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T.W.O.'s Model Cities Plan



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**T.W.O.'s
Model
Cities
Plan**



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The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 and directed to:

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- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws; and
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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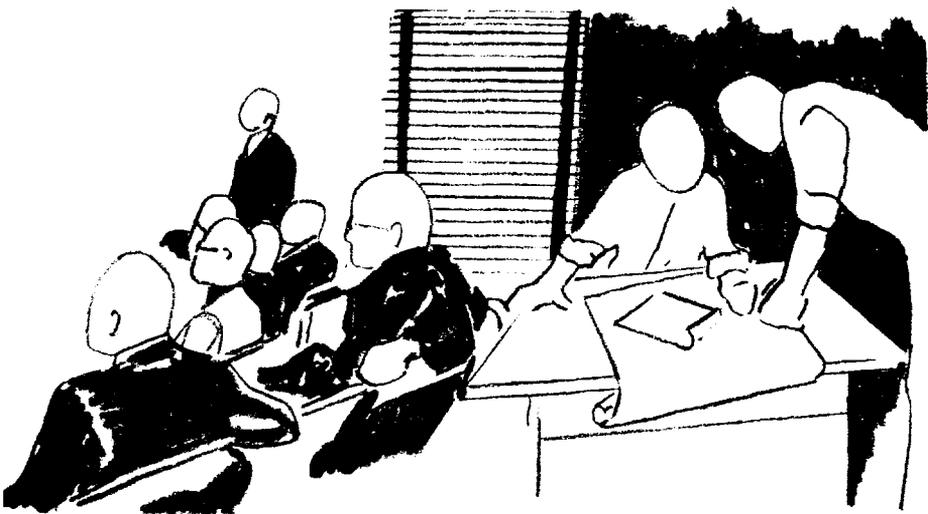
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INTRODUCTION

Under its clearinghouse responsibilities, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights attempts to facilitate an exchange of ideas which do not necessarily represent Commission policy but are offered to stimulate interest and discussion on various current issues concerning civil rights.

This publication is one in a series issued by the Commission that attempts to highlight what appear to be exemplary programs dealing with some aspect of civil rights in the cities of this Nation. The model cities proposal developed by The Woodlawn Organization in Chicago is one such program. While not attempting to narrowly define an audience, this publication was designed for two major groups: (1) the community organizations which are concerned with the total development of their neighborhoods; and (2) the technicians and professionals who work in the field of community development.

This publication was prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by Beryl A. Radin, a consultant.

WOODLAWN AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The problems that beset the Chicago community of Woodlawn are no different than those that plague other American urban ghettos. Discrimination and poverty have combined to create, on the South Side of Chicago, a square mile community characterized by substandard housing, a high unemployment rate and an unskilled labor force, a low median income and heavy dependence on welfare, inadequate educational preparation, health hazards, high crime and delinquency rates, inadequate recreational and cultural facilities, and generally poor living conditions.

The Woodlawn Organization (T.W.O.), founded in 1960 as a federation of churches, businessmen's associations, block clubs, and other indigenous groups and individuals, is the community's major grassroots community organization. Heavily influenced by the theories and tactics of social organizer Saul Alinsky, T.W.O. has spent most of its energies on action programs that often involved battles with public as well as private special interest groups.

Until relatively recently, T.W.O.'s neighbor to the north—the University of Chicago—was also a frequent target of its protest activities. Woodlawn's residents feared that the university would expand into the black community to further aggravate its problems. T.W.O. also resented the failure of the university to use its resources to assist in the development of the Woodlawn Community.

By the summer of 1968, however, the relationship between T.W.O. and the University of Chicago had improved. University personnel had become involved with the community working on mental and child health programs, activities within the educational system, and legal programs desired by Woodlawn residents.

In addition, as early as the fall of 1967, faculty and students associated with the Center for Urban Studies established a colloquium designed to provide a forum for the exchange of experience and opinion among people deeply involved with projects affecting the Woodlawn Community. Monthly sessions of the colloquium were held beginning in January 1968; by March the group had come to a realization that a new conceptual design was necessary if professional services were truly to help communities such as Woodlawn. This meant, according to the participants, that crosscutting problems demand crosscutting solutions and that the traditional arrangements by which existing institutions deliver their services must be modified.

Thus, when the Model Cities Program appeared on the horizon, both the Woodlawn Community (through T.W.O.) and the university (through the colloquium in the Center for Urban Studies) were ready to respond.



T.W.O. AND THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM

The city of Chicago was one of the first to receive planning funds for a Model Cities Program from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Chicago's application requested the approval of four areas of the city as target areas, instead of the single target area customary to other Model City proposals. The East Woodlawn Community—a sizable chunk of the T.W.O. constituency—was designated as one of the four areas.

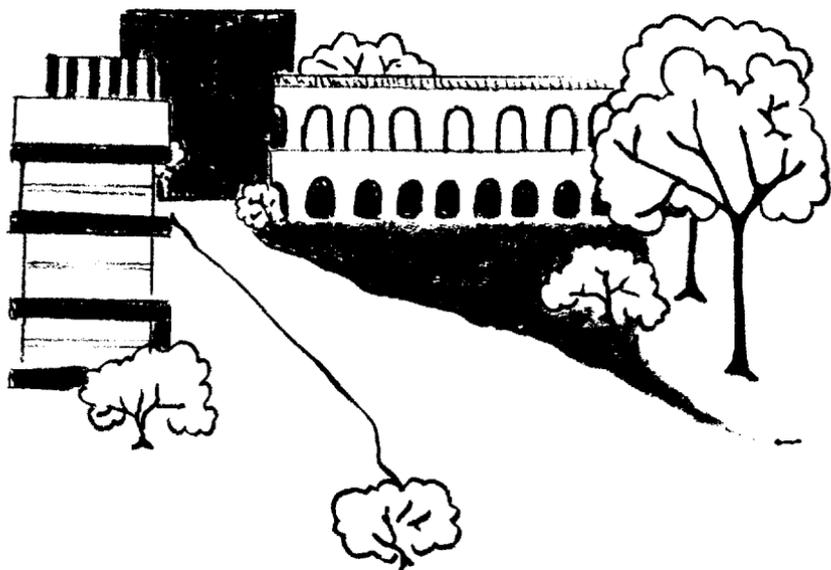
Although T.W.O. attempted to negotiate with the city in order to carve out a role for the organization in the “official” Model Cities planning venture, an arrangement agreeable to both parties was not reached. When this became clear to the T.W.O. leadership, the group decided that it would go its own way in the development of an independent Model Cities proposal and planning process. T.W.O. staff director Leon Finney recalls that “once T.W.O. realized that it would not be possible to reach an agreement with the city, at least in the planning stages, it was generally felt that Woodlawn must have a plan that represented the interests of the city's indigenous residents. It was further felt that the interest of the community residents would not be served by merely opposing the plan that the city was sure to develop. In too many instances, protest groups have been satisfied to oppose what they don't like but when asked to present what they do like or want they have nothing to say. It was for these reasons that we developed a ‘Woodlawn plan’ which provided a viable alternative to what the city proposed as well as to clarify the community interest.”

After this decision was made by T.W.O., it determined that in order to prepare a proposal, it needed technical assistance beyond that supplied by its existing staff. The city's planning program was supported by a substantial budget and a skilled plan-

ning staff. If T.W.O. were to compete with that plan, it was necessary to enlist help outside the community.

It found that help at the university, through the Center for Urban Studies. Center director, Jack Meltzer, notes that: "The Model Cities effort represents an elaboration of the change that was already taking place in the relationship between the university and T.W.O. We were not starting from scratch—past relationships gave us something to build on. Both in T.W.O. and in the university, personnel had learned that their opposite numbers could be trusted and had worked out methods of operation which fully utilized the skills of both without taking the final decisions out of the hands of the residents."

The basis of the university's involvement in the T.W.O. project coincided with the concerns of the center and faculty already being formulated through the colloquium sessions. "Our fancy language was consistent with what the community was saying," Meltzer says.



T.W.O.'s RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNIVERSITY

T.W.O.'s request for assistance by the university did not imply that the organization was passing the buck to the academicians. Rather, the relationship between the organization and the university involved the development of a highly sensitive, sophisticated structure which assured that the leadership role would remain in the hands of the community and its [T.W.O.] representatives with the university staff and students performing the technical staff and advisory functions.

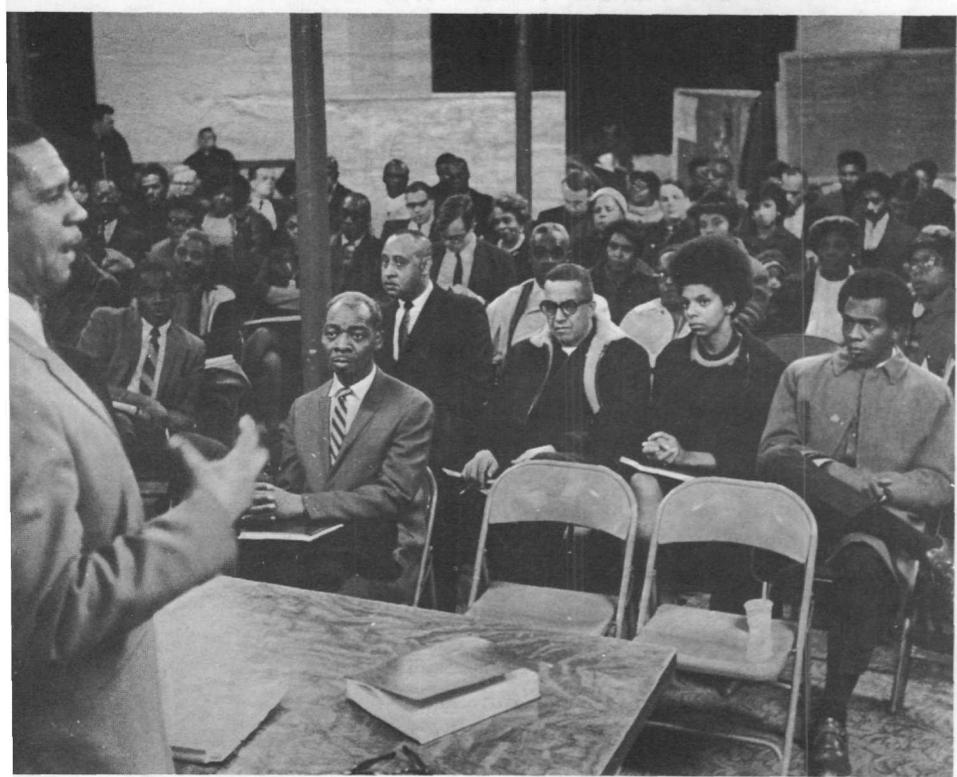
This clear delineation of functions was facilitated by the past experiences and the structural organization of T.W.O. The standing committees of the organization, created at the beginning of T.W.O.'s life to deal with the major problems facing the community, were turned into a planning apparatus. During the course of the planning activities, the members of the committees wore two hats: they continued to deal with the normal problems that occurred on a day-to-day basis and, at the same time, focused on the development of a long-range plan for the community.

Leon Finney notes that: "When we turned the action committees of T.W.O. into planning committees, we found a gold mine. We found lay leaders who had grappled with the real problems of the area and had a problem-solving approach to the issues." He continued: "We took community people who had clear ideas of what the committees were and should be about. Their responsibility was to lead. This made the role of the technicians easier."

Six planning committees were constituted by T.W.O. to fit the Model City guidelines: committees in housing, health, employment, schools, social welfare, and civil rights. A new ways and means committee composed of committee chairmen was organized to serve as an interim steering committee

solely for planning. The regular T.W.O. steering committee continued to keep an action focus. During the planning period (from May 1968 to the fall of that year), the delegate meetings of T.W.O. acted as the broad policy sanctioning group. The 400 to 500 community residents who attended the sessions were thus kept informed of the planning progress.

On the university side, a parallel organization was formed. Task forces were organized in the six subject areas, drawing on faculty and students from the Center for Urban Studies, the law school, the medical school, the school of education, as well as other departments. A central task force group was constituted to participate with the T.W.O. ways and means committee.



According to Jack Meltzer, the university participants performed both staff and advisory roles during the planning process. It was clear from the beginning that T.W.O. would be calling both the strategic and tactical shots. But university people, as individuals, could be called upon to initiate ideas and refine views proposed by the T.W.O. participants. William Swenson, a student who assumed direction of the student participants in the program, has noted that: "The task forces were formed not to take over the process of planning, but to augment and contribute to the planning effort of the community through technical expertise, information, and possible alternatives for action. More often than not, the suggestions of the task force members were completely revamped by the community members of the standing committees, and the task force members almost always felt that their suggestions had been markedly improved."

The T.W.O. committees met with the parallel task force on a biweekly basis, while the steering groups met every week. Leon Finney has remarked that: "The single most difficult thing in the planning was the tendency of the indigenous people to fear the technicians." The first meetings between some of the T.W.O. committees and the task force were without conflict, yet, as the groups began to get into specifics of the proposal, the normal tensions between them started to rise to the surface. Rather than deny the conflict, procedures were devised which allowed the opposing views to be heard and acted upon. Task force members did not want to come passively to the meetings to receive requests or instructions, feeling that their abilities would not be fully used if such a procedure were followed. At the same time, the T.W.O. committee members did not want to be "snowed" with a barrage of proposals and papers when they walked into the door. A procedure emerged from the discussions which recognized the legitimacy of both positions: if task force members had ideas they wanted to pre-

sent, they would prepare proposals prior to meetings and present them as possible alternatives for action, as goals, or as problem formulations. Committee members would each receive a copy of the proposals, and could comment on them immediately or study them for a week and then respond.

This method of operation facilitated personal relationships between the black and white participants and, at the same time, allowed discussions to be directed within a broad framework. The planning partners moved into the phase of goals statements and specification of objectives and measures. The community continued to provide the substantive ingredients of the proposed goals and objectives, as the task forces cast them into a form which fit Federal requirements. The interchange served to modify what might have been a "shopping list" of programs desired by the community into a package of related and consistent parts, constructed on a framework of goals and priorities.

While the planners narrowed in on what they considered to be crisis areas, they still had to grapple with issues that crossed the bounds of housing, jobs, education, financial and social aid, and welfare problems. Their discussions included the following crucial issues:

- How can a new sanctioned governing role for the Woodlawn Community be created within present law?
- How can sufficient executive power be formulated so that the community will have a functioning structure to get things done?
- How can more residents be actively involved in self-government of Woodlawn, and how can more be reached to be helped?
- What is the place of the community organization in Model Cities administration and implementation?

- What is the role of the university, as a total institution, to be in the plan?
- What will be the relation of Woodlawn to surrounding areas?
- What must service agencies do to fit in with the Model Cities plan?
- Is a major new neighborhood center a good idea or not?
- Should light industry be encouraged to come into or near Woodlawn?
- Should more or fewer businesses be encouraged, and in what form: strip or shopping center?
- Should Woodlawn residents be given the contracts to do Model Cities work, or should experts be used regardless of residence?

When the first draft of the proposal was completed in September 1968, a series of hearings was scheduled throughout the Woodlawn Community. Court reporters were present at each hearing, giving the planners a verbatim account of the community response. The problems identified during these sessions were discussed by the T.W.O. governing council and the issues acknowledged by the group were incorporated into a revised document.

Meantime the colloquium held a special meeting to inform representatives of most of the Federal mid-western regional offices of the activities of the T.W.O.-university relationship. But once the revisions of the first draft were made, the university was not actively involved in the project on an ongoing basis. Individual faculty and staff might be called upon by T.W.O. officials for advice and counsel, [and those involved in existing projects continued their relationship with the community], but the technical assistance role in the planning process was completed.

T.W.O.'s Model Cities Proposal: Its Underlying Principles

The plan which emerged from 6 months of planning is described by T.W.O. as "Woodlawn's own." For, according to the group: "Not only does it express the determination and the decisions of our Woodlawn Community, but it reflects the understanding of conditions in the neighborhood which only the people who live there can have. Based on that understanding, it seeks to create an effective program which meets the standards established by the Model Cities statute."

Although the specifics of the proposal "fit" Woodlawn's particular needs, a number of the principles and mechanisms which underlie T.W.O.'s approach distinguish it from conventional attempts to deal with inner-city communities. And there are those, particularly in the Center for Urban Studies, who argue that those principles are transferable to other communities experiencing the same pattern of human destruction and neglect.

The Woodlawn approach must be viewed within the context of the prevailing public response to inner-city problems; namely, the tendency to call for a massive extension of agency services. While the scale and scope of these services may be substantially increased, no new principles of operation are stated or recommended. Jack Meltzer has written that, under the prevailing responses: "Political jurisdictional arrangements are left intact, functional alignments by which professional services are provided continue as before; and the passive role of the recipients and their relationship to the range of professional activities are not significantly changed, but reinforced by the extension of services."

The T.W.O. plan stands in sharp contrast to the prevailing pattern found to emerge from community planning efforts. Instead of merely expanding services cumulatively, the T.W.O. proposal seeks to transform institutional patterns and practices. It is

“based on a set of principles which stress the central importance of the individual and family in constituting the focus around which professional functions and governmental jurisdictions are ordered.”

Meltzer has identified six issues which underlie the Woodlawn approach:

1. Delivery of Services

The T.W.O. proposal attempts to alter the way in which functions such as health, education, law, and social services are controlled by the professions. It seeks to change present professional and agency domination by:

- viewing the individual as a “whole” person whose problems do not fit into fragmented categories and existing administrative practices. Thus the initial contact between the individual and “the delivery system” is best when performed close to his residence and by familiar community residents.
- staff performing the initial contact within outreach facilities will be trained to deal with a number of the problems normally experienced by residents. As experience of the staff increases, there will be less reliance on the special skills of the professionals.
- each of the professions involved will need to reexamine its own professional content and activity. Those functions which are presently performed because of historical accumulation and administrative inertia must be separated from those which constitute its legitimate skill. Once freed from those tasks, the professions can find new directions, such as those aimed at training and institutional practice.
- the beneficiaries of services should have the opportunity to behave as consumers of services. They should have the ability to purchase professional services rather than passively receive what is offered them.

2. Evaluation as a Management Instrument

Because the T.W.O. plan seeks to be selective rather than comprehensive in its modification of programs, it becomes easier to measure the consequences of efforts. The plan distinguishes sharply between program inputs and program outcomes, providing a manageable basis for an evaluation system.

3. Ordering Goals

The T.W.O. plan seeks to identify certain goals and to test each professional function and service against those goals. It is thought that this procedure will assure a high degree of consistency in the programs.

4. Environment

Programs which involve physical changes (including land reallocations) will be considered only after the community is able to deal with the social and economic effects of such actions, or when such programs provide an affirmative means to achieve social and economic ends.

5. Government

The T.W.O. plan attempts to achieve functional centralization among subject agencies at the community level. Agency action now is largely ineffective because of the decentralization of power caused by functional separation among health, education, manpower, etc., each of whose jurisdictions is based on traditional agency boundaries and disparate organizational structures. The T.W.O. plan sees the community as the organizing center through which isolated agency functions can be ingested with each other and with the vital life systems of the community. The result is a network of functions whose performance reinforces the individual and the community, in lieu of the prevalent practice wherein extension of functions and services reinforces the power of administrative agencies.

6. New Techniques

Measures to achieve the proposed goals are sought

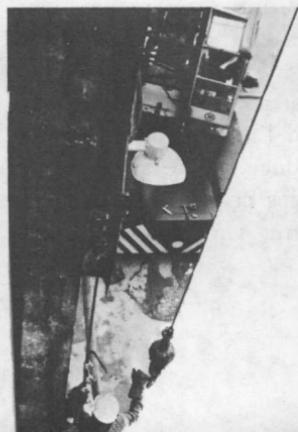
outside traditional institutional practices. Particularly, the plan attempts to extend benefits to populations which are currently ignored by existing agencies.

In addition to the six specific issues, Meltzer also noted that "running through the entire T.W.O. proposal—in all of its aspects—and dramatized in the elaborate 'delivery of services system,' is an integral role for the citizen."

"The citizen," continued Meltzer, "has a role in defining problems, shaping policy, implementing programs and evaluating results; he constitutes the goal and instrument of the plan's undertaking rather than the object of expanded professional service."

"The result," Meltzer noted, "is a process of creating new institutions and community. While successes may not flow from all of the specific measures undertaken, the citizen is strengthened by knowing that it is his community he is restructuring, in which services and specific operating measures are pliable and replaceable. The current pattern assumes that service and operating measures are permanent and immutable, inevitably risking the frustration and despair which have too long characterized our public programs."

Finney points out that T.W.O.'s model of "self-determination" through involvement and decision-making of local community residents is not only the key to Woodlawn's success in planning and in direct action but may well be the key needed to redevelop most Northern slums. He further notes that the crucial problem becomes one of developing a truly indigenous vehicle through which community residents can be decisionmakers.



THE PLAN

Four central goals were established during the planning process, goals which are described as “broad enough and high enough so that, when achieved, they will exceed achievement standards in statutory areas of concern and markedly improve the quality of life in Woodlawn.”

- “Education of the Young,” including new opportunities for education outside of the school. This constitutes the central goal for the undertaking, because it sets in motion the processes of long term self-revitalizing of the community.

- “Employment,” however, represents a coordinate focus, because it emphasizes both long range economic development as well as the more immediate objective of dealing with the large number of unemployed young adults.

- “Income Maintenance and Social Services,” in turn, provide the financial and social assistance needed by those persons who by reason of physical or social disability or family responsibility find themselves without necessary resources.

- “A Decent Home and a Suitable Living Environment” for every family remain unachieved in Woodlawn. The programs undertaken to achieve the first three goals ultimately must be evaluated largely by their ability to fulfill this unkept promise.

Strategy

“The plan takes ‘involvement’ to mean a formal and acknowledged role for the citizen in the decisionmaking and implementing process, sanctioned by the community residents, the city of Chicago, and the Federal Government. . . . Faced with a choice, a greater benefit would accrue in modifying the scale of the proposals than in limiting or curtailing the community role and influence. More appropriate to our Woodlawn Model Cities conception is *citizen responsibility*, rather than either the phrase citizen

participation or citizen involvement.

“In what is called ‘citizen responsibility,’ ” T.W.O. “establishes both the spirit and the frame of the Woodlawn Model Cities ‘package,’ ” and charts a course in each of the program proposals at both the policy and operational levels (via the heavy reliance on nonprofessionals).

Strategic Framework

The “Core”—Central to the plan is the establishment of the “Core”, a nonprofit community public corporation with membership open at no cost to all Woodlawn residents. The corporation will serve as the mechanism which deals officially with the “outside world,” and thus is authorized to accept private and public funds, to contract for services, to own and/or operate facilities, to spend funds in the community’s interest when authorized, to create and operate privately and publicly subscribed health and social service insurance programs, to receive and approve budgets related to its functions, and to oversee and interrelate the component program elements. A 100-member board (all residents of Woodlawn) would oversee the “Core” operations; 40 members elected at-large for 1-year periods and 60 named for 3-year periods as representatives of established and active Woodlawn organizations or institutions. The board, in turn, would select an executive.

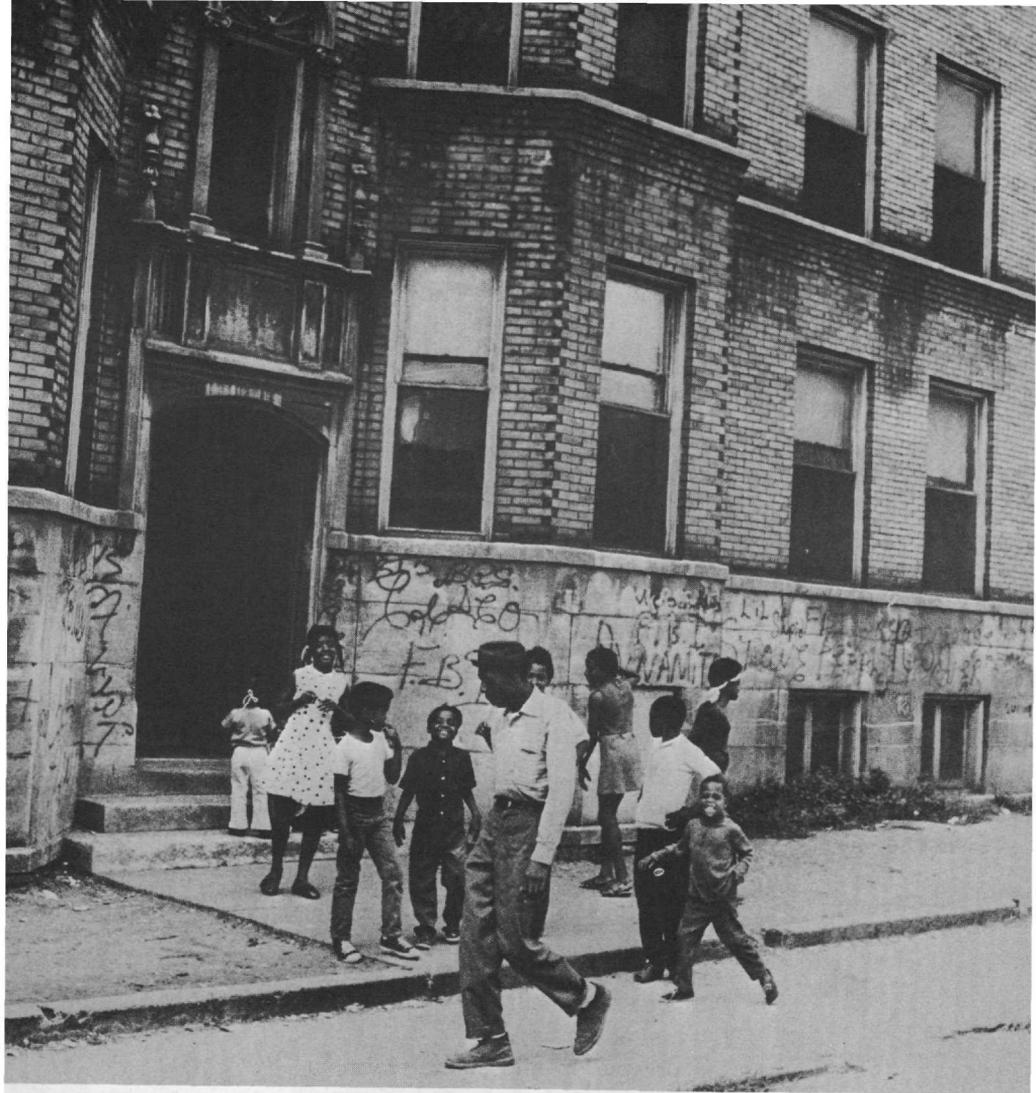
The executive—known as the convener—would be given sufficient authority to see that the principles accepted by the community were being carried out in dealings with outside forces as well as within the area. Bolstered by a technical staff and advisory boards, his purview would include a community school board, a housing and economic development corporation, and similar decisionmaking boards in the areas of health and social services, financial assistance, legal aid, and environmental planning.

The “Pads”—Crucial to the system proposed is a network of outreach offices called “Pads.” These facilities

would each serve about three square blocks and would furnish front-line services which the "Core" backs up. "The Pads would be staffed entirely by resident paraprofessionals—community agents elected from the area of service and then subjected to an intensive exposure and training by all of the related professionals. The plan describes the community agents as generalists (although natural specialization may emerge), and they are expected to reach out to their community seeking contacts and the opportunity to be of assistance in school-parent, doctor-patient, and other relationships. They will help solve problems, make referrals where necessary, call in professional functionaries as required, and hopefully deal with the preventive side as well as the crisis side."

The "community agents" would be equipped to perform many tasks which have heretofore been the exclusive province of the doctor, the social worker, the lawyer, the teacher, and other professionals. The "Pads" would include nurses on a regular basis as needed, and would have regular visitations by the "back-up" professionals from the "Core." The outreach facilities would cut across all functions, included in the "Core," be open on a 24-hour basis, and be independently constituted with an open committee of residents drawn from the "Pads" area of service.

The plan envisions individuals coming into the outreach system either as a single person entering the "Pad" or as a member of a small group, such as a block club. The open committee would include representatives of several block clubs, churches, or other social groups, served by a community leader and his staff of community workers. When a citizen comes to the community leader or the community worker on the street or drops into the "Pad", his problem will be handled in the "Pad" if possible. If not, the community leader or community worker either goes himself or with the resident to the back-up officers in the "Core" that can handle the problem.



The "Pad" has been described in the plan as follows:

—"The Pad" would constitute a flexible device, shifting its locations, and the scale of its operations, to reflect changes in "Pad" functions over time. Special skills would be incorporated as required to meet the needs, age cycles, and particular problems related to the population resident in the "Pads'" area of service.

—"The Pad" would maintain relationships outside of its physical location—to the *residents's homes*, to the *back-up facilities*, and to the *community at large* in addition to the services performed in the physical "Pad" itself.

—"The Pad" would be oriented toward human service needs, principally health, social service, education, employment, and law. Professionals would visit the "Pad" regularly, and systematically to:

- a. consult with "Pad" staff
- b. service clients and patients in those instances where more specialized service is required
- c. assure the maintenance of standards for their particular professional performance."

Four primary functions have been outlined for the "Pad":

- a community organization
- b access to facilities, services, and institutions
- c diagnosis
- d prevention and early treatment

Specific Program Proposals

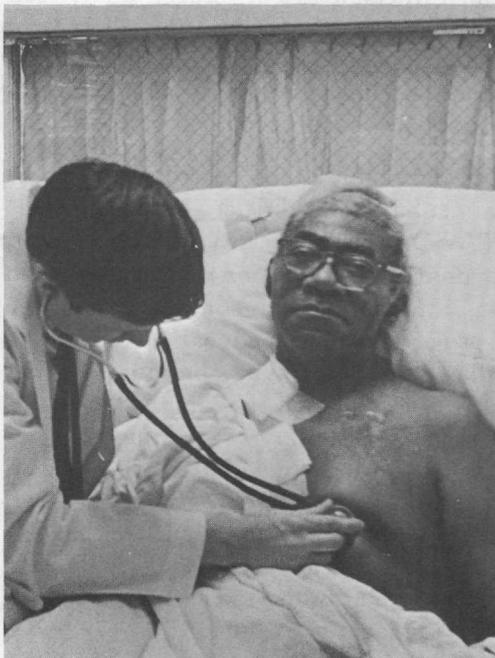
Many programs are included within the 145-page summary of the T.W.O. plan, some of which build on activities already underway in the community, while others call for large-scale innovations. Some of the programs are interrelated in new ways, reflecting the planning partners' desire to cut through rigid disciplinary lines. The proposal includes:

Health—the plan envisions an insurance plan available to all Woodlawn residents, with cost based on ability to pay within a \$200 maximum annual rate.

Preventive care is offered at any of the "Pads" and outpatient care at a community health center, part of the "Core" component. A new hospital integrated into the health system is planned, providing comprehensive hospital services supplemented by extended care facilities.

Social services—these services are separated from financial assistance and are available to all members of the community regardless of financial status. The plan foresees eventual consumer control regarding choices of social services. The first line of delivery of services is provided by the "Pad," with a social services clinic as part of the "Core" component. Services advocated include job training, counseling, medical care, and counseling for mothers and their children; family counseling; cultural programs; and special protective services for children.

Financial assistance—assistance would be available to all who need it without obligation to accept social services. The plan establishes a guaranteed minimum



income significantly increased from present aid levels with a sliding scale which does not penalize recipients who are employed. Where a family of four presently receives \$2,544 annually as a basic allowance, the new figure is \$4,078 with a maximum possible total income of \$5,250 before the family becomes ineligible for further financial grants.

Legal services—a legal service program consists of a legal aid bureau to provide new forms of legal services, and a neighborhood education and conciliation council to settle intraneighborhood disputes, disseminate information, and contribute to better police-community relationships.

Environmental planning—included in the plan is the issuance of general policy statements on Woodlawn's physical frame based on residents' own perceived needs and referral of projects to a housing and economic development corporation for funding. The plan advocates a variety of kinds of housing units but avoids high-rises and public housing concentration. Occupant ownership is encouraged and relocation proceeds only if improved housing alternatives are available. Special issues to be handled include the use of programs such as rent supplements, code enforcement, and owner and tenant organizations.

Education—a community school board based on the present experimental school district (with joint membership by T.W.O., the University of Chicago, and the Chicago Board of Education) continues to review, discuss, and prepare recommendations for policies and projects in urban education directly affecting Woodlawn residents. The community school board will provide a channel of communications between the projects and the larger operating agencies. Parochial schools are also included in the scheme, as are the public primary and high schools, pre-school centers, and transitional middle schools. Detailed in the plan are a fluid school (with classrooms located outside of formal school buildings) and a cultural and language arts center.

Manpower and Economic Development—the plan attempts to balance manpower development (including intensive contact with hardcore unemployed, job-related worker preparation, and several training programs) against job development (including black entrepreneurship, an industrial park, and various community ventures). It establishes a career vocational institute to provide educational opportunities not offered by the public schools. It outlines a housing and economic development corporation to attract investment capital into the community and coordinate all the programs in that area.

The total cost of the T.W.O. plan was more than \$146 million for a 5-year period. More than \$19 million was budgeted for the first year if all parts of the program were put into operation. T.W.O.'s proposed budget allocations included financing from the Federal Government as well as funds drawn from State, local, and other sources.

In summarizing the plan, T.W.O. has stated:

“The costs of the programs proposed herein are high.

“Each of the recommended program elements may be difficult to achieve, and will confront political, professional, and administrative resistance and constraints.

“But the Woodlawn Community is playing the urban game and for the ultimate stakes—survival.

“The test is not dollar digestibility or ease of implementation, but rather the dictate of problem resolution.”

*Additional sources of information on The Woodlawn Organization and its Model Cities Plan include—*Black Self-Determination, The Story of the Woodlawn Organization*, Arthur M. Brazier, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969, and *Woodlawn's Model Cities Plan: A Demonstration of Citizen Responsibility*, The Woodlawn Organization and the University of Chicago, Whitehall Company, Northbrook, Ill., 1969.

THE OUTCOME

Because of the strained relationship that T.W.O. has had with the Chicago city government over the last few years, the staff and governing group of the organization continually recognized that their efforts might meet with opposition from the official Chicago family. Because the group was unwilling to buy the compromises proposed by the city, T.W.O.'s efforts were paralleled by a separate planning apparatus constituted by the city. The proposal which was approved by the Chicago City Council (in which T.W.O. did not participate), however, faced rejection by the Model Cities Administration in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Federal agency found that, among other limitations, the official plan did not meet the requirements of citizen participation and consequently HUD granted conditional approval.

Armed with Federal disapproval, T.W.O. formed a coalition (along with community groups from the other three Model Cities target areas in the city). At this writing the situation was unresolved. The city was attempting to woo the community groups (including T.W.O.) to its side. The groups, however, were bargaining directly with the Federal authorities.

At the same time that T.W.O. was focusing on ways of reaching into the Model Cities coffers to fund its proposal, other sources of funding were also developing. Some of the proposal was built on programs already in existence within the community. The model schools system continued to develop and expand. The mental health and child health programs already in operation were considered to be the nucleus of the health component of the plan. Both education and health programs were also developing outreach programs that utilized community members as staff.

But perhaps the most encouraging development was found in the response of the private sector of the society to the Woodlawn proposal. Public an-

nouncement of the plan was followed by inquiries and responses from insurance companies interested in the health insurance component. The housing and economic development plans elicited the interest of private developers, businessmen, and industries—many of whom were not aware of the existence of T.W.O. or its programmatic concerns.

The T.W.O. Experience: An Overview

While not all elements involved in the T.W.O. planning process may be duplicated exactly in another community, a number of observations may be made about the T.W.O. experience that appear to be transferable to other communities and groups involved in community development activities:

- * It may not be necessary to constitute a new group or develop yet another organization for planning. The T.W.O. experience indicated that an action group may successfully be directed to perform planning functions.

- * If both parties are aware of the problems and, at the same time, if roles are defined, middle class intellectuals or professionals may be involved in community development planning without assuming the leadership or power positions.

- * The process of planning, while a limited goal, may nonetheless be an important experience for community organizations. Goal definition and establishment of priorities provide an organization with specific targets. The planning process also provides participants with a sophisticated view of the potential of existing institutions.

- * The proposal which T.W.O. produced indicated that community concerns can be turned into the language of the professionals without changing the values and thrust which citizens desired. The document also demonstrated that systems can be developed around client-based needs and that traditional patterns of service organization and delivery are not the only methods which may be used.

While T.W.O.'s process and product may not be the single path which fits the needs of all communities, the Chicago experience indicates that a citizens' organization, with perseverance, can develop a plan that, in both its development and content, truly illustrates citizen responsibility.*

