

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WASHINGTON, D. C. 20523 BIBLIOGRAPHIC INPUT SHEET	FOR AID USE ONLY <i>Batch 61</i>
---	-------------------------------------

1. SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION	A. PRIMARY	TEMPORARY
	B. SECONDARY	

2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
 Planning assistance for local communities in a regional context.

3. AUTHOR(S)
 Miller, J.C.

4. DOCUMENT DATE 1975	5. NUMBER OF PAGES 41p.	6. ARC NUMBER ARC
--------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------

7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS
 AID/TA/UD

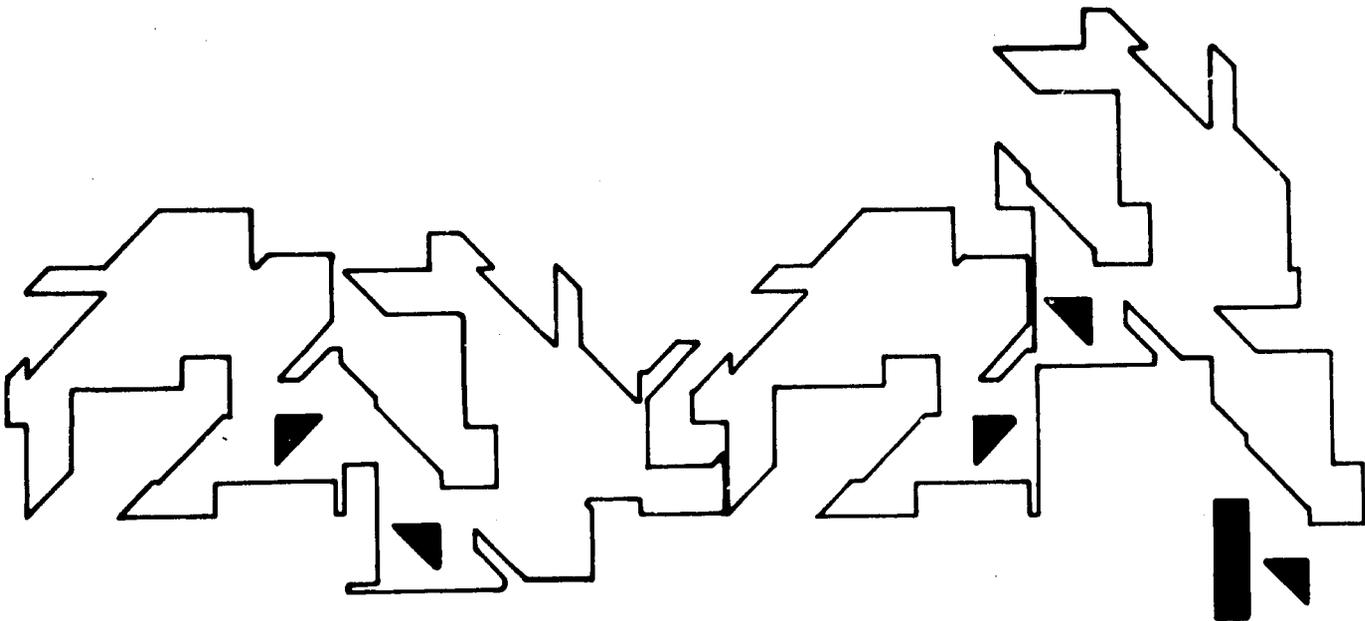
8. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (Sponsoring Organization, Publishers, Availability)

9. ABSTRACT
 (Urban development R&D)

10. CONTROL NUMBER PN-AAD-684	11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT
12. DESCRIPTORS	13. PROJECT NUMBER
	14. CONTRACT NUMBER AID/TA/UD
	15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT

PN-AAD-684
AID/TA/UD

Planning Assistance for Local Communities in a Regional Context



Office of Urban Development
Bureau for Technical Assistance
Agency for International Development
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20523

Planning Assistance for Local Communities in a Regional Context

Prepared by
James C. Miller

May 1975

**Office of Urban Development
Bureau for Technical Assistance
Agency for International Development
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20523**

CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	PROVIDING PLANNING ASSISTANCE IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY	4
	Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 (701)	4
	Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)	5
	In General	5
	Operation Townlift	6
	Lower Elk River Demonstration Project	8
	Tennessee State Planning Office (TSPO)	9
	Councils of Governments (COGs)	10
	Local Development Districts	11
	North-Central Alabama Regional Council of Governments (NARCOG)	12
	South Central Tennessee Development District (SCTDD)	13
	Conclusion	14
III.	ORGANIZATION FOR PLANNING ASSISTANCE	15
	The Local Planning Structure	15
	The Impact of Federal Programs	19
	The Regional Agency and Technical Planning Assistance to Local Communities	20
	Conclusion	25
IV.	SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS	27
	NOTES	31
	APPENDIX	34
	Total Population, 1960, of the Tennessee Valley Region	34
	Metropolitan Areas and Urban Places of the Tennessee Valley Region: Population, 1960	35

PLANNING ASSISTANCE FOR LOCAL COMMUNITIES
IN A REGIONAL CONTEXT

I. INTRODUCTION

In its state-of-the-art study of regional development, the Office of Urban Development emphasized the importance of small- and medium-sized towns in the development process.¹ It was shown that these urban places perform major production and distribution functions which serve to integrate the rural and urban sectors of the economy. The study strongly suggested that the growth of small- and medium-sized towns should be encouraged and fostered as part of a national development program.

Further interest in these smaller towns and cities has arisen in developed and developing countries experiencing the social problems and diseconomies created by large metropolitan agglomerations. Lower-order central places are being looked upon increasingly as alternative sites to which rural-urban migrants might be directed and for which social infrastructure and services can be provided more efficiently.² If these smaller cities and towns are to perform adequately their roles and avoid some of the problems facing larger urban centers, proper planning at an early stage in the growth process is essential. However, most developing countries lack the trained personnel and other

resources to provide the required professional planning assistance to all cities and towns.

It was in recognition of this problem that the Office of Urban Development commissioned Rivkin/Carson, Inc., to study and recommend some approaches to land use programming for small- and intermediate-sized cities in developing countries. The study concluded that ongoing planning activity is only feasible in rapidly growing intermediate-sized cities. Planning for smaller communities, the report stated, could be carried out adequately within the context of regional planning.³

This study follows from the last recommendation of the Rivkin/Carson report. Its purpose is to discuss ways in which technical planning assistance has been and can be provided to smaller communities within the context of regional planning. Research for the study began with a review of relevant planning literature. An extensive search revealed that relatively little has been written on the subject. This lack of information and an awareness that one of the longest and most extensive experiences in the United States was nearby prompted a three-day visit by a team from the Office of Urban Development (TA/UD) to the Tennessee Valley region for the purpose of observing how planning assistance is provided to communities in that area by state and regional

agencies. That trip, in addition to yielding a wealth of information, gave the study a clearer focus, and served as a framework for further research.

Following the introduction the report has three sections. In the next (second) section and largely without comment, the programs of several regional planning agencies visited by the TA/UD team are described: their structures and the types of technical assistance they provide to local communities. The discussion in the third section draws on both the literature and observations in consideration of the roles and interrelationships of regional and local participants in the planning process. Section four summarizes the study and offers some implications from the U.S. experience for developing countries.

II. PROVIDING PLANNING ASSISTANCE IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

Even the most cursory look at the practice of planning in the United States shows that planning for small communities, in most cases, has been woefully inadequate. The reasons include those which also are operative in many developing countries: a lack of local financial resources to support planning; a shortage of trained personnel; and an urbanisation pattern and various policies that have favored the growth of large metropolitan areas. In addition, attempts at planning in the more rural areas of the nation have faced stiff opposition from local people who have been very suspicious of government intervention, especially when it affects the way they can use their land.

Section 701 Program. The primary means of supporting planning for smaller communities has been through Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, which allows for federal funding of local planning activities. In many cases the plans that have resulted have been poorly done, "one-shot", 20-year comprehensive plans. They generally reflect little local involvement or concern for implementation, and have tended to benefit the private consulting firms that produced them more than the communities for which they were produced. Much of the planning activity resulting from the so-called 701 program represents the worst of American planning

experience. However, the nation has had some experience in providing planning assistance on the regional level (much of which has been funded under the 701 program) which offer some interesting examples for developing countries.

Tennessee Valley Authority. Particularly interesting in this regard is the experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Created by an act of Congress in 1933, TVA has the responsibility of promoting the development of the Tennessee River Valley region, primarily through programs aimed at the efficient use and management of the region's natural resources.⁴ TVA's best-known activity in this regard has been the building of a system of dams and reservoirs on the Tennessee River and its tributaries, the benefits from which include flood control, electric power generation, improved river transportation, and the creation of river-oriented industrial parks and recreation areas. Other programs include agricultural development, non-hydroelectric power generation, and research in natural resource conservation and development.⁵ TVA has broad powers, including the power to condemn the land it requires, and maintains a work force of 25,000, one-half of which is composed of construction workers.⁶

The Tennessee Valley area has undergone major changes since the founding of the TVA. Agriculture, which employed 60% of the region's labor force in the 1930s, employs only 7% today. Manu-

facturing accounts for 35% of regional employment, compared to 28% nationally. Per capita income has grown from only 45% of the national average in 1933 to 75% in 1973.⁷

Of particular interest is the fact that 80% of the new industrial employment in the region has been located outside of major metropolitan areas, largely in industrial parks convenient to water and rail transportation.⁸ As a result of this trend, the smaller towns in the region are of considerable importance. To meet the planning needs generated by this non-metropolitan growth, TVA has developed several programs, two of which are particularly interesting: Operation Townlift and the Lower Elk River Demonstration Project.

Operation Townlift, which began in 1963, is aimed primarily at the revitalization of the downtown areas of small- and medium-sized towns. It seeks to counteract the decay of existing downtown areas, making them more competitive with suburban shopping centers and making the town more attractive for industrial development.

In the Townlift program a multidisciplinary TVA team of architects, planners, and economists works closely with local business groups, citizens, and public officials to study local problems and develop preliminary plans for improvements.

In each instance, TVA finely tailors its assistance to meet the specific needs and interests of individual communities. It also carefully coordinates its planning with state and local planning bodies. Once the general Townlift plans are prepared and presented, often in a general meeting attended by private citizens and community leaders, the local sponsoring organization is encouraged to establish priorities, hire private engineers and architects to prepare detailed drawings, and to work out financial arrangements which best suit the community. TVA continues to meet with the local Townlift committee and offer suggestions for implementation. However, the slow and difficult job of turning plans into realities rests entirely with the local communities.⁹

A typical Townlift study contains an economic analysis of the town, including expected future growth, major functions, and the town's relationship with surrounding areas; a statement of goals and objectives, usually in terms of what problems need to be overcome in order to revitalize the community; detailed analyses of the problems and recommendations on how to deal with them (including architectural renderings); and finally some suggestions on implementing the plans.

The Townlift program has helped many communities in the TVA region; 43 towns were served in 1973 alone.¹⁰ While in some ways only a cosmetic beautification operation, the program can provide a first step toward establishing a concern for ongoing planning in the community. Especially important is its ability to involve local citizens in the planning process. Notes one local official in a Townlift community:

The best thing about Townlift... is that it is so practical. TVA doesn't overwhelm a community with a lot of fancy long-range plans that look impossible to achieve. Instead, it starts with the basics. It says, "Start with this single block. Paint that wall; build a parking lot here; do this or that with those buildings; plant a few trees." This is the type of thing that the people can grasp and go to work on.¹¹

The Lower Elk River Demonstration Project is another attempt by TVA to deal with the impacts of diffused urban-industrial growth. It seeks to prevent the harmful environmental, aesthetic, and socio-economic effects that can occur in rural areas surrounding industrializing non-metropolitan growth centers. According to TVA's 1974 Annual Report:

By applying innovative concepts in regional planning, the project will demonstrate how a planned community in a rural area can meet the demand for services generated by increased population growth while preserving much of the open space and forested land usually associated with a rural setting.¹²

The program covers a three-county area in northern Alabama and south-central Tennessee, and contains the growth centers of Huntsville and Decatur, Alabama. It has four main objectives:

1. Provide a range of choices in living conditions
 - a. Upgrade the existing rural service centers
 - b. Establish one or two rural area employment centers
 - c. Develop a series of new rural neighborhood villages
2. Maintain the natural beauty and openness of the three-county area

3. Improve job opportunities in existing towns and provide for ready access to jobs outside the area
4. Provide housing for a full range of social, economic, and racial groups.¹³

The main feature of the project is a series of nine, planned, rural villages to be located near existing or planned employment centers. Each village is to consist of approximately 1,500 acres, have 3,000-4,000 residents, and provide a range of outdoor recreation activities in a well-planned, environmentally-sound setting. Sites will be serviced with adequate road, water, and sewer systems. Commercial facilities will be available in adjacent existing villages. The original notion was for the villages to be financed from a revolving fund, but that idea has been rejected by Congress. Responsibility for the development of the villages will be with local agencies, while TVA will provide technical assistance. Work has begun already on the first village at Elkmont, Alabama.¹⁴

While the TVA programs for providing technical planning assistance to local communities are instructive, it should be remembered that the TVA experience is unique in the United States; it is the only organization of its type in the nation. More common are the assistance activities of state agencies and multicounty regional agencies.

Tennessee State Planning Office. In Tennessee the State

Planning Office (TSPO), an arm of the executive branch of state government, provides technical planning assistance to local communities in the state through its Local Planning Program.

The major goal of the Local Planning Program is to provide professional assistance to local communities in defining problems and through the planning process, to assist them in developing action programs to address those problems... Consistent with the legislative mandate that the local planning staff function remain advisory in nature, emphasis continues to be placed on building local initiative and capacity to solve local problems.¹⁵

Operating from its offices in the state capital and six regional offices located around the state, TSPO serves 165 municipalities and counties, primarily on a contractual basis. Funding for TSPO planning assistance usually is available through the Section 701 program. A wide range of services is offered, including planning for water and sewer systems, community facilities, land use, and historic districts; preparation of federal grant applications; and preparation of zoning ordinances and subdivision regulations.¹⁶ Recently there has been increased interest in reviewing and updating long-range plans as to their currency and desirability, and in aiding in the implementation of plans.¹⁷

Councils of Governments. The growth of multicounty regional organizations was spurred in the 1960s by two developments. One was the federal requirement, contained in the Office of Management and

Budget Circular A-95, that application by localities for federal program funds must be reviewed by an appropriate regional agency as to their agreement with a regional plan. The requirement led to the establishment of multijurisdictional councils of governments (COGs) whose staffs were charged with formulating regional plans and reviewing grant applications for their member governments. In many cases the planning staffs of these COGs have gone on to provide a number of planning services for the region and its constituent localities.

Local Development Districts. The second development leading to the formation of multicounty regional organizations was the passage of the regional development acts during the mid-1960s, especially the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, which set up the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, which established the Economic Development Administration (EDA). The programs of both of these agencies encourage the formation of multicounty agencies, known as local development districts, to act as the primary planning and coordinating bodies in the effort to develop economically-lagging regions. The development districts, which are designated by the state, carry out analyses and formulate plans for the district and its member jurisdictions.¹⁸

North-Central Alabama Regional Council of Governments. The TA/UD team visited the planning staffs of two multicounty organizations during its visit to the Tennessee Valley area. One, the planning staff of the North-Central Alabama Regional Council of Governments (NARCOG), serves a three-county, four-municipality region (150,000 population and 3,000 square miles) from its offices in Decatur, Alabama. Originally the planning staff for the City of Decatur, it merged with NARCOG during 1969-1970, and now performs a variety of services for NARCOG member jurisdictions. These include A-95 reviews (the basis for founding the COG); preparing and maintaining regional comprehensive plans; acting, on a contractual basis, as the planning department for the municipalities of Decatur and Hartselle; and providing other planning services, again on a contractual basis, to individual local governments. Services provided under this last function include water and sewer planning, land use analysis and planning, capital improvements programming, development assistance (NARCOG is an ARC local development district), and housing studies.¹⁹

The planning staff's activities are overseen by the NARCOG Board of Directors, with an executive director managing day-to-day operations. The board is composed of elected officials and citizens from the member jurisdictions, and meets monthly. The planning staff also has organized a system of citizen participation

committees, based on elementary school districts, to identify local problems. Funding for the planning operation comes from contracts with local governments for planning services (75% paid for under the Section 701 program) and from per capita assessments paid by the counties.²⁰

South Central Tennessee Development District. Founded in 1972 the South Central Tennessee Development District (SCTDD) is the planning and coordinating body for a thirteen-county region with a total population of 262,000. The agency is formally governed by a fifty-member board of directors (representing all jurisdictions in the region) which meets annually; business is conducted regularly by a fifteen-member executive board that meets monthly. An executive director is in charge of daily operations. SCTDD has its main office in Columbia, Tennessee, with a field office in Tullahoma, Tennessee. The funding for SCTDD's activities comes from per capita assessments on member jurisdictions, state funds, and federal grants.²¹

The primary responsibility of SCTDD and its planning staff is to foster industrial development in the region. In furtherance of this objective the planning staff carries out analyses, conducts inventories, and formulates plans relating to the region's economic potential. Work done to date includes an overall economic development

plan, a population and economic analysis, a land use analysis, a manpower plan, and an inventory of potential industrial sites.²²

In addition to its development programs, SCTDD serves also as the regional law enforcement planning agency, regional highway safety program coordinator, and regional senior citizen program coordinator. It functions as the A-95 clearinghouse for its member jurisdictions, and assists them in preparing grant applications. SCTDD is limited to planning, coordination, and advisory functions only; implementation of programs must be done by the member jurisdictions.²³

Conclusion. The visit to the Tennessee Valley region showed the TA/UD team that regional agencies can be an effective means of making planning expertise available to local communities. The observed agencies offered a considerable range of planning services to their constituent jurisdictions and in most cases showed themselves to be quite capable of meeting local needs and working with local officials.

The next section merges the Tennessee Valley observations with the literature review in order to highlight those qualities which make regional agencies an important vehicle for delivering technical assistance.

III. ORGANIZATION FOR PLANNING ASSISTANCE

As practised locally in the United States, planning has had a public or social component and a technical component. It is important, therefore, to examine the characteristics of regional-level organization in the Tennessee Valley region as an institutional structure of planning at the local level, as well as for providing technical planning assistance to small communities.

The Local Planning Structure. It would seem natural that the locally and elected government would be the body to represent the local community in the planning process. For one thing, the political process by which local leaders are elected and by which local decisions are made provides a means for the expression of community goals and values, and for the selection of those goals and values most acceptable to the community as a whole. Of equal importance is the local government which, through its powers to raise revenue, spend public funds, and enforce laws, has the ability to implement plans and programs. In most of the examples cited earlier, it was the local government with which the regional agency dealt most often.

However, in many communities of the United States, a significant role in the exercise of the planning function is given to a citizen planning commission or planning board. These bodies,

which are unique to the United States, grew partly from a desire to eliminate corruption in government by vesting certain functions in separate elective citizen organizations. (School boards developed from this same movement.) Another reason for these organizations is the historic and essentially locally-based focus of governance and the governing function in the United States. An equally important reason, however, has been a belief that elected officials do not have adequate time to devote to planning concerns. This belief is stated in the annotations to the Standard City Planning Enabling Act drawn up in 1928:

The regular administrative and legislative officials have most of their time and thought occupied with pressing current problems and are most interested in these and in immediate results. The community needs, also, leadership in long-term thinking and planning, and this leadership, in the nature of things, can seldom be furnished by an official busy with the daily routine and subject to the daily pressures.²⁴

The functions of the citizen planning board tend to be advisory and educational, as well as being concerned with implementation.

Principles and Practice of Urban Planning suggests five roles for this planning board:

1. ...serving as a review and recommending body on current development proposals -- zoning amendments, plat approvals, street vacations, and similar actions...
2. A representational role on behalf of the public, subjecting planning decisions to citizen examination, by establishing technical advisory committees of informed citizens and officials on specific subjects.

3. A promotional role to stimulate interest in planning.
4. An advisory role to municipal officials on development policies of local government.
5. A coordinative role in working with other public and private agencies to integrate the total government planning effort.²⁵

The planning board has a considerable role in plan formulation and implementation. When working with the technical planning staff in developing a plan, the board often is responsible for setting goals and objectives and making choices among alternative strategies and policies. The board also plays a role in implementing the plan by helping to draw up zoning, subdivision, and other planning ordinances, and participating in capital improvements programming. It often has the power to enforce subdivision regulations through the power of plat approval, and the power to review zoning amendments and public investment programs. The board can initiate studies and make policy recommendations to the local governing body.²⁶

In the discussion of regional agencies and their technical planning assistance activities in the previous section, a distinguishing feature in several cases was that the provision of planning assistance was triggered by a request from the local community itself. While the regional agency let it be known that technical planning assistance was available, it was up to the local

communities to determine that a problem or problems existed which required a planned means of action. Once a planning team and planning services were provided by the regional agency in response to a local request, the planners worked closely with local officials to determine and study problems in detail and formulate implementable programs. Actual implementation was largely the responsibility of the local community, while the regional agency restricted itself or was restricted by legislation to an advisory and a limited technical assistance capacity.

The division of the planning function between a professional technical staff and a body composed of public officials and/or citizens is common in the United States. It reflects the belief that effective planning depends upon the combination of the professional's ability to analyze technical concerns with the public officials'/citizens' ability to judge what is desirable in the context of a community's goals and values. This belief, in turn, is reflected in the nature of the functions a local planning organization is expected to perform. Principles and Practice of Urban Planning lists seven such functions:

1. To establish community development objectives
2. To conduct research on growth and development of the city
3. To make development plans and programs
4. To increase public understanding and acceptance of planning

5. To provide technical services to other government agencies and private groups
6. To coordinate development activities affecting urban growth
7. To administer land use controls.²⁷

Such a combination of tasks requires considerable public involvement along with adequate professional personnel to carry out the more technical functions. As was stated earlier, however, non-metropolitan communities in the United States traditionally have been opposed to planning, while at the same time they have not had the resources to employ the necessary trained manpower in the event that a need for planning was recognized.

The Impact of Federal Programs. During the past fifteen years these impediments to planning in non-metropolitan areas have begun to break down. A major reason for this has been the recognition that

(n)on-metropolitan areas are not without problems needing greater governmental attention. Many such areas have been losing population and job opportunities. Many also have lower per capita incomes, lower educational levels, more unemployment, more poverty, and more poor quality housing than are found in metropolitan areas.²⁸

The recognition of these problems brought forth a greater concern for planning in non-metropolitan areas. Federal programs especially promoted planning in these rural regions, making planning a prerequisite for receiving federal funds for many programs. States too have begun to promote local level planning, primarily as a

tool for industrial promotion and development, by providing technical planning assistance to communities.

Perhaps the greatest impact of the federal government has been through its encouraging the establishment of sub-state regional agencies -- i.e., councils of governments and local development districts. In many non-metropolitan regions these agencies have gone beyond their legislated grant review and program coordination functions to provide a wide range of planning functions for their constituent local governments. The broad range of services provided by the regional organizations discussed in the previous section are evidence of the expanded capabilities now available to non-metropolitan communities.

The Regional Agency and Technical Planning Assistance to Local Communities. The regional agency's ability to provide heretofore unavailable planning services to local communities lies in its capacity to achieve economies of scale not attainable by the local communities themselves. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, in its report on regional governmental agencies, has noted that

... whereas the regional thrust of these (federally-aided) programs in metropolitan areas is to coordinate diverse and often overlapping efforts, the regional thrust in the non-metropolitan areas is more directed toward pulling enough resources together in one place at one time to get anything at all going.

In other words, economies of scale, often realized by individual local governments in metropolitan areas, and even the simple ability to launch a program, are often realized only at the regional level in non-metropolitan areas.²⁹

Most communities in non-metropolitan regions cannot afford to employ a full-time planner or planning staff, or may not have enough work to make it feasible. However, a regional agency supported by several local governments is able to have an adequate staff with a variety of skills and areas of specialization to meet the needs of the local communities. Quality planning assistance can be provided on a contractual or other basis to the communities at a cost per community considerably lower than if each community had to provide its own planning staff.

These advantages can be seen in the regional agencies visited by the TA/UD team. The North-Central Alabama Regional Council of Governments includes five full-time planners and two full-time draftsmen on its staff; the South Central Tennessee Development District lists three planners, a cartographer, and a regional economist among its personnel. TVA can draw on a number of planners, economists, architects, and engineers, while the Tennessee State Planning Office offered a variety of planning skills.

An important advantage of regional agencies is their direct involvement in and concern for the local communities and region

in which they operate. Unlike consultants, who are a major source of planning assistance in non-metropolitan areas and who seldom have roots in the communities in which they work, planners in regional agencies have a direct stake in the areas in which they operate. This often leads to improved performance, as the ACIR study discovered:

... while regional councils in metropolitan areas are almost always characterized as regional planning agencies, the non-metropolitan councils are variously characterized as (1) regional chambers of commerce, (2) industrial development organizations, (3) grantsmen and promoters oriented toward the development, design, and funding of individual community improvement projects, or (4) technical assistance agents helping member local governments to carry out their responsibilities better or providing services to them on a joint basis.

(The studies) show that the executive directors of non-metropolitan councils spend somewhat more time on local assistance matters and that their councils have enjoyed somewhat greater success in providing local technical assistance and visible services to member local governments. Thus, in the view of some observers, non-metropolitan regional councils, in contrast to their urban counterparts, are more entrepreneurial, linked with the broader spectrum of community decision making and the everyday politics and operations of their member local governments.³⁰

Both NARCOG and SCTDD work closely with their member governments. Both are governed by committees of locally elected officials which meet on a monthly basis. Both work with local governments when providing technical assistance or in helping to obtain federal program funding. In addition, both are dependent on payments from

local governments for a significant part of their funding.

Another advantage of regional agencies is their ability to act as liaisons between local communities and the federal government. In addition to the grant review activities of the COGs and local development districts, regional agencies can supply information to localities on the types of grants available and aid in the completion of grant applications. TVA has even used its considerable influence in gaining funds for local communities; e.g., Oliver Springs, Tennessee, a small town which has received over three million dollars in federal funds for housing and waste treatment, largely due to the efforts of TVA.³¹ One danger, of course, is that the availability of grants can become an end in itself, not a means, and thus dictate not only local planning and decision making, but also the priorities of regional agencies. This factor may lie behind the apparent agency orientation of the South Central Tennessee Development District program of activities.

An important quality which a regional agency should reflect is flexibility and a consumer orientation. Jones and Gersaman, in a recent article on rural service delivery systems, point out that too often the programs of such organizations have an agency rather than consumer orientation:

The agency oriented system is likely to take little or no account of consumer costs and may take little cognisance of individual consumer needs or demands. It tends to provide and deliver services as a part of agency programs without regard to the appropriateness of these services. This occurs because it is easier to operate a program oriented agency than a problem oriented one.³²

The SCTDD is particularly guilty of an agency orientation.

It has turned out over the past three years a series of population, economic, manpower, and land use studies for its region. Yet, as the Assistant Director complained to the TA/UD team, the studies have remained largely unread by the city and county officials.³³ While the studies may be of importance for the work of the district on a regional level, they have not met the needs of the local government.

Jones and Gerssman stress the importance of a client orientation in service delivery:

Regardless of the organizational form, it appears the desirable delivery system would be one with a strong client orientation in which service delivery is evaluated at the point of consumption rather than emanation... A client oriented system would focus upon the problems of consumers rather than upon agency programs. Within resource constraints, user satisfaction would be its primary goal. This implies a system with continuing flexibility to respond to individual demands and unique local situations. Such a system would probably require substantial consumer input to the design and implementation of agency effort. The need for this type system is clearly greater for the delivery of labor intensive services involving frequent person to person contact (such as education, welfare, health, and police services) than for capital intensive services.³⁴

Regional organizations, with their economies of scale and close local contacts, have the flexibility needed for such an orientation. They can handle a wide range of problems due to the varied qualifications of their personnel, and can provide assistance through a variety of arrangements. TVA, for example, is able to provide multidisciplinary planning teams to local communities, while NARCOG's planning staff acts as the permanent planning department for the cities of Decatur and Hartselle, in addition to providing planning assistance to other communities and counties on a contractual basis.

Conclusion. The traditional opposition to planning at the local level in the United States has been only one impediment to planning in non-metropolitan areas. Others have been the local planning structure -- i.e., the division of the planning function between a professional technical staff and a body representing public officials and/or local citizens, with the latter group often dividing its responsibilities between day-to-day operations (officials) and planning (citizens); the lack of adequate professional personnel locally to perform the more technical aspects of planning; the lack of local resources with which to acquire the needed services if they had been available; and the inaccessibility of technical assistance.

Federal programs have had a substantial impact on local and

regional planning, especially during the past twenty years, and the role of the resultant regional agencies was shown using the Tennessee Valley region as the referent. In helping to overcome some of the constraints to local planning, regional organizations have served as institutional structures of planning at the level of small communities in non-metropolitan areas, and have provided them with many of the needed technical services.

IV. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The process of planning in the United States historically has consisted of two components: a highly political component involving the setting of community goals and objectives and choosing among alternative courses of action either by elected representatives or by the people themselves; and a technical component in which trained professionals conducted detailed analyses and constructed alternative programs within the context of the community goals and objectives. This approach to planning, highly reflective of national values, has allowed considerable flexibility in the way the planning function has been organized. In terms of the problem of providing planning assistance to small- and medium-sized communities, this approach has proved to be quite useful.

This study has described a number of ways in which regional organization and planning have been encouraged in the United States; among them, the early Standard Enabling Acts and the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the subsequent Section 701 and A-95 programs, the regional development acts of the 1960s, and the planning requirements which increasingly are contained in many federal and federally-assisted programs.

The study has suggested that governmental and quasi-governmental regional organizations can provide an effective means of serving the technical planning needs of local communities. Four reasons for the effectiveness of regional agencies have been cited:

1. Their ability to achieve economies of scale in their operations, allowing them to provide a broader and more effective range of services;
2. Their ability to work closely with and understand the needs of local communities and local leaders;
3. Their ability to be flexible in the services offered and the types of working arrangements; and
4. Their ability to act as a liaison for smaller communities with the national government.

The regional agencies visited by the TA/UD team demonstrate how the combination of these characteristics can enable small communities to enjoy the benefits of planning.

In developing countries in which there has been a devolution of authority and planning responsibility to regional and local units of government, the experience of decentralized planning in the United States may have more meaning and relevance. In those countries with a centralized form of government (and, therefore, of planning), some reorganization of the national planning hierarchy may be required in order to use or to adapt some of the approaches described above. Organizational change probably is needed, generally speaking, more than the adoption of sophisticated

techniques.

There would seem to be, in any case, a sufficient number and range of approaches, techniques, and institutional arrangements to meet local and regional planning needs. Some of them, in fact, have become standardized. The problem appears to be that of becoming acquainted with them, selecting appropriate ones, and adapting them so that they are consistent with local and national goals, values, and circumstances.

The aforementioned characteristics of supplying planning assistance to local communities in a regional context -- economies of scale, close working relationships, flexibility in providing and adapting services to fit local requirements, and liaising between local and national governments -- may provide useful starting points once planning goals have been delineated. For example, the study has shown that this approach to local planning in the Tennessee Valley region has been a means of integrating sectoral and physical planning and has provided for greater participation of smaller, rural communities in development, thereby helping to translate national objectives into local programs.

The experience of regional agencies in the Tennessee Valley region indicates also that dealing with the planning problems of smaller communities in lagging regions is essentially a long-term

process, yet one which can be enhanced when local planning assistance is extended in a regional context. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of time and other resources is needed. As greater emphasis is placed on participation and on a more equitable sharing of the benefits of development in development programs -- that is, on the fact that more people should be involved in the front-end decision making and in the ultimate benefits therefrom, as well as being factors of production -- planning assistance will become increasingly important for the non-metropolitan areas in developing countries.

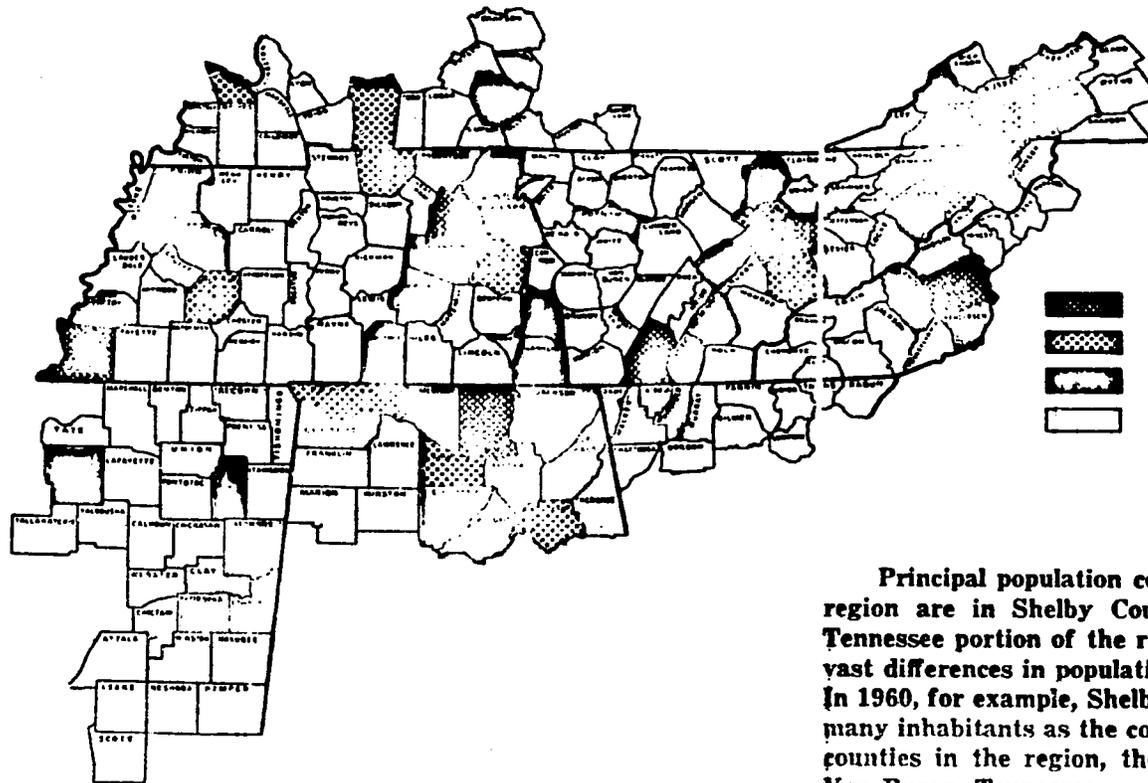
NOTES

- 1 James C. Miller, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A REVIEW OF THE STATE-OF-THE-ART (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1974).
- 2 See, for instance, two works by Niles M. Hansen: RURAL POVERTY AND THE URBAN CRISIS (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1970) and INTERMEDIATE-SIZE CITIES AS GROWTH CENTERS: APPLICATIONS FOR KENTUCKY, THE PIEDMONT CRESCENT, THE GEARKS, AND TEXAS (New York: Praeger, 1971).
- 3 Rivkin/Carson, Inc., PRACTICAL APPROACHES FOR LAND USE PROGRAMMING AND CONTROL ADAPTABLE FOR THE INTERMEDIATE-SIZE CITY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. Prepared for the Office of Urban Development, Bureau for Technical Assistance, Agency for International Development (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1974).
- 4 Tennessee Valley Authority, Office of Agricultural and Chemical Development, "Developing Tennessee Valley Agriculture," a paper presented at a Conference on the TVA Experience, International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis, Schloss Laxenburg, Austria, 1974, duplicated, p. 1.
- 5 Tennessee Valley Authority, 1974 ANNUAL REPORT, Volume 1 (Knoxville, Tenn.: Tennessee Valley Authority, 1974).
- 6 Interview with James Gober, Director of the Regional Studies Staff, Division of Navigation Development and Regional Studies, TVA, Knoxville, Tennessee, February 10, 1975.
- 7 Interview with Lewis Sinclair, Regional Studies Staff, Division of Navigation Development and Regional Studies, TVA, Knoxville, Tennessee, February 10, 1975.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Worth Wilkinson, "Operation Townlift: A Tool for Urban Improvement," TENNESSEE VALLEY PERSPECTIVE, 4 (Fall, 1973), 12.
- 10 TVA, 1974 ANNUAL REPORT, op. cit., p. 19.
- 11 Wilkinson, op. cit., p. 15.

- 12 TVA, 1974 ANNUAL REPORT, op. cit., p. 20. The scheme also provides a means of protecting precious agricultural land.
- 13 Elk River Development Association, with the Tennessee Valley Authority, AN ALTERNATIVE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PATTERN, A Proposal for a National Demonstration in the Lower Elk River Area (Fayetteville, Tenn., 1973), p. 2.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Tennessee State Planning Office, Local Planning Division, ACTIVITIES '74 (Nashville, Tenn., 1974), p. 3.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Interview with Donald Waller, Director of Local Planning Division, Tennessee State Planning Office, Nashville, Tennessee, February 12, 1975.
- 18 For a review of EDA and ARC activities, see Niles M. Hansen, RURAL POVERTY AND THE URBAN CRISIS, op. cit.; and Donald N. Rothblatt, REGIONAL PLANNING: THE APPALACHIAN EXPERIENCE (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1971).
- 19 North-Central Alabama Regional Council of Governments, descriptive brochure, 1974.
- 20 Interview with Gary Vokets, Executive Director of NARCOG, Decatur, Alabama, February 11, 1975.
- 21 Interview with Dean Smith, Assistant Director, South Central Tennessee Development District, Columbia, Tennessee, February 11, 1975.
- 22 South Central Tennessee Development District, ANNUAL REPORT, 1974 (Columbia, Tenn.: South Central Tennessee Development District, 1974).
- 23 Interview with Dean Smith, op. cit.
- 24 United States. Department of Commerce, A STANDARD CITY PLANNING ENABLING ACT, quoted in Philip P. Green, Jr., ORGANIZATION FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL PLANNING (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Institute of Government, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1969), p. 21.

- 25 James H. Pickford, "The Local Planning Agency: Organization and Structure," in William I. Goodman and Eric C. Freund, editors, PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF URBAN PLANNING (Washington, D.C.: International City Managers Association, 1968), p. 527.
- 26 Philip P. Green, Jr., op. cit., pp. 20-35.
- 27 James H. Pickford, op. cit., p. 526.
- 28 Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), REGIONAL DECISION MAKING: NEW STRATEGIES FOR SUBSTATE DISTRICTS. Substate Regionalism and the Federal System, Volume 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 274.
- 29 Ibid., p. 262.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 268-270.
- 31 TVA, OLIVER SPRINGS REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (Knoxville, Tenn.: 1974).
- 32 Lonnie L. Jones and Paul H. Gesamar, "Public Service Delivery in Rural Areas: Problems and Decisions," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, 56 (December, 1974), 939.
- 33 Interview with Dean Smith, op. cit.
- 34 Jones and Gesamar, op. cit., p. 940.
- 35 TVA, Regional Studies Staff, THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION: HIGHLIGHTS OF GROWTH AND CHANGE. Historical Perspectives and Recent Trends (Knoxville, Tenn.: May 1968), p. 6.
- 36 Ibid., p. 5.

TOTAL POPULATION, 1960 35



POPULATION	NUMBER OF COUNTIES	% OF TOTAL POPULATION
100,000 AND OVER	7	30
50,000-100,000	12	12
25,000-50,000	46	26
UNDER 25,000	136	32
	201	100%

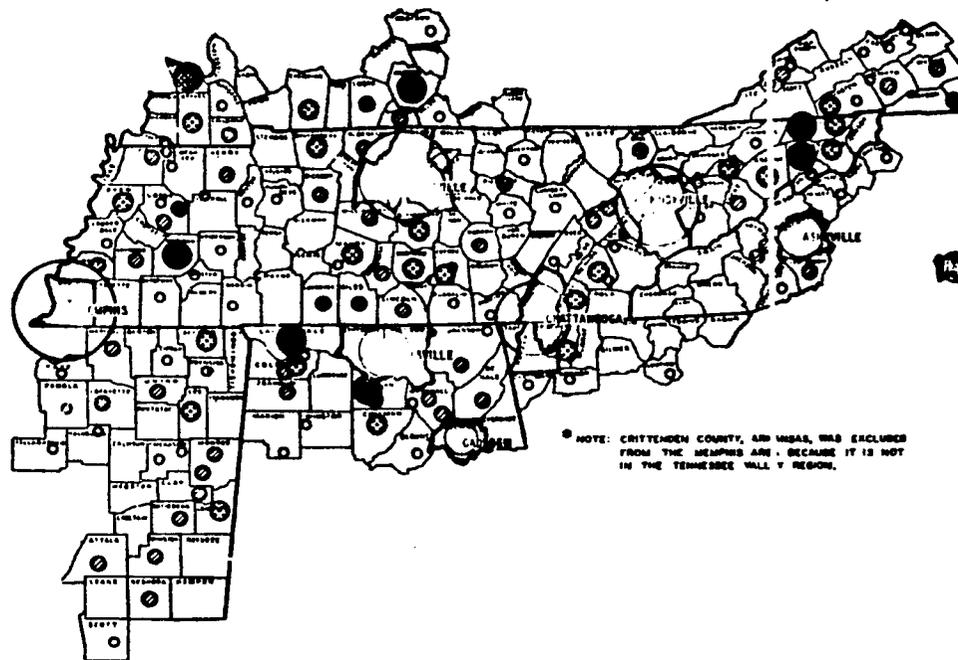
Principal population concentrations in the Tennessee Valley region are in Shelby County, the Nashville Basin, the East Tennessee portion of the region and North Alabama. There are vast differences in population size among counties of the region. In 1960, for example, Shelby County (population 627,000) had as many inhabitants as the combined total for the 68 least populous counties in the region, the smallest of which were Moore and Van Buren, Tennessee, each having fewer than 4,000 residents.

Population densities in 1960 ranged from a high of 831 per square mile in Shelby County to 13 per square mile in Perry County, Tennessee. The average for the region was 68 per square mile, compared with 51 for the Nation.

As shown in the table at left, nearly one-third of the region's 1960 population lived in seven counties. Six of these are central counties of metropolitan areas and the other, Sullivan, Tennessee, is one of the region's major industrial centers. Fifty-eight other counties contained 38 percent of the region's inhabitants. The remaining 136 counties had a smaller proportion of the region's population than in 1930. Many of these counties are among those noted earlier as having no city or town with as many as 2,500 inhabitants.

	County Population in 1960				
	100,000 & over	50,000-100,000	25,000-50,000	Under 25,000	Valley Region
Number of counties	7	12	46	136	201
Percent of region's population					
1965	31	12	26	31	100
1960	30	12	26	32	100
1930	21	10	27	42	100
Percent change					
1960-65	11	6	8	5	8
1950-60	23	11	1	-8	5
1930-60	77	52	19	-6	25

**METROPOLITAN AREAS AND URBAN PLACES
POPULATION, 1960**



NOTE: CRITTENDEN COUNTY, AND UNAS, WAS EXCLUDED FROM THE MEMPHIS AREA, BECAUSE IT IS NOT IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION.

METROPOLITAN AREAS
DIAMETER OF CIRCLE PROPORTIONATE TO METROPOLITAN AREA POPULATION

MEMPHIS	827,000
NASHVILLE	484,000
KNOXVILLE	360,000
CHATTANOOGA	283,000
HUNTSVILLE	154,000
ASHEVILLE	130,000
GADSDEN	97,000

POPULATION

INCORPORATED URBAN PLACES OUTSIDE METROPOLITAN AREAS

●	25,000 - 50,000
⊙	10,000 - 25,000
●	5,000 - 10,000
○	2,500 - 5,000

Distribution of 1960 Population, 201-County Region

Residence	Metropolitan		Nonmetropolitan	
	Places	% of Total Population	Places	% of Total Population
Incorporated urban places				
50,000 & over	7	17.8	—	—
25,000 - 50,000	1	0.4	7	3.5
10,000 - 25,000	4	0.8	21	5.3
5,000 - 10,000	6	0.7	46	4.9
2,500 - 5,000	7	0.4	61	3.5
Other urban		5.3		0.5
Rural — nonfarm		7.2		29.5
Rural — farm		1.7		18.5
Total		34.3		65.7

Although the region's seven metropolitan areas contained little more than one-third of its total population in 1960, they accounted for nearly three-fifths of its urban and about one-fifth of its rural nonfarm population. Only 8 percent of the region's rural farm population lived in the metropolitan area counties.

Including the seven central cities with populations of 50,000 or more and the 18 other incorporated places with at least 2,500 residents, there were 25 incorporated cities in the 13 metropolitan counties. The 188 nonmetropolitan counties contained 135 incorporated cities with populations of at least 2,500; however, 79 of these counties had no city or town of that size.

The metropolitan counties have been the principal population growth centers in the Valley region with their central counties showing greater relative gains than the suburban counties. In contrast, the suburban counties in the Nation have grown faster than the counties in which the central cities are situated.