



GREAT LAKES

MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

SERIES

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TOWARD A NATIONAL POPULATION
REDISTRIBUTION POLICY:
SOME POLICY ISSUES

BY

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Ithaca, New York

NEW YORK STATE SEA GRANT PROGRAM

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FOREWORD

One of the major tasks before us as we move into the end of the present century is bridging the gap that persists between the generation of new knowledge at a rate unmatched in human history and the effective application of this knowledge to pressing social and environmental problems. As population grows, industry and agriculture expand and resource consumption increases, the residuals of production and consumption place ever greater stresses on the physical environment. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Great Lakes Basin.

We in North America have reached that point at which environmental quality has taken its place in the arena of public issues. Citizens are now applying pressures on their governments as a means of defending certain values that had lesser priority in earlier days. While recognizing that a beginning has been made, the facts of the matter are that we are not managing well our natural resources and that progress will continue to be slow and halting unless the requisite political will for some fundamental changes emerges.

There are a number of common factors that account for our inability to respond more effectively to the challenges to managing not only our water and land resources, but other social problems as well. A listing of a few of the more significant factors affecting resource management include: the diffused public interest; differing views about national priorities; inadequate legislation and enforcement; special interest politics; fragmentation of responsibilities within and among governments; and organizational jealousies. These elements operate individually and jointly in ways that seriously impede public programs that are designed to yield effective management of our resources.

There is, however, a more fundamental contributive factor and that is our failure to modernize the institutional structure. The institutional problem is defined as that of determining what kinds of government organizations are needed and how these organizations should be related to each other in order to achieve the most effective management of the natural resources of the Great Lakes Basin at the lowest possible economic, political and social costs. There is, of course, an existing institutional apparatus involving all levels of government in both Canada and the United States. This present structure, however, is not the product of any United States - Canadian long-term plan for the Great Lakes Basin. On the contrary, the

present mix of governmental departments, agencies, boards and commissions simply evolved over the years at a rate and to an extent that were determined by the changing limits of political feasibility in each country.

For the past two years, the Water Resources and Marine Sciences Center at Cornell University has been engaged in a series of studies of the institutional problems in the Great Lakes Basin. Perhaps the most important conclusion of our studies is that the present institutional structure for resource management in the Great Lakes Basin is inadequate and is in need of fundamental revision.

The Cornell project focusing on the institutional problems of the Great Lakes consisted of three related yet distinct research efforts.

The first commenced in early 1971 when a group of twenty graduate students representing a wide range of disciplines investigated the water and related land management problems of the Lake Ontario Basin. The approach of this graduate seminar was to attempt a comprehensive, multiple resource-use investigation which included an examination of the social, economic and political factors peculiar to the Lake Ontario Basin. The objective of the group was to consider the need for, and the formulation of an improved management scheme for Lake Ontario. A background report (350 pages) was prepared and a summary report, The Management of Lake Ontario - A Preliminary Report Proposing an International Management Organization was distributed to the Governors and Provincial Ministers Conference on Great Lakes Environmental Problems at Mackinac Island, Michigan in July 1971.

The summary report concluded, among other things, that the improved management of Lake Ontario (and by extension, all of the Great Lakes) would require either a substantial strengthening of the International Joint Commission or the establishment of an altogether new binational agency to supplant the former in the Great Lakes Basin. The report recommended a joint Canadian - United States study in this matter and, as an interim action, a reference to the International Joint Commission authorizing the Commission to establish on a trial basis a management office with rather extensive coordinative responsibilities for the water and related land resources of the lower lakes region.

The graduate student group sought, in effect, a strengthened binational apparatus, preferably one based on the existing International Joint Commission, authorized to carry out a surveillance and mediation function in the lower lakes.

Surveillance is defined in this instance as essentially an information collection, data interpretation and dissemination role. It is an activity concerned with problem definition. Surveillance includes a continuing responsibility to be aware of problems and alert to future developments. Mediation, on the other hand, encompasses the development of joint programs to attack common problems. It involves also the promulgation of regulations, schedules and uniform standards, along with appropriate means to secure implementation of those regulatory mechanisms.

While some consideration might be given to assigning a joint agency a third function - that of control, particularly in the cases of water pollution or air pollution control, that does not appear to be a feasible direction in which to proceed, at least at the present time. The governments will be better able to determine their positions with respect to vesting a joint body with an effective control function once the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement signed by Prime Minister Trudeau and President Nixon in April 1972 has had time to operate and be evaluated.

The second phase of the Cornell project began in late 1971. In order to further test the tentative findings of the graduate student group and also to encourage a binational focus on the problem, plans were laid for a six-month seminar comprised of interested faculty from universities in Canada and the United States.

A Canada- United States University Seminar was formed by various faculty from some twenty universities and colleges in Canada and the United States. The Seminar met in three formal sessions during the period December 1971 - June 1972. Using the information and data assembled by the Cornell graduate student group as a starting point, the Canada - United States University Seminar took up the question of improving the two countries' capabilities for managing the water and related land resources of the Great Lakes. A principal objective of the faculty group was to produce a report which would promote discussion in both countries on the problems of the Great Lakes. Another purpose was to set forth in general terms the available alternatives for improving the management of the water and related land resources of the Great Lakes Basin.

A final report of the Canada - United States University Seminar has been written and the findings (1) indicate that there is a need for a modified international arrangement to cope more effectively with the existing and emerging resource-use problems affecting the Great Lakes Basin, and (2) present three alternative institutional approaches as possible guides for further discussion and debate in

Canada and the United States.

The third phase of the Cornell research effort on the Great Lakes Basin consisted of an attempt to develop further the idea of a binational management office with wide coordinative responsibilities for the Lake Erie and Ontario Basins. Concurrently with the Canada - United States University Seminar (December 1971 - June 1972), a second graduate student group at Cornell University investigated, under the guidance of Professors Leonard B. Dworsky, C. Donald Gates and David J. Allee, selected elements of a hypothetical joint management office. As part of this effort, ten graduate students completed seven theses for advanced degrees, together with three research papers on some facet of a joint regional management office.

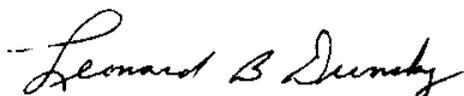
The type of joint office conceptualized is one designed to carry out a coordinative role in the management of a wide range of resource-use problems. The list of such problems used in the investigation included: water quality; municipal/industrial water supply; agricultural water supply; lake level control; hydropower; flood control; navigation; shoreline erosion; fish and wildlife protection; water-based recreation; solid waste disposal; air quality; economic development; agriculture and transportation.

In our attempt to simulate a Great Lakes operations office jointly established and operated by Canada and the United States, we endeavored to examine a selected number of those problems which both the designers of such an office as well as those who are ultimately charged with its direction would be obliged to address.

An obvious initial consideration, for example, would be the structure and functions of a modified joint agency. This topic is dealt with in Natural Resources Management in the Great Lakes Basin by James A. Burkholder. A primary task of an operations office would be the collection, interpretation and dissemination of data and information pertaining to the Basin. This important area is treated in An Information System for the Management of Lake Ontario by Dale Reynolds. The role of public participation in the activities of the proposed Basin operations office is examined in detail in Public Participation in Water and Land Management by Arvid L. Thomsen. Demographic trends and problems are traced on a national scale and then examined with respect to the Lake Ontario Basin as a case study in Toward a National Population Redistribution Policy: Some Policy Issues by Lawrence W. Saunders. The problems of

water quality management of a lake basin are considered in Opportunities for Water Quality Management: A Case Study of the Lake Erie Basin by Ralph P. Meckel. Special problems of environmental quality management along an international boundary are the subject of Environmental Management of the Great Lakes International Boundary Areas: A Case Study of the Niagara Urban Region by Donald R. Kisicki. The opportunities and problems associated with Federal and state grants for wastewater treatment facilities are discussed in two case studies in Cost Sharing in Water Pollution Abatement Facilities - Some Economic and Political Consequences by James M. Foster. Land use management as an integral part of the overall planning process is the subject of a paper Land Management in the Lake Ontario Basin by James M. Wolf. In his paper entitled Management of the Biological Resources of the Lake Ontario Basin, Douglas M. Carlson provides a comprehensive survey of the biota of the lake basin as well as an assessment of present conservation management practices. Finally, in his paper Management of Water Supply, Navigation, and Power Programs, Martin J. Murphy focuses on those water uses in the Lake Ontario Basin and the potential role of a joint operations office with respect to municipal water supply, navigation and hydropower in a new institutional framework.

These papers, of which this by Lawrence W. Saunders is one, are offered with the hope that they will contribute usefully to the improved management of the Great Lakes of Canada and the United States.



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January 1973

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The author was born in Detroit, Michigan on March 26, 1939 and presently resides in Dickinson, Texas. He attended the University of Houston where he received his B.B.A. in 1970 majoring in Economics and minoring in Mathematics and Physics. During his enrollment at the University of Houston, he was a full time employee of the U.S. Army, Corps of Engineers and presently has 16 years experience with this organization. The author entered the Masters Program in Agricultural Economics at Cornell University in September 1971. He was supported by the Corps of Engineers' Planning Fellowship Program during the year of his studies and thesis research. On September 1, 1972, he will return to the Corps' District Office in Galveston, Texas as a Regional Economist in the Planning Branch.

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Finally, I find it difficult to find the right words of appreciation for my wife, Judy, and our children for their tireless patience and support and who have unwaveringly encouraged me throughout my long years of schooling.

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INTRODUCTION

During the past 70 years we have seen the transition of our nation from one of rural in character to that of urban and now to megalopolis. The change is the result of the development of a highly efficient agricultural sector and an even more highly efficient industrial sector. This process has made the United States the wealthiest and perhaps the most sophisticated society in the world. However, the success of this transition has not been without cost. We need only to look at the poor, aged, blacks and other disadvantaged groups in both rural and urban areas to see the human costs. Large segments of the population have been left behind resulting in what I would term a "human technology gap" which I define as the gap that exists between our sophisticated, technically oriented society and its norms and the society that exists for the under-privileged groups.

In addition, vast sections of the nation have and are becoming depopulated as the population migrates to a relatively few large metropolitan areas. We see the ever increasing congestion in our metropolitan areas and environmental degradation that concentration of this type results in. We also see the various social and economic problems that are related with our quest for a so called "great society."

Within the last decade, these have become salient issues. The Federal Government has begun its "war on poverty" and the social problems poverty causes, and has begun action to clean up the nations environment.

In the United States internal migration has been by far the most important process contributing to the present patterns of population distribution. Regional differentials in fertility and mortality have contributed to differential growth, but birth and death rates do not vary

substantially from region to region in this country.¹ Those areas with high birth rates have generally had high rates of out-migration with the one partially offsetting the other. Demographer Everett Lee points out that

the redistribution of population that has taken place through migration can be described very generally as consisting of three broad movements. The first and greatest was the migration from east to west which consolidated the country and dispelled threats to American sovereignty. Even as the West was populated, the second movement, that to the cities, set in, transforming us from a nation of farmers into an industrial power. The third great movement was the migration from the South to the North, a movement which became primarily a migration of Negroes.²

All three movements continue today though all have abated somewhat.

During the 1960's some shifts occurred in migration patterns. While the East South Central portion of the South continued to experience heavy net out-migration, it was offset by even more substantial gains in the South Atlantic portion. As a result, the South as a whole experienced a net gain in migration for the first time since the 1880's. The Pacific region continued receiving more in-migrants than any part of the country and the largely rural West North Central region continued to empty out. Pennsylvania, Mississippi, West Virginia and Alabama all experienced net migration losses of over 200,000 during the sixties. California gained over 2 million migrants and Florida gained over 1 million during the decade. Other states with substantial in-migration include New Jersey, Maryland, Washington, Arizona, Colorado and Connecticut.³ Sociologist Philip Hauser points out that

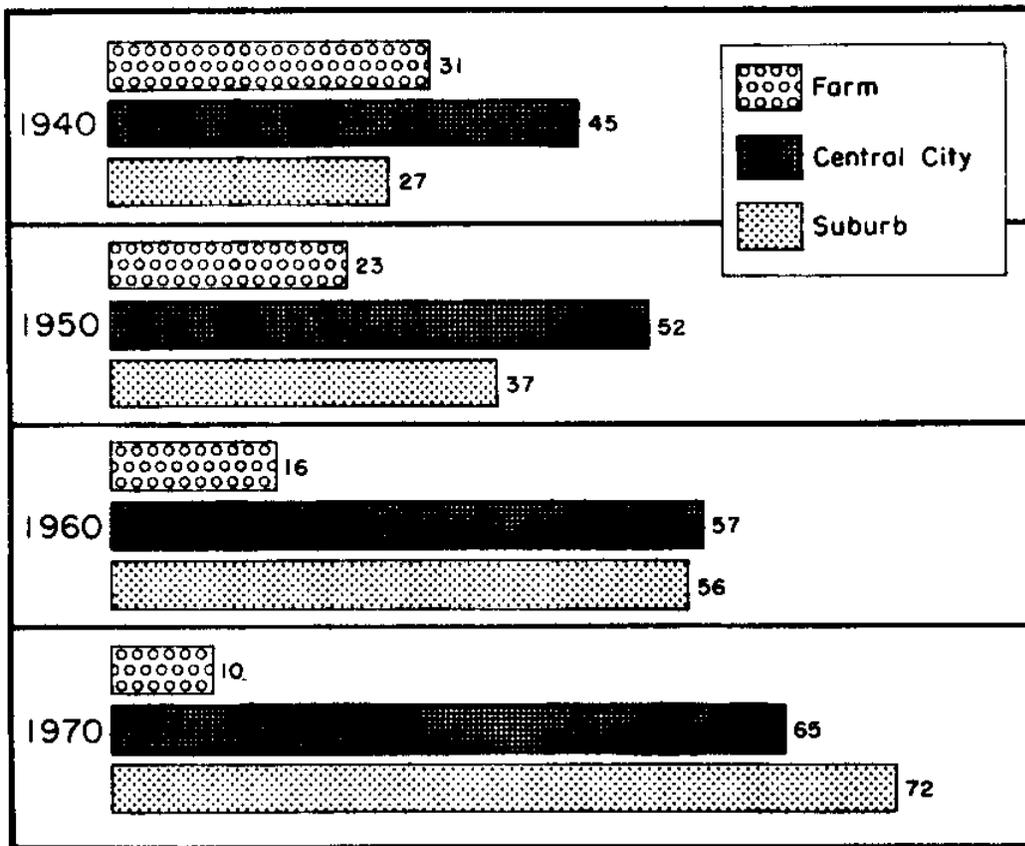
the urbanization of population continues, but there has been a shift in the main currents of population redistribution. It can no longer be described as a combination of movements from the East to the West and from the South to the North. Rather it is a movement from the interior of the country to the peripheries, along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, in the areas bordering on the Great Lakes and along the Pacific

Coast. In the growing areas there has been an increasing concentration of industry, while the economic base of the agricultural interior continues to be eroded.⁴

Another trend which is national in character though regional in scope is the move to the suburbs. In the last 30 years suburbs have grown almost 3 times, while central cities have gained less than 50 percent of their 1940 population and the farm population has fallen to one-third its 1940 size. (See Figure 1) The result being that if the growth of suburbs continues to be strong, virtually all of the future national population growth will be synonymous with suburban growth.

In the U.S. where we take the freedom of movement to be a right, the geographical distribution of our population is the result of a combination of decisions by individuals and families, corporations and institutions and by governments representing communities and society. These decisions are made based on differing objectives which are often conflicting. In deciding where to locate, individuals may seek to maximize economic opportunities, personal freedom and comfort or proximity to friends, relatives, or certain social and cultural institutions. These decisions are all within broader context of the natural and technological environments that exist in the nation. The industrial revolution and the advent of the private passenger car have provided both the impetus and opportunity for the patterns of distribution we have today. Within the context of climate and technology, economic, political and social factors are at work as well. Corporations and public institutions, which shape many of the economic opportunities to which individuals respond, also make locational decisions, based on factors such as the availability of a skilled or cheap labor force, the accessibility of markets and raw materials and the structure of governmental and market constraints.

FIGURE 1
FARM, CITY AND SUBURBAN POPULATION, 1940-1970
(MILLIONS)



Source: The Population Bulletin, Oct. 1971, Where Will the Next 50 Million Americans Live; (Washington; Population Reference Bureau Inc.), p. 9.

In the first chapter of this report, I will attempt to determine if, in fact, the nation has a population distribution problem. I intend to investigate the determinants of the present pattern of distribution, and the positive and negative attributes associated with this pattern. I intend to look at the social, economic, governmental and environmental issues raised by the present pattern and determine the future pattern if the present trends are allowed to continue.

In the second chapter I intend to investigate a number of major Federal Government programs in order to determine how they may have or may not have contributed to the present pattern of population distribution and how the explicit goals of these programs have had significant implicit results. The basic assumption here is that the Federal Government is the only entity within the country that has the power and resources to deal with the social, political, economic and environmental structure of the nation.

The third chapter of my research is centered around identifying the possible elements that could be integrated into an overall National Population Redistribution Policy. Recognizing that such a policy must be flexible, acceptable and workable not only to the Federal Government but also to the courts and to the many corporate and individual interests that will be affected by such a policy, I will seek elements that could be interchanged within an overall strategy that would account for sectional differences in the United States and changing social and political norms. In addition, I attempt to identify a general framework for measuring the political and social feasibility of each of these elements in order to identify the pressure points where Federal Government leverage can be applied.

In chapter 4, I will attempt to develop an overall strategy for population redistribution and how each of these elements previously discussed can be integrated into this strategy.

The final chapter will include my conclusions and recommendations with respect to a National Population Redistribution Policy. I will also attempt to formulate a general organizational structure that could be used by the Federal Government that could effectively 1) identify potential problems associated with population redistribution and economic growth, 2) develop comprehensive plans for solving these problems and 3) implement various segments of the plans.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

INTRODUCTION

¹In the 9 regions defined by the Bureau of the Census, the death rate per thousand population varies from 8.2 to 10.3. In 6 regions, the rate varies from 9.4 to 10.3. The birth rate per thousand population varies from 16.4 to 19.9. In 6 of the 9 regions, the rate varies from 16.4 to 18.0.

²Everett S. Lee, "Internal Migration and Population Redistribution in the United States," Population the Vital Revolution, Ronald Freedman, editor, (New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1964), pp. 124-125.

³U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1971 (92d edition; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971) Table No. 10, p. 11.

⁴Philip M. Hauser, "The Census of 1970," Scientific American, Vol. 225 #1, (July, 1971), pp. 17-25.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION PROBLEM

POPULATION GROWTH¹

In the brief history of our nation, the United States has undergone something of a demographic revolution. From its discovery up until 1900 our nations population grew from about 1 million to about 76 million.² In the ensuing 70 years, it has grown to about 205 million,³ an increase of 129 million persons.

This growth is the result of significant changes in all three components of population growth, namely; fertility, mortality and migration.

(See Figure 2)

The first factor, fertility, or birthrate is a simple measure that indicates the average level of yearly births in the nation. There are, of course, more sophisticated measures by age groups, marital status, race, etc., but the measures used here are simply intended to give a broad perspective to population growth.

In 1910 the birth rate in the United States was 30 births per thousand population⁴ and had steadily declined through the depression years to about 18 births per 1000. Then it happened, the "baby boom," birthrates in the late forties and fifties skyrocketed to a maximum of 27 births per 1000 population and has since declined again to about 18 births per 1000 population. (See Figure 3)

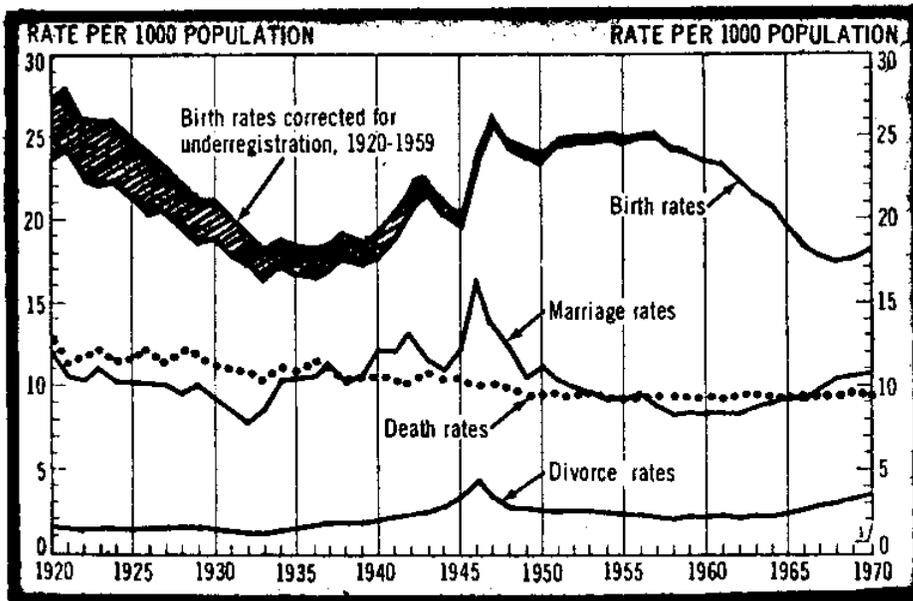
The significance of the baby boom is not over. It is like a wave of humanity that will push through all stages of the life cycle creating tremendous problems in its path such as primary, secondary and college education, jobs, housing, and retirement and then the void when they're gone. How can we, as a nation, reasonably plan for this surge?

FIGURE 2

Demographic Perspective of 20th Century United States		
	Around 1900	Around 1970
Population	76 million	205 million
Life expectancy	47 years	70 years
Median age	23 years	28 years
Births per 1000 population	32	18
Deaths per 1000 population	17	9
Immigrants per 1000 population	8	2
Annual growth	1¾ million	2¼ million
Growth rate	2.3 percent	1.1 percent

Source: The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, Population Growth and the American Future (Washington:Galley Edition, 1972) p. Galley 1-3.

FIGURE 3
BIRTH, DEATH, MARRIAGE, AND DIVORCE RATES
1920-1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1971. (92d edition.) Washington, D.C., 1971, Fig. IV, p. 47.

The second factor which contributes to the rate of growth in a nation is that of reducing the death rate or mortality. During the last 70 year period, due to significant advances in the field of medicine, in personal hygiene, and water supply and waste treatment the death rate has declined from about 17 per 1000 population in 1900 to 9 per 1000 in 1970. Because of this, the average life expectancy increased by 23 years, 47 to 70 years. (See Figures 2 & 3)

The change in mortality rates is attributed mainly to the reduction of infant mortality and these rates are presently so low for a large segment of the population that any future increases in the life expectancy of man will have to come by reducing the incidence of death from major diseases.

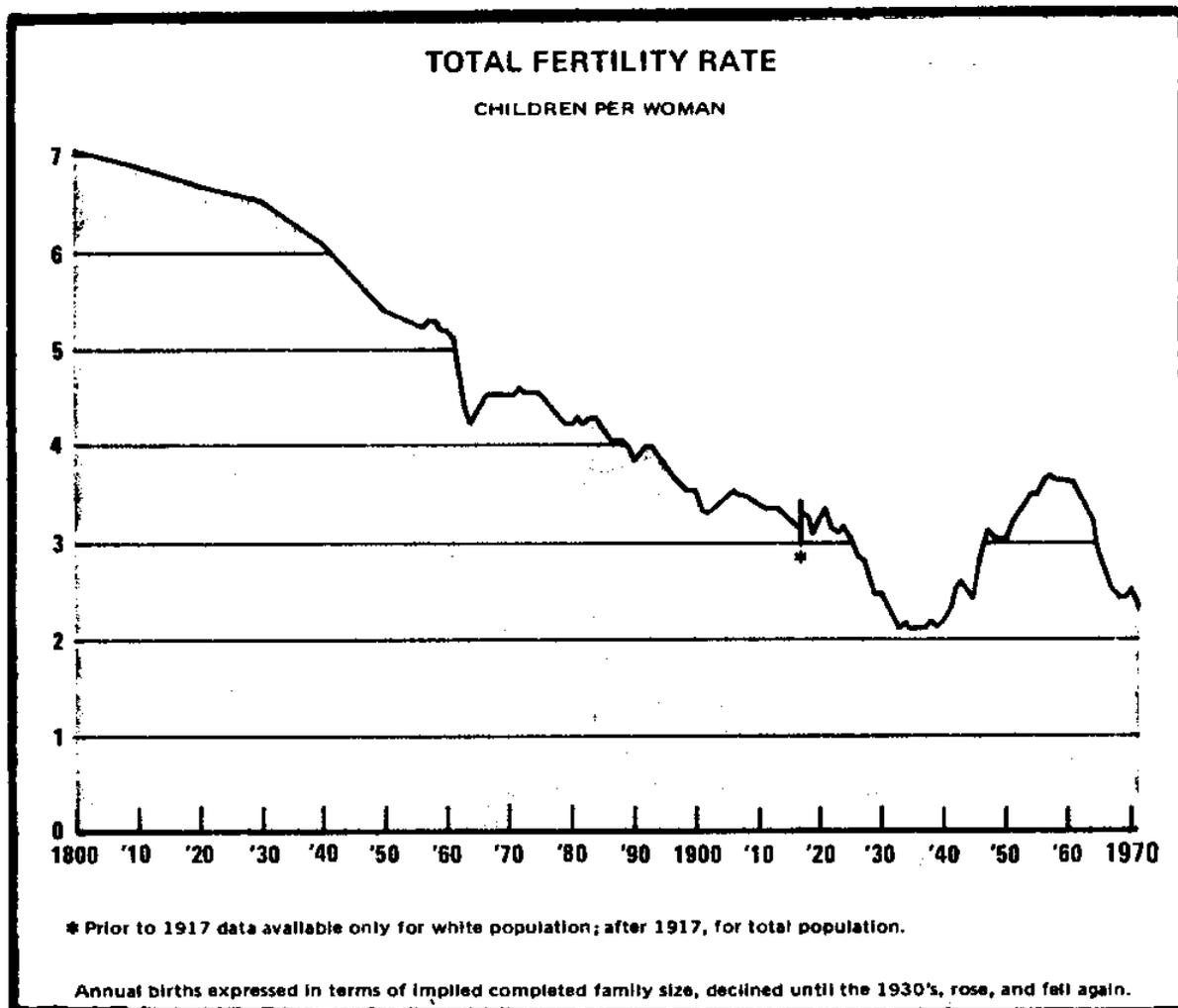
The third component of national growth is migration or in this case immigration. According to the Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, (hereafter referred to as the 'Commission') "20 million more people have moved into this country than (have moved) out of it. Approximately 40 percent of the population growth in the first decade of this century was attributable to immigration."⁵ (emphasis added) It suffices to say that the impact of this 40 percent over the last 60 or so years has been significant in terms of population growth. During the 1930's, however, more people left the United States than immigrated to it, but since WWII and during the 1960's immigration has accounted for about 16 percent of our national growth.⁶

The net effect of the birth rate minus mortality rate plus immigration has been that the population growth rate for the nation has generally declined from 2.1 percent in the early 1900's to 0.7 percent in the 30's to 1.9 percent in the 50's to the present level of 1.1 percent.⁷ Even though our rate of growth is presently relatively low, the 205 million

population base will add about 2.25 million people per year. During the next 30 years this means an increase in population of at least 70 million persons, but most likely 100 million persons.⁸ Whats even more significant is the fact that even if the fertility rate was at replacement level, that is 2.11 children per family,⁹ the population would still increase by about 70 million as a result of the reaching of maturity of children born during the baby boom. (See Figures 4&5)

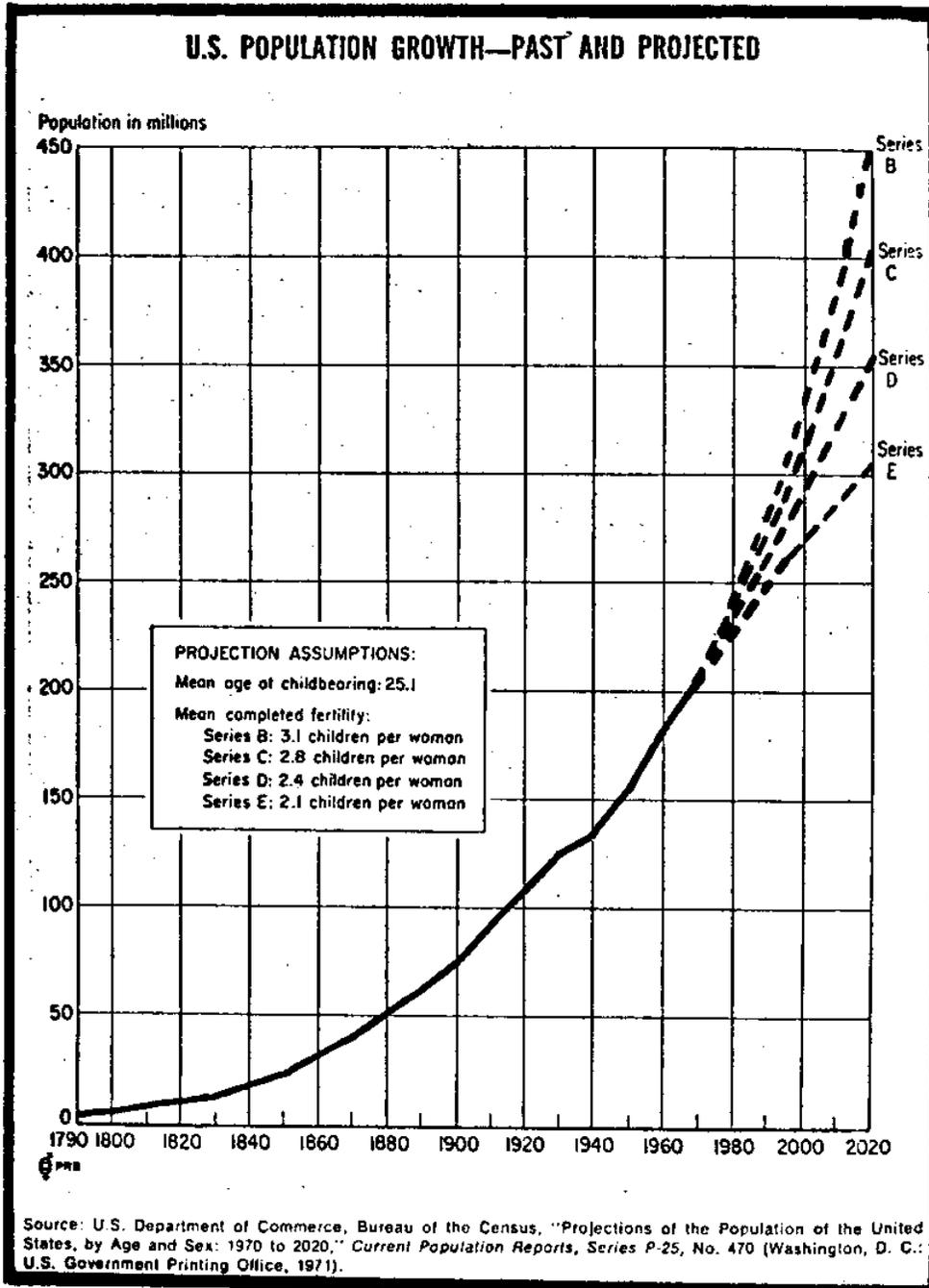
However, given the increased potential of the "boom babies" one would expect the rate of births to rise and, in fact, they did from 1968 to 1970 from 17.5 to 18.2 per thousand. But in 1971 something happened, the birth rate dropped to 17.3 per thousand contrary to the expectations of most experts.¹⁰ What caused the decline? Basically there are two factors, the first relates to young couples delaying having a family in order to complete their education or obtaining financial security prior to beginning a family. This is evidenced somewhat by the rise in the average age of child bearing. The second factor, which is significant, is that younger couples expect to have smaller families. A study by the Bureau of Census used by the Commission of women 18 to 24, indicates that women in this age group expect to have an average of 2.4 children before they complete their families.¹¹ It should be noted, however, that there is usually a difference between the number of children actually wanted and the number actually born. The number of unwanted births could be significant particularly with the "boom babies" reaching child bearing age. The population could increase from a minimum of 45 million if fertility continues to decline to about 150 million if it increases significantly.

FIGURE 4



Source: The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op. cit., p. Galley 1-5.

FIGURE 5



Source: *The Population Bulletin*, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION - METROPOLITAN

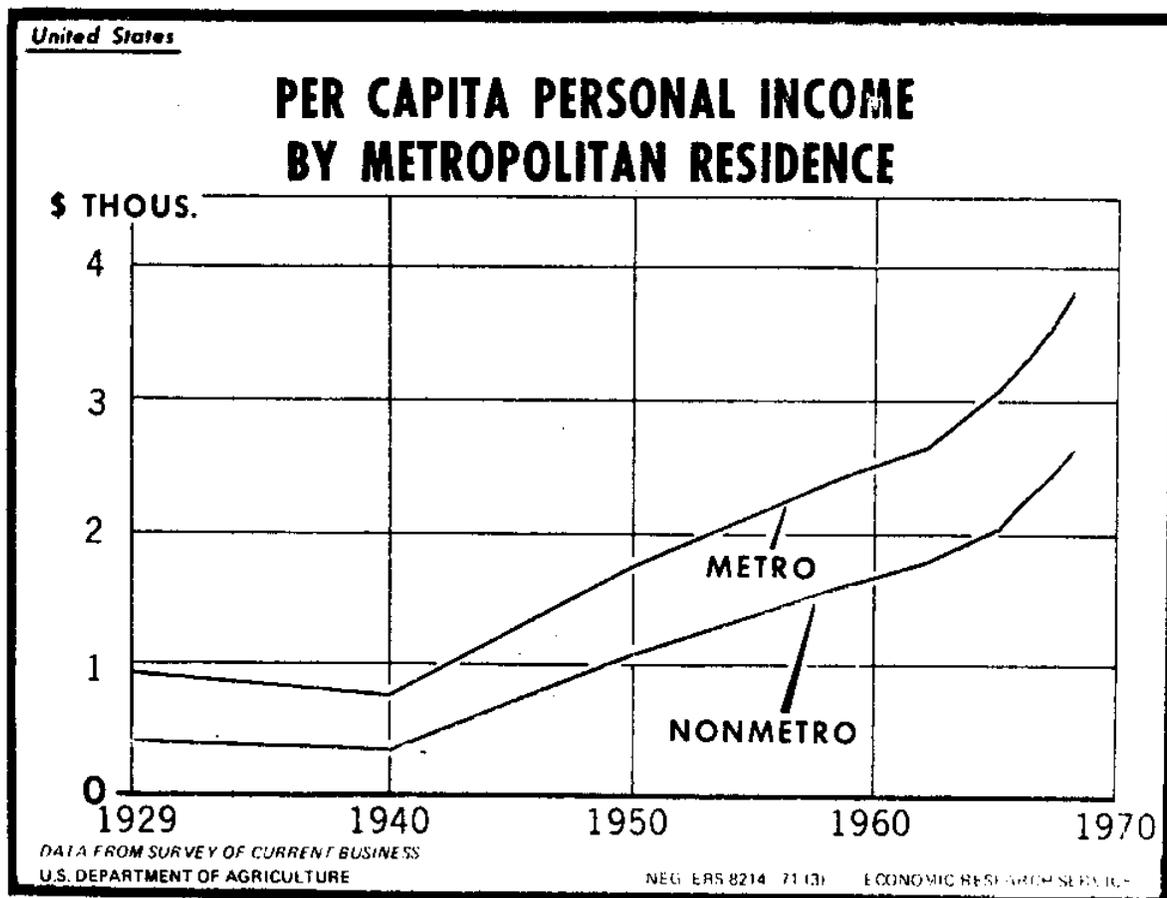
During the last 70 years we have witnessed the transition of our economy from agrarian, through manufacturing to a service orientation. In this process we have become a metropolitan society. According to the Bureau of the Census, almost 70 percent of our population was classified as metropolitan and by the year 2000 this percentage is expected to rise to 85 percent.¹² This process of metropolitanism is the result of substantial increases in productivity in the agricultural sector and the dominance of commercial, professional and industrial activities that thrive where people, equipment, money and skills are concentrated. It is in these metropolitan areas where the jobs are, where variety is, where a social infrastructure is, and where the hustle and bustle and bright lights are. (See Figures 6&7) Some people thrive on this life style others do not, but tolerate it as the price one has to pay for high economic opportunities.

According to the report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, metropolitanism is a dual process; one of concentration at the national level and one of dispersion at the local level.

On the national level, population is concentrating in three large metropolitan belts; Boston to Washington D.C., Chicago to Pittsburg and San Francisco to San Diego. These three belts contain over 50 percent of the nations population and an overwhelming proportion of the nations most technologically advanced, prosperous, and creative elements of our nations society.¹³

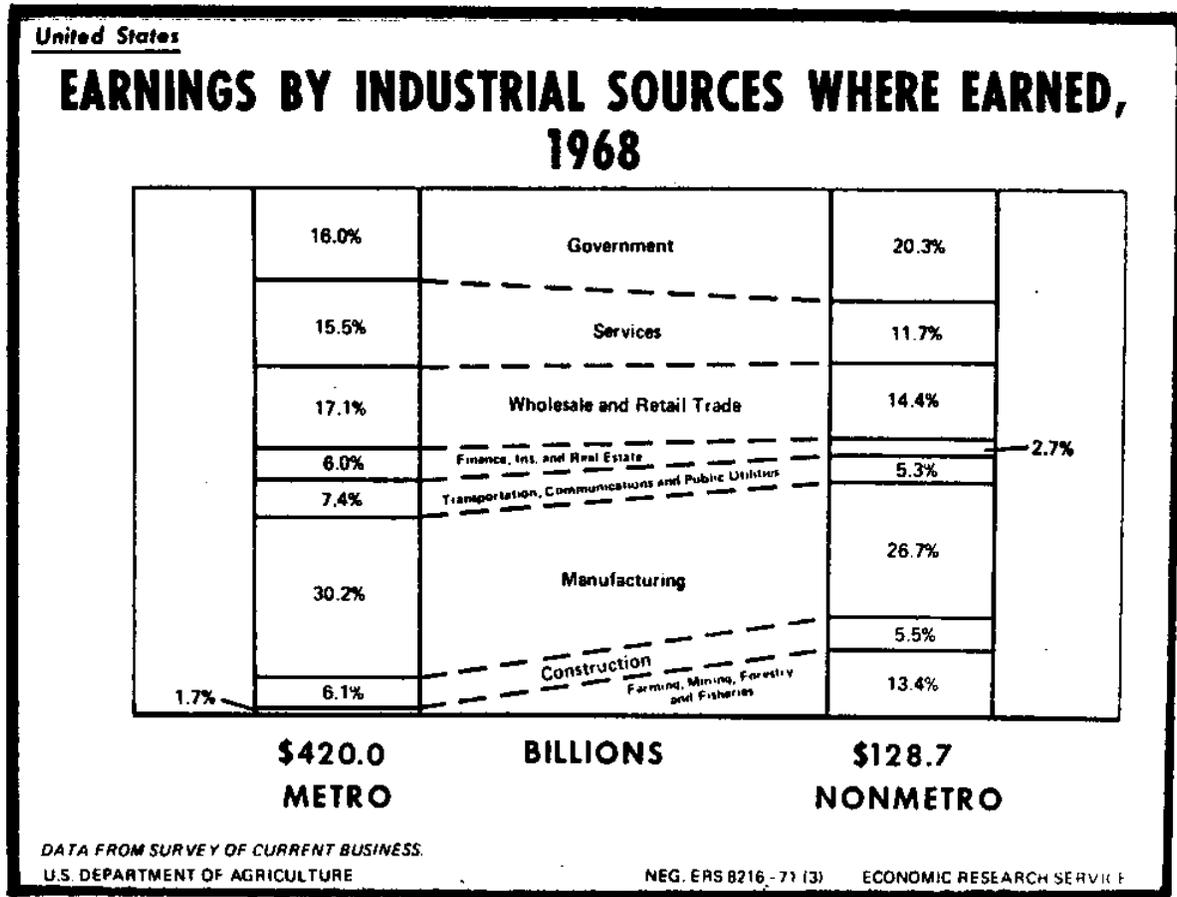
On the local level, we see the spread of metropolitanism from central cities to the over expanding outer limits of suburbia. This suburbanization has resulted in a general decline in the total population densities of major urban centers since 1920. A study (Pickard, 1967), indicates

FIGURE 6



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, The Economic and Social Condition of Rural America in the 1970's, Part 1, (Washington: Government Printing Office, May 1971) p. 31.

FIGURE 7



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, op. cit. p. 45.

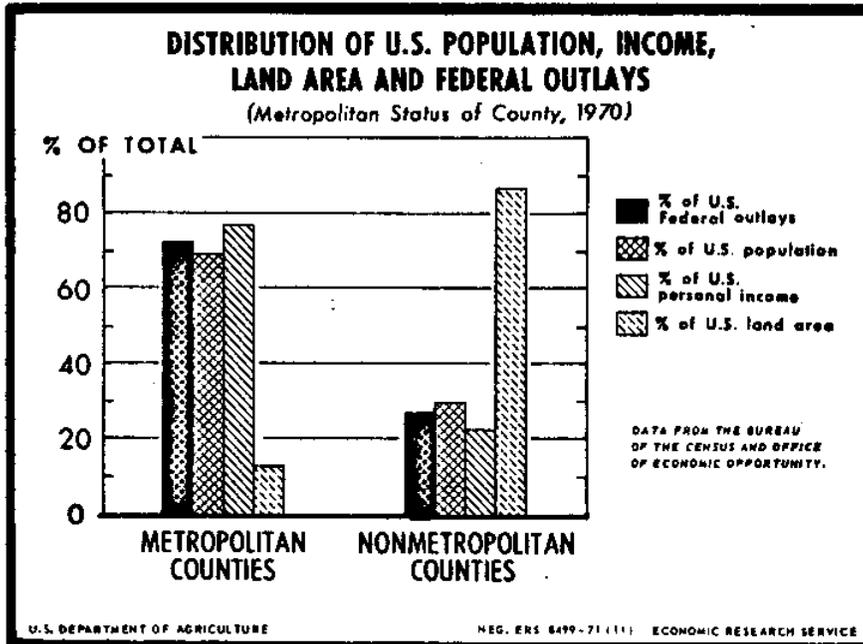
that in metropolitan areas of 100,000 population or more had densities in 1920, 1940 and 1960 of 6580, 5870 and 4230 persons per square mile, respectively. These densities are expected to decline further to 3840 and 3732 persons per square mile in 1980 and 2000, respectively.¹⁴

With almost 70 percent of the nations population concentrated in metropolitan areas, it is only natural to expect that a substantial portion of the nations future growth will be in these areas. Adding further to the national concentration of people, the natural increase in population is the dominant source of metropolitan growth because we have had so much migration to metropolitan areas in the past. (See Figure 8)

Migration is basically an adjustment in response to changing personal preferences, circumstances and opportunities. It has generally meant bettering ourselves socially and economically. But the very movement of population creates social, economic and political realignment for the nation as well as personal adjustments. According to the Commission "migration helps achieve a balance between social and economic activities on one hand, and population numbers on the other."¹⁵ This balance, so to speak, is brought about by three types of movement. The first, is a movement from economically depressed regions, often rural, to areas of expanding employment opportunities and higher wages, usually metropolitan; second, the movement of people within metropolitan areas, for example, the movement of the population from the central cities to the suburbs as a means of bettering ones life style and the need for more space and third, the migratory flow between metropolitan areas by which individuals participate in a national job market moving to areas offering economic and sometimes environmental advantages.

About one in five persons change homes each year, one in 13 move over county lines;¹⁶ this means that about 40 million people move each

FIGURE 8



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, The Economic and Social Condition of Rural America in the 1970's Part 3, (Washington: Government Printing Office, December 1971) Figure 3, p. 14.

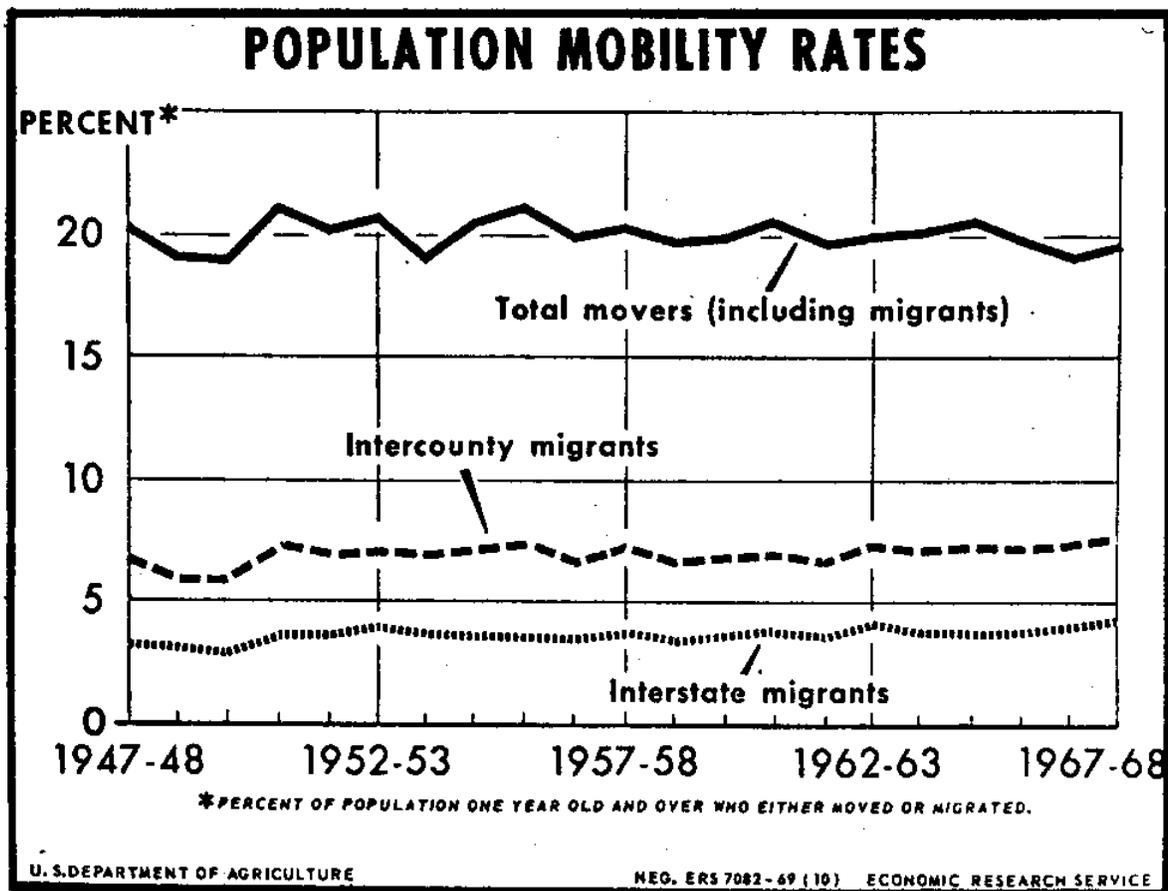
year among which 13 million move across county lines. (See Figure 9) Those who move are typically the better educated, more skilled young adults seeking a better life. About 30 percent of these migrants are in their early twenties and another 10 percent of migrants are between the ages of one and four.¹⁷ (See Figure 10) If, for example, 33 percent of the young migrants population moves across country lines we are talking about 5.0 million people who will take their young children and reproductive potential each year to different parts of the nation. This movement will create heavy demands in metropolitan areas for health, education and housing facilities. Problems are created in determining in what sections of the country this movement will take place and in planning for this movement at local, State and Federal levels.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION - RURAL AREAS

In 1900 rural population in the United States was 46 million or 60 percent of the United States population. In 1970, rural population was only 54 million while the national population rose nearly 300% and in 1970 rural population was only 26 percent of the total population. However, the farm sector of the rural population has declined from about 40 million in 1900 to about 10 million in 1970. A decrease from about 4/5ths of the rural population to less than 1/5th.¹⁸

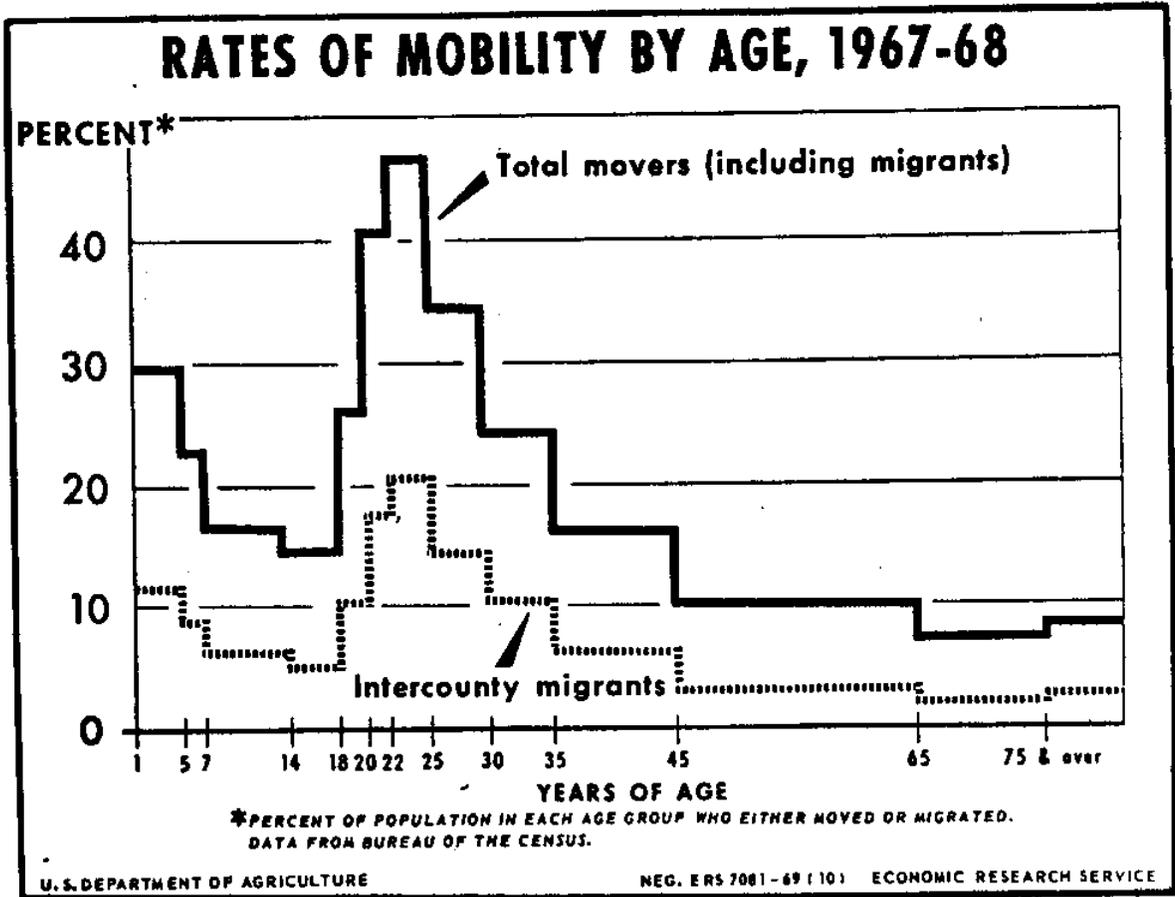
During this period, out-migration of the farm population averaged about 2 percent per year. Although the rate has remained high, the actual number of out migrants has declined from about 1 million per year in the fifties to about 600,000 per year¹⁹ during the sixties. (See Figure 11) This is due primarily to a constantly decreasing farm population base. Because fewer people are involved, the impact on both rural and metropolitan areas has lessened. With less than 10 million people left

FIGURE 9



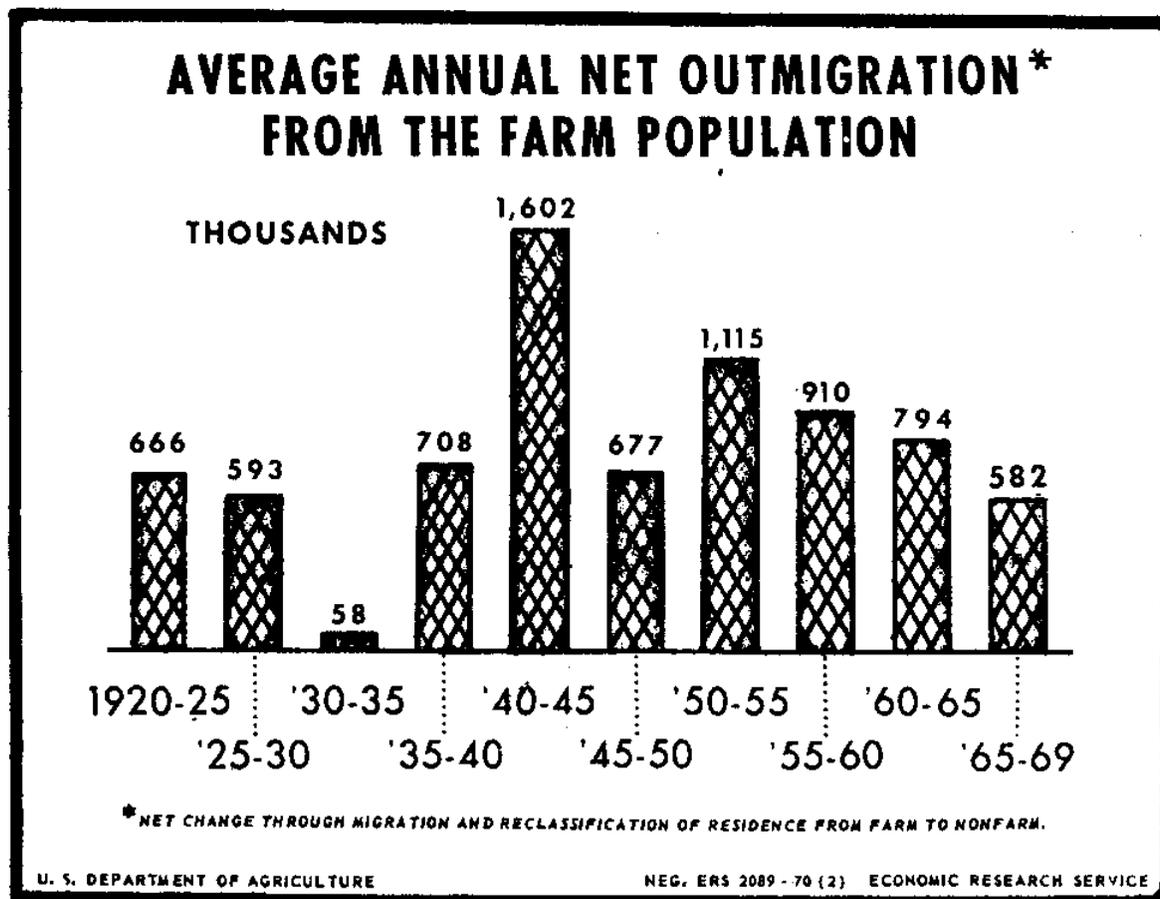
Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 13.

FIGURE 10



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 15.

FIGURE 11



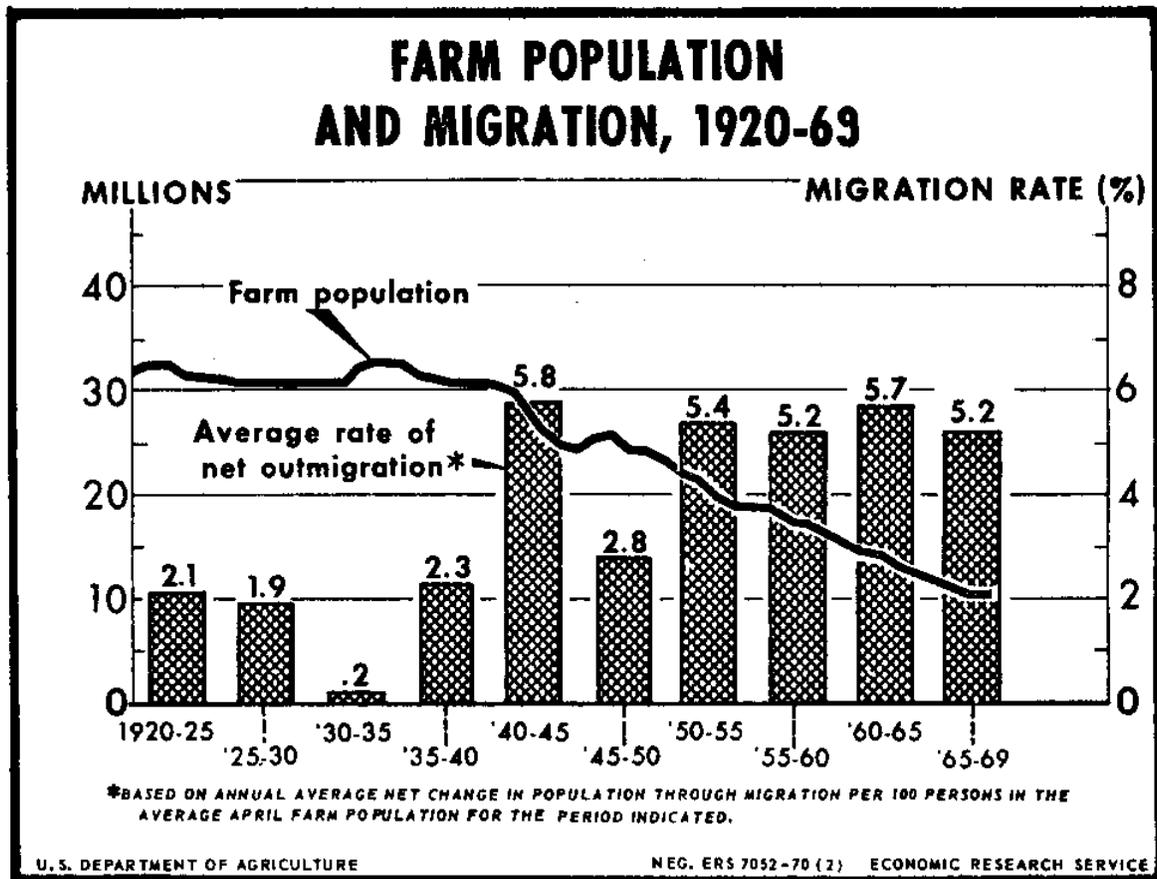
Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 7.

in the farm sector, the prospect for large scale migration from farms is greatly diminished. (See Figure 12)

The characteristics and composition of these migrants from the farm sector and total rural area can be generally categorized into two groups.

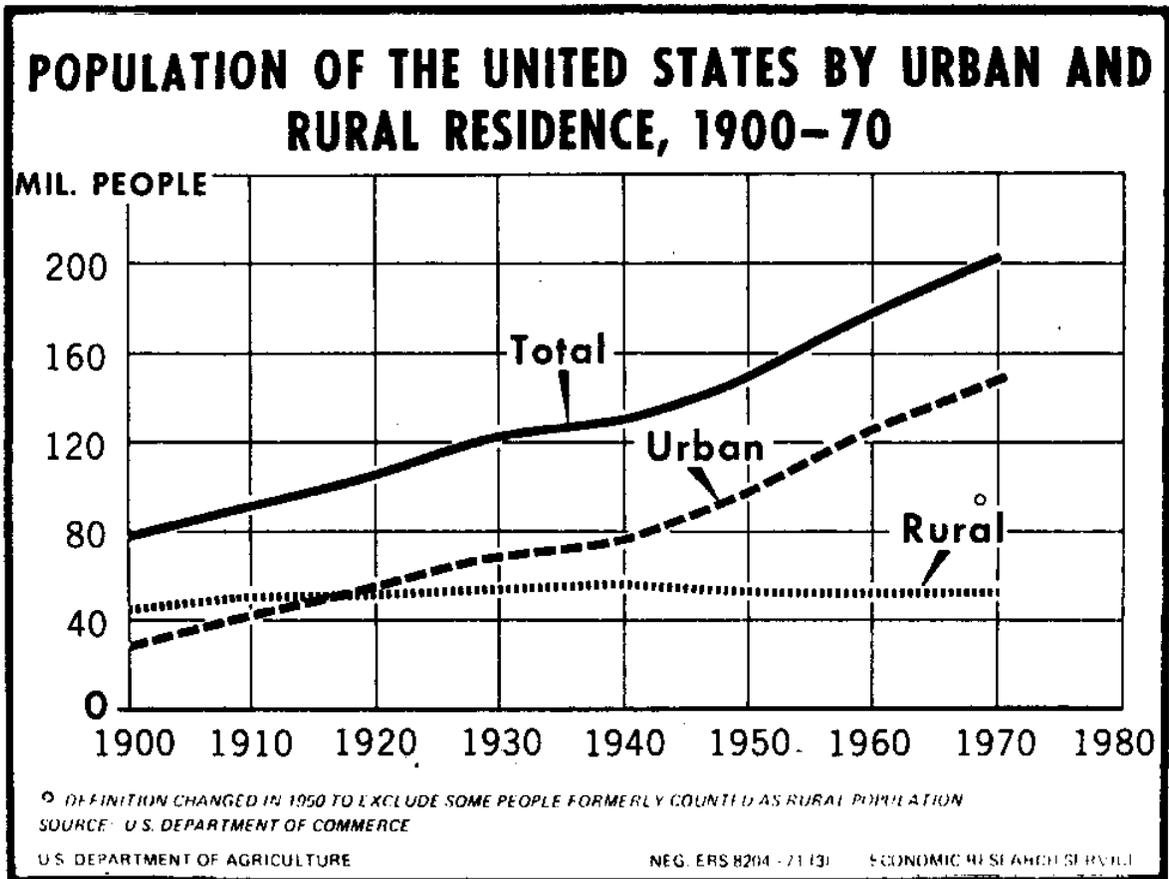
Early in this century the migration was almost totally composed of the white population. These migrants were sons and daughters of early immigrants who had settled on farms or in rural areas, people from Appalachia, the Ozarks and other economically depressed rural areas. In recent years, the migrants have been predominantly the rural black population. This movement was from the rural South to the metropolitan North, East and West. Contrary to popular belief, most migrants bettered themselves both financially and socially although much social and financial inequality still exists. From the foregoing discussion one might get the impression that our migration problem is behind us, however, a look at 1970 census data indicates that almost half of the nations counties lost population during the preceeding decade. A majority of these counties are the rural areas of the nation and cities of less than 50,000 population. While the migration from farm areas poses a far less problem than in previous years, the rural population which is about 30 percent of the total population still poses the threat of mass migration to large urban centers. (See Figure 13) If, for example, we could repopulate rural communities to their historical maximum, these areas would absorb only 10 percent of the population growth projected for the nation in the next 30 years.

FIGURE 12



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 5.

FIGURE 13



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 3.

THE EFFECTS OF METROPOLITANISM

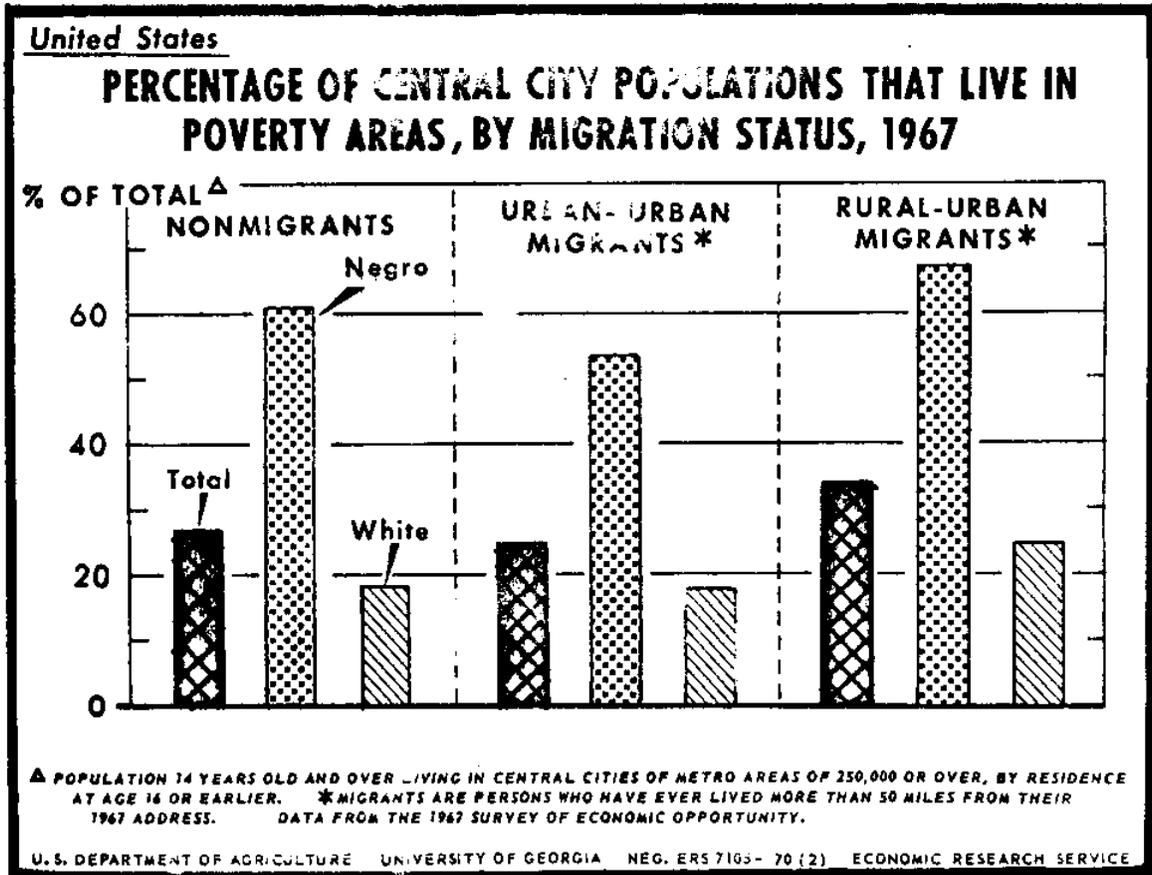
Earlier we briefly discussed some of the advantages of metropolitanism and have ignored the problems associated with this phenomena. These impacts, either positive or negative, effect the economic, social and environmental condition of our metropolitan areas.

Economic Effects

We as a nation owe our overall prosperity to the metropolitan areas. The job opportunities, the capital structure, the social structure, the money, the markets and the skills of the population have all contributed to our general well being. However, the distribution of this prosperity among members of the metropolitan society has been far from equitable.

We can see the ghetto's, the inadequate housing, the unemployed and the general overall misery of a large segment of our metropolitan society. The plight of our central cities is obvious. (See Figure 14) Like many of our rural areas, our central cities are losing population. The population growth cited earlier is occurring in suburban portions of metropolitan areas and future national growth is virtually synonymous with suburban growth. The white middle income class of the population have and are continuing to leave the central city areas. With this migration they are drawing industrial and commercial development from the central cities aggravating the problem even further. Fifteen of the 21 central cities with a 1960 population of over 500,000 or more had lost population by 1970.²⁰ The very act of suburbanization has further segregated the white population from the black and other minority groups. (See Figures 15&16) This exclusion is a direct result of these minorities being unable to afford the cost of housing in suburban America. With the movement of industry to these suburbs job opportunities for the population left

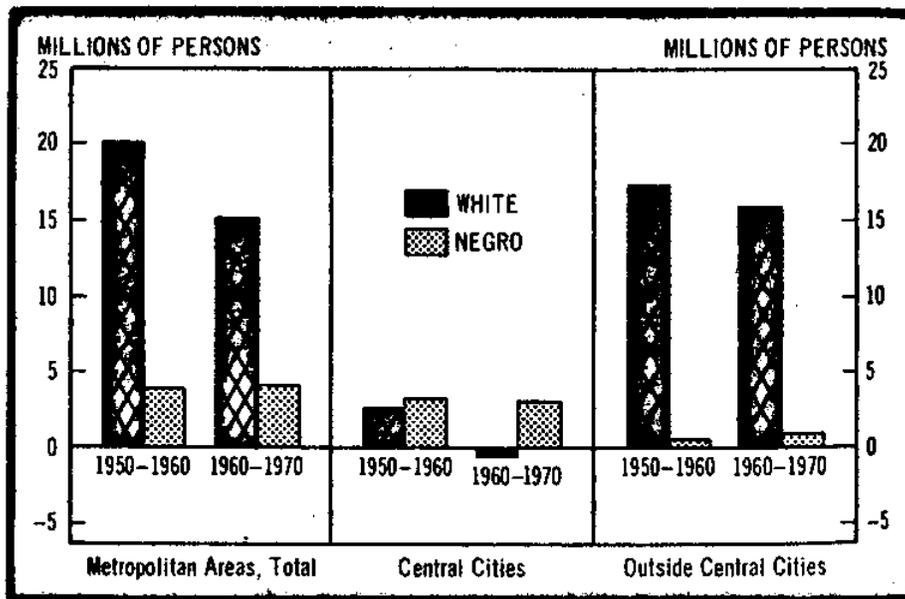
FIGURE 14



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

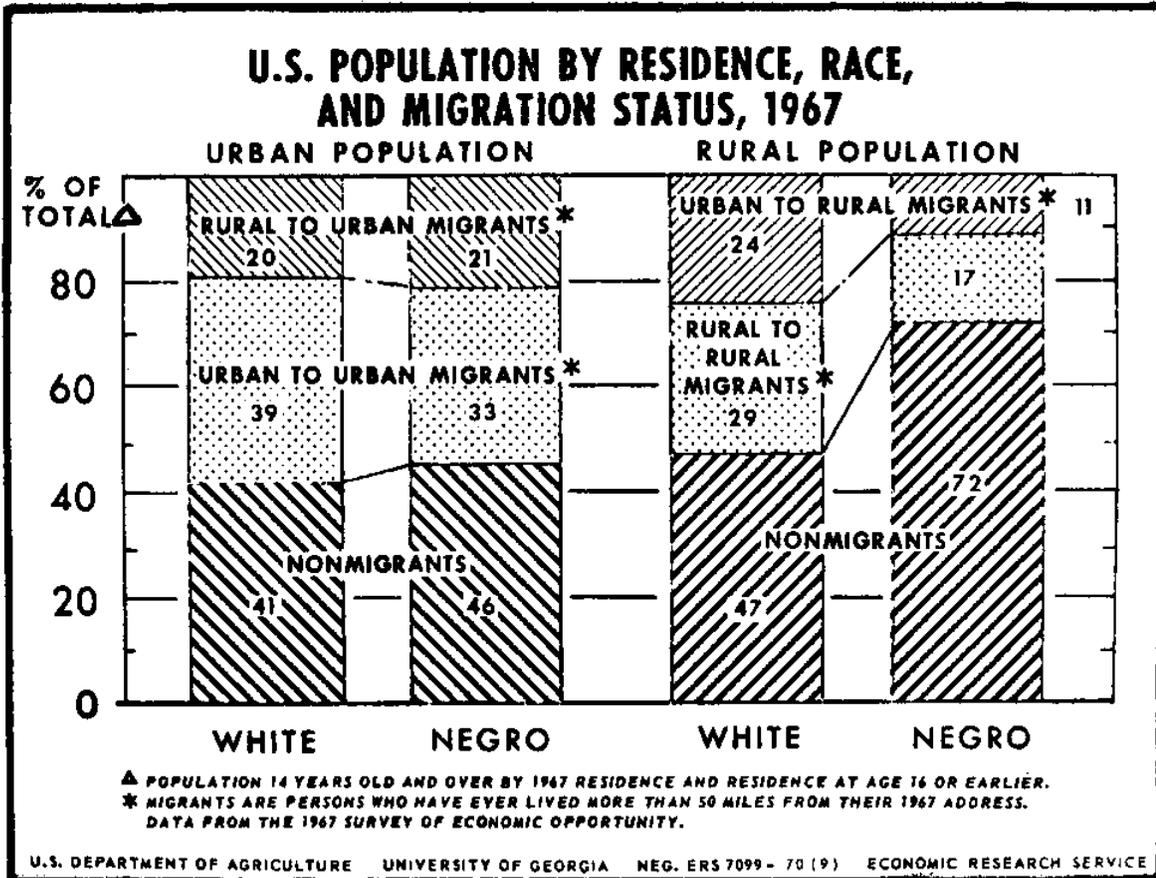
FIGURE 15

POPULATION CHANGES IN METROPOLITAN AREAS, BY RACE: 1950-1960 and 1960-1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Figure III, p.4.

FIGURE 16



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 11.

behind in the central cities declines. They simply cannot afford the transportation costs necessary to maintain employment any great distance from their home.

The result is that we see a concentration of the black population and other minorities in central city areas, entrenching the already established pattern of racial separation. During the 1960's the black population increased over 31 percent.²¹ In 1970, only 41 percent of the white population classified as metropolitan lived in central cities while 78 percent of the black population lived in central cities.²² In 1970, six of the 21 central cities had a population that was over 50% black and this number is expected to increase in the next decade.²³

Central city governments are faced with a declining tax base and the resulting loss of revenues and the ever increasing burden of welfare, health and other assistance to a community of tax users rather than tax payers.

It is a fact of life that minority groups (primarily blacks) have generally less education, fewer job opportunities, poorer housing and lower total income and social status.²⁴ The individual is unable to compete with his white brother and ends up in the lower economic strata of society. With the increasing black population in the central city and the general deterioration of the living conditions in these cities, the white population finds suburban living increasingly attractive, creating additional pressures within the central cities. The riots in the sixties evidenced the rising discontent of the blacks in central cities.

Environmental Effects

I don't intend to enter into any detailed discussion of the environmental effects of metropolitanism. We are well aware of the air

pollution we see and smell, the pollution of waters, inadequate waste disposal, the congestion in our cities and the declining aesthetic appeal of our central cities. We are also well aware of how the nation's technology, affluence, and population concentration has contributed to these problems.

With the prospect of additional concentration of the population in large metropolitan areas in the future, can we expect any remedial action on the part of federal or state agencies to really affect the level of environmental pollution? A case in point, is a recent study of the air pollution problem in the Los Angeles and San Diego area. Meteorologist Janis D'Edinger recently described the successful efforts of Los Angeles to control air pollution from stationary sources and their recent program to control pollution from motor vehicles. But, he said,

in recent years ... "a close race has been run between increasing numbers of sources and decreasing emissions per source. But as emission levels per source are trimmed lower and lower, the effort to achieve each new increment of improvement gets more and more difficult. The increase in the number of sources on the other hand, is projected to rise steadily. If the race for acceptable air quality is to be won, the heroic emission control programs, present and anticipated, in Los Angeles, must soon be joined by a leveling off if not a reduction, in the number of sources."²⁵

A study by the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, on nitrogen oxides indicates that 36 urban areas have concentrations above the EPA standard of 100 micro-grams per cubic meter.²⁶ With the growth projected and the increasing affluence and concentration of our population it may be virtually impossible to reduce air pollution in our metropolitan areas unless drastic means are taken to reduce the concentration of people or in the case of air pollution reduce private motor vehicle use. In the mean time, little is known of the effects of various levels of pollution

concentration on the population. Some studies have shown that respiratory diseases in metropolitan areas are higher than in rural areas but what about the carcinogenic effects or other effects on the health and well being of the populace.

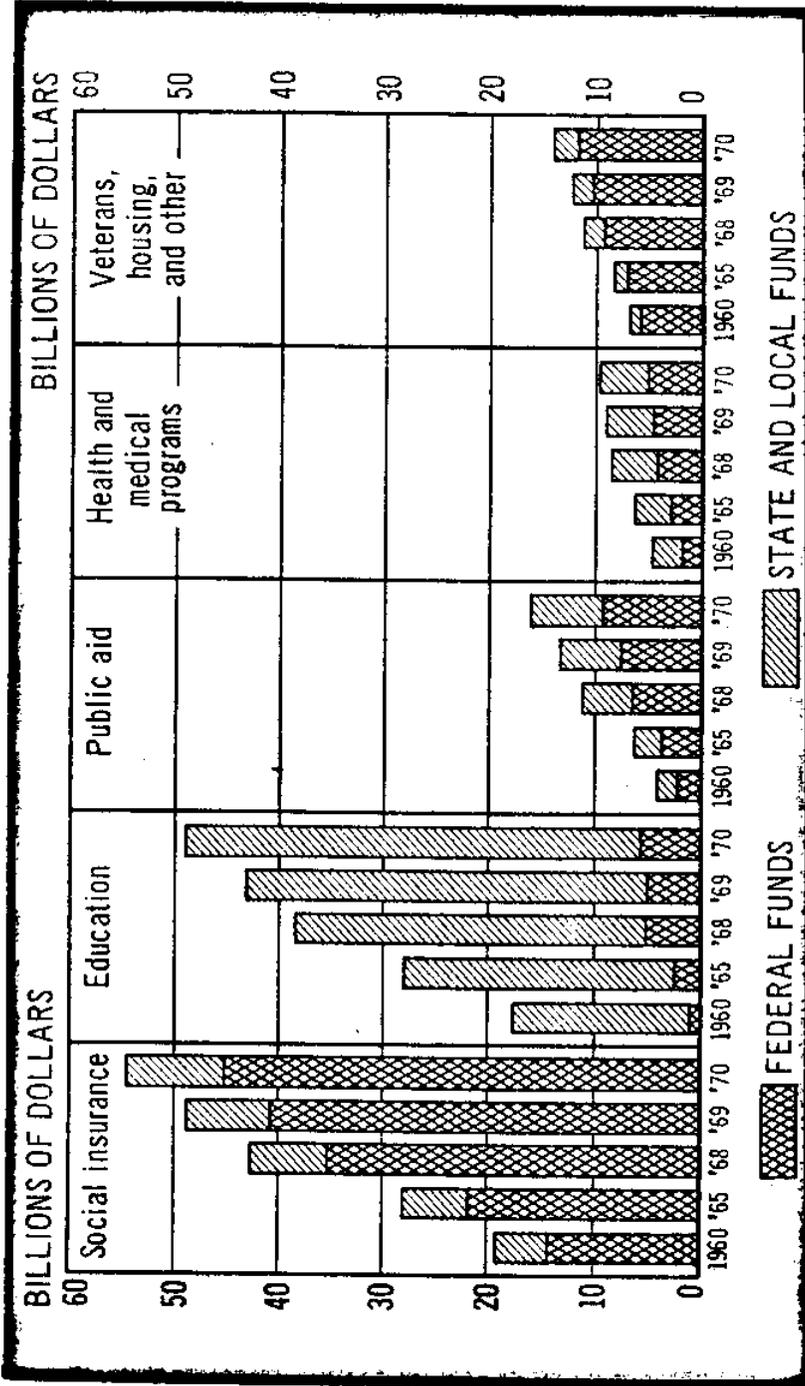
Another aspect of the effects of the technology, affluence and concentration of our nation is its demand for natural resources. Presently the nation, as a whole, is consuming about 50 percent of the worlds production of natural resources. A large portion of these resources are energy resources. It will suffice to say that as our population grows not only will the total aggregate demand for these resources grow, but also the per capita demand. The result will be increased worldwide environmental degradation from mining operations, primarily strip mining and drilling operations both on land and offshore. The incidents of oil spills and the devastated land areas from strip mining are ample evidence of the effects of this demand on the environment. The bleak prospect is that it will probably get worse.

Social Effects

Many of the social effects of population concentration in our metropolitan areas are the result of the lack of adequate economic opportunities of minority groups in these areas. Increasing social costs for health, education and welfare of these groups needs no further discussion. (See Figure 17) Existing Federal and State programs have failed to a large degree to achieve the goals of racial equality in this nation. In fact, it will be shown that segregation of the races may presently be worse now than at any other time because of certain Federal programs that indirectly affected the poor and disadvantaged minority groups.

FIGURE 17

SOCIAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES UNDER SELECTED PUBLIC PROGRAMS: 1961 to 1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Figure XVI, p. 270.

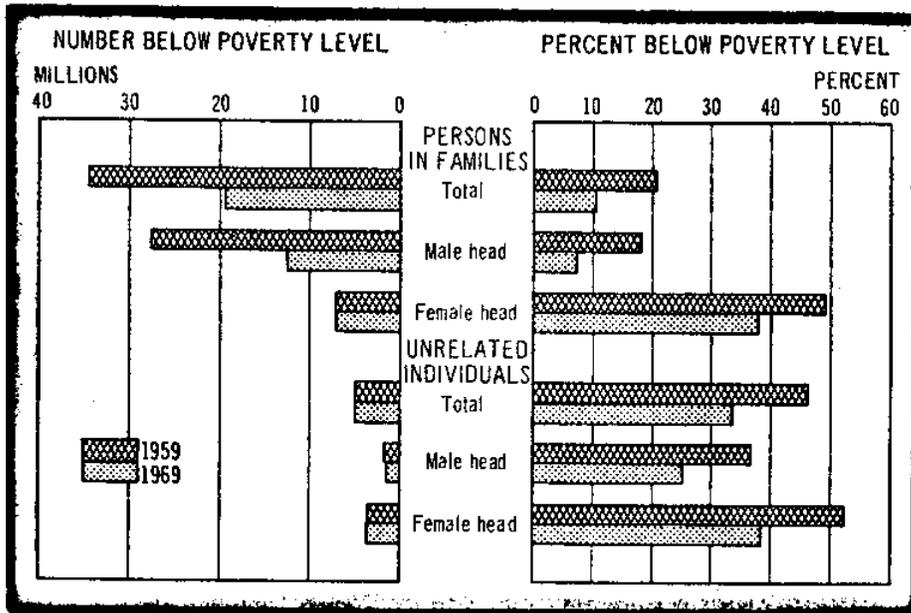
Presently about 12 percent of our population live in poverty conditions. This represents 24 million people. (See Figure 18 and Table 1) Over 6 million are employed but cannot earn enough to meet the minimum income standard. Over 3 million of the poor, age 14-64 cannot work because of school, sickness, disability. Another 5 million are over the age 65 and over 8 million are children and about 2 million are female heads of families who cannot take a job because of family responsibility.²⁷ Average incomes of the poor have improved but at the same time that higher income groups have. The result is simply that the distribution of incomes has remained relatively constant over the last 25 years.²⁸

The prospects for the future do not appear to be better. The "boom babies" previously mentioned are now at a point where they will be entering into the job market. The result will be that job competition will become stiffer and more and more of the marginal employees will be released to make way for more productive persons. Unemployment could rise substantially. About 35 million new jobs will be needed in the seventies.²⁹ This is 7 million more than the 60's. With the current trend in declining fertility, the pressure for jobs will be eased somewhat in the 80's, however, what happens in the 70's in terms of fertility will greatly influence what happens to the labor market in the 90's and beyond.

Despite the so called social infrastructure of metropolitan areas, many individuals are dissatisfied with the urban life style. This dissatisfaction manifests itself in the urban population seeking the "good life". Throughout our nations history, people have looked toward rural communities and farms as the symbol of quiet freedom and independence - free from crime, congestion, pollution and the rigors of urban life. This ethic is in part responsible for the post war surge to suburban living where each family had their own "little piece of ground."

FIGURE 18

PERSONS IN FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, BY SEX OF HEAD: 1959 and 1969



Source: Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Figure XVIII, p. 302

TABLE 1

Persons by Poverty Status, by Type of Residence, 1969

Persons by poverty status, by type of residence, 1969
[Number of persons in thousands]

Residence type	All races						White			Negro		
	Below poverty level			Total			Below poverty level			Total		
	Number	Percent of total	Total	Number	Percent of total	Total	Number	Percent of total	Total	Number	Percent of total	Total
United States.....	199,849	12.2	175,231	16,668	9.5	22,349	7,214	32.3				
Metropolitan.....	130,017	9.5	112,440	8,200	7.3	15,824	3,855	24.4				
Central city.....	57,781	13.4	44,392	4,527	10.2	12,439	3,088	24.7				
Metro ring.....	72,236	6.3	68,049	3,674	5.4	3,384	786	23.2				
Nonmetropolitan.....	69,831	17.1	62,791	8,468	13.5	6,525	3,359	51.5				

Source: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Consumer Income," P-60, No. 76, table 2.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 19.

Recent studies and surveys indicate a trend in preferences of where the population would like to live. Gallup,³⁰ and Harris polls³¹ and a Commission survey give some indications of this preference. The results of the Commission's study are shown below in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Locational Preference Survey

	Present Location	Preferred Location
Open Country	12%	34%
Small town or city	33%	32%
Med. Size City or Suburb	28%	22%
Larger City or Suburb	27%	12%
Total	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Source: The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit., p. Galley 2-13.

The results of these studies indicate a preference to live in smaller places but within commuting distance of a metropolitan central city. People want the best of both worlds, the quiet life of rural living and the opportunities and excitement of metropolitan areas. An analysis of a national survey in 1967 (Beale)³² indicates that 20 percent of the 1967 rural population outside of metropolitan areas consisted of persons with urban origins. The results of this study indicate that the desire of the population for the rural way of life exists. What the urban population needs now is some incentive.

THE EFFECTS ON RURAL AREAS

As indicated earlier, over 50 percent of the nations rural counties declined in population. This decline is the net effect of both migration and the natural increase in population. The continuing technological revolution in agriculture, while providing for the best and most efficiently fed nation in the world, has displaced millions of workers without providing them with alternative opportunities to remain the rural areas. The movement of this population (primarily blacks since 1940) coupled with the natural increases in population has created tremendous problems for both rural and urban America. The urban problems have been previously discussed and the rural problems are similar, but to a greater degree.

Generally, rural areas suffer from inadequate health, education and manpower training programs, insufficient job opportunities and low quality housing. Many small towns in rural areas have become virtual ghost towns. The young and ambitious have moved out of these areas transferring the burden of their support to urban areas while reducing the human resource base of rural areas. With reduced manpower and tax bases, rural communities cannot provide the remaining rural population with an adequate community infrastructure at a time when the older remaining rural population can least afford to pay for these services. It will be shown later, the disproportionate aid received by these communities from the Federal Government under existing programs and how on a per capita basis the rural resident is worse off than his urban counterpart.

Environmental Effect of Agricultural Technology

We have seen the technological revolution of agricultural production in the U.S. We are just beginning to realize the impact of this technology on the environment and ecological balance of the world. The use of DDT

and other pesticides plus herbicides and fertilizers have put into the worlds oceans, lakes and rivers enormous amounts of highly stable organic and inorganic compounds. We have heard of or seen the effects of these compounds on birds, fish and other wildlife and their reproductive cycles. Little is known of the effects of these compounds on the natural food chain and the eventual effect on man.

With the prospect of more stringent control of these chemicals comes the prospect of decreased yields of crops on a per acre basis. With the growing demand for food products, the prospect of the additional need for land for agricultural production becomes a real issue. This, in turn, may create a conflict of land use in areas around metropolitan areas. That is - agricultural land vs. land for metropolitan expansion. It is estimated that under present growth trends, given restricted use of pesticides and herbicides, all available high quality agricultural land will be in use by the year 2000.³³ If population growth rates should increase, it is estimated that an additional 50 million acres³⁴ of relatively low quality land will have to be brought into production. On the other hand, metropolitan areas now occupy about 240 million acres³⁵ of land area. The additional land needed for future metropolitan development by the year 2000 is estimated at between 80 and 120 million acres.³⁶

SUMMARY

Other problems associated with population growth and distribution include the effects on water resources in terms of supplying water to the population, the effects on local, the state and the federal governments and the effects on the national economy. Thus, the problem of population growth and its distribution is, to say the least, extremely complex, and the need for Federal and State action is great. The main

issue now, is whether or not we have let the problem get out of hand already.

In the following sections I hope to explore what has already been done in terms of Federal programs and what needs to be done. I will attempt to discuss some existing population growth and distribution strategies and attempt to formulate ideas that might work in our country.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

¹This chapter draws on data presented in the final report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. See relevant references cited.

²U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1971, (92d edition; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971), Table No. 1, p. 5.

³IBID., Table No. 3, p. 6.

⁴IBID., Table No. 57, p. 48.

⁵The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, Population and the American Future, (Washington: Galley Proof, 1972), pp. Galley 1-4 - 1-6.

⁶IBID., p. Galley 1-6.

⁷U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 7, p. 10.

⁸IBID., Table No. 5, p. 7, Series C projections.

⁹Number of children per family needed to achieve Zero Population Growth (ZPG). Current statistics (Business Week, March 4, 1972) indicate that in certain reproductive cohorts (age groups) we are below this rate.

¹⁰The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit., p. Galley 1-6.

¹¹IBID., p. Galley 1-7.

¹²U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 17, p. 18; Based on existing metropolitan population base and rate of increase for series C projections to the year 2000.

¹³National Goals Research Staff, Toward a National Growth Policy: Population Distribution Aspects, (Washington: March, 1970), p. 17.

¹⁴IBID., Chart 8, Note: The results of Pickard's study were included in the cited reference. For more detailed information see "Dimensions of Metropolitanism" by Jerome P. Pickard, Urban Land Institute (Washington: D.C., 1967).

¹⁵The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit., p. Galley 2-6.

¹⁶U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, The Economic and Social Condition of Rural American in the 1970's - Part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 12 and 13.

- ¹⁷ Derived from Figure 10, see Figure for reference.
- ¹⁸ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 2.
- ¹⁹ IBID., p. 6.
- ²⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 18, p. 19.
- ²¹ IBID., Table No. 14, p. 16.
- ²² The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit., p. Galley 2-11.
- ²³ IBID., p. Galley 2-11.
- ²⁴ For Relevant Statistics see 1) "Statistical Abstract of the United States 1971", 2) "The Economic and Social Condition of Rural America in the 1970's" and 3) "The People Left Behind," A Report by the Presidents' National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty.
- ²⁵ The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit., p. Galley 4-14; Note: James D. Edinger's statement was made at public hearings conducted by the Commission.
- ²⁶ IBID., p. Galley 4-14.
- ²⁷ IBID., p. Galley 3-4. Note: There is some discrepancy between the total poverty figures shown in the Commissions' report and relevant statistics from other sources. The total shown in the report does not equal the sum of its components. The sum does, however, agree with statistics from other sources.
- ²⁸ IBID., p. Galley 3-4.
- ²⁹ IBID., p. Galley 3-4.
- ³⁰ National Goals Research Staff, op.cit., p. 31.
- ³¹ IBID., Chart 12.
- ³² Calvin L. Beale, "Population and the Environment," Increasing Understanding of Public Problems (Chicago: Farm Foundation, 1970), p. 105.
- ³³ The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. op.cit., p. Galley 4-11.
- ³⁴ IBID., p. Galley 4-11.
- ³⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 631, p. 414.
- ³⁶ These figures are based on independant computations by the author and estimates included in the Commissions' Report.

CHAPTER II

EXISTING FEDERAL POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

GENERAL

Throughout the history of the U.S., the Federal Government has had a substantial influence on population growth and distribution. This influence included policies on virtually unlimited immigration into the country and the deliberate settlement of the West in order to confirm the government's title to an empty continent. The Federal Government provided land grants and other subsidies for the development of roads, railroads and navigation that opened public lands to settlement. At the turn of the century, the government pursued policies of reclamation, navigation, electric power projects and rural development programs.¹

In recent years, we have had TVA and the ARA and the Economic Development Act of 1965.² All of these policies are explicitly involved with the growth, distribution, and the economic and social well being of the population. Perhaps even more important have been the implicit policies of the Federal Government that were not expressly directed towards affecting population growth and distribution. These policies have a secondary influence on the growth and distribution of the population.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND PROGRAMS

Aside from the explicit policies mentioned above, no explicit policy that directly affected population growth and distribution was made until the early 1960's. However, during the 1930's, there began to grow an awareness of some problems in urban America. The depression brought into focus the plight of urban dwellers. The New Deal legislation of the 30's was concerned directly or indirectly with ways to

provide jobs and solve the economic problems of the nation. There were, however, two significant pieces of legislation that were destined to have a significant impact on the future of urban America. In 1932, the Federal Government established the Home Loan Bank System, (HLBS) which was modeled after the Federal Reserve System that would act to control savings and loan associations. In 1934, the Federal Government set up the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) an agency that would insure loans on homes to savings and loans associations, commercial banks, and insurance companies. The two agencies in some ways were competitive, primarily in both of their relationships with savings and loan associations and as the representatives of different financial institutions competing for home loan business. The programs, as established, favored the middle class family and provided him with the means to purchase a single family dwelling in some tract developments.³ Thus, suburbanization began and the real impact would not be realized for many years. Minor efforts were made to develop low cost housing for the poor but the programs were ineffective both in scope and in results. It is in this period when the nation failed to learn how to build low cost housing for the poor. It should be remembered, though, that during this period the paramount concern was economic recovery and funds were being provided for public works projects, highway construction and home building. Not much thought was apparently given to low income housing.

In 1935, the National Resources Planning Board began issuing a series of reports on the condition of urban America. These reports, Regional Factors in National Planning, 1935; Our Cities, 1937; and Urban Planning and Land Policies, 1939; were concerned with identifying national trends and did not reveal any significant changes in urban American

development that warranted any policy, or program changes.

In 1941, however, a proposal was made to Congress that would provide for urban redevelopment projects. The basic idea was to rehabilitate urban areas so as to minimize new private and public housing construction projects in order to conserve scarce resources, and to maximize use of existing transportation facilities during the war effort. With the end of the war, Congress began looking at developing some type of comprehensive program that would aid all income levels in housing purchases and both rural and urban communities for redevelopment programs and finally to improve the system of mortgage credit and the system of insuring mortgage loans by private financial institutions. The program was to be administered under one agency. However, it appears that the political atmosphere was not conducive of this broad type of legislation and it wasn't until 1949 that a Housing Act⁴ was passed. This Act was not as comprehensive as one would have liked. There was considerable interest in housing, per se, because of the post war housing shortage but there was considerable resistance to public low-income type housing and urban and rural redevelopment proposals. Compromises were worked out and the Act contained some measures for public housing and urban renewal. In retrospect, one can see how limited the act was. For it ignored employment, education, transportation, and welfare considerations with the result being that the middle income class again reaped the benefits. In the two decades that followed, the nation witnessed the mass exodus from central cities to suburbia. Low down payments, and low interest rates made it relatively simple for the employed white middle class to obtain housing. The blacks and other minority groups did improve somewhat their housing standards, moving into homes vacated by the white exodus and the destruction of the slums under urban renewal programs. However, because these

minorities were the last to be hired and the first to be fired the vicious cycle of slum creation began again. So now we have the situation where our central cities are becoming predominantly black and run down while suburbia is sparkling clean and white. The situation as it stands now has best been stated by Dr. Lowdon Wingo when he referred to the effects of both housing and highway programs:

(these programs)... opened up enormous land development reserve in the hinterlands of every major city and ... made an American ideal of the free standing, single family dwelling on its own parcel of ground, and the stage is set for the low density suburban explosion, which has been a major outcome of American policy. The other side of the coin is, of course, the residual community which the suburbanizing middle class left behind, the excluded minorities, the poor, the old. They were left behind because it cost money to join the suburban 'club' - to move, to pay rents for new housing produced by an industry which never learned to produce low cost housing, to pay taxes, to pay transportation costs to jobs and public services. Thus, the built-in exclusionary principle embedded in these policies acted like a filter sorting out the affluent from the poor, and where these implicit processes were not sufficiently fine-grained, the federal system made possible finer screens, home-rule communities surrounding the central city had only to enact ordinances whose effect if not explicit purpose was to exclude.²

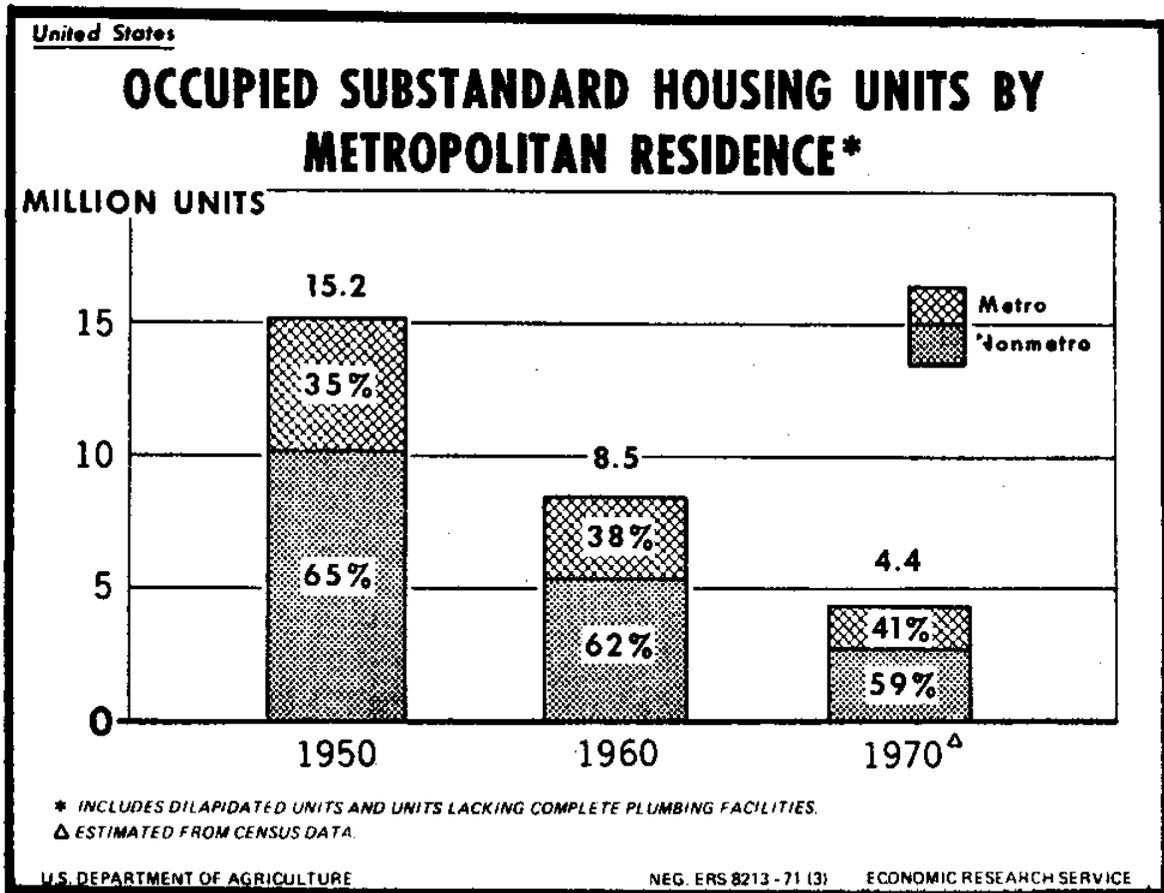
I have up till now discussed the phenomena of suburbanization as it was conceived and grew. But what about housing in rural America? While HUD administered numerous housing programs in urban areas, a few of these programs are somewhat duplicated by Agriculture Department programs, but regardless of who administers the housing programs for rural development, these programs, by in large, have been unsuccessful in relieving the poor housing conditions of rural America. Keeping in mind that the rural and non-metropolitan population constitutes only 30% of the total population in the nation, census data show that about 27% of occupied rural housing was classified as substandard - deteriorating or dilapidated - compared

with 14% for urban areas.⁶ Of the 4.4 million substandard occupied housing units in the nation, 2.6 million were in rural areas.⁷ (See Figure 19) More than 1 million rural homes are considered structurally unsafe for human occupation with many beyond repair. Less than 25% of rural dwellings have water piped into their homes. (See Figure 20) About 1/3 of all rural families still use the traditional privy.⁸ Less than half of all rural homes have central heating, most are heated by gas, wood, or coal burning stoves with the ever present danger of fire. Nearly 60% of all rural families with incomes less than \$2000 live in houses that are dilapidated or lack complete plumbing.⁹ A disproportionate number of the elderly occupy substandard housing in rural areas and renters were twice as likely to occupy substandard housing and finally most of the substandard housing is found in the South which might be expected when one considers that this region has the lowest per capita income, family income and largest families in the nation. There is no doubt that the rural poverty problem is sectional, but it cannot be considered as concentrated pockets of poverty. Rural and urban poverty knows no boundaries and is found in all sections of the country.

A recent study by Dr. Fred Hines for the Department of Agriculture shows that per capita Federal outlays for housings in these areas were only half as large as in metropolitan counties. While non-metropolitan counties accounted for about 2/3 of all substandard housing in 1968, they received only 16 percent of all housing assistance.¹⁰ (See Figure 21)

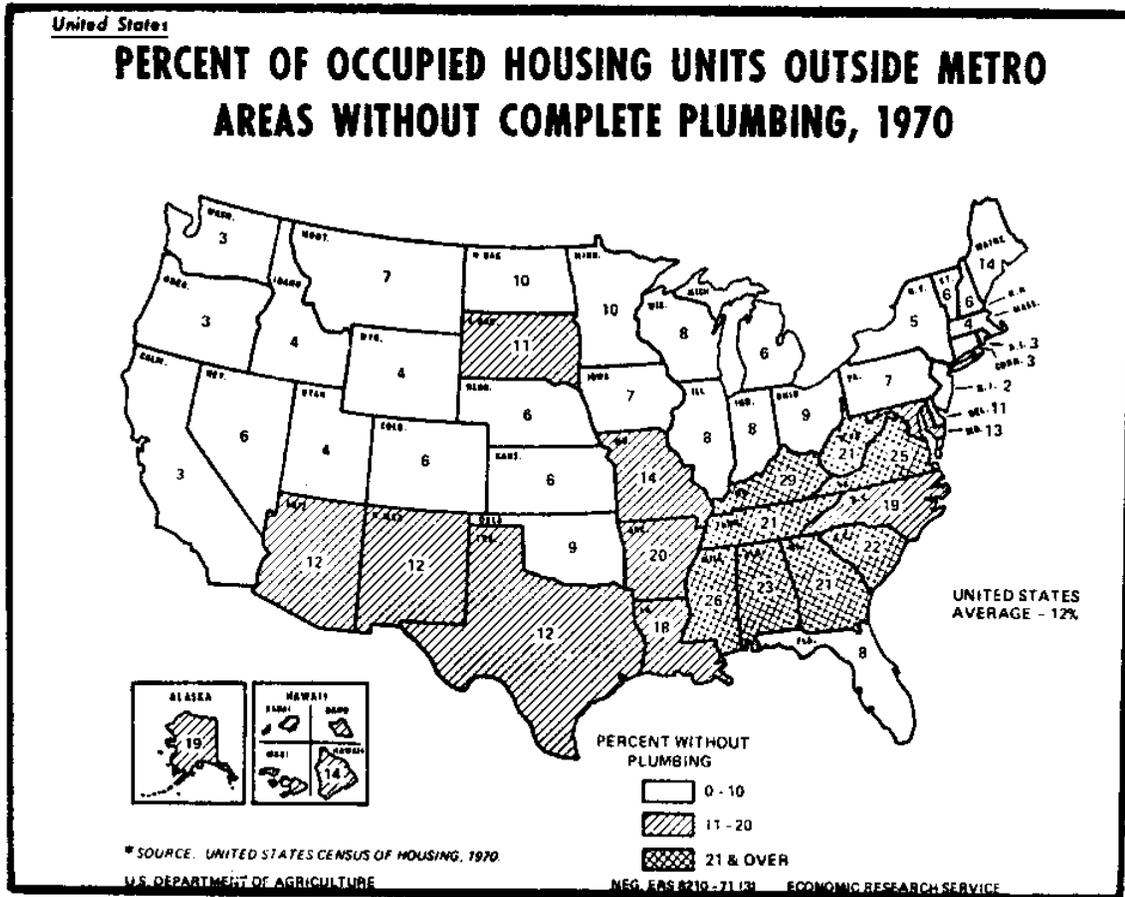
The Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970¹¹ for the first time indicates on the part of the Congress it's commitment to a national urban growth policy. The Act directs the President to submit to Congress reports on urban growth, urban problems, urban needs,

FIGURE 19



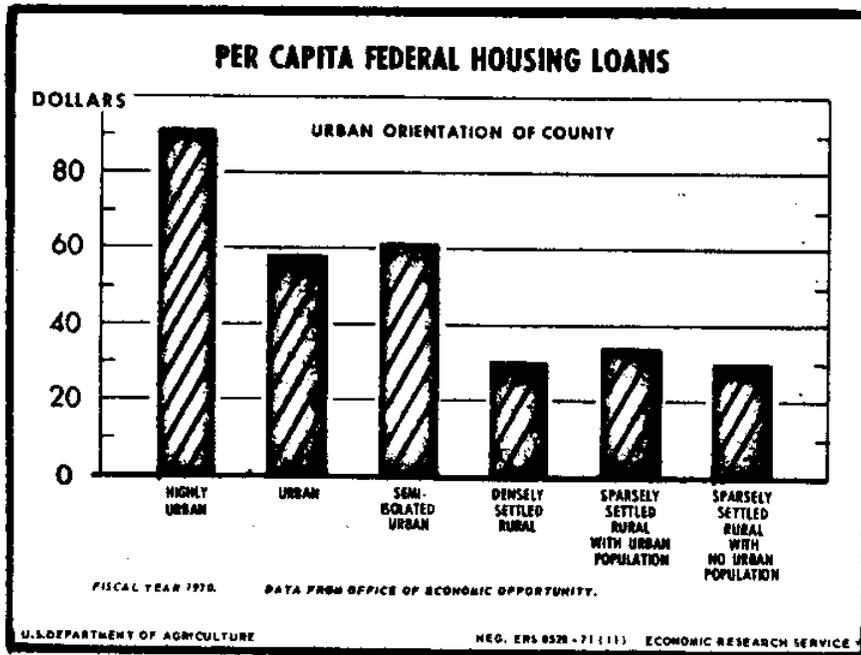
Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op. cit., p. 109.

FIGURE 20



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 111.

FIGURE 21



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 3, op.cit., Figure 14, p. 25.

governmental policies at all levels and plans and programs to resolve these problems.

The Act further provides assistance to state and local developers and planning agencies in order to develop comprehensive plans of the orderly development or redevelopment of urban areas.

Title IX of the Agricultural Act of 1970 again shows a Congressional commitment toward a national policy on the growth and distribution of the population. Section 901 (a) of this Act states:

The Congress commits itself to a ~~sound~~ balance between rural and urban America. The Congress considers this balance so essential to the peace, prosperity and welfare of all our citizens that the highest priority must be given to the revitalization and development of rural areas.¹²

AGRICULTURAL POLICY AND PROGRAMS

With the development of a highly capitalized, highly productive agriculture supported by heavy government investments in technology and research, we have seen the exodus of about 50 million¹³ persons from rural farm areas to the urban centers and the suburbs.

Some of our rural programs, especially farm and vocational agricultural programs, are relics from an earlier era. They were developed in a period during which the welfare of farm families was equated with the well-being of rural communities and of all rural people. This is no longer so.

Many of these programs still remain even though farm output has increased over the last 20 years over 50 percent while farm employment has dropped at least 45 percent. The prospects for farm employment indicate that it may drop another 45 percent in the next 15 years.¹⁴

(See Table 3)

TABLE 3

Employed Persons Over 16 Years
By Type of Industry - 1950-1970

Employed persons 16 years and over by type of industry: Annual averages, 1950-70 (selected years)

Year	Total employed		Agriculture		Nonagricultural industries	
	Number (thousands)	Percent	Number (thousands)	Percent	Number (thousands)	Percent
1950	58,920	100.0	7,160	12.2	51,758	87.8
1952	60,254	100.0	6,500	10.8	53,749	89.2
1954	60,110	100.0	6,205	10.3	53,903	89.7
1956	63,802	100.0	6,284	9.9	57,512	90.1
1958	63,036	100.0	5,584	8.9	57,450	91.1
1960	65,778	100.0	5,459	8.3	60,318	91.7
1962	66,702	100.0	4,944	7.4	61,759	92.6
1964	69,305	100.0	4,523	6.5	64,781	93.5
1966	72,895	100.0	3,979	5.5	68,916	94.5
1968	75,920	100.0	3,817	5.0	72,103	95.0
1970	78,627	100.0	3,462	4.4	75,165	95.6

Source: Manpower Report of the President, April 1971, table A-11, p. 218.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

Today's farm policy is dominated by acreage control and price support programs. Well over two-thirds of the Federal cost of assistance to farmers, including export subsidies, is associated with efforts to balance supplies and demands for individual farm commodities. According to the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, this is a commercial farm policy rather than a policy to raise the incomes of the small poorer farmer and these programs are forcing the small farmer out of business rather than preserving him as an independent.

The price support program clearly benefits the higher income farmers rather than the poorer smaller farmers. A U.S. Dept. of Agriculture study in 1966 indicates that in 1966 farmers with value of sales of \$30,000 or more received net incomes averaging 129 percent of what a comparable amount of labor and capital would earn in non-farm uses. On the other hand, farmers with less than \$5,000 in value of sales received net incomes averaging only 31 percent of what comparable resources would have earned in non-farm uses. It would have been necessary to triple the prices of farm products to increase the returns on these small farms to levels that compared favorably with returns for comparable resources in non-farm uses.¹⁵ It is no wonder that the small farmer has attempted to move to places of economic opportunity only to find himself again disadvantaged. He is less skilled, less educated and is less able to compete with his urban counterpart and ends up in the lower economic stratum of the metropolitan community and becomes a burden on urban resources.

Those who remain are simply classified as the rural poor, and presently comprise about half of all the poor in the nation. When one considers the proportion of rural to urban population it can be seen that a larger portion of the poor is located in the rural areas. Presently 25 to 30

percent of rural population is considered poor or living in poverty while almost 15 percent of the urban population is classified as such.

HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE POLICY AND PROGRAMS

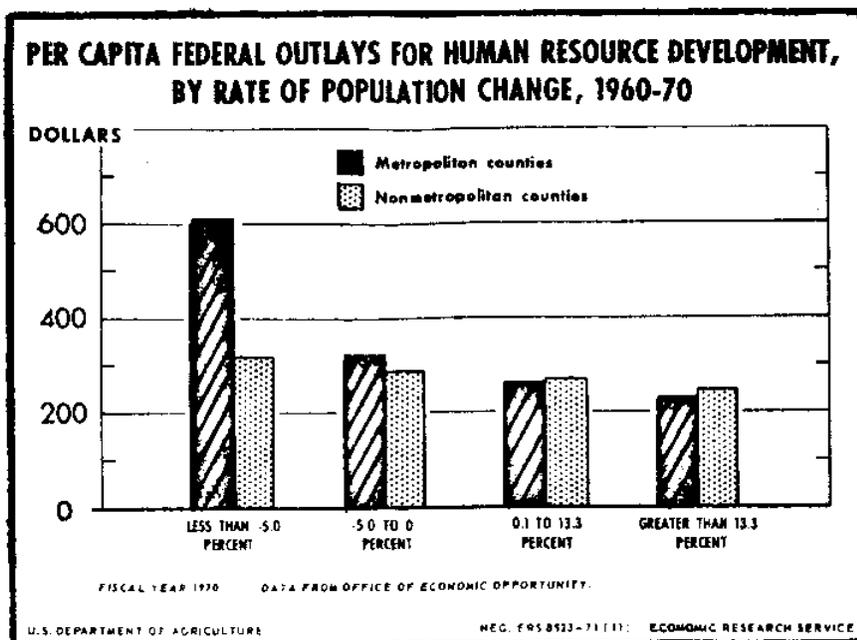
I have already discussed the level of poverty in both rural and urban areas and have shown the disproportionate number of poor in rural areas. It was also shown that the poor in rural areas receive a disproportionate amount of Federal assistance for housing. HEW has over 60 programs that are designed to provide for the Health, Education and Welfare of the poor and are directed toward aiding States, local governments and school districts with these problems. Thirty-three of the programs are directed toward all levels of education and it appears that this aid is equitably distributed between rural and urban areas with a few exceptions. It is difficult to determine, however, how equitable educational outlays are on a per capita basis because of differences in state aid to school districts and the basic taxing authority of individual school districts. No attempt will be made to determine this equity question. However, there are a few exceptions. Federal outlays for educational aid under the 1965 Education Act are disproportionate between rural and urban counties. Title I of this Act was to provide educational aid for the Elementary and Secondary Education of disadvantaged children in low-income areas. In a study by Hines (1971)¹⁶ it was shown that an equitable distribution of this aid would be in proportion to school age children in poverty in both rural and urban areas. However, this is not the way aid was distributed, with about half of school age children and poverty families located in the rural areas they received just over 40 percent of total Federal outlays for this program. They received only 36 percent of the aid for the Headstart and Headstart Follow Through Programs.

A similar situation exists with respect to Welfare and Health assistance. Keeping in mind that half of the nation's children living in poverty are located in rural areas, their families received 24 percent of the aid to families with dependant children and only 20 percent of Child Welfare Services funds. On a per capita basis, Federal welfare payments were about 4 times greater in metropolitan areas than in rural areas. Similarly, per capita outlays for health services were over 4 times greater for metropolitan areas than for rural areas.¹⁷

It appears that we as a nation have somehow misguided our good intentions to the point where we are favoring metropolitan areas to rural areas. (See Figures 22, 23, and 24) The significance of this with respect to population growth and distribution is difficult to determine, but I'm sure in some small way these inequalities have contributed to rural migration and indirectly to the plight of our central cities.

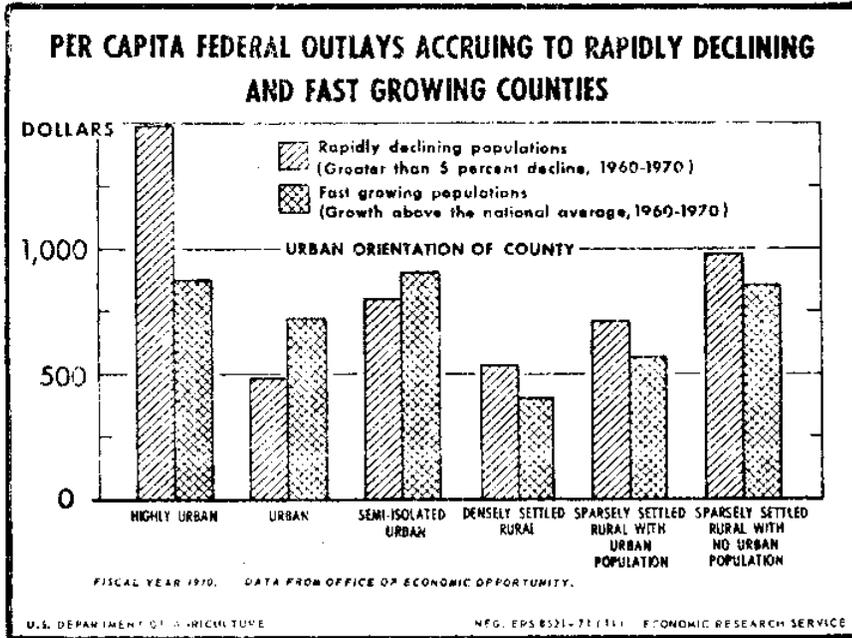
Presently there are a number of bills pending that are intended to completely revamp the existing welfare and health programs and modify the social security program. The new welfare program provides for a minimum income of \$2,400 with tighter work requirements. The basic idea behind this legislation is to relieve the financial burden of States and local welfare and health programs. As part of the welfare bill, Congress is expected to increase social security benefits by about 10%. That would bring the minimum payment up to \$200 a month (\$300 for a couple) regardless of how little they may have paid into the system during their working lives. A good case can be made for liberalizing benefits across the board. Social Security will be a fraud on the recipients if payments are not adjusted to keep up with inflation. But it appears that Congress is playing with an effective and accepted contributory social insurance

FIGURE 22



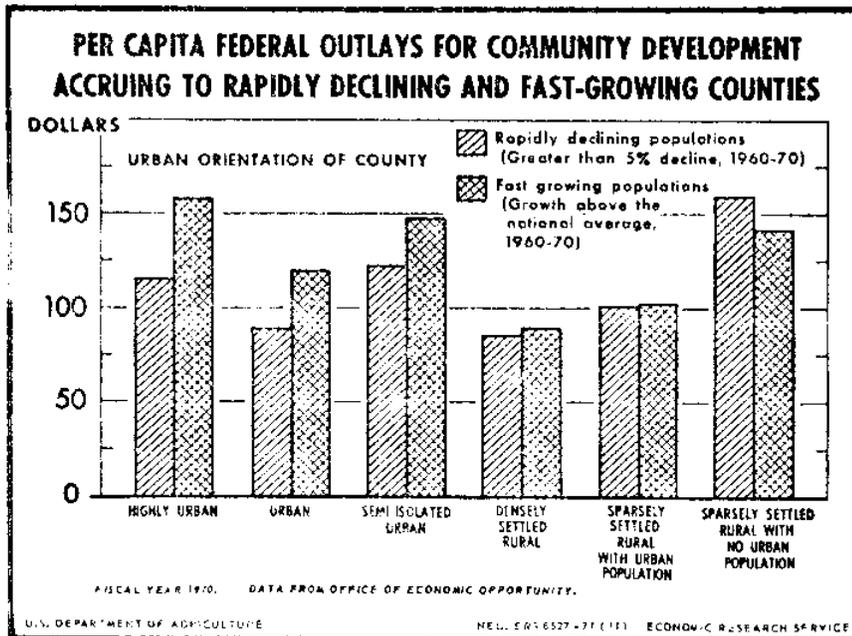
Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 3, op.cit., Figure 9, p. 21.

FIGURE 23



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 3, *op.cit.*, Figure 7, p. 19.

FIGURE 24



Source: *IBID.*, Figure 13, p. 24.

system and in effect is trying to mix contributory social insurance with public assistance as a political gimmick in an election year.¹⁸

TRANSPORTATION POLICY AND PROGRAMS

The U.S. has a long history of contributing toward the development of a transportation system. Numerous programs were designed to provide assistance for the development of railroads, navigation facilities, air transport, and highway systems. All of these programs have in some way contributed toward the development pattern that presently exists. In the 1800's and early 1900's these programs made significant contributions to the settlement of the West in a deliberate effort on the part of the Federal Government to populate the empty continent.¹⁹

During the late forties and early fifties, suburbanization was well under way around the nations central cities and the need for an adequate interstate highway system connecting these large commercial and industrial market centers was needed. To fulfill this need, the Federal Government instituted the Interstate Highway program. This program became the catalyst to the major suburban housing boom of the sixties that still continues. Under this program, Federal Government financed 90 percent of interstate highway construction. Although it was immediately apparent from the very beginning of the program building a highway of the capacity envisioned by the network planners would inevitably bring with it tremendous expansion of both housing and commerce. This effect was never noted or claimed by the program supporters. The program was sold as a means of meeting the transportation needs of the major urban centers. The result was that this system was constructed and continues to be constructed with almost a total lack of planning. Once the lines were drawn on a map between major centers, the details of how these lines would

Join the centers were left to the highway builders. They, in turn, built highways where they could and where it was cheapest. Since built-up land is more expensive than farm land and since political resistance to the highway invasion exists most powerfully in organized communities, the highways were built through open land and built-up areas were by-passed.²⁰ Small communities were isolated and even the centers, for which the system was designed, were left in relative isolation. In general, these highways came last to central cities and in some cases not at all.

The same situation is true of major International or Inter-continental airport development. One need only to look at the residential, commercial, and industrial development that have taken place around new major airport complexes. As an example, we can take the case of the Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Airport. Five years ago, land in Coppel, Texas, a tiny town between Dallas and Fort Worth, was selling for about \$1000 an acre. Today its worth \$10,000 per acre. In nearby Irving, a prime site sold for about \$5000 an acre three years ago, was recently appraised at more than \$50,000 an acre. New developments attracted by the airport include; a 6,500 acre new town, a 125 million dollar office complex, a 716 acre commercial and residential development, a covered shopping mall, a 500 and 270 acre business park, a 379 acre housing project, a 311 acre residential and shopping area, and a 1,300 acre, \$200 million residential, commercial and industrial development, just to mention a few developments. Under the most restrictive assumptions this area will become a home for over 52,000 people. The transportation system in this area will be over-taxed because about 200,000 cars are expected to visit the airport daily.²¹

We have become an extremely mobile society since the development and mass production of the automobile. This fact plus that of a rising standard of living have been the underlying factors for the mass movements

of the population across the nation from rural areas to metropolitan areas and from central cities to suburbia. The result has been congestion and pollution in all major metropolitan areas. The solution seems simple - mass transportation. The Federal Government has experimented with mass transit systems but public acceptance of these systems has been minimal. It is simply more convenient to use ones' personal automobile. A massive reorientation of society norms are needed if we are to mitigate the problems associated with private automobile transportation in our metropolitan areas. Some experimentation is being done. This is in the form of penalizing, with tolls, the privately owned vehicles using the highway network of metropolitan areas during peak hours of traffic. This is simply one experiment, more are needed. Somehow, the nation has to break its obsession with the automobile and get down to the business of cleaning our metropolitan areas of congestion and pollution.

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

A study by the Population Reference Bureau in 1971 looked at the effects of the civil rights movement on the distribution of the population.²² The Bureau's findings indicated that after the massive movement of blacks from the South to the industrial North, civil rights legislation slowly began to emerge on the national scene. The focal points of the new legislation were the major metropolitan centers in the industrial North. The expansion of civil rights together with the prospect of job opportunities acted like a magnet to draw more people to these areas. The concentration of blacks in central cities stimulated the movement of the white population to the suburbs and despite open housing laws, school integration and equal opportunity employment legislation a polarization of races has occurred. The suburbs are becoming increasingly white and

the central cities increasing black and again the nation has inadvertently created population distribution problems both in an aggregate sense and in the distribution of races. Perhaps we were right to begin with, that is; "separate but equal", because despite the nation's efforts toward racial equality, we have virtually the same conditions that existed prior to the initial movement.

LABOR POLICY AND PROGRAMS

There are presently 12 Federal programs aimed at providing employment opportunities and job training and development. Of these twelve, nine are administered by the Labor Department, two by OEO and one by HEW. In 1970, nearly 1.5 billion dollars was appropriated for these programs. Only 25 percent went to rural communities with less than 50,000 population. Federal outlays for manpower training and development on a per capita basis were 3 times greater for metropolitan areas than in rural areas.²³

In 1970, unemployment in rural areas was about 7.5 percent while the rate in metropolitan areas was about 5.2 percent.²⁴ (See Table 4) These figures, however, do not reflect the rate of underemployment in both rural and metropolitan areas. For example, in 1970, there were about 2.5 million farm workers, of this amount 44 percent were employed less than 25 days.²⁵ In addition, the median income based on educational levels of males in rural areas when compared with his counterpart in metropolitan areas range from 15 to 21 percent lower.²⁶ This is a result of poorer educational services in rural areas. A rough index of educational quality is the expenditure per pupil of local public school systems. On the average, rural areas spend only about one-fourth as much per pupil as do metropolitan areas. (\$160 per pupil vs. \$605 per pupil). Another measure, which is sometimes used, is expenditures per teacher. It also indicates

TABLE 4

Unemployment Rates of Persons
Over 16 Years, by Major Industry Group
1950-1970

Unemployment rates of persons 16 years and over, by major industry group: annual averages, 1950-70 (experienced wage and salary workers)

Year	Total	Agricultural	Nonagricultural
1950.....	6.0	9.0	3.9
1952.....	3.3	4.8	3.6
1954.....	7.0	8.9	6.7
1956.....	4.4	7.3	4.7
1958.....	7.3	10.3	7.9
1960.....	5.7	8.3	6.2
1962.....	5.6	7.5	6.1
1964.....	5.0	9.7	5.4
1966.....	3.5	6.6	3.8
1968.....	3.4	6.3	3.0
1970.....	4.8	7.5	5.2

Source: Manpower Report of the President, April 1971, table A-16, p. 223.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1,
op.cit., p. 69.

that educational services in rural areas are poor.²⁷ (See Figure 25 and Tables 5 and 6)

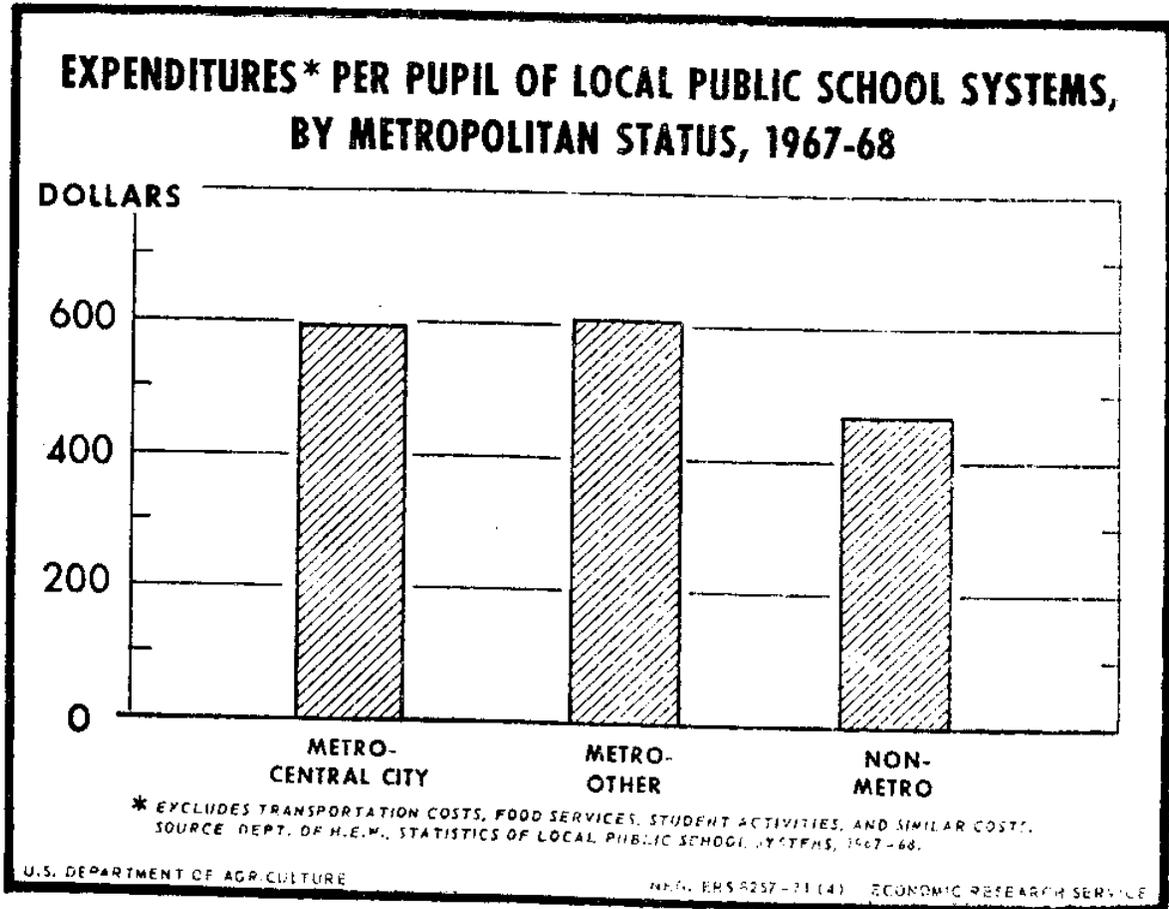
The problem is complex, we can see how education is related to income levels and ultimately to unemployment or underemployment levels. The programs discussed above have left the underemployed of rural areas with little or no hope of increasing their skills through job training programs. As in the case with Health, Education, Welfare, and Housing programs, Labor programs appear to be metropolitan oriented. If we hope to achieve a balanced growth in rural and urban America, this disparity must be resolved. A reappraisal of the distributional effects of Federal outlays in these programs would seem necessary if we are to insure equitable distribution of government resources among all Americans while at the same time using these programs to promote development of our rural and metropolitan areas.

AREA AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS²⁸

It was nearly 20 years after the close of WWII before any meaningful legislative action was taken to help economically depressed areas. However, prior to this legislation there was only minor interest in the problems of depressed areas.

In 1946, with returning G.I.'s and the transition from a war-time to a peace time economy in progress, a recession set in and unemployment rates were high. The Full Employment Act of 1946 was passed and established as a national goal, the policy of creating full employment. Following this Act, unemployment persisted in certain areas and as a result, the Economic Expansion Act of 1949 was passed. This Act was designed to retrain and relocate unemployed workers and to promote preferential policies and other assistance to economically and socially

FIGURE 25



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 105.

TABLE 5

*Educational attainment of persons 25 years and over, by color and residence,
March 1970*

Age and residence	Percent of population with--			
	8 years of school or less		12 years of school or more	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Total.....	26.1	43.0	57.4	33.7
Metropolitan areas.....	22.1	36.0	61.5	38.8
Nonmetropolitan areas.....	33.2	60.9	50.0	20.6
Nonfarm.....	31.7	59.1	51.2	21.6
Farm.....	43.1	74.5	42.0	11.9
25 to 44 years.....	11.8	22.4	71.6	47.9
Metropolitan areas.....	9.4	18.0	74.7	52.2
Nonmetropolitan areas.....	16.5	36.3	65.9	34.2
Nonfarm.....	15.9	34.3	66.2	35.3
Farm.....	21.8	54.1	62.3	23.7
45 years and over.....	36.8	63.1	46.6	19.9
Metropolitan areas.....	32.1	55.7	51.2	24.2
Nonmetropolitan areas.....	44.9	78.9	38.7	10.5
Nonfarm.....	43.4	77.9	40.0	11.3
Farm.....	53.5	86.4	31.9	4.6

Source: Manpower Report of the President, April 1971, p. 132.

TABLE 6

*Median income for males 25 to 54 years of age, by years of school completed,
1968 and 1969*

[1968 dollars]

Educational attainment	Metropolitan areas		Nonmetropolitan areas		Median nonmetro income as percent of metro median	
	1968	1969	1968	1969	1968	1969
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Percent	Percent
Elementary:						
8 years or less.....	6,094	5,177	4,803	3,512	79	68
High school:						
1 to 3 years.....	7,303	6,115	6,248	5,201	86	85
4 years.....	8,350	6,793	7,297	5,716	87	84
College:						
1 year or more.....	10,363	8,339	8,804	7,301	85	88
4 years or more.....	11,395	9,251	9,740	7,915	85	86

Source: Current Population Reports, Special Studies, "Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas," Series P-23, No. 33, Sept. 3, 1970, Bureau of the Census, table 39, p. 43.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, *op.cit.*, Both Tables, pp. 93 and 99, respectively.

depressed areas. With the economic recovery of 1950, and continuing through to 1955, little interest could be stimulated in the Congress for aid to economically depressed areas. The general feeling of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, was that specific areas of chronic unemployment were local problems and should be handled by local and state governments.

Throughout the late fifties, spurred by Democratic control of the House and Senate, a number of attempts were made to pass legislation providing aid to depressed areas with chronic or rising unemployment rates and low levels of income. Known as the Douglas Bill, the proposed legislation was to provide for the establishment of a building program designed to improve the basic infrastructure and public services of depressed areas, the expansion of unemployment insurance, and job training programs. The bill was killed by the House Rules Committee in 1957, reintroduced, passed by the Congress and vetoed by the President. It became an issue in the 1958 Congressional Campaign which saw a Democratic landslide. The bill was reintroduced again, and again vetoed by the President. The primary objections to the bill were; 100 percent grants for public facilities, loose eligibility criteria, assistance to rural areas, lack of local participation for industrial and commercial loans, and the assignment of the program to the Housing and Home Finance Agency instead of to the more conservative Department of Commerce. Thus, an issue was raised for the Presidential Campaign of 1960 and it is generally felt that this issue played a role in the election of John F. Kennedy.

President Kennedy was aware of the problems of the nation's economically depressed areas and one of his first legislative proposals was basically the Douglas Bill with the only addition that the program be administered by a new agency; the Area Redevelopment Administration

(ARA) within the Department of Commerce.

At the State level, a parallel movement began among the Appalachian States in the early 50's to work together toward a solution of the many social and economic problems common to the States. In 1960, the Governors of these states met to determine what course of action they might take in the solution to their problems.

Subsequent conferences led to the development of a broad comprehensive approach toward the revitalization and redevelopment of the Appalachia Region. The program included proposals for the development of highways, water control facilities, plus programs directed toward forestry, agriculture, municipal resources, industrial and community development, education, health and welfare. The Conference of Appalachian Governors (CAG) presented their recommendations to the President asking him to create an Appalachian Regional Commission. Since the bill creating the ARA had just been signed, the President felt that the new agency needed a chance to see what it could do so he established a special liaison between the CAG and ARA.²⁹

The new agency was virtually doomed to begin with. There were limited funds for inexpensive business loans (175 million) and limited funds for the construction of public facilities (175 million).³⁰ There were also problems of getting an experienced staff, coordination with other agencies, defining a workable program, developing techniques for economic background studies, and finally, an effective research and information system. As initially envisioned the agency was supposed to benefit about 69 surplus labor and small industrial areas. However, these were expanded eventually to about 1000 communities with stagnating economies. The effect was that the agencies funds were spread too thin

across the nation to be effective. The agency during this period did administer the Public Works Acceleration Act that provided \$900 million for public works. However, this program was short termed and limited each state to a maximum of 10 percent of the funds. In addition, grants were limited to 75 percent of project costs.³¹

The Appalachia area received some funds for economic development and funds for the development of an Overall Economic Development Program that described the areas major activities, trends, opportunities and problems. The basic idea was to identify communities and resources that would attract industry. It became apparent after about 2 years of operation that ARA could not help the Appalachia area with its problems to the degree necessary to stimulate redevelopment. This fact, coupled with the Appalachian floods of 1963, stimulated action by the CAG and the President. On 9 April 1963, the President established the Presidents Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC) to study the problems and prepare a plan of action for the region.³²

Even though the ARA had many problems, its main goals were of interest to the Johnson Administration. So rather than eliminating the program, it was modified with the passage of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. This Act doubled the appropriations for the agency, more than doubled its staff and the agency, (ARA) was renamed the Economic Development Administration (EDA). In addition, the Appalachia Regional Development Act of 1965 put the PARC under the administration of EDA.³³

The Act established larger districts and regions and reduced the total number of areas designated as economically depressed. Under this Act there were 3 levels of planning units:

1. The redevelopment area. The criteria used to identify these areas were basically income levels (less than 40% of the national median), population loss due to lack of employment opportunities, an unusual or abrupt rise in unemployment due to closing or threatened closing of a major employment source, and finally persistent unemployment in excess of 6%.
2. Economic Development District (EDD). These were multi-county units that contained at least 2 redevelopment areas and an urban center of less than 250,000 people. The urban center was destined to become the growth pole of economic development within the district. The purpose was to stimulate growth of these centers to the point where growth would become self-sustaining and would benefit the whole district.
3. The largest planning unit was the Regional Planning Unit which encompassed several states. These commissions were established for the Ozarks, the Four Corners area, the Upper Great Lakes, New England, and Alaska, in addition to Appalachia. The Commissions were to evaluate and develop the strategies for the development of each region and determine the optimum benefits from investment within the region.

EDA's functions were primarily aimed at economically depressed areas with little or no emphasis on the problems of central cities although their problems were quite similar. It wasn't until the Watts riot in 1965 that the EDA began to look at problems of large cities. It began a program in Oakland, California which resulted in about 3,250 jobs for

the hard core unemployed, provided \$9 million dollars in loans and \$14 million dollars in grants to the city and port authority to develop port, airport, industrial and highway facilities.

Just how effective were the ARA and EDA in handling programs in depressed regions? The study by Lloyd Rodwin indicates that EDA learned that little could be accomplished on the county level and that larger planning regions such as the Economic Development Districts (EDD) were most effective. However, within these regions a coordinated regional program of development and development expenditures was needed. Separate and unrelated projects simply did not work and jobs could not be brought to every village and hamlet in the United States. Further, the study shows that 182 jobs were created for every million dollars invested, however, it was shown that those who received the jobs were not the "target" group of the disadvantaged population as had been intended by the program. The average impact of job training and job creation because of the scale of these programs was trivial. However, recent statistics of EDA's Appalachian region indicates that unemployment has dropped from 6.0% in 1962 to 3.2% in 1969.³⁴ Part of this decrease may be attributed to the economic boom of the 60's. During the same period, total employment in the Appalachian Region rose by over 4 million persons.³⁵

While the intent of EDA was to develop growth centers within EDD's by concentrating Federal investment in these centers, it can be shown that there was considerable pressure to disperse investment based on the "worst-first" criteria and the strategy regarding the growth poles concept was weakened. This strategy was also weakened because of the ambiguous definition of growth poles and criteria used to select them. As of March 1969, 68 EDD's and 88 growth centers had been established and a study by the Planning Research Corporation indicates that of the 125 loans

approved by EDA through June 1967, 104 went to different counties.³⁶ The effect being that the concentration of investment in growth centers was not being accomplished. In fact "the only instance in which individual loans appear to have been geographically coordinated to any substantial degree was in the unique case of Oakland, California where seven individual projects (had) been approved."³⁷

Another study by Fuller,³⁸ shows in case studies, mixed success by EDA in stimulating growth in growth centers of the Appalachian Region. It appears that the problems in developing these growth centers within Economic Development Districts centered around the fact that the redevelopment areas had to show evidence of community agreement on development plans. This agreement by business, labor, agriculture and minority groups plus the local political structure represented on the advisory committee of the EDD's at times was difficult to achieve and neither the EDD's nor the regional planning commissions could substitute for the vigorous, aggressive, public or private corporations needed to carry out these programs.³⁹

According to Rodwin, the most serious problem was the inability of EDA to extend aid to metropolitan areas, because according to the definition of redevelopment area, unemployment had to exist throughout a city or county. In many of our metropolitan regions, the high unemployment of the ghettos in central cities is offset by high employment rates in the surrounding suburbanized areas. Oakland, California was the only exception.

It appears then that the basic ideas and strategies of EDA are fairly sound, but the need for stronger control, coordination, and concentration of programs is needed. In the next section, I shall propose modifications to the overall strategy as it relates to economic development and population redistribution. It should be noted that

despite the EDA programs in Appalachia the region lost 1,207,000 people during the period 1960-70.⁴⁰

SUMMARY

It is difficult to point a finger at the Federal Government and blatantly say that it has been the major cause, through its programs, of many of the ills associated with the present distribution of the population. When one considers historically the political and social pressures by various interests, one can see why the government acted as it did.

Given the present set of circumstances, the problems of rural and urban America have just recently (10-15 years) become an issue. The civil rights movement and the general condition of poverty amongst plenty has brought the issue into focus in government circles.

Nor can we ignore the previous decisions of the private sector. When we consider the locational factors involved in industrial decision making with respect to location, it seems logical that we have the population distribution pattern that presently exists. Market areas, human resources, natural resources, transportation linkages and agglomeration economies have all contributed to industrial location and the ultimate location of job and economic opportunities for the populace. Just as we have seen the migration trend to the West and Northeast during the 40's and 50's, we can presently see a migration to the Southeast, South Central and Southwest.

It appears that the normal market conditions of our economy have led us to our present situation. The question now is whether we as a nation can modify these market conditions in a way that will not adversely affect our economy while at the same time, modifying the

population distribution to increase the overall quality of life in this country. The burden of this modification falls on the shoulders of the Federal, State and local governments plus the private sector.

In recent years, since 1968, the Federal Government has been actively studying the nations population growth and distribution problems. A number of commissions have studied the problems including the Kerner Commission (1968),⁴¹ the Douglas Commission (1969),⁴² the Kaiser Committee (1969),⁴³ and finally the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future (1972).⁴⁴

All of these Commissions have in some way identified the problems from different perspectives and have recommended national strategies for their solution. Similarly, private institutions and individual researchers have also investigated the problems and have made their recommendations.

All of the strategies are concerned with the problems of urban congestion, the locational mis-match of jobs and people, the linkage of urban and rural problems and urban sprawl. The solutions center around industrial location, population mobility, community development, human resource development and the planning roles of Federal, State and local governments.

The Congress and the President have cited the need for an overall national policy and strategy, but to date the recommendations of the Commissions mentioned above have not been formalized into such a policy.

However, there is a feeling in some quarters that the Federal Government should not make a formal statement of policy regarding population growth and distribution until significant questions regarding such a policy are answered.

Among the proponents of this philosophy is Dr. Lowdon Wingo, who raises some interesting questions regarding such a policy. His basic question is that if the (existing) system is so stable that no available social interventions can substantially alter it, an urban (or rural) growth and distribution policy is academic. What is needed are studies that would show that governmental intervention would have a positive effect. Wingo cites six major, but not exclusive, areas of research that are needed.⁴⁵

These are:

1. The general analytics of optimum city size.
2. (The) private costs and benefits as a function of city size and economic composition.
3. The negative and positive externalities as a function of city size and economic composition (and vice versa).
4. The distribution of city sizes in a national system as a function of the composition of the national economy, technology, incomes, consumer preferences and transport costs.
5. The current and capital costs of producing and distributing overhead services as a function of city size.
6. The welfare characteristics of internal migration.

No one can say that Dr. Wingo is wrong in identifying the areas of research needed and it is important that we continue our research. In the interim, however, the nation should move cautiously but with flexibility into an area that needs our immediate attention. Congress has stated that the population growth and distribution problem in both urban and rural America must be given the highest priority.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the various strategies proposed by various governmental and private groups. I will then attempt to develop an overall strategy that would incorporate the best features of each.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER II

¹ Leonard B. Dworsky, "The Nation and Its Water Resources" (unpublished research paper, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1971), Note: The paper traces the development of Federal Involvement in the development of the nations resources.

² IBID.

³ Lloyd Rodwin, Nations and Cities (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), p. 236.

⁴ IBID., pp. 241-242.

⁵ Lowdon Wingo, "Issues in a National Urban Development Strategy for the United States," Urban Studies (Washington: Resources for the Future, 1972), p. 5.

⁶ The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, The People Left Behind (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 93.

⁷ Computed from data presented on Figure 19. See Figure for data source.

⁸ The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, op.cit., p. 93.

⁹ IBID.

¹⁰ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, The Economic and Social Condition of Rural America in the 1970's, Part 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. XII. This part presents an indepth study by Dr. Fred Hines of ERS into the Distribution of Federal Outlays Among U.S. Counties.

¹¹ United States Congress, Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970, Title VII, Section 701.

¹² United States Congress, Agricultural Act of 1970, Title IX, Section 901(a).

¹³ The 30 million people on farms in 1940 would have grown to 60 million under conservative natural increase assumptions and zero out-migration rates. The present rural farm population is less than 10 million. (See Wingo, op.cit., p. 43).

¹⁴ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., pp. 29-57; U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Section 8, pp. 206-238; The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, op.cit., Chapters 4 and 13.

¹⁵The Presidents National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, op.cit., p. 143; Charles L. Schultze, Setting National Priorities: The 1971 Budget (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1970), pp. 173-174.

¹⁶U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 3, op.cit., pp. XII-XIII, 32-33.

¹⁷IBID., p. XII, 21-24.

¹⁸Editorial, "Raid on Social Security," Business Week, April 6, 1972, p. 80.

¹⁹See footnote No. 1.

²⁰The Population Bulletin, Where Will the Next 50 Million Americans Live (Washington: Population Reference Bureau Inc., Oct. 1971), pp. 24-25.

²¹Article, "The Land Boom at a Texas Airport," Business Week, March 11, 1972, pp. 116-117.

²²The Population Bulletin, op.cit., p. 24.

²³U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 3, op.cit., pp. XII, 20-22 and Appendix Table 8, pp. 43-53.

²⁴U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 68 - 69.

²⁵IBID., pp. 62-67.

²⁶IBID., pp. 92-101.

²⁷IBID., pp. 104-105.

²⁸The historical perspective to be shown in the following paragraphs are drawn largely from studies by Rodwin (op.cit., pp. 222-235) and Donald N. Rothblatt, Regional Planning: The Appalachian Experience (Lexington, Heath Lexington Books, 1971), pp. 1-64.

²⁹Donald N. Rothblatt, op.cit., p. 49.

³⁰Lloyd Rodwin, op.cit., pp. 225-235.

³¹IBID., pp. 226-227.

³²IBID., pp. 227-228.

³³IBID., p. 228.

³⁴U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 519, p. 325.

³⁵IBID., Table No. 519, p. 325.

³⁶Planning Research Corporation, Evaluation of Alternatives to the Business Loan Program PRCR-1108 (Los Angeles and Washington: Planning Research Corp., 1968), pp. 1-5.

³⁷ IBID., p. 5.

³⁸ Steven S. Fuller, "The Appalachian Experiment: Growth or Development (Unpublished Ph'd thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1969), pp. 97-213.

³⁹ Lloyd Rodwin, op.cit., p. 234.

⁴⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 519, p. 325.

⁴¹ The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders ("Kerner Commission"), Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968).

⁴² The National Commission on Urban Problems ("Douglas Commission"), Building the American City, House Document No. 91-34, 91st. Congress, 1st. Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968).

⁴³ The President's Committee on Urban Housing ("Kaiser Committee"), A Decent Home (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969).

⁴⁴ The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit.

⁴⁵ Lowden Wingo, op.cit., pp. 24-41.

CHAPTER III

ELEMENTS OF A POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION STRATEGY

GENERAL

We have up to now identified the basic problems associated with past population growth and migrations that has resulted in the present pattern of population distribution in these United States. We have also looked at the impact of explicit and implicit Federal Government programs and how they have contributed to the distribution problem. Implied also is general lack of planning and action at state and local levels of government in dealing with the location and growth of the population within their respective jurisdictions.

In the future, if present trends of metropolitanization continue, we can expect about 85 percent of our population to be living in cities of 50,000 or more by the year 2000.¹ (See Figure 26) Even more startling will be the fact that 60 to 70 percent of the population will be living in three, possibly four, major population belts on the West Coast, East Coast, Great Lakes, and possibly the Gulf Coast. The result of this concentration of the populace will have significant social, political, economic and environmental implications.

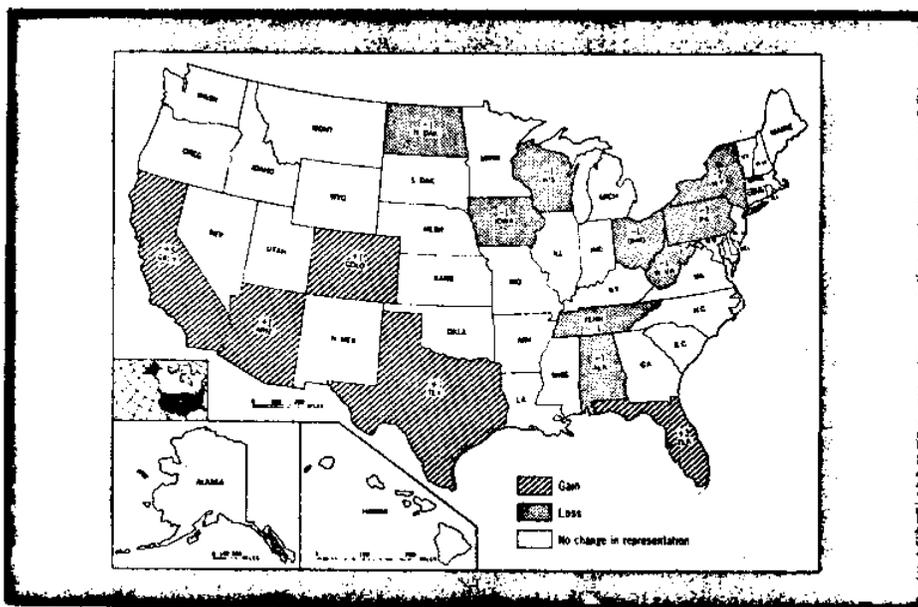
Between 1960 and 1970, 3 states actually lost population and an additional 9 states could very well lose population during the 70's.² Even more significant is the fact that 26 states had negative migration rates during the sixties.³ This is to say that more people moved out of the state than moved in and that only the natural increase in population kept these states from losing population. With a fertility rate that continues to decline despite the fact that the "boom babies" of the forties and fifties are reaching their most reproductive years, I can

envison many more states losing population. In general, it appears that the problem of declining population at the county level is rapidly spreading to the state level, but it simply doesn't end there. States will be losing their most valuable resource--the most highly educated, productive and social backbone of the populace. Not to mention the fact that they are also taxpayers. Thus, the economic viability of these states is also threatened.

We have already discussed the social, economic and environmental implications of this concentration and depopulation to various segments of society, however there are also governmental implications. Since migration and growth are not restricted to political boundaries, the distribution and growth of the population could have profound effects on governments at all levels, but particularly the Federal level. Since the size of the House of Representatives was fixed at 435 members in 1910, average congressional constituency has grown from 211,000 in 1910 to 470,000 in 1970 with the prospect of this constituency growing to between 623,000 and 741,000 by the year 2000.⁴ (See Figure 27) Individual voices in government could be lost in the crowd. However, the major problem will be that representation will follow the people. As an example, California presently has 10 percent of seats in the House of Representatives. If migration to California continues coupled with the natural increase in population, California's representation will grow to 14 percent by the year 2000. The result will be that California will have 20 percent of the electoral votes needed to elect the President. This has certain implications regardless of the two Houses of Congress. The power structure in the Federal government could shift toward a relatively few fast growing sections of the country and extreme sectionalism in this country could again prevail.

FIGURE 27

GAIN OR LOSS OF MEMBERSHIP IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
BY STATES, BASED ON 1970 CENSUS



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Figure XXII,
p. 356.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will identify and analyze the possible elements that might be incorporated into a population redistribution strategy. In my view there are five such elements; one behavioral and four structural. Behavioral in the sense that there are social, political and economic norms which make up an invisible barrier to changing the status quo. The word "Establishment" is probably used in this context. The success of any of the structural elements (implementation of policies) of a population redistribution strategy depends a great deal on how the triplex of norms are satisfied or threatened by any action on the part of the Federal Government. Acceptance or rejection of any strategy is dependent on the degree of positive, negative or no response from the so-called Establishment. The problem here becomes one of identifying, 1) What are the political, social and economic norms that prevail within this country, 2) What are the interactions between these norms, 3) Who are responsible for these interactions, 4) Where are the pressure points of these norms, and 5) How (if possible) can these norms be changed?

BEHAVIORAL ELEMENT

The problem of identifying these 3 types of norms is behavioral in nature, i.e., the social, political and economic behavior of individuals and firms. The underlying norm of the whole "Establishment", I believe, is the free enterprise system involving the interactions of firms (in a broad sense) and individuals. Firms in the true economic sense of profit maximizers and individuals seeking to maximize income, their marginal utility of that income, social status, and the quality of life. The goals of these individuals are not exclusive and indeed they may conflict with each other.

Social Norms

It is difficult to determine a complete listing of what might be termed social norms. It appears that these norms, however, owe their beginnings to a strong religious heritage that was the basis for much of the moral code that exists in the world today. In the U.S. as well as other countries, the moral code has been transformed into constitutional rights, criminal codes and legal codes. We have taken for granted many of our basic freedoms and measure each individual's contribution to society by these various codes. Each individual's public behavior is subject to critical review, judgment and at times punishment. It appears then that the first social norms are those standards dictated by our moral code that measures an individual's interactions with every member of society.

The second social norm, in my opinion, is the one concerned with the quality of life. Here we have a norm that is somewhat vague. It is behavioral in a sense because it refers to providing for the basic needs for survival on one end of a scale, to basking in lavish luxury on the other end. When speaking of quality of life we can think of things abstract or concrete. Abstract in the sense that the aesthetics of our physical and social environment add to our general well being and concrete in the sense of a rising standard of living. Included perhaps in the notion of quality of life, although in many cases could be considered as separate norms, are the standards that society sets for education, welfare and health.

With respect to education, there is the standard that all individuals should have a decent education not only in the sense of amount but also in the sense of quality. This standard is reflected in many state laws which require compulsory education of individuals until they

reach 16 years of age. It is also generally accepted in society that education is to be a public good that is provided to all who seek it (non-exclusionary) and to be paid for out of tax revenues; but here lies a paradox. While society demands a so-called free education to the nation's youth, it resists paying for quality in the educational system. The most recent example of this has been the turmoil over wages for teachers. It appears that society, up until recent times, demands that teachers should consider their dedication to educating the nation's youth at the expense and sometimes hardship of foregoing high and adequate wages. With better economic opportunities available, many potential high quality instructors have sought employment elsewhere. This problem is being somewhat mitigated by the recent over supply of teachers in the educational job market to the point where administrators in education can be more selective for their personnel. This again will lead to problems because this over supply of teachers will tend to depress wages somewhat.

Then there is the social norm that is concerned with the general welfare of the nation's populace. Society demands that individuals receive their compensation or income by performing some useful function and contributing to the general well being of society. Thus, the level of an individual's productivity is directly related to the level of income received. With this as the underlying notion, society seems to ignore the means by which an individual becomes a productive element of society. There are other social barriers such as, racism, the amount and quality of education, immobility, age, etc., which prevent nearly 25 million individuals from achieving even a bare subsistence level of income. Society on one hand sets the norm or goal but fails to offer any viable means to certain segments of our society to achieve these norms. Attempts have been made and are continuing to be made to improve the

welfare, housing and income levels of the poor and disadvantaged. But some of these programs have had varying degrees of success. For the most part most programs aimed at solving the problems of welfare, health, education, and housing of the disadvantaged groups have been largely unsuccessful.

These programs for the most part missed the groups targeted for help because the social, economic, and political norms or barriers prevented their success. The underlying fear of the societal, political and economic spheres is that some people will be getting "something for nothing." It appears that these spheres recognize the problems associated with the poor and disadvantaged and yet will only go "so far" in solving the problems. Assistance beyond this point appears to be resisted by 2 basic norms. The first is the notion that once the poor are "put on their feet" the disadvantaged should develop the momentum to carry them out of their disadvantaged situation. The second norm may be the fear of being exploited by the poor and other participants in the programs. This second norm is perhaps the most important.

The poor or disadvantaged appear to be poor money managers and are generally not wise in the worldly method of handling their personal affairs. As such, they become targets for unscrupulous landlords, money lenders, retailers, speculators, etc. Examples of this exploitation can be found in any major central city. However, a recent example of this exploitation came to light in the Federal Government's subsidized housing program. The program, administered by HUD under Section 235 and 236 of the Housing Act of 1968, provides for subsidized housing for the poor. The basic idea is to eliminate the stigma of the poor living in public housing projects and to give them access to the regular housing market. The program allowed the poor to put a minimum down payment on a house

(\$200) with the Federal Government paying all interest charges down to one percent on a 40 year mortgage. A large number of cases of fraud were discovered. Speculators would purchase run down houses at "fire sale" prices and find a friendly FHA appraiser who would appraise the value of the house 4 or 5 times its actual purchase price.⁵ The result being that the poor would end up paying considerably more for a house that is in poor if not unliveable condition. In some cases, the speculators would slap some paint on houses that were actually structurally unsound simply to get a high appraisal value. In many cases the people move into the house only to find out that it was condemned by city inspectors because of building code violations. The people move out and the Federal Government is left holding the mortgage. Vandals then take over and inflict an average of \$2000 damage per house.⁶ In Detroit alone the Federal Government is "stuck" with 150 million dollars of mortgages.⁷ The total national cost and potential loss to date is 2.4 billion dollars.⁸ In addition, the annual subsidy payments now amount to 1.4 billion dollars and this figure is expected to rise to 7.5 billion dollars by the year 1978.⁹ The cost and loss is staggering and yet the poor are not really being served.

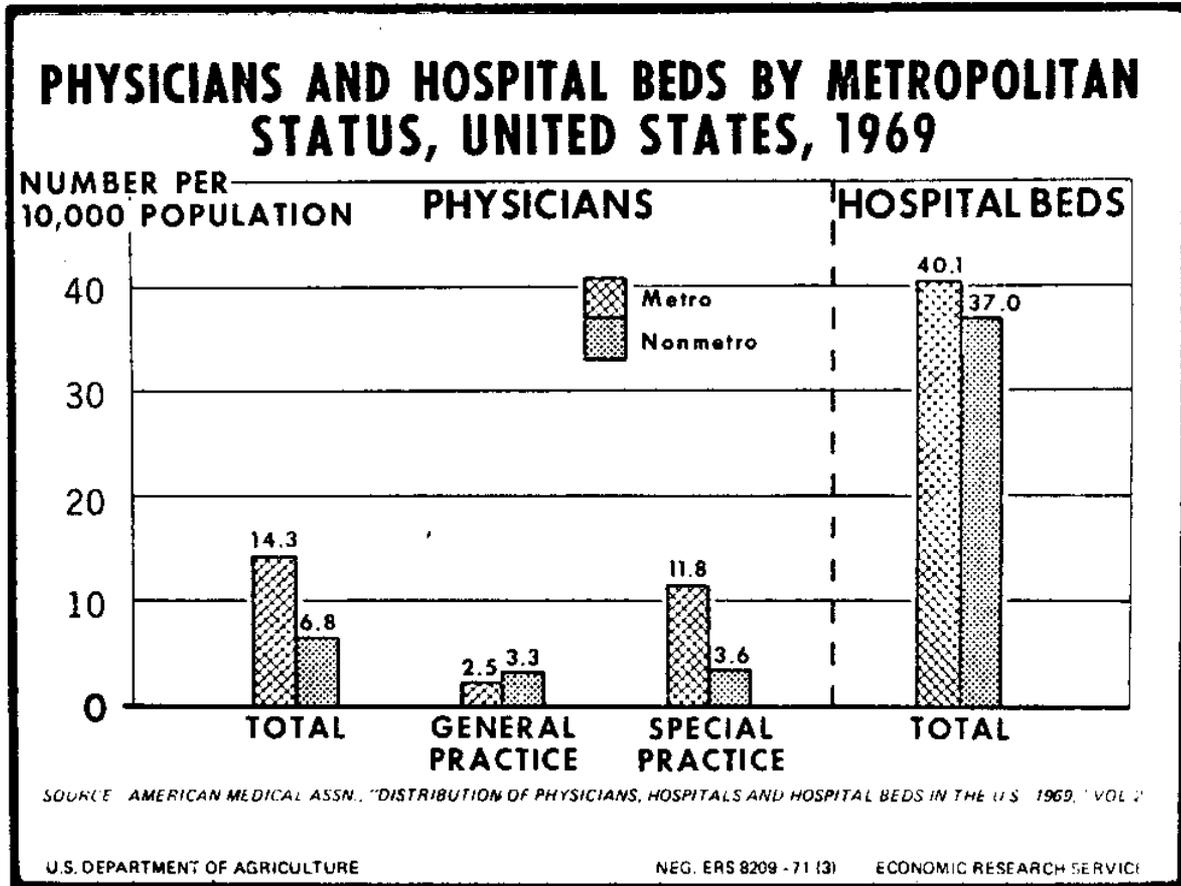
In the area of health, society demands that certain health standards be met for its own protection. The water, food and drugs we use are all subject to rigorous health standards. Society also demands protection from infectious diseases through many immunization programs. In spite of these standards many of the nation's poor receive little if any health protection and services despite the valiant efforts of a relatively few dedicated members of the medical profession. Within this country we can still find malnutrition, high infant mortality and many other diseases associated with the poor.¹⁰ It seems we are obsessed with the notion of

willingness to pay or ability to pay for health services. Socialized medicine or some type of national health insurance plan are considered out of the question by many interest groups. They seem to ignore the basic tenets of the medical profession that is to serve the needs of all society with respect to preventive medicine, general health, and physical and mental well being.

It would be an injustice to the medical profession to say that their sole motive for providing health services is profit, given the dedication of most medical practitioners. However, as dedicated as they are, health services of all types do not come cheap. It is difficult to equate the demand and supply of medical and health services. We appear to be in a situation where consumers prefer to avoid or remove circumstances that require using their resources for health services and they use these resources primarily to cure or provide services for the sick. There is little motivation because the cost to consumers to make use of medical services as a preventive measure is an effective deterrent. As an example, only 33 percent of the population purchase dental services per year and only 20 percent purchase medical services as a preventive measure per year.¹¹

While there is no question as to the quality of medical services rendered, it appears that we are being restrictive in our medical training of medical practitioners. In many areas of the county we need the quantity of medical persons even if it means sacrificing a bit of quality. (See Figure 28 and Table 7) Perhaps what we need is an intermediate group of medical practitioners, such as, paramedics who can serve the less serious needs of the populace, leaving the more serious problems to fully qualified medical specialists. It almost seems as though we are purposely restricting the supply of medical personnel in order to keep the demand

FIGURE 28



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 75.

TABLE 7

<i>Specialists and hospital-based physicians (1966)</i>		
	Per 100,000 population	Per 100 hospital beds
Greater metropolitan counties.....	137	34
Lesser metropolitan counties.....	95	25
Counties next to metro areas.....	38	12
Isolated semifurial counties.....	45	11
Isolated rural counties.....	8	4

Source: Health Care in Rural America, ERS-451, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, July 1970.

<i>Percent of hospitals accredited</i>		
Region	Metro counties with central cities	Nonmetro counties
Northeast.....	90	79
North Central.....	82	47
South.....	69	37
West.....	73	42
United States.....	78	45

Source: Health Care in Rural America, ERS-451, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, July 1970.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 71.

and therefore the price of their services high. I don't claim to know the solution, but perhaps socialized medicine or some kind of national health insurance together with the training of additional medical personnel is the answer. This approach seems to be working in both Eastern and Western European countries and I only wish to raise the question of why programs of this type would not work in these United States.

Finally, society demands protection of the basic rights outlined in the U.S. Constitution and its amendments. The police power of the states and the Federal Government is the basic tool used to protect these rights. Yet we see how the civil rights of many of our nation's minority groups and poor are violated despite the basic tenets of the Constitution and specific State and Federal legislation. The courts too appear to be powerless as in the case of civil rights. Despite the actions of the courts, the poor and disadvantaged minority groups, in general, always seem to be excluded from opportunities to become useful and successful members of society. Society seems to find the means to work around the law.

Political Norms

Political norms are generally characterized as being the unwritten "Rules of the Game." This is to say that an unwritten code exists within the political sphere by which political activity is governed.

The first of these rules is one concerned with conflict of interests between politicians and interests that they may represent, the second refers to the level of dependence a politician has on political contributions. By generally limiting the level or amount contributed by an interest group to a political campaign, a politician attempts to avoid the connotation of being bought out by a particular interest group.

However, no matter how modest a campaign contribution is to a politician, it serves one basic purpose. This is that it provides access to the political sphere where views on a particular issue can be heard. It is not unlike paying to have your "day in court" and gaining entrance to a political decision making body. Many groups of individuals have limited or no access to the political sphere and do not have their "day in court." It has only been in the last decade or so that actions have been taken by the Federal Government to assist economically depressed areas and attempt to create racial equality. In both areas there has been limited success as previously mentioned. The basic problem is that it is difficult for the poor and disadvantaged to organize into a viable interest group and because of this have little chance of gaining entry to the political sphere. Another problem is in the basic life style of the poor. They appear to look for the short run gain rather than the long run and appear not to understand the political process by which changes occur.

With the vast array for Federal programs and grants, the poor still seem to come out on the short end. In 1970, for example, Federal public assistance amounted to only 2.6 percent of the national budget.¹² (See also Figure 17, Chapter 1) Average monthly payments to the aged was \$77 in 1960 and \$78 in 1970.¹³ These amounts in themselves are a tragedy even when ignoring the deflated value of the \$78 over the 10-year period. A similar trend exists for the aid to dependent children program. In 1960 the average monthly payment per family was \$140 per month.¹⁴ In 1965 this average was \$171. In 1968, 69, and 70 it was \$188, \$186 and \$187 respectively.¹⁵ Thus, it appears that despite large increases in Federal expenditures over the ten year period (more than double) the poor and disadvantaged have actually lost money when one considers inflation. The dilemma is the result of having limited

access to the political sphere and the fact that the political sphere serves those who have the access. This is simply a fact of life so to speak. As stated earlier some means must be found to serve the 25 million poor in this land of plenty.

Economic Norms

I have already discussed how I believe that the free enterprise system and the interactions of firms and individuals play a significant role in the development of both social and political norms. To me it seems as though the key to meeting the social and political norms in this country is in achieving some unknown level of income and that, in turn, is dependent upon job opportunities. The equation for defining these relationships might look like the one shown below.

$$E = f(A + R + Ed + Sx)$$

where E = job opportunity or employment

A = age

R = race

Ed = education

Sx = sex

Carrying this a bit further:

$$I \text{ (Income)} = f(E) = f(A + R + Ed + Sx)$$

$$H \text{ (Housing)} = f(I)$$

$$S \text{ (Subsistence)} = f(I)$$

$$Q \text{ (Quality of life)} = f(I + H + S)$$

$$\text{and SS (Social Status)} = f(Q)$$

Given this simplistic formulation, it can be seen that keys to income and job opportunity are sex, age, race and education. One other factor also

comes into play, and that is, the health of the individual in each of these categories. Health in the sense that these individuals are employable and have no physical impairment to prevent their employment. The health factor appears to be the only constraint to the equation, despite the fact that many heads of households may in fact be women with dependent children. Here the social norm relating to the mother-child relationship could also be a constraint if Day Care centers were not available.

Summary

These triplex of norms are so interrelated that it is difficult to distinguish the sphere in which they originate. Society is made up of various demand groups that stimulate the political sphere into action. The result of this action appears for the most part to be economic gains for the demand groups in the form of higher incomes, cheaper housing, lower taxes, etc. These economic gains are then transformed into a higher standard of living with additional demands from society. The system appears to feed on itself as momentum is gained and continues to spiral upward. In this spiral, elements of social conscience and social justice began to appear, but their impact appears to get lost in the momentum. As an example, total Federal, State and local expenditures for public aid, health and medical programs, housing assistance and other social welfare programs, excluding social security and educational expenditures, amounted to only 3.2 percent (or 30.4 billion dollars) of this nation's total 1970 Gross National Product.¹⁶ Any cynic would say that the nation tossed out a few crumbs of bread to the poor.

Within the context of the social, political and economic norms described above the nation must find some means of increasing the overall quality of life for all of the nation's people and provide them with

viable options as to where they could live given the problems associated with the present pattern of population distribution.

In the following sections I will attempt to identify the four elements that could be used in an overall population distribution strategy that would contribute to the two goals mentioned above.

REGIONAL GROWTH POLE ELEMENT

General

This element is perhaps the most important of the four structural elements to be discussed in this chapter, because it can be the focal point for the application of the other elements to be discussed. With this element efforts would be made to develop an urban center that would deflect or redirect population growth from the suburbs in large metropolitan areas while at the same time serving the needs of rural areas within a specific region. With respect to rural areas, it is envisioned that these centers would provide residents of rural areas job opportunities plus a social and cultural infrastructure in which they can participate.

This element is within the context of Central Place Theory, which attempts to explain the spatial patterning of cities. Significant contributions to this theory were made by Losch,¹⁷ Christaller¹⁸ and Weber¹⁹ with extensions by Hoover²⁰ and Izard.²¹ These researchers have attempted to identify why we have the existing pattern of cities. The studies indicate that as one proceeds from smaller to larger class sizes of cities, the distance separating cities of like class size also increases. Others have attempted correlating city size with market area complex.²² Within the context of this research, the development growth centers is basically the stimulated and controlled development of intermediate size cities with the idea of diverting the growth of metropolitan areas to these

centers. The centers chosen would already have an industrial base and could provide basic community services. It is in these centers where the greatest potential for growth lies and it is in these communities where Federal, State and local planning and financial assistance can be used most effectively in satisfying the goals of a National Population Redistribution Policy. The basic problem is in identifying these growth centers and the region they will serve.

Identification of Growth Poles

Numerous attempts have been made to identify growth poles or centers in both the U.S. and other countries. However, prior to discussing two of the attempts made at identifying these centers, some attempt must be made to define the type of growth wanted in these centers. Basically, we want controlled population growth. This is to say that we want to begin with a series of smaller cities, of say 50,000²³ to 250,000 population,²⁴ and stimulate their population growth to a maximum of about 500,000 persons. However, given the interactions of the social, political and economic spheres of influence and the basic premise that each individual wishes to maximize his quality of life and standard of living, population growth can be assumed to be dependent upon economic growth, even though there is considerable debate on the correlation of economic growth and population growth.²⁵ For this thesis, economic growth is defined as increases in income (family and per capita), output, and wealth plus the amenities, in non-market values, offered by physical, social, and cultural environments. This leads further to the basic problem of providing individuals with economic opportunities or employment opportunities in an environment that individuals wish to live. Finally, this leads us to the problem of stimulating the movement of industry of all types to these centers in

order to provide the jobs necessary to support a targeted population for a particular growth center. Within the context of Industrial Location Theory (Weber, 1929; Hoover, 1937; Izard, 1956 and 1969), industrial location is primarily dependent upon 1) Transport costs of raw materials and finished product from and to resource location, production sites and market locations, 2) Labor costs, and 3) Agglomeration economies.²⁶

With the shift of our total industries from one predominantly extractive in nature through one predominantly manufacturing to one predominantly service, coupled with the nations present network of land, water and air transportation, the importance of reductions in transport costs to locational decisions has diminished somewhat, leaving labor costs and agglomeration economies as the prime factors in locational decision making. Although, savings in transport costs can't be disregarded completely. These three factors taken together determine whether or not an industry will have a competitive advantage in the market place and will determine whether or not a city or region can compete in interregional trade.

In the context of economic growth, the growth center would be expected to contribute and exchange resources and manpower with the region it is supposed to serve. These interrelationships should include a transportation system that will serve not only industry, but also residents of the growth center and the region it serves. This would result in the exchange of manpower and services to and from the center with the center providing educational, cultural, social, professional, and governmental services. But now, the question arises as to how to designate a potential center of growth. What are the parameters to be used to measure potential growth in these centers? The list of parameters could be overwhelming because it could include the parameters measuring

a city's physical size, population size, age distribution, employment classifications, educational level, density, geographic location, water supply, transportation systems, and climate as physical parameters; past growth in population, labor participation rates, income, output and wealth of both individuals and industry as economic parameters, plus, parameters that measure the social, cultural and environmental amenities of these cities.

Community Size

With respect to the physical and population size of these centers, it is generally felt that communities with a population of from 50,000 to 250,000 could offer the greatest potential for growth, dependent however, on the measurement and performance of the other parameters. Studies by the Population Reference Bureau (October 1971)²⁷ indicate that the greatest potential lies in communities with a population of 250,000 with past population growth greater than or equal to the national average growth in the past 10 years. However, my research indicates that this size of city may severely restrict the number of cities considered as having growth potential. It can be shown that industry is generally attracted to communities having a population of 25,000 or greater.²⁸ Further, it can be shown that communities with a population of about 50,000 can provide the basic services of police protection, an effective fire department, a hospital, a public school system, a health department, and a library system, while realizing some of the advantages associated with economies of scale. Tables 8 and 9 show the minimum population requirements for providing these services and their relative costs.²⁹ Initially, at least, I would also add the parameter measuring the past population growth of these smaller communities consistent with the study

TABLE 8

Minimum Population Levels Consistent with Adequate Levels
of Performance of Selected Community Services

Community Service	Minimum Population
Public School System	10,000 (2,000 pupils)
Police Protection	50,000
District Hospital	50,000 - 75,000
Highway Construction and Maintenance	50,000
Library System	50,000 - 100,000
Health Department	50,000

Source: National Goals Research Staff, "Toward a National Growth Policy; Population Distribution Aspects" (Washington D.C.; 23 March 1970), chart 19.

TABLE 9

Costs of Selected Community Services and
Facilities by Size of Population Served

Function	Population Served	Cost
Sewage Treatment Plant Construction	1,000-2,000	\$34.90(per capita)
	5,000-10,000	29.70
	25,000-50,000	14.10
	50,000 and over	11.50
Libraries	County of 50,000	\$ 3.96
	City of 100,000	3.44
	City-county of 100,000	3.49
	City of 200,000	3.03
Fire Protection	2,000	0.54(engine Co.s
	20,000	0.16 per thousand
	200,000	0.09 population)
Sewage Treatment	10,000	\$58.00(per mil.gal.)
	100,000	23.00
	1,000,000	8.00
Water Plant Operation and Maintenance	50,000	\$26.00(per acre ft.
	100,000	21.50 treated)
	500,000	11.00
	1,000,000	10.00
Water Conveyance System Operation and Maintenance	22.4(acre-ft.plant)	\$13.00(per acre-ft.
	224.0	5.88 per mile
	1,120.0	2.90 pumping)
	2,240.0	2.10
	112,000.0	.36

Source: National Goals Research Staff, "Toward a National Growth Policy: Population Distribution Aspects", (Washington D.C.; 23 March 1970), chart 20.

made by the Population Reference Bureau. However, a communities performance when measured by other parameters may, in fact, offset a relatively poor performance of the past population growth parameter.

Transportation Systems

A major requirement of potential growth centers is that they have access to and from their hinterlands and to large metropolitan areas that would provide a ready market for the goods and services produced in these communities. Highway, rail, and water linkages to regional and world markets often determine the way in which communities grow. A study, made for the National Water Commission by Rivkin/Carson Inc. in 1971, concludes that "places with highway access do have a greater chance of growing and less chance of losing population than others"³⁰ and that highways enable communities to become more metropolitan. With respect to water transportation, the same study indicates that access to water transportation was an important factor of potential growth (population and economic) in the past. Presently, the twenty largest SMSA's are located on water. However, it was shown that the relationship of water transportation and potential growth is not as important an influence presently as it was in the past. The national Water Commission study shows that large SMSA's not located on or near water transportation had equal rates of population growth as those located on water.³¹

This study did not include an analysis of rail transport systems and the growth potential of a community. The availability of a rail transportation system is often taken as a given factor because the existing railroad network is so extensive and has contributed in the past to economic and population growth. All of the communities that may be considered as a potential growth center would be

served by a rail transport system. The emphasis here on an existing transportation system is important as a pre-requisite to economic and population growth because of the enormous capital outlays needed to provide these transport services and the delays that may be incurred in inducing industry to locate in potential growth centers.

Labor Force

Within the context of industrial location theory, the availability of low cost labor is an important factor in locational decision making. The term low cost labor may be a misnomer in the sense that it implies cheap unskilled labor. As used in this section, I will be referring to low cost labor as producing more output per unit cost of labor. The parameters that become important, therefore, in measuring the potential for savings to industry in labor costs include, the size of the labor force, the distribution by occupation, the productivity per occupational classification, educational levels of the work force, special skills, the age distribution of the work force, the prevailing wage rates per occupational classification and the cost of living index for each potential center. The performance of these parameters for each potential center should determine for industry whether or not significant savings in labor costs would warrant a locational shift.

Agglomeration Economies

These potential savings to industry are for the most part difficult to quantify, but yet, play a significant role in the locational decision making process.

The most quantifiable savings in this classification are those realized from industry increasing the size of its operations to take

advantage of economies of scale. While economies of scale are clearly embraced in existing production theory, it is easily incorporated into locational analysis and therefore should not be ignored.

The second type of agglomeration economy is generally referred to as "Localization Economies."³² The basis for these savings derives from the concentration of a particular industry at a particular location. The reasons for this concentration can be the result of a common skilled labor pool, common energy sources and needs, common needs for specific raw materials, common needs for special service industries such as machine repair and service, plus industries that complement each others output. These savings are real, but perhaps a little more complicated to quantify than the savings derived from economies of scale. Thus, it appears to be important that potential growth centers have an industrial base with which to work from.

The final type of agglomeration economy is referred to as "Urbanization Economies."³³ These are perhaps the least quantifiable of all because they include such factors as climate, water supply, the basic physical infrastructure of a community, taxes, availability of land, plus social, cultural and environmental factors.

The National Water Commission study, for example, shows that the development of water supply and water treatment facilities is not correlated to economic and population growth, and yet, any type of growth will not occur without the provision of these facilities.³⁴ Similarly, there is a growing trend of industrial relocation to areas in the South east, South central and South west sections of the U.S. from the Northern sections based, in part, on climate, lower taxes, and the availability of land. For the first time since 1880, the South, as a whole, experienced a net gain in migration.³⁵

The question now becomes one of how does one determine or quantify the potential growth of any particular community. What empirical method can be devised that would rank the potential growth of communities within the 50,000 to 250,000 population range? As stated previously, there have been a number of attempts at identifying potential growth centers. One of these attempts has occurred in the U.S. while the other has occurred in Canada.

The United States' Experience

In the U.S. a Federal program was instituted in 1961 to stimulate economic growth in economically depressed areas throughout the country. Under the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) and its successor the Economic Development Administration (EDA), the Federal Government sought to stimulate growth in various economically depressed regions of the country through substantial investment in transportation systems and direct aid to stipulated growth centers within each region. The operation and success of this program is discussed in detail in Chapter II. My concern here is in how the growth centers were determined and how successful Federal investment in these centers was toward stimulating economic and population growth.

EDA Growth Centers

A total of 204 growth centers have been selected as part of the EDA program.³⁶ Some of these centers consist of 2 or 3 small towns which reduces the total number of centers to 170.³⁷ However, of the 204 communities selected as having potential growth, 89 percent have a population size of less than 50,000 and 70 percent have a population of less than 25,000.³⁸

The states participating in the program were responsible for identifying these centers, and studies by Rivkin and Carson for the National Water Commission (1971),³⁹ Rothblatt (1971)⁴⁰ and Fuller (1969)⁴¹ indicate that the selection of these centers did not follow a uniform criteria. In fact, their selection appears to have been pragmatic or gut feelings on the part of state administrators participating in the program. Generally, however, these administrators looked at the growing importance of these communities with respect to size, location and population change plus, in most cases, access to a highway transportation system. For the most part, the locational factors discussed in the previous section of this chapter were ignored. The question now becomes one of how effective has Federal investment been in these centers in stimulating economic and population growth. As might be expected, the success of Federal investment has been mixed. Fuller (1969) as part of his Ph'd thesis on the Appalachian Region analyzed the effect of Federal investment in 4 growth centers within this region. His conclusions were as follows;

A fundamental element of the Act's growth strategy requires that investment be concentrated in centers having a significant potential for growth. While on the surface, the states have accepted this approach, there is strong evidence that many of the centers selected as growth centers do not offer a sound basis for economic growth.

Arbitrarily designating an urban concentration as a growth center is insufficient impetus for it to grow. To be a growth center, a center must satisfy a number of requirements. First of all it must have a potential for further growth. This potential must be large enough so that efforts toward its achievements will also have positive growth effects on the area surrounding it. Hence it is not enough just to be able to grow itself, but a growth center should be so related to its hinterland that growth at the center strengthens the economy and improves the living standards in its periphery. Thus, growth centers should be of some minimum size to have economies of agglomeration present so that new activities are encouraged through scale economies operating at that location.

As a result, investment will have a greater than⁴² proportionate influence on the region's economy.

The lesson learned from this experience is the fact that more sophisticated methods are needed to identify growth centers. During the decade that the EDA program and it's predecessor has been in effect in the Appalachia Region, despite substantial Federal investment in the designated growth centers of this region, the region lost 1.11 million persons in net migration.⁴³

In previous paragraphs I have already identified a number of criteria and parameters that should be used to identify potential growth centers. While the list of parameters is exclusive of other parameters that could be considered, I believe it contains the most essential elements of such criterion. With respect to methods that might be used in evaluating the performance of these parameters in the U.S., two seem somewhat promising. The first is setting up a Input-Output model for a potential growth center and test to see how investment (Federal, State, Local) in any sector of the regional growth center would affect other sectors. In addition, such an analysis may reveal the strengths and weaknesses of various sectors within the regional economy. A second method which can be used is that of performing an Economic Base Study for a particular region and its potential growth center. This method concentrates primarily on employment and labor participation rates for various industries. Basically the two methods have two shortcomings. First, both methods of analysis will not result in a ranking of growth potential and second, many socio-economic cultural and environmental factors are not considered or are assumed away.

Perhaps the most promising method, a method that I don't believe has been tried yet in the U.S., is the regression and factor analysis

method developed in Ontario, Canada. This method will be described in detail in the following section.

The Canadian Experience

The problem of identifying potential growth centers is not unique to the U.S.. Planners of all nations are deeply concerned with uncontrolled growth and where it will occur. Perhaps the most complexing problem is identifying the symptoms associated with growth, for these symptoms hold the seeds for future growth.

The Province of Ontario in Canada has been faced with growth problems similar to those in the U.S., but at a much reduced scale. The Provincial Government has long recognized the importance of planning for balanced growth. To this end the Province sponsored the research of Gerald Hodge at the University of Toronto, who developed an Analytical Model to Identify Growth Poles in Eastern Ontario.⁴⁴ The methods used and the results, I believe, are significant enough to be considered for application in the U.S..

The model is based on the use of both multiple regression analysis and factor analysis. Multiple regression analysis was used to determine the degree of association between variables of urban development and community performance. Factor analysis was then employed to identify any underlying community traits common to all communities. These traits emerged as clusters of the original variables. Thirty-two variables were used in the study and these were reduced to 7 clusters or traits common to all the communities. The performance (or score) of these traits then measured the growth potential of a particular community. The thirty-two variables were in four general categories, 1) Demographic and Social Characteristics, 2) Physical Development, 3) Geographic Situation and

4) Economic Base. Table 10 shows the list of variables used in this analysis.

The purpose in using these many variables stems from the fact that so many different variables seem relevant to describe the range of influences thought to contribute toward the formation of a city or town. No single variable is sufficient to describe the real nature of growth and development. By measuring the interrelationships of a large number of variables, it is hoped that the complicated nature of urban growth and its problems can be defined.

The first step in this procedure would be to derive the statistical relationships between all variables. This is defined as the degree to which one variable of urban development is found to exist in the presence of another variable. The relationships are stated as numerical values, correlation coefficients, (r) and are interpreted literally as the probability in which one could expect variables to co-exist. When the value is negative, an inverse relationship exists between two variables. This is to say, for example, that with a fast growing population the age of the housing stock is less likely to average over 20 years.

The resulting matrix of the relationships developed in the Canadian experience is shown in Table 11.

From this the problem becomes one of identifying groups or clusters of interrelationships since individual correlations do not permit a positive statement of the causes and effects of urban development. The basis for using factor analysis to identify the groups or clusters of interrelations stems from the fact that urban development and the interaction between communities is not a random process. It occurs in a variety of more or less regular patterns.⁴⁵ For example, one would expect the interactions of people, housing and jobs to result in a

TABLE 10

Variables Used in the Analysis of Urban
Development in Eastern Ontario

CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN CENTERS	CODE
<u>Demographic and Social Characteristics:</u>	
1. Population Size, 1961	POPULA
2. Population Change, 1951-1961	POPCHA
3. Population Under 15 Years, 1961	POPUI5
4. Population Over 65 Years, 1961	POPO65
5. Protestant Religious Affiliation, 1961	POPROT
6. Roman Catholic Religious Affiliation, 1961	POPCRA
7. French Speaking Population, 1961	POPFRF
8. English Speaking Population, 1961	POPENG
9. Immigrant Population Since 1945, 1961	PIMMA5
10. Education Attainment of University Level, 1961	UNIVER
11. Education Attainment of Grade 11 or Better, 1961	GRAD11
12. Population Density, 1961	POPDEN
<u>Physical Development:</u>	
13. Value of Private Investment/Capita, 1964	CAPINV
14. Intensity of Private Investment (Value)/Acre, 1963	INTASS
15. Investment in Public Utilities, 1963	UTILIT
16. Level of Locally Provided Services, 1963	LOCSER
17. Investment in Commercial Property, 1961	INCOMM
18. Investment in Industrial Property, 1961	ININDU
19. Median Value of Dwellings, 1961	MVALDU
20. Dwellings Built Before 1945, 1961	DUSOLD
21. Dwellings with Furnace Heat, 1961	DUFURN
22. Dwellings with Hot-Cold Water, 1961	DUNCWA
23. High School Quality, 1963	HSQUAL
24. Hospital Quality, 1964	HSPQUA
<u>Geographic Situation:</u>	
25. Location of Nearest Competing Center, 1961	NEARES
26. Time-Distance to Nearest Metropolis, 1961	NMETTO
27. Highway Access, 1964	HIGHWA
<u>Economic Base:</u>	
28. Labor Force in Manufacturing, 1961	EMPMAN
29. Labor Force in Services, 1961	EMPSER
30. Average Family Earnings, 1961	FAMERN
31. Male/Female Employment, 1961	EMPSEX
32. Level of Retail Services, 1961	LEVRET

Source: Gerald Hodge, The Identification of 'Growth Poles' in Eastern Ontario (Toronto; Ontario Department of Economics and Development, 1966), p. 17.

condition that takes on order and uniformity. Jobs, income, and housing would indicate the quality of housing or socio-economic status of a particular community. Thus, the primary objective of factor analysis is to identify the traits and their statistical bases that apply to the set of cities or towns being analyzed.

The traits emerge from the factor analysis and distinct clusters of the original variables. The clusters, because of their statistical properties, are the dimensions (or traits) of urban development. Each dimension is made up of a linear combination of all the variables and is somewhat similar to a linear regression equation. Some variables are more dominant than others and their factor loading, like a regression coefficient, characterize the relationship that exists. Factor loading, then, is a measure of the degree of closeness between each variable and the (dimension) cluster. The actual scores of each community in each dimension can then identify the performance of a community relative to the performance of other communities. Each community will achieve some score in each of the dimensions, however, the differences between the scores of various communities will provide a method of ranking the performance of one community against others. The dimensions (or traits) then can be thought of as explaining the interrelationships of people, events and physical environment in urban centers or as an indicator of the interrelationships that have occurred in the past.

In the Canadian experience, ten dimensions were extracted from the analysis of the 32 variables. However, only seven were considered as being meaningful and statistically reliable. The dominant factor loading of each variable either positive or negative, then suggested the definition of each dimension. Again negative loadings indicate that as the variable increases in importance the value of the dimension decreases. The seven

dimensions plus the amount of score that would indicate potential growth are shown on Table 12.

It is not the intent of this section to go into a detailed analysis and of the method just presented. It is intended, however, to identify the basic operations of this model and its potential use. It would be a relatively simple matter to develop comparable variables used in the Canadian test for the United States and use the model to determine potential growth poles or centers in the U.S.. I would suggest that further investigations be made to develop the full potential use of this model.⁴⁶

Summary

As indicated in the preceding section, considerable attention is being given to the application of the growth pole concept. In the U.S., however, we have had limited success in the application of this concept although the literature is rich with the theory and tests of various components of this theory. Nevertheless, considerably more research and experience is needed to make this concept workable.

In the context of a national population redistribution strategy, I consider this element the key to the success of such strategy. The other elements discussed or to be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter are intended to work in conjunction with the growth pole concept in a way that will make selected growth centers a viable locational option for all individuals in the U.S.. Further, the growth pole concept cannot be expected to be the only solution to the population distribution problem in the U.S.. It is intended to solve some of the problems of both rural and urban areas. For those who chose to remain in rural or large metropolitan areas, other elements must be used to better the

TABLE 12

Measurement of Potential Growth Centers

Dimension	General Score Level for Potential Growth
Physical Development	High positive scores
French/English	High negative scores
Population Age	High negative scores
Industrial/Commercial Development	High negative scores
Population Size	High positive scores
Educational Level	High positive scores
Compact Development	High negative scores

Source: Gerald Hodge, op.cit., pp. 19-21; Table was developed from data presented in text of study.

life style and increase the quality of life of these residents, making these areas attractive locational options.

THE NEW TOWNS AND MODEL CITIES ELEMENT

General

In the following section I intend to discuss how the New Towns, Model Cities and urban renewal programs of the Federal Government might be combined and modified into an element that might be used in a population distribution strategy. I will discuss how each of these programs are presently designed to aid cities in improving the quality of their environment and in solving the population distribution question and how effective these programs are at solving these problems.

Existing New Towns Program

New Towns, communities or cities have often been considered as a means to promote balance growth and a better environment and are based on the aspirations of planners to achieve utopia. As envisioned, the development of new towns would save money through efficient design, would provide for the development of a sense of community, and would offer a life style enhanced by open spaces and recreational opportunities. The basic idea is to provide Americans a viable and attractive location where they could live, work and play.

The problem with new towns is that they could be expected to absorb only a small percentage of the urban or rural population. For example, to accommodate the expected population increase in New Towns over the next 30 years, we would have to build three cities the size of Houston, Texas every year until the year 2000. The 70 new towns that have been proposed or built, since 1947 in this country, have absorbed less than

one-third the population of Houston.

Another problem with the New Towns concept is that they attract the white middle and upper income residents of central cities and perhaps also suburbia. The New Towns developed to date, in the U.S., have all been located about 50 miles from large metropolitan centers with the result being that they have turned out to be additions to suburbia in a megalopolis rather than a free standing new town. Again, the poorer elements of society are excluded because they lack the resources to buy into the "suburban club." This concept leaves the poor behind and aggravates the plight of central cities with their declining tax bases.

The final two problems that come into play can be characterized as being economic and institutional in nature. These include the balancing of supply and demand for labor, housing, hospitals, schools, shopping facilities and other service industries in order to make the provision of these goods and services profitable in New Towns. The logistics of these problems are tremendous.

Existing Model Cities Program

The Federal Government's Model Cities program in its present form is basically a system of block grants to cities, dependent upon the submission and approval of plans by the city to the Federal Government showing how these plans would help disadvantaged areas. The plans are to provide for improving education, job training, employment, welfare, health and the physical development of disadvantaged areas. Cities eligible for this program receive two types of grants; one for planning and the other for implementing the plans. The implementation grants would cover 80 percent of non-federal costs of carrying out the plans. The basic idea of these grants is to improve and enhance the urban

environment making the cities a viable option to individuals seeking to increase their quality of life.⁴⁷

As originally envisaged, the Model Cities program was to concentrate large grants in relatively few cities. However, political opposition to this approach resulted in a large number of cities receiving smaller grants. The program was, thus, watered down, so to speak, to satisfy the demands of interest groups through their representatives in Washington. Thus, the effectiveness of the program was reduced and various demand groups have effectively destroyed a potentially good program.

Another problem with the program was in how community or neighborhood organizations were treated in voicing their opinions of various plans for improvement. HUD, the administrator of the program, had set down a requirement that these organizations be given a voice in the planning process. In reality, however, these organizations had little or no voice in the planning process and the program, which was designed to help these neighborhoods, became one of a block grant to cities to do with as they pleased.⁴⁸ In this context, the strong administration of the program by HUD was lacking.

Existing Urban Renewal Program

This program has been in effect since 1949 and it is the largest and oldest Federal program for improving the physical condition of cities and towns. However, since 1949, the Federal Government had appropriated about 10 billion dollars for the program. To date, only 5.2 billion has been spent. Of the 2531 urban renewal plans approved or expected to be approved only 733 were completed by the end of 1971.⁴⁹

The program is designed to aid local governments acquire all real property within renewal areas, raze structures, and assist displaced

families with moving allowances. After the land is cleared, local governmental units then sell the land to private developers or use it for public facilities. The Federal Government contributed two-thirds of the cost of the difference between total local government expenditures for the project and the receipts received from the sale of the land.

The main problems with the urban renewal programs are that many existing neighborhood patterns are disrupted and that the program is generally slow in the execution of renewal plans.

In the sixties many urban renewal programs were designed to revitalize central city areas by providing the means and the lands to develop housing stocks, transportation systems, public facilities, and commercial and industrial buildings. Large tracts of slum housing were torn down in a direct attack on urban blight. Yet these slum areas were replaced by middle income and upper income apartment complexes, office buildings and public facilities and not by housing or facilities for the former residents. The result was that the program was drastically reducing the supply of low-cost housing causing slum areas to develop in other parts of the cities. A recent article in the New York Times reports that:

In New York, Chicago, Newark, and a host of other major urban areas the destruction (creation of slums) goes on day by day almost as if by design..It is a process that takes place when people of means move out and leave behind the poor and the socially distressed. Old, marginal housing becomes an economic liability and is abandoned. Soon the process begins to feed on itself and old but structurally sound housing that could be made to last for generations..indeed new housing too..succumbs to vandalism or neglect and is left in ruins.⁵⁰ (emphasis added)

In 1969, Congress stipulated that cities must build as many new low-cost and moderate-cost housing units as are demolished during the

renewal project. In addition, the Neighborhood Development Program was established by Congress to mitigate the problem of total disruption of existing neighborhood patterns. The program allows for spot demolition, spot construction and building code enforcement within neighborhoods rather than designating a large area for urban renewal.⁵¹

Proposal for the New Towns and Model Cities Element

In the preceding paragraphs I have discussed three efforts made by the Federal Government for improving the urban environment. In addition, the purpose and problems with each of these programs was also discussed. The task now becomes one of determining how these programs can be combined or somehow modified into an element for use within an overall strategy to effect the distribution of the nation's population.

In reiterating the population distribution problem we see the migration of the rural population to urban areas, leaving behind a poor and ageing rural community. We also see the migration from central cities to suburbia by the white middle and upper income classes and finally we see the explosion of suburbia into a virtually uncontrolled sprawl. The underlying notion of these movements is that each individual is attempting, in the best way he knows how, to better his life style and enhance his quality of life even though unwittingly, perhaps, eliminating the hope of the poor, aged, and black from achieving a better way of life. The basic premise, therefore, of this section is that of providing and enhancing viable locational options for all of the population and to increase the quality of life for everyone.

Central City and Metropolitan Areas

The principles of the New Town concept and intent of the Model Cities and Urban Renewal programs can be used within the context of a national population redistribution strategy for both rural and urban areas.

The New Town concept could be used to revitalize our central cities in order to make them more attractive to potential suburbanites. By combining the best of each of three programs mentioned we could 1) enhance the aesthetic appeal of central cities, 2) provide for the improvement of the health, education, welfare, housing and job training of central city residents and 3) develop a sense of community and pride within neighborhoods in central cities.

With respect to the first goal, both the New Town concepts in combination possibly with the Federal Government's Urban Renewal program could be used to develop and revitalize schools, hospitals, central city business districts, improve transportation facilities in conjunction with Department of Transportation programs, develop new civic centers, and develop recreational areas or other open spaces. Within this context, efforts would be made to preserve existing low or medium priced housing stocks or the development of new housing stocks (houses or apartment complexes) for all income classes.

The second goal would be the strengthening of the Model Cities program which was initially intended to improve education, job skills, employment, health and welfare, and the physical development of central cities. In this case, the physical development aspect of this program would be removed because it overlaps the intent of the first goal mentioned above. With the central city areas becoming increasingly black and the suburbs white together with the movement of industry out toward

the suburban ring it becomes imperative that a program be developed to increase the job skills and the employment opportunities of those who chose or are indirectly restricted to central city areas. In addition, the program would provide for the health, education and welfare of the residents. The basic idea here is to convert tax users into tax payers. Pending Federal legislation on revenue sharing appears to go far in this direction. The problem will be in the political arena where some type of consolidation of existing programs will have to take place among various departments of the Federal Government.

The final goal is one that would develop a sense of pride, accomplishment and community within neighborhoods in central city areas. In this way there could be the preservation of various neighborhoods of varying and unique close-knit ethnic origins. By expanding the Neighborhood Development Program or establishing a new more comprehensive program, the Federal Government could substantially upgrade the living environment in many of the older sections of central cities, thus preserving or enhancing the quality of life and life styles of residents in these areas. The program should be expanded to include not only the neighborhoods of potential slum development but also all the areas of the city where improvements would provide an attractive incentive for residents to remain in their neighborhoods. This might be in the form of a Federally sponsored Neighborhood Clean Up, Fix Up and Paint Up program. In addition, this program might include a provision for tree planting or other landscaping plans for the recreational and open space areas developed as part of the first goal of this element discussed above. Such a program, coordinated with neighborhood organizations, would create the sense of pride, accomplishment and community within a neighborhood.

Perhaps in this way, residents of central city areas can be induced to stay. In addition, central city areas will again become an attractive option to individuals migrating from other parts of the country or to residents presently living in the suburbs surrounding these central cities.

Intermediate Size Cities, Non Metropolitan, and Rural Areas

The New Town concept could also be used to guide the growth of the regional growth centers previously mentioned as an element in an overall national population redistribution strategy. The advantages of such an approach would be manifold. The residents of the existing town would be given the promise of a better future. Talented younger persons could be induced to stay and former residents to return from large metropolitan areas to which they moved in search of economic opportunity. There would be some amenities and capital structure within the town or city selected as a growth center from the very beginning. Schools, hospitals, cultural facilities, a library and various service industries would already be available. The city would not be a construction site. The cities or towns selected would be located at existing transportation modes thus avoiding enormous capital outlays and delays in inducing industry to come in. The presence of existing houses would be an advantage in the sense that they would provide low cost housing that is needed in the beginning for low-income families. The existence of older housing would thus allow an income mix which is virtually impossible in free standing new towns.

These regional growth centers would serve not only the residents of the town or city itself but also the outlying rural areas. It is envisioned that these centers would be in commuting distance of smaller rural towns and farm areas and would provide the residents of these

hinterlands employment opportunities as well as the social and cultural infrastructure associated with larger cities.

The two other goals mentioned for urban and central city areas would also be applicable to these growth centers, but perhaps, to a lesser degree.

MUNICIPAL LAND CORPORATION ELEMENT⁵²

General

Many of the problems associated with population distribution in metropolitan areas are directly related to the suburbanization trend that began immediately following WW II. The availability of land, a little money, and low interest rates made the American dream of owning a single dwelling on a small parcel of land a reality. In the process, huge areas of agricultural land were developed, stripping the nation of some of its valuable life sustaining and life enhancing resources. It wouldn't be fair to leave the impression that our supply of agricultural products has diminished. This couldn't be further from the truth. However, in the process, we have lost the open spaces and the quality of environment that the suburbanization movement sought to achieve.

The problem reduces to simply a conflict between the desire for open spaces and land needed to accomodate economic and population growth. In the last twenty five years we have witnessed this growth develop into a virtually uncontrolled, hap-hazard suburban sprawl. The land conversion process-rural to urban, has and is having far reaching effects that will enhance or detract our quality of life for many years to come.

In addition, it is becoming increasingly expensive to make the conversion. Large capital investments have been made and substantial

fortunes have been made and lost through land speculation and development. In addition, fraud and bribery in public zoning and other actions have occurred or are believed to have occurred in growing suburban areas.⁵³

The basic problems are controlling land use and planning for a better community environment given the conditions that presently exist. Planners for Federal, State and Local governmental agencies have tried basically three methods. The first, is centered around the development of the master plan of development for a particular city or perhaps metropolitan area with the goal of some utopian living environment at some time in the future. The promise of a better quality environment and better quality of life appears to be the dream of these planners and laudably should be. However, realistically, the implementation of these master plans is virtually impossible. The problem of implementation becomes acute because of the fragmentation of governmental units within large metropolitan areas. The basic fear is that growth in one community of the metropolitan area will diminish the growth potential of other communities and there appears to be an obsession with the idea of economic growth. The result is that comprehensive master plans rarely, if ever, are implemented. If growth is restricted in any way in one community it will simply take place in another community within a metropolitan area. Consensus of a master-plan for total metropolitan development is then virtually impossible under present conditions.⁵⁴

The second method of planning used is concerned with the development of growth centers or nodes of employment and the development of transportation and communication linkages. Again this method of planning is centered around the notion of economic growth. The basic idea of this method is to locate these centers, provide the linkages, and the shape of the future metropolitan area will follow automatically. According

to a study by John Reps, this method "concentrates on those aspects of urban growth which are essential to urban life but neglects all those vital details which make that life worth living."⁵⁵

The third method is one which seeks solutions to individual problems, ignoring for the most part the comprehensiveness of the problems over large metropolitan areas. The plans are generally short range in nature and do not seek an optimum solution to the problems of metropolitan areas and ignores the fundamental structure of metropolitan areas. This method has been classified by Reps as "disjointed incrementalism,"⁵⁶ or in my view a "fire fighting" approach to problem solution in the sense that planning is done for the effects of a problem rather than its causes.

With respect to a population redistribution strategy, an element should be developed that would control the hap-hazard use of land and indirectly the location of the majority of our population. With a policy or goal to control population densities in metropolitan areas, the means must be found to control the development of land and the densities that it can support. In this respect, research and analysis is needed to determine densities that would provide metropolitan residents the options necessary to make a rational choice of living styles. It is envisioned that there might be 3 sets of minimum and maximum densities in urban areas; one set for apartment development, one for low and middle income type housing, and, perhaps, one for high income type housing, plus additional sets for commercial and industrial development.

The question now becomes one of how to control land use development. A number of methods have been tried in the past. In the U.S., although individual states have the constitutional power to do so, control over

land use has been a function of local governmental units, primarily municipalities. This control is exercised by limited public ownership of lands, easements, and zoning. The success of these controls is, for the most part, dependent upon the economic and protective desires of the local constituency.⁵⁷ Zoning is the method most widely used, but its effectiveness is evidenced by the hap-hazard suburban sprawl typical of most metropolitan areas. It appears that zoning occurs after development has taken place and that this method of control is implemented at the wrong level of government. In other words, it is used within municipalities rather than on a metropolitan or regional scale.

Existing Programs

One land use control alternative has been tried with some success in Ontario, Canada.⁵⁸ The details of this experience are discussed in other sections of this chapter.

Another alternative, that indirectly affects land use and its' development is one currently being used in the State of New York.

In 1968, the New York State Urban Development Corporation⁵⁹ (UDC) was created in order to; 1) develop housing for low and moderate income families, 2) promote industrial growth and 3) promote sound growth and development of municipalities and provide assistance in developing community facilities.

The UDC has the statutory authority to condemn real property and override local governmental zoning ordinances. The power to override existing local ordinances is the most important feature of the UDC's statutory authority. It returns, to the state, the power to satisfy broader social needs when existing local zoning ordinances become obstacles to satisfying these needs. The corporation uses this authority,

when needed, in order to promote projects that are in the public interest. The UDC, also, as a full range of program development powers that include the planning, construction and management functions.

UDC programs are financed through repayable first instance appropriations from the state legislature or through its' authority to issue revenue bonds. The ultimate goal of the corporation is to become self-sustaining. A cycle is to be created where the UDC will plan and develop various projects and then sell them in the private market for fees sufficient to keep the corporation on a self-liquidating basis. In addition, the UDC has the authority to participate in or coordinate with Federal Programs such as; Urban Renewal, Neighborhood Development, interest reduction subsidies, rent supplements, public housing leasing and others.

The UDC has basically two major programs to solve societal needs; one to plan and construct housing for low and moderate income families and the other, the large scale development of new communities.

The housing program is designed to meet the full range of subsidized housing needs and to bring about a mix of income groups. The basic mix is 70 percent of the housing for moderate income families, 20 percent for low income families and 10 percent for the elderly. The biggest drawback to this program is that the UDC does not have the authority or the funds to subsidize families who's income is not sufficient to buy or rent adequate housing on the open market. These subsidies are provided under the Federal Governments' Rent Supplement Program.

The New Community program is designed to provide for the balanced development of industrial, residential, commercial and public facilities. To date, three such communities have been planned. The biggest drawback to this program is that the UDC lacks the resources to finance the

development of these communities.

One final alternative, one that is suggested by Clawson⁶⁰ and Reps⁶¹ involves the formation of some type of Municipal Land Corporation similar to the UDC but with broader authority.

Organization and Functions of a Municipal Land Corporation

The basic idea here is to set up a public or quasi-public corporation that could purchase and own land in the periphery of metropolitan areas and in the hinterlands in order to have public control over land used for urban growth. This corporation would be set up to control the location, the design, the sequences, and the tempo of urban growth and development while at the same time controlling population densities in these areas.

Its' powers would include the ability to purchase, condemn, rent, leaseback or sell real property. This corporation could work closely with Federal Urban Renewal, Model Cities and New Towns programs. In addition, its' power could be extended to include site development, such as; the provision of transportation linkages, major sewers, main water lines and open spaces for recreational development. The benefits from a non-profit corporation of this type would be manifold.

First, it would be expected to alleviate the evils and dangers associated with land speculation which distorts the growths patterns of cities and adds additional costs to the provision of a housing stock and other elements that are a part of urban development. Since the corporation would be non-profit in nature, one would expect lower or at least stabilized land costs with the savings passed on to consumers. In addition, the corporation being eligible for Federal and State grants and loans for the purchase and development of land, would be able to

finance these purchases at lower rates of interest.

Second, land would be available for public use, thus mitigating, somewhat, the problem of public provision of certain goods and services which may have been otherwise delayed because of the lack of adequate sites or land for public development programs.

Third, the corporation could assure developers a uniform flow of sites available for residential, commercial, industrial and recreational development.

Fourth, the corporation would be in a position to direct or redirect urban growth and promote continuous development in a way to be consistent with planned population densities.

Fifth, the corporation would be in a position to offer alternative residential locations to individuals, usually the poor, aged and black, displaced by urban renewal or other similar Federal or state programs.

Sixth, the corporation could control the actual number and location of urban renewal programs within a particular metropolitan area and in some way preserve and enhance the liveability of existing housing stocks.

Finally, there are the benefits to private builders and contractors. By maintaining control of the amount of land and the number of sites available, for example, residential construction, the smaller builder could again become competitive in the housing market. Land purchases and site development would be a single fixed cost and since the corporation is non-profit in nature this cost would be considerably lower than costs in the existing speculative market for land. This cost could also include the surveying and legal expenses associated with land purchase and development. Builders and contractors could then concentrate on doing what they do best, that is; construction and sales rather than site development. In addition, conflicts between private vs. public use

of land would be resolved within the corporation.

The corporation would have to be created at the state level with enabling legislation that would specify the powers and organization of such a corporation or agency. Initially, Federal or state grants and/or other state provided appropriations would be needed for initial land purchases. Initial land purchases, would more than likely be in the hinterlands outside of the existing metropolitan periphery. In this way, the corporation would avoid the higher cost land already virtually committed to metropolitan growth. As urban renewal programs are instituted, the corporation would be able to utilize Federal funds in order to purchase land within the metropolitan area. As part of the planning function of this organization, a comprehensive master plan for metropolitan growth would be developed that would identify future needs for all type of land uses including residential, commercial, industrial, public, and recreational uses. Within the context of this master plan and according to some predetermined sequence for controlled metropolitan growth, detailed site planning would be instigated on land scheduled for early development and sale to builders, contractors, or other commercial or industrial interests. The basic stipulation would be that only a specific type of development will be allowed to occur and that the land may not be held idle. Once the cycle of land purchase, development, and sale is completed over some period of time, the corporation should become self sustaining with little or no supplemental appropriations from the state government. However, this would not prevent the corporation from sponsoring or participating in existing or future Federal or state grant programs.

There are, however, a number of serious questions that need answering

with respect to the formation and the powers of a public corporation of this type. These questions include possible legal barriers, the scope of power, and the methods of land acquisition and disposal.

The legal barriers include some aspects of common, statutory and constitutional law. However, in recent years there has been an increasingly liberal interpretation of these laws by the courts with respect to public acquisition and ownership of land as a result of litigation arising out of urban renewal programs.⁶² The courts have ruled that such acquisition is legal if it is purchased to eliminate slums, reduce urban blight, or if vacant land is mis-used or needed for public services. The landmark Supreme Court case in this respect is *Berman vs. Parker*.⁶³

The second potential barrier concerns the power and scope of the proposed corporation. Questions arise as to whether or not the corporation should have broadly defined land use control powers or powers restricted to serving only a small segment of land use control, such as; land use planning, urban renewal, and public projects. However, given the broad goal of controlling metropolitan growth and development, the latter restrictions would make such a corporation ineffective in the sense that land speculation, hap-hazard growth and urban sprawl would continue.

The final barrier is one that is concerned with the method of disposing of lands owned by the corporation. The question arises as to whether or not land made available for development should be leased or sold and should public ownership be temporary or permanent. With respect to selling or leasing this land, the study by John Reps indicates that either method can work given the goal of effective control over metropolitan growth. He cites the experience of two cities in the Netherlands:

The two largest cities follow different practices. Amsterdam leases all land except for industrial sites, which are sold. Rotterdam sells all land except for industrial sites, which are leased. Both cities are highly successful in shaping patterns of urban growth almost exactly as planned. Appropriate covenants or lease restrictions specify the details of development to be followed by private builders.⁶⁴

However, the biggest advantage to the corporation with respect to control of growth and development comes with a system of leasing land for development. In this way more lasting controls can be exercised over the conditions of growth. However, this does not rule out the possibility of outright sale of land, providing, of course, that any increase in land value be taxed away by some form of property or capital gains tax by the corporation or state.

The final question to be answered is whether or not such a corporation would be a success. Public ownership of land has for a fact been extremely successful in European and Scandinavian Countries and a more modest program has had some success in Canada in the Province of Ontario.⁶⁵ In the U.S., the principles of public ownership of land for control of urban development trace back throughout our nations history. The lands on which the cities of Washington D.C., Austin, Savannah, New York, Detroit, and San Francisco, to name a few, stand, were all publically owned lands initially purchased to control the urban development of these cities. Men like Washington, Jefferson, and Madison also advocated public control over land use. However, in the ensuing years, the individual right to own land and to use it in virtually any way has led to the situation where land use control has slipped away from state and municipal governmental units.⁶⁶

The question now becomes one of restoring this control over land use to the state. Private interest groups of all types will eventually,

influence, in varying degrees, the type of public control that could be implemented.

In the last section of this chapter, I will attempt to identify a framework in which the political feasibility of this and the other elements of a population redistribution strategy can be evaluated.

Summary

In summary, I have simply tried to identify how an element similar to a Municipal Land Corporation might contribute to the control of metropolitan development. For the most part I have been discussing the application of this element to large metropolitan areas. However, with the growth that is anticipated in smaller areas (say cities 50,000 to 500,000) implementation of land use controls using the method described in the previous paragraphs would provide these cities a means for providing for orderly growth in a way that would enhance the quality of life of existing and future residents.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM ELEMENT

General

Throughout our early history up to about 1930, state and local governments had the responsibilities of serving the majority of the needs of their constituency. State and local expenditures for goods and services were about 3 times that of the Federal Government.⁶⁷ With the depression, things changed. The local and state constituency could no longer be served by these levels of government alone. They sought Federal aid either directly or thru local and state governments. The Federal Government at this time was also interested in economic recovery and so the roles of each government change. The situation

remains the same today. More and more local and state governments are turning toward the Federal Government for aid in the solution to their growing problems. Special interests are also finding the Federal Government more responsive to their needs. The result has been a concentration of power at the Federal level and dependancy of the states and local governments on Federal Aid.⁶⁸

With the Federal Government holding the so called purse strings, it is in a position to, through its grant programs, achieve national goals. It is in this context that I believe the Federal Government can achieve the goal of Population Redistribution.

In recent years, there has been considerable talk about the fiscal crisis facing the states and cities. However, looking at the relevant statistics it would appear that these governments are not in a real financial bind. Concern is centered around the fact that expenditures are growing faster than revenues and that the gap between the two will widen considerably. The rise in expenditures is attributed to three factors; population growth, rising incomes, and urbanization. All of which create pressures for basic local and state services. Wage increases of the past have created a real strain on budgets since wages constitute a significant portion of state and local budgets. Another element is that of welfare expenditures. As an example, in 1960 18 percent of the persons classified as poor received welfare assistance. In 1969 nearly 50 percent of these poor were receiving welfare assistance.⁶⁹ Despite this, there is really not a fiscal crisis. A study by Brookings Institute indicates that the difference between revenues and expenditures will be only 9.4 billion in 1976 assuming no added state or local responsibilities.⁷⁰ The gap represents only 4 percent of projected state and local

expenditures and could be "made up" through any number of ways; increasing taxes, changing the form of tax, increased Federal aid, etc.

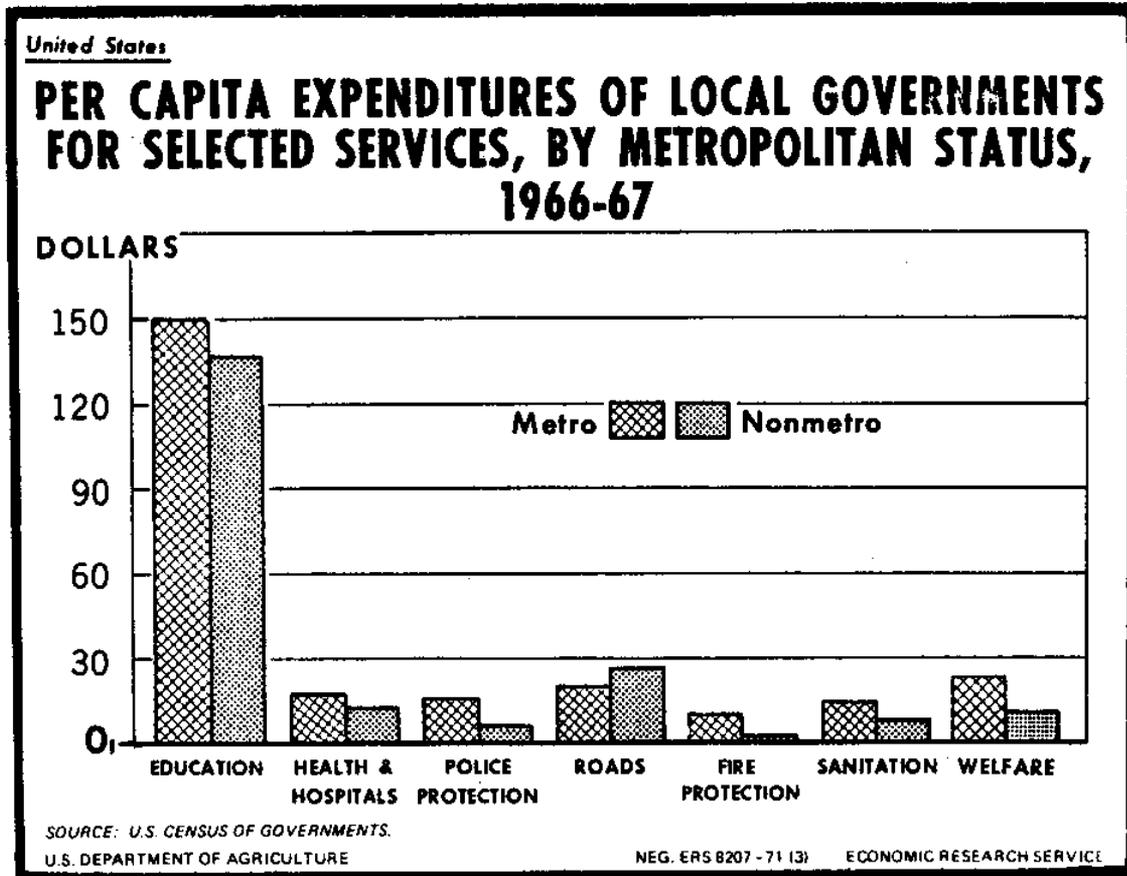
There is, however, a problem. We have been talking about aggregate figures. The real problems lie in areas with large low-income populations and in congested and deteriorating central cities. As stated earlier, we have a situation where the Federal Government has the revenue and little responsibility toward the individual in contrast to the states who have limited funds and tremendous responsibilities. With increasing resistance on the part of tax payers to tax increases, more aid will be sought from the Federal Government. In 1950 for example Federal aid to the states comprised 15% of their budgets. In 1969 this figure was 21% and is expected to grow.⁷¹

Further weakening can occur when states and local governmental units (municipalities) cannot maintain a sizeable population level.

From 1960 to 1970, 3 states actually lost population with an additional 9 states having only marginal gains in population growth. In addition, 26 states had negative net total migration between 1960 and 1970 and the natural increase in population was the only element saving these states from having a population loss.⁷² When one considers the trends in declining fertility rates and increasing migration to the West, Southwest, and Southeast one can see that in the near future many states will be struggling to maintain a viable tax paying constituency. A similar situation is occurring in rural counties and in the central cities of our large metropolitan areas. (See Figure 29)

In metropolitan areas we have declining central cities with financial problems surrounded by numerous prosperous suburban communities. In rural areas we have both declining rural cities and counties with a

FIGURE 29



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 121.

weakening tax resource base for these governments. The worsening situation in the central cities and in the rural areas can only have a weakening effect on the state government.

One proposal is for revenue sharing. Putting the money into State and local administrator's hands, thereby increasing the budgetary control and decision making power of state and local governments, thereby reducing the role of the Federal Government and allowing state and local officials more freedom to design programs to suit local conditions.⁷³

However, a case can be made for the fact that state and local governments are less responsive to the populace than the Federal Government is. The electorate is less responsive during the local elections. According to the Brookings Institute study;

In many cases, states and localities have long ignored pressing local problems even where they have had the financial capacity to deal with them. It is also alleged that legislatures, city councils, and state and local bureaucracies often display a low level of competence and are susceptible to corruption. Moreover, state and local governments may give relatively low priority to those programs that are considered to be in the national interest but that have relatively little payoff in the local area.⁷⁴

Furthermore, there is no assurance given national goals or minimum standards of performance, that the population will be treated in an equitable manner.

Local Government Reform - Past Efforts

Prior to any revenue sharing scheme, I suggest that the Federal Government encourage the states to take cognizance of themselves and determine the basic character of its human, economic, social and natural resources in a way that identifies the weaknesses and strong points of their economy. The states should then develop multicounty economic

regions in order to establish priorities in maintaining or revitalizing areas essential to the economic health of the state.

Within this broad context, states could identify regions which have potential value in recreation, natural resources, agriculture, and industrial and commercial growth. Within such regions the states would formulate a comprehensive plan for development. This planning should be a condition to further Federal aid. With respect to population distribution, state planning would include control over the location of transportation systems, resource development and land use. Target populations could be established for each region or cities within each region. By controlling access to and from cities or regions, controlling the development of resources and control over the location of new housing and industrial parks, the state can effectively control population distribution.

The literature is rich with information about the fragmentation of local governmental units and their overlapping jurisdictions. Presently, there are over 81,000 local governmental units of all types in the U.S.; 18,000 of which are municipalities.⁷⁵ By the year 2000 the number of municipalities is expected to double.⁷⁶ We have a situation now where local units of government jealously guard their own jurisdictions with little regard for the diseconomies that such an attitude create. The result is a needlessly higher tax burden for the tax payer at a time when he feels he is being over taxed and is beginning to resist tax increases. With the prospect of the formation of numerous other local governmental units, I would suggest that the Federal Government as a condition of grants, encourage the states to use their power to re-organize municipalities into fewer city governments. In addition, school districts, water district, conservation districts, etc., would be made to conform, where

possible, to the new territorial boundaries. This could be done in a number of ways.

In urban areas, the states could encourage, negotiate or direct cities to consolidate into fewer numbers and then form a Metropolitan government. The metro-government could cross county lines and provide a viable go between, between cities within the metro area and the state government. The metro government would be responsible for collecting and distributing revenues, sponsoring state and Federal programs, manage health, education and welfare programs, provide metropolitan waste and water treatment facilities, control land use and population densities. The local government would provide basic services such as police and fire protection, waste disposal and manage waste and water treatment facilities in their areas. The advantages are fairly obvious; the economic viability of the metropolitan area would be enhanced by a wider tax base, redistribution of income would occur, some of the richer communities would support the poorer ones, economies of scale could be realized in education, health, welfare, transportation, waste water and water supply facilities, and increased efficiency could be achieved at all levels of government, including Federal.

While this element of an overall strategy may appear to be grandiose and unworkable, it is in fact being used in Canada with significant success. The principal reason for this success in Canada is its' strong Provincial governmental structure which is, somewhat, in contrast to the states power in the U.S. In the Canadian experience, the Provincial government actually has the power to control and controls what development takes place and where. It stimulates development in areas by providing transportation linkages and water supply and treatment facilities in areas

it wishes to develop. It also designates growth centers and concentrates its developmental expenditures in these centers by developing and expanding the basic community infrastructure of the "center" and stimulating industrial location into these centers. All new subdivisions for residential housing, single unit or multi unit, and industrial parks must have the approval of various governmental departments who review the plans to see if they are consistent with the overall development plan for the economic region. Any one of these review authorities have veto power over these developments.⁷⁷

The Province, in effect, controls land use and specifies which areas are to remain in agricultural production, used for recreation or available for residential and industrial development. It also has the power to purchase lands in order to prevent speculative ownership of lands and to control the rate and direction of land use. While not a specific objective, the Provincial government does establish target population numbers for each city and then indirectly through its' other objectives effects control of the population densities of all areas within each economic region.⁷⁸

A variation of this element of an overall strategy would be one that strengthens county governments in a way that they could assimilate the burden of many duplicate and overlapping programs in cities within the counties boundary. This could be achieved in both rural and urban areas.

In urban areas it would not be unlike the Urban County approach to the reorganization of local governments in metropolitan areas as discussed in a report by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in June, 1962.

Basically, this approach is one that changes the character of the county government from one of being an arm of the State to that of being municipal in character within all or part of its political boundary. The change can occur in one of two ways. First, a complete and immediate transfer of functions and responsibilities from the city governments to the county and second, the gradual assimilation of these same functions and responsibilities by the county.

An example of the first method of change occurred in 1956 in Dade County, Florida.⁷⁹ Dade County was given the power to draft a county charter with the passage of a state constitutional amendment. Upon becoming chartered, the county was given the responsibility for county wide functions, such as; highways and other transportation modes, traffic control, air and water pollution control, assessments, fire and police protection, housing and urban renewal, building and zoning codes, and the construction of integrated water supply, waste water treatment and surface drainage systems. Cities within the county retained their other functions in dealing with local matters but the county could take over the functions of the cities if it could be shown that a city could not maintain minimum performance levels for certain functions. The county also has some limited powers in the establishment of new municipalities and changes in boundaries of existing ones.

The second way in which this change can occur is illustrated by the Lakewood Plan in California.⁸⁰ A state constitutional provision in California allows the counties to enter into contractual arrangements with municipalities. The result is that the county government becomes the coordinator of major programs for all municipalities who participate in the contractual arrangement and in some sense the county is established as a metropolitan unit of government while cities maintain their home

rule autonomy. Other reasons for the success of this program have been the fact that the state has given to counties the grant of home rule, that has allowed the counties to provide municipal services to unincorporated areas which includes zoning, recreation, police and fire protection, and planning functions.

The basic fault of the Urban County concept is that is it restricted to its political boundary while the Canadian municipal reform concept is not. In rural areas it appears that either the Dade County approach or the Lakewood plan would be applicable. In declining counties in the U.S., though not restricted to declining counties, it is possible for the counties to consolidate many disjointed municipal services within their jurisdictions either through direct assimilation of the functions or through the contractual arrangements previously discussed.

A Proposal for a Local Government Reform Element

I can envision an overall strategy incorporating all three of the elements discussed above. It would seem that in order for such a strategy to be politically feasible, that is; flexibly, acceptable and workable, it must occur with relatively small incremental changes in the political structure.

The first phase would be the gradual assimilation of municipal services by county governments. This phase would be applicable to both rural and urban counties. The political feasibility will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

The second phase is that of forming an Urban County government and is a direct progression from the earlier phase of the county assimilating municipal functions. It would be a simple formalizing, by the State, of the counties role as a coordinator of municipal programs. Additional

powers could be given by the state to the counties to provide similar services to unincorporated areas and to also control the development of unincorporated areas through land use controls and the sponsoring of programs that stimulated growth within the county. Again, this phase would relate to rural and urban counties.

The third and final phase would be applicable, primarily, in urban areas. Since growth is not restricted to political boundaries, whether they be municipal, county, or state, some means must be found that would satisfy the needs of large metropolitan areas. In this case, Local Government Reform at the city and county levels could be used with the formation of Metropolitan governments' which could and would cut across county line jurisdictions. Two or more phase II county governments could be consolidated into one large metro-government using the peripheral boundaries of the combined counties as the new jurisdictional limits. In this way, counties not affected would maintain their historical jurisdictions. In rural areas or counties it would be possible, but not necessary, for counties to combine into some form of regional government similar perhaps to the Economic Development Districts of the EDA.

The basic premise here is that the Federal Government can and should influence the states to initiate a program of county development by specifying this condition as necessary prior to receiving large grants for community development. With a long history of government programs having an indirect effect on population distribution, it is possible that subtle or even less than subtle pressures can be applied to states as a means to satisfying a national goal of controlling population distribution while at the same time preserving or stimulating the economic viability of the states indirectly through local government reform of some type.

FRAMEWORK FOR MEASURING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACCEPTANCE OF VARIOUS ELEMENTS

Influence of Interest Groups

General

As described in the preceding paragraphs, we can see that the existing fragmentation of all units of local government under the existing structure virtually militates against the planning capabilities in a region or a state. Each municipality, for example, has the power to zone its own land and each relies on its own property tax base for general revenues.

Urban problems such as air pollution, inadequate housing, poverty, crime, water supply and waste water treatment are not localized problems but spread across political boundaries. The need for cooperative effort in urban areas and in rural areas to a lesser degree is needed to replace jurisdictional jealousies and the narrowly defined self interests of local governmental units. This attitude on the part of local units of governments effectively prevents the organization and coordination of local zoning changes, Federal health, education, welfare and housing programs that would be part of an overall strategy to effect a National Population Redistribution Policy. The overall results are the hap-hazard, inefficient growth and the use of limited tax resources in the nations metropolitan areas.

The question now becomes one of how we can realistically effect any element of an overall Population Redistribution Policy or strategy given the existing political structure of local governmental units and the special interests that can have a powerful influence on any type of change.

Any detailed analysis of the impact of the existing political structure and special interests on any type of change that might effect

population distribution is within the purview of social scientists. However, in the following sections I will attempt to identify the major interest groups that could influence any change in the existing political structure and a general framework for evaluating their impact on any decision for change.

This section draws on studies completed by Edward C. Banfield,⁸¹ James Q. Wilson, Morton Grodzins⁸² and the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.⁸³ The analysis to be discussed is in relation to the three phase framework of Local Government Reform previously discussed, with the understanding that a similar analysis could be done for the other elements of an overall population redistribution strategy.

Basically there are about eleven major interest groups that would have significant interest in any type of local government reform.⁸⁴

These are:

1. Elected or appointed local government officials
2. City Employees
3. Retail Interests
4. Financial Interests
5. Manufacturing Interests
6. Utility Interests
7. Union Interests
8. Real Estate Brokers
9. Real Estate Owners
10. Environmental Interests
11. White and Black Group Interests

Elected or Appointed Local Government Officials

This group is perhaps the most important, because these officials represent the cumulation of pressures received by the other interest groups coupled with their own personal biases. In the context of local government reform, their support or opposition to any type change is dependent upon the aggregate pressures of other interest groups. In order to gain the support of these individuals for some type of municipal reform, there must also be some means to mitigate their fears of losing their elected positions or their power base. With the gradual phasing of municipal reform proposed in the previous section, this might be done through attrition, given 10 or 15 years for any total local government reform to occur. In this way, some of their personal biases may be mitigated.

Local Government Employees

The influence of these interests can be manifested in one of two ways. The first is the fact that other interest groups can gain access to local officials through city employees. In this process, the degree of access would be dependent upon the personal biases of local government employees, in various influential positions, to a particular issue. This bias on the part of these employees, with respect to local government reform, would probably be based on preserving the job security associated with the status quo. Any threat to this security would be met with substantial resistance.

The second way in which local government employees can influence local governmental decision making is through union organizations. In recent years we have seen substantial gains in the union membership of public employees. School teachers, firemen, police, and clerical workers are organizing into unions in order to have a greater voice in local

governmental issues affecting wages, working conditions, and job security. Any strategy, that might be proposed for municipal reform that would threaten, primarily, job security, would surely be strongly resisted. The means must be found, again, perhaps through attrition over a long period, that would preserve job tenure over the transition period of the phases previously discussed.

Retail Interests⁸⁷

The basic interest of retailers in a community is that of increasing retail trade, primarily with the higher income classes of people. In this context therefore, these interests are generally in favor of Federal, state and local government programs that would somehow bring retail trade to their stores. These would include, urban renewal programs or programs, for example, that would revitalize the central business district of our large central cities, highway construction programs that would make it more convenient for suburbia to commute into the business district, and finally, any program that would provide low cost municipal parking in central cities.

The dominating force among retailers is, of course, the large department stores. These stores are generally the nucleus of any retail trade development and are generally essential to drawing large numbers of people to retail or shopping centers.

The question now becomes one of determining how retailers might look upon any type of local government reform as part of a population redistribution strategy. Given the basic premise that an overall population redistribution strategy would be aimed at raising the standard of living and quality of life for all individuals, it would seem that this interest group would benefit from such a strategy providing, of

course, that there is no significant change in tax burden on middle income classes. By the same token, it would be anticipated that local government reform would slow down the increase in the tax burden of the same class through increased governmental efficiency and the possible savings to be accrued through economies of scale. On the other hand, land use planning and control of population distribution would tend to limit the growth of market areas within a given area. However, given the overall function of planning for future population densities, ready-made or controlled market areas would make the planning of new outlets for these interests more responsive to the needs of the people. Generally, given the various tradeoffs, it would appear that these interests would be in favor of some type local government reform.

Financial Interests⁸⁸

These interests fall into two general categories. First, there are the banking interests. These interests are concerned with the growth and prosperity of their clientele which include primarily retail and manufacturing interests. It could be generally stated that their support or opposition to any type of local government reform would parallel that of their clientele.

The second category of financial interests include Savings and Loan Association interests. These interests are concerned with an ever expanding demand for their funds for use primarily in financing the construction and purchase of residential units, both single and multi-unit dwellings and a growing recent interest in commercial properties.

With respect to local government reform, one would expect these interests to look unfavorably on any form of government that might restrict the hap-hazard growth that has occurred in the past in suburbia.

The overall effect of local government reform is not to restrict growth in the true sense of the word, its function in the context of population redistribution is simply to redirect it.

Utility Interests⁸⁹

These interests generally favor increases in population, employment and income and benefit greatly from patterns of predictable growth. Major shifts in population present many problems for these interests. To illustrate, the major shift of the population from central cities to suburbia has created the situation where these interests now have excess capacity in central cities and a growing demand for new capacity in suburbia. Enormous capital outlays are needed to extend service to these areas which in turn have created pressures for rate increases.

These interests, I feel, would strongly favor the consolidation of local governmental units into a governmental unit that would plan and control the use of land and indirectly the location of the population.

Union Interests⁹⁰

The views of these interests with respect to local government employees has been discussed previously. However, unions interests representing other trades will also have a vital interest in local government reform.

Particularly, in the building trade unions, much opposition can be expected. This opposition would be directed at any form of government that would restrict development within a local area through land use policies and had the power to establish standards or codes for new construction of all types of new development. It would be expected that government reform of the type envisioned would mean somewhat fewer job

opportunities for these trades within a specific area, and would generally require these workers to relocate in areas where new construction is allowed. However, given the overall strategy for a population redistribution policy, it would be possible that jobs would be created for the revitalization or reconstruction of, for example, central city areas.

Real Estate Interests - Brokers⁹¹

This group of interests are concerned primarily with the turnover in real properties. It is difficult to determine just how local government reform will affect these interests. On one hand, it would appear that a reform of this type would lessen the rate of turnover of existing real property. Speculation on land would be reduced substantially and the location of new development controlled. On the other hand, there would be demands for real property in the areas where development is allowed to occur, and again, growth is not going to be restricted, simply, redirected.

Real Estate Interests - Owners and Managers⁹²

These interests, I believe, would be in favor of some type of reform. Primarily because it could enhance the value of their properties if supply within a given area were restricted by some means of land use control. In addition, with a broader tax base and more efficiency and economy in government, the rate of tax assessment increases could be reduced or even eliminated. Again, a case in point would be central city areas where owners of large office buildings are currently having problems leasing office space at a time when property taxes are increasing.

Manufacturing Interests⁹³

Generally speaking, these interests fall into two categories, that is, local and national manufacturing concerns.

For the most part, national interests have little interest in local governmental affairs once their needs for labor, transportation and supply of natural resources are satisfied. However, in recent years we have seen major shifts of nationally oriented industry from areas with high tax rates to areas with a lower tax structure. This movement is evidenced by the growth and relocation of major industries to the Southeast, Southwest and West from the North. However, this shift cannot be assumed to hold true for the nation as a whole.

Local manufacturing concerns have a more vital interest in local government. However, their interest is more passive. This is to say that they prefer maintaining the status quo, particularly, with respect to tax assessments, and changes that might effect local or regional markets. They realize that, in most cases, they are an asset to a community and that the community may be reluctant to institute any change that might affect the economic viability of the industry. In this context, it is possible that any tax relief, either present or future, that may result from a more efficient local government structure and a broader tax base, would put these interests on the plus side of local government reform.

Environmental Interests

The interests of environmentalists, I believe, would be served greatly by the reform of local governments. Presently, it is difficult to get a workable coalition of governmental units that can effectively work toward the solution of air and water quality problems. With the formation of a hierarchy of local government, it would be possible that solutions can be arrived at, to problems which know no political jurisdictions. Regional water supply and waste water treatment facilities would be constructed more economically and proper planning for future

growth through land use controls would convert planning from the "fire fighting" approach to one which considers and anticipates problems before they occur. With respect to pollution, a larger organization could more effectively deal with industrial polluters of both the air and water and could effectively plan for transportation systems that would relieve congestion and the pollution that occurs in large metropolitan areas.

Black and White Group Interests⁹⁴

The wartime movement of the blacks from the South to northern industrial cities was followed by the slowly developing expansion of civil rights and a dramatic boom in race consciousness on the part of blacks. The focal point for this new consciousness became the central cities of major northern industrial urban centers, and as such, these centers acted as magnets to draw further migration. On the other hand, the growing black population in center cities has clearly played a part in stimulating the movement of whites to suburban outer rings. The aim of civil rights legislation was not intended to increase polarization of the races but, somehow, despite open housing laws, school integration and equal opportunity employment, the suburbs have stayed mostly white and the central cities have become increasingly black. The disadvantaged segments of the population, the poor, the black, the old and others, simply cannot afford to buy their way into our suburban society. This coupled with restrictive zoning policies in many suburban communities prevent these groups from buying in at bargain rates.

We see the increasing burden of health, education and welfare services falling heavily on central cities at a time when their tax resource base is falling. What would happen, for example, if a central city government were consolidated with suburban governments into a

Metropolitan government? The immediate advantage would be that of a broader tax base to support the services to the underprivileged, more comprehensive planning could be made at all levels of government for low cost housing and educational facilities, and in the long run, a reduction of the polarization of races that presently exists. Equity would be achieved with the redistribution of wealth in the metropolitan area.

The black community would clearly benefit from increased opportunities for a higher quality of life. However, will the white community ever accept the blacks as equals or will the polarization of races continue? Minority groups, on one hand, will strive for equality, while whites, for the most part, will resist and probably strive for equal but separate polarized communities. However, we have seen in recent years that black leaders have won important Federal, state and local political positions. In central cities, the concentration of blacks will give them stronger roles in government. According to Grodzins;

within the next 20 years Negro mayors will appear in Baltimore, Detroit, Oakland (California) or Cincinnati.⁹⁵

All of which have a high proportion of blacks in the central cities.

Grodzins further indicates that:

white groups in the North will not accept the development of Negro political primacy without protest. One form of protest will most certainly be attempts to enlarge city boundaries in order to include within them their predominantly white suburban populations. (Thus, the age-old suburban opposition to the city annexation of suburban areas will be overcome. But in the opinion of the suburbanites concerned, the move will be justified: they will be annexing the city to the suburb.)⁹⁶

If Grodzins is correct there will be little opposition to the local government reform in large metropolitan areas. However, I can't help

being a bit skeptical of his optimism. Presently, we have black mayors in two large cities, Cleveland, Ohio and Newark, New Jersey and there has been no evidence of the movement envisioned by Grodzins. It appears that these individuals are mayors, first, and blacks second.

When one considers that the white majority in the suburbs represent a constituency with great political power at all levels of government, it seems unlikely that their desires, either pro or con, for local government reform will be ignored.

A Framework for Decision Making

Given either the fragmentation or the cohesion of interests of the groups discussed above, how can any decision be made with respect to local government reform?

For this section I draw heavily from a framework study done by Robert Salisbury and John Heinz entitled "A Theory of Policy Analysis and Some Preliminary Applications."⁹⁷ The basic hypothesis of this theory is:

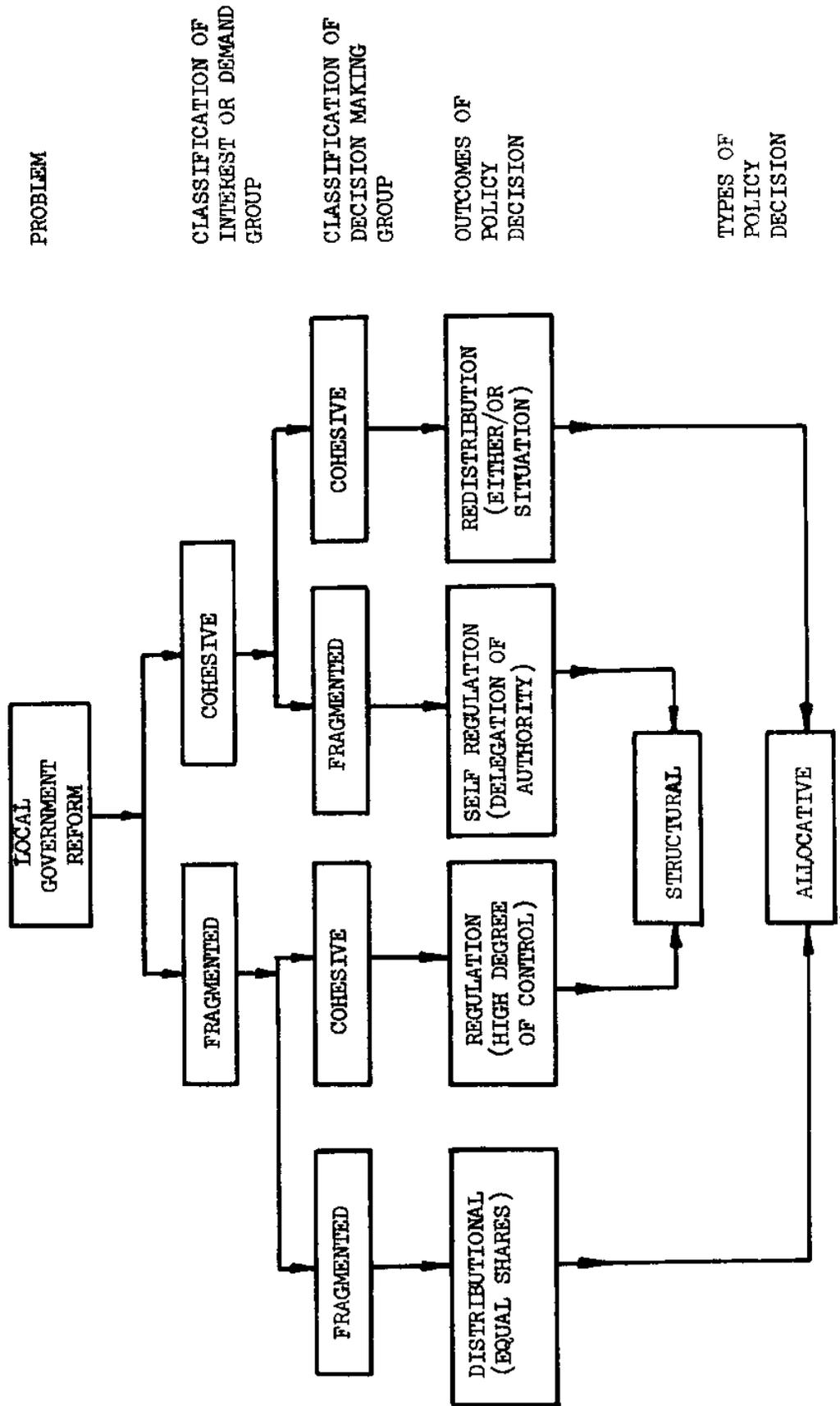
"The more costly it is to organize the requisite coalition on an issue, the more likely it is that the policy will be structural rather than allocative."⁹⁸

Structural policy is defined as varying between regulatory and self regulatory outcomes to a policy decision, while allocative policies may vary along a distributive - redistributive continuum, given the decisional framework shown in Figure 30.

With respect to Figure 30, the needs of interest or demand groups are said to be either fragmented or cohesive. Fragmented in the sense that differing viewpoints of a problem offer

FIGURE 30

DECISION MAKING FRAMEWORK



many differing solutions, and cohesive in the sense that differing viewpoints of a problem offer either one or a limited number of solutions. Decision making groups are also characterized as being fragmented or cohesive, with cohesiveness representing, for example, a strong executive and fragmentation: a diverse legislature.

The study by Salisbury and Hinz indicates that the interactions of these four variables, that is..interest groups and decision groups of each classification, results in four types of outcomes which are shown on Figure 30 together with an example of the type of outcome expected.

Looking at the problem of local government reform, we can identify the paths that might lead to the adoption of some type of policy. From the preceding sections it was generally determined that local government reform is basically a structural type policy in the sense that we are trying to develop a system of control over rural and urban areas.

Using the framework shown on Figure 30, it can be seen that there are two paths that lead toward a structural type policy. Each of which shows that either the decision making group or the interest group can be either fragmented or cohesive, but never the same. The problem now becomes one of determining where leverage can be applied, for example, by the Federal Government, given a classification for either the interest or the decision making group, assuming, of course, that in this case the decision making group is the state government.

Narrowing the field even further, the ultimate goal of local government reform is regulation, which narrows the decision making path to one. In the preceding section we have looked at the various interest groups and their anticipated views toward local government reform. While not conclusive, the general feeling that comes out of the discussion is

that the demand for reform is fragmented. This is, of course, assuming that each interest group has equal political weight.

The Salisbury and Heinz study indicates that the more fragmented the demands of interest groups are, the higher the decision making costs, and the most likely policy decision will be structural. This appears to be the situation in the case of local government reform.

If the state government is cohesive in nature, we could reasonably expect a regulatory type policy to emerge from the political system. However, what if the state government is fragmented, a situation which would lead to an unacceptable policy decision. In this case, the Federal government could step in and with the leverage it has in its grants in aid program could pressure state governments into cohesion for the implementation of national goals.

Given, however, the three phases of local government reform and a transition period of say 15 years, the pressures need not be drastic.

In the initial phase, there may be considerable cohesion among the demands of various interest groups. The promise of better services, lower costs, and pollution control would have wide appeal among virtually all interest groups.

The second phase would simply be a formalization of the increased role of counties in the political structure and the addition of the powers to control land use in both incorporated and unincorporated areas. In this phase there would probably be a gradual shift in classification of interest groups from that of cohesion to that of fragmentation. However, given time to live within a system, cohesion might be expected to return.

The third or final phase would be where the shift from cohesion to

fragmentation would be the greatest. However, this shift in classification would not be as great if reform were proposed in one major phase of local governmental reform.

Perhaps I being too optimistic of the chances of local government reform because no situation is ever an either - or proposition. However, in view of what could be achieved through local government reform, any negotiated change from the existing system would be a step in the right direction.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER III

¹The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit., p. Galley 2-14.

²U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 10, p. 11.

³IBID., Table No. 42, p. 35.

⁴The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit., p. Galley 5-7.

⁵Article, "The Bankruptcy of Subsidized Housing," Business Week, May 27, 1972, pp. 42-48.

⁶IBID., p. 43.

⁷IBID., p. 43.

⁸IBID., p. 43.

⁹IBID., p. 43.

¹⁰The President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, op.cit., Chapter 6.

¹¹Charles Gates, "Toward a Definition of Health Economics" (Unpublished paper, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1971), p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

¹²U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 581, p. 376.

¹³IBID., Table No. 463, p. 291.

¹⁴IBID., Table No. 463, p. 291.

¹⁵IBID., Table No. 463, p. 291.

¹⁶IBID., Table No. 430, p. 271.

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¹⁸Walter Christaller, Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland (Jena: G. Fischer, 1935).

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²³Estimate by National Goals Research Staff, (op.cit., p. 21.).

²⁴Estimate by Population Reference Bureau, (op.cit., p. 23.).

²⁵The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, op.cit., Part 1, Chapter 3, pp. Galley 3-1 - Galley 3-12.

²⁶Agglomeration economies are defined as including 1) economies of scale, 2) Localization economies for all firms in a single industry at a single location, dependant upon the enlargement of the total output of the whole industry at that location and 3) Urbanization economies for all firms in all industries at a single location, dependant upon the total economic size of that location for all industries taken together. (Izard, op.cit.).

²⁷The Population Bulletin, op.cit., p. 20-23.

²⁸National Goals Research Staff, op.cit., Chart 19.

²⁹IBID., Chart 20; It should be noted that the data shown on Table 9 summarizes the results of 11 separate studies completed by independant researchers. See cited source for additional references.

³⁰National Water Commission, Population Growth in Communities in Relation to Water Resources Policy (Washington: Rivkin/Carson Inc., 1971) pp. 12-14.

³¹IBID., pp. 14-17.

³²Walter Izard, Location and Space Economy, op.cit., p. 176.

³³IBID., p. 182.

³⁴National Water Commission, op.cit., p. viii.

³⁵U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 42, p. 35.

³⁶National Water Commission, op.cit., p. 20.

³⁷IBID., p. 20.

³⁸IBID., p. 20.

³⁹IBID., p. 20.

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- ⁴² IBID., p. 320.
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- ⁵⁷ Barry Lawson, "A Stochastic Model of Settlement on the Urban Fringe: The Role of Land, Its Use, and Related Policy" (Unpublished Ph'd thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1971), p. 1.
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- ⁶¹John W. Reps, op.cit.
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- ⁶⁵Result of personal interviews with Ontario Government officials.
- ⁶⁶John W. Reps, op.cit., pp. 58 and 59.
- ⁶⁷Charles L. Schultze, op.cit., pp. 55-160; Charles L. Schultze, et al., Setting National Priorities: The 1972 Budget (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1971), pp. 134-237.
- ⁶⁸IBID.
- ⁶⁹Charles L. Schultze, et al., op.cit., p. 138.
- ⁷⁰IBID., p. 141.
- ⁷¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Tables No. 619 and 640, pp. 402 and 403, respectively.
- ⁷²See footnote 2 this Chapter.
- ⁷³Charles L. Schultze, et al., op.cit., pp. 143 and 144.
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- ⁷⁷See footnote No. 58 this Chapter.
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- ⁹⁰ IBID., pp. 277-292.
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- ⁹³ IBID., pp. 263-276.
- ⁹⁴ IBID., pp. 293-312.
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CHAPTER IV

TOWARD A NATIONAL POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION STRATEGY

GENERAL

In the first chapter I have attempted to determine whether or not there is indeed a population redistribution problem. I have also attempted to identify the scope and range of specific problems relative to the social, economic and political spheres of influence in the U.S.. As a result of these investigations, I am convinced that the nation has serious problems that have occurred as a result of past migrations from rural areas to urban areas and from central cities to the suburban rings.

In Chapter two, I have shown how past Federal programs and policies have implicitly and explicitly effected the migrations that have taken place in the past and are presently continuing. Also, I have shown how these policies along with individual and industrial locational decision making has resulted in a situation where individuals for social, economic or political reasons do not really have much of a choice as to where they would like to live relative to large metropolitan areas and rural areas. As a result, individuals and firms have had to put up with adverse environmental, social and political conditions in order to maintain their economic viability.

In the third chapter I have identified 5 elements that, I feel, can be integrated into an overall population redistribution strategy. The elements, one behavioral and four structural, are in most cases expected to compliment each other rather than conflict with each other. However, there are a number of combinations of these elements that might be used to implement a national population redistribution policy.

In this chapter, I will attempt to show how these various combinations can be used to this end given an overall framework strategy to work with.

FRAMEWORK STRATEGY

The underlying notions of this framework strategy are 1) to provide individuals and firms a range of viable choices as to where they would wish to locate and 2) that this choice provide these individuals and firms a quality of life reflected in a life style that includes a clean, wholesome environment, an adequate income, adequate housing, health, education and welfare services, and finally recreational opportunities.

The basic framework strategy is divided into three parts. The first part is concerned with the economic and social conditions of rural areas and non-metropolitan cities.¹ The second part is concerned with cities (SMSA's) in the 50,000 to 250,000 population range. This is a range of convenience rather than a hard and fast rule. The elements that will be developed for this part are expected to be applicable to a range of cities with a population between 25,000 and 500,000. A further restriction on cities within this part of the overall strategy is that these cities must be independent, free standing communities not generally considered as part of a large metropolitan area or megalopolis. The third part deals with the problems of large metropolitan areas which include a central city and numerous suburban communities.

For each of these parts, I will reiterate, somewhat, the specific problems within the communities that make up each part and the possible elements that might be used to solve these problems.

RURAL AND NON-METROPOLITAN AREAS

The population in these areas constitutes about 30 percent of the nations total population. Mass migrations from these areas have occurred in the past and are continuing to this day. The result is that vast areas of the nation are becoming depopulated at a time when the population as a whole seems to prefer living in open space areas. This paradox is attributed to individuals seeking economic opportunity regardless of personal preferences as to where they would like to live.

It is a trade-off that has contributed substantially to the pattern of population distribution we have today. The cycle that has occurred as a result of these trade-offs is directly attributed to the lack of economic opportunity in rural and non-metropolitan areas. It has been shown that educational opportunities in these areas are generally inferior to those in urban areas. These areas simply cannot afford quality education for its youth. With employment opportunities limited, this individual seeks opportunities in urban areas but is basically unprepared to compete with his urban counterpart in the job market and is less capable of adjusting to urban living. He, thus, joins the lower economic strata or urban communities. This in turn creates a financial burden on cities in the form of direct welfare and social assistance. Because of their inability to compete for higher paying jobs, these individuals are forced to live in substandard housing within cities which contributes to the creation of slums and ghettos.

In rural and non-metropolitan areas the need is apparent. Federal and State aid is needed to 1) upgrade the quality of education and job training in these areas to increase employability of the residents, 2) upgrade the quality of existing housing stocks and provide to a lesser degree programs to assist in developing new and low cost housing,

3) upgrade existing health and welfare services and 4) assist communities in these areas in providing basic community services such as water supply, waste water treatment, police and fire protection along with other basic governmental and administrative services.

This part of an overall strategy might be termed a "human resource investment." The methods available for use in meeting these goals include a restructuring of existing grant-in-aid programs at the Federal level and/or some type of State sponsored municipal reform.

The studies by (Hines 1971) and the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty (1967)² clearly show the inequality that exists in Federal grant-in-aid programs in rural and non-metropolitan areas. While rural and non-metropolitan areas contain over 50 percent of the nations poor they receive on the average less than 25 percent of the benefits from these programs.

Congress recently passed a bill on a Revenue Sharing Program for Rural Development.³ This program would provide funds for job training, health programs, transportation systems and programs to develop the basic infrastructure of smaller communities. The legislative proposals combine a number of existing programs, add some additional funds to these programs, and redirects these programs toward the basic needs of rural communities through State and local administrators. In addition, rural and non-metropolitan communities would qualify for other revenue sharing proposals directed toward building their human resource and economic base through special revenue sharing proposals for manpower development, education, transportation and law enforcement. Under these proposals each state would receive at least an equivalent amount of funds it has been receiving but will be in a position to direct and expedite these funds to where they are needed most. One potential

drawback to these revenue sharing proposals is the amount and type of cost sharing that may be required at State and local levels in order to participate in this program. As in the past, richer communities have been able to take advantage of Federal programs because they could obtain the cost sharing funds necessary to qualify for these programs. I don't intend to go into a detailed discussion of cost-sharing, but I simply intend to mention it as a potential obstacle toward rural and non-metropolitan development.

In order to mitigate the problem mentioned above and also to aid these communities in effectively and efficiently coping with their problems, I would suggest that the Local Government Reform proposals discussed in Chapter III might be used. As discussed earlier, the first two phases of Local Government Reform would be applicable in rural and non-metropolitan areas. Since these smaller communities have similar problems, that is limited funds and a generally declining tax base plus the need for the basic community services previously mentioned, it seems obvious that a larger local unit of government may be able to provide better services at lower prices. The initial phase would be the gradual assimilation of municipal services by county governments or by some established municipal district similar to the Economic Development Districts of the EDA program. The assimilation would occur through contractual arrangements between existing municipalities and the county or district government and the provision of these services to unincorporated areas under some type of tax or payment scheme.

The second phase of this proposal would be that of forming an Urban-County government which is a direct progression from the initial phase of Local Government Reform. It would be simply a formalizing of the counties role as a coordinator of municipal programs.

With this new status, plus a wider tax base, this Urban County government would be in a position to sponsor and cost share, if necessary, in Federal grant-in-aid programs. These governmental units would then be in a position to direct funds to communities and areas under their jurisdiction where the need is most.

Up until now, I have neglected to show how these methods are to be used within the general context of a national population redistribution strategy. The elements discussed in the preceding paragraphs are intended to increase the quality of life for the residents of rural and non-metropolitan areas. The basic idea is to create an environment that will encourage the residents of these areas to remain in these areas, while at the same time upgrading their skills for participation in a regional labor market. It is envisioned that residents in these areas would seek and find employment in a designated regional growth center. In other words, these smaller outlying communities would serve as "bedroom communities" for the larger growth centers within a region. As stated earlier, it is quite possible that a non-metropolitan community of from 25,000 population to 50,000 population could be designated as a regional growth center that would serve the social and economic needs of residents of its hinterlands. The basic idea, therefore, is to provide the residents of rural and non-metropolitan areas the economic and social security needed to stem their movement to larger urban centers.

The final element that must be considered for this part of the overall strategy is the one that concerns the social, political, and economic norms that will determine the success or failure of implementing the methods previously discussed. I have discussed previously, perhaps biasely, the barriers toward implementation of a redistribution strategy. Again, however, I wish to reiterate my feelings that the

social, economic, and political spheres of influence will have to undergo considerable change in the direction toward a more humanistic and sincere approach in solving the problems of poverty and inequality in the nations rural and urban societies.

INTERMEDIATE SIZE CITIES

As stated earlier, this part of the overall strategy is concerned with cities ranging in population size from 50,000 to 250,000. In addition, these cities must be independent, free standing communities not generally considered to be a part of a large metropolitan area or megalopolis. In the past 10 years, the population in these cities have grown 21.2 percent,⁴ considerably in excess of the national change in population of 13.3 percent.⁵ It is in these communities where there is the potential to absorb about 25 percent⁶ of the projected population increase over the next 30 years. The question now becomes one of determining how the nation can utilize this potential within the context of a national population redistribution strategy.

These cities for the most part are at a stage in their growth where they do not have the serious environmental, social, economic and political problems that major metropolitan areas now have. This is not to say that these cities don't have problems, because growth in itself, creates problems in planning for and serving the needs of an expanding population and economy. The salient feature here is, that the problems that could develop in the future are at a point where they can be managed if proper action is initiated.

With respect to a population redistribution strategy, these cities offer the hope of providing a substantial segment of the nation's population, a life style and a quality of life not to be found in the

megalopolitan areas of the country. These communities with their existing economic base, their existing social and physical infrastructure offer the potential in achieving these ends. One of the methods that can be used to develop this potential is the implementation of the growth pole concept.

I consider this element the key to the success of a national population redistribution strategy. This element offers the means to national and state planners to develop the potential previously mentioned. With this element, efforts would be made to develop an urban center that would serve the needs of its residents and also the needs of residents in the city's hinterlands by providing job opportunities and commercial, social, governmental, cultural and recreational services.

The primary problem with implementing this element of an overall strategy is in identifying which cities will be designated as growth centers. The parameters and methods that could be used in identifying these centers are discussed in detail in Chapter three. Assuming, therefore, that the centers have been identified, the Federal Government should seek the means to encourage, 1) the expansion of the existing industrial base, 2) development of an efficient transportation system and 3) the means to develop the center into a city that will attract people away from large metropolitan areas.

These goals may be realized by encouraging some of the leading economic growth sectors of the nation to locate in the centers selected for expansion. If significant and sustained growth is to occur, the center must develop a comparative advantage in regional, state, or national markets. The means toward achieving this end could come in the form of locational subsidies for various firms, labor cost subsidies, land and/or subsidies of some form that would make the relocation

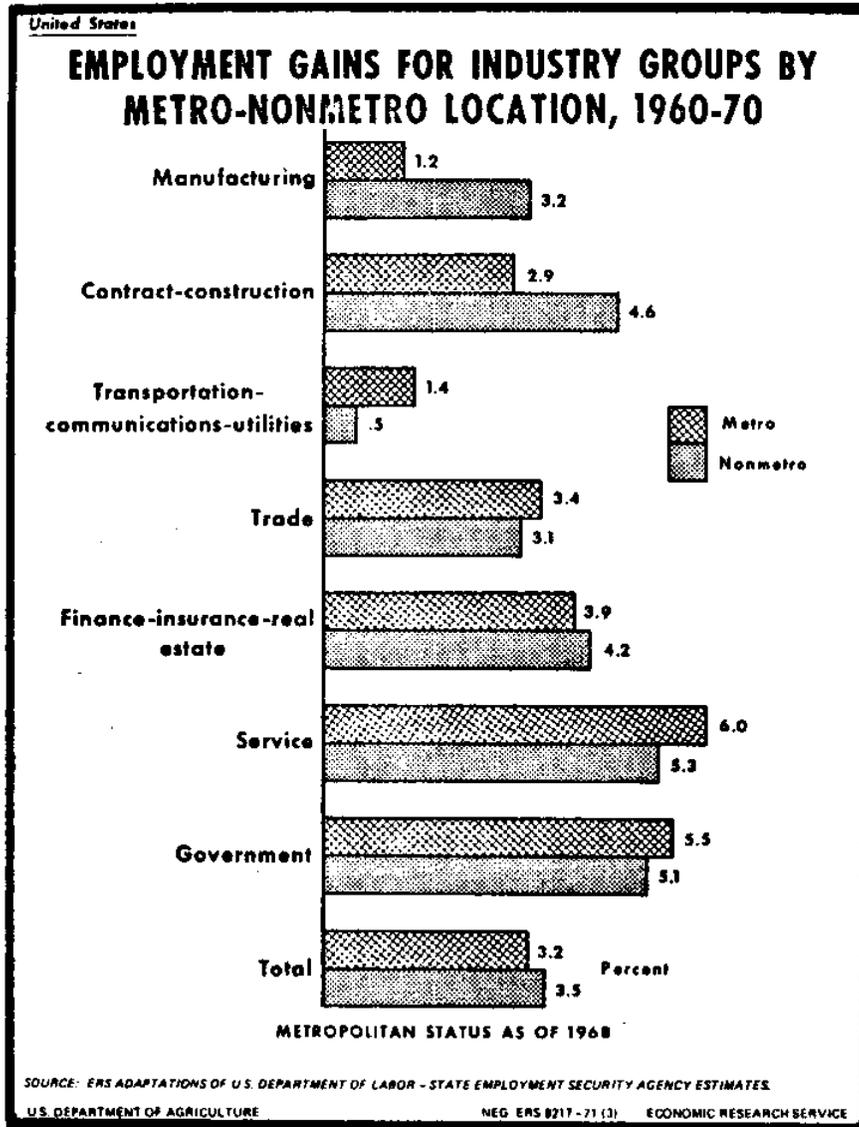
attractive to firms in the viable economic sectors of the nation. (See Figure 31)

So now we have growth and job opportunities in the form of a seed that could grow into a megalopolis with its decaying central cities, sprawling hap-hazard suburbs, and general overall degradation of the urban environment. Therefore, other elements are needed to control the growth expected to occur in order to preserve and enhance the aesthetic appeal, environmental quality, and general well being of residents of these centers. Surely we can learn from past experience. Other elements developed in Chapter three can serve these ends in conjunction with the growth center element.

For example, the principals of the New Towns and Model Cities element could be used to expand and develop these growth centers. The concepts of Federal New Towns, Model Cities and Urban Renewal programs can be used to develop housing stocks for all income classes, civic, health, education and recreational facilities. These centers would have a capital structure with which to work; cultural facilities, schools, hospitals, library system and various other service industries. The center would not be a construction camp. The existing and future inhabitants of both the center and its hinterlands would be given the promise of a better future. Talented younger persons would be induced to stay and former residents to return from large metropolitan areas to which they moved in search of economic opportunity. However, again this is not enough. There has to be an element of control. Control over population densities, land use and development, preservation or enhancement of environmental quality, and other community functions.

There are two elements that might be used in this context. They may be used independantly or in combination because there is a certain

FIGURE 31



Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Part 1, op.cit., p. 55.

amount of overlap in their functions. These two elements are the Municipal Land Corporation and Local Government Reform concepts. It must be remembered that we are seeking a controlled center of growth.

The Municipal Land Corporation element offers Federal, state and local planners the means to control the size and the pattern of population distribution of a selected growth center. The basic idea is for some public or quasi-public non-profit corporation to purchase, plan, develop and sell or lease land for residential, industrial, commercial, and public uses. A comprehensive land use plan would be developed that would specify population densities, size and phased development patterns for the center. This would include planning and constructing transportation systems, water quality and waste water treatment facilities plus drainage systems. By developing these systems and facilities plus the functions of owning and selling or leasing land for development, substantial control can be maintained over physical growth and population distribution in the center and its hinterlands.

The question now becomes one of how Federal, state and local planners can influence and control the growth development of these centers. With national population redistribution as a national goal, the Federal government through its grant-in-aid programs can have significant inputs into the planning process for these growth centers. The municipal land corporation would act as the sponsor for the New Towns, Model Cities and Urban Renewal programs of the Federal Government. In addition, Federal funds for the development of transportation systems and water quality, waste treatment and drainage systems are also available. Further, legislation on various revenue sharing proposals offer funds to states and local governmental units for the development or improvement of the

basic community infrastructure and other community services.

At the state level, state governments will have to enact the enabling legislation for the formation of these municipal land corporations. In addition, they will have to appropriate funds for the corporation until it becomes self-sustaining. Perhaps new Federal programs can be instituted to aid these states in the formation of these corporations. As mentioned throughout this thesis, states have a vital interest in promoting growth within their jurisdictions if the population of the nation continues to concentrate in three or four major population belts.

Local governmental units, county and city, would also participate in the planning process. In effect, the municipal land corporation would be the city's and/or county's planning function. Enabling legislation could include provisions in the organizational structure of the corporation for combined city, county, and state control over growth and land use development. The local governmental units' stake in this process would be that of having an economically viable and esthetically appealing community.

Federal and state aid to these centers would not necessarily be continuous. For once the target population of a center is reached, Federal and state aid could be transferred to other potential growth centers. Growth would not cease, but it would be reduced, and the mechanisms for controlling hap-hazard growth would be established.

The second element that could be used to control growth in growth centers is implementation of the Local Government Reform Concept. As stated previously, this element could complement both the Municipal Land Corporation and the New Towns and Model Cities elements of a population redistribution strategy. The details of this element are discussed in chapter three and portions of it are discussed in the rural and

non-metropolitan areas section of this chapter.

The basic idea of this element is to broaden the scope and control of municipal governments over the environmental, social, political and economic problems associated with growth and population distribution within a growth center. From past experience in larger metropolitan areas, it can be seen that many of the problems associated with growth or the lack of growth and economic vitality are not restricted to local political jurisdictions.

Problems of poverty, environmental degradation, police protection, fire protection, health, and education are problems that could detract from a city's competitive position for growth. In addition, the cost of these services has created tremendous strains on local and state governmental fiscal resources.

Within the context of the growth center element, these problems could be mitigated or even eliminated before they get out of hand. I can see that many of the selected growth centers could grow into large metropolitan areas with numerous smaller suburban communities in the periphery of the center. In fact, many of the selected growth centers may already have a number of satellite suburban communities.

The problem becomes one of limiting the number of political jurisdictions in these centers in order that workable coalitions can be formed to anticipate, plan for, and solve the problems associated with growth.

In these centers efforts should be made to take advantage of the economies that may be realized in providing services to residents of the center and residents within the region the center serves.

The first phase, already discussed, involves entering into contractual arrangements with either the municipal government of the growth center or with a county unit of government that would service the needs of the center

and the region. Initially, these might include water quality and waste treatment facilities, drainage systems, educational systems, health services, and police and fire protection. As growth continues, the second phase could be initiated that would form an Urban-County municipality type local government. Functions would be expanded to include land use planning and control and perhaps the formation of a municipal land corporation that would act as the planning arm of this governmental unit. This Urban-County governmental unit would have in its governing body representatives of the urban center itself, representatives of any suburban community in the periphery of the center, plus representatives of county governmental units. This unit of government would assimilate the taxing authority of municipalities and oversee the growth and development of the metropolitan center. Powers could include control over air and water quality and participation in Federal and state programs on housing, urban renewal, welfare, health, education, etc.

By initially limiting the number of municipalities that could incorporate, consolidation of municipalities could be avoided in the final phase. The final phase would then consist of expanding the jurisdiction of the metropolitan government to include surrounding counties as they develop into urban oriented entities. The metropolitan government would then consist of representatives from all counties and municipalities within the jurisdictional boundaries of the government. These boundaries would be the combination of perimeter boundaries of existing counties, thus mitigating the problem of changing historically established boundaries throughout a State.

The key to successful implementation of this element lies in the state government. It would mean perhaps constitutional changes in "home rule" states and the return in some cases of the power over the

municipalities to the states. The basic power structure would be restored in which power would flow from the states to counties or urban counties, to municipalities.

With respect to the population question of population redistribution, the Local Government Reform element coupled with the other three structural elements of an overall strategy offers planners at all levels the flexibility in creating a community with an economic, social, and political structure that will enhance its attraction to the nation's populace. By planning and implementing the elements discussed, it is hoped that a wholesome, clean, and aesthetically appealing environment can be created where economic opportunities flourish and provide residents in these growth centers and their hinterlands the opportunity to enjoy to the fullest extent the quality of life that such an atmosphere might provide.

MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS AND CENTRAL CITIES

The third part of an overall strategy for population redistribution offers planners perhaps their biggest challenge. Entrenched within these areas are the social, economic and political barriers to increasing the quality of life of all the residents of these areas. These barriers include social, economic and political discrimination. Social and economic discrimination in the racial sense and political discrimination in the sense that for the most part access to the political system is restricted to relatively few interest groups.

The basic problems include: upgrading the quality of life for the poverty stricken groups in central cities, revitalizing central city areas to make them again an attractive locational option for firms and individuals of all races, and finally to stem the hap-hazard suburban growth that continues to envelope open spaces, drain the resources of

central cities and polarize black and white communities.

Perhaps the overriding factor in determining if, in fact, a strategy for these large metropolitan areas and their central cities will work, is in how the social, political, and economic spheres of influence feel toward achieving true equality among the races. We can propose numerous schemes for revitalizing central cities to make them more attractive to whites and more liveable for blacks; but unless these three spheres of influence will lift the barriers to equal opportunities in jobs, housing and education and are willing to live, work and play with harmony among races, many of the efforts to save our central cities will fail. We seem to be living in a system of structural dualism in which two societies exist. It is in effect some type of dual economy where one society is technologically and organizationally advanced with high wages and high productivity and the other is characterized by low wages, low productivity and as being backward in nature. The division between the two is often maintained by racial or other social discrimination.⁷

Assuming, therefore, that existing barriers to total equality will be lifted or the situation where separate but equal opportunities will exist, it is possible to suggest structural elements that might contribute to the solution of population distribution problems in large metropolitan areas and central cities.

Perhaps the most important element in dealing with the problems in these areas is implementation of the Local Government Reform concept. The discussion in Chapter three goes into considerable detail as to how this element might be used in large metropolitan areas. The final results of the process of Local Government Reform could include 1) the control over suburban growth either through control of land use by a

metropolitan government or perhaps the formation of Municipal Land Corporations, 2) a broadening of the tax base of the metropolitan area where income distributional programs can be instituted to revitalize communities with declining resources, 3) the effective control of environmental degradation, 4) the ability to sponsor Federal and state programs that would contribute toward upgrading the quality of housing, increase the income, and increase the quality of job training, education, health, and welfare services primarily in central city areas for poverty stricken groups, and 5) finally the development or redevelopment of an integrated system of communities with transportation and communication linkages that offer all residents equal opportunities for employment throughout the metropolitan area. As stated previously, the initiation of such reform should come from the State level and will require in some cases major changes in roles of states, counties and municipalities. Incentives for this change could be made by the Federal Government by offering larger grants to states that initiate a program of municipal reform or through some other incentive program.

At the Federal level, there should be a consolidation and the re-directing of existing programs. One such reform could be a part of the New Towns and Model Cities element previously discussed and implemented through, possibly, a Municipal Land Corporation, an Urban County, or a Metropolitan type government. The consolidation and redirecting of Federal programs would provide for the development of public facilities, housing stocks, recreational facilities, open spaces and the revitalization of existing housing stocks. It could also include the development of mass transit systems, parking facilities and a general revitalization of central business districts. This consolidation could be referred to as some type of physical development program. A social or human resource

program could be developed that would provide for the job training, education, health and welfare of the residents of the central cities.

A second element that can be used in these large metropolitan areas is the one briefly touched upon; that is the Municipal Land Corporation element. Assuming for the time being that municipal reform does not take place, it would still be possible for the states to establish these corporations in large metropolitan areas. The corporation would perform the vital function of planning and controlling land use in the metropolitan area and its periphery. Given the powers, it could contribute substantially in revitalizing central city areas and stem the migration of the white community to the suburbs by restricting land use in the periphery of metropolitan areas. New housing, or rehabilitation of existing housing stocks utilizing the New Towns and Model Cities element, could be encouraged in central city areas. Population densities could be controlled by specifying the type of residential development that could occur. Furthermore, the corporation would be able to develop a comprehensive plan for the orderly expansion and growth of the whole metropolitan area, while preserving open spaces and enhancing the liveability of the metropolitan community.

The basic ideas behind this part of an overall population distribution strategy is to 1) Increase the quality of life for the poor and disadvantaged groups in central cities. This means developing in them the skills needed to compete effectively in the labor market. Providing them with the opportunity to live in decent housing in a clean, wholesome environment, 2) Enhance the attractiveness and esthetic appeal of central cities areas to stem the migration to the suburbs. 3) Control the growth of suburban development in order to preserve open spaces for the use and enjoyment of all. And 4) creating an environmental setting

that is appealing to all residents of both suburban and central city areas.

With the projected population growth of the next 30 years, of which, 60 to 70 percent will take place in these metropolitan areas, it is imperative that some actions be initiated to plan for and control this growth. The elements presented are just a few of the techniques that might be employed to accomplish this.

CASE STUDY⁸

In order to illustrate how the structural elements, presented in Chapter III and the preceding sections of this Chapter, can be integrated into the planning process, I propose to include an analysis of how these elements can be used as a management tool in the Lake Ontario drainage basin. The basic premise of this analysis is that the existing and future location of industry and the population, in both the United States and Canada, within the basin are the key elements that contribute to the quality of this natural resource with respect to air and water quality, agricultural and municipal water supply, hydropower development, flood control, navigation, recreation, waste disposal, fish and wildlife protection, agriculture, transportation and economic development. Presently, water quality is the only problem being dealt with by the existing international organization. The conflicting demands of growth and preservation emphasize the need for an effective management organization that can identify, mediate and control the development within the Lake Ontario basin. This will ultimately mean the coordination of Human Resource and Physical development programs of the Federal, State and Provincial Governments in both the U.S. and Canada.

Character of the Lake Ontario Basin

Presently, there are over 6 million people living within the basin, one-third of which live in the United States. The population in both the U.S. and Canada is essentially urban in character, concentrating primarily on the periphery of the western shore of the lake from the Niagara Frontier to Toronto, Ontario.

The basin covers a total area of about 18 million acres of which about 10 million acres are located in the U.S.. Approximately 26 percent of the Canadian and 45 percent of the U.S. land areas are devoted to agricultural land uses, while only 3 percent of the total basin is occupied by municipalities. The remaining lands in both the U.S. and Canada are either vacant, forested or recreational lands.

With the relatively small area of land occupied by municipalities it is difficult to imagine how this concentration of human activity can affect the environmental quality of the whole basin; and yet it does.

The economy of the basin is basically industrial and agricultural in orientation. Field crops in both the U.S. and Canada consist of hay, oats, mixed grain, corn, barley, and wheat while fruit orchards, vegetables, beef, poultry and dairy farming are other important agricultural ventures. Primary industries within the basin include steel, automotive, transportation, rubber products, paper, chemical, photographic equipment and petroleum refining. Electric power production is also extensive.

The present population density in the municipal areas of the basin is in excess of 7000 persons per square mile. This concentration is due to the proximity of people to employment opportunities. Historically, the industrial development of the western portion of the basin was the result of satisfying early industrial requirements for transportation,

water, and power. These basic industries provided the nucleus for the industrial development and subsequent population concentration that exists today.

Associated with this industrial development and population concentration are the problems of water and air quality, water supply, and land use conflicts together with the other problems mentioned earlier.

Role of a Lake Ontario Management Organization

The basic role of this management organization is not to stifle growth, but to control industrial and population growth in a way that will enhance not only the quality of the lake resource itself, but also increase the locational options and the quality of life of the population wishing to reside within the basin. Basic to this role, is the development of an international information system that can be used by the organization to identify existing and potential problems and plan programs for the coordinated development of the basin. The information would provide the means to estimate future industrial development, the associated needs of a growing population and land use requirements. The organization will then be in a position to resolve the conflicts that will arise for competing land and water uses.

The principles of the Municipal Land Corporation, Growth Center, and Local Government Reform elements described in Chapter III can be used to redirect and control land use. In this respect, the Province of Ontario has taken the lead. The management organization should develop a comprehensive plan of development for the basin and institute programs to manage and control future developments. Using the principles of the Growth Center element, economic growth (industrial, residential and commercial) can be redirected from existing areas of concentration to

areas with a potential for growth. Transportation linkages and industrial subsidies would provide the impetus for industrial location or relocation. It is envisaged that these principles together with those mentioned in the following paragraphs will be instituted by the State and Province, but coordinated through the Lake Ontario Management Organization.

Land Use controls utilizing the principles of the Municipal Land Corporation or Local government reform elements in existing areas of industrial and population concentration can be used to limit growth and population densities in these areas and redirect it elsewhere, mitigating the problems of further population concentration. These elements are already being used to some degree by the Provincial Government of Ontario. In order to provide and stimulate efficiency at the local government level, municipal governments could be consolidated into metropolitan governments in urban areas or regional governments in rural areas with the idea of comprehensive planning in the most efficient manner.

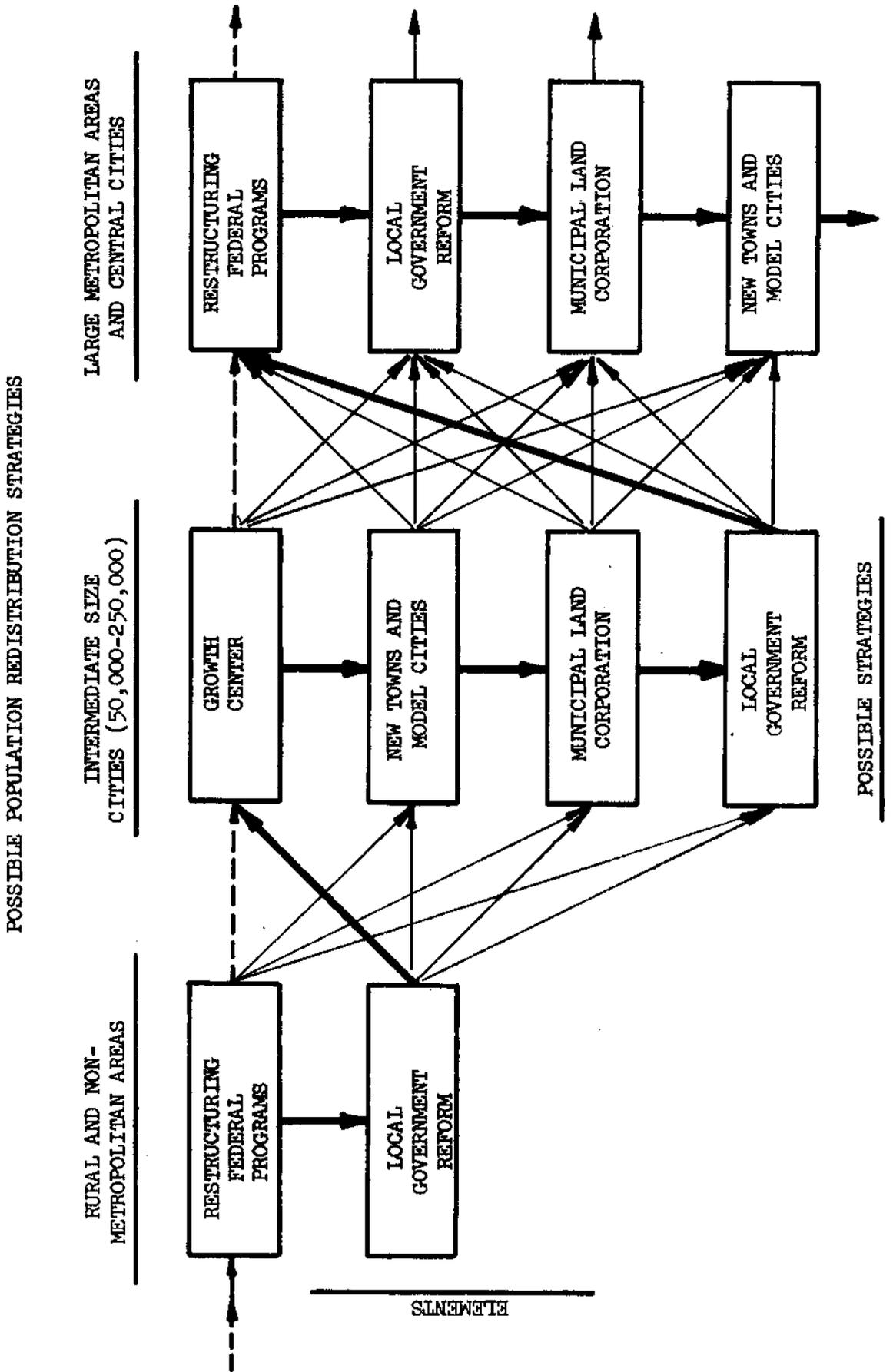
In the larger cities, such as Toronto, Hamilton, Buffalo, Niagara and Rochester, the principles of the New Town and Model Cities element could be used to revitalize central city areas and mitigate or eliminate the formation of slum areas while at the same time providing for the economic well being of central city residents. This last item may be beyond the scope of the management organization. However, the main functions of the management organization are developing sound strategies that will provide for the economic well being of all residents of the basin while at the same time developing the full potential of this resource in a way that will enhance and preserve its value as a natural resource.

SUMMARY

As shown in Figure 32, there are numerous combinations of the elements described in the previous sections that could be used in an overall strategy for population redistribution in the U.S.. These combinations range in complexity from the one illustrated by the dashed line on Figure 32, through a combination that includes all of the elements or portions of them, as illustrated by the heavy black line on the same Figure.

Some of the elements, by their very nature, will affect population distribution more than other elements. This depends on the location in which they are implemented. It is difficult, except in one case, to point out which element is most important to a specific location. The exception, I feel, is the growth pole element for intermediate size cities. The multitude of combinations, shown on Figure 32, offer planners at Federal, state and local levels the options for tailoring these elements to a particular location and offers flexibility when confronting the economic, social, and political spheres of influence. Admittedly, again, some elements are weaker than others, but even if one of these weaker elements were implemented in a particular area, it would be a step in the right direction. A direction that could lead us to a situation where all Americans could enjoy the freedom of choice and the assurance of relative prosperity in the area in which they prefer to live, while at the same time preserving or enhancing the quality of their lives.

FIGURE 32



FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER IV

¹The terms rural area and non-metropolitan cities refer to areas having a density of less than 100 persons per square mile and cities having a total population of less than 50,000, respectively.

²See Chapter II.

³United States Congress, Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. Revenue Sharing Program for Rural Development. Hearings before Subcommittee, 92d Congress 1st Session, on S.1612, April 23, April 29; May 3 and 4; June 16 and 17; July 8 and 9, 1971. (Washington:Government Printing Office, 1971).

⁴The Population Bulletin, op.cit., p. 23.

⁵U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 1, p. 5.

⁶The Population Bulletin, op.cit., p. 23.

⁷Thomas Vietorisz, et al., "Corporate Structure and Urban Dualism" (Background paper for Econometric Society Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 28, 1971), p. 6. (Mimeographed.)

⁸Canada - United States University Seminar, "Institutional Arrangements for the Integrated Management of the Water and Land Resources of the Eastern Great Lakes" (Working papers presented at seminar at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, March 1, 1972). Note: This section draws heavily on statistical data presented in the publication cited above.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

GENERAL

At the outset of my research into the problems of population distribution and the prospects for a redistribution policy and strategy for the nation, I felt that systematic research and analysis of the problems and their possible solutions would overcome the complexity and scope of the overall distributional problem. At this point in time, I feel inadequate in my effort because the enormity and complexity of the problem exceeded my expectations.

During the process of my research and analysis, the President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future issued its' final report entitled "Population and the American Future." It is an extremely comprehensive report on the nation's population growth and distribution problems. Its' emphasis and recommendations, however, were primarily concerned with the problems associated with population growth. It is recognized, however, that population growth, per se, is the most important issue confronting many nations in all parts of the world. In the U.S., it is not of immediate concern. This is to say, that population growth is a long term issue in the United States. On the other hand, population distribution is of immediate concern. It is at the heart of many of the social, economic, political, and environmental problems that the nation has today. Because of this, I have gone further in identifying the nation's population distributional problems than the Commission's report has.

The conclusions to be presented in the following section are based on my research and the data presented in this thesis. These conclusions

must be considered within the overall context of the social, economic, and political spheres of influence that affect, in varying degrees, the magnitude of the problems associated with population distribution.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The present pattern of population distribution is the result of a combination of individual decisions by society, corporation, and governments at all levels.

If the present pattern is allowed to continue unabated, nearly 90 percent of the nations population will be living on less than 10 percent of the nation's land area by the year 2000. This situation will aggravate the severe social, economic, political, and environmental problems associated with the pattern we have today. By the year 2000, if the existing pattern of population distribution is allowed to continue, nearly 70 percent of the nation's population will be located in three, possibly four, major metropolitan belts that will consist of about 15 or 20 states along the West Coast, East Coast, Great Lakes and possibly, the Gulf Coast. The remaining states in the central portions of the nation will continue to become depopulated.

Many of these states will lose the most productive elements of their human resource base, leaving behind the poor, the aged, and other disadvantaged groups. The result will be that these states and their local governmental units will lose their economic vitality and revenue base simply because they could not provide the necessary job opportunities and locational options necessary to retain these individuals.

2. With the movement of the population to a few major metropolitan areas of the country, there will be a shift in political power structure of the Federal Government. A relatively small number of states will have

the political power to affect the outcome of Presidential elections and could control the House of Representatives. This could lead to a change in the character of existing sectionalism in the country and could lead to schisms with unforeseen consequences.

3. With the prospect of even more concentration of the population in large metropolitan areas in the future, efforts to mitigate environmental degradation in these areas will become increasingly difficult. Each increment of environmental improvement will be offset by a larger number of pollution sources.

4. In the decision making process previously mentioned, the Federal Government has had a profound influence on locational decisions made by individuals and corporations. While there have been explicit Federal programs affecting the population distribution of the nation in the past, even more significant have been the implicit population distributional effects of some recent Federal programs. These programs, primarily agricultural, housing, and highway, have contributed to the mass movement of the white, middle income class population to the suburbs and migration from rural to urban areas. In the process, the poor, the aged, and the black were left behind in both rural areas and central cities. In addition, corporations began moving out to the suburban ring, aggravating the employment problem in central cities and removing additional tax revenues from central city governments.

Despite the good intentions of the supporters of Federal human resource programs to aid the poor in central cities and rural areas, many of these programs are not reaching the groups targeted for aid and need to be restructured and redirected. In some cases, there is mismanagement and actual fraud connected with these programs. There is also a disproportionate allocation of Federal program funds between rural

and urban areas that results in urban areas receiving more than their share of funds under various programs on a per capita basis. This is particularly undesirable because a larger segment of the rural and non metropolitan population need this aid proportionately more than the urban population. The rural and non-metropolitan population is apparently uninformed as to the Federal assistance it is eligible to receive.

5. A majority of the nation's individuals are seeking the best of two worlds. They want a small town, open space type environment and the economic and social opportunities offered by large metropolitan areas. These individuals tolerate the urban environment because it provides them with the economic security that income opportunities provide. Yet, the decisions of these individuals in the past and in the future will have a profound and inadvertant effect on less fortunate elements of society.

6. There exists in this country a dual economy and social structure; one for the sophisticated, technologically advanced, and affluent segment¹ of our society and one for the poverty or near poverty groups that are characterized as being backward, unproductive, and socially inferior.² This double standard manifests itself in the de-facto segregation of the poor from the affluent in a social and physical locational sense. In addition to the social discrimination that exists, there is, what I term, "locational discrimination." By locational discrimination, I mean that individuals, black or white, living in poverty or near-poverty conditions are extremely limited in their choice as to where they would like to live.

The affluent segment of the nation's society is intimately tied to the corporate ideal of profit maximization and economic growth. This segment has come to measure an individuals worth to society by his contribution to the productivity of the nation. If an individual fails to make

this contribution, he is restricted to the poverty segment of society. With technology advancing at a tremendous rate together with economic growth and incomes, the individual in a poverty situation sees the hope of bettering himself quickly fading.

The affluent segment of our society uses both its political and economic power to prevent the removal of the barriers that exist between the two segments of our society. The result has been an extreme polarization of the races and the affluent and poor segments of our society. During the last decade and a half, Federal legislation has sought equalization of social, economic, and political opportunities for all segments of society. Yet, despite this legislation, the middle and upper income classes in the nation have found the means to side-step the law. They would prefer, for example, to pay more for housing in order to exclude the poor or near poor, the aged, the uneducated, and the blacks from their community.

The de-facto segregation and discrimination that exists is the major barrier preventing poverty or near poverty groups from bettering themselves and increasing their income levels. Employment opportunities for these groups are limited because of their education, age, or race which forces these groups into a perpetual cycle of poverty. The official poverty group in the nation represents 12 percent of the total population. However, this group plus the near-poverty group comprise nearly 25 percent of the total population. More than half of this group live in rural areas and are the inadvertant victims of past migrations and Federal programs. It is a fact, though difficult to imagine, that in the U.S., 12 percent of the population have average incomes about half of what the Bureau of Labor Statistics considers a minimum income for a family of four in rural areas.³ The \$6500 minimum income level provides for a bare

subsistence diet consisting primarily of dried beans, and living in a cheap apartment and driving an 8 year old automobile.⁴ In some areas of this nation, an annual income of \$10,000 is inadequate.

7. There do not exist simple, optimum strategies that will solve the population distribution problems of the nation. The scope and severity of these problems will vary with their location throughout the country. However, the keys to overall success of any strategy, anywhere, aimed at the solution of these problems are as follows:

- a. There must be the provision of adequate incomes and employment opportunities for all segments of our society in all sections of the country in the short run, and high quality education and future employment opportunities for all in the long run.
- b. The success of any strategy, anywhere, is totally dependant upon the social, economic, and political spheres of influence. This will require a commitment by these spheres of influence to the improvement of the quality of life for all segments of society.
- c. The key to the solution of the distributional problem in central cities lies in upgrading the quality of the city's physical, social, and economic environment for all segments of society. This means providing for the education, welfare, and health of the poor and the provision of job opportunities that will provide an adequate income to those who are employable. It also means restoring the aesthetic appeal of central city areas to the white, middle income class and the return of revenue sources to the

central city governments.

- d. In the suburbs, the keys to solving the distributional problems lie in controlling land use and stemming the hap-hazard suburban growth that has occurred in the past. In addition, the consolidation of local governmental functions and revenue sources in suburban communities and central cities would provide the means for achieving workable solutions to problems of common interest.
- e. In rural and non-metropolitan areas, the keys to solving the distributional problems of a declining population lie in the provision of employment opportunities for residents of these areas, the provision of basic community services, and the provision of adequate health, welfare, and educational assistance. This could be accomplished by developing regional growth centers to serve the employment and social needs of the residents in the hinterlands of these centers.

PROSPECTS FOR A NATIONAL POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION POLICY

A population redistribution policy must meet certain criteria.

First, it must be flexible. Population growth rates and patterns of distribution have shown a facility for fairly rapid change in this country. Therefore, a policy must be sufficiently flexible to accommodate further changes in the future. Additional changes may include changes in social, political, and economic norms.

Second, a policy must be acceptable, not just to the President and Congress, but to the courts, and to many, if not most, of the corporate

and individual interests that will be affected by the policy. The poor may feel ill-served by present patterns of distribution, but it should be noted, that these patterns reflect choices of the affluent who may well resist major changes.

Third, the policy must be workable. Governments must have the means to implement a policy that is sufficient to the task.

It was mentioned earlier that governmental policies, like the highway program, have had substantial unintended effects on population distribution. However, it is doubtful whether attempts to turn these policies directly to the task of achieving a salutary population distribution will be politically acceptable. These policies serve other powerful interests and other important objectives that will not be abandoned. However, an awareness of their distributional consequences must be recognized.

The human resource programs designed to provide health, welfare, education, job training, and job placement services to those poor lost in the distribution shuffle have been with us for many years. They have not proven to be workable solutions to distribution problems during that time. Many analysts would argue that these programs are not generally acceptable to the American public, and, as a result, have not been given the support necessary to make them workable.

Substantial government subsidies will be needed to make the Growth Center and the New Town and Model City elements of an overall population distribution strategy work. The task of deflecting growth from large metropolitan areas to these smaller areas is a monumental one, and may well be beyond our capacity.

The reorganization of local governments into regional units has been attempted in a few places in this country, with very mixed results.

There is substantial resistance, among suburbanites especially, to any plan that would encroach on local autonomy. In most states, the annexation or consolidation of suburbs is a cumbersome process. The residents of suburbs have great political power at all levels of government and it seems unlikely that their wishes will be denied.

The present patterns of population distribution serve the interests of many, but create a multitude of problems as well. Many government policies have been proposed and, in some cases, tried to deal with these problems. For the most part, they have been unsuccessful in changing the pattern of population distribution in the past. As for the future, it seems that the nation is a long way from implementing a population distribution strategy that would be flexible, acceptable, and workable within the context of a National Population Redistribution Policy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The United States is a long way from implementing a population redistribution strategy. Considerably more research is needed into the problems associated with the present pattern of population distribution beyond that presented here. Given the prospects of the future distributional pattern, it becomes imperative that governments at the Federal and state levels make commitments toward the solution of existing distribution problems and plans for controlling future problems. The prime motivator of this commitment should be the Federal Government. The President and Congress have already indicated that the highest priority must be given to balancing growth between rural and urban communities. Therefore:

1. I recommend that the President and Congress formally commit the resources of the Federal Government to the Policy of balancing the

growth and distribution of the population in rural and urban areas.

2. I recommend that Congress support the President's proposal for the Departmental reorganization of the Federal Government. In this way, many of the duplicated and often inefficient Governmental programs for Human Resource and Physical Development can be consolidated and redirected more efficiently to where they are needed most.

3. I recommend the immediate establishment of a Population Growth and Distribution Council at the Executive Level of the Federal Government and a Joint Committee on Population Growth and Distribution in Congress. This Council and the Joint Committee would serve as the immediate focal points of research and planning efforts by the Government and private research institutions. In particular, more in depth studies are needed of the elements proposed as solutions to the distributional problems presented in this thesis. The Council and the Joint Committee would be responsible for setting national objectives and coordinating the activities of all Federal Government departments with respect to population growth and its' distribution. Further, they would monitor existing Federal programs for program deficiencies and would recommend program changes to mitigate these deficiencies with respect to the distributional problem. Finally, they would initiate in depth research that would identify existing and future distributional problems and recommend to the Executive and Congress the programs needed for their solution.

These solutions might include a new Human Resource Development Program that would focus on the education, the welfare, the health, the job training, and job placement of residents in both rural and urban areas. A new Physical Development Program would focus on transportation,

industrial location and relocation, housing, community development and redevelopment, and air and water quality control.

Under these programs, research and planning would be initiated in cooperation with the states to develop a nationwide comprehensive plan for controlling the distribution of the nation's population. This planning would include identifying the areas within each state where Local Government Reform, Municipal Land Corporation, New Town and Model Cities and Growth Center elements of an overall strategy could be used to mitigate existing and future distributional problems.

In structuring these programs and in order to promote efficiency in the administration of these programs, efforts must be made to assure that groups or communities targeted for aid actually receive this aid. There must also be the means to assure that this aid is distributed equitably between rural and urban areas.

Recognizing that budget constraints will limit the amount of funds available for these programs, a priority system must be established among the states in order that funds can be concentrated in amounts sufficient to the task of solving distribution problems. In the past, the funds of many Federal programs were spread too thinly to be effective in achieving program goals.

4. I recommend the eventual establishment of Regional Economic-Growth Commissions throughout the United States. These Commissions would consist of Federal and state administrators who would form a regional planning board whose functions would consist of stimulating or controlling economic growth and the distribution of the population within the region. The implementation of a national population redistribution strategy will require significant participation and action by the states. As stated

earlier, the problems of economic growth (or the lack of it) and of population distribution vary in scope and severity from region to region, from state to state, and from community to community. Likewise, so will their solutions. Some of the elements presented in this thesis require action by the states. With the Regional Commissions envisioned, the states would participate with regional and national planners in identifying present and future economic growth and population distribution problems within a region and tailoring an overall strategy using, perhaps, the elements presented here for their solution.

5. Finally, I recommend that the Federal Government continue to seek the means to mitigate or eliminate the inequality that exists among the races and between the two segments of society that exists in this country. Drastic measures may have to be taken to offset the inequality that still exists in order to guarantee equal opportunities for all members of society to seek, find, and enjoy a high quality of life.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER V

¹The affluent segment of our society is defined as consisting of the middle and upper income classes of the population.

²Thomas Vietorisz, op.cit., p. 5.

³U.S. Bureau of the Census, op.cit., Table No. 536, p. 341.

⁴Thomas Vietorisz, op.cit., p. 5.

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