

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN AN URBAN STATE

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This paper describes how the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation views citizen involvement in transportation planning, location, and design. Past and current accomplishments are described, and recommendations are made for extending and perfecting those efforts.

The department's transportation planning activities include policy planning; systems planning at the statewide, regional, and metropolitan levels; and project location and design. Systems planning is done in the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh regions by regional planning commissions under contract to the department and elsewhere by department staff; considered are all modes of transportation and their relations to land use, community structure, and economy. Project planning is done by department staff and is legislatively restricted to the highway mode only.

The purpose of citizen participation, as viewed by the department, is not simply to clear the way to project implementation but to achieve more effective decision-making in the public interest. We recognize that good decision-making requires the participation of a knowledgeable public and its elected representatives. Community acceptance was, until fairly recently, relatively easy to achieve when the public at large either supported the highway program without serious question or was relatively disinterested. In the past, the support of elected officials and of a few key community leaders was all that was necessary to advance a project to implementation. Today, however, we must intensify citizen participation efforts and innovate to achieve community acceptance of new transportation improvements.

It is generally recognized that a wide range of public programs currently face difficulties in achieving community acceptance. Urban renewal projects, power generating stations, housing projects, navigation projects, pipelines, and all manner of transportation programs are seriously threatened by substantial community opposition. A number of key rail transit projects in Philadelphia and an entirely new proposed rail transit system in Pittsburgh have been stopped because of community opposition and opposition or indecision by local public officials.

Community resistance to public programs can be attributed to a range of factors including loss of confidence in public officials, programs, and priorities; a better educated, more articulate, and more activist public; the civil rights, student activism,

and consumer movements; and the growing concern about resource depletion and environmental degradation. Active citizen participation is the hallmark of a well-functioning democracy and must be viewed as an opportunity for creative action rather than as an obstacle to progress.

Citizen opposition often appears to focus on the highway program. This is perhaps because it is highly visible, well-funded, and has affected most neighborhoods throughout the country, particularly since the beginning of Interstate Highway construction. Highways, if poorly planned or constructed, can be hazardous to safety, disruptive to communities, wasteful of resources, and environmentally damaging. To put matters into their proper perspective, however, we must point out that the number of citizen groups and the volume of mail favoring road improvements far outweigh those opposing highways, and this is true even in our 2 large metropolitan areas.

FUNCTIONS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Citizen participation is intended to ensure that public decisions will reflect the values, needs, and priorities of those affected by those decisions. To achieve this, citizens and public officials must assume certain responsibilities. Citizens must be willing to devote time and energy to become acquainted with issues, to communicate their views to public officials, and often to act as a channel of communication between the public official and the community. Public officials must be willing to listen to the citizens and allow them free access to information, adequate and continuing commitment of resources, impartial technical aid, and an opportunity to influence decisions.

Citizens can be empowered neither to make final decisions concerning public courses of action nor to veto final decisions. These are prerogatives of the elected official and his authorized representatives. Of course, the citizen has the ultimate power through the ballot box to replace the elected official, and it is the wise official who keeps close touch with his constituents.

Citizen groups must be given the opportunity to express their views on the whole range of alternatives and factors considered throughout the transportation planning process: the establishment of regional or statewide goals and objectives and policy positions; the formulation of future land use, demographic and socioeconomic forecasts and projections; the development of alternative transportation systems, modal mixes, and resource allocation; the selection of recommended area-wide or statewide systems; and the project planning phases including the evaluation of alternative project locations, design types, and scales of design. It should be recognized that merely granting an opportunity to citizens to become involved in decision-making will satisfy many of their frustrations and feelings of powerlessness and may not always result in plans substantially different from what they would have looked like had no participation been allowed to take place.

To be systematic, citizen participation must satisfy the needs, wants, and priorities of a variety of interest groups. Groups and individuals can be classified according to interest: (a) those who want to be kept informed, (b) those who want to control events, and (c) those who have very little interest in community affairs and who will remain aloof unless their very personal concerns are likely to be affected.

Groups or communities can also be categorized according to function: (a) those whose homes and businesses will be displaced; (b) those whose homes and businesses will remain adjacent to the proposed facility; (c) those who live or work within neighborhoods and areas close to the proposed facility; (d) those who live or work within municipalities close to the proposed facility; (e) those who live or work within public service districts affected by the proposed facility; (f) county-wide or metropolitan organizations, their constituents, and potential users of the facility; (g) regional and statewide organizations and policy interests; and (h) national organizations and policy interests. There is obviously an overlap of interests in these interest groups. The overlap reflects the fact that individuals and groups do have a number of roles and perspectives in relation to project impacts. An individual may have an entirely different evaluation of a project depending on whether his home or business is to be displaced.

STRATEGIES FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

If the needs of different groups are to be satisfied, a wide range of potential impacts must be evaluated, corresponding to the interests of these various groups. This range of impacts includes site, neighborhood, community, regional, state, or national effects. Potential environmental impacts that must be evaluated according to a range of interests are as follows:

1. Displacement or the taking of residential properties, businesses, other institutional properties, recreational land, cultural and historical landmarks, wildlife and waterfowl refuges, open space land, agricultural areas, and unique aesthetic features;
2. Effects on adjoining or nearby areas that result in changes in noise levels, microscale air quality, aesthetic qualities, neighborhood cohesion, accessibility to community facilities (schools, churches, shopping, medical care), availability of public utility and protection services, local land use patterns, property values, geologic patterns, hydrographic patterns, patterns of vegetation, and patterns of animal nesting, breeding, and migration; and
3. Community-wide or regional effects that result in changes in mesoscale and macroscale air quality, patterns and intensity of land use, employment opportunities, cultural opportunities, recreational opportunities, housing opportunities, commercial activity, industrial activity, resource conservation or development, tax base, and national defense.

A range of community participation strategies can be formulated in order to provide the appropriate community interest group with the appropriate opportunity to interact with the planning process. A list of 27 possible community interaction strategies are given in Table 1; these are all contained in the Highway Action Plan of the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation.

The department employs the Pennsylvania Transportation Advisory Committee in formulating its broad policies with regard to transportation issues. This 30-member group, established by state law, is composed of key cabinet officials and legislators and representatives of the transportation industry, labor, and universities. Although it does not represent the lay community at large, it does represent those established groups that are knowledgeable about and active in transportation, legislative, and governmental affairs.

The Highway Action Plan also calls for the creation of 1 statewide and 10 regional transportation advisory councils to be composed of planning and transportation operating officials and citizens. These advisory councils will assist the department in its current preparation of a 1995 statewide highway plan and a 1995 statewide aviation plan and in its future preparation of a statewide railroad plan. The concept evolved from our present experience with already established statewide and regional aviation advisory committees. Numbering several hundred members now, it seems obvious that, by the addition of representatives from highway, trucking, busing, and railroading industries and agencies, the aviation committees can become transportation councils, permanently established for continuing activity in all aspects of transportation planning (Fig. 1).

Citizen participation in the department's urban transportation process is derived largely through public information programs consisting of newsletters, press releases, technical reports, and summary brochures; through open and well-publicized meetings of technical and policy committees; through public meetings now scheduled prior to major plan adoption or plan revision and (with the adoption of the department's action plan) to be scheduled annually prior to plan recertification; and through citizen advisory committees largely representing existing community groups having a wide range of interests. Such citizen participation is intended to monitor, review, comment, and influence both policy and staff activities.

Citizen advisory committees are given the opportunity to review and discuss with staff and policy groups the setting of goals and objectives; the adoption of work programs for the planning process; the formulation and adoption of socioeconomic land use and demographic projections; the identification of community and transportation needs,

wants, and priorities; the formulation of alternative solutions; the development of evaluation techniques and processes used to analyze alternative solutions; and the selection of final plans and programs. Policy issues such as resource allocation among modes, geographic areas, and functional classification are also subject to citizen comment and review through statewide and regional advisory councils.

As mentioned previously, citizen participation must address both policy and technical issues. Initially, community groups focus their attention on policy issues such as resource allocation; identification of needs, wants, and priorities; and formulation of work programs. Depending on their composition and the length of time they have been functioning, citizen groups increasingly become involved in technical issues such as alternative transportation solutions, modal split, cost estimating, and environmental impact predictions and evaluations. Initially, citizen groups, particularly those with little background and experience in transportation planning affairs, can be used to best advantage by expressing community values, problems, and aspirations. Citizens with relatively little planning experience can also often adequately evaluate and express the perceived impacts of proposed alternative courses of action on themselves and on the community at large but cannot be relied on to actually formulate alternative solutions; the latter often is a task that is best left to the technicians.

In systems planning, resistance to active citizen participation on a regional level is often expressed by local, city, and county elected officials who feel this to be an intrusion into their own more localized citizen participation efforts. In systems planning, use of citizen representatives from existing local groups would at least reduce duplication of effort but may not entirely placate the concerned local official.

Most local elected officials believe, I think, that the concept is good—that it is important to have avenues through which citizens can express their opinions and interests. At the same time, they have concern that citizens will attempt to reduce the official's final decision-making responsibility. They also have reservations about the ability of citizen groups to run their own programs. There often exists a problem of getting democratically determined citizen leadership, and some community groups are often viewed by officials as clique-dominated and concerned with raising issues to justify their own existence.

The state official, on the other hand, may view the local official's relation with citizens with something less than admiration. The state official, being somewhat removed from the locally generated special interest pressures, is often more committed to citizen participation as a constructive means of achieving better decisions. He may sometimes witness a local elected official surrender to the views of a noisy local minority where he had reason to hope for a courageous stand in favor of the greater overall benefit of the community or region. At times, the local official will take one position in front of a noisy minority and express a completely opposite private view to the state official. Although a commitment to citizen participation is clearly required by all responsible public officials, they must base their final decisions on equitable and balanced consideration of the needs of all interests—the user and the nonuser, those immediately affected, the broader community needs, and ultimately the needs of the region, state, and nation.

Citizen advisory committees can be multifunctional and consist of representatives of citizen groups with a variety of constituents and points of view. We have found that in large metropolitan areas it is best to form several separate citizen advisory groups according to individual points of view. In a large area where there is a substantial minority population, it is almost always best to have a separate low-income and minority advisory committee because of unique characteristics and mode of operation. Sometimes it is also best to have separate citizen advisory committees involved with environment, transportation, and perhaps housing and to attempt to orchestrate the separate groups by having representatives from them meet with each other frequently to formulate coordinated positions.

In the small urban areas and for project planning, a single advisory group whose members have a range of interests and constituencies would seem to be desirable.

It is our standard practice, except in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, to establish a single citizens advisory committee composed of low-income and minority groups as

well as representatives of broad interest groups. Such committees typically are appointed by the local elected officials constituting the coordinating committees to whom they report (Fig. 2) and have from 10 to 30 members. We find that this arrangement is workable, although, because the importance of such committees has not been stressed in the past, there have been many notable failures and few successes in terms of committee impacts on the transportation planning process.

Until fairly recently, active citizen participation during area-wide systems planning was seen to be extremely difficult and of doubtful value because it was thought that citizens were largely interested in imminent projects that would have a direct impact on their lives and property. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that a growing proportion of citizens who want to be involved in transportation planning are concerned primarily about neighborhood, community, and regional values and needs rather than specific project impacts on their direct lives. As a result, citizen participation during systems planning is becoming a more promising area for participation and negotiation. It is clear that participation at this early stage of planning has substantial advantages because this is where basic values, needs, and area-wide solutions are being formulated. It is also here that the greatest flexibility exists for trade-offs and basic decisions are made concerning future land use, relations between land use and transportation, and mixes of transportation modes.

Generally, however, group interests are not now focused on systems planning, and citizen groups are often not organized at the regional level and do not understand systems planning, techniques, procedures, and potentialities. Group spokesmen need to be identified, educated, and cultivated in order to achieve sustained interest at the state or regional systems planning stages where broad and early issues can be resolved.

The Highway Action Plan of the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation proposes a new preproject planning phase called subarea planning, which spans the long-range area-wide planning on the one hand and more detailed project planning on the other. Subarea planning is defined as comprehensive transportation planning that focuses on a sector or logical subarea of a major metropolitan area and proposes those actions that need to be taken during a 10- to 15-year period. Such a planning process would probably be most appropriate only in Pennsylvania's major metropolitan areas of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. We expect that subarea planning will be found to be the best scale for analysis and evaluation of environmental and social impacts; for detailed development, testing, and evaluation of alternatives; and for negotiating trade-offs with community groups and elected officials. At present, systems planning in both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh involves some subarea planning activities in which separate community groups in selected subareas are being involved in order to evaluate needs, proposals, and impacts of proposed courses of action. This is an innovation that we believe will substantially increase the effectiveness of decision-making with the full involvement of the citizens.

Citizen participation for detailed location and design planning activities will occur largely at mandated public hearings and through informal prehearing meetings with interested citizens and local elected officials. Current department policy requires district engineers to publicize through mailings and newspaper advertisements the beginning of corridor location and design location studies so that the public at large and selected individuals and groups who have registered an interest can express their views at the outset of the study and can request further, similar meetings during subsequent stages. These informal efforts have not been totally successful, and generally a light public response has been encountered. It is believed, however, that with the initiation of more thorough and systematic attempts at prehearing public participation, as discussed toward the end of this paper, more success will be achieved.

Public hearings have been characterized by general opposition to individual projects by those whose property will be displaced or by those who believe their adjacent properties will be adversely affected by the highway. These opponents often question the need for the improvement and the proposed location and design. Opposition from persons to be displaced or persons who will be adversely affected can be expected to continue into the future. Two logical ways of ameliorating these difficulties are to provide full and generous compensation to those who will be directly affected and to locate and

Table 1. Community interaction strategies.

Method	Effective Areas		
	Transportation Department Learns About Community	Community Learns About Transportation Department	Community and Department Work Together
Public hearings	X	X	
Large public meetings	X	X	
Small group meetings	X	X	X
Program before civic groups	X	X	
Panel discussions with development and conservation groups	X	X	
Presentation to elected officials	X	X	
Interagency staff charettes	X	X	X
Workshops with local agencies and neighborhood representatives	X	X	X
Community advisory committee	X	X	X
Transportation department staff assigned to neighborhood council	X	X	X
Programs before PTA and students		X	
Participant observer field studies	X		
Sample surveys and opinion polls	X		
In-Depth interviews with community leaders	X		
Central information offices		X	
Local information offices	X	X	
Mobile information offices	X	X	
Press releases		X	
Monitoring local news media	X		
Newsletters		X	
Essay and design contests		X	
Map showings and model displays	X	X	X
Unofficial preference polls	X		
Formal referenda	X		
Hiring planning advocates	X	X	X
Hiring ombudsmen		X	X
Hiring local residents	X	X	X

Figure 1. Organization of statewide transportation studies.

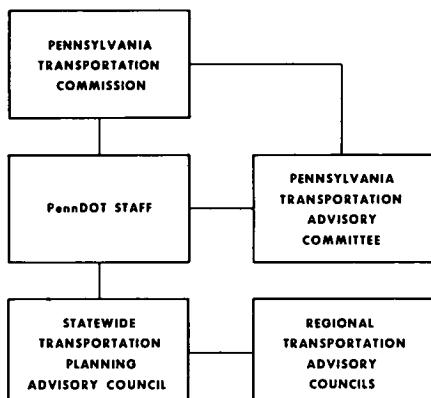
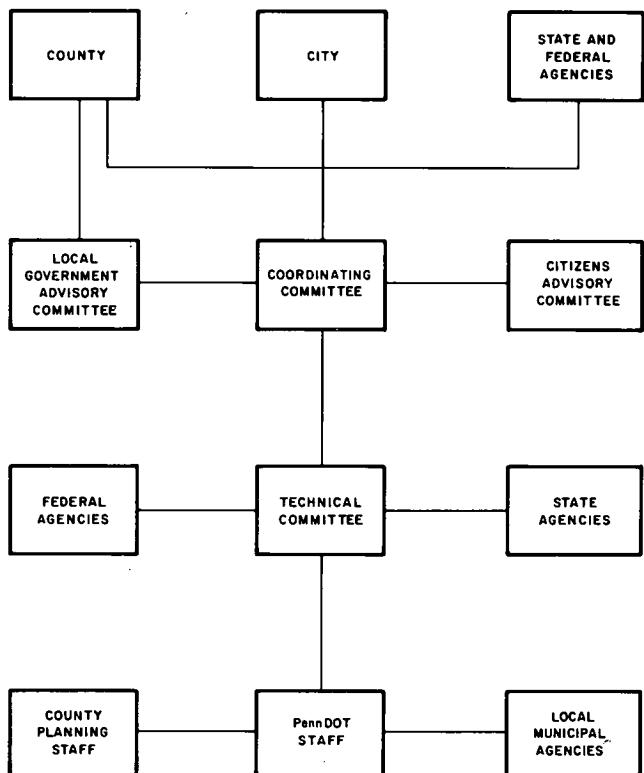


Figure 2. Organization of urban transportation studies.



design projects that have reduced adverse impacts. The possibility of providing consequential damages to persons indirectly affected by highway improvements should be seriously explored. In addition, the early involvement of citizen groups during pre-project systems planning, it is hoped, will allow an earlier resolution of alternatives and needs so that only more specific issues need to be debated during project planning hearings.

PAST EXPERIENCE

Let us now review in greater detail some of our more recent experience with citizen participation in systems, subarea, and project planning.

Large Urban Areas

In the past several years, both the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission (DVRPC) and the Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission (SPRPC) using rather different approaches have made significant progress in developing effective citizen participation at the systems and subarea planning levels.

At SPRPC, a single 18-member citizens advisory committee consisting of low-income and minority group representatives spans all functional planning activities, including housing, transportation, recreation, poverty, problems of the elderly, and environmental pollution. Established in July 1970 to permit minority and disadvantaged citizens to participate in the regional planning process, the committee will be an ongoing function of the commission, and it has met at least monthly since then. One of its most active interests has been transportation and transportation planning, especially the relocation of people as a result of highway and transit projects. The transportation department has supported efforts, so far unsuccessful, to grant the chairman a voting seat on the commission.

The committee has influenced the planning work of the commission and has been generally a constructive force throughout. Possibly the key to its success has been that the commission and its staff have not restricted or directed the committee's activities but have, at the same time, worked closely with its members. This cooperative approach is evident, for example, in 2 reports, "A Time for Concern: The Status of Elderly and Handicapped in Southwestern Pennsylvania" and "Poverty In Southwestern Pennsylvania," both disseminated as a joint effort of the committee and the commission.

Even so, the commission's citizen participation process is flawed by the fact that it encompasses only citizens from low-income and minority groups rather than from the public at large. It is suggested that majority interests are already adequately represented by "citizen" members of the 33-member SPRPC Board itself. We doubt this. In addition to its low-income and minority membership, we believe that the commission must provide for participation by other broader groups representing the cross section of community interest.

In discussions with SPRPC staff, the concept of a "people bank" was advanced. Although a cross section of people throughout the region randomly selected from census figures might be useful in providing insight into broad community points of view, we are not sure whether having the opinions of the "great silent majority" would be particularly useful for purposes of regional planning. A majority of the public is neither knowledgeable nor interested and therefore will hardly be in a position to render useful service. We believe it is much more useful to have one or more citizen committees composed of representatives of existing citizen coalition groups representing environmental interests, public interests, automobile clubs, transit groups, service clubs, labor unions, chambers of commerce, and similarly concerned organizations. These are the groups that have a sustained interest in the region, that would be most likely to participate actively, and that would be most likely to obstruct plan implementation if not brought into the planning process at an early stage.

At DVRPC, there are currently 3 citizen advisory groups: The 11-county, tri-state Delaware Valley Citizen's Transportation Committee, the Pennjerdel Open Space Committee, and the Regional Citizens' Advisory Committee for Community Improvements. The one last named is, in effect, a low-income and minority group reporting directly to the DVRPC Board and advising it on matters that are primarily central-city oriented. The other 2 advisory committees report to the Highway and Transit Technical Advisory Committees and the Open Space Technical Advisory Committee respectively, and have the option of reporting directly to the DVRPC Board on matters it deems sufficiently urgent.

The Delaware Valley Citizen's Transportation Committee is an independent regional group that has agreed to continually counsel DVRPC in regard to transportation and transportation planning. Its 60 members represent a broad cross section of the public. Although a number of organized interest groups, drawn primarily from local planning bodies, are represented, if anything, we think, the committee probably has too many "just plain citizens." Some highly organized groups have declined to serve because they have a powerful voice even without serving, for example, the Transportation Committee of the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and a transportation environmental group. Apparently some organized groups are afraid of losing effectiveness by "submersion" in a consortium of related groups.

This 11-county Transportation Committee is composed largely of interested lay citizens, meets once a week, and suffers from having too much ground to cover and too little time to consider all issues. It does not report problems of lack of understanding of technical issues and regional perspective because members of the Transportation Committee are generally people with a background and understanding of technical issues within their specific field of expertise. However, it reports that it often lacks adequate advance opportunity to review work programs, plans, and program changes that are to be acted on by the board.

Although the committee has occasionally influenced DVRPC decisions, we do not consider that it is a particularly successful committee, and more work should be done to identify the committee's functions and role; its relation to the board, advisory committees, and staff; and its best way to influence policy decisions and staff work.

The DVRPC Regional Citizens' Advisory Committee for Community Improvement, composed only of low-income and minority group representatives, was created by commission resolution April 28, 1971, "to advise DVRPC on matters relating to the goals, problems, and needs of low income areas in the region and the possibilities of directing DVRPC planning efforts toward the development of solutions to such problems and satisfaction of such needs." It consists of 22 representatives appointed by local elected officials on the DVRPC Board from each of the commission's 4 member cities and 8 member counties: 10 from Philadelphia; 1 each from the cities of Trenton, Camden, and Chester; 2 from Montgomery County; and 1 from the other 7 suburban counties. This allocation is in proportion to the number of low-income families in each county and city. The committee's effectiveness is very much enhanced by the fact that DVRPC has assigned a full-time staff member to provide assistance for its organization and management. Like their SPRPC counterparts, committee members are compensated where necessary when attendance at meetings involves loss of wages, baby-sitters, travel expenses, and so forth. (Citizens in large metropolitan regions prefer daytime meetings in the center city. Apparently because of poor transportation and security problems, evening meetings are appropriate only if held in respectable neighborhoods.)

This committee has several problems. Members report that a major initial problem was a lack of understanding by the low-income members of technical issues, a lack of regional perspective and appreciation of the time frame within which regional planning is being done, substantial differences of views and inability to reach consensus, many resignations and changes in membership, and a desire to be involved in immediate-action programs that affect their particular neighborhoods. This suggests that low-income members must be educated to broaden their views toward a longer time frame and a regional need, and at the same time the planning program must encompass certain immediate-action programs to satisfy the needs of citizen members and local elected officials who are obviously much more interested in quick pay-off operations.

The citizen group wants to have a voting membership on the board and full opportunity to express points of view to the board. Formal votes are taken within this low-income committee on particular positions. Staff attends citizen advisory committee meetings, and this is the principal point of contact and point of influence on staff efforts. A problem is that low-income members largely represent their own particular neighborhoods and particular organizations from which they come, but they lack the resources to make liaison with a variety of communities and low-income groups in the region.

To formalize the participation by citizen groups, the DVRPC and SPRPC Boards may well adopt a policy position similar to the one recommended in the transportation department's Highway Action Plan; that is, the boards will take no action on work programs, capital programs, and regional plan adoption and changes without first receiving a report on such activities from its citizen groups or, as a minimum, giving such citizen groups opportunity to comment. That, of course, will require that draft documents and proposed actions be submitted to citizen groups for review and comment well in advance of proposed board action.

So far, the committee has concerned itself with policy issues rather than with technical problems (although at present 2 members are assigned to attend meetings of each individual technical advisory committee to maintain liaison with technical activities). This is why it reports directly to the DVRPC instead of to the Planning Coordinating Committee, which is the multifunctional technical planning arm of the commission. We believe there would be merit in the committee's working more closely with DVRPC staff. Although staff would not be directed by the committee in a policy sense (the direction would necessarily come from the commission), both staff and committee alike, in our view, would benefit from a better understanding of mutual problems.

Both the transportation and the low-income groups consider staff support satisfactory. According to the DVRPC policy, staff services are provided to advisory committees to provide convening support (notices of meetings, taking of minutes) and to provide technical support in the form of explaining technical issues. However, the low-income group has requested training opportunities, workshops, and meetings perhaps more frequently than once a month in order to fully understand and process issues. It is apparent that monthly meetings by lay people cannot always do justice to the complex issues at hand. (An obvious, although difficult, solution is to let citizen advisory groups have the resources to hire and gain the support of independent staff.)

A general problem is that DVRPC's 3 citizen groups do not now have satisfactory cross communications. We have suggested 2 courses of action: (a) At a minimum, the 3 committee chairmen should meet once a month to compare notes and attempt to find a common standpoint on issues of overlapping concerns; and (b) better yet, there should be an overall citizen group council to which each of the 3 committees might appoint 2 or 3 members and whose chairmen might report to the DVRPC on behalf of all. A subcommittee of the board is now working with the low-income and minority citizen group to set forth a position paper on functions, scope of work, relations to the board and staff and technical committees, and reimbursement policy. This suggests a wise course of action generally; that is, as soon as a citizen group has been appointed and formed, it should be left up to that group to set down what it perceives to be its functions, purpose, responsibilities, and authorities, all of which can then be negotiated with the policy group to which it reports.

To sum up, we think the regional citizen advisory committees at both DVRPC and SPRPC need work. They are effective to some extent, but much more could be done. As all concerned recognize, the principal needs are to find more staff time, more money, and more citizens with sustained regional interests.

But regional committees are only part of the job of involving citizens in the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia planning activities. Clearly, both regions have many transportation and general planning problems, involving many crucial social and environmental issues that cannot be handled on a regional, long-range scale. A new planning technique finding increasing support is the refinement of regional planning through comprehensive efforts at a subarea scale and for a shorter time span. To be effective, this technique requires community participation at a more localized scale, closely approximating the geographic coverage of many existing action groups. Both SPRPC and DVRPC are beginning to work with subarea groups.

In Pittsburgh, SPRPC is currently nearing completion of the regional transportation plan. Prior to adoption by the commission, preliminary alternative plans, both for highway and transit, were to be taken to the public for reactions, suggestions, criticisms, and insights into what was or was not "acceptable" to the community at large. The campaign began by inviting public participation through a newsletter entitled "TRANSPORTATION." SPRPC asked citizen groups and individuals to submit suggestions or criticism and set up a transportation information center to handle responses. In September 1972, 2 widely publicized public meetings were held to report on the status of transportation planning and to invite future participation on the part of anyone interested. SPRPC has since formed a transportation planning team that devotes its entire time to citizen involvement in transportation planning. The team has concentrated its attention in the eastern sector of Allegheny County (since this is where most of the problems exist) and so far has held approximately 15 meetings with selected community groups in various sections of the eastern sector.

It is a bit early to assess the effectiveness of this more recent effort, but we do know that more citizen interest and involvement are engendered through SPRPC than through previous efforts. It is gearing its work to provide responses from the technical staff to questions that are raised by the citizen groups. As a result of citizen participation activities, SPRPC has also opened its technical committees to monitoring by any interested citizen groups. There are usually 3 or 4 citizens who attend the technical committee meetings and participate by asking questions and making comments.

Meanwhile, DVRPC has begun preparations to take the lead in the first full-scale subarea study following the transportation department's Highway Action Plan procedures. Since its formal adoption in 1969, the DVRPC regional transportation plan has been recognized as containing a number of controversial, and probably impossible-to-implement, expressway proposals and insufficient transit proposals, the interlocking nature of which require resolution at a subarea study scale. The first such study will involve the southwest sector of the Philadelphia region that has a population of nearly half a million citizens.

DVRPC staff has identified 3 steps needed to generate the type of initial community contact that will establish a sound, continuing dialogue during the entire study: (a) identify individuals and groups to be contacted; (b) contact those individuals to determine the basic nature of their concerns, goals, and needs; and (c) hold meetings to exchange information between community elements and DVRPC staff. A community liaison worker will be employed to undertake these initial contacts.

As the study develops, of course, a formalized study structure will be established. There will be a special subarea citizen group, with open membership, to report to a special technical advisory committee for the subarea. A special subarea technical staff, drawn from DVRPC, the transportation department, the regional transit operating agency, and other staffs, will also work with the technical advisory committee. These groups will then be plugged into the regular DVRPC regional staff and technical advisory committees for technical and, finally, policy decisions (Fig. 3).

Small Urban Areas

Let us now turn to a small urban area—Harrisburg—and the rather unique experience of the Harrisburg Area Transportation Study (HATS) in involving citizen participation. As in all urbanized area transportation studies in Pennsylvania, the legal agreement that established HATS in 1965 called for the creation of 4 guiding committees: The Coordinating Committee, the Technical Committee, the Local Government Advisory Committee, and the Citizens Advisory Committee. The legal agreement said simply:

The parties hereto agree that, in connection with Phases III and IV, plan adoption and continuing planning, it is desirable to provide for local understanding of the matters involved in those phases by the creation of a Transportation Study Citizens Advisory Committee. Excluding only the Department, the parties to this agreement, acting together, shall establish such a Committee. It is further agreed that the Citizens Advisory Committee may elect its own chairman, and such

other officers as it may deem appropriate. The Committee may communicate its various opinions and recommendations with respect to the Study to the parties creating the Committee and to the Coordinating Committee. The Coordinating Committee shall notify the parties hereto, other than the Departments, of the appropriate time for creation of a Citizens Advisory Committee.

Between 1965 and the summer of 1971, when study staff was ready to present its first cut at a recommended area-wide highway plan for 1990, the Coordinating, Technical, and Local Government Advisory committees had met more than 95 times, but the Citizens Advisory Committee had not met at all because it had not yet been appointed by the responsible elected officials. Not until late spring of 1972 was that committee, in fact, formed, and not until midsummer could it be considered effective, well after the Technical Committee (at least) had agreed on the major components of the plan that was eventually adopted by the Coordinating Committee.

How did this happen?

First, the elected officials responsible for establishing the committee did not seem at first to consider its formation important. By the time they did, they began to view its role with some apprehension and felt that their appointments would be considered politically sensitive. Considerable delay was experienced while it was decided that the mayor of Harrisburg and the chairmen of the county commissions of Dauphin and Cumberland counties would each appoint 2 residents of their respective jurisdictions and that this 6-appointee nucleus committee would then appoint additional members at its own discretion.

Second, there was a concurrent need for the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission to create a regional citizen advisory committee whose interest would span all planning functions (not just transportation) for its entire 3-county area (rather than just the 171-square-mile transportation study area). There was merit to making common membership appointments, but the mechanics failed and, further, time was lost.

By early spring of 1972, then, we were still waiting action by the responsible public officials. In some frustration, we decided to take the preliminary recommended plan to the citizens at large by way of a public meeting in the New England town meeting tradition. As it happened, the first HATS public meeting and the creation of the Citizens Advisory Committee were practically concurrent.

The time and place for the public meeting were duly advertised in the Harrisburg newspapers by paid advertisements and on radio and television by public service announcements. An evening meeting required a large auditorium where there was convenient parking and transit service. The transportation department staff passed out programs and background materials as attendees entered and served as ushers and microphone attendants. The program provided for an hour's formal presentation of the preliminary plan and an open-ended question-answer session. Fewer than 50 citizens attended, and we were all greatly disappointed, even though we felt the presentation and the mechanics of the meeting had been professionally handled.

Meanwhile, the Citizens Advisory Committee had just been formed. At the organizational meeting, the initial appointees were told that they should elect a chairman and a secretary, create bylaws, make additional appointments, and then proceed with formulating a position on the preliminary recommended plan, including commentary on the advantages and disadvantages on a project-by-project basis. The appointees were advised that, although the transportation department was pledged to review and consider committee positions, the committee's influence would largely reflect its own degree of interest, energy, rationality, and persuasiveness. Even though the transportation department was to furnish informational material and staff assistance as required, the committee was still very much on its own.

Since then, the committee has grown to 31 members and in frequent meetings has taken the following major actions: approved the recommended plan, approved the plan priorities, approved the work program for the long-range transit study about to get under way, approved a work program for a bikeway planning effort, and reviewed and commented on a variety of plan-related reports. Attendance has been good, and it is felt that most members have maintained interest out of concern for what happens to the region rather than for what happens in their own backyards.

In short, the HATS Citizens Advisory Committee is by far the most successful of all our urbanized area citizens advisory committees, even including those in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. I think this may be true because high-level transportation department officials were able to attend most of the meetings personally and to provide a kind of sideline policy-oriented leadership normally impossible for central office planning staff at more distant urbanized areas.

The controversial part of the action, however, followed from the first public forum meeting. We had planned only one such meeting to which residents of all parts of our study area would be attracted. We quickly found out, after that first meeting, that residents of particular communities wanted their own public meetings. Many people said, "We are not part of the Harrisburg metropolitan area. We are from Mechanicsburg (or wherever)."

So we ended up with a series of public meetings in 7 municipalities with a total attendance of several thousand. None of the subsequent meetings was formally publicized. Attendance was spurred by community-oriented word-of-mouth campaigns, and that was something else we learned: There is no substitute for getting civic organizations, churches, and school boards personally interested in a problem. When that happens, advertising a meeting appears to be unnecessary. From those meetings, some of them very unruly, we found out quickly that we were in the middle of a minefield. It was clear that citizens had strong feelings about highway improvements.

1. Citizens by the thousands simply rejected any highway improvement that would bring more traffic into or through their community, even where they were not personally impacted. They cited air and noise pollution, school crossing safety problems, community division effects, property taking, and other problems.

2. Other citizens, perhaps counted in the hundreds, objected most vigorously to any proposal that threatened to impact their own properties. They did so even though we explained (a) that the plan was a "corridor plan" in which we had identified broad, major travel corridors within which somewhere, eventually, a major transportation improvement would be needed, but that subsequent studies would be needed to specify actual centerlines; (b) that any particular improvement project would require the preparation of an approved environmental impact statement; and (c) that any particular project would have to be programmed by the Pennsylvania Transportation Commission and budgeted by the Pennsylvania General Assembly. To this explanation, some citizens even said, "Yes, we understand all that, but approval of your corridor plan is one step closer to taking our property, and we oppose it!" This revealed one important fact: Public trust has eroded to the point that citizens often no longer accept broad plans on the basis that further details will be left for subsequent planning stages.

3. At least one well-organized group, the Citizens for a Balanced Transportation System for the Harrisburg Area, adamantly opposed any highway improvements as being inefficient, unwanted, and environmentally deleterious and was actively pursuing every available means at its disposal to stop approval of any area-wide highway plan. Their principal arguments were that federal guidelines required the concurrent preparation of transit alternatives in highway plan preparation and that an environmental impact statement must be prepared for an area-wide highway plan before its approval, neither of which they said had been done. We argued that adequate consideration had been given to transit (and that in any case the results of an area-wide transit study started in mid-summer would be used subsequently to modify the highway plan) and that an environmental impact statement simply was not required for master planning activities.

One of our responses was to conduct intensive prefeasibility studies of 3 major problem corridors; we met throughout those studies with representative groups from the affected communities. This effort cost \$50,000, took 3 months, involved at least another 20 community meetings, and "solved" half of our problem of finding acceptable alternatives to the objectionable portions of the area-wide plan. Two communities agreed with alternatives presented; 2 other communities still objected to every alternative presented.

We consider those prefeasibility studies fairly imaginative. Although they were not subarea or sector studies such as will be used in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, they in-

volved alternatives within fairly broad corridors, and they considered community disruption and environmental impacts as well as traditional engineering cost-benefit studies. Even so, they stopped short of being completed corridor studies, and they would not satisfy the public hearing requirements for those kinds of studies in that, although they identified at least one feasible and socially and environmentally acceptable alignment, they did not fully analyze all alternative alignments and did not identify the preferable one, as corridor location studies are required to do.

After those studies and before approval was sought from the Coordinating Committee, it was necessary to obtain approvals of the recommended plan from the Citizens Advisory Committee, the Local Government Advisory Committee, and the Technical Committee. The "problem areas" for which no solution had been found were simply shaded on a map indicating that further studies would be required. We did not attempt further solutions at that time because the July 1, 1973, deadline for FHWA certification was past, and we could wait no longer to adopt a plan of record.

All of the committees did adopt the plan. It is interesting to speculate, however, whether unanimous Coordinating Committee approval could have been gained with much less citizen participation. In any event, citizen participation led, we believe, to a better plan than the one that would have been prescribed for approval had we not gone through the long and difficult process of seeking community acceptance.

District Engineering Offices

Although greater citizen participation in systems planning will smooth the way toward public acceptance of particular projects when they reach the mandatory public hearing phase, exclusive reliance cannot be placed on systems planning to achieve this goal. Our district engineering offices also work with the public in a variety of pre-hearing contexts: (a) They discuss potentially controversial projects with local elected officials; (b) they meet with the technical committees of our urban transportation studies at least twice in the course of any corridor study, once at the beginning and once part way through; (c) they place advertisements, with maps of the corridors to be studied, in local newspapers prior to the start of such studies; (d) they attempt to directly contact community groups or community leaders in the affected corridors; and (e) they formulate special task forces where needed to involve community groups in continuing discussion of special problems.

How well does all this work?

There seems to be little consistency of approach among our 11 district offices. Some districts seem to solve many location controversies prior to public hearings. One district claims that it has not even had a request for a public hearing in more than 3 years. By actively seeking out those individuals or groups who can speak for affected communities and by involving them at an early stage, it finds acceptable solutions "out of court." Other districts do not report that experience. We suspect that the district engineers' attitudes and the capability and interest of their location and design staffs may be significant to the success or failure of this approach.

Our experience tends to show, too, that it is difficult to involve the citizenry until some specific action is contemplated. In a corridor study involving several alignments, for example, the level of citizen interest may be slight until it appears that a particular alignment begins to emerge as the preferred one. In some instances, however, almost the reverse is true: Where no preferred alignment has yet emerged, citizens from all of the possible alignment areas may actively seek to prevent any alignment. Obviously, it is difficult to discuss the merits of alternative alignments when citizens are still debating whether a highway is needed in the first place.

A good example of a major prehearing effort in project planning can be found in the activities of the Radnor Interchange Task Force. In an effort to resolve opposition to the location of an interchange between the Mid-County Expressway (I-476) and US-30 in "main-line" suburban Philadelphia, this task force met 17 times officially, met at least 10 times unofficially, and concluded its work by presenting its recommendations at a series of 5 public meetings throughout Radnor Township and vicinity. The task force recommended that the interchange be built.

A part of the regional transportation plan, the interchange was opposed by Radnor Township officials on specific grounds that it would require a large amount of land that would be taken off local tax rolls, would generate increased traffic thus adding to local traffic in the already congested area, and would promote in the immediate area development detrimental to its primarily residential character. The fact that local officials were at the same time actively and successfully soliciting industrial development and expansion in the township was apparently not viewed by them as being incompatible with their position on the interchange.

In late 1970, the Pennsylvania Secretary of Transportation recommended the creation of a task force to study possible alternatives. Shortly, thereafter, the task force was established and consisted of representatives from Radnor Township, Delaware County, DVRPC, and the transportation department. Subsequently, because possible solutions would affect neighboring Lower Merion Township and its parent Montgomery County, representatives from these jurisdictions were added as well. The task force spent more than 2 years studying alternatives and produced a 300-page final report for public distribution.

At the end, the task force agreed 8 to 2 that the interchange should be built (Radnor Township representatives voting against). To date, we have not budgeted the interchange and, because of the long delay already experienced, have requested Federal Highway Administration concurrence in completing the Mid-County Expressway without it (such a decision also reflects certain knowledge of adamant political opposition to the interchange by a state senator who could block budgetary approval). A recent surprising event, however, was the revelation that 7 out of 8 candidates for township commissioner were in favor of the interchange. Should a majority of them be elected this fall, the whole situation could reverse itself. Meanwhile, we are recommending that the final report be processed through the DVRPC advisory committees to the DVRPC Board for the purpose of establishing a DVRPC position.

Despite its outcome, we consider the Radnor Interchange Task Force a successful effort. Through its studies and meetings, everyone concerned now at least has a much broader understanding of the implications of building or not building the interchange, and the final report preserves for future reference the changing attitudes and expectations of the participants. We count on using this approach much more frequently in the future.

Thus, our efforts at involving the public in prehearing project planning have been inconsistent. But more has been gained than lost, and we are encouraged to emphasize more work in this area by district staffs. In our Highway Action Plan, for example, we specifically formalize those activities and require engineering districts consistently to involve the public at every stage of corridor and design study activities (Figs. 4 and 5).

One means of ensuring greater success, I feel, is for the districts to work more closely with the citizen groups involved at the systems planning level. Carry-over and integration of citizen participation at systems and project planning are natural developments that we believe hold much promise. Not only will some of the same citizens or citizen groups be involved but projects can be viewed in a broader context—as part of area-wide systems development rather than as individual projects. Such follow-up is intended by the procedures outlined in our Highway Action Plan.

CURRENT RESEARCH AND FUTURE PLANS

We should also mention our current research in this subject area. Consulting firms are currently under contract with the department to prepare a manual on citizen participation in transportation planning. It will span participation from systems planning all the way through project construction. Under a second-phase contract, the manual will be implemented in special test cases, and then refinement will be made. (You would be amused at our extended consideration of the best way to establish citizen participation in this study of citizen participation!)

One of the most difficult aspects of citizen participation is the frequency of change in citizen values, citizen leadership, elected leadership, and legal requirements. All

Figure 3. Committee structure of subarea study.

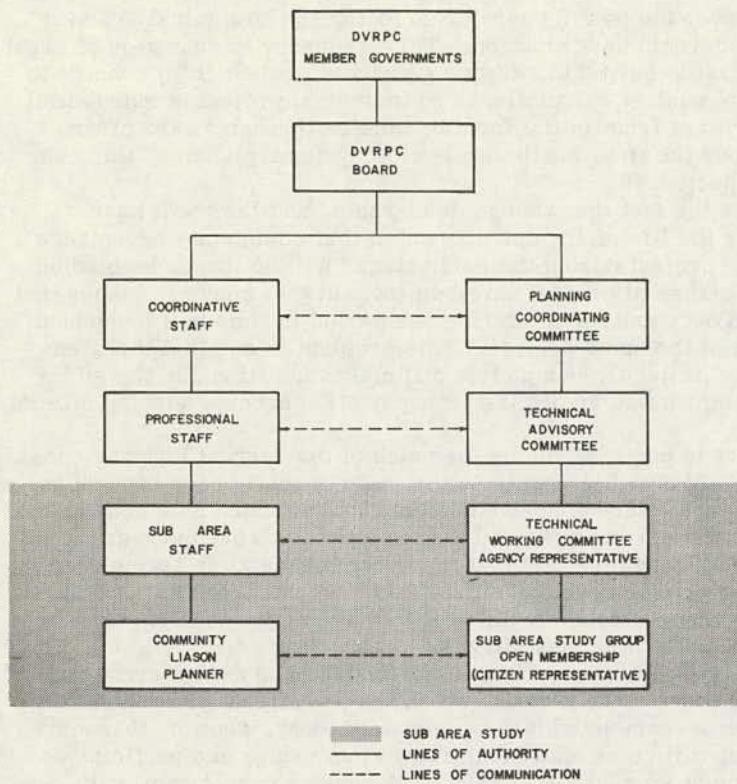


Figure 4. Structure of corridor location study.

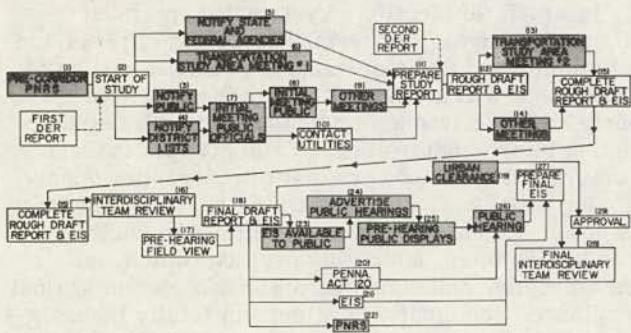
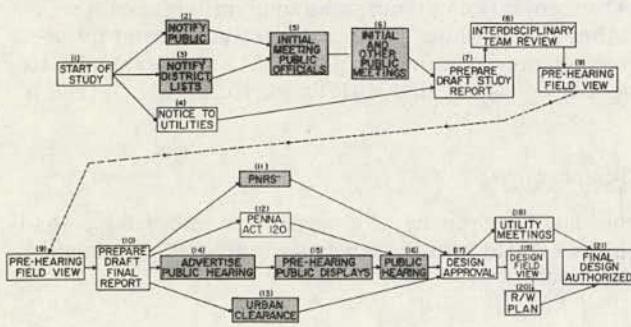


Figure 5. Structure of design location study.



of us need only to look back over the past 5 years or so to realize how quickly values, requirements, and public leadership have changed. This frequency of change is at great variance with the long lead time required to advance a highway project from concept to construction. According to our latest calculations, an individual project of substantial proportion requires about 7 years from initial location studies through award of construction contracts. If one adds the time for the area-wide systems planning, this can become a 12-year gestation period.

What is most perplexing is the fact that values, leadership, and laws will have changed several times during the life of any one project so that community acceptance and legal compliance with the project during the early stages will no longer be binding or effective during the later stages of project development. In this manner, issues that appear to have been resolved once and for all during one period in time will be opened up again later during the life of the same project. This problem is one that threatens our ability to bring any major project to completion and makes questionable the effectiveness of any negotiated compromise among the transportation agency, elected official, and community groups.

It is this very problem that is partly to blame for much of the current highway controversy and court litigation. Many of the projects that have recently been brought to the design and construction stages were conceived and planned as much as a decade ago when values, guidelines, legal requirements, and citizen attitudes were quite different. Considering bureaucratic inertia and the fact that many commitments in terms of design, property takings, and private development actions have occurred as a result of these planned projects, it becomes extremely difficult to make major location or design changes during the latter project development stages.

In light of the mismatch between the project decision-making and design cycle and the public value and leadership cycle, is it really worth the investment of so much time and effort to reach a common agreement with the community today, knowing that more than likely such an agreement will come apart tomorrow when values and participants have changed? The answer must be a qualified yes. Although we cannot know with certainty how successful our citizen participation programs will be in the future, one thing is certain: Without such participation, we will be confronted with even more opposition and litigation than we are today.

Certainly our Highway Action Plan, in which we identify a systematic approach toward evaluating environmental, social, and economic factors and involving citizens and local elected officials in the conduct of studies and decision-making process, will be of substantial help. Hope for new legislation that will allow joint and multiple use of rights-of-way and acquisition of property well in advance of construction will also help. Advance acquisition will help in protecting future rights-of-way from speculation and encroachment by development. It is the lack of these powers that often results in substantial disruption when our slowly moving process finally gets to the construction stage.

Finally, there is a great need to empower states and regions to influence land use decisions of regional or state significance. So often, a highway project, which was sensible in its early concept, becomes disruptive and controversial when viewed against the adopted land use plan because of unplanned community development totally inconsistent with the adopted plan. More effective land use controls would avoid future problems of this kind.

We are optimistic that, with greater effort and a true commitment to working with citizens and to regaining public trust and confidence, successful programs can be achieved. It is not enough that we in transportation agencies have good intentions to work with citizens. Citizens and all others with whom we work must have good intentions, too, so that mutual trust and respect may continue to grow. As we develop better procedures to allow this to happen, we are confident that citizen participation in transportation planning can and will work.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

LARRABEE: You mentioned the problem of frequency of change in membership, leadership, values, and so on. What should we build into the process to provide continuity that will offset the changes that you point out?

KINSTLINGER: I would rather work at it from the other end and effect changes that will allow our planning cycle to be expedited, and I think perhaps cutting federal red tape might be effective in that regard. I am not sure we can massage the other end of the scale. That is the democratic process. People are entitled to change elected officials and change community leaders as they will. I think we are moving into the era of future shock; I think that values and the real-life situations are going to change with increasing rapidity. That is the nature of our society, and I am not sure we can do anything about that.

One thing that does occur to me and was touched on briefly in the paper is that we should get away from the quick-changing ad hoc type of committee structure. Until fairly recently, a group was formed for a particular project; and, if there was another project, another group would be formed, and so on. There was no continuity. We think that an area-wide, continuing citizen group will lend some continuity and will make it easier for the citizens to be familiar with the entire history of the planning process, the reasons certain improvements are needed, and the alternatives that were evaluated. They will get the broad perspective and act as an umbrella over all citizen activity. I think that continuing area-wide citizen participation to supplement the ad hoc project participation would be quite useful.

KISH: We are dealing with a lot of problems that bring about citizen opposition to projects. One of the key problems is relocation. Will you address that? My second question relates to an area that you may not want to get into. Rather than a matter of citizen participation or pro or con as far as the project is concerned, is it not more a matter of one position being taken by regional politicians and another position being taken by city politicians that contributes to the holding up of plans?

KINSTLINGER: I did address relocation briefly, and obviously there are some solutions: Build as few new major facilities as possible, try to improve the efficiency of existing facilities, or influence land use and travel habits so that travel demand is minimized. Until fairly recently, we always allowed travel demand to be an independent variable, and we tried to meet the demand by building more and more facilities. We really need to apply incentives on the one hand and disincentives on the other hand so that people travel less, trip length is shortened, peaking is reduced thereby, and more efficient modes of transportation are utilized.

There will always be a need to relocate some, and full compensation is obviously a solution. No one should bear a disproportionate share of the cost of the project; and, therefore, the full cost of being relocated must be compensated. This requires probably broadening of the law so that even those people who are left adjacent to an area and who ought to be compensated will be. We ought to be allowed to exercise excess condemnation beyond the right-of-way simply for the purpose of relocating people otherwise adversely affected.

As far as the problem of disagreement among citizen groups and elected officials, that problem has been with us and probably will increase. That is the nature of politics, of course. Perhaps if we got stronger levels of leadership, that would help.

WILLEKE: I would like to challenge the view that changing citizen values are responsible for the conflict that you and other speakers have indicated. I certainly agree that public values are changing, but I also question whether this agreement with communities has ever occurred. I would say that it has not. There is no consensus in the community that the particular project is in accord with the goals and was well planned initially. The process was too closed in the past. A large percentage of the public was not aware of what was happening until very late stages, and only very recently has an opening taken place.

KINSTLINGER: I think your statement is partly true. I do not think, though, that a deliberate attempt was made by public officials to push something over on the citizens. Until recently most citizens were disinterested. Only recently have a substantial number of groups developed a social conscience. There are now citizen groups concerned about the community, about values, about environmental and resource problems; those groups simply did not exist 5 years ago. By and large, these are relatively new con-

stituencies that were not around then; therefore, dealing with these groups and accommodating their wishes was something not necessary 5 or 10 years ago.

WILLEKE: According to the study developed by Altshuler, the San Francisco free-way revolt had its origins in the 50s, and that pattern was repeated in many cities. Here we have 20 years involved. I think you can find its roots even farther back than that. Would you say this is recent, within the past 5 years?

ANDERSON: With regard to the recent interest of citizens in transportation planning, I suggest that perhaps there may be a correlation between the transportation plans that now include some of the more affluent and wealthier neighborhoods and those of past years that involved areas where people had no political clout. While a number of people have witnessed successful opposition to plans in which they had no input, they have adopted methods of their own. Did you say that in some instances you have citizen advisory committees restricted to nonwhites?

KINSTLINGER: The formally constituted Citizens' Advisory Committee in Pittsburgh comprises exclusively representatives of black and poor groups.

ANDERSON: Are there whites in that group?

KINSTLINGER: Yes.

ANDERSON: In many instances nonwhite communities in large urban areas are so poorly served by public transportation that individuals travel in their private cars and also transport other people from one destination to another. I have witnessed this new transit facility in operation, and it has been done with the acquiescence of those in city government as well as those that represent the transit authority. I wonder whether you have an opinion on that type of transport facility?

KINSTLINGER: I know that such services operate in a number of major cities, primarily in the ghetto areas, for a number of reasons: Public transportation is not adequate, there are security problems, and sometimes private cabs are reluctant to enter those areas. That this service is being provided suggests that there is a transportation need. Demand-actuated public transportation is one way to meet that need. Probably increasing the number of taxicabs and regulating their costs is another. That demand does exist and has not been considered in the planning process. We tend to look at the major formal types of operations, and this is one of those informal ones that we are not sensitive to. Citizen advisory groups—particularly from minorities—will help bring these problems to our attention, and that is one of the reasons for having those groups.

SMITH: You seem to draw the distinction between people who are on advisory commissions and people who are ordinary citizens. You said that some of these groups suffered from having too many ordinary citizens on them. Will you elaborate on what you consider to be the distinction between them?

KINSTLINGER: The distinction is between the individual who represents only himself and the individual who represents a group. I have no great problem in having a limited number of individuals representing only themselves, but often a citizen group has to be limited in total number to be effective. It is preferable, therefore, that each individual represent more than merely his own point of view. If most individuals represent groups, then 30 people on the committee would represent many more than 30 points of view. That is why we seek to have our committees consist of representative groups rather than simply individuals who come in and represent only themselves.

McMANUS: I am executive director of a project called "Choices for '76," which is a series of television town meetings that were held in the New York area and were sponsored by the Regional Planning Association. We were concerned with the problem of how to give opportunities to be heard not just to those who are well organized and have been thinking about these problems for some years but to the broader public so that there can be wider input and particularly new possibilities for dealing with some of these issues. What we have attempted to do is to pose the basic choices that face the region in a series of television programs in which we pose 8 or 10 concrete choices on what might be done and attempt to show pros and cons of these choices. We published a book

that presented the issues in more detail than we could present on television. We convinced all the stations in the New York area (19 of them between New Haven and Trenton) to broadcast the programs. We got the newspapers to publish ballots that the people could mail in and tried to organize people to participate, not just the League of Women Voters but school children, minority groups, and corporations. The corporations actually helped us organize their employees to watch the television programs so that they could be heard on not just whether we ought to build more highways but what ought to be done if we are to become more dependent on public transportation and how ought we to subsidize it.

It seems to me that the federal government ought to encourage, with Department of Transportation funds as seed money, the packaging of the basic information or the options and alternatives for presentation to the people through the mass media. The response of the people would give a broader basis and help avoid the problem that you alluded to of not knowing whether to count this person as an individual or as someone more significant because he has an organization behind him. Besides, an organization rarely allows an individual to speak for it.

We have had about 30,000 or 35,000 people send in ballots in response to our transportation program. This is not necessarily a mandate for political leadership one way or the other. Most ballots come from better educated people and from somewhat higher income people. But we are willing to look at how different income groups voted. On two-thirds of the issues regardless of age, income, or anything else, there is a surprising consensus of what ought to be done. Getting that kind of consensus seems unlikely to take place with the rather limited approach to citizen participation that I heard about in this conference; that is, we ought to form a committee and have a committee deal with this. Unless there is a much more aggressive attempt not just to provide an opportunity for people to come in but to hear the options explained and then to be listened to as they respond, I do not think we will get out of this suspicious relation that exists between citizen and government agencies in most of the cities of this country.

KINSTLINGER: I must apologize if I did not get across that all of our systems planning is multimodal. We do develop transit plans. The mix of plans is one of the issues we seek participation in from the public. My background is not in highways. My agency does plan transit, although we are only authorized to build highways, and transit construction and operations is a local responsibility.

I am acquainted with the efforts you mention. It points us all, perhaps, in the right direction. The Regional Planning Association is traditionally 10 to 15 years ahead of other planning operations in the country, although we hope that we will not stay that many years behind. What you are suggesting is a much more vigorous attempt of going to the communities and soliciting support and trying to involve people, and I think television is an excellent medium for doing that. We have to take one step at a time. You are a privately endowed group, and perhaps you can move faster. What we have suggested is a step forward, and perhaps the next step will be something more the kind of thing you do.