

## Second Workshop Reports

### Allan Feldt

The general charge to workshops one and two was "means of resolving value conflicts". The first specific question was, "How can conflicts between individuals and groups within an urban community and governments be resolved?" The related question was, "Should objectors be paid off?" We identified what appeared to be six methods of conflict resolution within the urban process, none of which are surprising.

The first method of resolving conflicts in urban situations is something that is often overlooked; it is called the political process or representative government. We do have, in our society, a method of resolving conflicts and making choices between tough alternatives that is found in some form in local governments. Thomas Jefferson probably offers some of the best commentary on this mechanism. Until recently it has worked with some effectiveness. It seems that there has been some breakdown in recent years and it is not operating very effectively at this point. Clearly we do need a level of government on the order of the metropolitan community to deal with problems of some magnitude. We could also use some other levels of government on a more localized basis than what we currently tend to think of in terms of the city. There is a great need for innovation in governmental forms in our society. These innovations would provide mechanisms for conflict resolutions not now available to planners, transportation engineers, and so forth.

The second suggestion for conflict resolution is a process already in use in a number of places, which we ended up calling the compensation philosophy. This is a philosophy and a strategy of attack in resolving conflicts that appeals to the short-run self-interest of participants and antagonists in the issue at dispute. In such ventures, and in following such strategies, it is usually attempted to include additional benefits in the project that will provide some return for most of the persons concerned about the development of the project. This involves the development of joint development projects providing parks and additional facilities in addition to the highway. It may involve increases in compensation for relocation and things of this nature. This approach represents an attempt to provide some compensation for all participants so that they will accept the general pattern of the development proposal. Less euphemistically, it might be called a pork-barrel philosophy.

A third strategy for conflict resolution, which up until now has not been particularly widely applied, involves the question of better communication and education. I do not think we have enough examples of this. This strategy involves an appeal to either the long-run self-interest of the citizens or of the politicians or an appeal to "metropolitan morality"—trying to convince the participant and the antagonist that, although he may personally be hurt in the short run, society as a whole will benefit and he should, therefore, sit back and take it. This form of communication has a number of problems involved in it—including interminable and lengthy hearings. Nonetheless, there is some evidence to lead us to believe that it can pay off even though it may be somewhat costly, especially in terms of personnel. There seem to be many methods that can work in terms of communication and education. First is a kind of general public relations—better news releases, better descriptions of the project, better wording of the kinds of impacts it will have, possibly film-strips, and so on. Second, additional hearings and explanations to public groups. Third, the use of operational gaming and simulation techniques as a way to run through a situation that is intelligible to the layman.

A fourth major strategy for resolving conflicts was that of involving potential or active dissidents in the planning and policy-making for the project itself. I think quite a few elements of this kind of strategy were enunciated in terms of the Watts-Century

Freeway proposal. Perhaps one of the most significant elements in disagreement with a highway freeway proposal is thereby eliminated, in that the values involving self-participation, self-control, and so forth, within the local area are satisfied. The plan may be objectively somewhat better or somewhat worse, but at least the people have done it to themselves and they are, therefore, more likely to be happy with the output whether or not the results are fundamentally better.

A fifth major strategy involves a series of trade-offs. This is not unlike the compensation philosophy. In this case, however, the attempt of the highway planning strategy is to minimize or ameliorate the impact of the highway, and we have a whole range of possibilities here, most of which revolve around design innovations. For example, provision of pedestrian overpasses where possibly they are not really needed, but where local citizens would like to see them, reflects such a strategy. You give them one even though it might not be highly utilized. Possibly changing the design to lower specifications in some places, and providing better compatibility with other non-related local uses also reflect application of this form of strategy.

The sixth, and last, major method for conflict resolution is an attempt to tie a highway proposal or any major public works development to some significant project that yields secondary benefits to the immediate or the general community involved. Good examples of this are highway proposals that require 10 percent or 20 percent employment of hard-core unemployed from the area affected for on-the-job training and employment on the project. It may be demonstrated that other projects are likely to yield significant improvements in local housing, and so forth. These kinds of strategies, tied to highway proposals for the general benefit of the community over and above transportation questions, seem to be likely ways to significantly alleviate conflict.

When asked the question "Should construction be stopped or delayed?" we agreed, from both sides of the fence, that it is generally not desirable to delay or stop the construction of a highway system; that it can be very costly to the project and to the total societal system. Stoppages, or attempts at stoppage, tend to bring out emotional and strictly anti-progress kinds of responses and it is very easy to slip into a non-rational and highly emotional series of developments. Stoppage is bad because of the kinds of people that get involved.

At the same time, if stoppage is to be enacted, it would be most helpful if clearer identification of responsible local authorities who have the power to stop a project were made. The highway engineers are in a somewhat difficult position in trying to decide who, in fact, has the authority to stop a project and under what circumstances, aside from the obvious authority exercised by people lying down in the path of bulldozers. One advantage of stoppage is that it does result in the concentration of efforts within the design office and the engineering office upon the project itself.

Finally, it must be recognized that stoppage of a project is the last resort of the offended or the antagonistic groups. Although it may be undesirable from many standpoints, stoppage of the project by whatever means is a last-ditch effort at communication to the authorities involved that the project has not resolved its conflicts and it has not followed appropriate procedures for conflict resolution. It is an attempt to communicate over, above, beyond, and around the available channels of communication that have been previously provided.

### Joseph Schofer

We felt that in most cases it was not really the job of the planner to resolve value conflicts. This was, in many cases, a political decision-making responsibility. However, there are at least three areas associated with the resolution of value conflicts in which the planner can be helpful. The first is the development of an environment for encouraging the free flow of information between interested parties, both private and institutional, during the planning process. The second is the reduction of value conflicts through better and more sensitive project and system design. The third is the

provision of comprehensive and, to the extent possible, quantitative information to decision-makers describing the nature of expected impacts of those facilities, as well as the incidence of those impacts.

We felt that this idea of maintaining an environment so that communication could take place between interested parties—institutional parties, individuals, groups, communities, and "the establishment"—is a primary function that planners ought to be serving as soon as possible. There is a credibility gap now between "the establishment" (the planners and engineers) and community residents. One way in which this gap can be closed is to involve the relevant parties and institutions in some way in the planning process as early as practicable, so that it does not become an action-reaction situation but is a cooperative venture—perhaps even adventure.

Another way for improving the communications process would be to make it very clear to interested non-professional parties precisely what kinds of assumptions and reasoning lie behind specific recommendations. This seems to be an issue that comes up at many public hearings.

Another activity that probably ought to be undertaken is the early identification of relevant individuals and groups as a part of the standard data collection process for transportation planning. People in the highway field ought to take advantage of some of the structures now existing in communities, perhaps under the guidance of agencies like HUD and OEO.

It was suggested that special caution ought to be used to explain to the decision-maker the basis for and the reliability of the information he is given.

There were some suggestions in our group regarding changes in the planning process itself, so that either value conflicts would be less likely to arise or they would be easier to resolve. These also have to do with such things as citizen participation and the interesting kinds of examples described in Chicago and Los Angeles. It was, however, suggested that the adoption of hard guidelines in reference to such things as joint development might create some serious problems in particular areas where these general types of solutions might not apply very satisfactorily.

If we are going to make efforts to resolve or avoid value conflicts, then we ought also to consider the plight of the highway departments and the Federal Highway Administration, because we expect these agencies concerned with transportation planning to do a better job and to have the right kinds of skills represented on their staffs. Another interesting idea was the concept of providing in-service training programs for transportation planners and urban planners who are, hopefully, going to adopt some of the ideas that are coming out of this Conference and other conferences like it.

It was the consensus of the group that some form of just compensation should be developed to minimize or eliminate the resulting "pain" associated with the introduction of a transportation facility in an area. It was suggested that the planner attempt to develop alternative forms of compensation to go along with alternative transportation plans. We recognize that it is going to be as difficult to evaluate the compensation schemes as it is to evaluate the transportation plans themselves, primarily because in the most important cases we are probably going to be compensating the loss of intangible values in tangible ways. We will have to develop some accounting schemes that allow us to identify the costs of a highway project that are associated with compensation so that we can perform this process of relating the loss of values of interested parties—individuals, groups, and institutions—to the actual dollar outlays for special projects. It would not, however, be necessary to compensate in kind. It might be quite appropriate and rather innovative to substitute one facility type for another, if the other was something that was needed by the community.

Another suggestion that was made was that compensation should be considered in terms of replacement cost rather than market cost of facilities taken for highway construction. In addition, special compensation is recommended for disadvantaged parties, particularly the elderly, the poor, and some minority groups that might find it very hard to adapt to a new situation.

It was also agreed that further research will be necessary to establish valid guidelines for compensation for intangible values such as the family home or the childhood

neighborhood that is taken by transportation facility construction. New planning strategies and legislative changes may also be needed.

We came up with a list of a dozen research recommendations. Here are some of the questions that need to be answered: What is the expected spectrum of future effects of a transportation improvement on an area? What part of any changes that occur in an area are attributable to what characteristics of the transportation system? How should the relevant communities for evaluation of a particular transportation project be defined? What are the most effective ways for reaching the people in the community for participation in transportation design, planning, and evaluation? In what ways may various interested parties best participate in transportation planning? How can those community values that are now known only qualitatively be quantified in a meaningful way and how can those that are quantifiable be converted into dollar values? What are the most promising organizational structures for conducting planning? How can flexibility be introduced into the planning process and into planning organizations? What are the most promising strategies for implementing planned transportation projects? What are the most effective strategies for introducing any kind of change into a community? What are the most promising decision-making strategies for considering the multi-dimensional set of community values in transportation planning? This is, considering that it is very unlikely that even in the long run we are going to be able to convert all of the consequences of transportation alternatives to a single dimension, how are we going to treat these in an effective decision-making process? What are the best examples of comprehensive, sensitive and effective transportation planning today?

It was suggested that case studies be prepared and disseminated providing an evaluation of the strategies, tactics, and designs used in some of these good examples so that we could learn from them. It was also suggested that several neighborhoods, communities, or even cities in the path of transportation projects might be developed as full-scale experiments to gather data and test innovative strategies, tactics, and designs.

### S. M. Breuning

Our group dealt once again and exclusively with measurement of values. The group believed that more rigorous treatment of individual and community values in transportation studies is possible and desirable. To obtain value measurements, transportation planners should avail themselves of professional services from whatever disciplines or professions are available. Community groups and social and behavioral scientists should fit particularly well into the framework of the transportation planning process.

There is a far greater body of knowledge buried in books than many of us know. Value diagnostic techniques exist and some of them are relevant and important. These techniques include participant observation, structured attitude surveys, unstructured attitude surveys, rating scales, more generally constrained responses, paired comparisons, operational gaming, weighting schemes (where relevant participants are involved), and activity analysis. Recognition of these techniques as a valid component of transportation planning should be developed.

Right now the highway planner is not adequately informed, the community is not adequately informed, and, therefore, misunderstanding is almost inevitable. Vocal members of a community carry far more weight than their actual position in the community justifies. In many cases the highway planner plays a waiting game and is unaware of the alternatives that he has available at any particular time. The community is relatively uninformed about the possible consequences of alternatives because nobody knows what they are. The information flow can be improved if the highway planner first seeks to understand community values and then puts them in a systematic framework. Value scales that are relevant to communities and methods of determining the trade-off of these values through the physical environment can be developed in some cases. But even with an adequate information system, the same problem does

not sound the same to different groups and needs different interpretation. The natural bias of the highway engineer, the highway planner, and any other professional involved must be recognized and described so that others can take it into consideration.

An evaluation should then be used as a means for informing the community about the planned transportation system and its consequences and for obtaining an understanding of the community reaction to the planning process.

### Allan Jacobs

We all agreed that, regarding the question of values, black people basically want the same things as white people. We also noted that comprehensive planning is fine but only if it is relevant, and a lot of the time it is not.

We all seemed to agree that land use projections are extremely weak. Land uses that are proposed—presumably upon which transportation systems are based—usually do not happen. This implies a need for flexibility and adaptability in working out both land use and transportation plans. Another approach to the problem is to fix and plan in detail only those facilities that count or that are the most significant or give major form and development to the urban structure, such as transportation systems, open space, and utility systems.

Another weakness in the planning process now is that there is a built-in highway bias in the present process. That is, given present dollars, and where those dollars are, almost all of the plans will be oriented toward roads. The modal split question always comes out in favor of the highways. This suggests that a policy change is needed. One proposal in this regard is that equal federal resources for other modes be made available. If we make enough aid available to allow a choice the bias might disappear or be reduced. There should be the same matching ratio—90-10, 50-50, 75-25, or what have you—in the funding of all programs.

A third weakness is that the process goes on almost to conclusion before there is any attention by the political decision-makers, political decision-makers being either the elected officials at the city level or residents at the local levels. Consultation to this point is most often only at the technician level. Interaction is not likely to occur until the community or person feels it. There is at least a two-way responsibility here and the city should be responsible for initiating its basic transportation policies. We are aware of the problem of "Tell us what you want?" from the federal establishment or the state versus the "Tell us what you're going to do?" answer from the locality. This means that as long as this kind of situation exists, we have to be prepared to go back to the drawing boards; we have to "stay loose" and we seriously suggest this as a point of view. Elected officials must continue to have the responsibility of selecting projects that must go ahead. Participation is likely to remain at the level of how the project goes in, not if the project will be carried out. I might say that there was some significant disagreement within the group on that matter.

### Irving J. Rubin

Our workshop considered means of improving the transportation planning process, and arrived at consensus on the following points.

Land Use Planning—It is important that the distinction be clearly made between transportation planning requirements for developing solutions to needs that either exist or will inevitably develop in the medium range as a result of facility and policy decisions already made and, on the other hand, planning process requirements for developing solutions that go beyond existing and predetermined development. In the first instance, the transportation facilities must serve demand that is reasonably predictable. In the second instance, the requirements are more complex—transportation facilities must

serve the needs generated as a result of implementation of the future land use plan, but should also encourage development consistent with the plan and discourage and inhibit patterns of development that conflict with the plan.

To accomplish this end, the land use input must be adequate to enable the planner to predict travel demand and determine where transportation should be restrained, by limiting accessibility or, in some cases, by providing no access at all.

There should be increased ability at the regional and local level to control land use patterns and assure implementation of the land use plan, since this is a basic assumption upon which the transportation plan is based. The land use plan should make the assumptions upon which it is based explicit so that the transportation and land use plans can be adjusted responsively to growth and development as it occurs, should it prove to be inconsistent with predictions.

The land use and transportation planning must proceed with an understanding of the range of possible alternatives—physical, social, and economic—and a statement of goals and objectives that is responsive to regional, local, and interest group values. Techniques must be developed so that alternative combinations of physical facilities and policy plans can be evaluated in terms of the degree to which they meet goals and objectives and satisfy the values of various groups within the planning area, as well as those of governmental and private agencies, and of institutions.

Comprehensive Planning—It is recommended that a continuing comprehensive planning process, of which transportation is a major element, be a requirement for all federal grant award programs. Current requirements are explicit only with respect to transportation planning in metropolitan areas. This process should include continuing evaluation of the relationship of plans to community values.

It is recommended that intergovernmental cooperation in this comprehensive and continuing planning process be encouraged and facilitated, perhaps through the use of financial or other incentives. Although councils of governments currently would appear to be the best agencies for this purpose, it must be recognized that the broader the participation of political jurisdictions the more likely the development of plans reflecting the "least common denominator of regional consensus", that operating agencies often having greater power than local governmental agencies are not eligible for membership in many councils of governments, and that internal and external organizational problems can easily arise from an apparent conflict inherent in many councils of governments—their desire to maintain an image of weakness and concentrate on voluntarism and cooperation in the face of rapid escalation of problems that call for strong leadership to force decisions.

204 Review Process—In order to increase the likelihood of objectivity on the Section 204 review and comment process, it is recommended that the federal government provide, to each agency having this responsibility, 100 percent of the funds required to perform the review and comment function.

Metropolitan Decision-Making—It is recommended that machinery be created within each metropolitan region that will permit the resolution of interagency conflicts by a device approaching binding arbitration where the matter at issue is metropolitan or regional in nature and good-faith efforts to resolve through cooperation fail. Cooperative voluntary efforts to resolve conflicts have not been successful on many regional issues. It is felt that the existence of such machinery would probably assure its non-use as agencies would make strong efforts to avoid stalemate.

Serious consideration must be given to the development of metropolitan forms of government, recognizing the conflict between self-determination, home rule, local control, black power, and the needs for a sense of community, on the one hand, and the need for resolution of metropolitan issues, the desire for efficiency, and the requirement to continue to progress on the other hand. The committee was not in agreement on recommending this, however, because of the many complex questions that cannot be adequately dealt with in view of the Conference limitations on time and purpose.

Community Involvement and Participation—Arrangements must be made to provide methods for involving sub-communities within larger cities in the actual decision-making process, and in exercising control over certain elements of governmental operations, especially those that are most local and personal. Many ways are open to achieve this, from de-centralization of some governmental functions, through amended

city charters providing for either some or all of the members of the local governing body to be elected by smaller areas than the entire city, to the creation of citizens' advisory councils. It is felt that by providing citizens with real opportunities to influence the course of governmental decision-making, some of the opposition to transportation facilities, to hospitals, and to urban renewal projects (which is often symbolic) may be eliminated, thus paving the way for more equitable and less time-consuming resolution of conflicts.

Advocacy and Information Availability—It is recommended that "powerless" communities be provided with funds that will enable them to retain their own advocates as more affluent communities have done for years. In this manner, opposition to a proposed project is more likely to be on a basis that can be resolved to the mutual benefit of both the transportation agency and the community. In most instances, it will enable the community to extract far more concessions than otherwise possible, and frequently to achieve major reconsideration of the basic proposal.

For the advocacy activity on behalf of the community to be effective, all agencies must be required to provide information and data in usable form. In addition, there should be a continuing program of advising communities as to proposals that may affect them and of providing opportunities to study the projects before final decisions have been made.

Public Hearings—The public hearing should be regarded as part of the process of providing community understanding of the proposed projects and an opportunity to participate, comment, and be heard. Hearings should be preceded by distribution of maximum amounts of information within the community affected, pre-hearing meetings with community leaders to help them and to help the transportation agency anticipate problems, and adequate study and evaluation of the alternatives. Simultaneously, a study of the community to identify community needs, wants, desires, values, and problems—both real and perceived—must be made to help guide the planning process and to permit identification of the "questions" before they are asked. Efforts should be made to encourage wide attendance and participation by supporters of a project, as well as by those who either oppose it or question it. Hearings should be held in locations and at times convenient to the people affected, and in addition to providing maximum opportunity for questions and statements from citizens, should include responses from public officials.

Joint Development Projects—The joint development concept presents an opportunity to achieve optimum return on public investments, to resolve conflict, and to achieve proper staging of a multiplicity of interrelated projects under the jurisdiction of various agencies. Joint development projects should not be undertaken, however, unless there is a real likelihood of translating them into action. This requires that adequate funds for planning and design be made available, that all of the agencies involved have sufficient assurance of long-range funding and planning stability, and that interagency agreements on implementation can be entered into and honored.

### Kenneth Shiatte

Our charge was, in general, "What are the engineering means for reducing the impact of transportation facilities on the urban community, what landscape and architectural means are there, and, finally, can buildings or building groups be arranged so as to lessen noise, vibration, and air pollution?"

Looking at many of the detailed items that we have to consider from the standpoint of engineering, architecture, landscape, and the ecology of the area, it became very apparent that the design team was definitely the route we wanted to take and to discuss. It is very hard to bring together all these different disciplines to create physical projects that are integrated as a whole without having an understanding of how each of these pieces fits together.

The starting point of project development should be a reconnaissance or fact-finding tour of the area. This could involve surveys of many of the different physical aspects. We should develop an activity pattern, some composite ideas in each sector before bringing them together into alternative development plans. This then leads to a process where you have to consider values when you start evaluating the alternatives, measuring the impact and the evaluation process, and getting feedback between impact values and detailed alternatives. I feel many of us are novices to this new approach; although we understand the broad concepts, we have not really looked too much at the problems of putting together a team to produce a salable project for a particular piece of our urban environment.

In the reconnaissance, we felt that we had to understand a little bit about the nature of the area—the plant life, the existing materials, and so forth, that would later be used, and possibly some of the landscape or architectural treatments, the climatic, hydrological, and geological assets and problems of the area. We should consider some of the points of visual interest—the natural scenery or man-made structures we want to insure we have a good view of. We want to identify areas that would be obstacles to the location because of the steepness, because of wetness through flooding or soil instability. We want to identify areas that should be avoided to preserve costly or historic developments.

The next aspect of looking at the details was the landscape design we should employ. We felt we have to be very conscious of a buffer between the road and adjacent areas in order to lessen the impact of noise and provide a feeling of openness to areas adjacent to the facility. We want to ensure that any embankments we put up are going to control not only erosion but are pleasing to the eye. We want to provide for the social and recreational amenities of the neighborhood. We want to open vistas and points of interest. We also felt that if we are going to have a pleasing architectural and landscape treatment of a project we would have to introduce experimentation with new materials that would enhance the area.

### Tom Roberts

Our charge was "What activities can be taken at the metropolitan level to reduce the severity of impact of transportation facilities?"

National, state, and local land settlement policies can be brought to bear on the metropolitan level. For example, new communities can be developed outside of existing metropolitan areas as an alternative to the continued spread of existing centers with its associated construction and reconstruction of transportation facilities. Obviously, to begin with, this would require that we have a national land settlement policy and, hopefully, state policies as well. This would also require some kind of real financial incentive for local governments as well as private developers to implement these policies. Federal grants for sewer, water, parks, housing, transit, and roads could be funneled to localities willing to implement the policies; grants could be reduced for those who were not and increased for those who were.

New community or other proposals should be required to be in fulfillment of stated social and economic objectives, such as jobs and housing, and not simply to be used as a reconfiguration of typical suburban development.

We felt that we should try to find ways to ensure the dissemination of public information and policies and decisions so that everybody and not simply federal, state, and local officials and some more of the more fortunate developers would have a chance to use this information and act on it. We felt that the result would be that people would be able to determine the effects of public action or public inaction on their own values and welfare and respond accordingly.

The public, we feel, should get heavily into the land business and this could be at the metropolitan level through a land development corporation.



We felt that a multi-disciplinary staff approach was appropriate and necessary for metropolitan and network planning. We did not have in mind that this should be an institutionalized form of citizen participation, although that may be necessary, but there should be access by the staff to nonprofessional or consumer viewpoints.

We feel that the funding of transportation projects should be accompanied by sufficient funding for associated problems, such as housing, community facilities, and amenities.

Finally, metropolitan planning and communication mechanisms, whatever form they take, should incorporate state and federal representation as well as local representation and they should be financed in an adequate and stable manner.

## General Discussion

### Don Spaid

I would like to take the role of the advocate planner. In the discussion here, metropolitan government was almost summarily dismissed. I would like to suggest that the metropolitan area is without voice. It is fragmented into local voices. It is being interpreted by state voices and administered and regulated by federal voices. The metropolitan area needs a solid, single, solitary voice and this voice should have, to the extreme, veto powers over all actions that take place within the metropolitan area. I know that this works. I know that it can be implemented.

### Allan Feldt

If I gave the impression that we had summarily dismissed metropolitan government in the first panel, I apologize. I only wanted to emphasize as well that we really need three levels of government in the local area — metropolitan; something like the present city; and something down there within the city. I wanted to make sure that the third level, which does not have the same standing as the metropolitan government, got through. I agree completely with your point.

### Milton Pikarsky

One of the comments that came up was the question of providing replacement housing for those persons displaced by the highway project. The discussion brought out the fact that perhaps highway agencies should very seriously consider going into the housing business to provide this replacement facility. This requires legislative changes, both at the state and national level. Where highway agencies do not have the housing to relocate people, the projects, if they are to follow the present federal guidelines, would stop. I submit this for consideration in any guidelines that come out of the Conference.

### Anatole Solow

In conflict resolution—I am talking essentially about the inner city and the ghetto areas—there has developed a tremendous credibility gap and no matter how you move in the reaction is, in advance, a preconceived opposition. There are techniques to change this somewhat.

Although communication and statements of truth will help, the image has to be changed. The image of the highway engineer was mentioned, for instance. How do you change images? Some very serious effort and inputs have to be put into that. When you create housing for re-housing in advance, you overcome a certain credibility gap. Guarantees must be put up in advance. Another possibility is to produce other creditable projects of immediate accomplishment while long-range transportation projects are being superimposed over a particular community.

Allan Feldt

This is not a problem unique to engineering. We are faced with a situation in which a substantial proportion of the American population, largely black but not exclusively, does not believe that the system is operating for their benefit. And perhaps it has not been. It is not traffic engineering, it is the system, and this is a very big problem. I do not think there are engineering solutions to this problem.

Irving Rubin

We should not get too much enamored with the credibility gap. My experience has been that you are either real or you are not real and if you are not, then nothing you are going to do—and when I say you, I mean the institution or the people in that institution—is going to overcome that. I am just not sure that dealing with the credibility gap directly gets you very far.

Casey Mann

I take grave differences with the contention of resolving conflict on public development matters. I think what we should be about is amplifying conflict. I think what we should be about is having equitable distribution of those facilities and techniques and information and resources on both sides of the advisory question to amplify conflict. I think one of the problems that highways and other kinds of ways have run into is that the conflict comes to a critical point after the plans are fixed. The people that the plans are fixed upon and are disrupted have no other recourse than a reactionary recourse and, by any means necessary, to resolve the question for themselves. . . .

The incentive ought to be taken out of ramming highways through. The incentive ought to be taken out for those who profit the most from highways or put in for those who are disrupted the most by highways. That is a general framework. . . .

Irving Rubin

The resolution of conflict is a good thing if you can anticipate that the conflict is going to be resolved in such a manner that it will make you happier than if it is not resolved. But if you expect that you are going to lose, then you are probably better off keeping the conflict going until you are in a position where a resolution is going to be in your favor.

I would suspect that all of us who are, or have been, highway practitioners are probably reasonably adept when we know that we have to build a freeway between Point A and Point B and there are a bunch of suburban communities in between. We are probably reasonably adept at figuring out beforehand what the questions are going to be, what the problems are going to be, and which facilities we had better stay away from and which ones we can afford to louse up slightly. We can identify the potential propinquarians, but we run into horrible problems when we begin getting involved in the black community.

Years ago this was not too much of a problem. That was before the riots. It was when the urban renewal projects and the highway projects were really not too indistinguishable from each other and when we were dealing with a community that was largely voiceless and powerless, and nobody was really paying too much attention. Now we find that we are going to have to deal with these people because they do have power, they do constitute a threat, and we are finding great difficulty in doing so. And this is, I think, a real search.

We are really talking about an effort to identify community values. Maybe they cannot be quantified. Maybe the best that we can hope to come out of this is a checklist of things to watch out for. You go through this checklist community by community and figure out which ones are going to be trouble and which ones are not going to be trouble and then you look at them. You watch them, because the values within each community are going to be substantially different.

#### S. M. Breuning

The question really is, "Has there been a change in the basic function of the urban transportation system and in the organization that should provide and represent the basic need for this transportation system?"... The other point that we were trying to make is, if you do have community values, they can work both ways. If you are going out to the community, do not just go out and try to tell them as little as possible; go out honestly if you want to have them participate. They may have something to say and they may give you new ideas and new concepts.

#### Margaret Shaffer

Just because, at present, we do not know how to communicate with a subgroup that has emerged, this does not mean we should not try to. In a similar manner, just because we cannot put a dollar figure on something yet—maybe we never will—that does not mean that we relegate this to the bottom of the pile. Always before we have dealt with community values as a middle-class phenomenon. It no longer can be viewed as a middle-class phenomenon because middle-class values just do not apply across the board.... You have to have the information before you go into the public hearings; you have to have the means to communicate. If you do not have the means to communicate, you may as well forget about trying to get anything implemented....

#### F. David Schad

Over time, in the transportation business, there has been some sort of sophistication which says that looking at projects is not enough. We look at systems. Systems are broader than neighborhoods. Systems are at least metropolitan in area and consequence. We are not having questions arise about community values in association with these area-wide transportation systems. I wonder if we are not having these questions because the value system is already built into a transportation system design or whether such values are indeed inconsequential at this higher level of abstraction....

#### Joseph Schofer

I think perhaps we are back to the Chinese Box again. The big box does not bother anybody because they do not know what is inside, but any kind of broad-scale system proposal, network proposal, or comprehensive metropolitan plan has local and neighborhood household community implications.

I have visited a number of hearings held in the Chicago area by the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission and there has not been a lot of fruitful interactions be-

tween the people that have come to the hearing and the people that are conducting the hearing. I interpret this as a situation in which the people coming to the hearing do not see any implications for themselves in these broad-scale plans, but they do see implications for the small-scale neighborhood plans. But, since whenever we make decisions about network level investments we are talking about some very important implications at the project level, I do not see how we can effectively separate these. I suppose that there are opportunities for making some very broad, very general decisions at the network level, but still you are going to run into the same kinds of problems and I would expect that you would run into the same kinds of value and value conflict problems at the neighborhood level. . . .

### Erwin France

There is a whole segment of the community that has been tuned out.

Black people want the same things white people want. . . . Basically people want to be recognized. That is a human value. If we respect black people as people and deal with black people in much the same way we deal with other people then I think we will have made some progress in terms of trying to understand the values that are at work, at least in the black community. I do not think that they are any different from the values that are at work in the white community. The notion that there are certain values that are more identifiable or more crucial in the white community than in the black community, I think, is absolutely ridiculous. It may very well be that the question of identity is more crucial, as we perceive it, in the black community than in the white community because, in the white community, it is not an issue. You know we sort of take it for granted, but at the point at which we deal with the black community it becomes another kind of an issue. . . .

### Irving Rubin

Perhaps I did not succeed in making the point as I had wanted to with respect to the ability of the highway practitioner to anticipate the hang-ups he is going to encounter from the white suburban community and his inability to do so in the black community. I certainly agree with you that the basic values are the same but I think that because of substantially different physical, social, and identity situations with respect to the black community, which are a result of the historic way in which the white community has treated the black community, that one encounters, today at least, a host of problems that differ substantially from those encountered in the white community.

The specific I would cite is this. I spent three days sitting with the transportation subcommittee of the Model Neighborhood Program in the City of Detroit, an effort that was fairly successful in developing a set of goals and a set of projects with respect to the model neighborhood program. We went in there, all of us white folks, assuming that what we considered to be important with respect to improvement of transportation in the black community would be accepted by residents of the model neighborhood as being important. We felt that going ahead with a massive transportation unemployment bus project would be important in order to increase employment opportunities. We felt some modest widenings and improvements in intersections in order to increase safety would be important. There were some other projects we felt were quite important.

Casey Mann

Excuse me. May I interrupt you for just a second? I think you are making my point for me. That is precisely what I am saying. You would not have gone into another white community assuming that the things you thought were good would be perfectly clear and perfectly understood by the people of that community.

Irving Rubin

I am not saying that those things were not important in that community despite the reaction of the people but what we found was that they were not the least bit interested in discussing a transportation unemployment project or improvements of the grade separation or improvements in the intersections because their concerns, with respect to transportation, are related to getting the abandoned cars off the streets, cleaning up the alleys, enforcing the laws that prevent trucks from rumbling through the neighborhoods, and so forth. So what we very quickly learned was that there are certain very personal, very nagging problems that must be dealt with before the people in this community can feel sufficiently comfortable and sufficiently certain that government is going to deliver on some minimal promises and begin to talk about the kinds of things which I am convinced are important and which, if we ever resolve the problems of the abandoned cars or the dirty alleys and the trucks going through the community, will then become the important things.

Lowell Bridwell

I think we are uptight on the whole question of the black community. I think, for example, that there have been any number of instances in the course of the Conference in which values have been tossed out too lightly in what I would call deference to the black community or in deference to the black participants in the Conference. I think Mr. France makes a completely valid point in saying that black people want the same things white people want. Assuming the validity of that point then, we really should not even be talking about values in the black community and values in the white community, but rather we should be talking universal human values. I think we probably confuse ourselves in the process of trying to enumerate and place some weight upon values if we do them in the light of black communities or white communities, rich communities or poor communities, or any other kinds of communities. I think it takes nothing more than a recognition that different weights or different priorities will occur throughout a community almost regardless of its makeup.

There has been considerable comment upon communication with the black community. I am not sure that I would have any more difficulty communicating in a black community than I would have in communicating in any other kind of a community in which I had had no personal experience, such as an extremely wealthy suburban community, because one relates his discussion to a common set of experiences that he readily understands and recognizes and assigns his own values. So I am not so sure that it is difficult to communicate with the black community if one is just willing to spend enough time and work hard enough and listen hard enough so that he begins to obtain some comprehension and some understanding.

We have very loosely—and unfortunately loosely—used the term participation. I have heard the term participation used, at least in what I understood the sense to be, all the way from a very loose and quick pass at an institutionalized community group to the other end of the scale, which is some kind of a loosely identified citizen decision-making process. It is probably a meaningless range if we are really seriously concerned about how you solve the problems of conflicts between public improvements and

community values and, in the final analysis, that is what we are supposed to have been doing for the 2½ days we have been here.

I would suggest that participation means something considerably more than that quick pass for appearance's sake, but that it stops short of decision-making, recognizing that there is not universal agreement on the subject among the persons in the room. In any kind of major public works activity, the planning and design stage up to implementation will consume a considerable amount of time under the most expeditious set of circumstances. Given the fact that values are nevertheless absolute over this period of time, the relative weight among values will shift and change and priorities will change. Therefore, it becomes necessary, if one really does want some degree of participatory democracy, that there be a relatively continuous head-to-head confrontation and negotiation on the part of those who legally, statutorily, have responsibility for carrying out a given public works program and those who are affected or impacted by it either for good or for bad. It is this head-to-head confrontation and negotiation that has been the most successful way of solving, or perhaps not solving but alleviating, the impact conditions that will occur in every single solitary project in a congested urban fabric.

I would really seriously emphasize that the one almost universal theme that has run throughout this Conference is the one to which we have really paid the least attention in any sort of a definitive way. The only method that we know of now, and which apparently is pretty well shared by the group, is that of conflict resolution.

#### John Stone

It is accepted by most of us that the values of black people are the same as the values of white people and that, at the bottom, there are certain fundamental values such as the opportunity to know about what is going to affect us and to at least have the opportunity to say something about it. . . .

The problem then becomes one of communication. The situation now with respect to communication is a very difficult one. My experience has been in communicating with black people, that I am not believed. I am not only white but I am also a member of the government. The government is somebody else's government and it has a long history of what is interpreted by the black people as oppression. The system is interpreted as oppressive. It can be summed up, I think, by a statement that was made to my boss, the Urban Renewal Director in Washington, by a community worker in the black community who had been banging around in some of these problems for a long time and had some sophistication concerning who was playing what roles and what the process was. That person said, "Tom, you're one of the most responsive public officials I have ever known. It's too bad you're the enemy."

#### Lewis Hill

I think we have had a tendency during the Conference to isolate transportation planning and values as something unique. Transportation system or transportation project planning is not that unique in the eyes of the community. Of the local transportation people who are responsible for going out to the community, very few will operate with that give and take to the average person in the community. The transportation person most often will be the local government transportation man who in the first instance is not the transportation planner but is the voice of local government. . . . He will be called upon to defend all other public actions.

I think we have to put transportation planning and community values into that context at the very community level because, at that level, it is not so neatly separable. At the

community level this aspect is more a voice of local community government than it is transportation planning per se.

It is in part of this vein that I, too, rebel against this question of having the transportation system replace the housing that it has displaced as opposed to the transportation technicians looking at the total scene and asking what is the total housing situation and if, in fact, they are compounding the problem and making it worse. It would seem to me to be impossible for you to go to a community and say, "Well, the freeway is going to take out these ten houses so we'll replace these ten." There may be ten families who live across the street in a much worse housing situation and, because they are not being touched by the freeway, they do not get that benefit. I think you can magnify and compound that problem endlessly. Rather than replacing in kind, that piece of it, it would be better for the transportation specialists to look at the other areas of deficiency in the community and join with those forces to bring it all up and really do an adequate job.

### Ralph Bonner

I feel that many of your agencies (perhaps including the sponsoring agency), in terms of enlightenment and concern, could have their own in-house black radical—and I said black radical, not in-house "Uncle Tom", which has been the situation that has existed in the past. Then, perhaps, someone could constantly be making them aware of certain things so that the minor things would not be forgotten. These fellows have a message and, whether you believe it or not, their message is real and genuine. But it is a message brought out of a psychic deprivation of the past. Now they are trying to get some recognition of basic human needs and basic human values. And, they are trying to overcompensate for all the years of silence.