

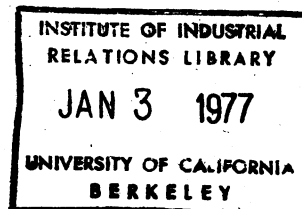
OVERVIEW: GROWTH MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING,

BY

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INTRODUCTION

House and Home magazine recently suggested that the control growth movement is spreading across the country like crab grass across the suburban lawn. (Loomis) The International City Managers Association in its usual low key non-policy way has suggested, "one of the thorniest issues faced by local administrators is managing growth". (ICMA Year Book) In a 1973 national survey by the International City Managers Association, land use and growth controls were noted as the two most severe environmental problems facing communities. The California Journal talks about the "growth of no growth" and "spreading revolt that makes strange allies". (Harris) In almost every technical journal, and for that matter, popular magazine today can be found discussions of growth and growth management.

It has now been several years since growth management (in all cases characterized by slow or no growth) has made the scene, tagging onto the environmental movement that started a few years earlier. Numerous planners started to play the environmental movement and its new found support for planning for all it was worth. Many of us, however and I am sorry to say I was one of them, assumed this was just one more fad and in a few years it would be all over. We saw the need to use it for what it was worth while it was with us. I remember in 1970 seeing thousands of energetic high school students attending the first Earth Day programs and assuming that surely this must

be the peak of the environmental movement. How wrong I was. As the popular song said, "We've only just begun".*

We've now come far enough in both the environmental movement and subsequent growth management movement and these have become serious enough that we should stop a minute and take a look at where we are. So, I would like to present briefly: first, what it seems to me is an increasing consensus on growth management; second, what this means for the relevant governmental institution of planning; third, some specifics in terms of socio-economic impact analysis ; and finally, a few thoughts on some of the most useful directions we should take.

GROWTH MANAGEMENT

The number of issues currently being floated under the banner of growth management is staggering, and although I sometimes feel that I've read 3,000 articles on Petaluma and Ramapo, other examples are beginning to expand rapidly. Someone recently suggested to me that this was only the sixth panacea to come along in the last twenty years.

Many of you by now are probably quite familiar with the current examples and techniques flying under the flag of growth management. Most discussions of growth management closely parallel discussions of the environment. ICMA has suggested an interesting four category grouping as follows: (ICMA Year Book)

1. Air, noise, sewage, solid waste, toxic substances, water.

*The Sierra Club estimated the 1973-74 session of the California Legislature the most successful in the history of the conservation movement. (Harris)

2. Energy, historical preservation, land use, open space, radiation, population and wildlife preservation.
3. Aesthetics, health, housing, mass transportation, recreation, streets and highways.
4. Economic development, education, employment, public safety, welfare.

Interestingly, fifty-seven per cent of communities surveyed indicated that they viewed environmental concerns encompassing one or both of the broader categories three and four which encompass socio-economic issues. ICMA also has listed strategies for implementing growth policy under the following twelve groupings:

1. ZONING CONTROLS including down zoning, large lot zoning open space zoning, agriculture and rural zoning, conservation zoning, development district zoning(urbanized, urban expansion and urban reserve), density and planned unit development zoning, floating zones, and zoning related environmental controls (i.e. flood plains, coastal plains, wetlands, stream banks, shoreland, steep slopes, erosion).
2. MORATORIA for rezonings, building permits, water and sewer connections.
3. SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT PERMITS such as Ramapo.
4. PUBLIC FACILITY REQUIREMENTS prior to subdivision approval.
5. RESIDENTIAL CONTROL SYSTEMS such as Petaluma.
6. URBAN SERVICE BOUNDARY such as Mid-Willamette Valley.
7. SPECIAL PRESERVATION DISTRICTS such as water recharge areas.
8. DEVELOPER CONTRIBUTIONS OF LAND OR MONEY including construction and property transfer taxes.
9. ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT.
10. PUBLIC ACQUISITION OF LAND including open space and green belts and land banking.
11. POPULATION LIMITATION such as Boca Raton, Florida.

12. OTHER such as easements, purchase and sale back with restrictions, purchase and lease back, acquisition or transfer of development rights, height limitations, and minimum building requirements for floor space or bedrooms.

In addition to these examples which are closely tied to land use, many people are beginning to discuss growth management in broader terms. Some see it as a return to comprehensive planning which some of us thought we had abandoned (at least in name) in favor of the general plan some years ago. The City Manager of Palo Alto has characterized growth management and comprehensive planning this way:

"Unlike the general plans of the 60's comprehensive planning is a process that recognizes the dynamic nature of community development and concentrates on establishing a methodology for dealing with growth problems, which will continue in use well after the plan document has been completed."

"Its scope is much broader than that of earlier planning attempts in that it considers social and economic ramifications of development in addition to the traditional physical factors." (Sipel)

The Chief Administrative Officer of Prince George's County, Maryland, has this to say:

"The power to exercise effective control over land use is what distinguishes growth management from planning." (Edwards)

Norman Beckman and Susan Harding in their 1973 legislative review for the American Institute of Planners suggest some topics for growth management as follows:

"...regional review of housing projects, organization of schools in metropolitan areas, manpower planning and health manpower shortages, welfare reform, technology assessment for Congress, control of population distribution, tapping the highway trust fund for mass transit programs, poverty, neighborhood planning and design, noise control, impoundment of federal housing funds, housing subsidy scandals, coastal

zone management, urban national parks, cooperative forestry programs, and areawide planning for services for older Americans." (Beckman, 73)

WOW! Are you ready to spend the night here?

Despite these high sounding claims let's examine what most of the current growth management mechanisms actually do. There has been much discussion about whether we're just trying to manage growth (i.e. make it a bit more orderly) or stop growth. Irrespective of claims, it is clear that many of the efforts have certainly had their major impetus out of slowing down growth and in many instances stopping growth. This is not to say such goals are necessarily bad. In fact, at least for small areas, we have great history of no growth. For example where a neighborhood that has been developed and remained at the same density over a long period of time. Properly used we should have growth control regulations that stop growth, slow down growth, and in some cases accelerate growth (although I'm not certain I'm ready to be the person that currently proposes the latter). Although there are dangers in overgeneralizing about growth control, I'd like to draw two conclusions to help clarify the socio-economic concerns.

First of all, it is apparent that where growth management measures provide land to accommodate long term housing and employment needs, such measures and related environmental regulations have few and also readily tolerable negative socio-economic impacts. An example of this would be the Coon Rapids, Minnesota regulations which set firm development district constraint lines but enclosed adequate land needs for the year

2,000. Similar conclusions can be made from the studies conducted for Stockton (Baxter), Santa Rosa (Livingston), and Mid-Willamette Valley, Oregon. (Kvarsten)

Second, although there is a great deal of confusion in the literature, concerning the effect of growth management schemes that attempt to limit growth at the local level, some consensus does seem to be appearing. This consensus should be of great concern. It indicates that such growth management may have the following characteristics:

1. "Local policies to limit population are probably not very effective, and when they are effective they are regressive and counter productive in terms of social well-being." (Alonzo)
2. Such regulations generally increase housing prices.
3. Such regulations create tight housing markets and low vacancy rates.
4. Greater dichotomy in land price increases and decreases is seen. The concept of windfalls and wipeouts. (Hagman)
5. In general such regulations simply further complicate new low and moderate income housing programs.
6. Such regulation tends to work in favor of larger rather than smaller firms. This is particularly true in construction but also may effect the small businessman, small industries, the small family farmer and the small property owner.
7. Housing quality tends to deteriorate.
8. Greater crowding in housing results.
9. Migration and mobility which has been a traditional road to opportunity in this country is reduced.
10. "It is clear that all of these instruments aimed at keeping people out tend to keep out those of lower income. In short, local population control policies are regressive." (Alonzo)

11. A suburb may be able to keep population out or industry out but it can do so only by directing it to other suburbs or by keeping it cooped up in the central city." (Alonzo)
12. "Environmental programs are likely to have the most disruptive impacts on those who have the least resources and particularly on those whose values, attitudes, and life styles are different from those of the central and dominant culture." (Baxter 1973)

I find this list quite distressing and assume it effects many people the same way. Not only do many growth management mechanisms have these negative impacts, but it is also doubtful whether many of the problems on the minds of citizens are necessarily solved by growth management, at least as currently evolving. At this point you might assume I'm ready to make the case for abandoning growth management; quite the contrary. If properly used growth management could be the focus for much needed governmental and planning reform. But before I suggest why this may be the case let's digress a minute and look at planning. Does it in fact need reforming?

PLANNING

There seems to be a growing feeling that our past performance (not only planning but by and large government in general) has left much to be desired. The future we've been planning for has arrived and it's neither a happy scene nor has it given us the institutions prepared to move into the future.

The planning profession itself, at least as represented

by the American Institute of Planners, has broadened its scope as viewed from its Journal articles and by its current statement of purpose, which says:

"Its purpose is to achieve the unified social, economic and physical development of communities.....The concerns of planning are as broad as those of government...." (American Institute)

However, the distance between the American Institute of Planners and the practice of planning is tremendous. Only a small portion of practicing planners are American Institute of Planners members (probably no more than 30-50%) . The practice itself has recently been subjected to hard appraisal.

The utility of the general plan, zoning ordinances and other implementing devices is increasingly doubted and suspect. These documents simply have not dealt with enough of the important issues and have mostly been an indication of what was happening in the community under any circumstances. How many general plans contain an economic or social element or are even based on sound economic analysis? Almost none. Not only did these documents fail to adequately examine socio-economic impacts, also as previously noted they often treated only superficially their main focus of physical (environmental) concerns. Paul Sedway has recently called the entire history of environmental impact statements: "An implicit condemnation of the planning process", (Sedway) and well it should be. Many of the questions now raised were never previously considered, let alone answered.

Recently as part of working on the California Coastal Zone

Plan, we tried to ask a few questions related to zoning and general plans. For example, how much additional population and development could be accommodated within the community as set forth in the general plan or the zoning ordinance? Few communities could answer this basic question.

By and large some of the most promising advances made in recent years have been made through State mandated elements. For example, how many general plans treated housing or geology at all until the mandated elements? Even with the mandated elements progress has been slow. Last year's survey of cities and counties by the State indicated low completion of the requirements. (California) For example, only thirty-eight percent of the cities had completed a housing element, eighteen percent a conservation element, three percent a noise abatement element. Even where general plans were in relatively good shape, how many of the zoning and other ordinances were in conformity to the general plan? Again, as surveyed last year by the State only forty-eight percent of the counties and fifty-six percent of the cities were going to make the 1973 deadline for conforming zoning to general plans.

As stated by Dennis Rondinelli in a 1973 AIP article:

"Despite the expenditure of millions of dollars over the past fifty years to produce a myriad of master plans for urban development, few cities of the United States have been developed or substantially redeveloped in accordance with a comprehensive plan." (Rondinelli)

In California we can look to such places as San Jose and Santa Clara County which have for years had what many (including myself) thought were the better planning departments. Yet many people are terrified by the results. This same pattern has been repeated in numerous communities across California.

The history in other areas is not much better. Need I go into the now well-known failures of the community renewal programs, model cities, program budgeting, regional and state planning and even capital improvements programming. The latter has been a traditional part of planning theory but yet practiced with only limited results anywhere in California.

Has planning been effective? More and more studies suggest it has not. Another AIP article by Donald Barr describes planners as mere "governmental functionaries". (Barr) Stephen Grobow and Allan Heckin in another 1973 AIP article describe planning as "perpetuating elitist tendencies". (Grabow)

A recent International City Managers Association article had this to say:

"The planning function long has suffered from many problems brought on by its own practices and procedures as well as managements misuse of its potentials. Planning has been too concerned with both idealized twenty year future plans and day-to-day zoning decision. The often heard jokes about plans gathering dust in municipal closets are painfully true. Yet, managers seldom have taken the initiative to revitalize planning."(Carter)

Perhaps the greatest condemnation of planning is Robert Goodman's book, After the Planners (Goodman) Although it fails to give us adequate directions for the future and its words are

often much too harsh (I particularly have trouble thinking of myself as an Albert Speer of our time), its 231 pages of examples should be must reading for every planner. Goodman talks about:

"...insistent patterns of arrogant and repressive programs. ...profession refusing to admit it sold itself out a long time ago to those who rule our society.....At best we help ameliorate the conditions produced by the status quo; at worst we engage in outright destruction."

Enough on planning's problems, let's return to my earlier statement that growth management could be the focus for much needed governmental reform.

REFORM

The one characteristic that seems to bind together all growth management discussions and techniques is action. Growth management is action oriented. It is not perscriptive like our previous end state plans, but interventional in terms of current directions. Because it is interventional, it avoids the plans gathering dust on the shelf problem. For better or worse by its very nature it effects the future by dealing with today. Growth management deals with incremental daily impacts. It deals with change. Without this focus as started in the environmental movement, we probably would not have the term "cumulative impact" giving us such headaches. Because it is interventional, it is also inherently more political. By its very nature, it will bring whatever faith we still have in the scientific method (and I have considerable) in closer touch with human processes.*

*For an interesting discussion of this in the broader context see Friedman.

Because growth management is interventional I believe it will force us to become more productive in looking at the inter-relationship of the environmental, social and economic issues. More specifically I see three specific reform areas relating to physical planning, regional planning and socio-economic planning.

1. Physical Comprehensiveness

Although planners have traditionally focused on the physical, it was always a select part of the physical. Many of the current environmental issues such as air and water pollution, water supply, siltation, wildlife needs, geologic hazards etc. were simply assumed away in past planning. I was amazed to come across this statement by James Pepper, one of California's well-known new crop of environmental planners:

"Economic and social problems have traditionally served to focus most public planning and policy issues. However environmental quality has recently become a third area of concern in planning." (Pepper)

Although I differ with his appraisal that economic and social problems have been planning's focus, his comments on environmental concerns certainly are well taken. I have included his list of environmental concerns below for anyone who is not convinced by this line of reasoning.**

****HYDROLOGIC CONDITIONS:** Stream-estuarine-ocean pollution rating, Pollution assimilation capacity, Areas of poor circulation, Outfall plume mapping, Thermal conditions, Areas of navigational difficulty, Saltwater intrusion areas, Groundwater reservoirs, Potable surface water supplies, Agricultural and industrial water supplies, Aquifer recharge areas, Watershed protection areas, Highly productive water habitats, Navigable waterways, Recreation waters, Flood overflow and dissipation areas, Potential reservoir sites, Tidal and current patterns, Areas of recorded flooding, Tidal/tsunami, Stream/river overflow.

2. Regional Planning

By its very nature growth management immediately highlights regional issues and should be a much needed positive force toward responsible regional and state government. This point has been well made by David Peterson who suggests:

"The very nature of the debate moves it upward through the different layers of governmental institutions. We search for handles at the local level and find very few. We come to recognize the importance of fiscal structure and are led into complex metropolitan mazes. The fiscal discussions blend fairly fast into discussions of governmental structure and decision-making power. People gradually come to sense, as I think you will today, that there are de facto growth policies operating, whether we choose to call them that or not, and that an important first step in the exercise is to identify them for what they are. (Peterson)

GEOLOGIC CONDITIONS: Seismic impact zones, Landslide-slump prone areas, Areas of subsidence, Areas of unstable bearing conditions, Soils of low infiltration capacity, Areas subject to severe erosion, Soils of unique agricultural potential, specialty crops, Highly productive soils, Mineral deposits, Unique landforms, Highly visible/scenic landforms, Unique geologic formations, Erodable sources of beach sand, Volcanic hazard areas, Geothermal resource areas.

BIOTIC CONDITIONS: Relatively undisturbed (virgin) communities, Rare or endangered species habitat and/or communities, Highly productive habitats for popular or sport species, Highly productive habitats for commercially valuable species, Waterfowl refuges, Highly productive timber and grassland communities, Areas of high recreational potential, Areas of high brush fire potential, Overaged, relic, disease-prone communities subject to elimination, Areas of low revegetation potential, Biological communities of scientific and/or educational value, Highly productive agricultural land, Vegetative cover types.

ATMOSPHERIC CONDITIONS: Topographic cover/noise amplification, Storm exposure-wind damage, Fog pattern, Air pollution assimilation capacity, Noise patterns, Storm wind protection/sheltered areas, Exceptional growing season, Climate favorable to specialty crops, Favorable recreation climate, Areas of quiet.

Not only will growth management force consideration of regional and state issues, but regional and state planning will likely become a legal necessity if growth management is to survive.

Reform in this area is long overdue. I need not remind us of the sorry planning performance at the state level in California. The California Tomorrow Plan has given us some insight into what state comprehensive planning could look like. (California Tomorrow) It remains to be seen what a new governor will do to take the next step. Our performance at the regional level has not been much better, although there are now some positive signs in some of the research being undertaken by councils of governments.*

Local planners and government should recognize the state and regional planning need and help educate local citizens to these needs. An interesting experience in this regard was use of the Southern California Association of Government growth allocations as part of the coastal planning effort. When it was suggested to about forty local planning directors that the Coastal Commission consider implementing SCAG growth allocations, they were shocked into complete disbelief. Even though they had participated in helping set the allocations, the possibility of actually doing something with them was frightening. Can you imagine how they will advise their local governments if this proposal ever reaches the light of day?

*For example see Comprehensive Planning.

Our concern for state and regional government and planning needs to be less focused on organization than with getting the job done. I have been amazed at how planners could spend so much time worrying about whether state planning was going to be in the Governor's office or the Department of Finance, when the obvious point was that under the recent political structure, it didn't make any difference where it was located - it would still be ineffective.

Our concerns for growth management can also lead us to a new awareness of how we organize our communities and government at the more local level. Jack Howard recently said that for thirty years he's been saying: "The bigger the metropolitan population, the worse it is as a place to live for the larger fraction of its people". (Howard) Alonzo, although discounting all the theories about optimum city size, suggests an interesting possibility of "borrowed size" of cities whereby a small city exhibits some of the characteristics of a larger one and thereby "have one's cake and eat it too". (Alonzo) Perhaps the key may be finding ways to organize communities so that they are responsive to their inhabitants. Communities that can help people with problems of future shock and identity. A surprising little amount of study has taken place on this topic. One of the Athens Ekistics conferences concluded:

"It is the absence of the individual's sense of self-sufficiency which, the psychologists pointed out, is one of the factors that produces alienation and eventual violence in society." (Agena)

Any mechanism for reinforcing local control, however, must of course have built in safeguards re the equity issues I've been discussing.

3. Socio-economic Concerns

Last, and most important growth management will call for socio-economic planning. Some of my closest planning colleagues may take issue with this, but I believe it is time we face the facts of life.

The time for ending the physical (or for that matter environmental) planning charade is here. It is time that we fully open our doors to socio-economic planning. Kent's Urban General Plan (Kent) may still be on the American Institute of Planners' examination list, but it is clear that the concerns of our citizens today have long since transcended these views of urban problems and planning solutions. Since the socio-economic issues are the focus of this seminar, let's look at this issue in greater detail.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONCERNS

I need to begin this discussion with a confirmation of my belief that the environmental issues of the day are not only important but critical. Under no circumstances do I suggest we retreat from them or give up the gains of the last few years. If anything, we need to press harder and stronger. Despite our best efforts we still breathe polluted air, see mile after mile of sprawl and visual blight destroying our landscape and agricultural resources, we continue to see oil befoul our beaches and pollution contaminate our streams. Planners should be in the forefront of these issues and environmentalists should

remain their champions. But planners and government are more than environmentalists. Our concerns must include the socio-economic impacts of these environmental efforts. In normal times this would go without saying, but unfortunately we see more and more individuals concerned with many of these issues being labelled anti-environmentalists.

In this regard it is interesting to look at the recent history of a bill introduced in the California Legislature in the spring of 1973 which would have required economic impact reports along with consideration of environmental impacts.* Much to the author's surprise, the bill was immediately opposed by both the conservationists and developers. The conservationists evidently feared economic analysis would do in the newly successful environmental movement, while the developers evidently feared too many of their projects couldn't stand the economic test or would be further delayed by one more requirement. This kind of opposition should not be unexpected from two groups who are basically special interest lobbies.

Planners and government officials on the other hand should be dedicated to fact finding prior to decision making and should be fully supportive of socio-economic analysis. We need to continually examine questions without preconceiving the answers. Our challenge must be to provide information for society to adequately weigh alternatives. The fact, however, that a bill was needed (as with other mandatory plan requirements) is just one more indictment of the lack of adequate planning. The bill,

AB 938 by Charles Warren.

by the way, after being watered down to simply make economic impact permissive, something that is already allowed, made its way through the legislature, eventually picking up a smattering of support from both conservation and development interest and was then vetoed by the Governor.

Those concerned with both environment and broader socio-economic issues, need to concentrate on solutions to the socio-economic impacts. A high percentage of the environmental proposals should be implemented, yes even those having major negative socio-economic impact. Our thrust should not be in finding ways to overturn these major efforts but rather in finding ways to mitigate or correct such impacts.

On the other hand, let's not kid ourselves that all areas of concern can be maximized. There will have to be some trade-offs and some compromises. As population increases and open space is diminished, various concerns take on new importance and the interaction of various forces becomes clearer and clearer. We must stop treating one problem at a time.

The State's recent report on socio-economic impacts of environmental policies viewed the problem this way:

"A political consensus exists that our societies policies have failed to reflect a proper concern for the environment and that correction is long overdue. However, we know that environmental policies have social and economic ramifications. The constraints placed on our activities to ensure that we protect the physical environment may effect attempts to make progress toward economic and social goals."

"Whenever the questions of costs has not been pressed, this has all too often been due to the fact that the impact fell on a powerless group or was diffused over a large population."

"The consideration of environmental issues has been characterized not by a lack of awareness that potentially unfavorable impacts existed, but rather by insufficient knowledge of the nature and magnitude of the impacts."
(Baxter 1973)

While a consensus is gradually taking place re the need for considering the socio-economic impact of environmental regulation, we also need to begin more direct socio-economic planning. This topic alone could readily absorb this entire paper but let me make only a few points.

First, we should continually ask how much of our planning relates to people's social and economic concerns. The Urban Institute in trying to find a way to measure quality of life came up with fourteen indicators measuring the following, most of which are never considered in the planning process: (Flax)

Unemployment	Racial Equality
Poverty Levels	Community Concerns(United Fund)
Income	Citizen Participation
Housing Costs	Education
Health (death)	Cost of Transportation
Mental Health (suicide)	Quality of Air
Public Order (crime)	Social Problems (narcotics)

Erick Fromm, the noted psychoanalyst in writing for the AIP Journal suggests our concerns should focus on "violence, boredom, anxiety, and isolation" in our society. (Fromm)

Ralph Widner, Director of the Academy for Contemporary Problems, writing in the July, 1974 AIP Newsletter said it this way:

"We cannot emphasize environmental protection to the total exclusion of social aspirations any more than we can stress economic growth at the long run expense of the national environment and world resources. We might think of growth policy in terms of a three legged stool. One leg is social

policy. One leg is economic policy. One leg is environmental policy. The purpose of the growth policy is to orchestrate the cumulative outcomes that flow from these policies..."(Widner)

I was recently taken by an article (perhaps over-stated) written by Sam Smith in the ASPO Newsletter concerning the human side of urban problems as follows:

"There are six major animal species in Washington: dogs, birds, cockroaches, termites, rats, and human beings. Of these only the last is endangered. Dogs run wild in packs in some parts of town; starlings and pigeons resist the most technologically advanced techniques of eradication; roaches and termites thrive despite extermination service contracts; and the rat has responded to the best efforts of the Department of Environmental Services by producing a mutant strain resistant to all known poisons. But the human is in trouble.

One reason is that the ecology of the urban human remains little understood. We now comprehend the hazards of blithely pouring DDT over crops, slashing through treelands, or fouling the air. But we still act as though we can, without penalty, wipe out neighborhoods, force mass migrations, rip out favorite meeting places for people, or tear down centers for communications, culture, and commerce that are as important to a community as a marsh is to a flyway.

Those human marshes we call cities are in danger throughout America....." (Smith)

Of great surprise is a recent publication of the League of California Cities and its notions about social planning. It says:

"...each city should assume responsibility for identifying all community social needs and for planning, coordinating and evaluating programs to alleviate social problems within its boundaries.the City General Plan would become the main instrument for the discharging of city social responsibilities.....The League's Action Plan urges all cities to prepare and adopt a social services element to its General Plan, treating it like the other general plan elements and as part of the overall planning process."

The report goes on to say:

"The Action Plan is significant because it recognizes that although the need for local government involvement in human resources has been acknowledged for some time, little has been accomplished.....Since city officials have been criticized for being concerned only with physical development and not with social development, it seems fitting that local government officials have decided to utilize their basic policy instrument for physical development to apply also in the social development field. It should be made very clear that the Action Plan does not say that cities intend to plan and deliver each and every social service conceivable. Such a proposition is ludicrous. Just as a city does not provide all services and facilities called for in the general plan for physical development, neither will they, nor should they, do so for all of the services outlined in the social element. Just as the physical elements of a general plan are used to coordinate policies and to serve as the basis for city advocacy, it is in this manner that the role of the social element is envisioned." (League)

Had I not read it myself and seen it in print, I would'nt have believed it. The defense rests!

At this point you might expect me to give you a neat formula for putting together your own growth management scheme including all the desirable characteristics I've suggested. An outline showing how to relate to all the existing institutions , processes and personnel. The topic however is far too complex for me to suggest a simplified outline and far too new in evolution for the easy setting of direction. Rather I'm suggesting that you join in the evolution process. Use the growth management movement to get the governmental reforms that you feel are important. Experiment with it, create with it. The list of needed reforms and issues is long.

Before closing, however, let me suggest a few of my own

priorities for your consideration.

SELECTED DIRECTIONS

What I have called for, up to this point, is obviously a comprehensive integrated approach to looking at growth problems, or as I would prefer to think of them, as problems of change. Given the difficulties involved in being comprehensive, coupled with limited resources, it is essential that we carefully select areas for initial concentration. We can always come back to lower priority areas as time and resources allow. My suggestions for such priorities are:

1. Socio-economic impacts first, then socio-economic planning.

Given our traditions of physical planning and general lack of expertise in the socio-economic areas, I suggest that we start looking at the socio-economic impacts of our growth and environmental policies as they currently exist at the general plan level. This will lead us naturally to the second step of socio-economic planning and give us the ability to relate specific proposals to a broader framework. Incidentally, the problem in socio-economic planning is not only the lack of expertise among planners, but also and even more importantly the lack of expertise among managers, related department heads and the consultants practicing in this area.

There are several words of caution that are necessary in relation to socio-economic studies. First, we should try to avoid the environmental impact review process of piling up paper without focusing on key issues and decision. Sedway's recent

article in California Tomorrow and critique of EIR's makes good cautionary reading. (Sedway) Second, we need to acknowledge the increased costs of considering these impacts. Perhaps if, as suggested by Sedway, we can reduce the EIR costs,* we can use these funds for socio-economic analysis. Third, we need to re-interpret the economic and sociological data so the public and decision makers can understand it. Those few studies that have been done have had poor reception, partly because they don't seem to meaningfully relate to people's concerns.

2. Fiscal impact studies

I have great concerns about fiscal impact studies. Since this seminar will have an entire session on this topic, I will comment only briefly. Such studies can lead us in the wrong direction or at least misplace our emphasis. But these studies can be of value to the extent:

- a. They help us see the initial and long term service costs and benefits of different types and timing of development, i.e. scattered vs. compact, development today vs. ten years from now, etc.
- b. They assist us in working through regional tax inequities as related to growth or change.
- c. They help us determine reasonable transfer payments that can be used to revitalize our older communities and assist in low and moderate income problems.

They can be harmful, however, to the extent they:

- a. Overly focus our attention on the direct fiscal effects of development vs. many more important secondary effects.
- b. Overly drain away research money, probably more needed in other areas.
- c. Further exaggerate problems in locating needed low and moderate income housing and services that may have negative fiscal impacts.

*Sedway suggests that for many communities the EIR costs may exceed the entire planning budget.

- d. Perpetuate our current system of each community trying to include the most taxables within its boundaries.

We should be able to readily develop fiscal impact models that can be inexpensive and become a routine part of our analysis process.

These studies have also been of interest for a number of other reasons. They have pointed to the lack of a sound basis and theory for many of the long range capital improvement programs as well as the continued disarray and need for improvement in our governmental budgeting and accounting systems. After all the talk and glowing promises about planning program budgeting systems a few years ago, we have found little comprehensive or useful application. Part of this may relate to the difficulties involved in implementing such systems. I rather suspect, however, that the problems have been more than technical. Elected officials may not be particularly comfortable dealing with programs. When faced with a desire to reduce the budget on one hand and cut programs on the other, they may be much more comfortable simply retreating to the line item budget and cutting staff. The "new politician", hopefully will be more comfortable with such approaches but it will require some major changes in government.

3. Concentrate on the problems of disenfranchised sub-groups.

The State socio-economic impact study suggests:

"We believe that identifying the differential impacts on sub-groups of the population is the most important part of policy impact analysis." (Baxter 1973)

The population earning over \$15,00 per year in this country is still only between fifteen to twenty percent. Not only do growth policies hit the poor, the elderly and the minorities the hardest, so too do the energy crisis and inflation. Despite our best efforts, we still appear to subsidize middle and upper income persons. For example, income tax deductions on housing mortgages continue to account for more than the payments for public housing and public assistance combined.

In considering problems of the disenfranchised it also remains certain that we cannot expect our normal hearing processes to give us adequate input from these groups. We need to continue to strive for other ways to get this input. Although the Community Action Programs (CAP's) appear to have lost all supporters, I for one suggest that we should be careful not to throw the baby out with the bath. When Moynihan complained that CAP's only brought the poor into conflict with the establishment, he seemed to miss this most important point.

Perhaps the greatest negative impact from the focus on the environment is how readily we've abandoned the social reforms of the 60's. We need to get these concerns re-instated in the growth management movement.*

4. Create housing

Since so great a part of growth management and environmental regulation seems to further impinge on our housing problems,

*For a good discussion of this point see Cassidy.

this area deserves special attention. Our failures continue to outstrip our successes. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that we need to consider housing as part of the infrastructure.(Agena) Unfortunately, the local housing elements haven't moved us as far along as hoped. Nevertheless, it seems to me that a few ideas stand out as worthy of greater pursuit including:

- a. Requiring a certain percent of low and moderate income housing in each development as now being tried by a number of communities, as well as the preferential formula approach included in the Petaluma plan, (Land Use-Petaluma) Marin plan yet to be tested, (Marin) and other similar approaches.
- b. Requiring communities zoned for extensive business and industry to accept the responsibility of housing employees.(Lustig)
- c. Creating a state housing finance agency which California is unfortunately still lacking. Incidentally, in New York state alone close to 100,000 units have now been financed or developed through this technique. (Stegman)

5. Positive development

Many environmental and growth management efforts to date have concentrated on deciding where not to develop. We need a positive effort directed at deciding what land should be developed. It would be unfortunate if our development policy results in simply the negative stance of using left over land. Incidentally, as more and more citizens object to development in their communities, (which is reinforced by recent studies indicating people particularly value open space in proximity to their housing) it may give added value to concentrating on new towns, new communities, or rejuvenating inner cities and rural towns that may welcome more population. Despite all the negative reports about new towns, they do seem to have some positive social attributes as suggested in two studies:

"Clustering, green belts, new communities with a full mix of uses, more inclusive decision making processes-all of these involve higher levels of social interaction and cooperation than we usually have achieved.*

"Only black, low and moderate income and elderly residents of the new towns appeared to be enjoying substantial advantages from living in them..**

Use of the much discussed but seldom implemented notion of land banking could also present a more useful tool as we end up with less and less land resources for development. Huey Johnson in a recent article on land banking has suggested the following:

"Until now, I do not believe the time has been ripe for a broad approach to land banking in America. Problems have at last become intense enough to provide a need for a positive approach, one that will involve our effective private business sector, investment capital and the public interest in a more healthy limited growth direction. I believe land banking does this, and the time for it is now.

I believe that public opinion has evolved to a point where it recognizes the need for a radical new approach to problems of land use.(Johnson)

5. Relate the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 to planning.

We no longer need to debate the potential damage to social reform and social programs that may come out of the Community Development Act, we will soon begin to witness it. It will be only a considered effort that can keep the funds from being ripped off by the establishment.*** The Community Development Act must be closely tied to the growth management movement and planning and if local planners are not already fully in the midst of this,

*William K. Reilly, staff director of Rockefeller task force as interviewed by the Christian Science Monitor.

**Washington Post article reporting on the National Science Foundation study.

***For an interesting discussion of this see Marcuse and Hirshen.

they should be very concerned. Community development funds coupled with their ability to match other Federal funds could be the driving force to keep social equity in the growth management movement.

6. Change the way we think about things.

The biggest advances we make seem to come along when we radically change our thinking process. For example, until the entire notion of growth as a positive event was challenged, we simply didn't have adequate ground rules for a productive debate. Several areas come to mind for consideration as follows:

a. Options Planning

The difficulty of forecasting the future is increasingly apparent. Strangely however this problem has not lead us to new solutions for designing our living environments. Most of our general plans continue to plan for the future generations using our current values and technology. What is needed are plans that take into account the unpredictability of the future. I'm not exactly certain how to do this but would like to encourage more thinking along these lines.

One small application I've tried was in relation to planning for government facilities. In this case the surest thing we knew about past projections for government space was that the projections were always wrong. We then designed plans that would work equally well with very high projections for space needs as well as very low ones. We also tried to design plans that left large parts of

the land uncommitted so that it could readily be used for other uses if the high projections did not materialize. Applications of this technique would seem possible as part of growth management. Options planning would also seem to re-inforce the desirability of land banking as already dicussed.

b. Value Judgments.

Perhaps the single most important area of change that should be made in our planning process is the increased use of value judgment at an earlier stage of analysis. This has been well discussed by Mogulof as follows:

It is a common place in any study of decision making to speak of the primacy of values. But so many involved in public decision making continue to express the hope that technical answers will be found to what are essentially value questions. For example, in determining coastal usage there is repeated reference to the idea of "carrying capacity". The hope is that technicians will be able to study coastal land and determine the density of development that it can tolerate. One of the premises of the planning process is that this kind of technical intelligence will be available to inform policy recommendations. At this point in the life of the commissions such technical information is minimally available, or what is more likely, each party to any contest over a permit brings its own varying technical interpretations. The Vice-Chairwoman of the State Commission has captured the problem in a well turned phrase: "It should by now be a top priority task for our government to see to it that qualified experts are paid for giving their opinions instead of giving the opinions for which they are paid.

The point of this section on value dilemmas is not to bemoan the state of technical expertise with regard to coastal zone matters. Instead it is to suggest that there are important differences of value which cannot be reconciled by technicians. Dr. Walter Nierenberg, Director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, handled this question of values and technicians, very deftly in the following quote: "People keep asking me, as Director of Scripps, what

I think should be done about the coast - high-rise or low-level development, or this, that or another solution. Well I am not more competent to decide such issues than Mr. John Q. Public". Whether the coast ought to be preserved or developed is a value question - how, it might be preserved or developed lends itself to some technical knowledge. (Mogulof)

Think of the millions of dollars that could have been saved in transportation studies alone if more decisions would have been made on value judgments before detailed research began. For example in the Bay Area, did it really require multi-million dollar studies to determine that an eight lane bridge plus tracks for rapid transit from San Francisco to Angel Island and on to Tiburon was a bit too much? Similar examples abound in our recent history. Incidentally the increased use of value judgements is not inconsistent with strong support of the scientific method and technical analysis. Each is necessary in order to maximize the value of the other.

CONCLUSION

Summing up, I have attempted to show in this paper how the environmental movement and growth management movements have captured the interest and attention of the populous. I have indicated that numerous and varied issues are currently being floated under the banner of the growth management movement. Many of the growth mechanisms proposed can be regressive in nature and disproportionately impact on the disadvantaged.

Given its popular support, however, growth management could be the catalyst and force behind a whole range of needed

governmental and planning reforms. Such reforms would include being physically comprehensive, taking proper recognition of regional concerns, and considering socio-economic impacts. Greater concern for socio-economic impacts and socio-economic planning is long over-due and is increasingly recognized as an important part of government.

Finally, I have tried to offer some constructive suggestions for the future. All of this adds up to a very simple message. So far we've had more talk than action. Growth management can be the engine in the environment, planning, and government reform movement. It can turn us to a new concern for socio-economic problems, the disenfranchised, and human needs. But to do so will require some changes. But then, isn't change what the growth management thing is all about?

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