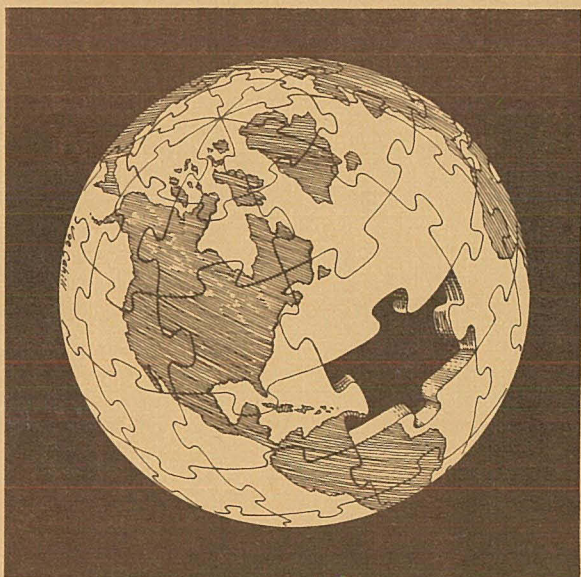


Public Assessment of Technology



National Council for
Public Assessment of Technology

Public Assessment of Technology

Have you been concerned about the . . .

- Quality of the air you breathe and the water you drink?
- Cost and nutritional value of the food you eat?
- Loss of jobs through automation of industrial and agricultural processes?
- Invasion of privacy through use of electronic devices?
- Safety of nuclear power plants?
- Side-effects of birth control pills?
- Impact of the automobile upon the cities and the countryside?
- Over-commercialization of television and radio?
- Unsafe working conditions?
- Development of chemical and biological weapons?
- Despoliation of natural beauty?

If you, either as an individual or as a member or supporter of a civic or consumer group, have been actively concerned about any of these questions, or any of the multitude of similar issues pervading society, then you, too—along with being human and a citizen of the Republic—are a technology assessor.

It's common sense . . .

Had people foreseen, one hundred years ago, the social and economic turmoil that would follow in the wake of the mechanization of agriculture, steps might have been taken to avert or, at least, to soften the harsh consequences of those new technologies. Instead, over the years, millions of rural dwellers were forced off the land and into crowded and inhospitable cities. However one interprets these events, this much is evident: the social choices created at that time by technology were never made clear, even though the development of agricultural technology was heavily subsidized by the public.

Had people known, sixty years ago, that the automobile would bring—along with its manifest advantages—appalling environmental devastation, steps might have been taken to reduce its adverse effects.

Twenty-five years ago, when most people were hailing the advent of television, few understood that this new communications technology might be used to spew violence into every American home and to manipulate the minds and pocketbooks of consumers, often against their best interests.

Practically every day some new technological program is being launched, usually with taxpayers' money. Many of these may have as great an influence upon our lives and communities as those milestone developments mentioned above. In human biology, for example, technology is producing new social options of the most fundamental sort. Do we—or do we not—want to produce: test tube babies? postponement of death? mind control? genetic warfare? new life forms? And how do we decide? On technical grounds? Or ethical grounds?

"Do we—or do we not—want to produce: test tube babies? postponement of death? mind control? genetic warfare? new life forms? And how do we decide? On technical grounds? Or ethical grounds?"

Fortunately, we are now beginning to recognize that society ought to and can make choices about the impact of technology upon our lives. Technology assessment is the idea that the likely social, economic and environmental impacts of new products, processes and technologies should be systematically evaluated in advance of their use. Technology assessment is also usually defined to include the impacts associated with the new application of present technology, such as continued highway construction in urban areas. Advocates of the concept describe it as an "early warning system" for society which will help avoid or reduce the undesirable consequences of technological change. We should look before we leap. It is as simple as that.

The beginnings . . .

Although relatively new, technology assessment has quickly acquired fashion in some government, academic and corporate circles. In 1972 the Congress passed the Technology Assessment Act, creating a joint committee on technology called the Technology Assessment Board. The act created an Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) to serve the Congress in a manner analagous to the General Accounting Office and the Library of Congress. The act also provided for a Technology Assessment Advisory Council of twelve members (one of which is our advisor Hazel Henderson) to advise OTA and the Technology Board. On behalf of the Congress, OTA is currently assessing social options in such diverse areas as food, energy, the oceans, materials resources, technology and international trade, and transportation.

In the voluntary sector, citizen advocacy groups concerned with the adverse impacts of technological developments have increasingly

influenced decisions about science and technology for at least ten years. The influence of voluntary action was perhaps best symbolized in the fight against the SST. But there are dozens of other even more significant examples of a widespread civic revolt. Citizen opposition to highways, airports, power plants and to other forms of urban expansion has now flared up in virtually every American city. Ralph Nader and his colleagues have attracted vast public support for the reform of corporate and bureaucratic institutions producing or regulating consumer goods, including everything from food and water to clothing and shelter. Minorities and feminist groups have begun to zero in on inequities in the distribution of technology's benefits, such as jobs, income and career opportunity. Industrial workers have grown restive about occupational health and safety and job satisfaction and security, all of which are increasingly determined by remote decisions about technology.

Although the response of government and the private sector to the thrusts of citizen organizations has been belated and small, one slight indication that the message is getting through is the formal appearance of structured technology assessment within established social institutions.

Bear in mind, after all, that these assessments are supposed to anticipate and examine those very consequences of technology which pop up unexpectedly to kill or harm people or to destroy or threaten property.

So it would be unfortunate if technology assessment is given a narrow definition and operated in a closed manner, for that would deprive it of its lusty origins. Choices in technology nearly always affect some group's health, jobs, taxes, housing, education or other vital concern. These constituencies deserve a right to some say in the decision.*

*See "Re-Examining the Goals of Knowledge," Hazel Henderson, *Public Administration Review*, Jan.-Feb., Reprints available.

Moreover, voluntary associations and public interest groups often assert ethical and social values which officials, experts and technicians nearly always neglect. Public agencies do not always appreciate these interests and values but they constitute very important social and political data that any "objective" assessment would be foolish to ignore.

In the absence of public participation . . .

Dr. James B. Sullivan, our Research Director, in a speech before a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science presented what he called a Public Interest Laundry List for Technology Assessment. His list consists of criticism of technology assessment as usually practiced. These problems derive, we feel, from the systematic exclusion of citizens from the process.

- The purpose of most technology assessments is to give the go-ahead for projects that have already gone ahead.
- Any technical study that criticizes a politically potent development will not see the light of day.
- Most cost/benefit studies don't tell *who* gets the benefits and *who* pays the costs.
- The hidden assumption always favors the status quo.
- Any expert who knows anything about a technological development usually works for the developer.
- Most of the information included in a technology assessment comes from the developer of the technology.
- Technologies are usually assessed by the same agencies that promote them.
- More often than not, the assessors of a technology and its developers are in cahoots.
- The greater the bulk of material in a technology assessment, the greater the intent to obfuscate the issue.
- To most assessment agencies, citizen participation, public information and public relations are all the same.
- While agency officials are required to hold hearings for the public, they are not required to listen.

"Advocates of technology assessment describe it as an 'early warning system' for society which will help avoid or reduce the undesirable consequences of technological change. We should look before we leap. It's as simple as that."

The public's foot in the door . . .

If technology assessment is to protect citizens and consumers affected by technological change, there must be a vigorous institutionalized means of alerting and informing voluntary organizations of many kinds concerned with such impacts. These groups must be provided with lead time and before-the-fact information concerning new technologies and new applications of existing technologies. The National Council for the Public Assessment of Technology (NC/PAT), a non-profit, tax-exempt research and educational organization, has been formed to meet these needs and to facilitate public participation in all aspects of technology assessment. NC/PAT has evolved over the last two years from an informal coalition of citizen and consumer groups concerned with such issues as housing, health, transportation, employment, social and environmental protection, etc.

What specific things does NC/PAT do? Under NC/PAT auspices, a group of volunteer public interest scientists, economists and engineers prepared criteria for the conduct of technology assessments. We have widely circulated these criteria within the science policy field and within the voluntary sector. Slowly, but perceptibly they are now forming the basis for some innovative efforts by government researchers to collect social data and to recognize social values in science policy.

Summary of NC/PAT criteria . . .

- Assessment agencies should develop new concepts and methods for assessment, rather than merely gather new facts.
- New ways of assessing private sector activities are needed, for these activities do much to shape our social and physical environment. The interactions between public and private sectors should also be assessed.

- The agency should actively involve public participation in the assessment process by fully publicizing each assessment as soon as conceived and by readily disclosing assessment data in easy to understand reports. Active solicitation by the agency of citizen views on the technology being studied should be accomplished at a very early stage in the study's development.
- Funds should be made available to enable non-profit citizen organizations to participate in assessment studies.
- The agency should make use of an adversary approach to assessment when contrasting opinions exist. Separate assessments should be made by interests favoring the proposal and by interests opposing the proposal. An assessment of the adverse effects of the technology should be carried out in detail. Views of experts and technicians outside the field of technology being assessed as well as views of competent generalists should also be included. Interaction should be prompted among those holding opposing viewpoints as well as those in the various disciplines involved.
- Assessments should be comprehensive in scope and well defined in detail. The interdependence of related technologies should receive adequate consideration, for to study one technology in isolation from all others can be misleading. The "do-nothing" alternative should always be considered.
- Assessments should include a discussion of how economic costs and benefits are defined. Who will receive benefits, and who will assume the risks and costs from a proposed technology? A discussion of the effect of the technology on minority and lower income groups should always be included.
- Assumptions of underlying assessment methods, and areas of ignorance or lack of data should be clearly identified and discussed.

Getting the word out . . .

While public officials and planners have touted technology assessment as a far-superior successor to cost/benefit analysis for policy research purposes, no government effort has been made to communicate about this new

tool to citizen organizations keenly interested in public policy. This is an interesting omission since the declared purpose of the concept is to collect and evaluate the hitherto neglected social data on both the values and the value conflicts inherent in the deployment of technologies. Thus, the very groups likely to possess the best information about social values in public policy—churches, youth groups, consumer groups, etc.—have been left in the dark instead of alerted and consulted as they should have been.

"Moreover, voluntary associations and public interest groups often assert ethical and social values which officials, experts and technicians nearly always neglect."

Though a modest effort, NC/PAT's original *Background Statement on Technology Assessment for Citizen and Consumer Leaders* constituted the only real attempt to carry the word about technology assessment to voluntary sector organizations around the country. Several thousand such statements have been distributed to grassroots activists of many types.

In addition, NC/PAT sponsored a briefing for public interest leaders on the emergence of technology assessment in the Congress. The briefing was conducted by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (then Chairman of the Technology Assessment Board), Rep. Charles Mosher (R. Ohio) (Vice Chairman of the Technology Assessment Board) and the Hon. Emilio Q. Daddario, Director of the Office of Technology Assessment. One-hundred fifty leaders of voluntary organizations attended the briefing.

Citizens on the inside . . .

NC/PAT has assiduously promoted the idea that one way to begin to include social values in science policy is to admit non-specialists into the process. While social values are not quantifiable, they can certainly be represented in policy research, at least insofar as citizen organizations of various kinds have been formed to advocate such values (justice,

ecological protection, etc.). Leaders of such organizations ought to be included in the composition of the many boards, committees and panels which are established to assess public policy in science, NC/PAT has had some success in getting citizen generalists appointed to groups, most notably at OTA. NC/PAT recommendations of numerous labor, consumer, minority and environmental leaders to the OTA and other science policy research groups have established an important precedent for further representations of this kind. Furthermore, we have organized a meeting of public interest leaders from diverse constituencies and the OTA committee on priorities. Except for the one session with that group, the inquiry into what priorities Congress ought to adopt for technology assessment was limited to the views of conventional experts and specialists. The NC/PAT meeting provided an opportunity for regional and grassroots civic leaders to express their views of what priorities ought to be adopted by Congress. With our encouragement, OTA has also instituted a project for the involvement of under-represented and neglected civic interests in the evaluation of offshore nuclear plants, oil-drilling, and deep water ports. The evaluation is a major OTA project in progress.

The value of having citizen involvement is that it helps to express values implicit in science policy. In an NC/PAT request asking U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) to include citizen leaders on the planning committee for the Solar Energy Research Institute, we wrote:

"Values such as justice or beauty, by their very nature lie beyond the realm of quantification. Thus experts and technicians, acting within their disciplines, are incapable of expressing them. When it comes to values, we are all of us equal.

"We believe that this expression is best achieved through extensive participation by voluntary sector leaders in the process In our society, it has long been the function of civic and consumer leaders to assert the long-range public interest and broad social values as against narrow, short-range,

technical and economic considerations. Our planners must now recognize that the involvement of citizen leaders in science policy is a way of having individuals stand in as surrogates for social values which otherwise go unexpressed and neglected."

Toward improved participation . . .

With the help of a \$50,000 grant from the National Science Foundation, NC/PAT is examining the experience of civic action groups who have formed to intervene, or attempt to intervene, in the public policy process, especially in areas of consumer and environmental protection. The project's goal is to research and assess institutional, legal and procedural mechanisms and techniques that have been used to permit or promote citizen participation in public policy making. Our study is evaluating some conventional methods for securing and facilitating public involvement such as citizen advisory committees and community workshops. But it will also focus on other recent innovations including the creation of "People's Counsels" (which ten states and the District of Columbia have already formed) and the appointment of "public" members to corporate boards. Special attention is being given to the obstacles to successful citizen participation and to methods for improved citizen access to information and the decision-making process. The question of how to better provide technical assistance to under-financed or unfunded civic groups is also being considered.

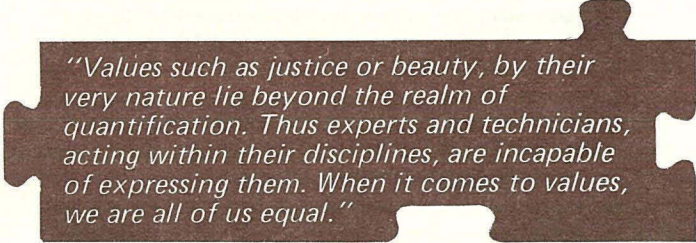
The "environmental impact" experience . . .

The National Environmental Policy Act required that Federal development projects must be subject to advance environmental impact analysis. The five years since its passage provide not only an interesting history of the environmental movement in particular, but an invaluable insight into public participation in policy-making in general. NC/PAT is conducting a research project supported by an \$87,000 grant from the Office of Environmental Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, designed to evaluate this unique

experience and to examine the many lessons learned by all participants.

While some progress has been made in changing decision-making procedures dealing with the National Environmental Policy Act's requirements for environmental impact statements, little substantive reform has yet occurred. The critical factor in converting these emerging procedural changes into the reform envisioned by Congress in passing the Act is active citizen participation in the statement preparation and review process.

Effective citizen participation in the process depends on two basic prerequisites: citizen access to decision-making and decision makers and access to adequate technical information. We are particularly interested in the special problems of communication between citizens on the outside of the process and officials, experts and planners on the inside. Their different vocabularies, values, priorities and styles tend to interfere with even the best intentions. The major objective of the research is to create or improve examples of effective public participation programs that can be replicated at various geographic, economic and political levels.



"Values such as justice or beauty, by their very nature lie beyond the realm of quantification. Thus experts and technicians, acting within their disciplines, are incapable of expressing them. When it comes to values, we are all of us equal."

Building a network . . .

The actual work in developing and testing practical technical alternatives for society is being performed by maverick scientists and technical innovators who are operating largely (but not entirely) outside established institutions such as governmental or corporate think-tanks, universities, etc. NC/PAT is conducting a project to bring civic and consumer leaders and technological innovators into partnership and to facilitate the exchange of information between them.

NC/PAT is now preparing the booklet called *Appropriate Technology: Strategies and Tactics for Citizen Networks*. The purpose of this publication is to equip many different civic and consumer leaders with information about "intermediate" technology so that they, in turn, can build greater public understanding of society's technological options. We hope to demonstrate how these technologies tend to create jobs and opportunities for small business while conserving energy and preserving (or, at least, not destroying) the physical environment.

A chance to do it right . . .

In the past, technological innovations have frequently been introduced as toys for the rich—the automobile, television—or as tools to help those in power retain or obtain more power—the computer. Technology assessment offers us a chance to do it right: to introduce technological change with a minimum of disruption and with sensitivity for related human needs. In pursuit of this goal, NC/PAT plans to continue its basic program of citizen involvement in science policy:

- Alerting civic and consumer groups to the opportunities offered them by technology assessment.
- Studying and improving models for public participation in science-policy making and technology assessment.
- Facilitating the actual involvement of citizen generalists and of public interest professionals in scientific research and development.

Looking ahead . . .

Here are some ideas we have for projects which build on and advance our existing program:

Better citizen use of communications technology. Because most civic and consumer groups operate with little or no money, they have not been able to make use of innovations in communications technologies as these innovations have developed. Thus, while business and government have been quick to exploit such technologies as the telephone WATS line, computers, and communications

satellites, most citizen groups are still at the mimeograph machine level of communications. NC/PAT hopes to conduct some experiments demonstrating ways in which the more advanced technologies can lead to better-informed and more effective citizen action.

New jobs in appropriate technology. Probably the chief appeal of the concept of appropriate technology is that it puts people, wherever they are, to work using their own skills and energies to help meet their fundamental needs. Labor-intensive activities (those which rely primarily on human physical exertion) are clearly preferable to capital intensive activities (those which rely primarily on costly, complex and large-scale machinery) at a time when capital is in short supply and when more and more people are unemployed and in need. The link between appropriate technologies and the jobs they can generate is not widely understood. NC/PAT hopes to conduct a project demonstrating this relationship, especially to those segments of society in most need of such information: the poor, unemployed persons, blue collar workers, etc.

Opportunities for small business in appropriate technologies. Inherent in the concept of appropriate technology are boundless opportunities for small business. Because appropriate/intermediate technologies tend to be rather humble tools, they are usually best suited for use by small groups and communities which can best comprehend and manage them. Does it follow that they are

"We are particularly interested in the special problems of communication between citizens on the outside of the process and officials, experts and planners on the inside."

best suited for development by small units of production? We know that those appropriate technologies which have already been devised evolved chiefly from small-scale enterprise and that virtually all current experimentation and innovation in this area is being done by small developers, often with very little money. But if the needs which have given rise to the idea of appropriate technology are truly

genuine, then there exists a vast market for new products which is going begging. It may be that small business, which is otherwise locked in a losing battle with "bigness" is uniquely equipped to meet the new challenge of "smallness". NC/PAT hopes to launch a project to examine the social and economic possibilities encompassed by the relationship of appropriate technologies to small business.

Citizen-initiated technology assessments.

While numerous examples of effective citizen action—the fight against the SST, for example—may be portrayed as informal technology assessments, no formal assessment yet attempted has originated or been conducted from the point of view of the citizen/consumer. NC/PAT would like to try to do it right: a systematic, adequately funded assessment drawing on the theory and methodology which experts have recently developed, but designed and administered in close conjunction with the voluntary sector leaders representing the interests of impacted constituents and the various social values at stake in the technology being assessed. Perhaps solar energy, since it may be viewed as a citizen initiated technology, would be the best subject of this citizen assessment.

"Thus, the very groups likely to possess the best information about social values in public policy—churches, youth groups, consumer groups, etc.—have been left in the dark instead of alerted and consulted as they should have been."

International exposition of appropriate technology. NC/PAT, cooperating informally, with a number of other groups interested in appropriate technology, is promoting the idea of an international exposition of appropriate technology to be sponsored by some prestigious national or international scientific institution. The exposition would assemble and display all the practical, working alternative technologies, new and old, which exist to help individuals and communities themselves meet their fundamental needs: food, shelter, energy, health care, education, communications, etc. It would, in effect, bring the *Whole Earth Catalog* to life and,

moreover, demonstrate how the uses of these numerous and varied tools might be integrated into one dwelling or even one small community. The exposition we are promoting would be as simple and inexpensive as possible while trying to effect an exchange of intermediate technologies between the "over-developed" nations and the Third World. It would be accompanied by a design competition and by various "roadshow" activities occurring at different geographic and political scales.

"Technology assessment offers us a chance to do it right: to introduce technological change with a minimum of disruption and with sensitivity for related human needs."

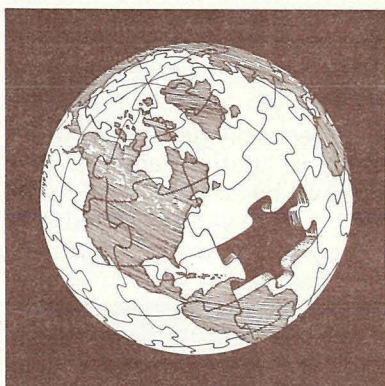
And what do you think?

Because voluntary organizations have already contributed so much to the evolution of technology assessment, it is important that you and your colleagues now exploit the opportunity you have created. To help you do that, NC/PAT would like to have your responses to these questions:

- What major issues have occupied your group's attentions in recent years? What technological impacts, if any, were involved?
- What kinds of data and information have you developed or obtained in the pursuit of your organization's objectives? Technical and scientific? Social and political?
- What kinds of technical assistance have you needed? How have you met this need, if at all?
- Are there specific technological or scientific proposals you wish to have assessed?
- Would you be willing to take part in an assessment of a technology affecting your interests?

Please send responses to these questions to:

National Council for
Public Assessment of Technology
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.,
Room 212
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 462-3338



National Council for Public Assessment of Technology

Byron Kennard
CHAIRMAN

James B. Sullivan
RESEARCH DIRECTOR

BOARD MEMBERS

Mary Ann Massey Andrew Mott
Glenn C. Paulson Carl Pope Peter Schuck

STAFF

Dale Adams, Barbara Brent, Anne Fenn, Jeanie Lesh,
Julie Nauman, Donald Stewart, John Ussery

National Council for
Public Assessment of Technology
1785 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036

National Council for Public Assessment of Technology

March, 1976

Dear Citizen Leader,

Although our democratic heritage and system of government appears to rest entirely on the participation of citizens in the process of government, it is today no secret that public agencies, with rare exceptions, furiously resist real citizen involvement in decision-making. One of the chief ploys used by public agencies to evade participation is to assert that ordinary citizens, in effect, do not know enough to take part in government decisions. Complex technical, legal and economic considerations, incomprehensible to most people and mastered only by experts, are paraded as the only rational basis for public policy while the views of non-specialists—consumers, taxpayers, residents, voters—are dismissed as trivial, uninformed or merely emotional.

The National Council for the Public Assessment of Technology (NC/PAT) believes, to the contrary, that ordinary citizens and citizen organizations can and do contribute to the intellectual content of public policy in many rich and unique ways. We believe that scientists and technicians, however well-trained, can never duplicate the vital functions performed by citizen groups in forcing, pursuing, clarifying and elevating scientific inquiry and endeavor.

—Citizens are usually the first to detect the unintended consequences of technology if only because they get sick or die from the effects, or because their environment is harmed or destroyed. But it is neither honest nor moral to wait upon tragedy to inform us of technology's malfunctions when everyday citizens are constantly assessing technologies with their eyes ("It's ugly!"), with their ears ("It's too noisy!"), with their noses (It smells awful!) and with their common sense and intuition ("Somehow this doesn't make sense."). In determining public policy, these perfectly valid assessments and the rich data they produce are as important as any form of technical analysis.

—Public participation is the only way to collect social data which we need now more than technical data. Achieving some technical goal, such as putting a man on the moon, is easy compared to achieving some social goal, such as improving the lot of the poor, or cleaning up the environment. Addressing social problems requires that we amass complex and difficult social data about what people think and feel, what they hope and fear, even when they are being "unreasonable". Scientists are not much good at collecting and analyzing these social data. But citizen organizations are vast repositories of this information and citizen leaders, moreover, possess the requisite skills for interpreting it.

—Citizen action and *pro bono* representation of community groups by public interest lawyers, scientists, etc. usually is performed for little or no pay. So the volunteers involved do not put their meal tickets on the line when they take a position. But experts being paid by business or government may be subtly coerced by the knowledge that future fees or contracts may not be forthcoming if their findings conflict with the self-interest of their clients. As a result, unpaid citizen advocates are often more capable of honest and objective inquiry than are technical specialists.

—Because most people know that public interest organizations are not motivated by greed and because they respect the beneficial social functions performed by such groups, the public credibility of the voluntary sector remains vast and to date, at least, untarnished. Meanwhile, the public credibility of most established social institutions has sunk virtually to zero in the wake of Vietnam, Watergate, the nuclear energy debacle, etc. Thus, the credibility possessed by voluntary groups is all the more precious. It is hard to imagine any well-founded effort to restore the credibility of science and technology which would not involve the participation, and even the approbation of, the voluntary sector.

—Finally, it should be emphasized that the overall worth of public policy derives as much from the achievement of synthesis as from the performance of analysis. Of course, it is necessary to ascertain if some technological program really works, and what it costs, but it is also necessary to ask if the program is just and equitable. And, of course, it is important to take the thing apart to see what makes it tick, but it is also important to put it back together again, sometimes in wonderful new form or order. Thus, the technical analysis performed by experts is valuable and so is the expression of social values by ordinary citizens and citizen groups. Indeed, the public interest is best served when both processes are employed at once.

It seems strange and ironic in this Bicentennial Year to be enunciating these principles which were once so obvious to the founding fathers. We get to vote now and then but it must be stressed that elections, by themselves, were never meant to fulfill the

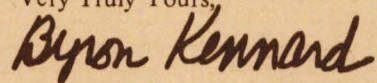
(continued on back)

rights of citizens to take part in government. "The people are something else than a majority registered on election day," wrote the late Alexander M. Bickel, expert on constitutional law at Yale University. "What is above all important is consent—not a presumed theoretical consent but a continuous actual one, born of continual responsiveness." How is this continual responsiveness to be achieved if not through public participation?

Enclosed, for your information, is a brochure describing NC/PAT's work in promoting greater public participation in all aspects of science and policy and technology assessment. We have also enclosed a brief description of a new NC/PAT project designed to extend social values and citizen interests into the root assumptions of public policy regarding science and technology. It may offer you a personal opportunity to take part.

We welcome your criticisms, your involvement and your support.

Very Truly Yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Byron Kennard". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Byron Kennard
Chairman

Public Interest Consultants Project

National Council for the
Public Assessment of Technology

In the belief that ordinary citizens and citizen organizations make rich and unique contributions to the intellectual quality of public policy in science and technology, the National Council for the Public Assessment of Technology (NC/PAT) actively promotes the involvement of voluntary sector leaders in government study commissions, advisory committees, science policy review boards and technology assessment panels. It is now fair to say that we have established at least a beachhead in government for the idea such participation ought to include:

- public interest professionals; lawyers, scientists, economists, accountants, architects, planners, etc. with a demonstrated record of *pro bono* advocacy on behalf of community or consumer groups;
- representatives of all parties impacted, directly or indirectly, by the technological program in question (e.g. the poor, workers, youth, women, minorities, diverse geographic regions, consumers in general, etc.; and
- citizen generalists and voluntary leaders who may be presumed to be disinterested in the technological program being assessed and therefore able to give some representation to the social values implicit in the issue, (justice, beauty, the rights of future generations, etc.) and who may also call attention to neglected alternative technological or social options possessed by society.

Now that demand for greater public and consumer participation in government is becoming more widespread and emphatic NC/PAT is frequently asked by government officials to recommend names of public interest leaders, particularly from regional and grassroots scales, who can provide effective representation of diverse social groups, and of important but usually neglected social values. We maintain an active roster of such persons, drawn from our network of citizen organizations, and a sizable number of these have been asked to serve as government consultants or advisors. We now receive so many requests that we find it necessary to expand and systematize this service.

If you wish to be included in our roster of public interest consultants, please read the following information carefully:

- Send us a current resume which fully describes your *pro bono* or voluntary services. In our society, uncompensated service of this kind ordinarily counts for little on a professional *vita*; for us, it is essential qualifying experience. Only persons with extensive experience in citizen action need respond. Of course, we welcome any information regarding your formal education or career experience but it is secondary to a record of citizen activities.
- We are reluctant to respond to requests for help from government agencies of this sort if it seems evident that the a-

gency wishes citizen involvement only for purposes of window-dressing or tokenism (one woman, one black). Naturally, this reduces the number of requests we respond to significantly.

- Though we feel strongly that citizen representatives should be paid for such work, we are a long way from getting this idea adopted. Most agencies feel they are doing citizens a favor to include them at all. Often, they think that appointment to a federal advisory board is such a distinction that it is bad taste to request compensation for the time it takes to participate. What they fail to see is that the persons typically appointed to such groups are members of the technical elite usually on some corporate, bureaucratic or academic payroll, while public interest representatives are usually not. Since we are still fighting to obtain even minimal representation, it is frequently necessary for voluntary leaders to serve on government panels and boards without pay in order to have any voice in the outcome. This being the case, please do not submit your resume to us unless you are willing to **serve without pay**. (Expenses are usually reimbursable by the government.)
- If you send a resume to us, please understand that we are under no obligation whatsoever to recommend you for appointment to any governmental board or committee. We make no charge for this service which we regard as part of our own *pro bono* contribution as professional community organizers. So, don't call us; we'll call you.
- If we do nominate you for some appointment, there is no assurance whatsoever that you will actually be appointed. Although we have built some strong precedents for citizen/consumer representation in government policy assessment, many agencies shy off from the idea when they learn that we do not engage in any manipulation of citizen/consumer interests. Frequently, the names we submit are ignored in the final selection process by the real powers-that-be in the bureaucracies who are horrified at the thought of getting people without conventional technical credentials into the act.

If you accept these criteria, and you still wish to be added to our roster, please send your resume to:

Public Interest Consultants Project

National Council for the Public Assessment of Technology
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Room 212
Washington, D.C. 20036

New Era Seen for Voluntarism

EDITOR'S NOTE: Following is an excerpt from "The New Voluntarism," a paper prepared by Stuart Langton, Lincoln Filene professor of citizenship and public affairs, Tufts University, presented at the Conference on Philosophical Issues of Voluntarism, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia, November 14-15, 1980. This section, "Pathology and Paradoxes," describes common problems of voluntary organizations and outlines specific paradoxes with suggestions about how they can be reconciled. Preceding parts of the paper deal with new roles for voluntarism, including a description of what is defined as its "prophetic function," new areas of service provision, and the "modeling" function.

The 1970s marked a renaissance of interest in voluntarism in America, an unprecedented growth of knowledge, new organizations and expectations. For example, we learned: voluntary associations account for more than \$80 billion of our annual economy; 84 percent of the adult population donates to voluntary associations; there may be as many as six or seven million voluntary groups in the United States; the gross annual receipts of United Way agencies would place them within the top 200 of the Fortune 500 companies; and one voluntary group (the YMCA) would be ranked as the eighth largest hotel chain in the nation.

Also over a dozen new national organizations were formed to foster voluntarism. For example, the decade began with the founding of the National Center for Voluntary Action and the Association of Voluntary Action Scholars. In 1979, the decade closed with the creation of the two largest organizations ever created to promote voluntarism, INDEPENDENT SECTOR and VOLUNTEER: The National Center for Citizen Involvement.

Government also showed unprecedented interest in voluntarism during the 1970s. In

1973, Congress passed the voluntary service act, ACTION was created, and national volunteer service programs were launched for the elderly, retired business executives and students. In 1974, the Social Security act was amended to encourage state governments to use voluntary associations and volunteers to deliver social services. By 1977, many states had established offices for voluntary action. And, in March 1978 President Carter announced his Urban Policy, calling for the active involvement of voluntary associations in the revitalization of American cities.

Meanwhile, literature and training programs about voluntarism flourished. New magazines were founded such as *Voluntary Action Leadership*, *Volunteer Leader*, *Volunteers' Digest*, *Volunteer View*, *Joint Grantsmanship News*, *Citizen Participation* and the *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*. Annual national conventions on voluntarism were established, countless books were published, and dozens of centers were established to train volunteer leaders.

As to the nature of this new interest, there was a fair share of romantic excess, as well as critical reflection. There were volunteer posters and pins, annual national volunteer awards, and even a National Volunteer Week. But, beyond boosterism and hype, there was thoughtful analysis and criticism.

The new voluntary sector consciousness includes more than a general appreciation of the historical importance of voluntary associations. In addition, it involves an entirely new expectation of the voluntary sector as a corrective force in American society.

At the core of the new voluntarism is a critical sense of the fallibility of the modern state and the corporation. The new meaning of the voluntary sector, therefore, is conditioned by our sense of alienation from the bureaucratic, centralized, and depersonalizing features of contemporary government and business. In this sense, we can say that

the new voluntarism is reactive; however, it is not revolutionary. It does not reject the essential foundation of American government and business, but it does imagine that voluntary associations can perform three important corrective functions in relation to these two dominant institutions.

The first expectation of the new voluntarism is its potential power to speak to the conditions of injustice and depersonalization in post-industrial society (prophetic function). The second expectation is that voluntary associations should replace government agencies in providing many of the services citizens have come to expect within the welfare state (supplemental function). The third expectation which distinguishes the new voluntarism concerns the experimental and innovative capacity of the voluntary sector (modeling function).

The new voluntarism exhibits considerable faith in the potential of the voluntary sector. But, this faith would be naive and foolishly romantic if it were not balanced by a corresponding sense of the limitations of and problems that are common among voluntary associations. Therefore, any analysis of the potential of voluntarism would be incomplete without consideration of what has been referred to as "the pathologies of voluntary associations."

The most common problems of voluntary associations are relatively well known and understood. What is most striking about these problems, however, is that, to differing degrees, they are shared by the corporate and governmental sectors. For example, consider the following 10 problems of voluntary organizations which have been frequently identified and discussed;

1. Trends toward bureaucratic practice;
2. Insufficient financing to support organizational goals;
3. Wasteful duplication and practices;
4. Excessively narrow issue advocacy by many groups;
5. Insufficient opportunities for participation in decision making;
6. Ineffective accountability procedures;
7. Excessive and/or harmful govern-

ment regulations;

8. Increasing centralization;
9. Inadequate long-range planning; and
10. Rigid and routinized allocation practices.

These problems, which are critical for voluntary associations, are not exclusive to the voluntary sector. They are endemic to all the dominant institutions of our society and, as such, are pathological expressions of modern organizational disease.

This point should not minimize the importance of these problems. To the contrary, their commonality infuses them with even greater significance within the voluntary sector. The sharing of organizational pathology should strengthen the "real life" standing of the voluntary sector. It provides a significant congruence of interest in organizational form and practice between the voluntary sector and the governmental and corporate sectors, and, thereby, points to two paths of opportunity. On the one hand, it infuses the modeling function of the voluntary sector with greater relevance and meaning. On the other hand, it points to problem areas in which successful innovations in the corporate and governmental sectors can benefit the voluntary sector. In either case, the reciprocity of interest may strengthen substantially the role of the voluntary sector as it does its part to discover how to manage organizational life with greater effectiveness and human sensitivity.

There is, however, a series of problems more unique to the voluntary sector and particularly relevant to the new voluntarism. In one sense, these problems are intractable in that they represent unavoidable tensions which are in the nature of voluntarism and the new roles that are suggested by the new voluntarism. Essentially, these problems are paradoxical in that they represent a series of competing organizational needs that should not only be met but also be balanced in such a way that serving one does not undermine the other. There are four such paradoxes that need to be dealt with by voluntary associations.

1. *Advocacy vs. Supplemental Func-*

tions. One of the major problems of voluntary associations is the threat of seduction and cooptation by the governmental sector. This threat is implicit in the acceptance of the supplemental service function in three respects. First, increased financial dependence on government can temper the prophetic passion of a voluntary organization for fear of biting the hand that feeds it. Second, the style and objectives of an organization can be modified excessively to serve the government's agenda. Third, the growing presence of voluntary association leaders in the governmental sector may subtly influence leaders of voluntary associations to be more cooperative with governmental agencies than they might otherwise be because of the lure of potential governmental service.

These are not necessarily reasons to abandon or avoid the supplementary function. They do suggest, however, that voluntary organizations should develop enlightened and imaginative policies and practices to reduce these potential dangers and to develop a healthy balance between advocacy and service functions.

2. Professional vs. Voluntary Leadership.

An enduring problem of voluntary organizations is to establish a healthy balance between professional and volunteer leaders. The inherent danger in every voluntary agency is two-fold. On the one hand, professional leaders can wrestle control of the organization from volunteer leaders and, thereby, drive away good volunteers and shape the organization to their particular needs. On the other hand, volunteer leaders may act out of ignorance or prejudice in policy making or by intervening disruptively in matters best left to professionals.

These problems are intensified by the new voluntarism. The prophetic, supplemental and modeling functions all increase the need for professional leadership while, at the same time, demanding more of volunteer leaders. Advocacy requires relatively sophisticated policy analysis by professionals, but it also demands more thoughtful and disciplined review by volunteer board members. Accepting government contracts and grants usually

implies more professional specialization by staff, but it also calls for greater monitoring by volunteers to preserve the integrity of the organization. The modeling function involves innovation that necessitates considerable effort by staff, but it requires a corresponding evaluative effort by volunteers.

In each of these areas, it is clear that more will be demanded of professionals and volunteer leaders in the future. This implies both a greater awareness of the kinds of functions each must perform, as well as the need for training programs that will encourage the qualitative development that will be required of professional and volunteer leaders.

3. *Accountability vs. Innovation.* The new voluntarism has increased awareness of the internal dynamics and needs of voluntary associations in light of changing expectations of the role of the voluntary sector. As a result, there is growing interest in two competing demands which are being experienced with greater intensity by voluntary organizations.

One is the demand for accountability which is imposed by government, the philanthropic establishment and by volunteer boards. Governmental units which give contracts and grants demand financial accounting and program evaluation to guarantee that their resources have been well used. Foundations and United Way agencies do the same. Such demands continue to intensify as the public becomes more aware of the potential for waste or abuse in government and inequities in funding practices by philanthropic groups. In turn, volunteer boards become more concerned that their organizations will not only avoid embarrassment but also continue to be supported.

These demands require that voluntary organizations adopt more rigid procedures of management and routinized practices of planning, budgeting and evaluation. The inevitable outcome is pressure toward bureaucratization and control. However, voluntary associations experience a countervailing demand that they be responsive to social needs and humanistic in practice. In fact, it is these

very qualities which make them preferable to government in performing the supplemental function. To remain attractive to volunteers and staff, and to be effective in serving elements within a community, requires that voluntary associations be more concerned about the human quality of their organizations than its efficiency. Ultimately, cost effectiveness conflicts with human effectiveness; and the emerging challenge of voluntary associations is how to strike an appropriate balance between these two demands.

Centralization vs. Decentralization. One of the paradoxes that is experienced in all institutional sectors is the conflicting pressures toward centralization and decentralization. While the voluntary sector is commonly viewed as being highly decentralized because of its rich diversity, there are strong centralizing tendencies as well. The conflict between centralizing and decentralizing demands within the voluntary sector is particularly evident in relation to matters of advocacy, accountability and capacity building, all three of which are especially relevant to the new voluntarism.

In order for voluntary associations to carry out prophetic advocacy functions, intra- and inter-organizational coalescing needs to take place and concentrated action must then follow in centralized locations of power. If diverse units or groups cannot "get their act together," they will remain fragmented and not make their voices heard in any influential way. Therefore, one of the implications of advocacy is the need to centralize the focus of power. There is a related decentralizing force at work in this equation, however, since the potential power of advocates operating at centralized levels is enhanced to the extent that they can call on decentralized (grassroots) support. Accordingly, voluntary groups that want to strengthen their advocacy potential must create and maintain centralized and decentralized dimensions to their advocacy network.

Increasing demands for accountability also call for greater centralization in the establishment of standards. Accountability demands tend to be felt most strongly at the

most centralized points in voluntary organizations. This tendency is intensified in government contracting since government agencies like assurance that a group of voluntary agencies meet general criteria for granting contracts (such as affirmative action or a fixed overhead rate) as well as more specific standards (e.g., certification of staff in a specialty area). Centralized offices, therefore, take on importance in encouraging or imposing standards on decentralized units or members. However, this relationship requires acceptance and interest at decentralized levels for them to have any meaning. So, dynamics of centralized leadership and decentralized support must both be present in the creation of standards.

Finally, if voluntary associations are to be effective in prophetic, supplemental and modeling functions, enormous support efforts must be undertaken to strengthen the capacity of the voluntary sector. This will require imaginative and powerful centralized attempts through reforms in government tax and regulatory policies, and by a much greater commitment from the corporate sector. But, for these centralized efforts to have any real social significance, they must result in practical programs of training, innovation and assistance at decentralized levels. So, centralized efforts to increase support for the voluntary sector must be matched by efforts to see that increased support is applied meaningfully and equitably at the grass roots.

DOT Guidelines on Participation

The following report on citizen participation in the U.S. Department of Transportation is taken from the November 15, 1980, issue of *Consumer Action Update*, published by the U.S. Office of Consumer Affairs, Department of Health and Human Services, 200 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20201.

- How are citizens informed about transportation systems and facilities?

Editorial Comment

Capacity to Adapt

EDITOR'S NOTE. The following guest editorial is the summary of *Enlarging Our Capacity to Adapt*, the report of the Committee on Issues of the '80s, The Citizens League, Minneapolis.

The American people in 1980 are about 15 years into the kind of fundamental change in the institutions and processes of social life that has occurred in our history about once every 100 years. We are now changing not simply the personalities and political parties and policies: we are again, now, in the process of changing idea systems. Basic underlying attitudes which began to emerge almost exactly a century ago, which looked to national governmental policy making and administration as the principal method of social action began to be fundamentally challenged about the mid 1960s. Since then the criticism has increased, and been increasingly accepted. Leadership is confused. Policies are unclear. Institutions are discredited and in disarray—especially in the public sector. A whole philosophy is now in retreat. Yet no new idea system has emerged to take its place. The question this raises—of how we will go about acting on our problems and our opportunities—is the central issue of the 1980s, and the working out of a positive, constructive solution will be the major challenge.

The nature of this task is best understood by looking back at its origins. The ideas introduced a century ago were appropriate and effective for their time, when the need was to assert the interests of the public and of the community against the dominant power of private interest. The country turned to government and especially to the national government, and to the executive, for leadership. Decisions were made increasingly through the processes of politics and carried out increasingly through the institutions of public administration. Much was done to strengthen these institutions, with the reform of the electoral system and of the civil service. Through these institutions, then, in the years after about 1910, the major social issues were taken up and acted upon, culminating in a rush in the great expansion of legislation, of administrative programs, and of national government and executive authority in the mid-1960s.

The critical reaction now underway grows simply out of the fact that, like physical systems and like natural systems, social policies and institutions have their own life cycle. What were new policies when enacted in time become rigid in their administration. New directions are sometimes carried



to extremes. Over the years, too, the interests affected by these changes learn to adapt and to re-establish their influence within the new institutions by which they were formerly threatened. And new and unfamiliar situations appear, created in part by the original reform, with which the new institutions are not necessarily well equipped to deal. So, today, there is a cry for the reform of what were the reforms of recent decades: the centralization in the national government, the regulation of private activity, the high levels of taxation and public expenditure. And, there is a growing concern both about the power of the political/administrative system and simultaneously about its inability to take the actions that are necessary for the society in the longer term, but unpopular in the near term with the majority itself. We worry now that a centralized political system may more likely function to resist change than to encourage it. And all this is made more urgent by the financial problems of the public sector, as revenues rise more slowly than costs, driving public officials to a search for ways to "do more with less."

The Citizens League presents some of the ideas that may become elements of that needed new philosophy of public life and public action; responsive to the need for change, and to the need for the adjustment of the public sector to the reality of limited resources.

In brief, the key ideas are:

—That the essential function of government is *deciding*. Government may later, itself, *do* what it has decided should be done. But, equally, it may not. Its basic interest is simply to see that what should be done is in fact done. Usually, in most systems, most of the 'doing' is in fact by others—by other governments, or by organizations that are not governmental at all.

—Decentralized systems are probably inherently safer, and may work better. There is a pathology of scale. Centralization reduces options and the scope for experimentation. In a period of change, decentralization may be highly functional for the system.

—It may be time to slow the trend toward institutionalization (that is, the whole trend toward professionals doing things for other people) and to reemphasize the ability (and the appropriateness) of people doing things for themselves—individually and in groups. The same pressures that over the last 75 years have forced private households to give up maids, butlers, chauffeurs, seamstresses, laundresses and charwomen are now at work on the public sector, forcing consideration of new systems of "supported self-help."

—Elected officials need to be freed from the notion in which they have been imprisoned: that there should be one and only one organization belonging directly to them, for administering the services they have voted

to provide for the public. There needs to be an anti-monopoly concept applied to the public sector, to give the city councils, county boards and other elected bodies some leverage over their bureaucracy.

—Service systems should, equally, be made more responsive to their users. But more advisory committees and planning committees and evaluation committees represent simply more "voice." There should be more of an opportunity for consumers/citizens/users to "influence" the behavior of a service organization simply by walking away, to one they like better.

—The federal government should become oriented more toward results, and should concern itself far less than it does with the way in which those results are achieved.

—Public agencies . . . policy bodies and their processes, and administrative bodies and their processes . . . need still to be reformed and reorganized. But the way to get reorganization is to induce it by creating incentives for such organizations to initiate these changes on their own. Here, the move away from the monopoly public bureau is the central, critical step. Such an organization is indispensable: Why should it trouble itself to change? What will move it is the possibility that if it does not change it will fail, as elected officials and as citizens turn to other alternatives.

—The whole question of income support will be and should be central in working out a new approach to the organization of public services. Better use of resources may well be a high-priority need. And a pricing system encourages conservation. But substantial inequalities in incomes make pricing systems infeasible politically. The alternative is administrative rationing. But this too is resisted. Inescapably, income maintenance issues therefore should come to the top in the political debates during the '80s, with action an integral part of the whole "choices" strategy.

In truth, these ideas are already beginning to appear in many of the things that are presently being done: it does, frequently, happen that the practice precedes the theory. Consider, for example: the decision of the British government this year to end the monopoly of the Royal Mail on the delivery of messages . . . the decision of the American government to release the telephone company to compete in the computer industry and computer companies to compete in the communications industry . . . the deregulation of the airline, and now the trucking, industry . . . the decision 20 years ago by the Minneapolis city council to resolve its problem with the day-labor system by dividing the street work between its own crews and private contractors . . . the emergence of pre-paid health care delivery organizations in competition with traditional medicine . . . or St. Paul's current experiments with a diverse and non-monopolistic refuse collection

(Continued on page 89)

a way and to a degree not experienced by their national counterparts. We should thus not be surprised if state-local officials voice additional complaints about "cooperative" programs. In fact, states may actually decline the opportunity to participate in those programs that are only of marginal assistance to them. We can expect more states to follow Georgia's example, where, beleaguered by federal mandates, the state discontinued its participation in LEAA. In this regard, it is worth noting that federal funds are not distributed evenly across the 492 programs described in the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance. The bulk of federal assistance (81 percent) is channelled into 25 programs, leaving only 19 percent to be distributed among the remaining 466 programs. Participation in the more expendable, smaller programs may be too costly after *Thiboutot*. State and local officials have frequently complained about the constraining effects of regulatory mandates. *Thiboutot* may well be the straw which breaks the camel's back. We can expect more state defections from our "cooperative federalism."

Editorial Comment
(Continued from page 67)

system. And more, or even, in . . . Citizens League reports in recent years: the preference for informal day care arrangements as against institutionalized "centers" . . . the advocacy of a pricing and choices approach to the problem of the excess capacity in higher education . . . the analysis that has so clearly demonstrated the efficiency of the supported self-help systems in urban commuter transportation.

Once again: the Citizens League's fundamental recommendation . . . is that these ideas be explored, and that their applicability to the problems of the public sector today be examined, by the Citizens League in its own studies and by whatever other individuals and organizations have as strong a sense as we do ourselves of their importance, their effectiveness and their political appeal.

Plan to Attend

87th National Conference on Government
November 14-17
Pittsburgh Hilton
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Editorial Comment

Capacity to Adapt

EDITOR'S NOTE. The following guest editorial is the summary of *Enlarging Our Capacity to Adapt*, the report of the Committee on Issues of the '80s, The Citizens League, Minneapolis.

The American people in 1980 are about 15 years into the kind of fundamental change in the institutions and processes of social life that has occurred in our history about once every 100 years. We are now changing not simply the personalities and political parties and policies: we are again, now, in the process of changing idea systems. Basic underlying attitudes which began to emerge almost exactly a century ago, which looked to national governmental policy making and administration as the principal method of social action began to be fundamentally challenged about the mid 1960s. Since then the criticism has increased, and been increasingly accepted. Leadership is confused. Policies are unclear. Institutions are discredited and in disarray—especially in the public sector. A whole philosophy is now in retreat. Yet no new idea system has emerged to take its place. The question this raises—of how we will go about acting on our problems and our opportunities—is the central issue of the 1980s, and the working out of a positive, constructive solution will be the major challenge.

The nature of this task is best understood by looking back at its origins. The ideas introduced a century ago were appropriate and effective for their time, when the need was to assert the interests of the public and of the community against the dominant power of private interest. The country turned to government and especially to the national government, and to the executive, for leadership. Decisions were made increasingly through the processes of politics and carried out increasingly through the institutions of public administration. Much was done to strengthen these institutions, with the reform of the electoral system and of the civil service. Through these institutions, then, in the years after about 1910, the major social issues were taken up and acted upon, culminating in a rush in the great expansion of legislation, of administrative programs, and of national government and executive authority in the mid-1960s.

The critical reaction now underway grows simply out of the fact that, like physical systems and like natural systems, social policies and institutions have their own life cycle. What were new policies when enacted in time become rigid in their administration. New directions are sometimes carried



to extremes. Over the years, too, the interests affected by these changes learn to adapt and to re-establish their influence within the new institutions by which they were formerly threatened. And new and unfamiliar situations appear, created in part by the original reform, with which the new institutions are not necessarily well equipped to deal. So, today, there is a cry for the reform of what were the reforms of recent decades: the centralization in the national government, the regulation of private activity, the high levels of taxation and public expenditure. And, there is a growing concern both about the power of the political/administrative system and simultaneously about its inability to take the actions that are necessary for the society in the longer term, but unpopular in the near term with the majority itself. We worry now that a centralized political system may more likely function to resist change than to encourage it. And all this is made more urgent by the financial problems of the public sector, as revenues rise more slowly than costs, driving public officials to a search for ways to "do more with less."

The Citizens League presents some of the ideas that may become elements of that needed new philosophy of public life and public action; responsive to the need for change, and to the need for the adjustment of the public sector to the reality of limited resources.

In brief, the key ideas are:

—That the essential function of government is *deciding*. Government may later, itself, *do* what it has decided should be done. But, equally, it may not. Its basic interest is simply to see that what should be done is in fact done. Usually, in most systems, most of the 'doing' is in fact by others—by other governments, or by organizations that are not governmental at all.

—Decentralized systems are probably inherently safer, and may work better. There is a pathology of scale. Centralization reduces options and the scope for experimentation. In a period of change, decentralization may be highly functional for the system.

—It may be time to slow the trend toward institutionalization (that is, the whole trend toward professionals doing things for other people) and to reemphasize the ability (and the appropriateness) of people doing things for themselves—individually and in groups. The same pressures that over the last 75 years have forced private households to give up maids, butlers, chauffeurs, seamstresses, laundresses and charwomen are now at work on the public sector, forcing consideration of new systems of "supported self-help."

—Elected officials need to be freed from the notion in which they have been imprisoned: that there should be one and only one organization belonging directly to them, for administering the services they have voted

to provide for the public. There needs to be an anti-monopoly concept applied to the public sector, to give the city councils, county boards and other elected bodies some leverage over their bureaucracy.

—Service systems should, equally, be made more responsive to their users. But more advisory committees and planning committees and evaluation committees represent simply more "voice." There should be more of an opportunity for consumers/citizens/users to "influence" the behavior of a service organization simply by walking away, to one they like better.

—The federal government should become oriented more toward results, and should concern itself far less than it does with the way in which those results are achieved.

—Public agencies . . . policy bodies and their processes, and administrative bodies and their processes . . . need still to be reformed and reorganized. But the way to get reorganization is to induce it by creating incentives for such organizations to initiate these changes on their own. Here, the move away from the monopoly public bureau is the central, critical step. Such an organization is indispensable: Why should it trouble itself to change? What will move it is the possibility that if it does not change it will fail, as elected officials and as citizens turn to other alternatives.

—The whole question of income support will be and should be central in working out a new approach to the organization of public services. Better use of resources may well be a high-priority need. And a pricing system encourages conservation. But substantial inequalities in incomes make pricing systems infeasible politically. The alternative is administrative rationing. But this too is resisted. Inescapably, income maintenance issues therefore should come to the top in the political debates during the '80s, with action an integral part of the whole "choices" strategy.

In truth, these ideas are already beginning to appear in many of the things that are presently being done: it does, frequently, happen that the practice precedes the theory. Consider, for example: the decision of the British government this year to end the monopoly of the Royal Mail on the delivery of messages . . . the decision of the American government to release the telephone company to compete in the computer industry and computer companies to compete in the communications industry . . . the deregulation of the airline, and now the trucking, industry . . . the decision 20 years ago by the Minneapolis city council to resolve its problem with the day-labor system by dividing the street work between its own crews and private contractors . . . the emergence of pre-paid health care delivery organizations in competition with traditional medicine . . . or St. Paul's current experiments with a diverse and non-monopolistic refuse collection

(Continued on page 89)

a way and to a degree not experienced by their national counterparts. We should thus not be surprised if state-local officials voice additional complaints about "cooperative" programs. In fact, states may actually decline the opportunity to participate in those programs that are only of marginal assistance to them. We can expect more states to follow Georgia's example, where, beleaguered by federal mandates, the state discontinued its participation in LEAA. In this regard, it is worth noting that federal funds are not distributed evenly across the 492 programs described in the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance. The bulk of federal assistance (81 percent) is channelled into 25 programs, leaving only 19 percent to be distributed among the remaining 466 programs. Participation in the more expendable, smaller programs may be too costly after *Thiboutot*. State and local officials have frequently complained about the constraining effects of regulatory mandates. *Thiboutot* may well be the straw which breaks the camel's back. We can expect more state defections from our "cooperative federalism."

Editorial Comment
(Continued from page 67)

system. And more, or even, in . . . Citizens League reports in recent years: the preference for informal day care arrangements as against institutionalized "centers" . . . the advocacy of a pricing and choices approach to the problem of the excess capacity in higher education . . . the analysis that has so clearly demonstrated the efficiency of the supported self-help systems in urban commuter transportation.

Once again: the Citizens League's fundamental recommendation . . . is that these ideas be explored, and that their applicability to the problems of the public sector today be examined, by the Citizens League in its own studies and by whatever other individuals and organizations have as strong a sense as we do ourselves of their importance, their effectiveness and their political appeal.

Plan to Attend

87th National Conference on Government
November 14-17
Pittsburgh Hilton
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Council won't support Metro tax legislation bid

By MARK GARBER
Staff Reporter

The Lake Oswego City Council has decided not to support legislation which would give the Metropolitan Service District authority to collect mandatory dues from local jurisdictions for the next four years.

In a 4 to 3 vote, the council decided Tuesday night not to endorse state Senate Bill 422, which would give Metro the authority to continue collecting dues of 50 cents per capita from each city in Clackamas, Washington and Multnomah counties.

Metro had been receiving about \$550,000 a year in dues from local governments, but state legislation which allows Metro to collect the mandatory dues expires July 1. The agency sought a tax base in the Nov. 4 election to make up the lost funding, but the tax proposal was rejected by metropolitan-area voters.

If the state Legislature passes a bill extending Metro's funding authority, Lake Oswego will pay about \$11,000 in dues.

The rejection of the tax proposal by voters in November was a main reason given by Councilman Walt Avery for voting against supporting Metro.

"I'm not able to support it, inasmuch as the voters turned it down," he said, adding that when the state sets up an agency such as Metro, it should determine how the agency will be funded. Avery also said he is concerned that "some of our home rule is being usurped" by Metro.

Councilwoman Bev Henderson said she agrees with Avery and added that Metro "is a discriminatory type of government." If the council is considering endorsement of Senate Bill 422, she said, it should also consider the merits of a bill being introduced in the Oregon House of Representatives that would abolish Metro.

Councilmen Bill Young and Curt Woller joined Avery and Henderson in voting against support of the bill. Young said he couldn't support the bill because the loss of the money will affect only certain services offered by Metro. The \$550,000 loss will not affect Metro's zoo funding or its work on a regional solid waste disposal site, Young said.

However, other members of the council said the work being done by Metro in other areas is important.

Mayor Herald Campbell said he shares some of the same concerns about Metro voiced by other council members, but added "there are some things that can only be accomplished by a regional type government." The metropolitan area must have a regional coordinating agency if it is to obtain federal funds for local projects, Campbell added.

Councilman Tony Marquis said he supports the Metro legislation, not because the agency helps in obtaining federal grants, but because it provides services for the metropolitan area that can't be handled at the local level.

Councilman Richard Campbell also supported the legislation, saying the electorate "didn't vote down Metro" in the Nov. 4 election, it simply voted against giving the agency a normal tax base. Asking for the mandatory dues from cities is a more limited and appropriate way for Metro to raise revenue, said Campbell.

In other action Tuesday, the council voted to annex properties in the Skylands Drive and Timberline Drive areas of the city.

The largest annexation takes in 15.5 acres north of Skylands Drive and southwest of Glenmorrie Drive. The owner of the property had requested the annexation, and, since sewer and water service can be made available to the site by the city, the city staff had recommended approval of the request. There is currently one single family home on the property.

The council also annexed two lots on the south side of Hoodview Lane. A sewer line was recently completed in the area and the owners of the two lots were allowed to hook up to the sewer because they have problems with their septic tanks. At the time they hooked up to the sewer, the property owners agreed to ask the city for annexation.

In another matter, the council awarded a contract to Ward-Henshaw Construction Co. for the construction of three new reservoirs in the city. The firm submitted a low bid of \$1,457,700 for the construction of the 2 million gallon Forest Highlands reservoir, the 1 million gallon Touchstones reservoir and the 1 million gallon Knaus Road reservoir.

College sets Allen comedy

Woody Allen's comedy "Play It Again, Sam" will be performed by the Clackamas Community College Theater Thursday through Saturday at 8 p.m. and Sunday at 2:30 p.m. in McLoughlin Theater.

Admission is \$3 for adults, \$2 for students and free to CCC students, faculty and seniors.

For further information or tickets, contact the Theater Department at 657-8400, ext. 356.

Metropolitan Areas

Joseph F. Zimmerman

Metro Council Strategy Works

The *Twin Cities Regional Strategy*, a description and analysis of the metropolitan council (300 Metro Square Building, St. Paul 55101), by Arthur Naftalin and John Brandl for the National Academy of Public Administration's State and Regional Strategy Development Project and published by the council, evaluates the use by the council of a 1978 HUD incentive grant for regional strategy development. Dr. Naftalin served as mayor of Minneapolis from 1961 to 1969 and as Minnesota's commissioner of administration from 1954 to 1960.

Established by the Minnesota legislature in 1967, the council has since been given additional powers, and a regional strategy has been formulated involving delivery on a seven-county basis those services that no longer can be supplied in an effective manner by local governments, and policies to guide the economic, physical and social development of the metropolitan area. Within the jurisdiction of the council are 272 local governments—seven counties, 138 cities, 50 townships, six metropolitan commissions, 29 school districts, and 22 other special districts.

The first of the six chapters in the report provides background information on the Twin Cities area, including fiscal trends, political culture, governmental framework, major political actors and pressing areawide problems. The origin of the regional strategy is traced in the second chapter, which also highlights the involvement of the state legislature, the governor, local governments, interest groups and the federal government in the formulation of the regional strategy. The Citizens League of the Twin Cities area is given credit for alerting the region to emerging problems. According to the report, the League's "studies articulated the need for

coherent regional governance, and . . . provided the main forum out of which the idea for the Metropolitan Council emerged."

Chapter 3 deals with the substance of the regional strategy, including airports, health, housing, law and justice, open space, recreation, transportation, solid and hazardous waste management, sewage disposal and water resources. The authors note that the regional strategy concentrates chiefly on physical development and that concern with human services has been secondary.

Strategy implementation and assessment are the subjects of the fourth and fifth chapters. The authors discuss the question of whether the appointment of the members of the metropolitan council by the governor constrains its operations. The 1967 proposal for the popular election of the members lost by one vote in the state Senate, and "the general view was that an elected Council would be more independent and less constrained than an appointive body. Those who wanted a Council with strong authority tended to favor elections." Naftalin and Brandl note that views on the issue of appointment or election have become "clouded," with a number of individuals changing views. Naftalin and Brandl support popular election because they are convinced "that the Legislature, over time, will be more willing to vest in an elected council the enlarged authority it needs to implement fully an effective regional strategy. So long as it is appointed its legitimacy will remain clouded and its authority impaired."

In establishing the council, the state legislature purposely decided to separate policy making and operations. The council makes policy which is implemented by five metropolitan commissions—airports, waste control, transit, parks and open space, and sports facilities. The concept of separating the two functions was advanced by legislators who did not favor a strong council; some legislators preferred an advisory council. The authors conclude that the separation of policy

making and execution does not appear to have diminished the effectiveness of the council, and "many think that it enables the Council to concentrate on policy questions, allowing more efficient use of its time." Nevertheless, Naftalin and Brandl are concerned that the council is becoming unable to devote sufficient time to major regional issues because of "the swamp of detail" involved in reviewing numerous detailed plans, projects and applications.

Chapter 6 contains the following conclusions:

—While it is extremely difficult to measure its effectiveness, the strategy appears to be working. It is giving coordinated direction to regional services, it is resolving major policy conflicts, and it is enlarging understanding of the region's needs and potentials.

—The heart of the strategy—the metropolitan council—is firmly in place.

—The strategy has brought coherence to the region's efforts to deal with local problems that are too large to be dealt with by local governments acting independently.

—The metropolitan land planning act, under which the council sets a framework of regional systems and the local governments draft long-range plans, is an extraordinarily ambitious planning program worthy of close monitoring for its potential value as a model that might be adapted elsewhere.

—The two-tier arrangement, under which the council sets broad policies for the region and the other jurisdictions implement them within the context of the regional policies, is a possible model for regional governance that should be closely monitored for its effectiveness and for replicable potential.

—While still imperfect and not fully realized, the strategy is evolving a productive accommodation between central regional direction and retention of local autonomy.

—The property tax base sharing program is significantly reducing disparities among the region's governmental jurisdictions and holds enormous promise over the long term for providing a solid revenue base for the region.

—Whether the council should become elective is a question of critical importance

to the strategy's future. The region's indecision over this basic matter reflects a deep ambivalence concerning the degree of authority it is prepared to vest in a central regional planning body.

—After 13 years of operation, the council has become less assertive and less innovative. Past commitments leave progressively less time and fewer resources for new challenges, and the council has become more concerned with consolidating activities already under way.

—The single most important factor in the strategy's success is its sustained and mutually responsive relationship with the Minnesota legislature. The legislature's willingness to devolve a significant measure of state power, without referendum, on the council is the primary and indispensable source of the strategy's viability.

—The council's creative use of the A-95 review and of its authority to allocate state and federal funds to local jurisdictions provides an extremely significant implementation linkage, which demonstrates one possible route to a stronger federal-state-local relationship.

—Extensive citizen involvement in the strategy is a continuing source of vitality. The interplay with the public provides a constant infusion of new viewpoints and helps keep the strategy politically feasible.

—The strategy's impact has not been evaluated with any degree of precision. Given the complex character of the metropolitan process, the development of meaningful indicators remains an important challenge.

—While continuation of the main elements of the strategy appears assured, a more precise definition of the council's authority is needed.

Boston Plan Council OKs Reorganization

The executive committee of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council (44 School Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108) has approved seven reorganization recommenda-

selected from applicants held over from a recent competition for fiscal year 1980 grants and are being funded under a continuing resolution authorized for the program by Congress.

Seven of the projects are located in urban areas and will concentrate on residential and economic revitalization. The other two projects, located in rural areas, will renovate housing for low-income residents and construct housing for farmworkers and their families.

One of the rural projects, Lake Community Development, Inc., located in Tavares, Florida, will construct 16 units of farmers home administration self-help housing in Eustis for low-income farmworkers.

The second rural project, Edisto Island Self-Development of People, located on a small island off the coast of South Carolina, will complete home repairs for 20 low-income rural families.

Grants awarded to Walnut Hills Redevelopment Foundation in Cincinnati, Citizens to Bring Back Broadway in Cleveland, and the Metropolitan Community Development Corporation in Louisville will be used to acquire and renovate housing for resale to low-income residents.

The Housing Opportunities, Inc. of Pittsburgh will convert its rehabilitated housing to cooperatives.

In the South Bronx, the Banana Kelly Community Improvement Association will use its grant to rehabilitate 13 privately owned buildings and assist the tenant groups in negotiating leases for the buildings.

The Woodlawn Organization of Chicago will form a community-based construction company that will create 15 jobs and build or rehabilitate more than 103 units of housing over the next three years.

55402) has recently issued the final report of its Committee on Issues of the '80s. "Enlarging Our Capacity to Adapt" addresses what the Citizens League sees as major policy responses to the current "kind of fundamental change in the institutions and processes of social life that has occurred in our history about once every 100 years." Asserting that social policies and institutions have their own life cycles, the report calls for a major reassessment of the reforms of recent decades, including the centralization of government, the regulation of private activity, and the high levels of taxation and public expenditure, all of which combine to hamper government's ability to adapt to the rapidly changing environment.

The general thrust of the response is for greater use of the private market for service delivery, more support for local self-help efforts, and a decentralized reorganization of functions among government levels. The key ideas of the report are as follows:

- The essential function of government is *deciding*; implementing decisions can often be left to other sectors.
- Decentralization, because of its flexibility and greater scope for experimentation, is the safest approach to government problem solving in a period of rapid change.
- Institutionalization of society—particularly through the growth of the "helping professions"—must be curtailed by encouraging new systems of "supported self-help."
- "There needs to be an anti-monopoly concept applied to the public sector, to give the city councils, county boards, and other elected bodies some leverage over their bureaucracy."
- The federal government should become more oriented toward results, rather than on how these results are achieved.
- We must increase our efforts at income support as society moves towards a greater reliance on private sector provision of services.

In another development, some 500 members of the Twin Cities Area Citizens League volunteered to participate in the 1980-1981 research and action program recently ap-

Citizens League Studies '80s Issues

The Citizens League in the Twin Cities Area (530 Syndicate Building, Minneapolis



proved by the board. This year's major topics of study are:

- The desirability of basic changes in the way primary-secondary schools are run;
- Designing a resource recovery plan that does not lock households into a monopoly when disposing of refuse;
- Unblocking resistance to regional parks in the eastern part of the metropolitan area;
- Dealing with the budget dilemma faced by the state, with declining or stagnant revenues and expanding needs;
- Determining the potential role that taxis might play in the transportation system of the area;
- Looking at the question of fundamental government structure to see where improvements can be made;
- Finding a way to use market forces to hold down hospital costs, as opposed to continued reliance on regulation through the certificate-of-need; and
- Seeing if rent control is a solution to any of the area's housing problems.

There are some major shifts in the means by which the subjects will be studied. There is substantial emphasis on working in areas of previous activity, as opposed to opening up new subjects of inquiry. The committees and task forces have been given more specific, focused assignments, with the hope of ending up with shorter reports produced in less time.

There is also a one-year experiment in designated membership under way as part of the research and action program. The committee is using several criteria in determining task force and committee assignments. Chief among them is a desire to honor stated preferences. Besides that, the committee tried to balance residence, experience, special knowledge, sex and private-governmental occupations.

The work program consists of three study committees and five task forces. The task forces are to work in a general subject area for one year, with specific assignments on some topics. The study committees meet to study a specific topic and then disband.

BRIAN KIRK

SNAP Holds Symposium on Information Systems

Access to information by neighborhood groups and organized citizens was the theme of a "Neighborhood Symposium" held in August at the 1980 URISA (Urban and Regional Information Systems Association) Conference in Toronto. Organized by the SNAP Support System (Stimulating the Neighborhood Action Process) of Flint, Michigan, the symposium brought together 16 representatives of community organizations and national support groups.

Participants agreed that neighborhood and grass roots organizations must have, in the words of panelist Kitty Smith of the National Conference on Neighborhood Councils, "...the same kind of information that's available to power brokers and to the people who are making the decisions." Some felt that greater and more equitable distribution of information would foster a more positive orientation among neighborhood groups. As Ruby Eddie, director of SNAP, asserted: "We have rights and responsibilities as citizens to take advantage of available information and educate ourselves to the process of government. We need to become proactive—facing issues head-on instead of continually reacting to the situations and problems they create."

Discussion turned to the creation of a "national information system" geared toward neighborhoods and local citizens' groups. Two such systems have been established. The Neighborhood Information Sharing Exchange (NISE) sponsored by HUD, coordinates a network of almost 3,000 organizations that share common problems and solutions. More recently, the SNAP Support System has initiated the ANSWERS Network (Assisting Neighborhoods with Experience and Resource Sharing), a clearinghouse for community groups seeking information on SNAP activities, community oriented journals, federal programs and other resources. It also provides abstracts on such topics as needs assessment, fundraising, and other organizational information for citi-

Metro Council Strategy Works

The *Twin Cities Regional Strategy*, a description and analysis of the metropolitan council (300 Metro Square Building, St. Paul 55101), by Arthur Naftalin and John Brandl for the National Academy of Public Administration's State and Regional Strategy Development Project and published by the council, evaluates the use by the council of a 1978 HUD incentive grant for regional strategy development. Dr. Naftalin served as mayor of Minneapolis from 1961 to 1969 and as Minnesota's commissioner of administration from 1954 to 1960.

Established by the Minnesota legislature in 1967, the council has since been given additional powers, and a regional strategy has been formulated involving delivery on a seven-county basis those services that no longer can be supplied in an effective manner by local governments, and policies to guide the economic, physical and social development of the metropolitan area. Within the jurisdiction of the council are 272 local governments—seven counties, 138 cities, 50 townships, six metropolitan commissions, 29 school districts, and 22 other special districts.

The first of the six chapters in the report provides background information on the Twin Cities area, including fiscal trends, political culture, governmental framework, major political actors and pressing areawide problems. The origin of the regional strategy is traced in the second chapter, which also highlights the involvement of the state legislature, the governor, local governments, interest groups and the federal government in the formulation of the regional strategy. The Citizens League of the Twin Cities area is given credit for alerting the region to emerging problems. According to the report, the League's "studies articulated the need for

coherent regional governance, and . . . provided the main forum out of which the idea for the Metropolitan Council emerged."

Chapter 3 deals with the substance of the regional strategy, including airports, health, housing, law and justice, open space, recreation, transportation, solid and hazardous waste management, sewage disposal and water resources. The authors note that the regional strategy concentrates chiefly on physical development and that concern with human services has been secondary.

Strategy implementation and assessment are the subjects of the fourth and fifth chapters. The authors discuss the question of whether the appointment of the members of the metropolitan council by the governor constrains its operations. The 1967 proposal for the popular election of the members lost by one vote in the state Senate, and "the general view was that an elected Council would be more independent and less constrained than an appointive body. Those who wanted a Council with strong authority tended to favor elections." Naftalin and Brandl note that views on the issue of appointment or election have become "clouded," with a number of individuals changing views. Naftalin and Brandl support popular election because they are convinced "that the Legislature, over time, will be more willing to vest in an elected council the enlarged authority it needs to implement fully an effective regional strategy. So long as it is appointed its legitimacy will remain clouded and its authority impaired."

In establishing the council, the state legislature purposely decided to separate policy making and operations. The council makes policy which is implemented by five metropolitan commissions—airports, waste control, transit, parks and open space, and sports facilities. The concept of separating the two functions was advanced by legislators who did not favor a strong council; some legislators preferred an advisory council. The authors conclude that the separation of policy

making and execution does not appear to have diminished the effectiveness of the council, and "many think that it enables the Council to concentrate on policy questions, allowing more efficient use of its time." Nevertheless, Naftalin and Brandl are concerned that the council is becoming unable to devote sufficient time to major regional issues because of "the swamp of detail" involved in reviewing numerous detailed plans, projects and applications.

Chapter 6 contains the following conclusions:

—While it is extremely difficult to measure its effectiveness, the strategy appears to be working. It is giving coordinated direction to regional services, it is resolving major policy conflicts, and it is enlarging understanding of the region's needs and potentials.

—The heart of the strategy—the metropolitan council—is firmly in place.

—The strategy has brought coherence to the region's efforts to deal with local problems that are too large to be dealt with by local governments acting independently.

—The metropolitan land planning act, under which the council sets a framework of regional systems and the local governments draft long-range plans, is an extraordinarily ambitious planning program worthy of close monitoring for its potential value as a model that might be adapted elsewhere.

—The two-tier arrangement, under which the council sets broad policies for the region and the other jurisdictions implement them within the context of the regional policies, is a possible model for regional governance that should be closely monitored for its effectiveness and for replicable potential.

—While still imperfect and not fully realized, the strategy is evolving a productive accommodation between central regional direction and retention of local autonomy.

—The property tax base sharing program is significantly reducing disparities among the region's governmental jurisdictions and holds enormous promise over the long term for providing a solid revenue base for the region.

—Whether the council should become elective is a question of critical importance

to the strategy's future. The region's indecision over this basic matter reflects a deep ambivalence concerning the degree of authority it is prepared to vest in a central regional planning body.

—After 13 years of operation, the council has become less assertive and less innovative. Past commitments leave progressively less time and fewer resources for new challenges, and the council has become more concerned with consolidating activities already under way.

—The single most important factor in the strategy's success is its sustained and mutually responsive relationship with the Minnesota legislature. The legislature's willingness to devolve a significant measure of state power, without referendum, on the council is the primary and indispensable source of the strategy's viability.

—The council's creative use of the A-95 review and of its authority to allocate state and federal funds to local jurisdictions provides an extremely significant implementation linkage, which demonstrates one possible route to a stronger federal-state-local relationship.

—Extensive citizen involvement in the strategy is a continuing source of vitality. The interplay with the public provides a constant infusion of new viewpoints and helps keep the strategy politically feasible.

—The strategy's impact has not been evaluated with any degree of precision. Given the complex character of the metropolitan process, the development of meaningful indicators remains an important challenge.

—While continuation of the main elements of the strategy appears assured, a more precise definition of the council's authority is needed.

Boston Plan Council OKs Reorganization

The executive committee of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council (44 School Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108) has approved seven reorganization recommenda-

selected from applicants held over from a recent competition for fiscal year 1980 grants and are being funded under a continuing resolution authorized for the program by Congress.

Seven of the projects are located in urban areas and will concentrate on residential and economic revitalization. The other two projects, located in rural areas, will renovate housing for low-income residents and construct housing for farmworkers and their families.

One of the rural projects, Lake Community Development, Inc., located in Tavares, Florida, will construct 16 units of farmers home administration self-help housing in Eustis for low-income farmworkers.

The second rural project, Edisto Island Self-Development of People, located on a small island off the coast of South Carolina, will complete home repairs for 20 low-income rural families.

Grants awarded to Walnut Hills Redevelopment Foundation in Cincinnati, Citizens to Bring Back Broadway in Cleveland, and the Metropolitan Community Development Corporation in Louisville will be used to acquire and renovate housing for resale to low-income residents.

The Housing Opportunities, Inc. of Pittsburgh will convert its rehabilitated housing to cooperatives.

In the South Bronx, the Banana Kelly Community Improvement Association will use its grant to rehabilitate 13 privately owned buildings and assist the tenant groups in negotiating leases for the buildings.

The Woodlawn Organization of Chicago will form a community-based construction company that will create 15 jobs and build or rehabilitate more than 103 units of housing over the next three years.

55402) has recently issued the final report of its Committee on Issues of the '80s. "Enlarging Our Capacity to Adapt" addresses what the Citizens League sees as major policy responses to the current "kind of fundamental change in the institutions and processes of social life that has occurred in our history about once every 100 years." Asserting that social policies and institutions have their own life cycles, the report calls for a major reassessment of the reforms of recent decades, including the centralization of government, the regulation of private activity, and the high levels of taxation and public expenditure, all of which combine to hamper government's ability to adapt to the rapidly changing environment.

The general thrust of the response is for greater use of the private market for service delivery, more support for local self-help efforts, and a decentralized reorganization of functions among government levels. The key ideas of the report are as follows:

- The essential function of government is *deciding*; implementing decisions can often be left to other sectors.
- Decentralization, because of its flexibility and greater scope for experimentation, is the safest approach to government problem solving in a period of rapid change.
- Institutionalization of society—particularly through the growth of the "helping professions"—must be curtailed by encouraging new systems of "supported self-help."
- "There needs to be an anti-monopoly concept applied to the public sector, to give the city councils, county boards, and other elected bodies some leverage over their bureaucracy."
- The federal government should become more oriented toward results, rather than on how these results are achieved.
- We must increase our efforts at income support as society moves towards a greater reliance on private sector provision of services.

In another development, some 500 members of the Twin Cities Area Citizens League volunteered to participate in the 1980-1981 research and action program recently ap-

Citizens League Studies '80s Issues

The Citizens League in the Twin Cities Area (530 Syndicate Building, Minneapolis



proved by the board. This year's major topics of study are:

- The desirability of basic changes in the way primary-secondary schools are run;
- Designing a resource recovery plan that does not lock households into a monopoly when disposing of refuse;
- Unblocking resistance to regional parks in the eastern part of the metropolitan area;
- Dealing with the budget dilemma faced by the state, with declining or stagnant revenues and expanding needs;
- Determining the potential role that taxis might play in the transportation system of the area;
- Looking at the question of fundamental government structure to see where improvements can be made;
- Finding a way to use market forces to hold down hospital costs, as opposed to continued reliance on regulation through the certificate-of-need; and
- Seeing if rent control is a solution to any of the area's housing problems.

There are some major shifts in the means by which the subjects will be studied. There is substantial emphasis on working in areas of previous activity, as opposed to opening up new subjects of inquiry. The committees and task forces have been given more specific, focused assignments, with the hope of ending up with shorter reports produced in less time.

There is also a one-year experiment in designated membership under way as part of the research and action program. The committee is using several criteria in determining task force and committee assignments. Chief among them is a desire to honor stated preferences. Besides that, the committee tried to balance residence, experience, special knowledge, sex and private-governmental occupations.

The work program consists of three study committees and five task forces. The task forces are to work in a general subject area for one year, with specific assignments on some topics. The study committees meet to study a specific topic and then disband.

BRIAN KIRK

SNAP Holds Symposium on Information Systems

Access to information by neighborhood groups and organized citizens was the theme of a "Neighborhood Symposium" held in August at the 1980 URISA (Urban and Regional Information Systems Association) Conference in Toronto. Organized by the SNAP Support System (Stimulating the Neighborhood Action Process) of Flint, Michigan, the symposium brought together 16 representatives of community organizations and national support groups.

Participants agreed that neighborhood and grass roots organizations must have, in the words of panelist Kitty Smith of the National Conference on Neighborhood Councils, "...the same kind of information that's available to power brokers and to the people who are making the decisions." Some felt that greater and more equitable distribution of information would foster a more positive orientation among neighborhood groups. As Ruby Eddie, director of SNAP, asserted: "We have rights and responsibilities as citizens to take advantage of available information and educate ourselves to the process of government. We need to become proactive—facing issues head-on instead of continually reacting to the situations and problems they create."

Discussion turned to the creation of a "national information system" geared toward neighborhoods and local citizens' groups. Two such systems have been established. The Neighborhood Information Sharing Exchange (NISE) sponsored by HUD, coordinates a network of almost 3,000 organizations that share common problems and solutions. More recently, the SNAP Support System has initiated the ANSWERS Network (Assisting Neighborhoods with Experience and Resource Sharing), a clearinghouse for community groups seeking information on SNAP activities, community oriented journals, federal programs and other resources. It also provides abstracts on such topics as needs assessment, fundraising, and other organizational information for citi-

New Initiatives for Twin Cities

New initiatives by the metropolitan council for the Twin Cities area would keep it in its position as policy coordinator for the region, according to a statement by the Citizens League. While the council continues to function as policy advisor to the governor and legislature, some new initiatives could allow it to better fulfill this role.

The league said a central role for the legislature in reviewing the metropolitan council is essential, and the legislative history concerning the council—from the legislature's formation of the metropolitan planning commission, to the establishment of the council and the passage of the metropolitan reorganization act of 1974—inspires confidence.

Specifically, the league listed four areas where the council should take more policy initiative.

Cable Communications. "In the absence of council leadership, regional interconnection of cable television is uncertain; each municipality in the metropolitan area is on its own in dealing with the variety of firms competing with cable franchises," the statement said.

Regional Employment Policy. While the council decided several years ago not to enter this area, the region continues to be one employment market. Currently, efforts are fragmented among a variety of CETA offices.

Financing Regional Services. The council lets individual regional agencies develop their own legislative financing proposals, without council leadership on the appropriate balance among user fees, regional taxes and state aids. Nor does the council present any plan to the legislature for coordinating the financing of all regional agencies.

Function, Structures and Boundaries of Local Governments. "The Twin Cities area has about 300 different units of govern-

ment," the statement said. The council has not provided leadership in sorting out which units of government should perform which services.

The league said it is anxious to see the council move toward making broad policy choices, and not get overwhelmed in day-to-day decision making on operational matters. The legislative study of the council should address the question of whether that policy role should be more clearly defined.

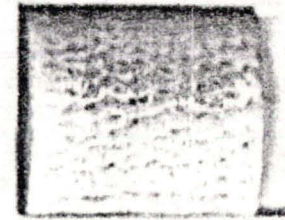
The council also might be required to present to the legislature every two years policy proposals on the region's needs, as distinguished from proposals which might relate to the council's own activities or which are in response to specific legislative directives.

The league statement also made several additional points about the future role of the council:

The principle of separating policy and operation responsibilities should be reaffirmed. When the council was created, the question of operational versus policy responsibility was resolved in favor of the latter. That decision should be reaffirmed, and the council's role in housing, where it comes closest to actual operating responsibilities, should be scrutinized in the light of this distinction.

The council as a whole should assert more influence in the selection of commission members. Regional leadership is needed by the members of regional commissions, including transit, open space and parks. Therefore, the council as a body—not as individuals—should take greater care to make sure regional interests are upheld in membership selection.

Different commissions have different relationships with the council, and the legislative study should review this policy. Regarding budgets, some persons believe budget approval would strengthen the council's influence, while others say it would push the council into operational responsibilities. The study should clarify this conflict.



The council should have only those powers specifically given to it by the legislature. Suggestions that the council have home rule power should be rejected, the league said. Regarding taxation, a frequent issue regarding council powers, the distribution of a legislatively-imposed tax could be carried out by the council.

The chairman should continue to represent the entire region. This policy has proven to be a good one, and should be continued, in light of the regional nature of the body, the league said. The chairman should not become just a presiding officer selected by council members from their own membership.

Council members should represent people, not units of government. Various groups think the council would work better if it were a "council of governments," made up of representatives of different local units. This would not serve the purpose of the council as a regional body.

Council members should be elected, except for the chairman. The league reaffirmed its support of an elected council, because it would make the body more accountable to the public. The chairman should continue to be appointed by the governor, however, and represent the region as a whole.

If the move to an elected council is made, new avenues for political campaigning should be explored. The issue of financing council campaigns has emerged as an issue in the discussion of election versus appointment for the council, and public funds should be set aside to assure a thorough discussion of metropolitan issues.

Population Shifts in 35 New SMSAs

The federal government recently added 35 places to its classification of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) on the basis of the 1980 census. Together, they cover about 50 counties from Maine to California, with about 4.5 million people.

The new SMSAs met the criteria of having

a city of at least 50,000 population, or an urbanized area of 50,000 with a total population of at least 100,000. The additions bring the number of metropolitan areas in the United States to 323. One area, Rapid City, South Dakota, was dropped.

As reported in the *New York Times*, since early in the century the federal government has defined metropolitan areas as a means of tracking major population centers. Such designation also makes it easier for the communities to qualify for federal grants, in part because they receive more detailed statistical analyses than nonmetropolitan areas.

In the 1980 census, before the new additions, 162 million people lived in metropolitan areas, then amounting to roughly one-fifth of the land area of the United States, while 63 million people lived outside metropolitan areas. But, according to the *Times*, nonmetropolitan areas have grown fastest since 1970, reversing a trend under way for decades.

In the newly defined metropolitan areas, a common characteristic is for the central city to have lost population while the outlying areas grew.

The new SMSAs, by state, are:

California—Chico, Redding, Visalia, Yuba City; Florida—Fort Walton Beach, Ocala; Georgia—Athens; Maine—Bangor; Maryland—Cumberland, Hagerstown; Michigan—Benton Harbor; Missouri—Joplin; New Hampshire—Maine—Portsmouth-Dover-Rochester; New York—Glens Falls, Newburgh-Middletown; North Carolina—Hickory, Jacksonville, Salisbury-Concord; Ohio—Newark; Oregon—Medford; Pennsylvania—Sharon, State College; South Carolina—Anderson, Florence, Rock Hill; Texas—Victoria; Vermont—Burlington; Virginia—Charlottesville, Danville; Washington—Bellingham, Bremerton, Olympia; Wisconsin—Sheboygan, Wausau; Wyoming—Casper.

Reorganization Plan Proposed for Dublin

On July 18, the Dublin Chamber of Commerce submitted to the Department of the Environment a plan for local government re-

organization in the metropolitan area which, with a population of 1.3 million, comprises one-third of the population of the Republic of Ireland.

There are four local governments in the metropolitan area (Dublin, Dublin County, Dun Laoghaire Borough and Balbriggan Town), and national law provides that the Dublin city manager is the ex-officio manager of the other local authorities. The manager's executive functions include all those not assigned specifically to the councils, i.e., passing bylaws, adopting the budget, borrowing money, disposing of municipal property, making development plans, adding staff, and a few others.

The chamber plan points out that "the local administration in the metropolitan area has failed to adjust itself or be modified to the very great changes which have taken place since the existing structure was devised in 1930." Population in the area has increased from 600,000 to 1,300,000, and that growth is projected to continue.

The chamber identified as "less person related" services the fire brigade, major sewer and water services, major roads, development planning, housing policy, refuse disposal, and air and water quality control. These services, according to the chamber, should be handled on a metropolitan basis. Other services "could be administered by bodies elected from suitable subdivisions of the metropolitan area."

Washington Area to Lose Jobs

The Washington, D.C. area could lose as many as 32,000 jobs and \$115 million in federal assistance by July 1, 1982, as a result of the proposed cuts in the federal budget. The figures are part of a preliminary analysis by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments.

COG's estimates show a possible loss of 6,000 federal jobs this year and a total of 16,000 by July 1, 1982. The loss in federal employee spending will be felt in the retail, housing, transportation and services indus-

tries, with an estimated reduction in revenue of \$108 million in 1981, growing to \$288 million next year. In addition, it has been estimated that every federal job creates one in private industry. If so, the total loss in jobs could be 12,000 in 1981 and 20,000 next year.

The two largest cutbacks in grants to Washington area governments will be for schools, a loss of \$43 million; and transit operations, a loss of \$28 million. The loss in assistance for public service employment, welfare, food stamps and housing is estimated to be \$44 million. Earlier analyses indicate that the diversification of the region's economy will cushion the area against an economic slowdown.

According to COG, the area will sustain approximately 38 percent of the reductions of federal employment nationwide, even though only 13 percent of all federal jobs are now in the Washington area. This is due to the concentration in the area of the agencies scheduled for the largest cuts.

Also from the council, a detailed study of economic indicators shows that the region's economy experienced a mixture of growth and decline during 1980. "Economic Alert," a quarterly publication, reports that the economy was affected by a consistent rise in prices, with inflation running up to 11.9 percent, a continuously rising interest rate which peaked at 22 percent around October, a declining commercial construction activity, a slackening housing market and a federal policy to limit hiring.

The report also shows:

1. The Washington area could experience a decline in economic growth during 1981. Changes in federal policies on employment, programming and federal spending could have an adverse impact on the area's economy. Federal employment currently accounts for 21 percent of all jobs in the area. A large part of private sector business is also dependent on federal contracts.

2. Another factor that could influence the area's economic growth will be the performance of the national economy. The region's economy has previously been affected by
(Continued on page 439)

New Initiatives for Twin Cities

New initiatives by the metropolitan council for the Twin Cities area would keep it in its position as policy coordinator for the region, according to a statement by the Citizens League. While the council continues to function as policy advisor to the governor and legislature, some new initiatives could allow it to better fulfill this role.

The league said a central role for the legislature in reviewing the metropolitan council is essential, and the legislative history concerning the council—from the legislature's formation of the metropolitan planning commission, to the establishment of the council and the passage of the metropolitan reorganization act of 1974—inspires confidence.

Specifically, the league listed four areas where the council should take more policy initiative.

Cable Communications. "In the absence of council leadership, regional interconnection of cable television is uncertain; each municipality in the metropolitan area is on its own in dealing with the variety of firms competing with cable franchises," the statement said.

Regional Employment Policy. While the council decided several years ago not to enter this area, the region continues to be one employment market. Currently, efforts are fragmented among a variety of CETA offices.

Financing Regional Services. The council lets individual regional agencies develop their own legislative financing proposals, without council leadership on the appropriate balance among user fees, regional taxes and state aids. Nor does the council present any plan to the legislature for coordinating the financing of all regional agencies.

Function, Structures and Boundaries of Local Governments. "The Twin Cities area has about 300 different units of govern-

ment," the statement said. The council has not provided leadership in sorting out which units of government should perform which services.

The league said it is anxious to see the council move toward making broad policy choices, and not get overwhelmed in day-to-day decision making on operational matters. The legislative study of the council should address the question of whether that policy role should be more clearly defined.

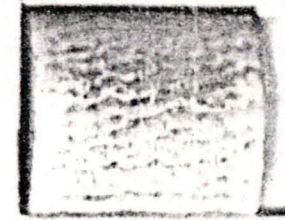
The council also might be required to present to the legislature every two years policy proposals on the region's needs, as distinguished from proposals which might relate to the council's own activities or which are in response to specific legislative directives.

The league statement also made several additional points about the future role of the council:

The principle of separating policy and operation responsibilities should be reaffirmed. When the council was created, the question of operational versus policy responsibility was resolved in favor of the latter. That decision should be reaffirmed, and the council's role in housing, where it comes closest to actual operating responsibilities, should be scrutinized in the light of this distinction.

The council as a whole should assert more influence in the selection of commission members. Regional leadership is needed by the members of regional commissions, including transit, open space and parks. Therefore, the council as a body—not as individuals—should take greater care to make sure regional interests are upheld in membership selection.

Different commissions have different relationships with the council, and the legislative study should review this policy. Regarding budgets, some persons believe budget approval would strengthen the council's influence, while others say it would push the council into operational responsibilities. The study should clarify this conflict.



The council should have only those powers specifically given to it by the legislature. Suggestions that the council have home rule power should be rejected, the league said. Regarding taxation, a frequent issue regarding council powers, the distribution of a legislatively-imposed tax could be carried out by the council.

The chairman should continue to represent the entire region. This policy has proven to be a good one, and should be continued, in light of the regional nature of the body, the league said. The chairman should not become just a presiding officer selected by council members from their own membership.

Council members should represent people, not units of government. Various groups think the council would work better if it were a "council of governments," made up of representatives of different local units. This would not serve the purpose of the council as a regional body.

Council members should be elected, except for the chairman. The league reaffirmed its support of an elected council, because it would make the body more accountable to the public. The chairman should continue to be appointed by the governor, however, and represent the region as a whole.

If the move to an elected council is made, new avenues for political campaigning should be explored. The issue of financing council campaigns has emerged as an issue in the discussion of election versus appointment for the council, and public funds should be set aside to assure a thorough discussion of metropolitan issues.

Population Shifts in 35 New SMSAs

The federal government recently added 35 places to its classification of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) on the basis of the 1980 census. Together, they cover about 50 counties from Maine to California, with about 4.5 million people.

The new SMSAs met the criteria of having

a city of at least 50,000 population, or an urbanized area of 50,000 with a total population of at least 100,000. The additions bring the number of metropolitan areas in the United States to 327. One area, Rapid City, South Dakota, was dropped.

As reported in the *New York Times*, since early in the century the federal government has defined metropolitan areas as a means of tracking major population centers. Such designation also makes it easier for the communities to qualify for federal grants, in part because they receive more detailed statistical analyses than nonmetropolitan areas.

In the 1980 census, before the new additions, 162 million people lived in metropolitan areas, then amounting to roughly one-fifth of the land area of the United States, while 63 million people lived outside metropolitan areas. But, according to the *Times*, nonmetropolitan areas have grown fastest since 1970, reversing a trend under way for decades.

In the newly defined metropolitan areas, a common characteristic is for the central city to have lost population while the outlying areas grew.

The new SMSAs, by state, are:

California—Chico, Redding, Visalia, Yuba City; Florida—Fort Walton Beach, Ocala; Georgia—Athens; Maine—Bangor; Maryland—Cumberland, Hagerstown; Michigan—Benton Harbor; Missouri—Joplin; New Hampshire—Maine—Portsmouth-Dover-Rochester; New York—Glens Falls, Newburgh-Middletown; North Carolina—Hickory, Jacksonville, Salisbury-Concord; Ohio—Newark; Oregon—Medford; Pennsylvania—Sharon, State College; South Carolina—Anderson, Florence, Rock Hill; Texas—Victoria; Vermont—Burlington; Virginia—Charlottesville, Danville; Washington—Bellingham, Bremerton, Olympia; Wisconsin—Sheboygan, Wausau; Wyoming—Casper.

Reorganization Plan Proposed for Dublin

On July 18, the Dublin Chamber of Commerce submitted to the Department of the Environment a plan for local government re-

organization in the metropolitan area which, with a population of 1.3 million, comprises one-third of the population of the Republic of Ireland.

There are four local governments in the metropolitan area (Dublin, Dublin County, Dun Laoghaire Borough and Balbriggan Town), and national law provides that the Dublin city manager is the ex-officio manager of the other local authorities. The manager's executive functions include all those not assigned specifically to the councils, i.e., passing bylaws, adopting the budget, borrowing money, disposing of municipal property, making development plans, adding staff, and a few others.

The chamber plan points out that "the local administration in the metropolitan area has failed to adjust itself or be modified to the very great changes which have taken place since the existing structure was devised in 1930." Population in the area has increased from 600,000 to 1,300,000, and that growth is projected to continue.

The chamber identified as "less person related" services the fire brigade, major sewer and water services, major roads, development planning, housing policy, refuse disposal, and air and water quality control. These services, according to the chamber, should be handled on a metropolitan basis. Other services "could be administered by bodies elected from suitable subdivisions of the metropolitan area."

Washington Area to Lose Jobs

The Washington, D.C. area could lose as many as 32,000 jobs and \$115 million in federal assistance by July 1, 1982, as a result of the proposed cuts in the federal budget. The figures are part of a preliminary analysis by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments.

COG's estimates show a possible loss of 6,000 federal jobs this year and a total of 16,000 by July 1, 1982. The loss in federal employee spending will be felt in the retail, housing, transportation and services indus-

tries, with an estimated reduction in revenue of \$108 million in 1981, growing to \$288 million next year. In addition, it has been estimated that every federal job creates one in private industry. If so, the total loss in jobs could be 12,000 in 1981 and 20,000 next year.

The two largest cutbacks in grants to Washington area governments will be for schools, a loss of \$43 million; and transit operations, a loss of \$28 million. The loss in assistance for public service employment, welfare, food stamps and housing is estimated to be \$44 million. Earlier analyses indicate that the diversification of the region's economy will cushion the area against an economic slowdown.

According to COG, the area will sustain approximately 38 percent of the reductions of federal employment nationwide, even though only 13 percent of all federal jobs are now in the Washington area. This is due to the concentration in the area of the agencies scheduled for the largest cuts.

Also from the council, a detailed study of economic indicators shows that the region's economy experienced a mixture of growth and decline during 1980. "Economic Alert," a quarterly publication, reports that the economy was affected by a consistent rise in prices, with inflation running up to 11.9 percent, a continuously rising interest rate which peaked at 22 percent around October, a declining commercial construction activity, a slackening housing market and a federal policy to limit hiring.

The report also shows:

1. The Washington area could experience a decline in economic growth during 1981. Changes in federal policies on employment, programming and federal spending could have an adverse impact on the area's economy. Federal employment currently accounts for 21 percent of all jobs in the area. A large part of private sector business is also dependent on federal contracts.

2. Another factor that could influence the area's economic growth will be the performance of the national economy. The region's economy has previously been affected by

(Continued on page 439)