare of the community. Social planning is meaningless without social change, and social change requires the development of means for intervention.

Strategies of intervention

Six strategies of intervention for social change have been identified by Martin Rein. These are given below with the phrase *the individual* substituted here for Rein's references to *the poor,* as the general welfare is the legitimate goal of *all* social policies.

1. Amenities: the provision of those services which enrich or strengthen the quality of life; the normal services humanity needs to survive in a changing society
2. Investment in human capacity: the improvement of the economic capabilities of the individual by the provision of schooling, job training, job opportunities, and job information
3. Transfers: the redistribution of income of one population to another (young to old, rich to poor); a guaranteed annual income
4. Rehabilitation: the changing of people involving the use of psychological and sociopsychological approaches
5. Participation: the provision of programs which promote social inclusion, providing the individual with a stake in society
6. Aggregative and selective economic measures: aggregative measures are those that filter down to the individual—the benefits of economic growth resulting from tax cuts, capital depletion allowances, and other incentives to stimulate production; selective measures are those that "bubble up" the individual into the economic mainstream by creating jobs for the underskilled, establishing a minimum wage, etc.[16]

This list is not exhaustive, but it establishes two facts. First, to intervene effectively in the policy process, the social planner needs to define and develop specific strategies of intervention that are relevant to political and economic realities. Second, and perhaps more important, to implement any strategy, definite—and often conflicting—value choices must be made.

For example, we believe in the dignity of the individual, and most of us would agree that a person's ability to work fosters dignity; therefore, it can be argued that a society which is economically stable should foster individual dignity for its citizens. However, the Nobel prizewinner and economist Paul Samuelson tells us that goals of high level employment and high economic stability conflict in a free market society.[17]

Another example is that while American society has traditionally agreed on the importance of education and of giving individuals the opportunity to better themselves, education for individual choice is often apparently contradictory to the needs of society. For example, an individual may wish to study law while his or her community is in dire need of doctors; or a college graduate may abandon his or her small rural community to go to a large city, thereby contributing to a drain of talent from the small community. The conflict between the individual's rights and society's needs is indeed always present.

The community and its functioning

An American community is a plurality of communities and subcommunities. These need to be stratified to reflect common values and goals. The stratification of function, authority, and responsibility should be accepted and indeed fostered by planners.

Stratification by function and authority necessitates the dispersion, distribution, or decentralization of function and authority to diverse groups, each of which possesses a measure of authority that is based on its unique function in the community. This decentralization helps protect individual freedom against the incursions of community demands.

Both the stratification of groups and the delegation of function and authority promote autonomy. Each group must be endowed with the greatest possible autonomy consistent with its functions in the community. Diminishing the exercise of autonomy and free will leads to the loss of a sense of participation and control over community and individual destiny.[18]

The role of tradition

Autonomy and decentralization are embedded in the culture and traditions of the United States. The Latin *traditio* can be translated as "giving over by means of words." Tradition, then, involves personal communication which emerges from community discussion and consensus, encourages social interaction, and leads to coalitions of like-minded persons.

Personal communication takes place best in small, local units of association.

Figure 17–1 This building mural in a Hispanic section of Chicago symbolizes the importance of localism, the family, and the neighborhood as primary forms of association.

This *localism* emphasizes family and neighborhood as the primary forms of association. This sense of place—of having somewhere to anchor oneself—insulates the person and the community against various forms of estrangement and alienation. It offers a sense of roots.

The role of the city planner

Yet in order to respond to diverse client interests today's socially responsive city planner must be concerned with physical, economic, and social planning.[19] This calls for comprehensive planning, which makes citizen participation more difficult to achieve. To address this variety of interests, the socially responsive planner needs to go beyond the traditional concern of the planning profession with the physical environment, a concern which, according to Davidoff and Reiner, has "warped the profession's ability to see physical structures and lands as servants to those who use them," and proceed to a concern with the total social and economic environment.[20]

Professional planners do not share a history of responsiveness to social concerns. Traditionally, the typical planner has been concerned with the physical plan, that is, with the facilities, rather than with the social programs to be instituted in these facilities once they are built. The planner has looked at the size, location, and design of a school rather than at its curriculum. It is rare when a planner's responsiveness encompasses a dialogue involving the architect, the school board, and the community.

The socially responsive planner, on the other hand, understands the physical planning and the curriculum planning, as well as the correlative group dynamics, well enough to translate the elements and help to achieve an integrated physical and economic plan that incorporates relevant social goals and objectives. For example, when one large hospital in a large city built its maternity facility, the architects talked to the administrators and, to some extent, to the nursing supervisors. They did not, however, talk directly to the clients—the patients—or, for that matter, to floor nurses. As a result, the "rooming-in" section (where mothers had twenty-four hour access to babies) was an architectural failure. Physically it consisted of three adjoining rooms—a semiprivate room attached to a nursery attached to a semiprivate room. The nursery had doors leading to each semiprivate room and the hall; it could hold four babies. The nurse had no telephone there, however, because the architects did not understand the rooming-in concept. Thus, after the unit was operational extensive reworking was required to install telephone cables to the nursery. In addition, the rooms had no adjacent bathroom. A common bathroom was located across the hall. The result was uncomfortable first days and general confusion for postnatal maternal care.

Social purpose and physical planning

Often, even with the best intentions, it is difficult to integrate social purpose into physical planning. The city of Chicago, for example, through its building code, encourages builders to provide open space surrounding high rise development. Accordingly, a number of buildings feature public open spaces, but some of these areas, like the large public plaza by the civic center, serve as little more than handsome settings for a large piece of sculpture, while others, like the First National Bank Plaza, are a hive of activity (Figure 17–2). A poll of citizens strolling in these plazas revealed that it was the physical layout that determined use. The civic center plaza with its handsome Picasso sculpture is a large empty space with few benches and fewer trees. It is usually deserted, and thus it is an intimidating place in which to linger. The First National Bank Plaza features a series of intimate spaces: benches and steps sheltered from the sun and
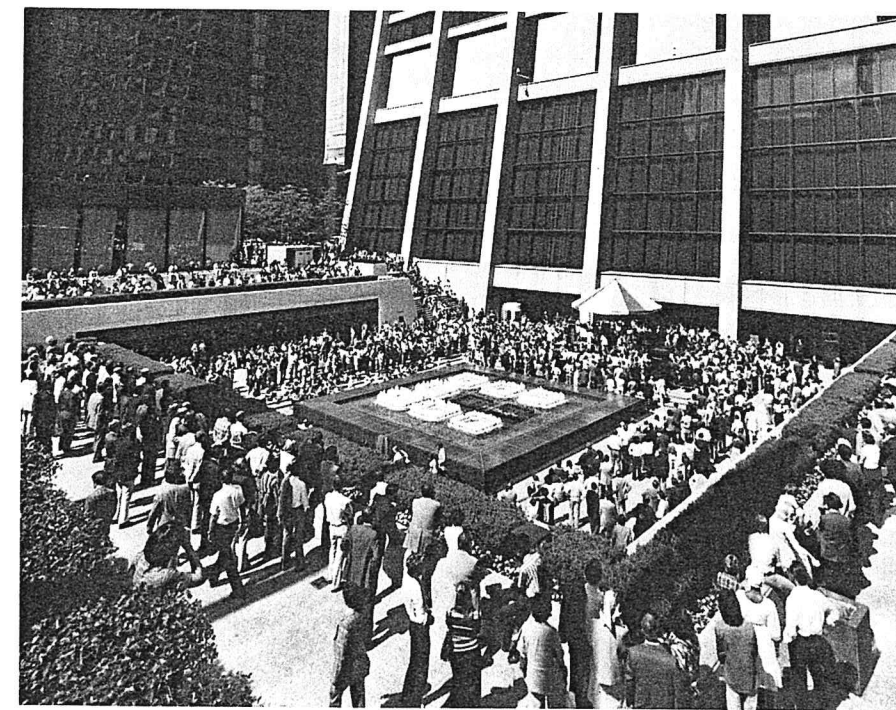
Figure 17–2   The formality and lack of use of Daley Plaza, by the civic center, contrast strikingly with the varied activities at the First National Bank Plaza. Both plazas are in Chicago, just two blocks apart in the heart of the central business district.

wind; a central fountain; and a number of entrances to building spaces surrounding the plaza, which make the plaza a natural passageway as well as a pleasant resting place.

This integration of social function into a physical plan can result in a planning process that addresses social as well as physical needs. However, the city planner should not assume that the physical and social planning processes are identical or even easily integrated. Nor can the planner assume that the technology of physical planning can be easily applied to social planning.

Many American cities have built pedestrian malls to renew deteriorating downtown areas, under the assumption that a beautiful physical setting filled with plants and fountains would solve such problems as crime, a deteriorating economic base, or even a changing life-style. Obviously they have not, and many downtown malls built in the 1960s have been the setting for continued erosion of the central business district in the 1970s.

In the same way school boards faced with vandalism, absenteeism, and decreasing numbers of students finishing high school have sought to address the demands of angry parents by building shiny glass and steel schools which stand as air-conditioned monuments to lower reading scores and higher absenteeism, while old red brick buildings with inadequate heating systems in less troubled districts continue to graduate merit scholarship winners. The bricks and mortar approach to solving social problems is dangerous because it wastes scarce resources, raises community expectations, and results in disillusionment and alienation.

The planner may not have sufficient expertise to fulfill the roles of the physical, social, and economic planner, but he or she is responsible for ensuring that a comprehensive planning process incorporates social, economic, and physical goals before resources are allocated.

Identifying the client

The problem of consensus

Perhaps the most important step in achieving effective planning is identifying the client. This step may appear deceptively simple to the physical planner who can easily identify the city council, county board, school board, or hospital commission as the agency that contracts for his or her services. However, increasing citizen participation has made the client more difficult to define for the social planner. For the socially responsive planner, the definition of the client is an intricate process which, if not carried out adequately, can result in ineffective planning and less than acceptable programs.

A consensus seems to be forming to the effect that the entire population—not merely the poor or various interest groups—is the ultimate client of the social planner. For the present, however, pressing social needs give priority to the poor.[21]

This focus on the poor by planners considered socially responsive is counterproductive. As has been pointed out, effective planning cannot take place without consensus. If the planner designs policies and programs to address solely the needs of the poor, it is far more difficult to reach consensus and to obtain the resources needed for effective programs. The poor do represent a needy minority in American society. Yet few policies and programs addressed solely to the needs of minorities have become successfully established in American society. The largest social welfare program in the United States—social security—was not established until the middle class joined the poor on the breadlines.

The above is not intended to suggest that the varied needs of different groups in our society demand different programs; it is intended, rather, to suggest that effective social programs are better designed and much more quickly and successfully implemented when they address the overall interests of the society.

The diversity of client needs

In a sense, today's socially responsive planners should be as concerned about the persistence of separate but equal programs as educators have been about separate but equal facilities since *Brown* v. *Board of Education* in 1954.[22] Pro-

grams and facilities designed exclusively for the poor often fail to receive adequate support and to fulfill client needs. One can consider the service at most health clinics in poor communities—where an expectant mother is often shuttled among several facilities in order to get prenatal care for herself and infant care for her sick children. One can also contrast public housing developments in bleak, crime-ridden surroundings with modern apartment buildings in attractive neighborhoods under a rent supplement program. Isolation results in discrimination; this can be seen in the contrast between the massive Cabrini–Green housing complex on Chicago's North Side (Figure 17–3) and the scattered site housing in the Hyde Park community surrounding the University of Chicago. The first is unsightly and riddled with crime, while the second is impossible to distinguish from its neighbors.

While planning may start with an empirical exploration of value preferences, different groups in the population hold different views on the objectives of a specific plan. A satisfactory consensus will not occur until bargaining has maximized the gains and minimized the losses for each group. Perhaps the most vivid illustration of this is the urban renewal programs of the 1960s. Although urban renewal brought an immediate benefit to the community as a whole by bringing valuable property into the tax rolls, it destroyed entire neighborhoods and contributed to a loss of roots for those whose communities were demolished. Since the homeless were often crowded into other less well established communities, neither the needs of the immediate community nor the ultimate needs of the community as a whole were met.

Determining values and establishing preferences

The socially responsive planner should pay systematic attention to determining values and establishing preferences. The planner may do this by employing a combination of the following techniques: market analyses; public opinion polls; anthropological surveys; public hearings; interviews with community leaders; press content analyses; and studies of laws, administrative behavior, and budgets.[23]

Each method offers a means of assessing needs, and each has its limitations. No single method should be used exclusively. Market analysis is a highly technical tool which is better used to determine product preference than to assess attitudes and values. Public opinion polls often reflect an idealized solution rather than an analysis within the reality of fiscal constraints. Anthropological surveys are highly refined tools, but they must be developed and conducted by professionals and thus they require costly time and labor. Public hearings are most often used and are often mandated by federal regulation, but they can have severe limitations. Interviews with community leaders offer insight into community sentiment only if those identified as leaders by the planner are truly representative of the community, which is not necessarily the case. Press content analysis may reveal little more than the preferences of editors and publishers or of the power structure whose views they share. Studies of laws, administrative behavior, and budgets provide an excellent context of reality in which to analyze the findings resulting from employing the other methods.

Whatever methods are used, it is important to remember that the socially responsive planner is not seeking *the* answer—*the* solution—to a social problem.[24] Rather, the planner is developing a process for making choices that reflect and incorporate a series of value judgments.

All of the methods that can be used to identify client needs are dependent on involving the community through a group process that, in turn, involves local people in identifying salient goals and objectives. If this is successfully done the local community will identify the values and issues involved, and those who

Figure 17–3 Cabrini–Green housing complex, Chicago.

have a stake in the issue will be given an opportunity to participate in making resource allocations.[25]

The role of public hearings

The public hearing provides an opportunity for neighborhood residents to comment on proposed policies and programs, and it can serve to identify interests that the planner may have missed. It should be borne in mind, however, that the public hearing should not be relied on as an exclusive method of determining community involvement. At public hearings on the proposed downtown subway in Chicago, alternative plans were carefully presented by competent engineering consultants. However, community people attending wanted to discuss jobs which would be generated regardless of the plan chosen, and the local American Institute of Architects chapter wanted to present alternative plans that would preserve the current elevated structure. There was little discussion of the plans presented to the audience, and they did not understand the costs and benefits of each alternative.

Long before a proposal is prepared for a public hearing, the planner should involve the relevant community in the planning process. This will help ensure that the hearing is a public discussion by informed citizens concerning relevant issues.

Community involvement

For the planner, community involvement is an essential component of a broader process in which the probable effects of social actions are determined. Feedback and evaluation are an integral part of each component of the planning process. Feedback is part of the process of adapting plans and programs to environmental signals.[26] To be effective, however, feedback (including formal report-
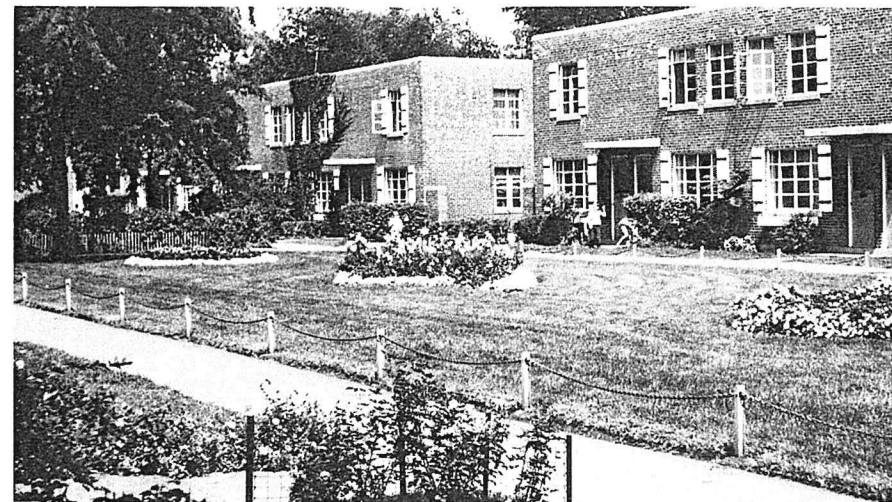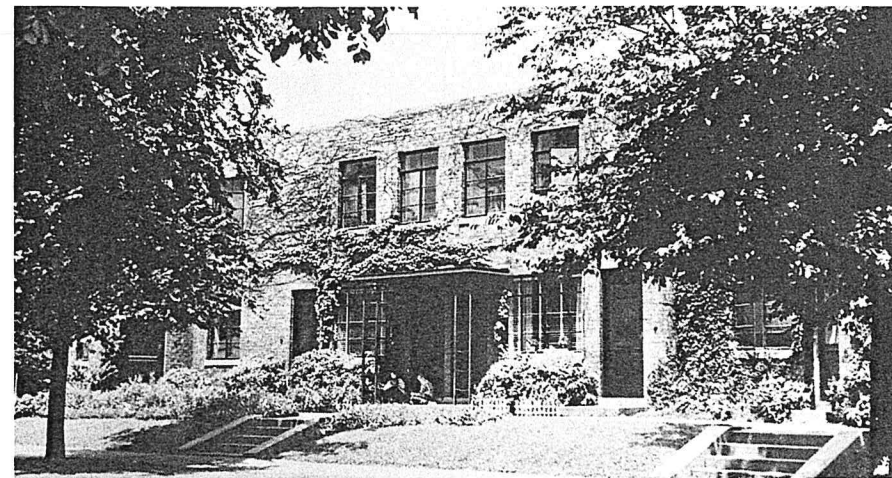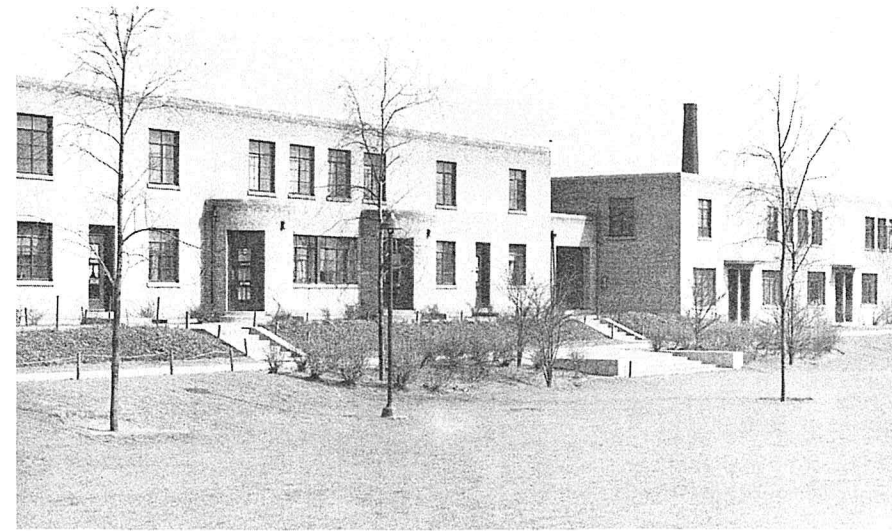
Figure 17–4 Public housing does not have to be isolated, segregated, and overwhelming in scale. These views of Trumbull Park, Chicago, were taken (top to bottom) in 1941, 1951, and 1974.

ing, informal communication, auditing, evaluation, and research) needs to be built into every phase of the task.[27]

Social impact analysis

Social impact analysis, an expansion of the environmental impact analysis methodology developed in the 1970s, is being required increasingly for the funding of projects which will seriously affect the physical, and thus the social, environment of a neighborhood. Such analysis helps to determine how a community will be changed by proposed development or by expansion of existing facilities (see Figure 17–6). The methodology includes: collecting baseline data for the physical, social, and economic characteristics of a neighborhood; identifying the physical and social changes that will occur with the development; evaluating the significance of the changes; and, also, identifying any negative impacts occasioned by the changes and developing strategies to lessen their effects.[28]
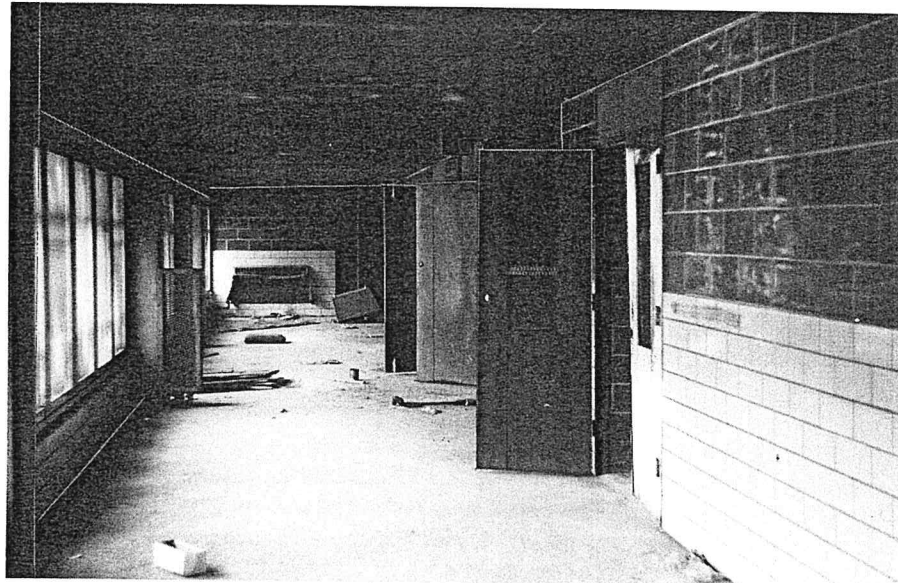

Figure 17–5   This hallway in a public housing development had been planned as a multiuse space for a nursery, playroom, laundry, and social center. This 1969 view shows the reality—space that was unused and shunned by residents who feared for their physical safety. The doors lead to the unused laundry rooms. Social planning in relation to physical planning has advanced significantly in recent years because of the experience gained in this and other housing developments in the United States.

Social impact analysis carried out in conjunction with public hearings, public opinion polls, and citizen surveys can offer a valuable tool to the planner. Social impact analysis, however, while it may be sufficient to fulfill federal government funding requirements, is too much affected by value judgments to provide an accurate *single* measure for the socially responsive planner.

It is difficult to determine precisely what impacts new social policies and programs have on people. One can measure, for example, the rise of reading scores after the institution of new curricula in an elementary school system, but it is more difficult to measure what impact improved reading scores will have on the overall educational achievement and societal adaptation of the students. One can measure the frequency of the use of a health care facility in the community,

but it is a more intricate task to measure the actual improvement in individual health. Yet to plan responsively and effectively, the planner needs to help design systems that do both.

The task becomes infinitely more difficult when the planner is measuring the effect of desirable—but disruptive—public works projects. A new expressway may facilitate shipping for a languishing inner city industrial site, and it may relieve traffic flow which eases the trip to work for many city residents, but it will also disrupt neighborhoods, bring increased pollution, and generate increased automobile congestion.[29] The planner, then, needs to design evaluation systems that can effectively monitor the project before, during, and after its execution, so that evaluation actually affects the design.

Comprehensive planning

The comprehensive plan, when the city or county has one, provides the overall framework for social planning. Planners agree that planning is a process, that the comprehensive plan should not be regarded as a monolith within which policies and programs must conform, and that no comprehensive plan is truly comprehensive in the sense of being complete.[30] Nevertheless, the comprehensive plan is valuable to the socially responsive planner because it provides a well-tested and workable process for establishing priorities and programs.

The physical planner has the luxury of seeing some of his or her work literally "set in concrete," but no comprehensive plan—such as Daniel Burnham's visionary plan for the city of Chicago—is ever complete. The Burnham plan did set the stage for urban growth by establishing priorities for development and by providing community guidelines to preserve community green space, provide for traffic flow, and encourage the growth of neighborhoods.[31] A comprehensive social plan can do no more and, indeed, should do no less.

The planning function may be broken down into two phases. The first phase includes defining objectives, establishing priorities, and identifying resources. The second phase is the specific management of those resources, including the development of guidelines and regulations and the design and implementation of service delivery systems.[32] Although the local government manager must make provisions for effectively carrying out each phase, it may well be that two different persons or agencies—one specializing in planning and the other in administration—may be required to adequately supervise each phase. To provide continuity, both phases must be integral parts of the social plan, and there must be constant coordination and feedback because, when formulation is separated from implementation, the planning may be disjointed and ineffective.

Each step in the planning process contains contradictions which become more evident as the plan becomes more specific. Defining goals in general terms is easier than defining objectives, which may conflict with each other. For example, when the predominantly Puerto Rican community in Chicago's Humbolt Park rioted over alleged inadequacies of education in the local public high school, city officials agreed with the community's demands for higher quality education. Members of the school board disagreed on whether this would best be done by building a new school or by offering special educational programs. Those who agreed that new educational programs were needed disagreed on what these programs should be. The board echoed the confusion in the community and at the same time added to it. When a handsome high school was built and named for the popular Puerto Rican hero Roberto Clemente, its excellent recreational facilities, which had been designed to serve the community, were promptly closed at three in the afternoon, because the school board would not allocate funds for what was essentially community recreation. This was a function of the Chicago Park District, which had not been involved in the planning of the new school. No funds had been allocated for operation of the school's gym-

The checklist for social impact identification provides a systematic way of recording the effects of project proposals on people living in the immediate area, residents of the site, people working at the site, and other users with respect to social well-being.

Components and factors of social well-being	Project and surrounding area effects			Effects under[1]		Nature of effect and subgroup affected
	Yes	Uncertain	No	Worst conditions	Best conditions	
Material well-being						
Income and wealth						
Employment opportunities						
Protection of property from crime or fire						
Opportunities for shopping						
Mobility						
Discretionary time						
Physical well-being						
Health						
Protection of life						
Soundness, adequacy, affordability, and availability of shelter						
Other aspects of physical well-being						
Psychological well-being						
Social participation						
Sense of security						
Recreational experience						
Mental health						
Neighborhood cohesion						
Livability of the neighborhood						
Other aspects of psychological well-being						
Intellectual well-being						
Educational experience						
Other areas of community concern						
Racial integration in:						
the immediate vicinity of the project						
the project site						
other parts of the county						
Economic integration in:						
the immediate vicinity of the project						
the project site						
other parts of the county						
Age integration in:						
the immediate vicinity of the project						
the project site						
other parts of the county						
Life-styles of:						
the people living in the immediate vicinity of the project						

Figure 17–6   Checklist for social impact identification with measures of impact and significance.

Components and factors of social well-being	Project and surrounding area effects			Effects under[1]		Nature of effect and subgroup affected
	Yes	Uncertain	No	Worst conditions	Best conditions	
the residents of the site						
the employees						
users						
other county citizens						
Attainment of any public goals or standards dealing with:						
employment						
transportation						
health						
housing						
crime						
fire						
mental health						
recreation						
education						
libraries						
Socially vulnerable groups (in any of the subject areas listed previously)						
Other areas of community concern (specify)						

The measures of impact and significance provide analytical backup and correspond to the components and factors of social well-being that make up the checklist. A threshold of significant change for any measure is shown by designating upper and lower boundaries of absolute change (such as change in number unemployed) or relative change (such as change in percent of unemployed) which are acceptable. Such thresholds may be based on standards, goals, or rules of thumb. Because of the length of this list only the first page has been reproduced here.

Impact area	Possible impact measure(s)	Direction[2]	Threshold of significant change	Federal, state, and county standards	County and community goals	Rules of thumb
Material well-being						
Income	Change in median income	+				
Adequacy of income	Change in no. and percent of households below the minimum cost of living (for that size household)	−				
Wealth	Percent change in the value of real estate	+				
Availability of jobs	Change in no. of long-term jobs	+				

Figure 17–6   (continued; concluded next page).

Impact area	Possible impact measure(s)	Direc-tion[2]	Threshold of significant change	Federal, state, and county standards	County and community goals	Rules of thumb
	Change in no. of short-term jobs	+				
	Change in no. or percent unemployed	–				
Quality of jobs	Change in no. and percent of people underemployed	–				
	Change in no. and percent of people who are satisfied with their jobs	+				
Experience with property crimes	Amount and percent change in value of property stolen yearly	–				
Experience with property losses from fire	Amount and percent change in value of property lost each year from fires	–				

1 Indicate possible magnitude and direction under the worst and the best sets of conditions: + + very beneficial impact, + beneficial impact, 0 unknown or neutral, – adverse impact, – – very adverse impact.

2 Direction refers to whether an increase in the impact measure is beneficial (+) or adverse (–).

Figure 17–6   (concluded).

nasium after school hours. And long after the entire physical plan was operational, the validity of the special educational programs was still being debated by the school board and the community.

The elements of social planning

The social plan has been defined classically as consisting of four basic elements: task definition, policy development, programming and reporting, and feedback and evaluation.[33] A variation of this classification will be used in the following sections of this chapter, covering task definition, policy development, policy implementation, and evaluation.

Task definition

In the defining of the task, the value preferences of society as a whole as well as those of the target community need to be taken into account. In an age of technology, there is a temptation to leave the identification and solution of social problems either to the social scientist or to the technocrat who designs policies and programs with little, if any, attention to social values. Although technology can be used to help fashion the complex solutions to social problems, even basic social research is permeated with value preferences.[34] For example, technology can be applied in the selection of housing sites by compiling data on soil testing, determining floodplains, or even charting demographic growth; and engineering technology can provide for the inexpensive mass production of housing. But as

the failure of Operation Breakthrough, the 1969 federal government proposal to mass produce inexpensive housing, illustrated, housing choices reflect a complexity of value preferences. Modern technology can help solve the housing crisis only in conjunction with social and political considerations.

Once the task has been defined, the planner needs to formulate policies that will develop the solution to the problem. Policies are standing plans which act as guides to decision making.[35] Since policy formulation is the result of task definition, it cannot be done independently of the political system. Ideally, the planner interacts with the policymakers and the community in addressing the defined task.[36]

Policy development

The first step in developing social policy is to focus on the community and its service network, and then to define the existing system in light of policy alternatives. The planner must look to the system as a whole, since alteration of any part of it will affect other areas. It should be remembered that individuals and their problems do not necessarily align themselves with existing agency programs. For example, the creation of a meals on wheels program may encourage the elderly to live at home and postpone or dispense with institutional care. This, in turn, may require the provision of other services, such as health care or the adaptation of a transportation network to facilitate accessibility to these services. The planner should look at the components of the problem and the ways in which these components fit (or do not fit) together. It is then possible to determine the role which individual agencies will play in meeting needs.

In addition to formulating policy, the planner needs to assure that the community—particularly the target population—has access to integrated services. Once policies have been fully developed in conjunction with the task and in the context of the community and the network of services available, the plan should be translated into specific programs with appropriate goals, timetables, and financing.

For example, communities increasingly define public transportation as a public service worthy of local government subsidy. Public transportation is a labor-intensive industry requiring large capital outlays. Transportation officials readily agree that if the service is provided only at the rush hour along well-traveled routes it would generate profits. On the other hand, in order to provide community access to jobs and services, many unprofitable routes must be run at all times—and no route runs profitably during the late night hours. For a sizable segment of the community, however, it is the off-peak hour service that provides access to badly needed jobs. To argue that off-peak service is cost-effective on the basis of artificial tortured data on wages earned by those riding is an exercise in futility. In fact, such routes are costly but they reflect a value choice which holds that mobility and access to employment for all its residents is prized by the community.

Policy implementation

Policy implementation is the interpretation and translation of social planning into specific actions and programs. In identifying and defining the policy issues for programming choices, the planner needs to choose levels and kinds of services among public and private agencies; assign responsibility to relevant government agencies; and recommend appropriate levels of government to finance the various parts of the program. In implementing the plan, the planner needs to coordinate policy and programs so that one reflects the other with respect to the resources available in the community and the governmental and political processes. For example, in developing a housing plan for a specific neighborhood,

the planner will have to coordinate the actual physical planning of housing with social considerations contributing to community development. This coordination will determine the placement and density of housing, the placement of community facilities, and the provision of open space.

Failure to coordinate all elements of the plan produces physical planning which does not meet community needs. For example, a consulting firm was developing a plan to meet the housing needs of a predominantly low income neighborhood in a small city in Illinois. The planners proposed an ambitious and handsome development of town houses and apartments to be designed by one of the area's leading architects. City officials, showing unusual social awareness and sensitivity, commissioned a separate survey of neighborhood residents and learned that not only were the majority senior citizens but also over 80 percent owned their own homes free of mortgages. These people understandably had no desire to assume the responsibility of moving and assuming mortgage payments. Furthermore, the majority of residents were largely satisfied with their present housing and wanted available funds to be spent for renovation of individual homes. Plans for the ambitious town house development were permanently shelved.

Appropriate government agencies, as well as the community at large, should be included in the decision-making process. Experts including engineers, architects, real estate developers, and social agency professionals should be assigned roles in such a way that they contribute to the final decision and that no one group arbitrarily predetermines or dominates the outcome.

Evaluation

Evaluation criteria need to be built into every phase of social planning to justify program needs. Newer technical schemes, notably decision theory, can be used to handle uncertainties, and value preferences can be incorporated into such decisions.[37]

All too often those in charge of social service agencies, struggling with inadequate budgets, feel little but frustration when public works and community development agencies receive a seemingly disproportionate amount of fiscal resources. However, these agencies can offer hard evidence—often in the construction of actual projects—to justify their expenditures. The social service agency, instead of establishing definite goals and evaluation criteria for measuring success in meeting these goals, merely points to a general improvement in the quality of life.

While physical planners document their progress with pictures of water filtration plants, schools, and auditoriums, social planners share photographs of smiling young children or blissful senior citizens sitting on a park bench. Some staffs of social agencies resolutely refuse to establish specific evaluation mechanisms and accuse city councils and state legislatures of not caring for the poor. Although the effects of social planning cannot be measured as easily as miles of poured concrete, the social planner must be similarly careful in accounting for funds expended and in evaluating the effects of programs financed.

Conclusion

Effective planning is essential if communities are to make the greatest use of limited resources. For planning to be effective, it must address the needs of both the individual and society. Thus, effective city planning must embody physical, economic, and social planning. Indeed, public officials find it difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between determining the physical location of industrial parks, providing economic incentives for industries to locate in those parks, and training an adequate labor force. The results of such industrial locations cut

across physical, economic, and social lines. They include increasing claims on water and energy resources and resultant environmental effects, an increased property tax base, jobs, and added income for community residents.

Although local officials may assign responsibility for physical, economic, and social planning to different agencies, the work of these agencies needs to be carefully integrated for maximum effectiveness. This does not mean that every physical planner should become a social planner, or that the socially responsive planner must be able to interpret engineering specifications. It does mean that dialogue must be established and maintained and that each professional must understand the opportunities and possibilities as well as the limits and constraints of the planning process.

Furthermore, in the society of the 1980s this integration of physical, economic, and social planning needs to be done by local governments. While planners may support the need for a national urban policy, the reality is that such a policy cannot exist unless it is so general as to need individual interpretation by each community to translate it into defined tasks, specific policies, and workable programs.

It may well be that the way things are is the way things should be. Individuals in American society resist planning by the federal government. Thus, integrated planning for the welfare of the community as a whole rests with local government. The federal government formulates policy and programs with guidelines to provide funding. It is up to the individual community to choose among these programs according to its needs.

While the local government is the appropriate entity for determining local need, local government resources for social services and programs are limited. It is local government which should identify all resources in federal, state, and local government and in the private sector for meeting those needs and which should assume leadership in the formulation of social policy. This is not to say that local government must actually deliver all of the services. A community can fulfill its responsibility to its residents simply by ensuring that adequate services are being provided.

The integration of social, economic, and physical planning should result in nonservice solutions to many social problems. For example, more industrial jobs in a community should diminish the number of unemployed dependents on social services; physical planning which preserves community stability could result in reduced demand for mental health services such as family counseling; and zoning for residential and commercial locations can result in a community that has street traffic in both daytime and evening hours, which could reduce street crime.

As has been emphasized above, the local government should assume responsibility for identifying the needs of its citizens and integrating social, economic, and physical planning to enhance the quality of life and minimize social problems. It should define tasks and develop policies that will ensure adequate provision of social services by the appropriate agencies. Obviously, the capacity for social service delivery differs from one municipality to another, but all cities and counties have the responsibility for assuring that such services are delivered.

The mistake many local governments make is that of isolating social planning in a separate department and defining its work as the traditional social welfare function of providing services to the poor. Although a large municipal government may assign physical planning to a department of development and planning and social planning to a department of human resources, in reality physical planning is integrated into all other functions—in agencies such as the zoning board and the planning commission, and even into the design of schools for the school board, clinics for the board of health, and rapid transit for the transportation department. For social planning to be truly responsive and effective, it is essential that it be integrated with other planning operations and institution-

alized in a manner that ensures its status as an integral part of every local government policy and program.

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5 Ida Merriam, *Social Welfare Expenditure under Public Programs in the United States (1929–1966)*, U.S. Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics, Research Report no. 25 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968).

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8 League of California Cities, *Social Element Planning in California* (Los Angeles: League of California Cities, 1977), p. 35.

9 Ibid.

10 Morris and Binstock, *Feasible Planning for Social Change*, p. 89.

11 Neil Gilbert and Harry Specht, *Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 5–6.

12 Kahn, *Theory and Practice of Social Planning*, p. 9.

13 Kurt Finsterbusch and C. P. Wolf, *Methodology of Social Impact Assessment* (Stroudsburg, Pa.: Dowden, Hutchinson, and Ross, 1977) p. 182.

14 See: William B. Eddy, "Managing for Quality of Life," paper presented at the Conference on Managing Mature Cities, sponsored by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation and the city of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, 9–10 June 1977. Eddy proposes a psychological contract between the citizen and his or her city government to help provide realistic expectations in determining both ends and means of policies affecting the quality of life; he also suggests ways of ascertaining citizen needs and briefly discusses management strategies for implementation.

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18 Social planning and policy development

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first outlines and analyzes the basic framework of social planning. It offers a functional division of various levels of decision making, and then outlines technological, organizational, and financial factors influencing the most pertinent components. It concludes with a description of the needs dimension of this framework. The second section offers a summary breakdown of the methodological approaches to social services planning. The third section brings the preceding discussion into practical focus by noting the managerial specifics molding the operational role of local governments in human services planning. There is also a concluding section which discusses some issues and problems, as well as roles and functions, and also discusses equity and justice in the delivery of human services.[1]

Throughout the discussion the chapter will be guided by three major themes, and it is as well to make these explicit at the outset. The first theme is that social planning in the contemporary world is far more demanding than physical planning. This is not because physical planning is more susceptible to quantification (although this provides part of the explanation) but rather because most physical planning has been naive. It has been largely preoccupied with capital investment decisions and their associated locational sites and buildings. There has been a general failure to address the host of concerns about who uses such facilities and under what auspices. The planning of school, library, park, and hospital dominated health systems has suffered from this limited vision. Those who dismiss social services planning as "soft" and opt for the more certain world of physical planning do themselves and their communities a major disservice. The operating problems of communication, funding, programming, and management need to be an integral part of initial planning decisions.

The second major theme is that planning, for either services or buildings, is comprised of two principal interrelated dimensions. It is both a thinking process and a sociopolitical process. While this factor has been overlooked in physical planning efforts of the past, the growth of social concerns during and since the 1960s indicates that the participatory nature of public policy decision making cannot be overlooked. The arena for social services delivery is crowded, competitive, and not always logical. Those entering it have to be prepared to deal with a difficult and often bewildering environment. Citizen participation in planning is not only an expression of democratic ideology; it is also a necessity for coping with the swirl of private interests associated with social services.

The third basic theme of the chapter is that human services planning must take into account all structural and process elements of service delivery. Social services planning is concerned with competing theories of service delivery, differing criteria for resource allocation, differing concepts of types of service to be offered, complex institutional and cultural frameworks, and the attendant diffused distribution of power and resources. Beyond this, social services planning requires specific recognition of tasks, roles, and skills among those delivering service. Finally, many human services systems have developed complex financing mechanisms that have to be taken into account by key decision makers and their staffs.