

THE INFLUENCE OF MEANINGFUL CITIZEN PARTICIPATION ON THE 'URBAN
RENEWAL' PROCESS AND THE RENEWAL OF THE INNER-CITY'S BLACK COMMUNITY

-Case Study-

WASHINGTON, D. C.'S 'SHAW SCHOOL URBAN RENEWAL AREA' - MICCO, A UNIQUE EXPERIMENT

by

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Submitted to the Department of City and Regional Planning on
July 29, 1969, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master in City Planning.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine and evaluate the extent to which black residents of the inner-city have been (and can be) involved in, and influence, planning decisions regarding the renewal of their community. Using Washington, D. C.'s Shaw area as a case study with some reference to the District's first urban renewal area, the Southwest, an analysis was made of three points:

- a. The role black citizens in renewal areas have and can play (organizational and individual).
- b. The impact of citizen participation by the black community on urban renewal planning and on the execution of project plans.
- c. The influence of the current 'black power' movement on citizen (black) participation in urban renewal planning and on the posture of public planning and governing bodies (non-black) responsible for authorizing urban renewal actions.

Findings of the study revealed that in Washington's Shaw area, MICCO, with the support of the black citizens in the renewal area, centralized, and to a great extent controlled, the planning of the communities affected through a unique 'participatory' process. Significant forces influencing the role and impact of this community

based advocate planning organization were its leadership, peculiarities resulting from the location of the project in Washington, D. C., and an enlightened political establishment.

It was further postulated that serious operational problems, particularly problems of functional roles and effectiveness, emerge when MICCO's modus operandi is considered for concurrent extension into all or most of Washington's black communities and/or beyond Washington into other ghettos of the Nation.

The methodology used in this study proceeded as follows:

Subsequent to a statement of problems which usually confront the residents of inner-city urban renewal areas, three hypotheses were developed together with a framework of two stereotyped camps; the powerful white establishment vs. the powerless black people, within which the hypotheses could be examined relative to Washington D. C.'s Shaw School Urban Renewal Area.

An analysis was made of the influence of Washington's peculiar local politics, urban renewal procedure, and changes in 'establishment' leadership and community attitudes towards urban renewal (the Southwest, Adams-Morgan, and Shaw School Urban Renewal Projects were examined).

Upon establishing that MICCO and its leadership affected part of the change in community attitudes toward renewal, a study was made of that organization's goals, structure, role and changing image. An explanation of MICCO's approach to citizen participation through 'participatory democracy' as opposed to the 'representative democracy' espoused by other community groups was also made.

Further, an analysis of how, when and why community politics came into being and affected the urban renewal effort in Shaw led to the determination of key factors influencing the efficacy of citizen participation in solving the stated problems associated with urban renewal in the inner-city's black communities. Factors examined included the opening of opportunities for, motivation of, and roles played by black and white technicians and consulting firms; the image and influence of MICCO's leadership in the two camps; the organizations methodology and relative success in broader community involvement and participation in planning; the rationale behind the MICCO process and the problems and benefits generated by adherence to the process; and finally the influence of the black power movement on citizen participation in the planning process.

Thesis Advisor: Langley Keyes
Title: Assistant Professor of
City Planning

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people who have contributed, directly and indirectly to the completion of this study. Recognition for some is given in the Footnotes, Appendices and Bibliography. However, I wish to acknowledge a special debt of particular gratitude to:

Professors John T. Howard and Langley Keyes whose encouragement and understanding patience permitted the completion of this long overdue study.

Mr. Henry Dreyfuss and Partners, without whom my undergraduate years of architectural study at MIT with the resulting motivation for graduate study in City Planning might not have been possible.

The Reverend Dr. Walter E. Fauntroy for presenting to me an unparalleled opportunity to work with him towards the realization of his 'dream' to help the black, and often exploited, residents of an inner-city creatively and wisely reshape their physical, social and economic environment.

Mrs. J. Delores Hart and Miss Adele Jackson, both of whom have been friends, aides-de-camp and typists, for their moral support, patience and productivity under pressure.

My family, particularly Lynn, my wife, for her persevering understanding and sacrifices throughout these graduate years.

PREFACE

(Relationship of the Author to the Subject Matter)

As the first and principle technical staff person employed by MICCO, the author has functioned in roles and privileged informational circumstances which necessarily influence his judgment and objectivity in regard to the Shaw School Urban Renewal Project Area. Major roles played by the author have included:

a. Participation in the determination of MICCO's initial staff tasks, needs and resources; its organization, methodology and input to Shaw's renewal effort. This was based on his review and interpretation of the MICCO-RLA contract, and expressed in MICCO's Program Development Report (PDR).

The original PDR was written by the collaborative efforts of the Honorable Marjorie M. Lawson (MICCO's General Counsel), the Reverend Dr. Walter E. Fauntroy (President and Executive Director), and the author (Deputy Director and Director of Planning) with assistance from the firm of David Apter and Associates (communications and public relations). The final report, in addition to the above persons, had contributions from Miss Patricia Turner (MICCO's initial Social Planner).

b. His functioning as Deputy Director of MICCO; a role involving the author in the administrative, management and operational policies and procedures of the organization.

c. His functioning as Director of Planning; a role involving the author in the tasks of stimulating, directing and coordinating the initiation of physical, social and economic development proposals by the community. This included his contribution to the establishment of methods used to obtain the goals and aspirations of Shaw area residents; focusing community attention on how residents could participate in influencing decisions affecting the renewal planning of the area; directing and coordinating the work of all staff personnel engaged in planning; maintaining liaison with all planning organizations in the Shaw area and providing technical planning skills to MICCO.

Consequently, it can be assumed that the relationship of the author to the subject matter of this study has resulted in;

1. a more comprehensive insight into the strengths, weaknesses and related problems and opportunities associated with the functioning of MICCO at board, staff and community operational levels, and,
2. limited objectivity on the part of the author, and perhaps even bias where, on occasion, analyses are made regarding the relative commitment and effectiveness of MICCO as opposed to other community group efforts.

While the author's commitment to a philosophy (MICCO's) may have inadvertently influenced the phraseology of this study, a conscious effort to avoid coloring the authenticity of this report has been made.

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CHAPTER I. STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESES

An overview of the nation reveals that Negroes are twenty (20) percent of the total population of central cities in metropolitan areas. Half of the ten (10) largest cities of the nation now have black residents accounting for more than one-third (1/3) of their respective populations. The larger the city involved, the faster the black population is growing and the greater the percent of Blacks. In fact, the population increase among Blacks since 1950 has been almost all in central cities of metropolitan areas--five and six-tenths (5.6) million in a total increase of six and five-tenths (6.5) million, large numbers are living in areas where conditions are growing worse.¹

In part, the deterioration in the poorest central city black neighborhoods reflects the fact that these areas are constantly losing their most successful people to better neighborhoods, leaving behind the most impoverished. The central city, through the filtration process, houses that segment of the population which is socially and economically barred from free bargaining in the housing market.

In the District of Columbia, 1965 population estimates by the Bureau of the Census reveal that black residents make up sixty-six (66) percent of the city's population. In 1968, estimates by the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies indicated that seventy-one (71) percent of Washington, D. C.'s population is black.² As with many other cities,

¹Bureau of the Census, Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 24, October, 1967.

²Mr. George Greer, Senior Associate at the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, private interview, Washington, D. C., April 21, 1969.

Washington is surrounded by suburban communities with an ever increasing white population³, and relatively closed housing policies. Hence, the problems and conditions of the central city are magnified.

Efforts to improve the shabby environmental conditions of the central city have, for many years, been applied through the 'urban renewal' programs. In most instances, improving and revitalizing a dilapidated central city environment resulted in permanent removal of both the structures and the residents, most of whom were, very often, black. Some of the problems which confronted the residents of these inner-city areas were:

1. The people to be affected by urban renewal actions were not adequately involved during the renewal planning process. This was due in part to: (a) the apathy which was prevalent among the vast majority of residents; (b) the absence of some mechanism whereby residents could individually express their needs and desires with some reasonable hope of having their views, influence the planning; (c) an 'I know what the solution is' attitude, easily assumed by professional planners.
2. The "leadership" existing in the community at the time urban renewal was being planned and/or executed, either (a) did not fully understand the real issues (ownership of land, real estate and businesses, economic and political

³Note: Between 1960 and 1967, Washington, D. C., gained approximately 40,000 residents (total population rose from approximately 764,000 to approximately 804,000). However, this was the result of a loss of 102,000 whites to the suburbs, and a gain of 146,000 blacks to the city.

power) which go beyond the condition, adequacy and availability of housing and community facilities, or (b) could not organize and mobilize sufficient political power to influence planning decisions. Consequently...

3. The views of persons to be affected by renewal action were often inadequately or confusingly communicated to the public planning agencies by virtue of a lack of, or sometimes a proliferation of, community representatives. Who was speaking for whom, and to what purpose has always been a question. How can an organization which may reach only one-hundredth of the more mobile and vocal elements within a population represent that population? Do the glib, often self-styled and/or promoted, middle and upper lower class (in terms of income, social mobility, education, etc.) effectually represent the lower class masses? Such uncertainty resulted in...
4. The wishes, desires and needs of these former residents not being heeded, if heard at all, by the public planning agencies and governing bodies responsible for authorizing urban renewal actions.

Added to this was...
5. An overlapping or sometimes hazy definition of responsibilities, roles to be played, and the accessibility and interpretation of information. This fact usually proved to be a sore point and highlighted problems regarding the jealousy of roles; problems which became especially evident where 'advocate planners' were pitted against the public

agency planners, and extreme positions were taken.

These positions often led to...

6. Stereotyping of persons into two major camps, the white controlled downtown establishment, including the public planning agencies, vs. the poor black community in need of exterior guidance. This often triggered a 'gut reaction' credibility gap between persons identified with either of the two groups.

Even though exaggerated and problematical, such stereotyping was, and is, bolstered by the failure to solve the previously listed problems. Further validity is afforded to the 'camp grouping' if it is conceded that there exists on one hand:

- a). Administrators, planners and other technicians employed by public agencies whose job it is to understand the language, implications and limitations (regulatory and as practiced) of urban renewal. Those persons are often concerned with expediting renewal proposals which are within projected capital improvement programs and/or reflect proven actions and procedures. Proposals which cannot be readily accommodated in such a 'proven' mold usually require a great deal of analysis and philosophical soul searching by public agencies. Hesitancy on the part of the public agencies when considering taking 'unproven' actions is often attributed to an apprehensiveness about setting precedents which may or may not be advisable.

Consequently, when dealing with citizens who are to be affected by renewal actions, the public planning agencies tend to favor,

and to 'sell', the tried and true actions of renewal--actions which give lip service and intent to substantially improving the physical, social, and economic environmental conditions and status of the community (persons affected), but which usually result only in physical environmental change and removal from this newly improved area of a substantial number of the persons originally affected.

On the other hand there often exists:

- b). Black residents of physically deteriorating areas ridden with complex economic and social problems; people who do not understand the language, full implications and limitations of urban renewal. Over a period of decades these people have heard depressing stories of what urban renewal is-- 'Urban Renewal is Negro removal; etc., so we don't want it'. This is not to say that the residents of the inner-city's black community have not been concerned about their environment; they have been and are very much concerned. The need for better paying jobs, better housing, schools, medical and social services, has been recognized and discussed by these residents. In Washington, D. C., as in other communities, the residents of dilapidated neighborhoods think "the government" could and should do something to improve their lot, but the vast majority have not, in the past, considered urban renewal as an answer.

The analogy of two camps may be further extended to considerations of 'roles', 'turf' and 'power' where, depending on one's orientation, one group or camp is always inside while the other is always outside with respect to specific issues (note: relative positions vary with

issues, timing and point of view). There is usually a formidable barrier between these two camps. Consideration of this basic problem forms the framework of this study within which the various aspects of Washington, D. C.'s urban renewal programs can be examined. The ability of individuals and organizations to be 'in' at the right time, respective to influencing or benefiting from the affectation of forces (political, social, physical, economic, etc.), is actively sought by them in an effort to establish and maintain control over the renewal process.

Assuming the preceding 'statements of problems' are valid, three hypotheses are stated for examination:

HYPOTHESIS I 'A void exists between persons (black) immediately affected by urban renewal actions and the public planning and governing bodies (non-black) responsible for authorizing urban renewal actions. Rushing to fill this vacuum are:

- a). On the technical planning level: black professionals-- licensed and unlicensed, graduates and undergraduates-- in fields relating to planning such as law, economics, architecture, sociology, etc., and 'planning consultant' firms which are for the most part white, but sometime racially integrated, and on rare occasions, black.
- b). On the political level; neighborhood organizations, community leaders and/or 'spokesmen', and special interest groups such as real estate interests, etc..'

The relatively successful filling of the vacuum, which is to some extent dependent on finding solutions to problems one (1) through six

(6), leads to the development of a second hypothesis:

HYPOTHESIS II 'With accessibility to, and policy direction of, knowledgeable planners with whom they can readily identify, black residents of the inner-city can constructively influence planning decisions regarding the renewal of their community.'

To some extent black residents of urban and rural areas have, as part of the civil rights movement of the 1950's and 60's, mobilized and affected social and economic changes in ghetto communities across the nation. In its broadest interpretation hypothesis II can be likened to many of the successful civil right programs which were initiated from within particular urban areas. Certainly the ability of united poor black citizens to influence the customary behavioral attitudes, regulations and laws which shape their community and individual lives has been demonstrated by the accomplishments of such universally recognized, but diverse black leaders as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Stokely Carmichael. However, it must be noted that the flame of black self-awareness, pride, and united efforts to overcome the systematic exclusion of Blacks from the main stream of american life was agitated by the tragic assassinations of Malcolm X and Dr. King. With the passing of Dr. King, whose dedication to non-violent philosophy was respected by militants and conservatives alike, the agitated flame has moved toward the extremists and tended to embrace more and more of the black power philosophy. It is hypothesized that:

HYPOTHESIS III 'The current black power movement has colored citizen participation in planning by providing a stronger sense

of self-identity and unity among a greater number of black residents in the inner-city. In many instances the 'movement' has also triggered a desire on the part of public officials to respond to reasonable (apparently less radical) demands by members of the black populace. For example, some economic benefits of renewal such as participation in research and design contracts and redevelopment opportunities which had, in the past, been systematically closed to black professionals and entrepreneurs have, more recently, been opened.'

CHAPTER II. URBAN RENEWAL IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Politics

Washington, D. C. was one of the early leaders in the use of urban renewal, but this leadership came to an end during the years 1961 to 1964 due to a combination of local politics, congressional involvement and federal regulations. Washington, D. C. has long been a highly political city. When urban renewal is examined within the framework of this study, the 'in' or 'power' camp vs. the 'outsider' or 'seeker of power', it is evident that major contributing factors to this loss of leadership were conflicts among the renewal participants and changed community attitudes towards renewal. An explanation of the renewal process suggests how these conflicts developed.

Two of the most critical factors in the urban renewal process are the number and relative power of the autonomous political units involved. In Washington the authority to plan, approve, and execute urban renewal projects is divided among several agencies and political units, including the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC)⁴, the Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA)⁵, and the D. C. Government. Congress, the President, and

⁴The Planning Commission's role in the urban renewal process was established by the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945, as amended. This requires that the Commission approve the boundaries and adopt the plans for urban renewal projects.

⁵The D. C. Redevelopment Act of 1945 also authorized the establishment of a Local Public Agency, the D. C. Redevelopment Land Agency. The purpose of the Act was:

"To provide for the replanning and rebuilding of slum blighted, and other areas of the District of Columbia and the assembly, by purchase or condemnation, of real property in such areas in accordance with said plans; and to provide for the financing of such planning, acquisition, and sale or lease; and for other purposes."

community groups also assume parts in urban renewal. This diffusion of both formal and informal urban renewal authority has, even under the best circumstances, made urban renewal complex.

In recent years, urban renewal has undergone major changes, emphasizing rehabilitation, rather than demolition and clearance. More important, especially to this study, is the fact that the need for citizen participation is stressed now. Consequently, questions regarding what should be emphasized in renewal are constantly in the offering and tend to further complicate the renewal process. Finally, urban renewal means change, not only physical change in the project area, but a possible shifting of forces within and between the two 'camps'. Autonomous units, the exigencies of politics, and community support or opposition, each contribute to the frequent political struggles within the urban renewal arena.

The Procedure

Since urban renewal procedures play a critical part in the process, it is important to outline the steps established by the 1945 District of Columbia Redevelopment Act. There are four general phases of the renewal process: boundary adoption, survey and planning, plan adoption, and execution. First, NCPC and the D. C. Government adopt and approve renewal boundaries (RLA has advised as to the eligibility of the area). Second, the local officials jointly prepare the necessary surveys and plans (because of overlapping and unclear legal responsibilities, the relationship of tasks between RLA and NCPC is usually established by a 'Letter of Agreement' rather than a contract). Third, the renewal plans produced through these efforts must be adopted by NCPC and approved by the D. C. Government (public hearings must precede both these actions).

Fourth, the RLA applies for federal funds and, upon approval by HUD, formerly HHFA, implements the plans. Land acquisition, relocation, site clearance and preparation, and disposition of the land are the responsibility of the RLA. Any changes in the renewal plan require approval of both the D. C. Government and the Planning Commission⁶ after the appropriate public hearings.

Although this procedure was established and followed by Washington's first and last approved renewal projects, the technical and political roles and relative influences of the two major 'camps' (establishment vs. people) were different enough to result in dissimilar processes and products.

Two Urban Renewal Approaches to Revitalize Communities:

The 'Southwest' second in age in the District of Columbia only to 'Georgetown', was the first blighted section of Washington to be approved for urban renewal action. It was planned from what black Washingtonians refer to as a 'white-establishment' and 'public agency' point of view.

The Shaw School area, named after an aged and dilapidated junior high school known as 'Shameful Shaw' is third in terms of the evolution of communities in the District of Columbia and was the fifth blighted section of Washington to be studied and the latest to be approved, for urban renewal. It was planned from a 'black community' and 'advocacy planning' point of view.

⁶U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the District of Columbia, Urban Renewal Documents, 1960-61, 87th Congress, 1st Session. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1961, p. 874).

'A' The Southwest Urban Renewal Project Area

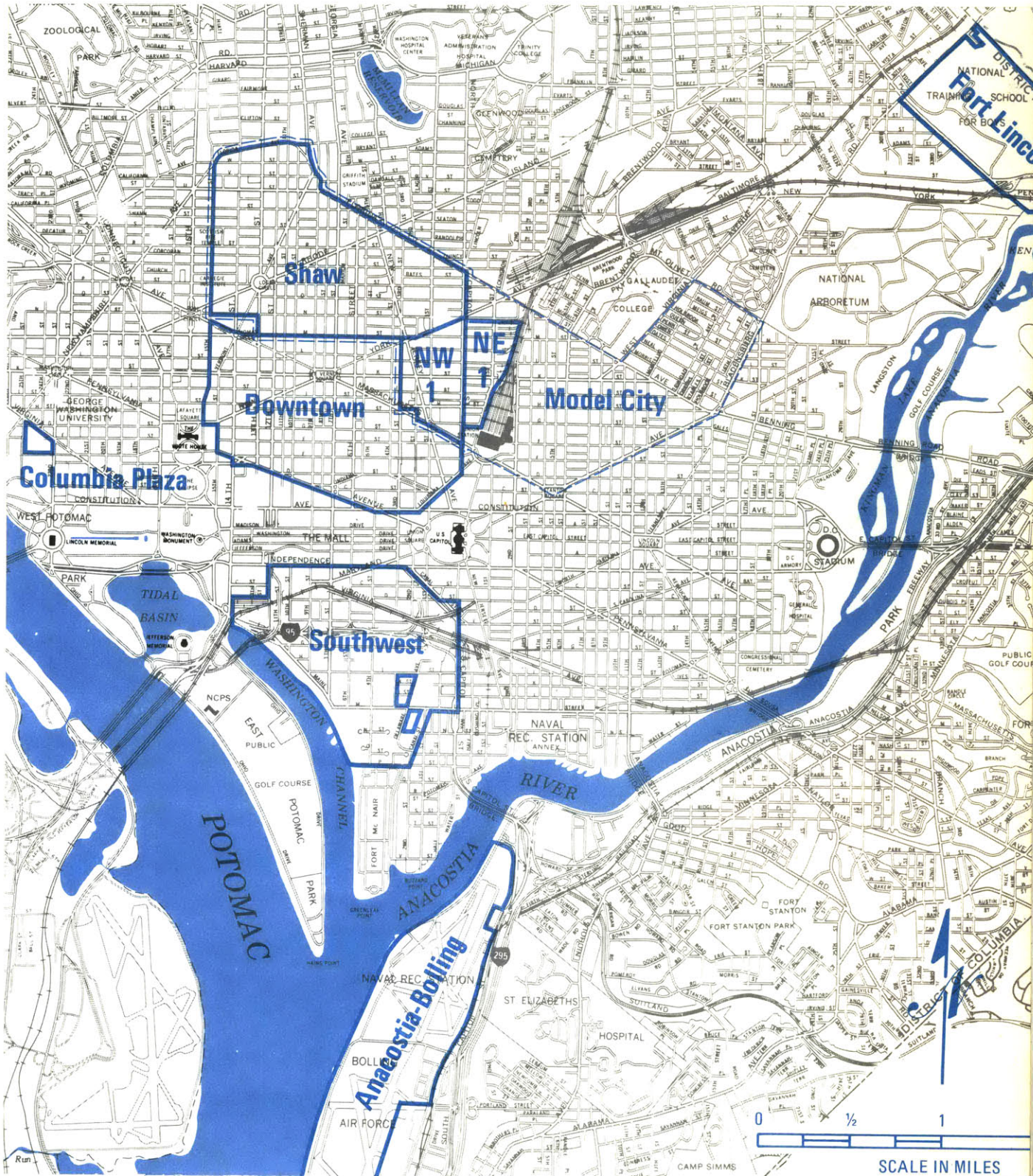
In 1951 the Planning Commission adopted boundaries for an urban renewal project area in Southwest Washington, an area of extreme blight and decay located near the U. S. Capitol, Federal Triangle, the downtown business district and the Washington Channel. (See map 1). Execution of the project eliminated 560 acres of some of this nation's worst slum housing.

The deteriorated houses and the accompanying physical, social and economic ills have been replaced by over 5,000 dwelling units in new town houses, garden and elevator apartments - all for the economically affluent. New parks, churches, theaters, shops, hotels, restaurants, private and federal office buildings, etc. are also included. A new waterfront is under construction and is expected to have marinas, facilities for boat sales and repairs, seafood shops, additional parks and restaurants, underground parking and the like.⁷ All for the economically affluent.

The A.I.A. film "No Time for Ugliness" points with pride of accomplishment to Washington, D. C.'s Southwest Urban Renewal Project Area as a fine example of what can be done to improve cities. It looks at the Project in terms of excellence in aesthetics and physical design. In December 1965, the A.I.A. awarded the area its first citation for Excellence in Community Architecture. Since that time, individual buildings have received awards for 'Design Excellence'. It is expected to be a national tourist asset, as well as a source of local revenue.

⁷D. C. Redevelopment Land Agency. The Southwest Urban Renewal Area, unpublished report giving background and factual information of the project. (Washington, D. C., January 1969). Mimeographed.

MAP. 1. RELATIVE LOCATIONS OF THE SOUTHWEST AND SHAW URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AREA.



Washington, D. C.'s black communities look upon the Southwest Urban Renewal Project as a glaring and dismal failure. They see the results of the Project as typical of urban renewal's injustice to poor people in general and black people in particular. They point to the fact that the 23,000 plus persons who lived in the area prior to redevelopment were mostly black (seventy-seven (77) percent), poor (thirty-three (33) percent had incomes under \$2400, sixty-four (64) percent had incomes under \$3600, and eighty-one (81) percent had incomes under \$4800), and struggling to live amidst deprivation and exploitation by slum lords (over eighty (80) percent were tenants, 70.2% had no central heating, 44.3% had no baths, 43.2% had outside toilets, 27.2% had an outside water supply, 21.2% were without electricity).⁸ These people who were 'outside' the influential decision-making camp...people without power or even the ability to comprehend urban renewal forces, were scattered to the winds. The new residents of the new Southwest are mostly white and affluent. The black community cries, 'No more Southwests'.

'B' The Shaw School Urban Renewal Project Area

Description of the Area

Geographically Shaw, like Southwest, is ideally located relative to the U. S. Capitol, Federal Triangle and the downtown business district (see map 1).

The area contains 675 acres in what should be one of the most desirable sections of Washington. On the edge of downtown it runs

⁸Ibid.

from North Capitol Street on the east to Fifteenth Street on the west; from M Street on the south to Florida Avenue on the North (see map 2). From Shaw it is a comfortable walk - at most a short bus ride - to the most patronized stores, to almost every important public building, and to most of the museums, parks, theaters, and historic sites in the District.

In its present condition, however, Shaw could hardly be called desirable. Between forty (40) and fifty (50) thousand people - six percent of Washingtons' total population and 8 to 9 percent of its black population is housed in the area. Nor is the area a single community. Concentrations and/or differences in land uses, physical conditions and building types, income, property ownership and race coupled with identifiable places of community activity, all combine to suggest several communities within the Shaw area (see map 3).⁹

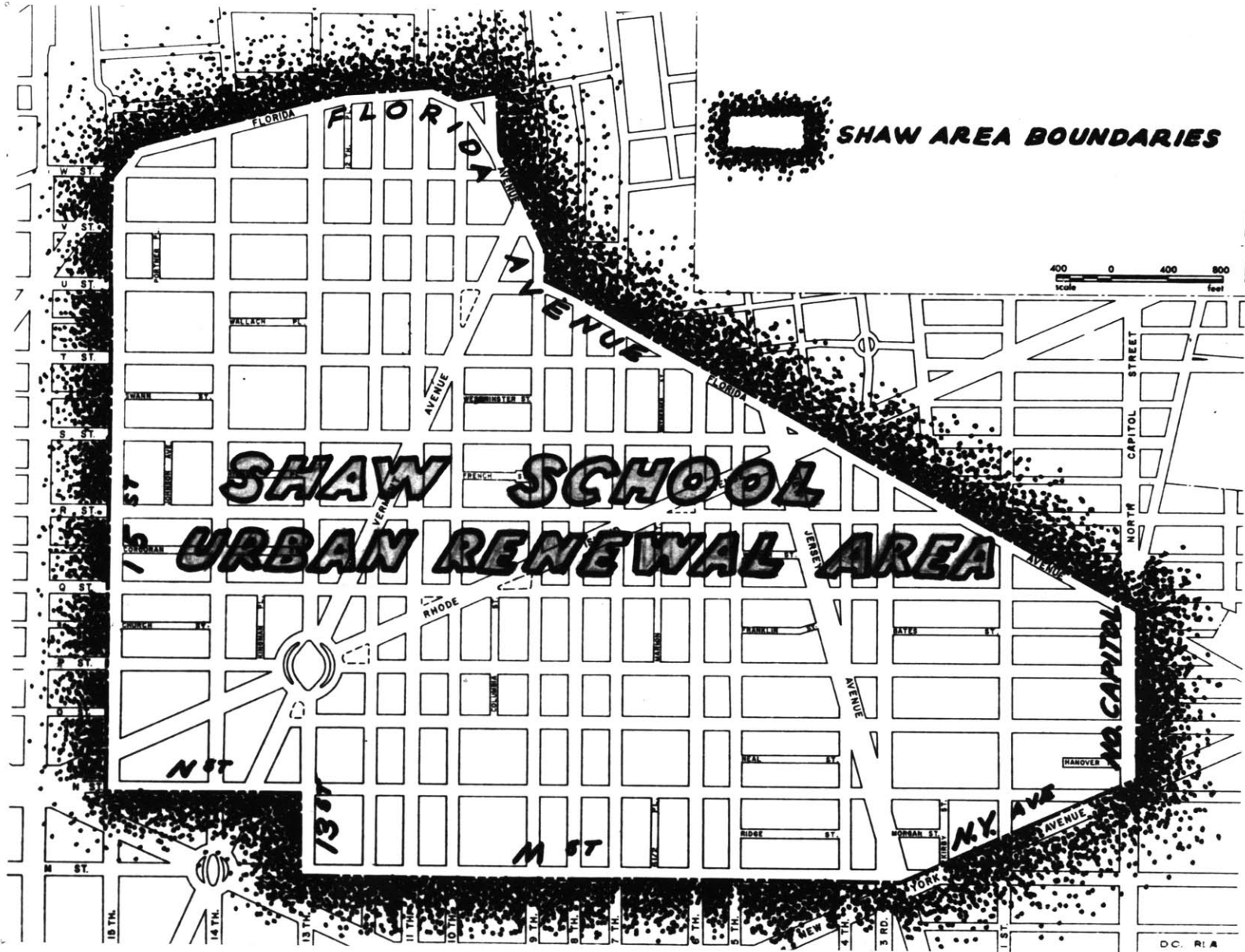
Most of Shaw is residential, consisting mainly of two (2) and three (3) story masonry, row-type structures, with some elevator apartment houses southwest of Logan Circle and northwest of Fourteenth and U Streets. The area has only half the recreation space recommended per capita by the most conservative planners. Of the ten elementary schools, five were built sixty (60) or more years ago.¹⁰ (See map 4 - Existing Land Use).

Shaw's population is crowded into 5,000 residences, more than half of which have been officially appraised as deficient. The poorest

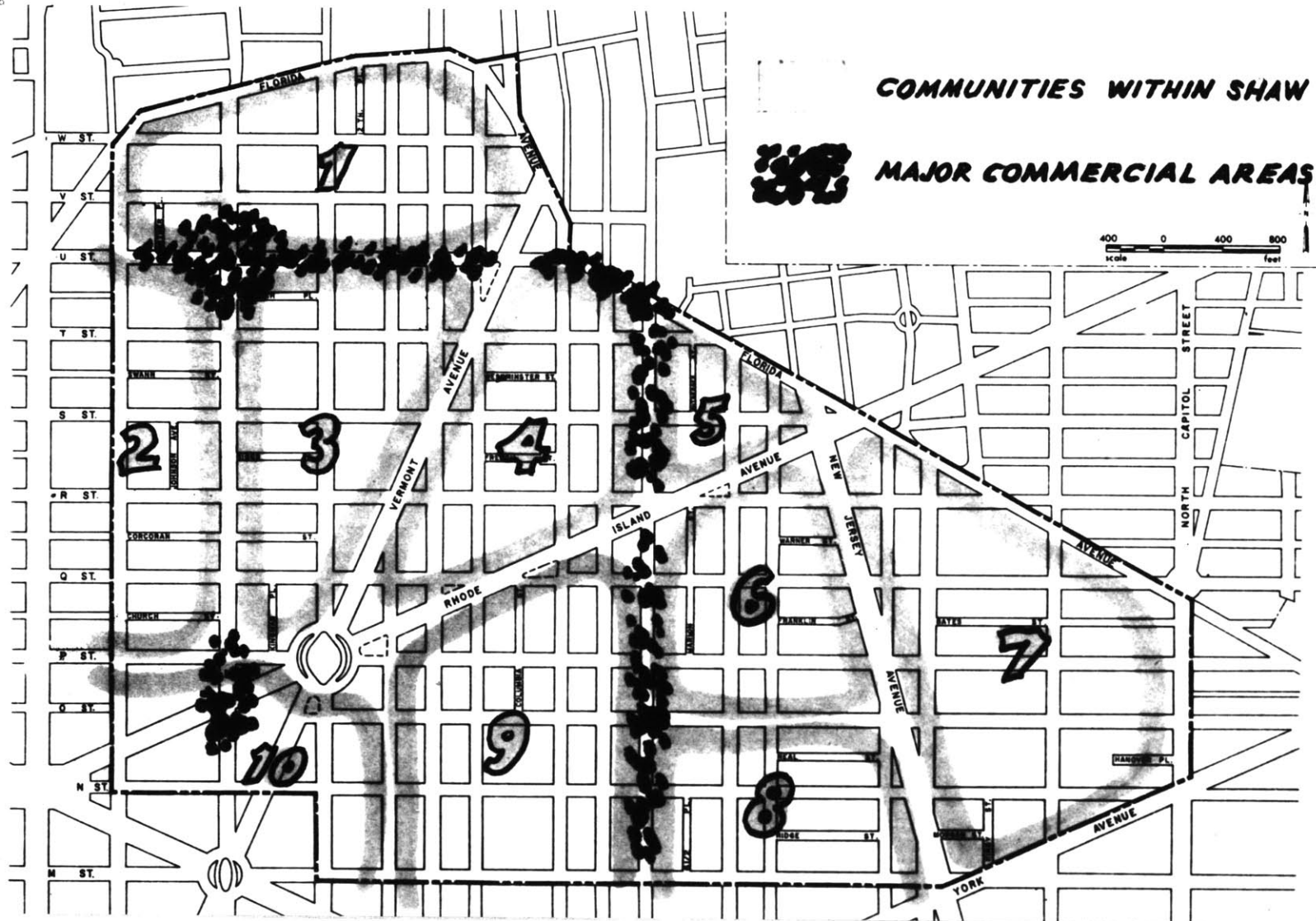
⁹This information was gleaned from detailed data collected and analyzed by the MICCO Planning Staff from April, 1967 to date.

¹⁰Ibid.

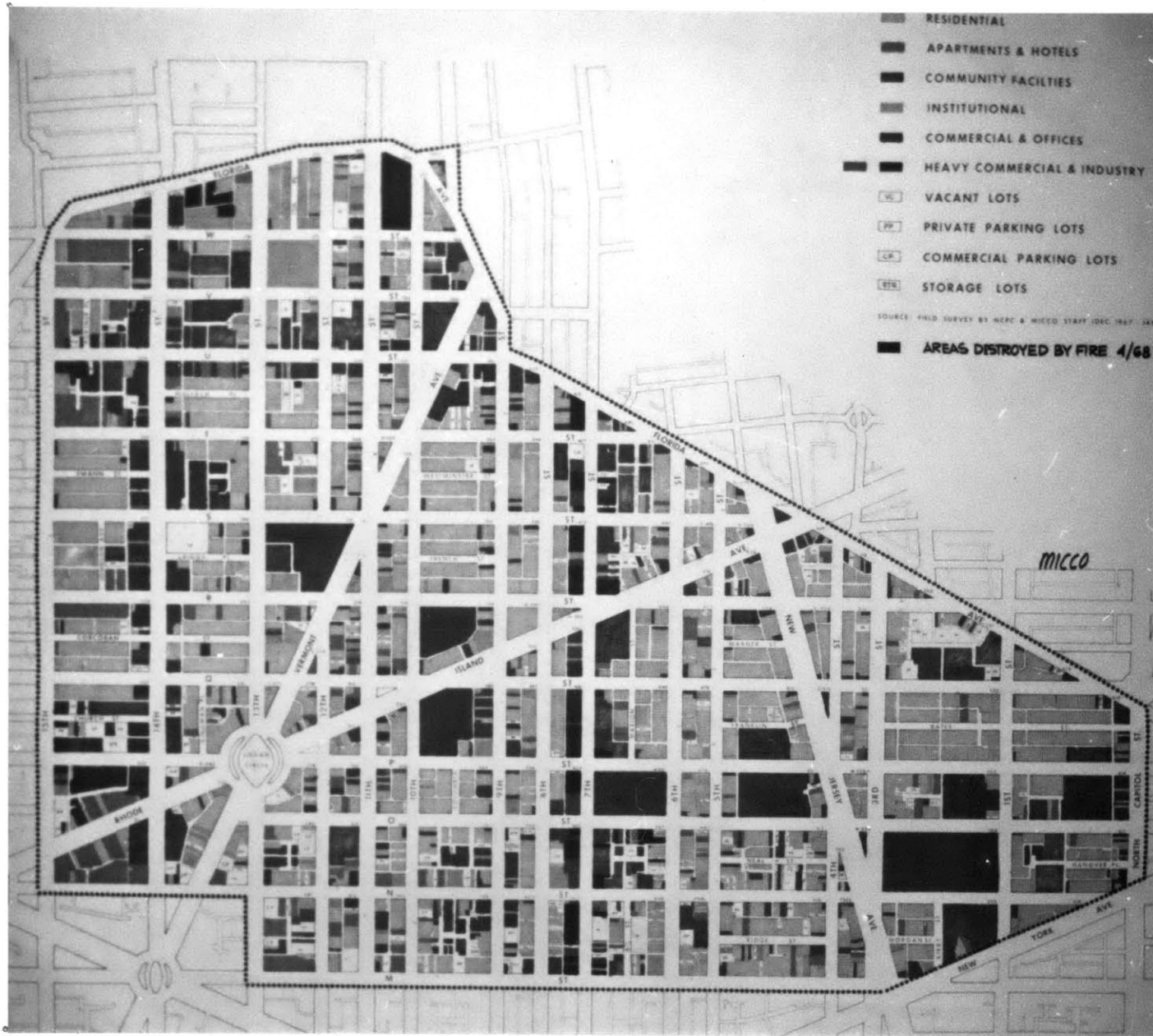
MAP 2. BOUNDARIES OF THE SHAW SCHOOL URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AREA.



MAP 3. COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE SHAW SCHOOL AREA.



MAP 4. EXISTING LAND USE.



housing conditions are found near the commercial strips around Seventh and Fourteenth Streets, amidst the 'alley dwellings' south of O Street between Ninth Street and New Jersey Avenue, and scattered near non-compatible land uses (see map 5, "Apparent Physical and Environmental Condition").¹¹

Nearly a third of the residents in Shaw's communities live on less than \$3000 a year, thus qualifying statistically to a chronic state of poverty. Half have had less than a ninth grade education. Proportionately, the area requires welfare and health services at a rate two to four times that of the D. C. population as a whole. It has more than three times as many fire calls as the average for the city. It has the third highest crime rate.¹²

Conditions in the Shaw area are typical of the dilapidated black ghetto. Residents and public officials alike, members of both 'camps', recognized the need for directing governmental aid to the area. The form that this aid would take was the question.

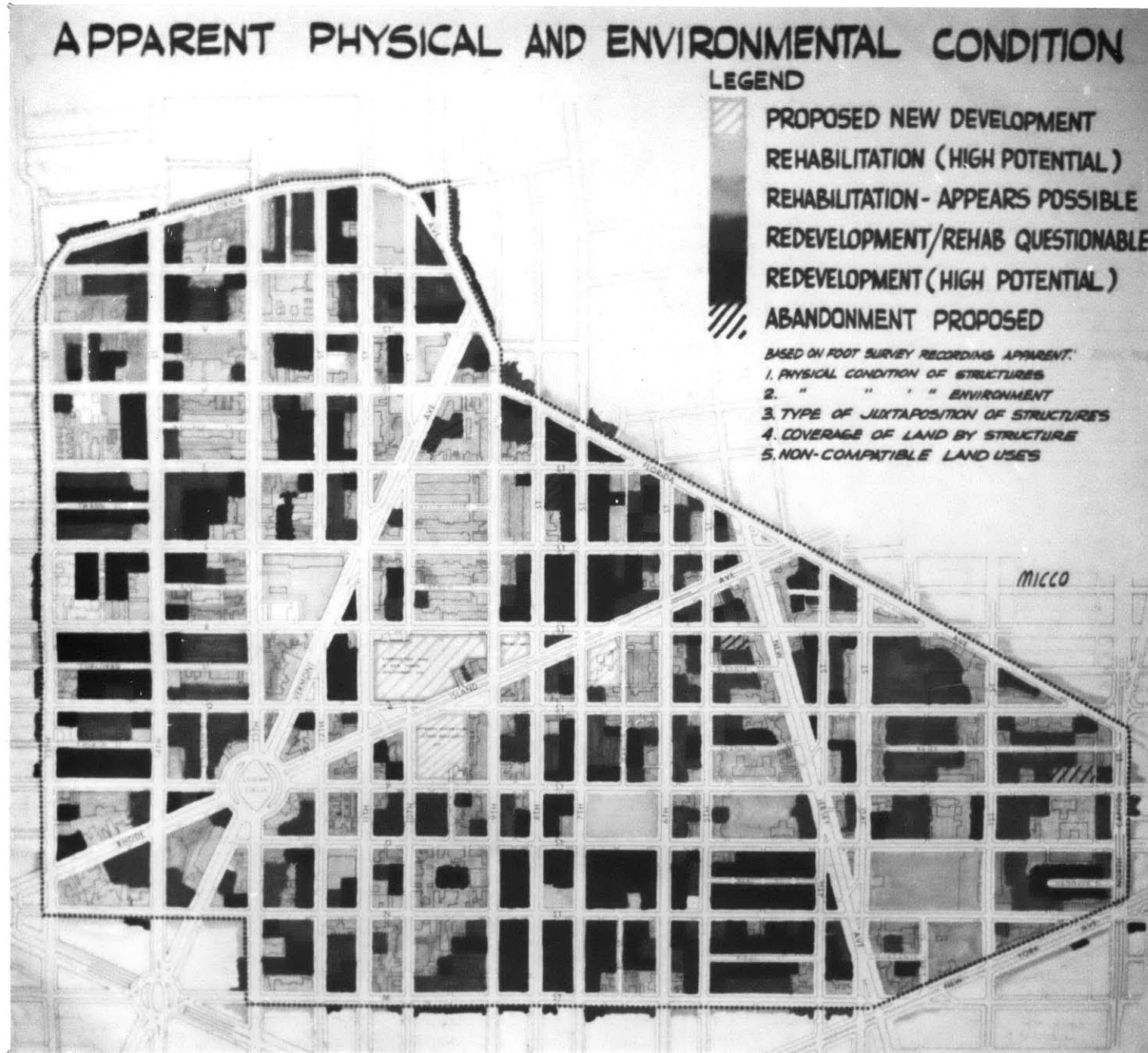
Factors Contributing to the Consideration of Urban Renewal

For a segment of Washington's black community to even consider the use of urban renewal after the experience of Southwest, appears unlikely. Yet, Shaw urban renewal was not only acceptable to, but initiated by, the black community. To understand this change of position it is first necessary to briefly consider, within the framework of 'inner' and 'outer' camps, the uninvolvement of black residents

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

MAP 5.



as they related to renewal forces in yet another community (the Adams-Morgan area) in the District of Columbia.

FACTOR 1 - The Adams-Morgan Project Area provided a lesson in false community participation, the influence of the political power structure, and the influence of community oriented allies within the 'establishment'.

In 1958, local citizens (white college students, white middle class and some business interests) of the Adams-Morgan area worked actively with NCPC planners and American University in preliminary surveys of the area's housing conditions and socio-economic characteristics.¹³ These early citizen participation efforts were interpreted as being successful and as a result, some of these citizens decided to request the use of urban renewal. The population of Adams-Morgan was divided almost equally between Whites and Blacks, the western part of the area being predominantly white; the eastern, predominantly black. The Blacks, while being potentially affected by this program, were not involved. The young white university students allied with the professional staff planners of NCPC formed the 'in' camp of the establishment which would represent the interests of all persons affected.

The Adams-Morgan Project might have been another instance of unrepresented Blacks being displaced by renewal action were it not for the introduction of two unforeseen factors; new NCPC citizen oriented leadership and congressional pressures against renewal.

Chairman Libby Rowe and other citizens appointed to the Commission after 1961 felt that redevelopment projects aimed for upper income

¹³Office of Urban Renewal, Adams-Morgan, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 3.

groups were no longer appropriate. Mrs. Rowe also believed that renewal should serve the citizens living in the area designated for renewal.

Congressman Dowdy (D-Texas) from rural Eastern Texas launched a series of hearings and spent a number of months investigating the Adams-Morgan Project.¹⁴ These hearings, which lasted from 1963 to 1965, were designed to halt the renewal program through harrassment of renewal officials.¹⁵

In addition, heirs to the Meyer Estate, which was then designated to be incorporated in the rebuilding of Adams-Morgan also opposed the plan. The Meyer family controls the Washington Post and is one of the most influential families in Washington.

Obviously the NCPC staff planners and the middle class Whites suddenly found themselves 'out' rather than 'in', The Blacks, without decent leadership were still uninformed, unrepresented and 'out'. The D. C. Commissioners and federal officials responded to the new trilogy of power by first delaying the project for almost a year; and finally suggesting revision of the project area boundaries in a way that excluded the predominantly white sections and the Meyer Estate, a deletion of half the original project area. Now only the Blacks would

¹⁴U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on the District of Columbia, Report of Proceeding, Hearings held before Subcommittee No. 4, 88th Congress, 1st Session, June 14, 1963 (Washington D. C.: Federal Reporters, Inc., 1963), p. 1104.

¹⁵Most of the House leaders come from rural southern districts, and they generally lack knowledge about, and sympathy for Washington's urban problems.

be affected; they still were 'out' and uninvolved.

The Planning Commission, led by Mrs. Rowe, judged the Adams-Morgan Project not in the best interest of the remaining local (black) community. Its veto put an end to Adams-Morgan planning after nine years of planning activity. This rejection of staff work created a strained staff-Commission relationship, and left many embittered old-time planners with a feeling that renewal had no future in Washington.

On the other hand, the Adams-Morgan Project alerted black leadership in other areas of Washington to the dangers of uninvolvement and dependence on 'downtown's white planners'. The influence of Congress and the 'power structure' beyond the 'establishment' was also noted, as was the community oriented attitude of citizen Commission members such as Mrs. Rowe. The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy, a Washington civil rights leader and a Shaw resident took note of the forces involved in urban renewal.

FACTOR 2 - The Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy provided dedicated and competent black leadership in the Shaw area.

In retrospect, the problems of the Shaw area and its possible relationship to urban renewal areas and programs began in 1959. The Reverend Fauntroy, a newly ordained baptist minister returned to his home church, the New Bethel Baptist Church at 9th and S Streets in the Shaw area, after attending college. An attempt to develop a twenty (20) year plan for the growth of his church led him to ecological studies of Washington which revealed movement of black communities resulting from public renewal (Southwest) and private renewal (Georgetown).¹⁶

¹⁶The Reverend Dr. Walter E. Fauntroy, President and Executive Director of MICCO. Personal interview, Washington, D. C., February 17, 1969.

During this period of studies, the Reverend Fauntroy commenced working with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) movement headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, and was soon alerted to the civil rights dimensions of the renewal programs and their affect on the black community. He also became convinced that "the intentions of the Congress in passing Urban Renewal legislation had actually been flaunted by those who, in fact, had executed it here (in Washington)...and across the country..."¹⁷ As a result of his studies on, and subsequent understanding of, the nature of urban renewal and related forces, he soon became one of a small group of advisors to Dr. King on urban problems.

With the passage of the Housing Act of 1961, federal aid was made available to non-profit sponsors to develop housing in the low and moderate income range under the 221(d)(3) program.¹⁸ New Bethel Baptist Church's desire to build housing in the neighborhood for the people who lived there led to their Pastor's meeting Mrs. Marjorie Lawson, an attorney involved in housing. Together they sought to find parcels of land on which the church could develop housing. Their search revealed that: a) land in the inner-city was controlled and being speculated

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Prior to 1961 and the introduction of the 221(d)(3) program, much of the renewal program's emphasis was on the 'higher and better use of land as a means of increasing the tax base'. Consequently, it was primarily groups or individuals with money who wished to build and develop land for profit that could, in reality become private developers and sponsors (Low income housing developed by public housing agencies is not considered private). Ergo private urban renewal housing was built, for the most part, as luxuriously as the market would allow, resulting in the removal of poor, and most often black, persons from the renters and buyers markets.

upon by absentee owners who considered it much too valuable to turn loose at costs which would allow the building of low and moderate income housing, and b) the development of low and moderate income housing in the suburbs was effectively prohibited by the practices of the zoning commissions in the suburban communities. In the instance of securing inner-city land, the problem could only be solved through a mechanism which would allow the assembly of land, paying whatever the going price was, and the disposition of that land to a builder of (d)(3) housing at reduced cost low enough to allow it. Hence, the two searchers began to consider the use of urban renewal to achieve their desires.

Establishing and maintaining a working relationship with the power structure... 'the establishment'.

Consideration of the use of urban renewal took on even greater significance when, in 1965, an attempt to secure a vacant parcel of city owned land located two blocks from the New Bethel Baptist Church, led to a series of meetings between the Reverend Fauntroy,¹⁹ Mrs. Lawson, D. C. Commissioner Duncan, Walter Washington (at that time Executive Director of the National Capital Housing Authority to which the land had been pledged), Thomas Appleby, Director of the Redevelopment Land Agency and Charles Conrad, Director of the National Capital Planning Commission. (Note: A team composed of the Reverend Fauntroy, Mrs. Lawson, Walter Washington and Thomas Appleby provided the working core.)

¹⁹At this time the Reverend Fauntroy was also Vice-Chairman of the White House Conference to Fulfill These Rights, and as a member of President Johnson's staff he was made aware of the development of (what was then known as) the Demonstration Cities concept.

It was decided not only to extend thinking beyond building housing on this one vacant parcel, but to design and recommend larger boundaries within which to apply all the tools the federal government had available to renew the community; the job training programs, the business development programs, the school programs, the housing programs, etc...

On January 24, 1966, three members of this team made a presentation to the three Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the heads (Board members) of the RLA and the NCPC. Walter Washington made the introduction, the Reverend Fauntroy stated what was wanted, and Tom Appleby commented on the feasibility of the proposal. The result of that meeting was a pledge by the public agencies to proceed with the work necessary for the documentation needed to support the designation of the Shaw area as an urban renewal area. Shaw was to be renewed in a fashion which would allow the people living there a choice of new and rehabilitated housing and an opportunity to participate in the renewal process. Concurrent with this effort the existing leadership and groups in the community were pulled together (civic associations, P.T.A.'s, churches, business groups, etc.).

Maintaining a working relationship with the community:

During the period New Bethel's Pastor was talking with the public agencies, he was also consulting with several community leaders. These informal consultations were intensified and assumed a structured character between January 24 and April 7 of 1966. Citizen groups and organizations, playing a role in Shaw, were personally contacted by the Pastor and his church staff by word-of-mouth and letter (see Appendix A - List of Groups contacted January 24 to April 7, 1966).

With the backing of these groups the Reverend Fauntroy was able to

present a statement to the Planning Commission on April 7, 1966, which urged them to use the 'Demonstration Cities' approach in dealing with "the multi-faceted problems of the inner city...

"We need massive programs of social services, and physical reconstruction and rehabilitation, planned and carried out with the continuing participation of the residents of the area to improve conditions and opportunities for those who live and work there.

This is an area, as you all know, where for years there has been growing and deepening, an attitude of despair. For twenty years lending institutions have turned their backs to us and for ten years now speculators have been nibbling at the edges of our area. "Shameful Shaw" with its old and dilapidated structures, its overcrowded and inadequately equipped classrooms and its inability to meet the many needs of its pupils is symbolic of conditions in almost every aspect of life for people in the surrounding community. For many are confined to overcrowded, old and dilapidated housing for which they pay ridiculous prices. Many go without needed social services which many Federal programs are designed to provide. Indeed, for many an attitude of pervasive despair has settled in to an alarming degree.

There is legitimate fear among many that one or more of the area's pockets of despair may simply explode if something isn't done soon to relieve conditions. People don't explode when they have legitimate reason to believe that help is coming.

It is for these reasons that I urge you to adopt the proposed area for study..."²⁰

He urged them to properly stage the renewal in a fashion which made certain no one would have to move until new or rehabilitated housing had been provided for them.

On April 8, 1966, news broke in the press that the Shaw area had been designated for 'a new style of urban renewal', based on, and a prototype of, the Demonstration Cities Program which is now referred to as Model Cities.

The following Saturday, April 9, 1966, a meeting of the various

²⁰The Reverend Dr. Walter E. Fauntroy, testimony before the National Capital Planning Commission, April 7, 1966.

community groups was convened in order to discuss how the groups would organize. Representatives of the block clubs, civic associations, Chamber of Commerce and business groups, Health and Welfare Councils, job training programs, churches and fraternal groups, school P.T.A.'s, etc., met and formed an umbrella organization known as the Model Inner City Community Organization (MICCO).

CHAPTER III. MICCO - GOALS, STRUCTURE, ROLE AND IMAGE
OF THE ORGANIZATION

Goals

On April 15, 1966, a few days after its formation, MICCO was incorporated and launched upon its stormy but productive career.

MICCO's objectives were stated succinctly in its by-laws:

"...to give the people...a voice and a hand in the rebuilding of their community.

"...to insure representation of the people throughout the planning and execution of the renewal and rehabilitation process."

It was further stated that this 'new type of renewal' was to be accomplished in three ways, with the people who lived there, and by the people who lived there, and for the people who lived there.

With the people meant that MICCO wished to provide the people of the Shaw area, people who would be affected by the renewal process, with the technical competence to, in fact, participate meaningfully in the drafting of an urban renewal plan. This led to their asking the government (RLA, HUD, EDA, etc.) to provide them with funds to hire their own staff of physical, social and economic planners to assist in the process of serving the area and developing a plan which would be submitted to the public agencies.

Efforts to secure agreement from the government began on April 15, 1966, and were not achieved until March 16, 1967 - almost one year later. This accomplishment shattered all precedents. MICCO became the first grass roots organization in the country to receive Federal funds for the employment of professional planners for the express purpose of helping citizens draft their own proposals for renewal. It

also reinforced MICCO's ability to relate to both 'camps', the 'people' and the 'establishment'.

MICCO's planners have been referred to as having 'soul'... that is, 'blackness coupled with a sympathetic and automatic understanding of the problems' of the residents of Shaw resulting from growing up in similar ghetto communities. The author of this thesis study, MICCO's Director of Planning and Deputy Director has often been introduced by Fauntroy as 'that fella' who grew up in the slums of Harlem and, by the grace of God, escaped to M.I.T., one of the finest architectural and planning institutions in the nation... and comes to us after ten years of experience, including 4½ with Ed Logue in Boston." This kind of image continues to be an entree into both 'camps' and demands peak community and professional performance on the part of the staff.

Second, by the people meant that MICCO recognized the great amounts of money that renewal generated and consequently planned to develop programs which would allow the residents of the area to participate, to the greatest extent possible, in the money making. They pointed to the money to be made by the bricklayers, carpenters, electricians, building contractors, material and equipment franchisers, architects, engineers, lawyers, etc...

Across the country white unions had systematically excluded black ghetto dwellers from their ranks. Nor did the more fortunate relatives of these ghetto dwellers, who may have escaped and gained an education at Hampton or Tuskegee or Howard or M.I.T. get much of an opportunity to take on the large engineering, construction or architectural contracts. The example of the miles of public housing along the Van Ryan Expressway in Chicago was often cited. Millions of dollars of federal money were

invested, and yet, not one of the persons living in that housing made a cent laying the bricks, or putting in the electrical fixtures, or painting the building... nor did their relatives who may have been architects, make the 3 percent to 5 percent architectural fees.

In order to supplement its normal urban renewal planning and communications activities, MICCO sought and received additional funds from the federal government to begin training residents of the area toward the fulfillment of this objective. Projects resulting from these efforts are described in Chapter V, Section C, "Adherence to the Process," of this study.

Third, for the people expressed a desire by MICCO to involve the people of the area in planning for that area in a manner which assured that renewal would result in land reform, that is, the taking of land from the large white slum lords, realtors and speculators and the disposition of that land to the people, 98 percent black, who live in Shaw. It also meant use of the land and the facilities to be located on it in a manner which best served the interest of the indigenous community: Housing would be of the type needed by the people at rents they could afford to pay, and with maximum opportunity for home ownership. Schools would be designed and programmed to meet the needs of the residents... adults and children. The same would be true of health services and social services, and of transportation and employment opportunities.

Structure

From the day it was chartered (April 15, 1966), MICCO's twenty-five incorporators and its interim board of directors attempted to create the kind of institution which would provide representation to all non-public organizations and a voice for those residents without organizational

affiliations. They were soon joined in this building process by twelve representatives of community action groups organized under the local anti-poverty program.

The initial participants agreed that membership in the MICCO corporation would be open without charge to any bona fide organization located in the Shaw Project Area or to branches or chapters of citywide organizations serving the area who were willing to join in a 'broad frontal attack on the urban ghetto!'. Approximately 200 organizations have joined MICCO.

Each organization is placed by its function in one of nine categories stated in the MICCO by-laws. The member organizations of each category then elect a specified number of representatives to a fifty-three (53) member Board of Directors.

12 will be members of neighborhood councils

5 will be members of community service organizations

9 will be members of civic associations

5 will be members of business and professional groups

5 will be from schools and parent-teacher groups

5 will be from churches and ministerial and church organizations

7 will be representatives of youth organizations (4) and other resources (3)

3 will be members of fraternal and social organizations

2 will be members of labor organizations

This Board has the responsibility of providing broad policy direction; it does not have a planning function.

Though membership is limited to organizational representatives, every interested citizen has an opportunity to participate in the

'planning' process. One of the many ways is by service on one of MICCO's ten standing committees.

The purpose of the committee structure is to allow any citizen the opportunity of participating in any of ten planning areas when he, or she is affected by a planning issue or wishes to participate. (See Chapter IV - Participation vs. Representation).

Servicing the community at large, the corporation and the Board is the MICCO staff. The staff consists of administration, planning and community participation personnel (See MICCO Organization Chart).

Initial Role

MICCO defined its role as an effort to promote and coordinate the participation in the urban renewal process of all those who "live, work or serve" in the Shaw area. It sought to involve all the people in Shaw - the uncommitted as well as the organized, the poor and middle-class, the thousands with less than a ninth grade education and the few with college degrees.

The contract between the Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA) and MICCO gives some indication of its contractual role. The contract states that MICCO shall:

"Maintain itself as a broad-based and representative neighborhood organization suited to serve as a forum for the expression of neighborhood goals and as a coordinator of the efforts of other community groups involved in the urban renewal survey and planning process, without actually attempting to substitute for these other groups."

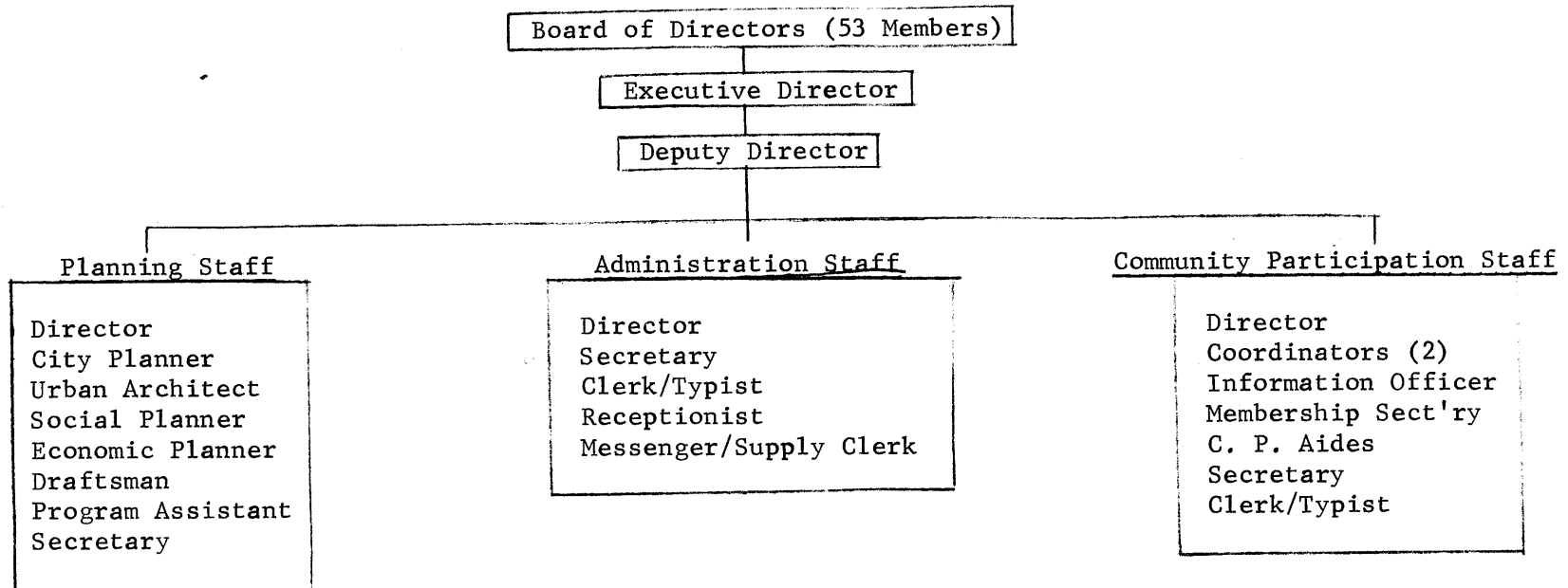
"Afford existing community groups and non-public institutions within the Project Area representation in its organization and establish a program for the meaningful involvement of the existing organizations..."

The means used to accomplish the foregoing is discussed in the

MICCO
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

Apx. 200 Member Organizations

Neighborhood Organizations
Civic Associations
Community Service Organizations
Parent-Teacher Associations
Business & Professional Groups
Churches & Ministerial and Church Alliances
Fraternal and Social Organizations
Labor Organizations
Youth Clubs



following section entitled 'Participation vs. Representation'.

This contract also called upon MICCO to:

"develop and maintain within the neighborhood a means of responding to, initiating, articulating, and communicating physical planning concepts and proposals. It shall establish a method for obtaining detailed information about residents' goals for the Project Area at the individual, block, sub-area, and neighborhood level; for informing residents of the processes of planning and renewal which will be taking place; for focusing community attention on decisions to be made in these processes; and for generating block-to-block as well as neighborhood-wide assistance in the making of these decisions."

Initially, MICCO sought to meet the above roles via the accomplishment of the several tasks listed in its Program Development Report.

These were to:

1. Identify these needs and aspirations which the people of Shaw want considered in the renewal plan;
2. Tell the planning agencies what the people need and want;
3. Find out what proposals are being made by the Redevelopment Land Agency, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the District of Columbia Commissioners;²¹
4. Bring these proposals to the community;
5. Ask the people for their views on the proposals;
6. Help the residents draft alternate proposals if necessary; and
7. Press for adoption of plans that reflect the needs and goals of the people."

And, for a period of one year (April 11, 1967 to April 3, 1968) MICCO, in pursuit of these goals, worked hand-in-glove with the public planning agencies. MICCO's staff and Board engaged in an intensive effort to solicit from the Shaw area's 40,000 to 50,000 residents

²¹Since the writing of MICCO's Program Development Report in July 1967, the three D. C. Commissioners have been succeeded by one Mayor-Commissioner and a City Council of nine (as of August 1967).

relevant ideas for rebuilding Shaw. At the same time they were interpreting, to these same residents, the laws, regulations, and precedents governing the renewal process. MICCO's major function was to communicate. It was not to organize, except as organization became imperative in order to communicate effectively. Furthermore, it communicated not for purposes of generalized protest but to help clarify cost/benefit relationships and to inject a citizen's viewpoint into an urban renewal process which has a specific time-and-place reference.

Methods were developed for introducing the complex interrelationships of housing, employment, health, transportation, education and the like. These methods had to allow the introduction of the problems in close proximity to positive programs for solution in terms that were both tangible and personal. MICCO felt this was mandatory if most citizens, rather than being overwhelmed and depressed by the complexities, were to be informed of the opportunities in urban renewal and inspired by them. Clearly the ability of MICCO's Board and staff to identify and communicate with both 'camps' was an absolute necessity during this period.

Initial Image

It should also be noted that within the context of "the new federation" MICCO was quite plainly what the president of the Carnegie Corporation called a "quasi-nongovernmental organization...a new genus of organization which represents a noteworthy experiment in the art of government."

In an introduction to Carnegie's 1967 annual report, President Alan Pifer addressed himself to the problems and potential of such

organizations, along the way touching on a number of points that bear with acute relevance on MICCO's relationship to RLA. For instance:

"Essential also to the continued viability of the quasi-nongovernmental organization is a clear definition of its responsibilities in relation to those exercised by government. While the former should have some role in government policy formation, this is essentially the responsibility of the latter. It is all too easy for government to abdicate this responsibility when an issue is extremely complex or highly technical. The danger here is that a nongovernmental partner will become so deeply implicated in government policy through having in effect been the creator of it that it will sacrifice its position of detachment and objectivity, and hence its ultimate independence."

Because MICCO was funded primarily by RLA, its relationship to RLA and the community was unclear to many persons.

How an organization is perceived is one thing. What it is in fact may be quite another. With some types of organizations it can even be argued that it is of no consequence that the public doesn't know what its about. However, with respect to an organization which regards communication and participation as its primary functions, unawareness of, confusion about, or indifference to that organization's central mission on the part of any relevant public could only mean that the organization is in some kind of trouble. In its early operation, MICCO was indeed in trouble. While its goals were clearly stated, the organization failed to communicate its purpose in a manner fully understood by the 'people' and the 'establishment'. Both 'camps' viewed it as having the rather ambiguous role of a 'go-between', that is, either visiting with the 'people camp' and after hearing what they had to say, running over to the 'establishment camp' and telling it; or, vice versa. Confusion about its role extended to some members of its board and suggested a need to answer several questions:

(a) Was it MICCO's job to cue RLA to citizen concerns with respect

to the renewal process? Or had MICCO seen itself as an agency which waited to be cued by RLA before it provided a citizens' input? Was MICCO to initiate citizen action or could it only act responsively? Must it wait for the RLA technicians to find what they thought were reasonable options for residents before it solicited the reactions of residents, or was it obligated to help define the options?

- (b) To what extent could MICCO undertake to perform technical assignments for RLA (such as actual renewal planning or even accepting responsibility for the leg-work in conducting surveys) without reducing its capacity to do its primary job which, presumably, was "to insure representation of the people?"
- (c) The RLA contract called MICCO "...a broad-based and representative neighborhood organization suited to serve as a forum for the expression of neighborhood goals and as a coordinator of the efforts of other community groups involved in the urban renewal survey and planning process." Was RLA relating to MICCO as a coordinator or as only one of several neighborhood organizations in Shaw to which RLA listened? To what extent could or should RLA help enhance MICCO's stature by declining to act on ideas or complaints received from other groups in Shaw until they had been evaluated by MICCO? What else besides money and assignments did MICCO have a right to expect from RLA?

The confusion about its role ended with the tragic assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968.

Beginning with the evening of April 4, and for four days thereafter Washington, D. C., like many other cities with sizeable and/or ghettoized black communities, erupted in riots and civil disorders. In Shaw, whole blocks were burned, stores - largely white-owned and exploitive - were gutted and looted by neighborhood residents. At riots end almost 300 Shaw buildings housing close to 300 commercial establishments and over 300 housing units had been damaged. Of the city's three major commercial corridors, Shaw's "Seventh Street, N. W., was most heavily damaged." At riots end, five and a half acres of property along 7th Street were totally destroyed,²² but more important, some of the people of Shaw were dead, others lay injured, and hundreds more had been arrested and jailed.

Change of Role and Image to 'Advocacy Planners'

On the heels of the April riots, six members of MICCO's Executive Committee and a like number of MICCO professional staff, including planners and community participation specialists, met at a two-day conference to analyze the sentiments in the community and how they must necessarily influence MICCO's role in the community.

The most significant decision made at that meeting was... to present to the MICCO board a proposal which would put the organization and process on a crash schedule to produce MICCO's plan for rebuilding Shaw after the April riots. The effect was to change MICCO from its somewhat ambiguous role of a 'go-between' (interpreting the planning

²²National Capital Planning Commission in cooperation with the D. C. Government, and the D. C. Redevelopment Land Agency. Civil Disturbances in Washington, D. C. - April 4-8, 1968, - A Preliminary Damage Report (Washington, D. C., April 1968).

agencies to the people and the people to the planning agencies) to that of a forthright 'advocate planner' with a strong unquestionable identification with the 'peoples' camp'. The rationale for this change of role can be summed up by stating:

- 1) MICCO could no longer wait for the long-delayed governmental planning proposals it was to have 'shopped' in the neighborhoods.
- 2) Its professional staff had the competence to prepare a "people's plan."

Consequently, MICCO undertook a crash program which resulted in the preparation of a citizens' proposal for renewal, with particular emphasis on the disposition of the burned-out areas within Shaw's boundaries. Since whatever went to the public agencies had to be a realistic representation of the needs, interests, and aspirations of Shaw's residents, MICCO concurrently developed an effective community education program.

The new emphasis, following the April riots, on the clarification and strengthening of its role as an advocacy planning group was succinctly explained a week after the civil disorders in a statement to the D. C. Government by Booker T. Coleman, Chairman of MICCO's Housing Committee:

"For the past year we have been talking and listening to the people of Shaw. We have organized citizen committees to consider the problems of housing, education, transportation, welfare, and the like. We have held public meetings - some large, some small. We have sought ideas, comments, and grievances from the committed and the seemingly indifferent, the organized and the unorganized, from groups and individuals.

We have found out what the people of the existing Shaw want in the new Shaw. Our staff has regularly communicated these findings to the technicians of the planning agencies.

But we have not taken to the people of Shaw the proposals being made by the planning agencies.

We have not done so because, so far, we have no proposals from the planning agencies to take to the community.

Now - in the wake of the disorders that swept through our neighborhoods two weeks ago - we have decided to take some short-cuts.

We have decided that we cannot, in conscience, wait on the agencies to translate our needs and aspirations into proposals. We must do this ourselves.

We have decided that we can be of greater service - both to the Shaw community and to the planning agencies - by going back to the people we've been listening to; by going back now and giving them a picture of how Shaw might look if it were to be rebuilt according to the suggestions they've already given us.

To this end, for the past week our own planners and architects have been working around the clock.

Very soon now, we will be asking residents to look at Shaw as it might be were it to be rebuilt in our own image. We will be asking them to react to specific maps and sketches and ideas for renewal that MICCO's staff has worked up out of all that we've learned from a year of listening.

Next, on the basis of what the people themselves tell us, we will change the maps and sketches.

We will then submit the results to the planning agencies as the citizens' proposal for a Shaw renewal plan. With our proposal will be a recommendation that execution begin immediately on approval.

We are moving as fast as we can. We hope to have our finished proposal - Shaw's proposal - in the hands of the Redevelopment Land Agency within 60 days!"²³

Since then MICCO's advocacy role and image have grown at an accelerating pace. Yet, this new role did not weaken MICCO's ability to deal with the 'establishment camp'; conversely it strengthened it.

²³Coleman, Booker T., Statement before Mayor-Commissioner and the D. C. City Council at Public Hearing on "Rebuilding of Washington, D. C.'s Damaged Areas," (May, 1968).

Many persons in the establishment viewed the April riots as a threat, or sign, of growing strength in the ranks of the 'black power' advocates. The 'establishment camp' was incapable of communicating with the 'people camp' and therefore unable to distinguish the bona fide Black power leader with followers, from the sensation seeker who could mobilize no one but himself. To the establishment, 'the outsider' from the black community's view point, those who sported the 3 b's (a 'bush', a 'beard', and 'beads') all looked alike. The issue was extremely complex, the governmental agencies in the establishment could at least communicate with MICCO and they were therefore only too willing to abdicate some policy formation and eventually planning responsibilities to MICCO (as per Alan Pifer's analysis of possible role development of a quasi nongovernmental organization; and, shades of hypothesis III...' the influence of the black power movement on citizen participation in planning the inner city.').

In dealing with the establishment, MICCO discovered that an extension of its communications and coordination role was demanded within the limits of that camp in order to facilitate decision-making; primarily because of the nature of NCPC's operation.

Earlier in this study (Chapter II) reference was made to how the NCPC decision-making structure contributed to strained relations between the Commission and staff. The Planning Commission is made up of agencies with long histories of conflict among themselves, and there seldom is unanimous approval of any policy affecting one of the major spheres of interest (Executive; Transportation; Zoning; Park, Recreation and Open Space; Federal Planning and Projects; Urban Renewal and Housing; and District Public Improvements). Constantly changing

representation and membership on NCPC compounds the problem. Agencies may be represented by a director or by any one of several alternates, and the composition of the public membership changes periodically as well. As a result of these factors it becomes almost impossible for NCPC to establish consistent policy. Furthermore, the attitudes of the various members toward policy issues are in constant flux. The professional staff planner finds it difficult to discover policy guidelines, and it is impossible for him to plan without such guidelines from the Commission.

MICCO, with its strong policy guidelines and a professional planning staff responding to those guidelines, fell into the role of first 'arbiter' between the NCPC and RLA, and then, 'advisor' to the Planning Commission, the NCPC staff and the RLA Board and staff. This role tended to ease the tensions resulting from unclear planning and power roles, and was based on MICCO's ability to bridge the gap between the 'establishment' and the 'people' while relating to both (hypothesis I) and maintained a clear advocate position.

For example, when considering urban renewal projects, NCPC staff would attempt to use their 'Comprehensive Plan' for Washington, D. C. as a measure. However, experience in Washington and other cities demonstrates that it is difficult for independent planning agencies to prepare comprehensive plans which will actually be used in municipal decision-making. There are always factions in the 'establishment's camp'. First, municipal departments do not appreciate being told by an 'outsider' agency how they should plan their functions. NCPC was usually considered an 'outsider' by District officials, and its programs seldom found support in D. C. Government. Second, conditions change rapidly in urban areas, making twenty year plans little more than

intelligent guesses about the future. As long as cities grew at a slow pace, comprehensive planning could perhaps be relevant; today because of the dynamic nature of urban areas, twenty year master plans are frequently made obsolete by rapid urban growth and decay.

In 1962, the Planning Commission began preparation of a comprehensive plan for the District of Columbia. The plan became deeply involved in Commission policy conflicts and staff disagreements over approaches, and as a result, the Commission did not release its plan to the public until February, 1967.²⁴

Six months later (August, 1967), the D. C. Commissioners rejected the 1985 Plan saying it failed to deal with the critical issues of housing, densities, unemployment, and poverty.²⁵ After nearly a decade of work by the NCPC on the Plan, the government responsible for carrying out these development policies totally rejected it.

On the other hand, the Shaw School Urban Renewal Project Plan which went through the 'MICCO process', as typified by that organization's new 'advocate' role, was approved by the RLA, NCPC, and the District Government in record time. Indeed even approval by HUD, at the federal level which normally takes a minimum of four-to-six months, was accomplished in the unheard of time of less than two days!

²⁴National Capital Planning Commission, The Proposed Comprehensive Plan for the National Capital. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, February, 1967).

²⁵Robert G. Kaiser, "City Rips 'Utopian' 1985 Plan," The Washington Post, August 19, 1967, p. A-1.

Advocate Influence on the Urban Renewal Project Plan

The rapid approval of Shaw's Urban Renewal Plan by all concerned was the result of a combination of well laid ground work and intensive technical analysis by MICCO coupled with political expediency on the part of the 'establishment'.

Spurred by a need to quickly demonstrate positive action toward rebuilding portions of the community damaged by the April civil disturbances, and the realization that most of the inter-agency squabbles in the establishment's camp focused on the details of proposals rather than the general substance, MICCO's staff analyzed the staged planning approach of urban renewal development which the Neighborhood Development Program (Housing Act of 1968) provided for. Convinced of its' feasibility, MICCO's next step was to advocate its use as the mechanism for carrying the urban renewal process. With the unanimous backing of its corporate member organizations voting at an especially convened meeting, MICCO intensified its negotiations with public planning agencies - RLA, NCPD, and the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority and various D. C. Departments such as the School Department, the Highway and Streets Department, etc.

For the most part general agreement as to the feasibility of goals and objectives and their interpretation into a general land use and traffic plan was reached between the public agency planners and MICCO's planners. This was not done however, without some knock-down drag-out disagreements being fought at staff, policy making and political levels. For example, the general land use interpretations of the accepted community goals which the planning commission's staff developed differed from the land use interpretations reached by MICCO's

planners. Some of the differences were:

.Location of community facilities. - NCPC planners wished to group them about one central point in the center of the community (a re-introduction of an idea from their Comprehensive Plan), MICCO suggested an educational-recreational-cultural spine (linear) running through the community.

.The type, size and intensity of some commercial areas. - NCPC planners tended to be conservative basing their judgement on past commercial volume (no in-depth economic analysis had been performed), MICCO planners based their judgement on what they considered the influence of future givens such as the subway line, proximity of a new college, expansion of Howard University, changes in downtown's commercial area, etc.

.Proposed housing densities. - NCPC planners did not wish to increase housing densities in certain areas to the extent that MICCO planners thought necessary. In this instance 'planning' arguments which used common goals and objectives as a base could be made by both sides. The decisions regarding the differences had to be made at a policy level but some of the differences were, in fact, manifestations of the influence of some of the policy makers in the two groups (eg. NCPC's small change from existing to proposed densities reflected the conservatism of the Comprehensive Plan; RLA's reluctance to increase future densities reflected concern over the probable escalation of acquisition costs which could result; and MICCO's position suggesting increased densities reflected a desire to have indigenous property owners get the top dollar possible if their properties were to be acquired.

.Control of traffic on some arterial streets. - NCPC was again very much influenced by the Comprehensive Plan and somewhat intimidated by concerns over possible conflicts with the D. C. Highway Department. MICCO and RLA felt the Highway Department could be moved if necessary without conflict.

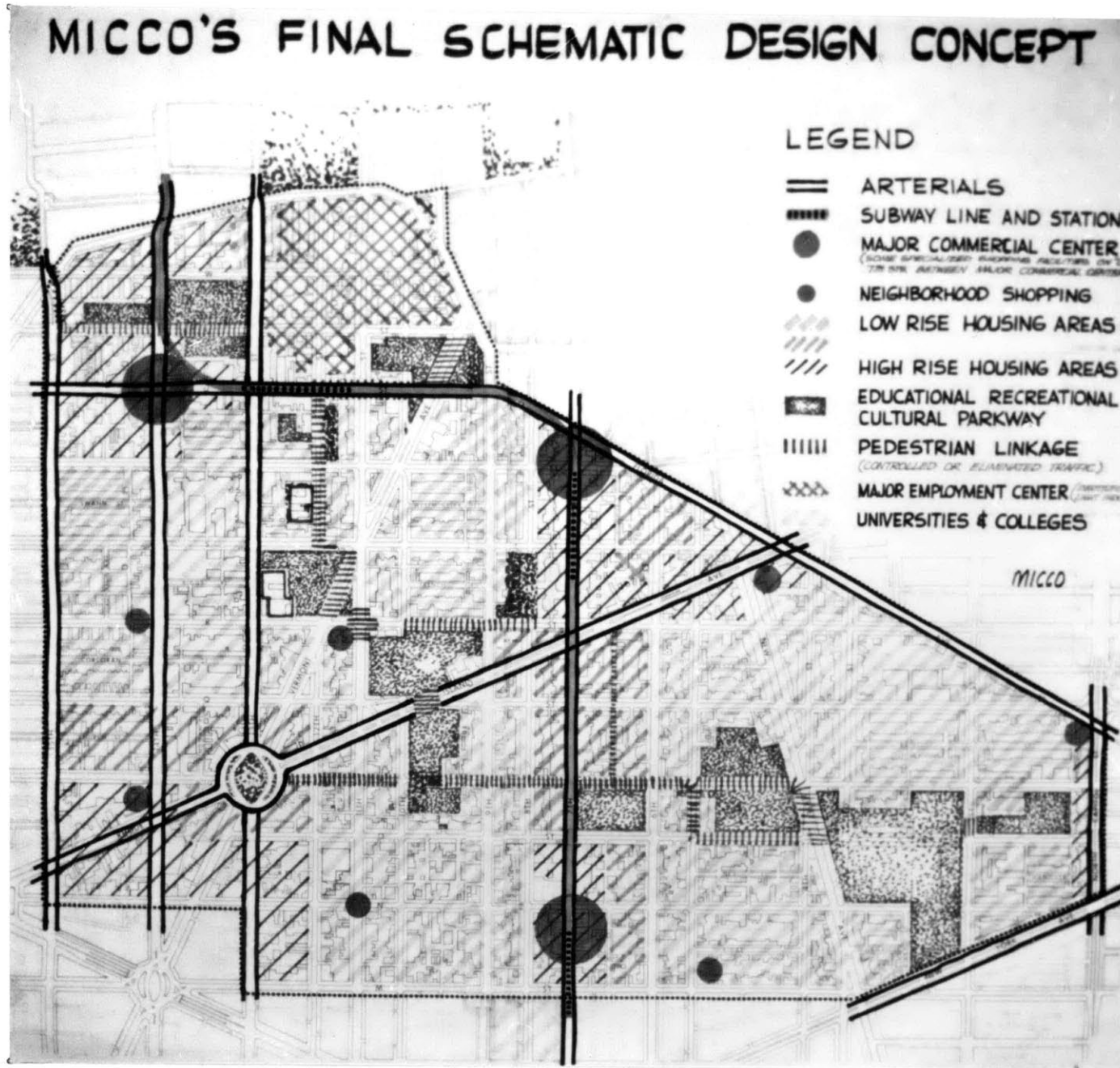
The resolution of the problems listed required competitive presentations by the technicians of each organization to the policy makers in all organizations. MICCO, through RLA and personal contact called on consultants in order to better ascertain traffic impacts on the general community (Mr. William McGrath, Boston's Transportation Commissioner, and Al Landino from New Haven). Key MICCO board and staff members met with the 'establishment's community oriented policy makers'. MICCO sought and gained the support of some of the more vocal militants in the community. The outcome was that in most instances, the Boards of the public planning agencies usually overruled their staffs and voted in favor of the MICCO (community) proposals. Consequently, 95% of the community's wishes and desires, as interpreted in the MICCO Final Schematic Design Concept (Map 6, and Appendix D) were incorporated in the Shaw School Urban Renewal Project Plan's General Land Use Plan (Map 7), Circulation Plan (Map 8), and the First Year Action NDP (Map 9). (See Appendix B - RLA's Description of the Urban Renewal Plan and Annual Action Program - NDP).

How and why the 'Shaw Project' was accepted so readily by all concerned is a study of the MICCO process' in the following chapters,

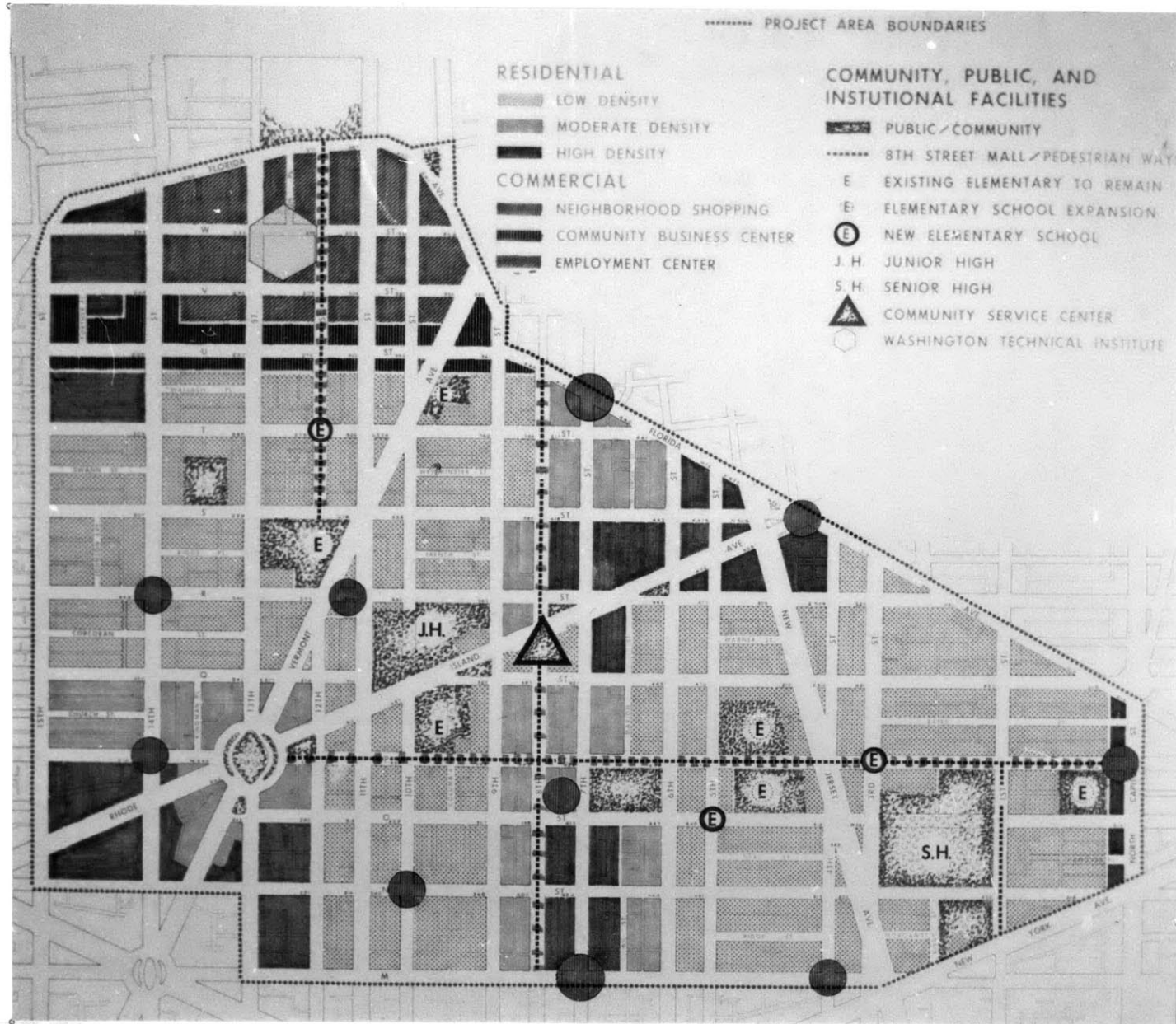
and the 'politics' of citizen participation in urban renewal planning.²⁶

²⁶A comprehensive study of the politics of citizen participation in urban renewal planning in Washington, D. C. is beyond the scope of this paper. Certainly it involves more than a technical exercise in which professional planners and citizen leaders prepare and implement plans. Rather, the planning process thus far has tended to be a disjointed process in which planners, public officials, and citizens exert political influence over the development of the city, through the use of a variety of strategies and weapons (Chapter II, this thesis study). More recently, with the advent of Model Cities, social, economic, and service issues not normally considered in urban renewal have provided more complex and diverse weaponry in the hands of the contestants. Because the stakes are high, efforts to direct urban development result in frequent inter-group political conflicts. The following chapters will from time to time highlight certain political conditions which contribute to, or reflect the struggle for, the control of the planning process.

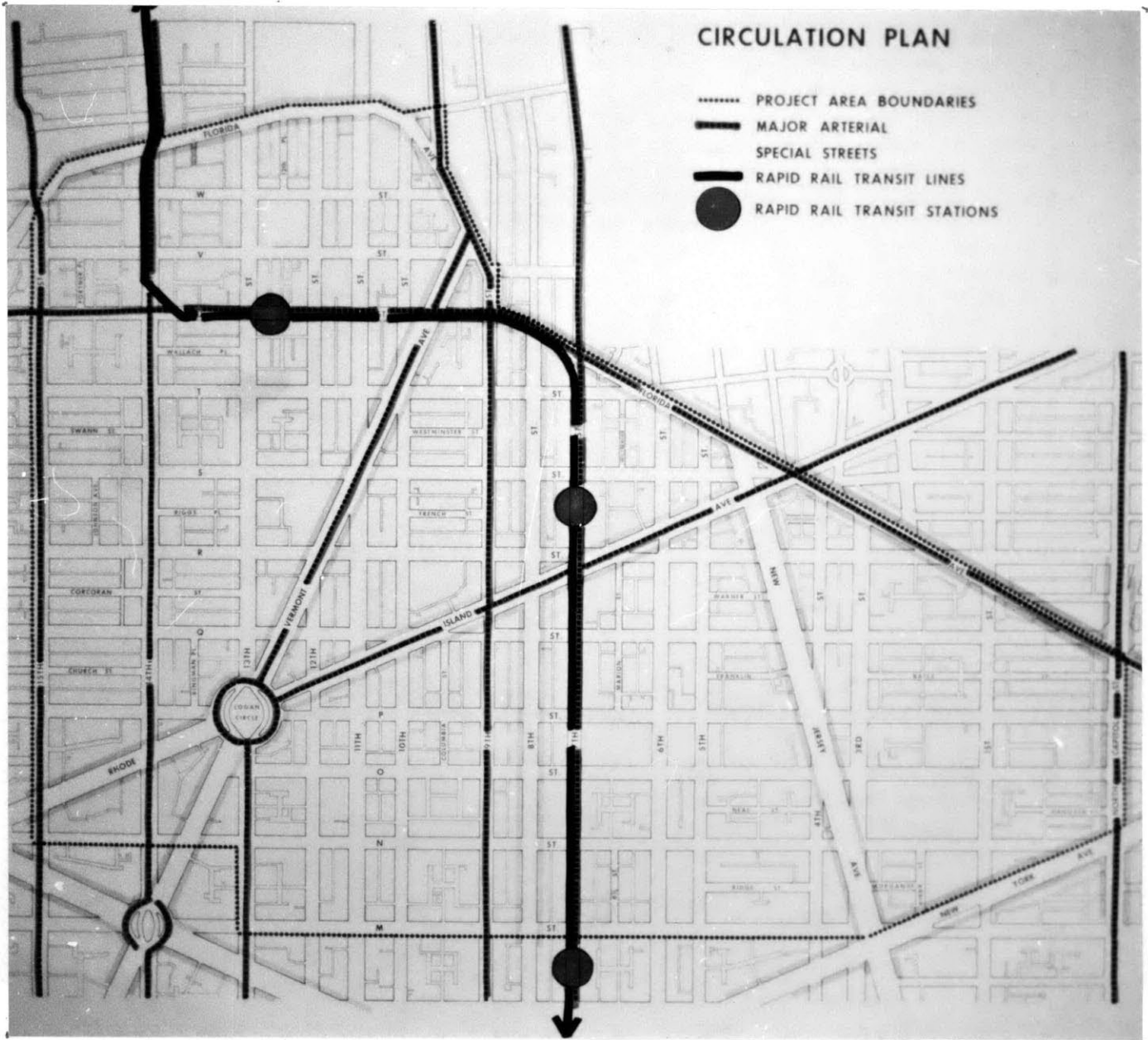
MAP 6.



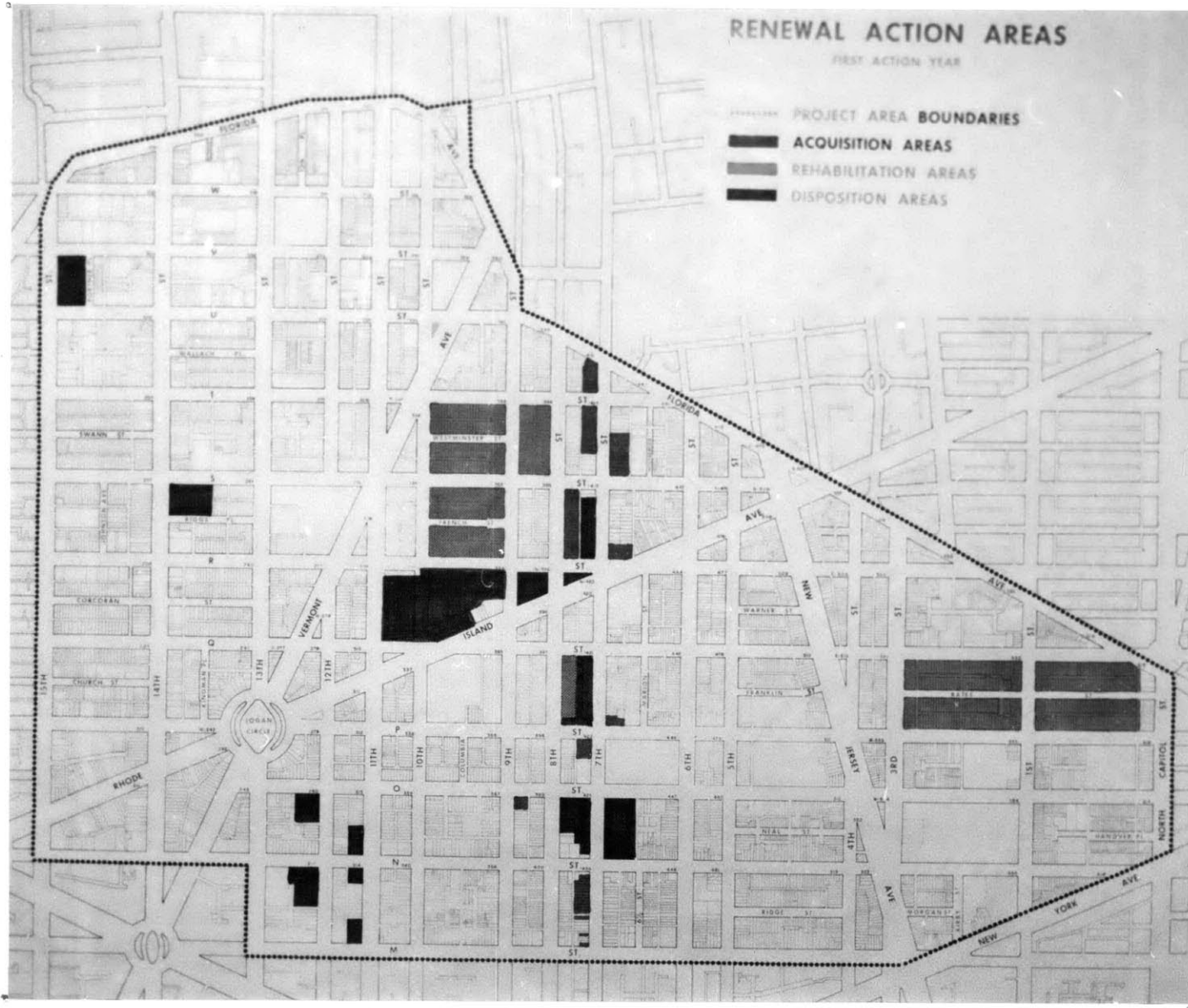
MAP 7. GENERAL LAND USE PLAN (APPROVED).



MAP 8. CIRCULATION PLAN - SHAW (APPROVED).



MAP 9.



CHAPTER IV. PARTICIPATION vs. REPRESENTATION
(Who Speaks For The People?)

Definition of the Principle

"A chicken and a pig were walking down a road one day, and they saw these poor people who looked so tired, weary and emaciated, sitting on the porch of a rundown dilapidated shack. And, the chicken said, "Oh, isn't that a shame, those poor people over there are hungry. They sure need a meal." And the pig said, "They sure do." And they walked on a little further and the chicken says, "Hey Pig, do you know one thing: I think we ought to give them a meal." And the pig said, "Well, if you can get them a meal, then it's all right, go right ahead." So the chicken said, "I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll give them a great breakfast. I'll provide the eggs and you can provide the bacon." And the pig said, 'Now wait a minute Chicken. See, what you're about to do is make a contribution, but you are asking of me total commitment and sacrifice!"

The above story, told with the charisma of Reverend Walter Fauntroy, always brought forth a chuckle from the people attending MICCO's community meetings, but more important, it made MICCO's position on 'citizen participation' crystal clear. MICCO has sought to involve the 'hams' in the action. It's approach has been that of 'participatory democracy,' which involves decision-making by the person who, because of his specific and immediate location and/or service needs, will be directly affected by a specific renewal action or program. MICCO is firmly opposed to the use of 'representative democracy,' whereby someone who may not be directly affected is representing the potential victim(s).

This unalterable guiding principle represents the basis for MICCO's communications and planning procedures, its problems in community politics, and its credibility with both the 'people' and the 'establishment.'

Involving 'Representation' (the organizations)

Chapter III quoted the MICCO-RLA contract with references to MICCO's maintaining itself "as a broad-based and representative neighborhood

organization suited to serve as a forum for...and coordinator of... other community groups...without actually attempting to substitute for (them)." It was also to "Afford existing community groups and non-public institutions...representation...and...meaningful involvement..."²⁷

MICCO's study and analysis of the Shaw area revealed that there are almost 300 organizations or groups in, or servicing the area. Approximately 200 of these, including all major organizations are members of the MICCO corporation and, as has been mentioned, in that capacity have had a periodic influence on who is elected to the MICCO Board.

The MICCO Board structure is illustrative of the recognized need for having established a working relationship with organizations in the area. Having done this MICCO was able to convince these groups, in most instances, that it was not in competition with them, but was rather a channel through which each organization could exert maximum influence on the urban renewal process, as well as using it as a lever to widen their respective memberships and services. The one group of organizations who were not so convinced and looked upon MICCO as a competitor, were the anti-poverty organizations.

The anti-poverty organizations continued to be a problem especially since they, along with the churches, civic groups, school P.T.A.'s and youth groups were the major groups having the capacity to create a climate of opinion in Shaw's communities, and, supposedly reflect the communities concerns.

While MICCO sought the involvement of the organizations (indeed community participation could not be accomplished without their support), it also recognized that the 300 organizations realistically 'represented' only about 20 percent of the Shaw population, the critical problem was

²⁷Contract No. DC-RLA-950, p. 2.

how to reach and involve the 80 percent of the population that was unaffiliated with any of the organizations.²⁸

Involving the 'Unrepresented'

Approximately thirteen thousand (13,000) of Shaw's sixteen thousand (16,000) households were contacted by MICCO in its earliest population (Family) survey. At that time, and on subsequent occasions, the uninvolved citizen was stimulated to discuss those issues which related directly to 'his house, his job, her children and their neighborhood.'

Through the use of mass media, door-to-door surveys and canvassing, community meetings, parades, school programs, etc., people were informed when and where something was about to happen. Thousands of persons participated on a personal basis through service on some of MICCO's ten standing committees:

-Housing	-Employment	-Beautification	-Health	-Education
-Business	-Recreation	-Transportation	-Welfare	-Cultural Affairs

Each of the ten committees was chaired by one of MICCO's Board members in order to maintain continuity and build up experience. MICCO's standing committees can be likened to a 'magnet' which physically passed over each block, or a conveyor belt that wound its way through each block. People were picked up as planning and developmental proposals affected them or they became interested, The size of the working committees varied between 5 members and 100 depending on the specific issues; although total membership on any one committee could reach into the thousands (e.g. the housing committee at one time recorded more than 3,000 persons who had voluntarily signed up to work on housing - most of these residents were involved in dialogue and an interchanging of ideas

²⁸MICCO staff data. Op cit.

with MICCO's planners, a few initiated their own meetings and presented their own ideas to the staff). The committees were, in effect, forums which operated in a manner that allowed every resident the opportunity to be effectively involved in decision-making when committees were planning his (or her) block, neighborhood, community or services. Committees were serviced by MICCO's technical, community participation, and administrative staff; and, depending on need, supplemental staff from other neighborhood or 'outside' organizations, agencies and institutions. The idea was to make technicians and professionals who understood various programs and needs available to the residents for whom the plan was being developed.

MICCO developed special programs for youth and the elderly.

Innovative communications techniques were used in connection with the newspapers, radio, and television spots, Audio-visual aids, posters, maps, models and exhibits were all employed to aid in promoting meaningful dialogue and understanding of the issues and options in the renewal program as it could affect specific areas and individuals.

Tours were sponsored to projects in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Haven and Boston in order to see how others had solved somewhat similar problems and to understand the pitfalls.

When issues required testimony at hearings, MICCO lent assistance in the form of mobilization of the community, explanation of the issues, and encouragement to as many individuals as possible (not just organizations) who wished to testify; be it 'pro' or 'con.' On occasions MICCO arranged transportation to and from, and babysitting services during hearings.

MICCO's position with regard to 'participation vs. representation' was that people could and should be involved in planning for themselves

and speaking for themselves: they should participate fully which negates the need for representation. Even with the unprecedented thousands of people reached by MICCO with regard to specific planning issues and, as a result of the process, the near unanimity of position that was recorded and documented, MICCO never claimed to represent anyone.

Community reaction to planning issues were tabulated and analyzed (see Appendix B - Results of the MICCO Questionnaire), and the results made known, first, to the community - the 'people' camp, and then to the appropriate public planning agency or government body - the 'establishment' camp. Always in terms of specific numbers or percentages for, against, or undecided. When an issue, such as 'the community position on the urban renewal plan,' demanded an official position of MICCO in connection with its "community participation" and "forum" role, the results of MICCO's staff's analysis and Board review were presented to the MICCO corporation for a vote of the membership and permission to proceed with presentation of MICCO's findings to the appropriate governmental body. In this instance as a position vote of the corporation backed up by the specific numbers representing the response of organizations and individuals in the community.

This approach to citizen participation, while being straight forward and unassuming, was a slap in the face to the anti-poverty organizations who, for political leverage, wished to continue their projection of knowledge and representation of, and support by, the vast majority of the black community.

Community Politics - Who Speaks for the People?

The politics of any ghetto are such as to make proliferation of organizations inevitable, with all that this implies - rivalry, overlap,

empire-building, and so on. But while one must sometimes learn to live with the inevitable, no one can argue that this is a happy condition, since it has the effect of forcing organizations and individual 'spokesmen' to be concerned more with their own interests than with the interests of the ghetto population which they presumably serve. The 'people camp' is too often used for a stage and stepping stone by the ambitious.

The Shaw School Urban Renewal Project Area is no exception to the rule. The publication of MICCO's tasks and its proposed 'modus operandi' in its Program Development Report (PDR) coupled with its subsequent funding was tantamount to an admission by the government that it recognized the existence of, and a need to fill, a gap between the citizenry affected by urban renewal action and the public planning agencies who administer the renewal programs (the first part of Hypothesis I).

The fact that there were almost 300 organizations in Shaw with only a minority percentage of the population affiliated with them, and yet the anti-poverty Neighborhood Development Centers (NDC's) claimed vast representation, spotlights problems #3 and #5 of the six 'problem statements' which were initially set forth in this thesis.

Problems #3 and #5 were:

#3 "...views of persons to be affected by renewal have often been inadequately or confusingly communicated to the public planning agencies by virtue of a ...proliferation of, community representatives."

#5 "Confusion of planning roles and responsibilities - 'advocacy' vs. 'the public agency.'"

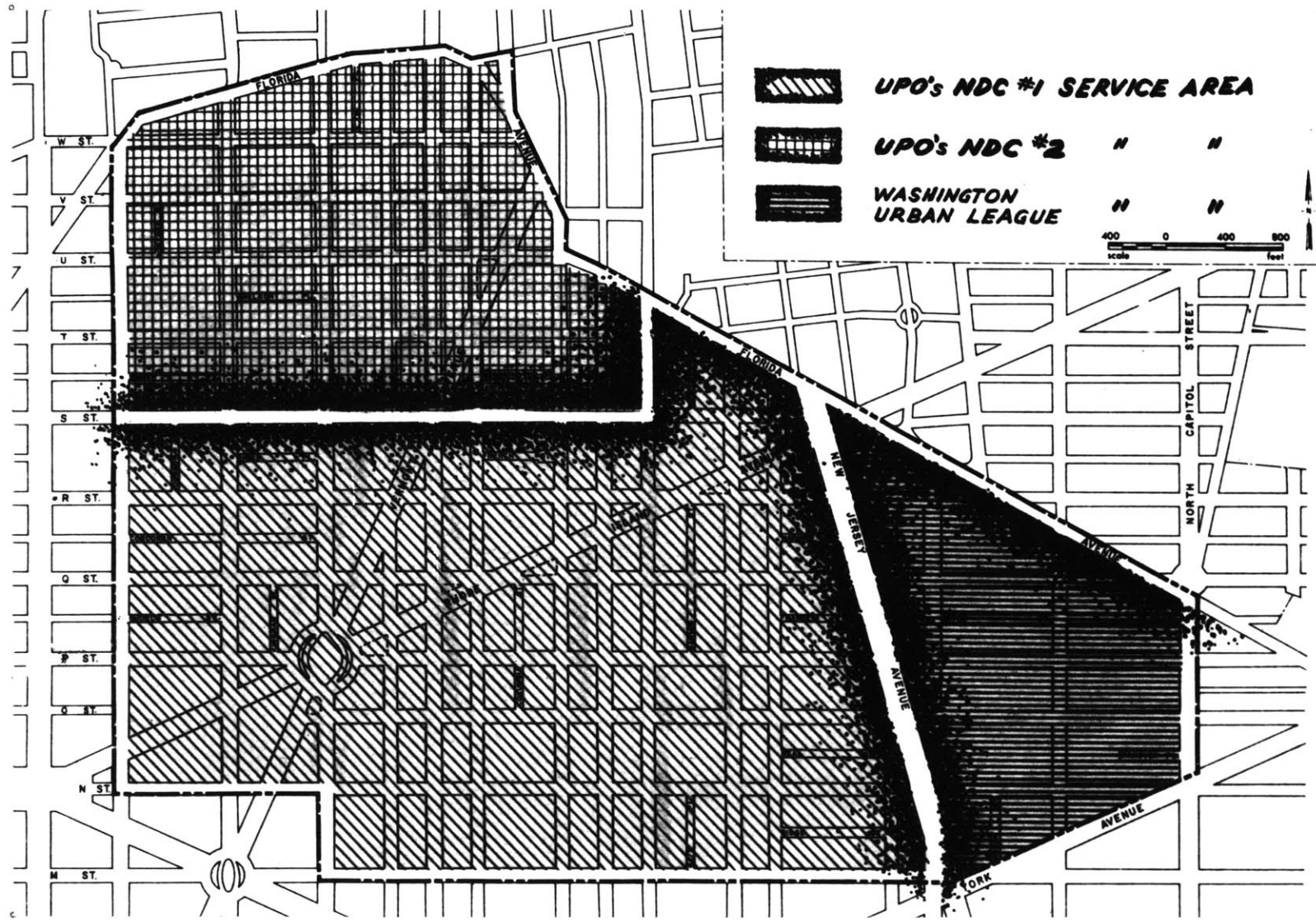
On April 7, 1966, the Shaw area was designated for what was then referred to as 'a new style of urban renewal.'

On April 9, 1966, the Reverend Walter Fauntroy convened a number of group representatives and community leaders to discuss the method by which he hoped to unify the Shaw area and mobilize its residents.

On April 15, 1966, MICCO was incorporated. The organization was immediately beset with problems of anti-MICCO activity instigated and performed by the anti-poverty organizations in the area; the United Planning Organization (UPO central office and NDC's #1 and #2), and the Washington Urban League NDC (under contract to UPO). These two anti-poverty organizations recognized a potential political force in the structure of MICCO, and probably felt threatened if they couldn't control all the action in the area. It might have been a question of:

- a) improving their images - During this period rumors were running high about phony payrolls and vice within the ranks of NDC neighborhood workers. They also feared competition from any group which might produce something and thereby call attention to the NDC's inefficiencies;
- and b) preserving and protecting their rule over their 'turf' (See Map #10 - Service Areas of the Anti-Poverty NDC's) - They sought to remain the major conduits for funds and programs directed into their respective areas, thereby influencing a segment of the population and being identified with the implied capability of community mobilization ...therefore a political force. In any event, they undertook efforts to discredit the group (Fauntroy, Lawson, Washington, etc.) that put MICCO together, calling them 'outsiders' who were intent upon doing to the black people in the Shaw area what the white people had done to the Blacks in Southwest. Staff of the NDC's started spreading the word throughout the community that the Reverend Fauntroy had sold out to the business interests, such as Pinkett and Lawson, who were going to run the people out of the area

MAP 10. SERVICE AREAS OF THE ANTI-POVERTY N.D.C.'s



unless the people banded together to protect themselves...the best way being to help UPO and the Urban League acquire the additional funds to be used for renewal planning.

The NDC's then helped form and spin-off new organizations to compete for the funding MICCO had applied for. In the order in which they appear, the organizations fall into two categories: First, the pre-funding of MICCO organizations formed during the nine (9) or ten (10) month period UPO successfully blocked MICCO's funding. The organizations were:

1. C.R.U.S.T. - Community Rehabilitation Under Security and Trust
 - a. Formed by two (2) citizens in the area (two weeks later they were employed by NDC #1).
 - b. Purpose: Economic considerations, but behavior suggested a dedication to the philosophy of you can't trust Fauntroy and MICCO if you want to rehabilitate.
 - c. Staffed by NDC #1 and volunteer professionals and non-professionals.
 - d. Life period - April 1966 to present.
 - e. Eventually joined MICCO.
2. S.P.U.R. - Shaw People's Urban Renewal (Group)
 - a. Formed by the Urban League's NDC Housing Committee
 - b. Purpose: To watchdog urban renewal activities (particularly relocation) in the area. (And compete with MICCO).
 - c. Staffed by the Urban League's NDC and some university students.
 - d. Life period - Fall of 1966 to present.
 - e. Eventually joined MICCO but retains autonomy.

Additional miscellaneous activities by the anti-poverty organizations included: 1. attacks on MICCO's Board structure (e.g. many of

the heads of churches, businesses and social service groups operating in Shaw did not live in Shaw, so their position on the Board was open to question) which disturbed RLA's image of MICCO to the extent that funding of MICCO was delayed; and 2. distribution of scare literature calling for mobilization of the people for their own protection behind the leadership of the NDC's.

In October of 1966, HUD released the funds (2.9 million) for the Survey and Planning of Shaw to the RLA, a portion of which could be used for community participation in planning at some later date. MICCO was still unfunded and without staff. No group was officially designated to organize the citizens for participation in urban renewal.

In January of 1967, RLA was faced with the need to involve the citizens of Shaw in the decision on the site for a new Shaw Junior High School (the site would be acquired prior to general urban renewal execution under 'early land acquisition authority'). Since MICCO's 49 member Board was complete and appeared 'representative' of Shaw citizenry (over 51 per cent of the Board lived in Shaw), the task of providing citizen participation was handed, unfunded, to MICCO.

Attention on the site selection was kicked off by a huge parade featuring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as the guest speaker. The subject of his speech was citizen participation through the MICCO process and how it could bring about a model community planned with the people, built by the people, with facilities and services for the people.²⁹ This was the key to unlocking the funding for MICCO. With these funds

²⁹John Carmody, "Dr. King Pushes Renewal of Shaw Area," Washington Post, March 13, 1967, p. A-8.

(preliminary funds were released in March, 1967, but final funds were withheld until September, 1967), MICCO was able to hire staff and involve the community in the urban renewal and Shaw Junior High School site selection process.

The results were: 1. a series of community meetings and personal contact between MICCO's staff and Shaw residents which led to over 500 Shaw residents attending a public hearing on the school site selection (nearly 100 testified, the majority of whom would be physically affected); 2. subsequent planning by the public agencies and the community, through MICCO; 3. rejection of a later public agency planning staff proposal in favor of an alternate proposal (site configuration, staged construction and relocation) which MICCO helped the community develop; and 4. open disagreement, and finally a public confrontation, between the anti-poverty NDC's and MICCO regarding findings in the community with MICCO then producing the 'people affected' to testify for themselves, and consequently winning acceptance of an even larger segment of the 'people' camp, and most of the 'establishment' camp.

Meanwhile, other earlier efforts to form and spin off 'urban renewal' type groups from the anti-poverty organizations reached fruition in the post-funding of MICCO period. The new organizations were:

1. C.U.R.A.C. - Community Urban Renewal Action Council
 - a. Formed by UPO NDC #1 (Included three (3) MICCO Board Members).
 - b. Purpose: To reach a broad spectrum of people in Shaw and to speak for the citizens during the 18 month planning stage of the Shaw Project. Philosophy - Don't trust MICCO.
 - c. Staffed by UPO central and NDC #1, and volunteer university students and one volunteer architect.

d. Life period - May 1967 to present (Active from May 1967 through October 1967).

e. Eventually joined MICCO.

2. P.I.C. - People's Involvement Corporation

a. Formed by UPO central staff (top executive level).³⁰

b. Purpose: To organize people for social planning and participation in determining the kinds of, and methods of delivery for, social services.

c. Staffing - Initially UPO. PIC later acquired funds and has hired professional economic and social planning staff, and neighborhood people.

d. Life period - October 1967 to present.

e. An independent organization that cooperates with MICCO when it is mutually beneficial.

3. Groups United

a. Formed by members of UPO's NDC's #1 and #2, C.U.R.A.C., the Urban League and S.P.U.R., coupled with a few members of

³⁰PIC, unlike previous attempts by UPO to replace MICCO, was fashioned by the top level executives to control the Neighborhood Facilities Program planning money for a facility in the Shaw area. UPO used its connections at OEO and HUD to get a commitment of funds on the basis of a draft PIC proposal which contained much of the approach to social planning contained in MICCO's preliminary Program Development Report. The timing is of interest here, since the draft PIC proposal was submitted to OEO and HUD during the summer of 1967 when MICCO's final funding was still pending contingent upon the completion of a review of its preliminary report by select government and private agencies (including UPO who had not yet responded).

The question of the government's funding two organizations in the same area (the PIC area included all of Shaw and then some) to take on overlapping tasks was raised by MICCO. The result was the active involvement of HUD's Inter-Agency Committee, OEO, UPO, MICCO, and the D. C. Government. Never-the-less, OEO released partial funding to PIC. Final funding was withheld until later.

one business group, Uptown Progress Committee, Inc. -

and its spin off, BRIDGE (dominated by real estate interests).

- b. Purpose: To provide a forum by which citizens and groups of Shaw can participate in making all decisions concerning every aspect of urban renewal. To watchdog the urban renewal process.
- c.. Staffed by UPO NDC #2 with support from the other NDC's and some university students.
- d. Life period - July 1968 to present (Active from July to January 1969 - Time of approval of the Urban Renewal Plan).
- e. An extremely loose association of anti-MICCO individuals - one dozen at most.

The stated purposes of these anti-poverty groups and their spin-offs covered the range from 'watchdog of urban renewal' through 'protection', 'organization', 'forum', 'participation' to 'speak for'.³¹ In practice, all claimed they represented the people and therefore attempted to speak for them. Only through a religious adherence to its doctrine of 'participatory' democracy where 'the decisions are made by the persons who would be directly affected' was MICCO able to isolate fact from fiction and strengthen its relationship with the people and the establishment.

Adherence to the doctrine also negated the need to react to false accusations except for extremely critical issues. Thus, almost all of

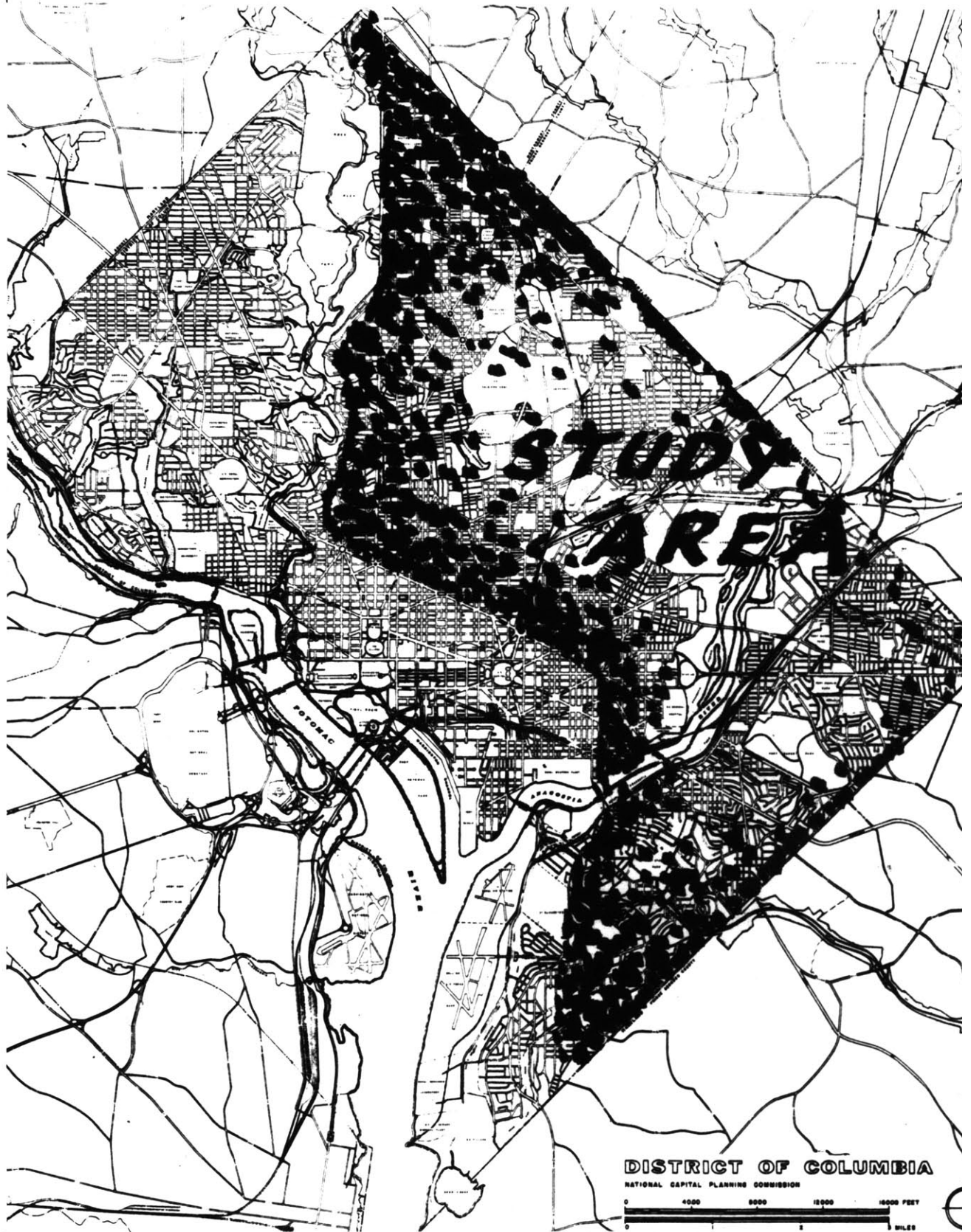
³¹The purposes of the groups listed were arrived at through a synthesis of statements made to the author during interviews with 'spokesmen' of the specific organizations (See "Interviews" section of the Bibliography) and personal knowledge of the author.

MICCO's resources could be used positively and produced results which added to its credibility (Chapter V). For instance, UPO, the Urban League, SPUR and CURAC were to have produced counter urban renewal plans for Shaw; none did.

However, in response to the Mayor-Commissioner's request for plans suggesting how to rebuild the April 4-8, 1968 riot-torn areas, UPO did develop a proposal for rebuilding 7th Street in Shaw. Another organization which attempted to respond to this request was not connected with the anti-poverty groups. This was the Black United Front...an organization of tremendous political potential in Washington, D. C..

The Black United Front (BUF) ...was established in January 1968, by Stokely Carmichael. Charles Cassell, Co-chairman of the 'Front' stated that its purpose is to "unify all and any black individuals and organizations, whose essential purpose is to eliminate the barriers against 'black achievement,' to achieve for Blacks in Washington, D. C. a rightful and proportionate share of the control of the District Government." BUF is an organization interested in 'political power', it seized on the 'rebuilding problems' only as an issue of critical concern to the political establishment. Planning staff for the 'Front' was all voluntary professional and student help. Originally, a task force led by Charles Cassell, an architect, was supposedly planning the renewal of the section of Washington which is 'east of Rock Creek Park'. This area encompassed most of Washington, D. C.'s black communities and approximately 77,000 acres, amounting to 55 percent of Washington (see Map #11). However, upon Mr. Cassell's assumption of the co-chairmanship of the organization, he ceased heading up this task force and it slowly stopped functioning. Nothing, in terms of planning, was produced.

MAP 11. AREA OF STUDY BY BUF - EAST OF ROCK CREEK PARK.



BUF is considered a militant organization. Two of its most active and outspoken members are the Reverends Channing Phillips and Walter Fauntroy, both of whom are members of MICCO's Board of Directors. Their individual political ability, influence and ties warrant respect from the 'establishment' camp and 'above' (even their congressional adversaries respect them), and allows them to move freely therein. Grass root ties through their church congregations and community admiration of their forthright outspokenness against faults of the 'establishment' identifies them with the 'people' camp.

The proliferation of 'neighborhood' organizations in the Shaw area is a natural phenomenon of the ghetto where governmental and private groups are inclined to focus services and funding in an effort to alleviate some of the ever-present ills. The claims of identity with, and representation of, a substantial portion of the community which an organization was supposed to reach can be considered an act of self-preservation and a desire of that organization to perpetuate its existence at some optimum size and level of accomplishment and/or recognition.

Upon MICCO's identification of a unique role in a Shaw urban renewal area program - a role which would necessarily affect UPO's image and future, and which promised the performer increasing political influence - UPO attempted to displace MICCO. The method UPO employed in this effort consisted of stereotyping, with attempts being made to project fabricated socio-economic differences between the anti-poverty organizations and MICCO. MICCO and its leadership were identified with the more affluent members of its board and were cast as successful, business oriented, black bourgeoisie, while the anti-poverty organizations and their spin-offs were cast in the likeness of the poor downtrodden and

struggling masses... 'the house Negro, field Negro' image.

Recognition of opportunities for, or likely to accrue to, key performers in Shaw's renewal program was also evident to technicians, both individuals and groups.

Technicians - Black and White

The activities or potential activities of the organizations listed provided technicians who serviced them with many opportunities including: opportunities to test theories and unused training; exposure of the unrecognized technician's talents to both camps, with a chance to gain professional recognition and, perhaps, get a jump on one's colleagues; a chance to contribute to the 'cause'; an opportunity for the technician to be 'in'; etc.. Consequently, the technicians flocked to the organizations in anticipation of their technical contributions eventually paying off in psychological, emotional and/or pecuniary benefits.

INDIVIDUALS

In most instances the individual technician sought identification with neighborhood people directly. The organization he, or she served functioned primarily as a source of information and as an entree into the community or, in certain instances, into the 'establishment's' camp. Persons in this category in the Shaw area include:

1. University professors and students (graduates and undergraduates) who often look upon the inner city ghetto as a living laboratory. They associated themselves with most of the organizations listed above. In this capacity they familiarized themselves with attitudes of the 'people', reviewed and critiqued public agency proposals - usually flagging inadequacies,

and acted as 'specialists' in explaining various urban renewal procedures to the 'people'.

2. The professional, a few of whose major reasons for contributing his services to neighborhood organizations have usually been
 - a. lending his technical knowledge to the community's resources in an effort to right some wrong,
 - b. the use of the community's resources in an effort to bolster his own image and thereby influence others through implied expert knowledge of some inner city problems, grass roots constituency and power, and
 - c. cultivation of potential clientele.

Organizations like the BUF have attracted black professionals in fields such as sociology, architecture, city planning, education, health and medical services, economics, transportation, political science, law, etc., on a quid pro quo basis (You help us with advice, and we'll open up doors for you). Few black professionals dealt with the NDC's for reasons other than image and cultivation of potential clientele.

Seeking identification with the 'people' often led individuals to foresake the full use of their abilities to be objective and rational. Professionals and students alike have 'sold' some of their pet theories and ideas to communities, and then represented these ideas as having been initiated by the communities involved. Pride of authorship and identification have, at times, prevailed over the actual cost/benefits of competing proposals...this is especially true when the competitors are 'the public planning agencies' vs. 'the people', and the stereotyped image-roles rather than the substance of the proposals are competing. The image-roles are the 'white establishment' planner vs. the 'black advocate' planner.

An 'advocate' is defined by the Random House Dictionary, as "one who defends, vindicates, or espouses a cause by argument; intercessor."

In the field of urban planning, urban renewal planning in particular, an 'advocate planner' is often identified as 'that individual presenting the people's point of view,' and instigator of confrontations between the persons affected by urban renewal action and the public agencies. A defender of the 'peoples' camp against the pressures and assault from the 'establishment' camp. A filler of the 'void' who understands the technical maneuverings of the public agencies by virtue of his being a technician.

As a student in a university in or near the inner city ghetto the advocate has been black or white. Black professors and students, have been welcomed and embraced with hope and pride by the black community while white professors and students, who ten years ago were readily accepted, have received varying degrees of acceptability recently.

As a professional, years ago the advocate was usually white but sometimes black. Recently, our society has been extremely color conscious, and the black professional has proved to be an asset in the inner city's black community where he is regarded as a living example of the reality of change. Generally, the white professional was still acceptable, but the black professional was preferred. In militant atmospheres the white professional became suspect when he donned the advocate role, and was sometimes labeled a "Tarzan."

CONSULTANTS

The 'consultant' firm's primary interest was in establishing a working relationship with the organization which employed him. He relied heavily on the organization's understanding of the renewal

forces that operated in the area. His task was usually to produce a product (analysis, procedure, etc.) and while he might have attended community meetings, his image was that of a resource of information.

The consultant has been business oriented and usually white, due to a) an absence of black consultant firms until recently, and b) the client's (often governmental departments, community organizations, business or industrial groups), evaluation of prospective consultants being based on reviews of past performances on similar projects; ergo, the opportunities which have been, in the past, weighted toward white consultant firms tend to be self perpetuating. Firms such as 'Candeub & Fleissig,' 'A. D. Little & Associates,' Robert Nathan & Associates,' etc. have grown in the past by contracting with the 'establishment camp' and more recently with community organizations identified with the 'people camp.'

Added to the concentration of problems within the inner city, and the focusing of resources to study and hopefully solve those problems, is the effort to open opportunities for the black professional's involvement in the finding of solutions. Consequently, some formerly all-white consulting firms have for image, business, effectiveness, and sometimes social reasons, added Blacks to their staffs at levels varying from 'tokenism' to 'management and shared ownership.' With the recent emphasis on citizen participation in decision-making, the inner city resident has found himself in a position to influence who gets the consulting contracts. This level of participation has occurred in Shaw and in many other black communities across the nation, particularly in "Model Cities" areas. The integrated consultant firm is more acceptable to the black populace than the all-white firm.

Enterprising black professionals recognized the business opportunities in the consultant field. Black consultant firms have sprung up in inner cities throughout the nation. In Shaw and other ghetto communities where 'urban renewal' and 'model cities programs' are either underway or imminent the black consultant firms emerge as urban planners; urban (mainly architectural) designers; mortgage insurance companies (usually backed by the large national insurance companies); housing consultants; housing packagers; and community organization specialists. The opening business opportunities, identity of the black consultant with the inner city's black communities, and the increasing political power of those communities have tended to reinforce each other to the point where the black consultant is favored above the white. This has been the experience in the Shaw area. However, racial pride notwithstanding, in most instances the persons responsible for making decisions about which resources can be brought to bear in efforts to improve their communities, have been just as concerned with competence and quality performance as they have been with helping the 'brother.' Being black may help, but it has been, is, and undoubtedly will continue to be, the ability to perform a needed function well, and thereby help alleviate some problem, that influences most ghetto decision-makers.

Recapitulation

The lack of adequate communication and understanding between the 'establishment' and the 'people' concerning the cost/benefits of specific urban renewal proposals, led MICCO to fashion a communications and planning mechanism which stressed 'participation' rather than 'representation.' Because this mechanism not only included the neighborhood organizations, community 'spokesmen' and special interest groups, but reached beyond

them to involve the heretofore unrepresented majority (80%) of Shaw's black community, it also tended to spotlight the inadequacies of past 'people-organizations-establishment' relationships.

The potential political influence of this role MICCO had carved out for itself was recognized by leadership in the UPO and BUF. UPO proceeded to attack MICCO: On the 'people' front, image distortion and attempts to displace MICCO with a number of new organizations took place; on the 'establishment' front, these efforts were supplemented by engineered delays in MICCO's funding while funding was negotiated for P.I.C. to perform competing tasks.

Black and white technicians and consultant firms desiring 'a piece of the action' flocked to the area.

The preceding picture is one of duplication of effort, gaps in services, fear of loss of relevancy, and the seeking of an identification as the bridge between the people affected by renewal actions and the public agencies responsible for administering urban renewal action. Consequently, Hypothesis #1 which states:

A void exists between persons (black) immediately affected by urban renewal actions and the public planning and governing bodies (non-black) responsible for authorizing urban renewal actions. Rushing to fill this vacuum are:

- a) On the technical planning level; black professionals - licensed and unlicensed, graduate and undergraduates - in fields relating to planning such as law, economics, architecture, sociology, etc., and, 'planning consultant' firms which are for the most part white, but sometimes racially integrated.
- b) On the political level; neighborhood organizations, community leaders and/or 'spokesmen', and special interest groups such as real estate interest, etc.,

is validated.

Looking at the record of what has been accomplished to date, during

the Shaw Urban Renewal effort, it would appear that MICCO, in spite of some accusations to the contrary, has filled the gap by virtue of its accomplishment and credibility.

CHAPTER V. CREDIBILITY

The preceding two chapters have made reference to MICCO's increasing credibility within the camps of the 'people' and the 'establishment'. Major factors which contributed to that increase and are relevant to the examination of the stated 'urban renewal problems' and 'hypotheses' yet to be considered are; a) the image of its leaders; b) its relative success in broader community involvement and participation in planning; c) adherence to an involved and difficult process; and d) the influence of the 'black power' movement.

Image of MICCO's Leadership

MICCO's credibility in both camps was, and is, related to the acceptability of members of its Board and staff. The image of key persons within the organization suggests political and technical astuteness on the part of its leadership which allows an ease of functioning amidst familiar circumstances and forces within the two camps.

In dealing with the 'establishment', some of the individuals on MICCO's Board who possessed money, business and/or technical knowledge related to renewal of the community, political know-how and clout; all of which amounted to ease of access into that camp, were:

Attorney Belford Lawson and his wife, Marjorie. Their law firm of Lawson, Lawson, Nesbitt and Taylor is probably the most successful black law office in the District of Columbia. Belford Lawson has always been in private practice and resisted government appointments. He has been interested throughout his career in civil rights (with a number of important victories in cases before the U. S. Supreme Court) and in more

recent years in the development of Negro businesses. Mr. Lawson is Chairman of the Board of Fairmicco; Chairman of the Judicial Election Committee of the D. C. Bar Association which recommends nominations to all of the District of Columbia Courts (local and federal); and President of the Metropolitan YMCA...the first Negro to hold that position in a large American city.

Mrs. Marjorie Lawson (MICCO's Legal Counsel)...was a judge in the District of Columbia Juvenile Court from 1962 until she elected to retire in 1965: She is the first Negro woman ever appointed to a judgeship by a President of the U. S., and the first Negro woman approved by the Senate for a statutory position. She is Vice Chairman of the President's Commission on Crime in D. C.,; a U. S. Representative to the Commission for Social Development of the United Nations as a public member of the Presidents' Commission on Equal Opportunity; a member of the National Advisory Council of N.I.H.; and has probably developed or acted as attorney for more 221(d) (3) housing than any other individual in the District of Columbia. Former Secretary Weaver of HUD regarded Mrs. Lawson as one of the most knowledgeable attorneys in the country in F.H.A. financing for low-to-moderate income housing.

The Reverend Channing E. Phillips is President of a Housing Development Corporation in D. C. He was the Democratic National Committeeman from the District of Columbia and its favorite son nominee for President of the U. S. in 1968 at the Democratic Convention. Reverend Phillips is also an outspoken member of Washington, D. C.'s Black United Front Organization.

Miss Flaxie Pinkett...In addition to being head of one of the largest real estate companies in the District of Columbia, Miss Pinkett is also Chairman of the Health and Welfare Council of Washington, D. C. (The coordinator of all private and public social service agencies), a member of the Board of Directors of a large D. C. bank; Democratic National Committeewoman from the District of Columbia at the 1968 Democratic Convention, etc.

The Reverend Dr. Walter E. Fauntroy possesses more political know-how and clout than any of MICCO's Board members, and possibly more than any other black Washingtonian. He does not possess money; that is, financially he has remained a struggling minister supported by a modest church congregation (He works for MICCO without pay). In addition to being Pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church and President/Executive Director of MICCO, Reverend Fauntroy has been active on the National Civil Rights Scene and the local political scene. In the area of national civil rights he was a long-time lieutenant of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; is Director of S. C. L. C.'s Washington Bureau; and National Coordinator of S. C. L. C.'s Poor People's Campaign - Phase II (spring and summer 1969); he was D. C. Coordinator for the March on Washington for jobs and freedom (August 28, 1963); Coordinator of the Selma to Montgomery March (March 21-26, 1965); Vice Chairman of the White House Conference To Fulfill These Rights (February - June 1966); a member on the boards of many civic, religious and civil rights organizations, including the Inter-religious Committee on Race Relations and the Leadership Committee on Civil Rights; and the recipient of more than fifteen citations for distinguished service

in the field of civil rights and community service. Local political positions have included his being Vice Chairman of the District of Columbia's first City Council (August 1967 to February 1969); Second Vice Chairman of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority; and a member of the Zoning Commission of the District of Columbia.

Reverend Fauntroy functions at both the board and staff level of MICCO and, as was mentioned earlier, has been able to maintain accessibility to both camps. His identity with the 'people' camp results from the manner in which he conducts himself when dealing with the 'establishment'.

Complimenting Reverend Fauntroy's relationships with the 'people' camp were several other board members who were readily identifiable as 'grass roots'. These were neighborhood people who had lived in Shaw for all or most of their lives and who, while being associated over long periods of time with programs to improve their community, had been victimized by past exploitation and discrimination. Although not in the welfare class category, they reaped little or no material benefits. These persons were, and are, the key to communication with, and mobilization of, the community. Typically, they are the more dedicated and enlightened representatives from community service (anti-poverty groups) and civic associations: For example, Mr. Leroy Harris and Mr. John Howard of the Urban League Neighborhood Advisory Council, and Messrs Watha Daniel and Booker T. Coleman of the Model Cities program and UPO's Neighborhood Development Center #1.

This image of MICCO's Board with the 'haves' - those who understand and deal in the language, politics and economics of the 'establishment', coupled with 'the have-nots' - those who understand and deal in the language, politics and economics of the 'people' camp, was reflected in the make-up of the staff.

MICCO's staff, by virtue of individual and/or collective technical knowledge coupled with experience in dealing with the nitty-gritty of community life, also contributed to the organizations entreé into both camps.

On one hand the staff includes neighborhood people - some with police records, some hard-core unemployables, some long standing and dependable community workers, - all of whom naturally identified with, and easily communicated with, the despairing masses in the community.

On the other hand the staff consists of university-educated administrative, community organization and planning professionals. Most of this staff had past experiences in urban renewal planning, and all of them easily communicated both with the 'establishment' - in the language of the public agencies and government, and with the 'people' in the language of the man on the street. For example:

Reginald Griffith who is second in command at a staff level has acquired, in addition to formal training in architecture and city planning, over 11 years experience in those fields, with the majority consisting of varied but intensive work in the specifics of urban renewal planning and implementation. This professional background coupled with additional experience in physical, social and economic advocacy planning in black communities in Boston and Washington facilitated his drafting and articulating the modus-operendi of much of MICCO's planning and participation efforts. His ability to cast the discussion of planning issues at the particular level of differing audiences aided in the elimination of much of the 'mystique' of 'planning' and/or 'black culture' thereby aiding the dialogue and understanding between the two camps, and the acceptance of MICCO by both. In addition, his rapport with Reverend Fauntroy's philosophy and his insistence that the organization's planning staff be an educational tool in the hands of the community, led to a response to the community's statement

and rating of employment opportunities above housing objectives which, for example, resulted in the early formation of Fairmicco. He was the principal staff person involved in setting up Fairmicco and has served on its board since its inception. This accomplishment (see Fairmicco, in next section) did much to establish MICCO's credibility in both camps.

Victor Dzidzienyo,...an architect and Howard University's first graduate in the field of city planning augmented his technical training and experience with years of advocacy planning for several of Washington's black communities, including Shaw. As one of the founders of OFÉGRO (Organization For Environmental Growth), a black advocate planning group located in Shaw, he established and maintains a close, casual, but dependable working relationship with many of the non-represented people; 'the non-joiners' in Shaw's neighborhoods. Past personal experience in Ghanas pre-independence and post-independence periods provided him with an understanding of functions of community 'rapping' versus 'organization' and the 'politics of goal setting, priority ratings, sacrificial costs and feasible accomplishments' which, when transferred to local urban renewal problems, proved invaluable. This 'oneness' with the community, coupled with his competence in the technical aspects of community planning, gained him the respect of the 'people' and the 'establishment' alike.

Adele Jackson,...MICCO's social planner had prior experience and training in the fields of social work, social planning, and community organization, which allowed her to educate and communicate with the uninformed and troubled black populace in a comfortable and stimulating manner. Her innate ability to strip issues of superfluous rhetoric and expose, and competently deal with, the core problems proved to be a major asset in winning over the 'people' and the 'establishment' and thereby advancing the organization's credibility;

especially during public meetings or hearings in answer to would-be adversaries from either camp. A great deal of her acceptance by other professionals has been based on their recognition of her personal and special understanding of the people's problems which she articulates in a 'non-assuming' fashion.

In general it can be stated that MICCO's planning staff promoted its credibility in both camps by displaying a) competence in the technical aspect of urban renewal planning, b) a sympathetic insight into the problems of the black community's quest for equality, c) an ability to communicate with, and educate, the black community in terms of cost/benefits of proposals, rather than act as advocates for an uninformed community, d) a concerted attempt to submerge ones own pet theories in favor of real community participation, and e) an ability to articulate the community's goals, objectives and priorities in rational planning terms and proposals with an analysis of the cost/benefits and, where necessary, alternative approaches, procedures, and/or proposals.

Active Participation of People In A Planning Process

"People" The New Voice in Renewal' is the title of an article about Shaw, by Ellen Perry Berkeley, which was published in the November 1967 issue of the Architectural Forum. In the article she refers to the MICCO effort and to the UPO effort; stating that "basically, there is agreement - on the need to give Shaw people the chance to stay in Shaw, and the need to give them a voice in the future of the area." Obviously both groups were supposedly listening to the people. However, two decidedly different results occurred.

UPO's community participation effort was lip service, with much time and energy devoted to attacking MICCO. The plan which UPO's CURAC developed

represented a designers memorial to himself...It never got off the ground.

MICCO's plan represented the culmination of a process of intensive and extensive community involvement...It was first accepted wholeheartedly by the community - the 'people' camp, and subsequently by the public agencies - the 'establishment's' camp.

The recognition that the professional planner may, in many instances, lack the foresight, creative ideas and depth of understanding of a non-professional neighborhood resident is apparently a hard pill for many a planner to swallow. Until it is swallowed, the two contributors of expertise, the planner and the resident, cannot communicate with each other and therefore lack capability of merging and/or complementing each others efforts. Since each may be concerned about determining and answering needs in transportation, housing, schools and recreation, businesses and employment and social services, an on-going dialogue and process for complementary and concurrent work efforts should be devised.

In Shaw, the MICCO process assured immediate and continuing involvement of both the resident and the planner. Salient points in the process were:

A. Involvement of the People in Planning

Two means were chosen to reach and involve the people:

1. Employment of Neighborhood People

-Taking advantage of the requirement of urban renewal that a large sampling of homes must be entered for a 'Family Survey:' MICCO in cooperation with the RLA conducted a Family Survey by training and employing residents from the community under a 'New Careers' program and coupling them on a one to one basis with Howard University social science students. Consequently, the local residents

learned the survey process by working with people who were more sophisticated in survey techniques. Most of these formerly unemployed or underemployed residents subsequently qualified for additional training and employment by the government by virtue of the skills they acquired.

-As the basic required information was gathered from the people, MICCO also asked, in general, what they thought about each of 5 areas of concern (employment, housing, transportation, social services, and schools and recreation). For example, when asked about transportation, people talked about streets being too crowded with cars - this fact was documented by the technical planners' analysis of traffic conditions.

2. Dialogue with MICCO's Community Participation Staff

-Other answers to general questions concerning what people thought about transportation, housing, jobs schools and services were gleaned from the community by staff members frequenting the neighborhood gathering places such as the shopping areas, beauty parlors and barber shops, the churches and the bars, the schools and the pool rooms, and 'lolligagging' with the 'natural communicators'.

B. Concurrent Analysis of Conditions by MICCO's Planning Staff

While MICCO's board and community participation staff engaged residents of the Shaw area in conversations designed to reveal what the people were thinking about their community and how it might be reshaped

with some indication of relative priorities, the planning staff went about documenting the basic physical, social and economic conditions of the area. This included studies of the uses to which land in Shaw was being put; how many people lived in Shaw, who they were, where they lived and under what conditions; economic pressures on the people and the land, the availability of employment and business opportunities, community facilities and social services, etc.

Some of the analyses necessarily extended beyond the artificial boundaries of Shaw, while other studies could be contained within.

C. Formation of Community Goals and Objectives as a Basis for a Preliminary Design Concept.

After many months of soliciting public opinion concerning the major needs of Shaw in such areas as housing, jobs, schools, transportation, and social services, and after months of surveying the physical conditions of buildings, streets, and services in Shaw, MICCO's planners were able to transform the information received into a statement of over 200 issues and/or problems. These were, in turn boiled down to approximately 35 goals and objectives which served as the basis for a physical design concept (See Appendix D - Shaw Community Goals and Objectives). Not only did the concept provide a framework for improving Shaw physically - better housing structures, more attractive designs, and space for more business and services in the community. But also, and more basic to the goals of MICCO, the

The civil disturbances of April 4-8, 1968, following the assassination of Dr. King, dramatized the need for more immediate action in Shaw's renewal program. MICCO's Board of Directors ordered an intensification of planning efforts by the staff, with an accompanying change to an 'advocacy' role for the organization. See Chapter III, pages 39 to 41. One of the results was the development of a schematic concept design for the entire Shaw area.

concept provided the base for improving the overall quality of life - socially and economically - in Shaw.

Out of the ensuing working sessions, which included members of MICCO's Board of Directors, came the initial incorporation of the Shaw community's goals and objectives into the schematic concept design. All major areas of community concern were a part of the analysis: transportation, education, recreation, employment and business, housing and social services.

D. Preliminary Exposure of the Preliminary Schematic Design Concept as a Checkpoint.

1. The first interpretation of the 'preliminary concept' was then presented in a series of meetings to twenty major and diversified community groups in Shaw for their reaction and suggestions. These groups were asked to review the concept first because of their interest in the community and because they seemed (or purported) to represent a large segment of the Shaw population. Included were such organizations as the United Planning Organization, the YMCA, the Black United Front, CURAC, the Housing Development Corporation, the Washington Urban League, the D. C. Chamber of Commerce and others.
2. The suggestions of these groups were used to make initial refinements in the concept prior to the 'test' public presentations.
3. The preliminary concept was then presented to residents in three test areas: a) A neighborhood with economic and social stability which was most likely to prove feasible for rehabilitation. b) An extremely dilapidated neighborhood which must be cleared and redeveloped. c) A neighborhood with non-compatible land uses which might be renewed either as residential or non-residential.

4. The reactions in these test areas were analyzed and helped to determine the method and content of communication to be used for general public presentations - slides coupled with a questionnaire.

E. Public Presentations of the Preliminary Schematic Design Concept and door-to-door canvassing. (The solicitation of additional community involvement and influence on the Concept Proposal.)

Public meetings were held in churches, schools and other institutions, on playgrounds and in the streets. The MICCO staff and board embarked on a circuit through the community, talking about neighborhood problems and possible solutions. The use of maps, prepared sketches, taped slide presentations and on-the-spot graphics were used intensively. Earlier in the process a trip, by neighborhood people, to some renewed Baltimore communities had been made.

Extensive use was made of mass media to reach as many people in Shaw as possible. A special issue of the neighborhood newspaper, the "Informer," was devoted to the Shaw Urban Renewal process, the results of past MICCO activities, proposals of the Concept and how further community involvement would be achieved; this was circulated in August 1968. A one half hour television special outlining the issues in Shaw and the process by which residents could continue to participate in making planning decisions was presented on a local television station (WTOP - Channel 9).

More important, residents of Shaw were employed by MICCO, and through training by staff members they first internalized the information gathered by MICCO, and then, with an understanding of this information, visited their neighbors and recorded their opinions by means of a 20-page questionnaire. This canvassing was conducted on a door-to-door basis and took more than a month to complete. At the end of this phase MICCO had received

almost 9,000 responses, an overwhelming majority of which indicated endorsement for the MICCO proposal (See appendix C - Results of the MICCO Questionnaire).

F. Development of the Final Schematic Design Concept (Map 6)

During the later weeks of presentations and canvassing the reactions from specific neighborhoods were analyzed by the MICCO staff. Results of the questionnaires were tabulated and, together with the questionnaires, were filed by 'addresses' and face 'blocks' in order to identify how people likely to be affected by proposals in specific areas felt about their immediate environment as well as the overall Shaw community.

In response to these reactions some few changes were made as the preliminary concept was transformed to a final concept. MICCO, also maintained a dialogue with the public planning agencies during this period in order to keep all parties up to date. This was especially necessary since the positive responses to the questionnaires and schematic concept design were considered by MICCO to be a clear mandate from the community to push forward for an urban renewal plan which incorporated the basic aspects of its schematic design concept (See map 6 and Appendix E - Description of MICCO's Final Schematic Design Concept).

In conjunction with these attempts to actively involve as broad a cross section of Shaw's communities as possible in this 'planning process' which merged the resident's expertise with that of the professional planners, MICCO found that its credibility was also very much dependent on producing tangible results in line with its 'process' during this planning period.

Adherence to 'The Process'

Part of 'the process' of full participation by the inner city's black residents in the renewal of their communities called for renewal by those

residents. The fact that 'job and economic development opportunities' held the highest priority among Shaw residents, and the results of MICCO's seeking to satisfy these stated needs, as per its advocate role, was touched upon in Chapter III - Goals.

A previous subsection of this chapter (Involvement of the People in Planning) and Chapter IV's section on 'Involving the Unrepresented' made reference to, and explained, MICCO's 'Family Survey' as a means of training and employing Shaw residents and coupling them with additional inner city black resources (H. U. students and professors), thereby allowing several members of the community to benefit economically from Shaw's urban renewal program. Other MICCO projects worthy of note and adding to its credibility were:

THE SHAW JOINT VENTURE - A group of black professionals, 10 architects and 1 engineer, were asked by MICCO to pool their talents and apply for the contract to survey building conditions in Shaw.

Precipitating this action was the revelation that the RLA was already negotiating this task with a white architectural firm. This came to light when MICCO's staff was asked to review the scope of services of the 'building condition contract' (this request reflected the credibility of MICCO's technicians with the 'establishment camp'). Questions posed by MICCO revealed the firm under consideration by RLA a) had previous experience on Shaw-type buildings as a result of having done the 'downtown building condition survey', its first and only contract of this type; b) had no black principals or upper management personnel; c) had no black professional employees on staff; and d) if pressured might be willing to share the contract with a few black architects. Subsequent negotiations revealed the firm was unwilling to share equitably with the black architects. The Shaw Joint Venture

was then formed, applied for, received the total contract to conduct the building condition survey in Shaw, and successfully completed the task.

This was the first time in the history of the District of Columbia that a contract of this type was awarded to black professionals. Several results should be noted. 1) MICCO's position on this issue and its ability to point to competent black professionals added to its credibility in both camps and won the support of black professionals in other fields. 2) The credibility of black architects and engineers in Washington went up. 3) Several members of the Shaw Joint Venture formed a firm, the Capital City Collaborative, and are successfully competing for the contract to master plan Washington's new 80-million dollar Federal City College. 4) The individual architects of the Shaw Joint Venture contributed their time and skills, supplementing those of MICCO's technicians, to help in producing specific studies for Action Areas in the Urban Renewal Plan. 5) MICCO has been able to pull together 'development teams' including these black architects to sponsor, design, construct and manage housing to be built as part of the first years action (map 9).

W. A. C. A. - The Washington Areas Contractors Association - An effort to develop opportunities for small indigenous (primarily black) construction contractors.

MICCO obtained a grant of \$81,234 from the Economic Development Administration and \$27,082 in matching funds from the District government and private sources for this project. Working in collaboration with Howard University's Small Business Guidance and Development Center, MICCO sought to provide the small contractors with additional training and opportunities in a variety of areas. For example, the establishment and maintenance of training in construction estimating and project management, and investigations into the

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problems of (and recommendations toward solutions for) cultivating and directing resources in the financial community in support of the small black contractor via development of a) his bonding capabilities and lines of credit; b) sources of capital and financial support; c) methods of cooperative purchasing of materials and supplies; d) subcontracting opportunities with major construction firms in the metropolitan area; e) methods for obtaining priority ratings with the government; etc.

Due primarily to lack of program direction coupled with personal pride and selfish interest on the part of many of the contractors, WACA has not lived up to its potential. Consequently, its contribution to MICCO's credibility has been limited.

PROJECT BUILD - A training program for young men between the ages of 17-1/2 to 24 who are school dropouts and who come from disadvantaged backgrounds (such as the Shaw community).

MICCO, primarily through the personal efforts of Reverend Fauntroy, combined forces with the Department of Labor and the Greater Washington Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO to establish this program. The program provides for these inner-city men to acquire skills in all the apprenticeable building trade crafts with special emphasis on; carpenters, bricklayers, painters, plumbers, cement masons, electricians, plasterers, and sheet metal workers. Project Build's goal was, and is, to demonstrate that the hard core unemployables and underemployed men who participate in the program (and who otherwise would not have entered or advanced in the building trades) are able to qualify for membership in the building and construction trades unions. A key feature of the program is the performance of useful work during the training period via having the men work on the rehabilitation

of housing for low-income residents or on new construction.

With the establishment of Project Build in February 1968, MICCO told the unions, in effect: "Take our men into the union and union training programs now, or you will be passed over later by the Shaw community when renewal begins." This position was reinforced by what the 'black power boys' were saying a few months later following the April '68 riots: "build black or be burned."

In 1969, Project Build expanded to improve the skills of older men who had been working at odd-jobs in the construction field! Five hundred men are presently being recruited in comparison to 1968's one hundred forty.

The success of Project Build is attested to by the rapidity with which graduates of the program are snatched up by black and white, large and small, inner-city and suburban building contractors. This preparation and qualification of formerly unskilled black residents to participate in the rehabilitation and rebuilding of Shaw and to make the money generated by the renewal process, was of significant value in elevating MICCO's credibility in the 'people camp' and respect in the 'establishment's camp'.

FAIRMICCO - A community owned ghetto based industry, is the prime example of transforming the Shaw community's hopes and wishes for job opportunities to a reality.

MICCO, in cooperation with a profit-oriented corporation in the aerospace industry (Fairchild-Hiller) created Fairmicco to give training and steady employment to hard core jobless persons. Many corporations and businesses have had similar ideas. And indeed, there are today departments, divisions, and subsidiaries of companies established in the ghettos of many cities.

There is, however, a significant difference between them and Fairmicco.

Whereas they are part of and a contributor to the parent company's profits - or losses -- Fairmicco is a separate entity. It has as its ultimate objective the complete operation, management, and ownership by residents of the community.

On April, 1968, Fairmicco opened its doors. Men and women have been, and are being, trained in the useful skills in the woodworking, key punch, and electronics areas, and then using these skills to produce products. About 80 persons are employed, machine operators and assembler, foreman, clerks, secretaries, accountants, and officers, all representing the local community.

Funds for the training of the employees have come from the U. S. Department of Labor and the Economic Development Administration. In 1968, this amounted to \$256,400. In 1969, \$116,000 has been allocated for this purpose. Fairchild Hiller with its experienced executive talent made available to Fairmicco the technical help needed at each level of corporate management on a one-to-one "double boxing" basis. Thus the controller from Fairchild Hiller worked with and helped to train Fairmicco's controller who comes from the community; a sales manager was matched with his like number, etc.

During its first year of operation Fairmicco's losses amounted to \$144,565. This loss balanced against the positive impact of the industry on the lives of the people was stressed by Washington newspapers.³³ Happily as of May 1969, the company's balance sheets showed that it was operating in the 'black' and making money. In May total contracts amounted to more than \$1,000,000. With expansion planned into the 'packing and packaging industry' and 'plastic products' in the near future (again the company's

³³James Welsh, "Ghetto Industry's First Balance Sheet Shows Dollar Losses, People Gains," The Sunday Star, February 23, 1969, p. b-1.

objectives were independence from Fairchild and the production of a large variety of products for use in the industrial community), Fairmicco's success was, and is, a major factor in establishing MICCO's credibility in both 'camps'. The ability to respond to the needs and desires of the people in an immediate and tangible fashion rather than with promises alone, elevated MICCO far above the ordinary rappers of advocacy.

MICDEVCO - The Model Inner City Development Company, Inc. was established and legally incorporated by MICCO in 1968, as a separate non-profit local development corporation to serve as the cornerstone for the economic rehabilitation of Shaw.

MICDEVCO is authorized to assist and promote the establishment and expansion of small businesses in order to create jobs and provide education and training for local craftsmen, supervisors, managers, and entrepreneurs. The corporation is envisioned as the principal tool for eliminating the "cycle of despair" in Shaw. As of this date, its projects are still in the planning stage. Fairmicco was initially to have been its first project but arrangements for the launching of Fairmicco proceeded at a faster rate than those for launching MICDEVCO.

Local development companies (authorized under Section 502 of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958, as amended) operate on the principle that each community bears a major responsibility for its own economic growth and health. The corporation must be composed primarily of residents from the community; MICDEVCO is 100 percent owned by MICCO. SBA loans are made exclusively to MICDEVCO which, in turn, uses this money along with its own funds to acquire or build facilities (buildings, machinery and tooling) to assist specific small community businesses. While MICDEVCO is non-profit oriented, it can make a small profit so long as that is not its primary

aim. Its businesses can be profit-making.

The launching of any of the several projects MICDEVCO now has under consideration should significantly add to MICCO's credibility in both camps.

One might consider MICDEVCO a portendere of the proposed "Community Self-Determination Act," the outlines of which were drawn up by CORE as an expression of its interests in starting businesses in the black ghetto (and, an expression of positive 'black power'). This 'Act' "recommends itself to politicians of different colorations, for there is a little something for just about everyone in it. For conservatives, here is a chance to trumpet the virtues of free enterprise and still do something new at very little cost to the government. It could be a way to get some black votes... For liberals, in a conservative era, it is a way to spread socialism in the guise of corporate responsibility. And it appears as a boost for the Blacks since the scheme came out of CORE and does not seem like just another act of paternalism offered by a benign colonialism."³⁴

Throughout (and possibly because of) its changing policy and operational approaches to the 'race' question,³⁵ CORE has maintained credibility in

³⁴James Ridgeway, "Community Development," The New Republic, August 24, 1968, p. 7-8.

Mr. Ridgeway also points out that the Community Self-Determination Act would apply equally to poor whites living in the Appalachian hills or the Mexican-American communities in the Southwest, USA.

³⁵Joanne Grant in Part VIII, "Race and Economics: of her book Black Protest - History, Documents, and Analysis, 1619 to present, points out that when CORE was founded in 1942 it was primarily a white and Northern organization. "Its basic philosophy was based on pacifism, and it was the first civil rights group to conduct sit-ins for an end to discrimination in public accommodations. After the Southern sit-ins in 1960 CORE added more Negroes to its staff and board of directors and began to work in border areas and in the South... After 'black power' was taken up as a slogan in ghettos across the nation in 1966 and 1967, CORE moved its national headquarters to Harlem and voted at its 1967 convention to strike the word "multi-racial" from its constitution, though it did not oust whites from the organization."

both the 'people' and 'establishment' camps.

Floyd McKissick, Chairman of CORE has said: "We have made the slogan Black Power into a program destined to rescue black people from destruction by the forces of a racist society which is bent upon denying them freedom, equality and dignity." McKissick outlined a six-point program: economic power, political power, improved self-image, militant black leadership, enforcement of federal legislation and mobilization of black consumer power.³⁶

The Influence of the 'Black Power' Movement

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master - that's all."³⁷

Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton make reference to the above quote in their book "Black Power - The Politics of Liberation in America." They postulate that "those who have the right to define are the masters of the situation." Numerous examples are given; in the descriptions of the war between the white settlers and the 'indians', a battle won by the Calvary was described as a "victory," while Indian triumphs were "massacres;" the post Reconstruction period in the South following the Civil War has been called the period of "Redemption," implying that the bigoted

³⁶Floyd McKissick, address to the 24th National Convention of CORE, "Black Power: A Blueprint for Survival," June 30 - July 4, 1967, Oakland, California.

³⁷Lewis Carroll, Through the Looking Glass. New York: Doubleday Books, Inc., p. 196.

southern slave societies were "redeemed" from the hands of "reckless and irresponsible" black rulers.

One year earlier (Nov. 1966) Carmichael had stated:

"Now we are engaged in a psychological struggle in this country and that struggle is whether or not black people have the right to use the words they want to use without white people giving their sanction to it. We maintain, whether they like it or not, we gon' use the word 'black power' and let them address themselves to that..."

"We are never going to get caught up with questions about power. This country knows what power is and knows it very well. And knows what black power is because it's deprived black people of it for 400 years. So it knows what black power is. But the question is, why do white people in this country associate black power with violence? Because of their own inability to deal with blackness. If we had said Negro power, nobody would get scared. Everybody would support it. And if we said power for colored people, everybody would be for that. But it is the word 'black', that bothers people in this country, and that's their problem, not mine..."³⁸

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in his last full-length book entitled "Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?", described his meeting to discuss the term 'black power', with Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick during their June, 1966 Meredith Mississippi Freedom March. Dr. King wrote:..

"It was my contention that a leader has to be concerned about the problem of semantics. Each word, I said, has a denotative meaning - its explicit and recognized sense - and a connotative meaning - its suggestive sense. While the concept of legitimate Black Power might be denotatively sound, the slogan 'Black Power' carried the wrong connotations. I mentioned the implications of violence that the press had already attached to the phrase...We must use every constructive means to amass economic and political power. This is the kind of legitimate power we need. We must work to build racial pride and refute the notion that black is evil and ugly. But this must come through a program, not merely through a slogan.

Stokely and Floyd insisted that the slogan itself was important. "How can you arouse people to unite around a program without a slogan as a rallying cry?...Haven't we had slogans all along in the freedom movement? What we need is a new slogan with 'black' in it."...

³⁸Stokely Carmichael, "Black Power", speech at University of California, Berkley, November 19, 1966. Transcribed from taped remarks.

....This debate might well have been little more than a healthy internal difference of opinion, but the press loves the sensational and it could not allow the issue to remain within the private domain of the movement.

....So Black Power is now a part of the nomenclature of the national community. To some it is abhorrent, to others dynamic; to some it is repugnant, to others exhilarating; to some it is destructive, to others it is useful. Since Black Power means different things to different people and indeed, being essentially an emotional concept, can mean different things to the same person on differing occasions, it is impossible to attribute its ultimate meaning to any single individual or organization. One must look beyond personal styles, verbal flourishes and the hysteria of the mass media to assess its values, its assets and liabilities honestly."³⁹

It is the emotional appeal however, which is bridging internal class lines within the black communities and ghettos across the nation and thereby uniting the residents therein. The problems of definition anticipated by Carmichael and the problems of differing interpretations (with an emphasis on 'violence' or 'dominance' by the press) which Dr. King anticipated within and outside of the black communities have been realized.

In Washington, D. C., Stokely Carmichael's Black United Front attracted the full range of black citizenry; the 'haves' and the 'have-nots', the professionals and the unskilled, the secure government employees and the boys on the street.

In the Shaw area, MICCO met with both the "Front" and its constituency during the shopping of its design concept. The meetings resulted in an understanding by most participants that their goals were essentially the same, that is most participants were interested in affecting some changes in the 'system' which could lead to political, social, economic and physical renewal and/or reform. After one intensive meeting a 'dashiki' clad youth said to the author "o. k. brother, you do your thing, that's not my stick. But we're wired, so if the 'man' wont listen, I do my thing...Pfft!" Similar statements

³⁹Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?, (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

had been picked up by the press and publicized enough to influence the behavior of 'the establishment' and build community support for MICCO in general and Reverend Fauntroy in particular.

The demands of the 'black power' advocates were shouted loud and clear and were usually more emotional than programmatical. MICCO, with its hard nosed planning approach, with facts in hand, and the ability to reach most of Shaw's black community was both creditable and an asset to the 'black power' groups when their objectives were in harmony.

MICCO continued to be an asset to both 'camps'. Its credibility and 'people support' was recognized by some members of the 'establishment' who attempted to either misrepresent the organizations position, or to acquire its backing in order to gain their own ends in the face of a suspicious and somewhat hostile black community. For example: In early June 1967, when the choice of a new Shaw Junior High School Site was yet to be made, press reports based on statements made by the Superintendent of Schools (Dr. Hansen) created the impression that MICCO agreed to join Dr. Hansen in recommending a specific site for the school prior to MICCO's having held several community meetings to discuss the proposal with the people affected. MICCO was forced to publicly deny this accusation.

Several large property owners in Shaw's Seventh (7) street commercial corridor, who were burned out during the April, 1968 civil disturbances, wished to return and re-establish business in the area. The militants in the community regarded these businessmen as exploiters and said "no." These businessmen then approached the 'establishment' and MICCO in hopes of preserving their interest in the area. The 'establishment' (public agencies) left the decision to MICCO which determined that the 'deals' sought by the businessmen were not in the best interest of the community. The properties

were designated for immediate acquisition under the urban renewal process.

One owner of commercial property which had been totally destroyed during the April '68 civil disturbances unloaded his vacant 'to-be-acquired' land on a supposedly unsuspecting food franchise operation (after the Urban Renewal Plan was approved in February 1969). The buyer proceeded to rebuild, and when questioned by community residents and public agencies, falsely claimed clearance from MICCO. This answer was challenged by the questioners because it seemed out-of-keeping with MICCO's image and modus operandi. A meeting was finally arranged (the building was now weeks from completion) between MICCO, the public agencies and national representative of the franchise chain. MICCO presented the positions of the general black community regarding this chains poor image in the community, and the specific position of the small black businessmen who looked upon the chain as unfair and unwanted competition. Consequently, the franchiser terminated building and the public agencies moved to acquire the property immediately.

MICCO's insistence that the community be heard after it has received and has been aided in understanding all the cost/benefits and facts of any proposal affecting Shaw has allowed it to speak with 'one voice at all times'; be it uptown with the people or downtown with the establishment. This position captured the fancy of the 'black power' advocates. They saw in MICCO's approach the foundation for much of Floyd McKissick's six-point program.

Records of community meetings and the public hearing on the Shaw School Urban Renewal Plan are filled with spontaneous accolades proclaiming the "MICCO Plan" to be a true expression of community needs and inputs. Neighborhood people, conservative and militant, expressed their continuing apprehension or outright distrust of public agencies, while in the same breath they expressed their continuing faith in Reverend Fauntroy's MICCO and its citizen

participation process and technical planning competence in Shaw.⁴⁰

Reggie Booker, a vociferous militant in the BUF (a member of its steering committee) with a long history of being anti-urban renewal and anti-freeway, took over the second evening of a two-night public hearing on Shaw's Urban Renewal Project. Heading a "Fauntroy for Chairman Committee," Mr. Booker and a band of black militants usurped the seats of the District City Council members.

The militants apologized for any inconvenience to the black residents of the Shaw area, stating they were "not present to disrupt the meeting or cause any disorder but rather to educate black people in support of Reverend Fauntroy for the chairmanship of the D. C. Council."⁴¹ They cited his continuing membership in the Black United Front in the face of pressure's to resign from the White House, Congress, the newspapers and 'pasturized Negroes'. His unwavering integrity, educational background and political achievements were also cited.

⁴⁰Specific examples are the numerous statements which were made at the public hearings held by the D. C. City Council on the Shaw School Urban Renewal Project Plan (January 22 and 23, 1969). The 85% to 90% of the testimony in favor of the Plan is typified in the excerpts taken from the taped recordings of persons like Reginald Booker, Sam Abbott, Sister Woody and Mrs. Claypool. The only persons questioning the adequacy of the Plan were some representatives of the anti-poverty organizations.

⁴¹Reverend Fauntroy's term as Vice-chairman of the D. C. City Council expired with President Johnson's Administration. It was common knowledge that the Nixon Administration recognized the value of his credible ties with the black citizenry and wished to retain him on the City Council as a 'member' (politically the presence of a Democratic Mayor-Commissioner, suggested the replacement of Chairman Hechinger and Vice-chairman Fauntroy by Republicans). His refusal to accept this 'down-grading' sparked an unsolicited 'Fauntroy for Chairman' movement. Reverend Fauntroy was not reappointed following his resignation from the Council.

Regarding urban renewal and the Shaw Plan, Mr. Booker stated:

"...remember Southwest Washington.

"You got to understand that Reverend Fauntroy is laboring under tremendous odds here in the Shaw area to retain black ownership for black people...we are in a revolution right now. Land, dig what ahm saying, land is the key to the revolution, and this means by any means necessary, black people living here in the Shaw area shall control their land. Control means ownership...

"What ever it takes to win, we gotta win. I don' care what it takes to make sure my 'brothers' and 'sisters' control this land down here in this area. We gon do it! Ain no sense in shuckin 'n jivin 'n talking about civil rights, integration, brotherly love, motherhood and nothing else... This is a struggle to the death, and only the strong shall survive."

Sam Abbott, speaking for the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis, opposed the scheduling of public hearings for the Downtown Plan with the new Shaw Plan. He said it was:

"...a free ride by big business of D. C. on the coat tails of the MICCO participation plan (which) attempts to overcome all of the obstacles that have been put forward against the people by urban renewal.

"We're basing our support of MICCO precisely because of our faith in the integrity of Reverend Fauntroy. Urban Renewal... in the citizen mobilization in the area has been set in motion and its not going to be turned back...The Black United Front, the Muslims, the citizen organizations at every level...That is what's going to keep it honest down there (in Shaw). So I say o.k. there, but forget and throw out the Downtown renewal."

Sister Woody, a Muslim stated:

"According to history-and this is authentic history... black strength, black sweat and toil, black genius...helped build this country. For this (Washington's) white minority to ignore black human needs of housing, education, economic security and political power, is to court disaster.

"The committed employees of the RLA and members of the black community are to be commended. For in this proposal is more than a plan for fit housing. It represents the hopes, aspirations and labor of inner-city dwellers throughout the nation, who are determined to shape and control their own destinies...

"I believe in my 'brothers' and 'sisters'..."

Typical of, and expressing the feelings of, the long-time Shaw resident without any affiliation to the 'black power' movement was Mrs. Mary Claypool, who said:

"You know, I feel pretty good this evenin, sayin a few words, because in the first place, MICCO is...the plannin for MICCO was gotten up by black men, for black people. That's the good part right there. Now the next thing is, I believe what Reverend Fauntroy says because he says the same thing...
Now, the next thing is, I want you to approve this plan because you dont want us out their in the suburbs where you are... I thank God for these black architects that put these things forward.
Now I don' know 'bout the RLA and 'bout those other things..."

The audience punctuated Mrs. Claypool's statements periodically with applause, affirmative nodding of heads, laughter and tears.

Recapitulation

The success, to date, of MICCO's efforts to assure community involvement in planning can be attributed to:

- a. The leadership and credibility of Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy who has become one of the few direct links between the influential white 'establishment' (including the public officials), the black bourgeoisie and the tough, young, Blacks of Washington, D. C.
- b. A 'process' which identified with and made accessible to Shaw's communities policy direction through its' Board - natural leaders in the community, and knowledgeable planning through its' staff - competent professional planners with SOUL. The image of key Board and staff members was acceptable to both camps. And,
- c. A 'process' which reached out to involve the unorganized individuals as well as the organized groups in a manner which provided a mechanism for their planning inputs, a forum for the expression of their individual and collective opinions, and a vehicle for communicating

these opinions to the public planning and governing bodies responsible for authorizing urban renewal action.

Hypothesis II stated:

"With accessibility to, and policy directions of, knowledgeable planners with whom they can readily identify, black residents of the inner-city can constructively influence planning decisions regarding the renewal of their community."

All six problems identified earlier in this thesis examination as being typical of past urban renewal efforts have, to an encouraging degree, been answered and Hypothesis II is validated.

MICCO's credibility was, and is, its major trump in its relationship to the 'people' camp of Shaw's communities and to the 'establishment's' camp. This trump had to be established during the planning period and prior to the approval of the urban renewal plan, and was necessarily influenced (strengthened) by MICCO's ability to adhere to an involved and difficult 'process'. The 'process' called for a need to 'remain true to the philosophy of renewing Shaw's communities with, by and for the people in the area', while taking every opportunity to produce tangible evidence on which to build a basis for community belief.

Circumstances in Washington, D. C., and surrounding and within MICCO are 'atypical'. A 71 percent black population in the city gives rise to larger resources of black professional and technical expertise. The political influence of Congressmen with 'southern' attitudes tends to heighten black self-identity and the potential (in the sense of a massive psychological reaction) for a political machine based on the black majority and more readily identifiable with the programs of the black power advocates. The 'establishment' recognizes this potential (they are constantly being confronted with it), is unable to determine the extent of constituency behind some of the more vocal black 'spokesmen',

and through a combination of insecure fright and, in many instances, an enlightened and just understanding of human needs, reacts in a more positive manner to the demands of the black populace.

A rational soft spoken leader like Walter Fauntroy who understands the language, personalities and politics of the 'establishment's' and the 'peoples' camps has been able to communicate the needs of the black professionals, entrepreneurs and unskilled persons to the 'power structure'. In the course of this communication he has responded to the desires of the black community by translating (defining) 'urban renewal' into 'urban control'.

For the responsible, astute and/or sensitive public official, the decision is obvious when confronted with a choice between civil disorders, including riots, and non-violent urban control which pictures black people, so long the renters, the employees, the consumers in an area like Shaw, becoming the designers and builders of structures, the landlords, the employers and the shopkeepers.

In the Shaw area, indications are that 'urban renewal' is being replaced by 'urban control'. Whites no longer have absolute control - Blacks are moving in and partaking of the benefits of their own labors.

Hypothesis III stated:

The current black power movement has colored citizen participation in planning by providing a stronger sense of self-identity and unity among a greater number of black residents in the inner-city. In many instances the 'movement' has also triggered a desire on the part of public officials to respond to reasonable (apparently less radical) demands by members of the black populace. For example, some economic benefits of renewal such as participation in research and design contracts and redevelopment opportunities which had, in the past, been systematically closed to black professionals and entrepreneurs have, more recently, been opened.

Hypothesis III is validated.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

Efforts to revitalize the inner-city have, for many years been dependent on the urban renewal process which is notorious for disrupting the physical and social fabric of the black communities within these central areas. A major contributing factor to the plight of these black communities subjected to renewal action has been the inability of the residents to communicate with and/or (assuming they understood the issues) influence public officials responsible for urban renewal actions.

The analogy of two 'camps' with respect to 'roles', 'turf', and 'power', served to illustrate the formidability and effectiveness of the barrier which usually exists between the 'in-power establishment-camp' and the 'out-powerless people-camp.'

In the overview, the black inner-city residents who have lacked political, social and economic power now comprise over twenty percent of the total population of central cities in metropolitan areas. Within each of these areas their numbers continue to grow. In Washington, D. C. they already make up over seventy one percent of the city's population; a fact which admittedly makes Washington, D. C. atypical.

In the Shaw School Urban Renewal Area, MICCO, which began as a cry of protest against both the private speculators and the public authorities, owes much of its success and credibility to the leadership and organizational ability of a few key individuals, among whom the Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy is certainly the most significant.

If MICCO is to achieve its purpose and truly involve the Shaw residents in decision-making throughout the years of redevelopment,

then it is mandatory that it continue as a viable organization. This viability appears to be linked to a) MICCO's ability to continue producing tangible results which reflect its stated objectives; b) a clear definition of its responsibilities in relation to those exercised by other community based organizations and by government; c) the degree of success it has in communicating significant accomplishments to both camps and thereby maintaining a higher credibility than would-be competitors; d) the retention of a continuing dedication on the part of key board and staff members in order to maintain a working relationship with both camps; and e) the attainment of some measure of economic independence from the government.

Relative success in the survey and planning phase of the urban renewal process does not automatically lead to success during the execution phase. As renewal gets underway in Shaw, elements of selfish interests in both camps will come to the forefront. Pressures will be brought to bear on issues, and in many instances special interests will be unsatisfied with their influence on the process. It is questionable as to what extent self-interests may be enlightened and directed to support, rather than apply pressure in attempts to control the MICCO effort. How much pressure the organization can withstand without redirecting its resources and energies away from its principle tasks in order to counteract these pressures is unknown.

Attempts to control or, failing that, discredit the organization have already begun and spread beyond the anti-poverty organizations. Elements of the 'establishment' including the public agencies, local government groups, individual politicians and real estate interests have attempted to influence the organization. Likewise, elements of

the 'people camp' including other community organizations, community leaders, and long standing and new special interest groups have also attempted to influence the organization,

If the MICCO organization, goals, influence and accomplishments prevail then Shaw could become a model community with adequate housing and facilities which are controlled, to a large extent, by the residents of the area. This could include massive land revolution with Blacks owning the majority of property and businesses in the Shaw area.

If, on the other hand, MICCO should fail to withstand the pressures and not follow through on its promises then its accomplishments during the survey and planning period could easily be erased during the urban renewal execution period and the reaction to urban renewal by the black community might be more devastating than ever before.

Other revelations and implications of this study can be considered with respect to (A) the Washington, D. C. community and (B) the Nation.

(A) When one attempts to project the MICCO experience in Shaw to communities (black or otherwise) beyond Shaw, but still within the District of Columbia, questions of functional roles, effectiveness, scale of funding, coordination, etc., arise. For example, the significance of MICCO's experiences in Washington's 'planning arena' can be likened to the analysis put forth by one of a series of reports on "Improving the Government of the National Capital," which points out that political control is possessed by those individuals or groups who direct planning activities and dominate decision-making.⁴² This control

⁴²Douglas Harmon, Improving the Government of The National Capital - Number 3 - The National Capital Planning Commission And The Politics Of Planning In The Nation's Capital. Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, Washington, D. C. (Mimeographed Report).

may be centralized, shared, or dispersed. The greater the dispersion of control, the less likely it is that the planning agency will take strong positions on controversial issues. When control is dispersed or shared among a number of groups, these groups tend to moderate the position of the agency. If control is centralized, the planning leadership may be in a position to assume definite stands and to challenge groups outside the planning leadership.

MICCO's experience in promoting the coalition of community groups with non-harmonious goals coupled with its influence on the public planning agencies represented a shifting of control to a centralized citizen effort. The previously mentioned efforts of the Black United Front to influence the planning in Washington's black communities also bears witness to the political forces associated with centralized controlled planning.

However, it is probable that the establishment of multiple MICCOs in other black communities throughout Washington might create problems rather than answers, and a reduction rather than an intensification of citizen control in planning. This conclusion is based on the fact that even within the Shaw area MICCO's operation was hampered by 'representation' and 'turf' problems, to extend MICCO, as a single entity to black communities beyond Shaw would undoubtedly be impossible. The alternative of establishing multiple MICCOs might lead to the following problems:

- 1) The funding of multiple community organizations becomes highly expensive (MICCO's present inadequate annual budget exceeds \$400,000.-) and politically competitive.

- 2) Assuming the funding and staffing resources, these community

based planning organizations would perform the tasks of developing substantive planning proposals (land uses, traffic circulation, community facilities, etc.) for their respective areas. Conflicting proposals and uncoordinated competition could result.

3) In each instance a commitment to a sound philosophy is most important. There is always the danger that planners, particularly advocates, may have inclinations affecting their perception of what people want, tending to make the professional task still, as previously an engineering of consent.

4) The RLA's and NCPC's planning function might then be envisioned as a coordinating and supportive role including the provision of information, documentation and resources and establishing eligibility data, etc. rather than a full planning function; acceptance by them of such a role is unlikely.

5) Size and apparent influence (or lack of influence) is important. It is unlikely that MICCO's role of arbitrator among the public planning and governmental agencies can be translated to a larger (dispersed) citizen group coalition. Accompanying the growth in size of the community based planning effort is the increasing possibility of inter-group squabbles caused by groups and individuals vying for power.

6) The possible choice between anarchistic planning by community based groups and coordinated planning by a central governmental agency is unreal. If the establishment of multiple citizen planning groups results in the need for arbitration between them, then the government will automatically fill that role and extend its coordination to a 'controlling' function as well. The cycle is completed.

For Washington, D. C. as a whole then, a void still remains between residents of black communities and public planning agencies. There

remains a need to break out of the cycle and establish a larger viable framework for citizen participation in the planning process. It is unlikely that the MICCO effort, while successful in a limited community like Shaw, would be viable if extended throughout the District of Columbia. A mechanism has yet to be established which will allow residents throughout Washington's black communities to influence decision-making on a broad scale in the renewal process while providing effective planning leadership.

(B) Attempts to relate MICCO's experiences in Shaw to other inner-city ghetto areas throughout the Nation should be limited in scope. The extent of the limitation is determined by 'what is' and/or 'what is not transferable' out of the peculiar circumstances surrounding MICCO, and into the specifics of the subject communities.

1) Some items and circumstances on the transferable side are:

a) The essential ingredient of the MICCO process; a continuing dialogue between the 'establishment camp' and the persons affected by renewal action - the 'people camp.' People can understand the options that are theirs through an enlightened use of communicating urban renewal issues. They can be assisted in translating dreams of a better community into a physical reality based on their social and economic needs.

b) Squabbles among governmental and public planning agencies which tend to create a potentially influential role for a successful arbitrator.

c) Ghetto politics which tend to hamper the creation of a unified front in, and minimize the influence of, black communities.

d) The funding of community based advocate planning organizations. Note that such funding would take on massive proportions (possibly prohibitive in terms of cost/benefits) when applied to a national scale.

2) Some of the nontransferable circumstances are:

a) A city with seventy percent or more of its population black, with the consequent choice of having a black community turn in on itself, with limited white influence, in order to build itself to a point of strength where it can rejoin the rest of the Nation on the basis of an equality it does not now feel it has.

b) The need for the involvement of the Administration (Federal) caused by the role and image of the city (seat of the Nation's government).

c) A sizeable black middle class coupled with a large number of black professionals in the physical, social and economic sciences, either in private industry or in government (Note - the unavailability of black planners and related professionals on a national scale is a problem).

d) Leadership with the characteristics of a Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy. While similar leadership may be found in other black communities, the minister's effectiveness was obviously influenced by all of the nontransferable circumstances listed above.

This study has revealed that in Washington's Shaw area, MICCO, with the support of the mobilized black resident masses and an enlightened political establishment, both of which were influenced by black power activities, has been able to breach the barrier between the camps and demonstrate that black residents can meaningfully influence the urban renewal process as it affects their communities. Within the limits of

this case study the hypotheses were validated.

However, it was further postulated that serious operational problems, particularly problems of functional role and effectiveness, emerge when MICCO's modus operandi is considered for concurrent extension into all or most of Washington's black communities. Attempts to have MICCO's experiences serve as a prototype for inner-city black communities in other areas throughout the Nation are limited by the feasibility of transferring and translating circumstances peculiar to MICCO and the Washington communities.

Never-the-less, the significance of MICCO's achievements thus far is of importance not only to Shaw's communities, but to black communities within Washington and across the Nation. The Shaw School Urban Renewal Project serves as an illustration of one method whereby the combined actions of black citizen groups and the local governments' power structure have begun to successfully alleviate the physical, social and economic problems normally associated with urban renewal in the inner-city's black communities.

APPENDIX A

List of Neighborhood Organizations, Groups and Individuals Contacted
by the Reverend Walter Fauntroy January 24, to April 7, 1966

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List of Neighborhood Organizations, Groups and Individuals Contacted by
the Reverend Fauntroy January 24, to April 7, 1966

Shaw Junior High School - Mrs. Vernetta Lynn
Dunbar High School - Mr. Howard F. Bolden
Harrison Elementary School - Mrs. Marguerite Seldon
Garrison Elementary School - Mrs. Gloria J. Jones
Central Northwest Civic Association - Eugene Davidson
Prince Hall Masons - David P. Crosby
Community Services Project - John Staggers
Housing Development Corporation - James Gibbons
Washington Institute for Employment Training - David Eaton
Industrial Bank
Eighth Street (N.W.) Block Club - Joe Weems
The Washington Afro-American - James Williams
Kennedy Playground - Melvin Ford
National Capital Housing Authority Project (800 block H St.)
Uptown Progress - Charles Wright
YMCA - Mr. Lawrence Hunt
YWCA - Mrs. Grace Lormans
Children's Hospital - Dr. Robert H. Parrott
Freedman's Hospital, Howard University - Dr. Frank Jones
John R. Pinkett, Inc. - Flaxie Pinkett
McGuire Funeral Service, Inc.
Edward C. Mazique, M.D.
D. C. Chamber of Commerce - Mr. Standback, Supreme Liberty, Ins.

North Carolina Mutual Insurance Co. - Alexander Arrington

Fides Neighborhood House, Father Cletus Gillson

D. C. NAACP - Edward Hailes

John R. Young Playground - Mrs. Francis Kidd

Grimke Elementary School - Mrs. Catherine F. Dodson

Cleveland Elementary School - Mrs. Julia D. Hill

Montgomery Elementary School - Nathaniel Dixon

Martha Washington Vocational School

United Planning Organization, Neighborhood Development Center #1

MAJOR CHURCHES IN THE AREA:

New Bethany Baptist - Rev. J. J. Koger

Springfield Baptist - Rev. Wesley Wiley

Church of the Immaculate Conception - Fr. Mundell

Mt. Sinai Baptist - Rev. Darneal Johnson

First Rising Mt. Zion Baptist - Rev. Ernest Gibson

Vermont Ave. Baptist - Rev. C. T. Murray

Metropolitan Baptist - Rev. E. C. Smith

Mt. Gilead Baptist - Rev. W. L. Turley

15th St. Presbyterian - Rev. Robert P. Johnson

Sts. Paul/Augustine Catholic - Rev. Geno Baroni

Church of the Holy City Swedenborgian

Mt. Olivet Lutheran - Rev. William Schievel

St. Luke's Episcopal - Father Bancroft

House of Prayer for All People - Bishop Walter McCullough

Mt. Lebanon Baptist - Rev. Edgar Newton

John Wesley AME Zion - Rev. E. F. Jackson

Third Baptist - Rev. Henry Myers

Shiloh Baptist - Rev. E. L. Harrison
Salem Baptist - Rev. Herbert Travis
Pleasant Grove Baptist - Rev. Cleveland Derricks
Tenth St. Baptist - Rev. J. L. Henry
United Church of Christ - Rev. Channing Phillips
Salvation Army - Brig. Victor Wilson

APPENDIX B

The RLA's Description of the Shaw School Urban Renewal Area, Urban
Renewal Plan and Annual Action Program - NDP.

RLA's Description of
THE SHAW SCHOOL URBAN RENEWAL AREA
Urban Renewal Plan
And
Annual Action Program

"The urban renewal plan is designed to guide the rehabilitation and redevelopment of the 675-acre Shaw School Area. The Plan has been prepared as part of a cooperative effort between the community and the Government of the District of Columbia. Extensive community participation in planning the Shaw Area was provided through the efforts of the Model Inner City Community Organization (MICCO) and the Uptown Progress Committee.

The Plan is based on MICCO's "schematic design concept" for the area, and reflects both (a) the special character of the area and the comprehensive planning objectives and policies for the Nation's Capital, and (b) the stated objectives of the residents, institutions, and businesses of Shaw.

The goal of the Plan is to eliminate conditions now blighting the area, and restore Shaw primarily as an attractive residential neighborhood, with good service from commercial and public facilities. The objectives of the Plan reflect the social and economic, as well as the physical needs of the community.

These objectives include (1) providing sound rental and resident-owned housing, primarily for low and moderate income families; (2) restricting through-traffic to wide continuous streets that are part of the regional system of major streets; (3) construction of a subway system with maximum service to Shaw; (4) rehabilitation and expansion of commercial areas serving the community as a whole, and improvement of neighborhood shopping at convenient locations; (5) improving facilities for social and health services; (6) replacement of obsolete schools and public facilities with community facilities of superior design, sponsoring programs which are planned to serve the diverse needs of the residents; and (7) the development of new employment, job training, ownership and business opportunities for Shaw residents.

The Shaw School Urban Renewal Plan is to be carried out by the Redevelopment Land Agency as part of a Neighborhood Development Program for the city. Under this new approach to urban renewal, action areas in Shaw will be designated each year. Within these action areas, rehabilitation and new construction will be initiated. Outside the action areas, planning studies will continue, as will community discussion of urban renewal proposals. Such planning and discussion will produce detailed plans for areas that will then become part of the next year's action program. This combination of action and planning with the community will continue until the entire Shaw area is renewed.

There are two major parts of the Shaw Urban Renewal Program: the Urban Renewal Plan, and the first year action program.

Urban Renewal Plan

The General Land Use Plan

The General Land Use Plan is a guide for the future land use and development of the entire Shaw School Area. A copy of the map is attached. The proposals set forth in this plan are generalized, subject to refinement as planning continues outside action areas.

1. Housing

The General Land Use Plan proposes three kinds of new and rehabilitated housing: low density (30 dwelling units per acre) consisting of one and two-family row houses; moderate density (60 dwelling units per acre) including walk-up or garden apartments, or a mixture of row houses and elevator apartments for smaller families; high density (135 dwelling units per acre) which would consist of elevator apartment buildings primarily for senior citizens and small households.

High density housing is proposed in 5 minor areas: along 7th Street; on Rhode Island Avenue east of 7th Street; south and west of Logan Circle; west of 14th and U Streets; and along North Capitol Street. Thus, high density housing would be located along major avenues or near proposed subway stations.

Moderate density housing is proposed to be located around Logan Circle and generally along the subway corridor between 6th and 9th Streets.

The remaining housing areas in Shaw are to be developed at low density. It is expected that many of the row houses in these low density areas will be improved through rehabilitation with loans and grants available under the urban renewal program. Rent supplements and scattered Public Housing might be used to provide housing for those who need this assistance.

Conveniently located neighborhood shopping facilities - groceries, cleaning establishments, barbers and beauty parlors, drug stores, etc., are to be provided and are proposed to be developed in conjunction with new housing in the high and moderate density housing areas, and at certain other locations.

2. Community Facilities

The community facilities part of the General Land Use Plan

contains proposals for new or expanded schools, parks and recreation facilities, a library, and facilities for social and health services.

The Plan suggests the joining of existing and new schools, community institutions, and major parks and playgrounds into a system of shared recreational, educational, and cultural facilities, which would be arranged as part of an area-wide pedestrian system that would connect these kinds of facilities. It is anticipated that this system will provide additional space for the various needs of existing, expanded and new community institutions, social service facilities, and new libraries, theatres and museums.

The Plan calls for the replacement of the Harrison, Morse, Cleveland, Slater and Langston Elementary Schools, and Garnett-Patterson Junior High School; completion of a New Shaw Junior High School; expansion of Montgomery, Bundy, Grimke and Cooke Elementary Schools; and the construction of 3 new schools. All schools would serve the community during both daytime and evening.

A community service center is to be located near the intersection of 8th Street and Rhode Island Avenue to provide a program of municipal and community services to the residents of Shaw by the District of Columbia Government and other public, non-profit and institutional groups.

Specific locations for all these community facilities will be selected through the continued planning and community discussion. As sites are selected, they will be included in an annual action program, consistent with the city's Capital Improvement Budget.

3. Commercial Facilities

The General Land Use Plan proposals for commercial facilities include those for neighborhood shopping, and a community business center. Major neighborhood shopping facilities will be located at Florida and 7th Street (south of Howard University) and at M and 7th Streets (near the proposed Federal City College site). As mentioned in the Housing section above, smaller neighborhood shopping centers are proposed at 7th and O Streets, at P and R Streets along 14th Street, at R Street and Vermont Avenue, at 10th and N Streets, at Rhode Island and Florida Avenues, at M and 4th Streets, and at P and North Capitol Streets.

The Community Business Center of Shaw will be located along U Street, with major concentration, at Florida Avenue and at 14th Street. This business center will provide Shaw-related office, entertainment and shopping facilities.

4. Employment Center

Opportunities for technical education, job training, and the development of community-based businesses are proposed to be developed in an employment center located in the area bounded generally by Florida Avenue, Vermont Avenue, U and 14th Streets. This area is suggested as a possible site for the new Washington Technical Institute, and for such enterprises as general repair shops, automotive services, light industries and related businesses. A study is now being made to outline a development program for this area.

The Transportation Plan

Proposals for transportation include (a) a subway plan, which proposes that a subway line will enter Shaw under 14th Street, turning along U Street, and continuing south along 7th Street into downtown. Subway stations are proposed to be located in the vicinity of 13th and U Streets, 7th and S Streets, and on 7th Street near M Street; (b) a traffic artery plan, which proposes that most through traffic be channeled along 15th, 14th, 9th, 7th, North Capitol, and U Streets, Florida Avenue, and Vermont Avenue north of Logan Circle.

First Year Renewal Actions

The second part of the Urban Renewal Program for Shaw is the annual action program. The first year's renewal actions include four rehabilitation areas, and several areas to be acquired for new construction. Additional properties may be acquired through voluntary sale by existing owners to the Redevelopment Land Agency, under certain conditions. The areas in the first year action program are shown on the attached "Renewal Action Areas" map.

Properties to be acquired include all of the parcels destroyed during the April civil disorders along 7th Street; plus a series of fairly large vacant or predominantly vacant properties, the block containing the Dunbar Hotel, and a site for a new library at 7th and Rhode Island Avenue.

Properties designated for rehabilitation are those within the French-Westminster Streets area; the Bates Street area; one block frontage between P and Q Streets, along 8th Street, and the block bounded by 8th, 9th, S and T Streets.

First year actions also include those properties to be developed as part of the previously approved plans for the new Shaw Junior High School, and the relocation housing on the site of the old Cardozo School.




The urban renewal plan contains detailed land use and building controls for most of the properties to be acquired by RLA during the first action year. These properties, and the proposed uses of each are shown on the attached "Land Disposition" maps. Properties to be developed with housing are four parcels along 7th Street to be developed for elevator apartments, three parcels along 11th Street for low density housing, two parcels on the west side of 12th Street for elevator apartments, and a piece of vacant land at 14th and S Streets for low density housing. The block containing the Dunbar Hotel is to be developed as an office building.

Continued planning by public agencies and the community will proceed in the remainder of the area during the action year. This planning will lead to further action area proposals, and eventual achievement of the objectives set forth in the Urban Renewal Plan for the entire area."




MAP NO. 2
GENERAL LAND USE PLAN

----- PROJECT AREA BOUNDARIES

RESIDENTIAL

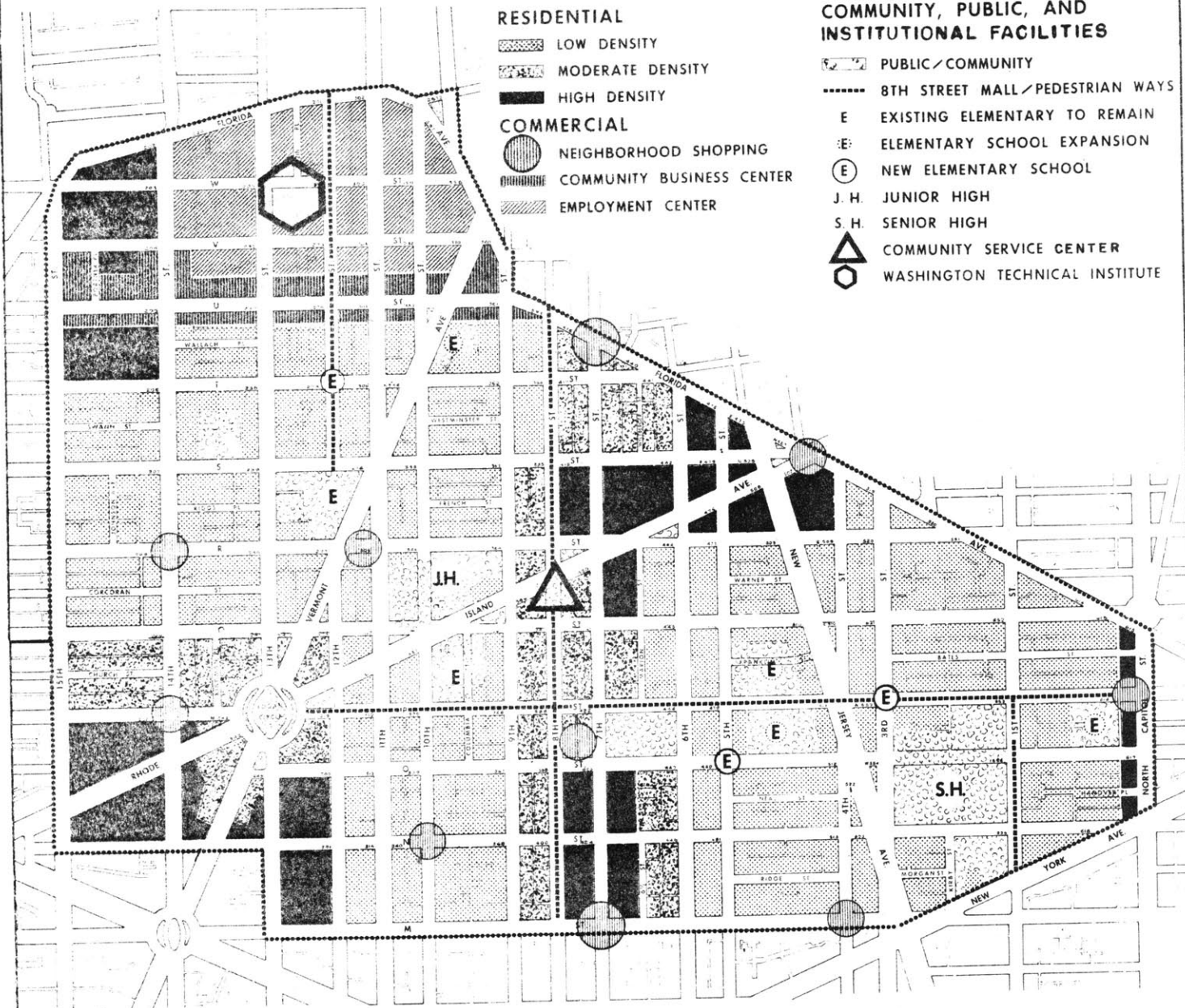
-  LOW DENSITY
-  MODERATE DENSITY
-  HIGH DENSITY

COMMERCIAL

-  NEIGHBORHOOD SHOPPING
-  COMMUNITY BUSINESS CENTER
-  EMPLOYMENT CENTER

COMMUNITY, PUBLIC, AND INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES

-  PUBLIC/COMMUNITY
- 8TH STREET MALL/PEDESTRIAN WAYS
- E EXISTING ELEMENTARY TO REMAIN
- E: ELEMENTARY SCHOOL EXPANSION
- (E) NEW ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
- J. H. JUNIOR HIGH
- S. H. SENIOR HIGH
-  COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTER
-  WASHINGTON TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

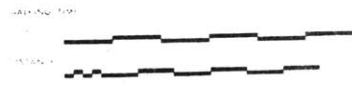


SHAW SCHOOL URBAN RENEWAL AREA

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

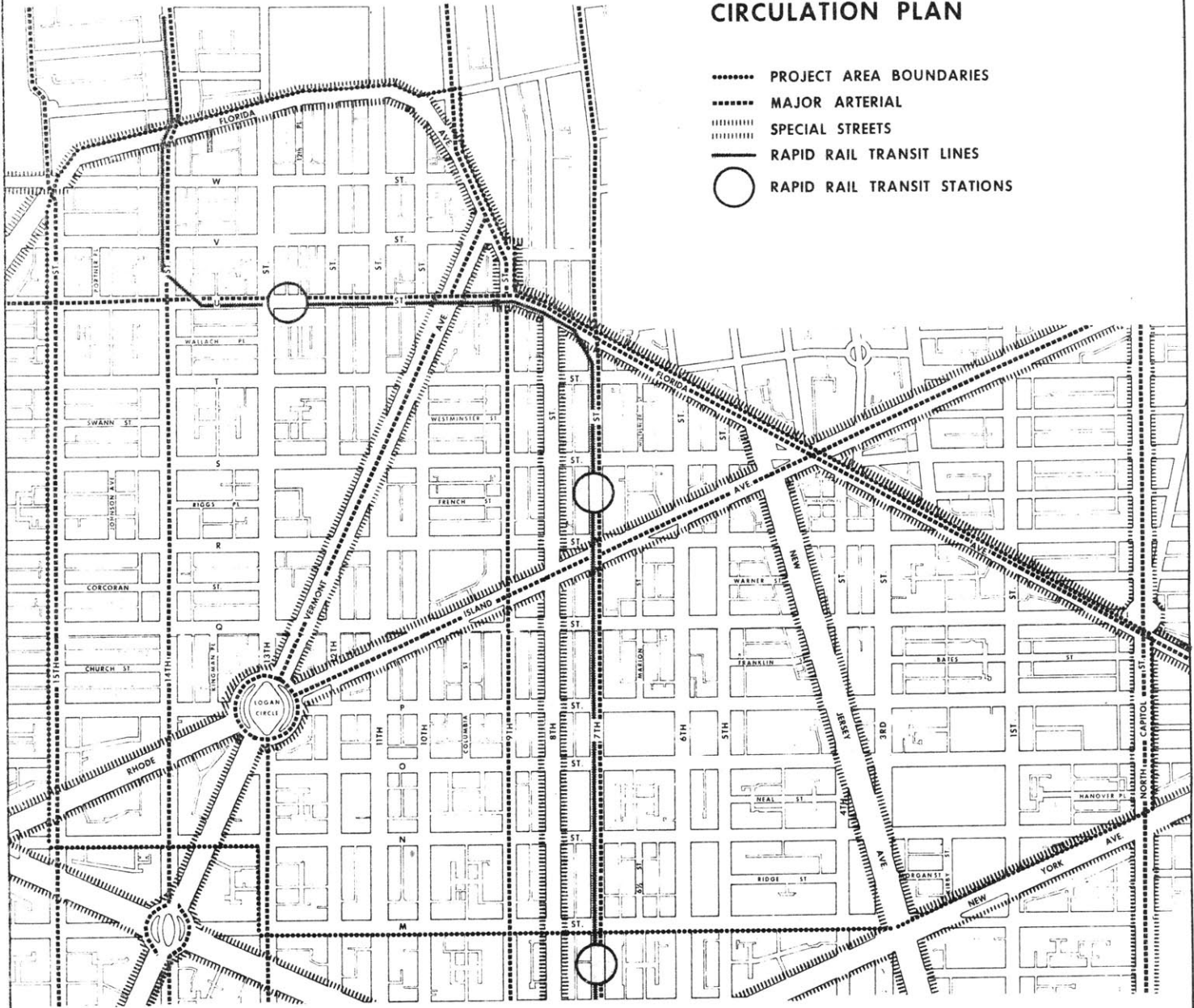


JANUARY 1969
PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION IN COOPERATION WITH D. C. REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY



MAP NO. 3 CIRCULATION PLAN

- PROJECT AREA BOUNDARIES
- MAJOR ARTERIAL
- SPECIAL STREETS
- RAPID RAIL TRANSIT LINES
- RAPID RAIL TRANSIT STATIONS



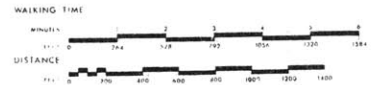
SHAW SCHOOL URBAN RENEWAL AREA

D I S T R I C T O F C O L U M B I A



JANUARY 1969

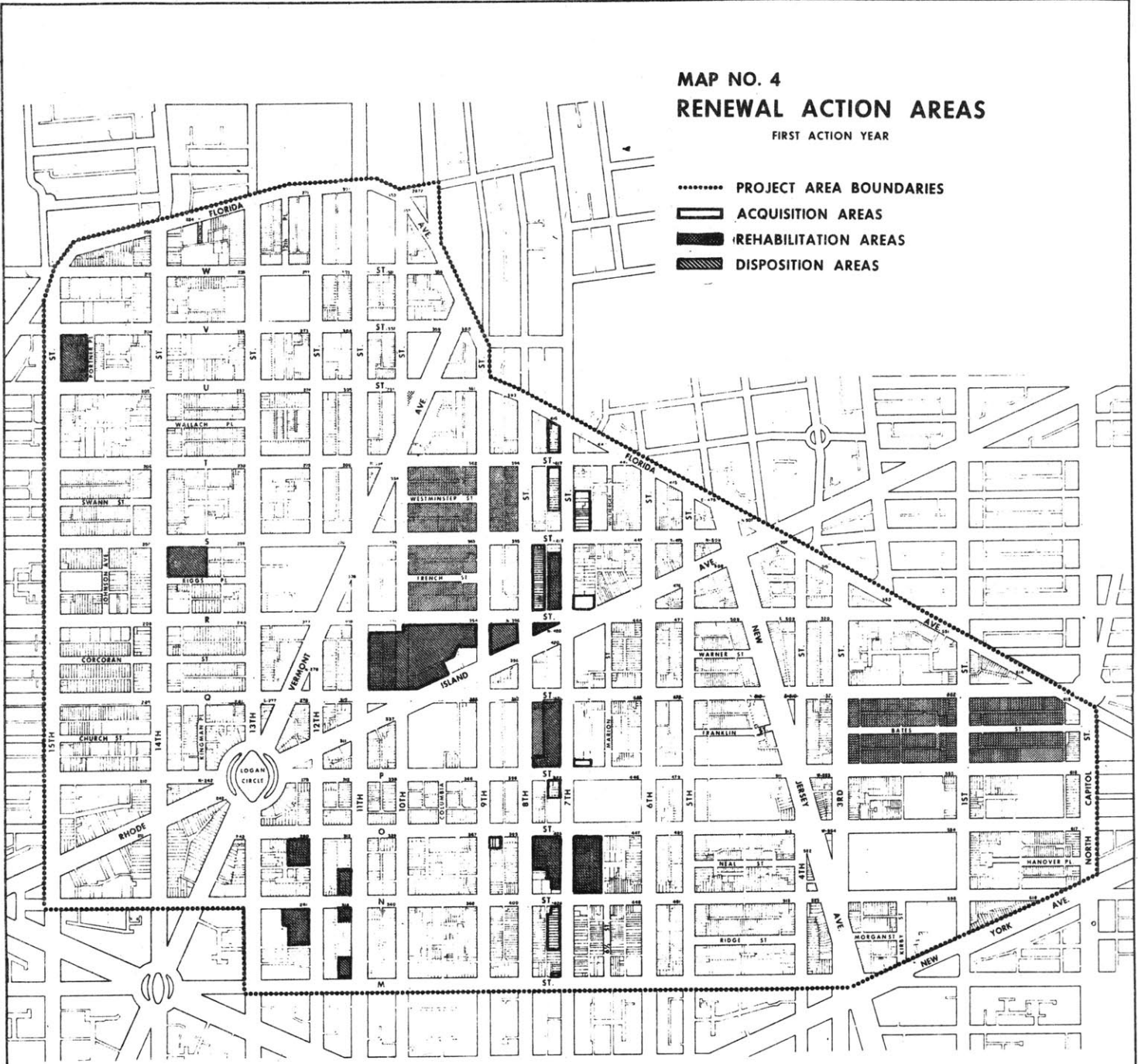
PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION IN COOPERATION WITH D. C. REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY



MAP NO. 4 RENEWAL ACTION AREAS

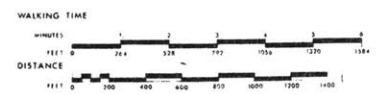
FIRST ACTION YEAR

- PROJECT AREA BOUNDARIES
- ▭ ACQUISITION AREAS
- ▨ REHABILITATION AREAS
- ▩ DISPOSITION AREAS



SHAW SCHOOL URBAN RENEWAL AREA

D I S T R I C T O F C O L U M B I A



JANUARY 1969

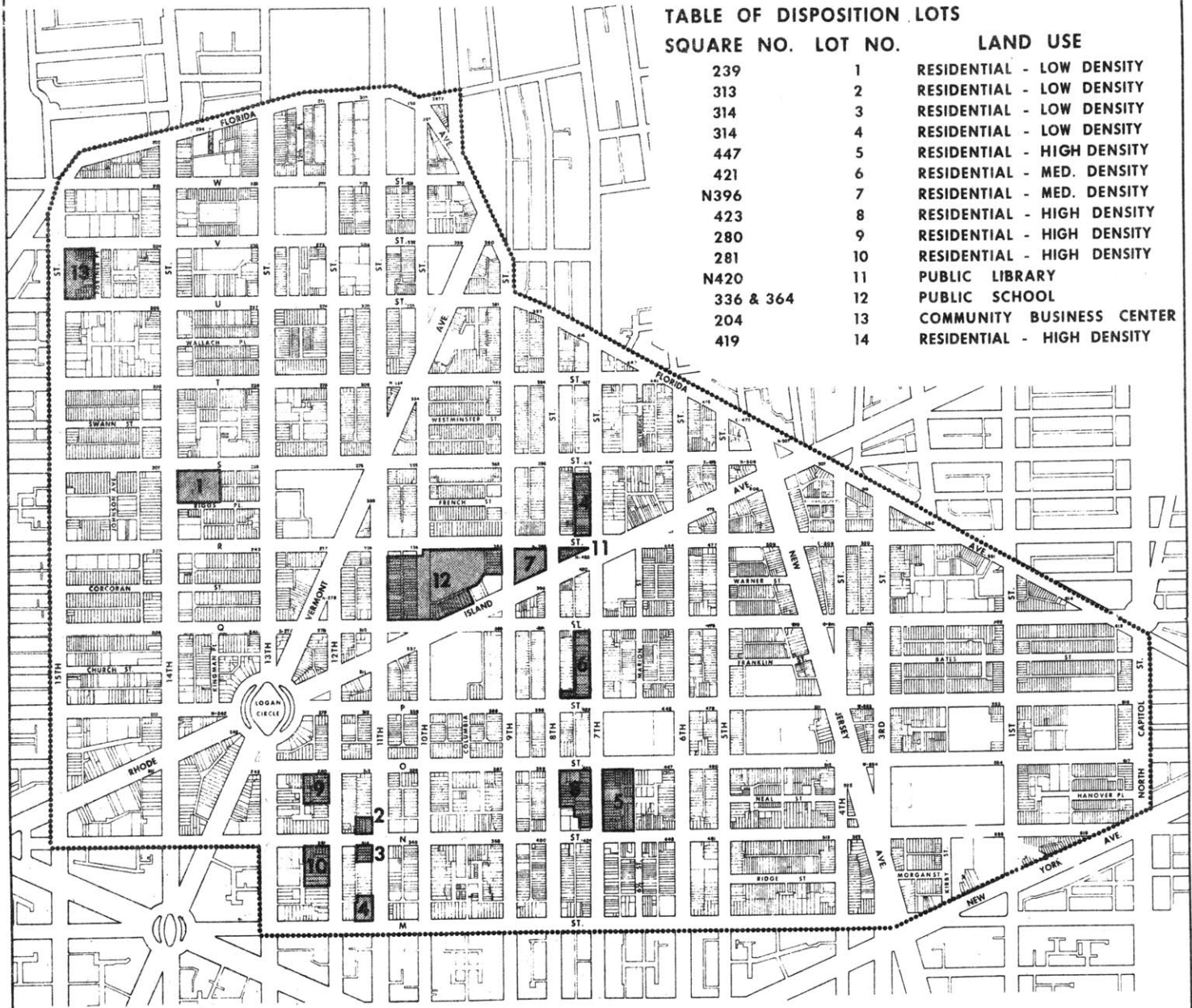
PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION IN COOPERATION WITH D. C. REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY

MAP NO. 5 LAND DISPOSITION

..... PROJECT AREA BOUNDARIES

TABLE OF DISPOSITION LOTS

SQUARE NO.	LOT NO.	LAND USE
239	1	RESIDENTIAL - LOW DENSITY
313	2	RESIDENTIAL - LOW DENSITY
314	3	RESIDENTIAL - LOW DENSITY
314	4	RESIDENTIAL - LOW DENSITY
447	5	RESIDENTIAL - HIGH DENSITY
421	6	RESIDENTIAL - MED. DENSITY
N396	7	RESIDENTIAL - MED. DENSITY
423	8	RESIDENTIAL - HIGH DENSITY
280	9	RESIDENTIAL - HIGH DENSITY
281	10	RESIDENTIAL - HIGH DENSITY
N420	11	PUBLIC LIBRARY
336 & 364	12	PUBLIC SCHOOL
204	13	COMMUNITY BUSINESS CENTER
419	14	RESIDENTIAL - HIGH DENSITY

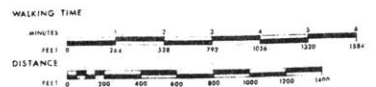


SHAW SCHOOL URBAN RENEWAL AREA

D I S T R I C T O F C O L U M B I A

JANUARY 1969

PREPARED BY THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION IN COOPERATION WITH D. C. REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY



APPENDIX C

Results of the MICCO Questionnaire

RESULTS OF THE MICCO QUESTIONNAIRE

As previously described one phase of MICCO's efforts in determining the needs and desires of the community was the use of door-to-door consultation with residents of Shaw. Questionnaires, the vast majority of which were filled in during this person to person dialogue concerning the reshaping of the community, while others were filled in during explanatory community meetings, have been gathered, analyzed, and tabulated by MICCO. The results of the questionnaires filled out by approximately 9,000 adult residents of Shaw are:

TRANSPORTATION

On the questions of transportation prompted by their concern of traffic pouring through the streets of Shaw and creating hazards for children and adults alike and coupled with their recognition of the transportation service and access to jobs outside of Shaw the residents responded as follows:

1. 8,177 or approximately 97% of those responding were in favor of limiting the "thru - traffic" to the few major streets suggested by MICCO's analysis; these are North Capitol, 7th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Streets in the North South directions, and Rhode Island, Florida, New York Avenue and U Street in the East West direction. Only 57 or less than 1% of those who responded were in disagreement.

2. The community's reaction to shifting the subway line from the approved 14th Street route to the 7th, U and 14th Street route, thereby serving 10,000 more Shaw residents, Federal City College, Howard University and 7th & U Streets businessmen was overwhelmingly positive.

8,120 or more than 97% of those responding stated they were in favor of the new 7th-U-14th Streets Subway Alignment as suggested by MICCO, with only 34 or less than 1/2 of 1% in disagreement.

EMPLOYMENT AND BUSINESS

On the questions of employment and business the Shaw residents have expressed their concern for more jobs for people living in the area; more ownership of businesses by residents of the area; and easier access to employment and business centers.

1. For example, 8,120 or approximately 97% of those responding stated they were in favor of placing the major community business centers around proposed subway stations at 7th & O Streets, 7th & Florida Avenue - and U Street, and 14th and U Streets. Additional 'convenience' neighborhood businesses could be spotted in residential areas around North Capitol Street, Rhode Island and Florida Avenues, 5th & M Streets, 11th and S Streets, 11th & R Streets, 11th & N Streets and 14th & R Streets.

2. 7,953 or approximately 95% of those responding were in favor of Children's Hospital and Hanover Place being used as non-residential institutional and industrial areas.

However, subsequent information and responses from the Hanover Place area suggests this one particular area be used for new housing. This change from MICCO's original Concept for land uses is reflected in the final Concept Proposal which is part of this submission package.

EDUCATION

On the questions of Education parents and children expressed their dissatisfaction with schools in the area. The major problems stated by the people are out-dated and overcrowded school facilities; some schools are poor located; there is a lack of adult training and education programs related to community needs and job opportunities.

1. 7,960 or approximately 95% of those responding stated they were in favor of creating an 'Educational-Recreational-Cultural Parkway System; having the advantages of 'neighborhood' and 'community' schools. This parkway could contain schools, recreation facilities, libraries, museums, theaters and other cultural facilities.

2a. 7,853 or approximately 94% of those responding were in favor of the Washington Technical Institute building facilities in Shaw thereby providing an opportunity for adults to finish high school, take college and training courses, and work part-time in jobs connected with their classwork.

2b. 7,902 or approximately 94% of those responding stated that if the Washington Technical Institute does build in Shaw, it could be located in an 'Institutional Setting' in the Children's Hospital area.

3. Many Shaw residents suggest improving neighborhood schools by direct influence of school programs.

7,853 or approximately 94% stated they were in favor of a local school board for the Shaw neighborhood.

HOUSING

On the questions of Housing, the Shaw area residents have consistently told the MICCO staff that they want a housing plan that will not force residents to move out of Shaw. They want a housing plan that would provide new and rehabilitated housing at rents they can afford; reduce overcrowding; provide maximum opportunity for home ownership; and minimize relocation.

The MICCO staff set up guidelines to meet the housing needs of the Shaw residents based on their requests.

Approximately 96% of those responding to the questions on Low Rise Housing favored the MICCO Concept; 1% were not in favor; and 3% gave no response at all.

When considering High Rise Housing, once again approximately 96% of those responding to the questions on High Rise Housing favored the

MICCO Concept; less than 1% of those who responded were in disagreement.

However, it should be noted that persons immediately affected by the High Rise proposal as it related to Wallach Place in the vicinity of 14th & U Streets effected a change in the general area proposed for High Rise. That is, residents living on Wallach Place took a position backed by evidence which suggests that Wallach Place be rehabilitated and that a High Rise nearest them be limited to the 14th Street and U Street Frontages.

In addition, due to changes in land uses from the proposed industry on Hanover Place to housing in that area the High Rise on North Capitol Street and Florida Avenue might be extended south along North Capitol to New York Avenue.

BATES STREET OPTIONAL

On the question of the treatment (clearance and redevelopment vs. rehabilitation) of Bates Street 6,798 or approximately 81% of those responding stated that the Bates Street area should be redeveloped with new housing and facilities. 571 or approximately 7% of those responding stated that the Bates Street area should be rehabilitated. 1,024 or approximately 12% of the people gave no response to either of the questions. Of all persons responding to the question, 360 live in the Bates Street area - 272 or approximately 75 1/2% favored redevelopment while 27 or approximately 7 1/2% favored rehabilitation; 61 or 17% were undecided.

STAGING OF DEVELOPMENT

On the question of staging, 7,877 or approximately 94% of those who responded agreed that a housing resource can be created in Shaw so that people will not have to move out of the Shaw area while new housing is being built or existing housing rehabilitated.

This would be accomplished by beginning construction of housing on vacant land along 7th Street and beginning rehabilitation of housing in vacant buildings. Only 75 or less than 1% of those responding disagreed with this approach.

LIVING ACCOMODATIONS

Of those responding to the questions on living accomodations, 460 stated that they owned their home; 427 are buying home; 6,187 are renting; 622 live with relatives or friends and pay no rent; 1,300 live in a house or apartment; 2,357 live with relatives; 2,542 live with a family.

MARITAL STATUS

On the questions having to do with marital status of Shaw residents, 3,810 stated that they are married; 1,671 are single; 511 are divorced; 965 are separated; and 841 are widowed.

INCOME RANGES

The responses to the questions having to do with the level of the residents' income range from \$39 or less to over \$126 bi-weekly, and \$99 to over \$611 per month has also been tabulated.

The responses of those who are paid bi-weekly are as follows:

\$39 or less	-	518	or	6%	of the total number of respondents
\$40 to \$55	-	559	or	7%	" " " " " "
\$56 to \$75	-	1079	or	13%	" " " " " "
\$76 to \$85	-	588	or	7%	" " " " " "
\$86 to \$95	-	646	or	8%	" " " " " "
\$96 to \$125	-	711	or	8%	" " " " " "
over \$126	-	1097	or	13%	" " " " " "

The responses of those who are paid monthly are as follows:

\$ 99 or less	-	422	or	5%	of the total number of respondents
\$100 to \$200	-	450	or	5%	" " " " " "
\$201 to \$300	-	238	or	3%	" " " " " "
\$301 to \$450	-	168	or	2%	" " " " " "
\$451 to \$600	-	124	or	1.5%	" " " " " "
over \$600	-	74	or	1%	" " " " " "

The questions in the questionnaire were responded to by a total of 8,393 persons: 3,807 or approximately 45% males and 4,319 or approximately 52% females ranging between the ages of 18 to over 65. The age breakdowns are as follows:

18	-	25	=	13%
26	-	39	=	29%
40	-	55	=	30%
56	-	65	=	14%
over		65	=	8%
No Response				6%

NOTE: All percentage figures are approximate to the nearest whole percent. (or occasionally 1/2 percent).

SOCIAL SERVICES

(Circulation of this portion of the questionnaire commenced after the other sections, consequently response to this section totaled approximately one thousand six-hundred and twenty).

Many Shaw residents have complained about not having enough health clinics to meet the health needs of all age groups; the absence of public welfare offices and few other private welfare agencies offering counselling, guidance, and other forms of assistance; the problem of finding someone dependable to care for their children while they are at work or while looking for employment; the scarcity of neighborhood centers that would provide activities and programs for community residents; and not enough indoor and outdoor recreation for residents of all ages.

GENERAL WELFARE & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

In addition to welfare and health services, the people of Shaw would like to see other kinds of services in the Shaw area: The responses to the questions on General Welfare and Neighborhood Centers are as follows:

D. C. Government local office	- 454 or 28%	desire this type of facility					
Social Security Office	- 733 or 45%	"	"	"	"	"	"
Homemaker Services	- 553 or 34%	"	"	"	"	"	"
Child Guidance Clinic	- 698 or 43%	"	"	"	"	"	"
Family Planning Clinic	- 601 or 37%	"	"	"	"	"	"
Consumer Education Office	- 191 or 12%	"	"	"	"	"	"
Library	- 369 or 23%	"	"	"	"	"	"
Job Information Center	- 928 or 57%	"	"	"	"	"	"

Some people think that all social services in Shaw should be located in one building. Others say that these services should be scattered around the area.

1,620 or 100% of those responding to the question of locating a social services building agreed with MICCO's suggestion of putting major public agencies like welfare, a health clinic, social security and local government offices in one central location in or near one of the major shopping centers. Other services, like day care centers and health detection centers, can be scattered around the neighborhoods for easy access. Less than 1% were in disagreement with this suggestion.

HEALTH

On the questions of health approximately 100% of those responding who live in Shaw stated that they would like to have a neighborhood health clinic built in Shaw that would serve all age groups.

The Children's Hospital is planning to move to the Washington Hospital Center. If they move out of Shaw, they would like to leave a neighborhood health clinic that would serve all age groups. If they stay in Shaw they will need to expand and use more land around them.

844 or approximately 52% of those responding stated they preferred that Children's Hospital move out of Shaw and leave a clinic to serve all age groups in Shaw.

620 or approximately 38% stated they preferred that Children's Hospital stay in Shaw, expand, and use more land.

OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES

The following is a listing of other kinds of services the people of Shaw have indicated, via responses on the questionnaire, they would like to see in the Shaw area:

- Day Care Centers
- All Day Nurseries
- Coming Motherhood Homes
- Free Educational Town Services for Children
- Education Center
- Vocational Training
- Workshop
- Typing School
- Evening Classes
- Adult Reading Classes
- Christian Education
- Day Camps
- Girl Clubs
- Study Room

RECREATION

The MICCO proposal suggests the school park concept as a way of locating recreation centers within walking distances to most housing. MICCO suggested some facilities such as swimming pools, sports fields, arts and craft rooms, work shops, theatre space and game rooms that the people might like in Shaw.

In addition to the above suggestions the following is a listing of other kinds of recreation activities the people said via response, they would like to see in Shaw:

- Amusement Park
- Skating Rink

Playground
Senior Citizen Center
Cleaning-Up-Campaign
Bowling Alley
Shop and Theater
Cafe
Dance Hall
Game Rooms
More Fountains in Parks
More Kennedy Playground Supervisors
Facilities for small children
Drama
African Art
High Jumping and other sports facilities
Horse Racing Track
Horse Back Riding
Trips

APPENDIX D

Shaw Community Goals and Objectives

SHAW COMMUNITY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The following list of community goals and objectives was completed by MICCO's staff following informal discussions and, later, more structured communication with residents throughout the Shaw area.

Goals which do not directly relate to the physical aspect of the urban renewal project are nevertheless included for consideration, since they concern the social and economic factors which must be considered in developing an urban renewal plan.

A. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Reduce the unemployment rate in Shaw, through meaningful job training and productive skill development.
2. Get people off welfare and into job market.
3. Increase wages of the underemployed.
4. Raise the average family income.
5. Increase the number of profitable businesses owned and controlled by Black people of the Shaw area - Black Entrepreneurship.
6. Conserve local economic wealth through savings and loan institutions in the community - credit unions - reinvestment - etc.
7. Insure that the quality of goods and services be competitive.

B. HOUSING

1. Maximum rehabilitation where feasible.
2. Production of a sufficient number of adequate housing units for people in Shaw at a price they can afford to pay by Rehabilitation, Redevelopment, Relocation, etc.
3. To develop an early housing resource (as a first stage) on vacant land and in existing dwellings that can be brought up to standard through rehabilitations to meet family composition/needs.
4. One time removal of people (relocation staging).
5. Provision of a variety of housing types and integration of housing economically (low rent with middle income) (unit by unit mixture) (architectural mixture).
6. Provision of the replacement value of property to homeowners who must be moved.
7. Maximum use of rent supplement and other public housing subsidies and lease arrangements.

8. Changes in eligibility requirements for public housing to make them more equitable and housing more accessible (and close the income gap between public housing and the 221(d)(3) program).

C. TRANSPORTATION

1. Control the traffic as it passes through Shaw so that it doesn't disrupt the residential neighborhood.
2. To develop an internal traffic circulative system which serves primarily the residents of Shaw.
3. To establish a working relationship between the internal and external traffic systems.
4. To have a subway location that serves the largest number of people in Shaw and generates local business development.
5. To have the Shaw subway included in the first stage of subway construction.

D. COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Education:

1. To have community schools that involve maximum day, night, weekend and year round use tying in social services and community identity.
2. To have a neighborhood group that influences and/or controls school programs.
3. To improve the schools in Shaw - creating specialized programs, etc. within separate facilities and linking them by transportation and visual means so that the advantages of an educational park can be realized. Creating a separate subsystem in Shaw.
4. Improve the quality of junior high school education.
5. To stimulate educational growth and achievement at all levels in the Shaw community by comprehensive involvement of institutions of higher education.

E. SHOPPING

1. To insure that the quality of goods sold and services rendered to area customers compare favorably to the general Metropolitan price index (goal of Economic Development).

F. SOCIAL SERVICES AND PROGRAMS

1. Generally, to encourage the location of more family-oriented social services in Shaw.

2. To have comprehensive public health facilities, mental and physical in the area offering family and child care services.
3. To have health detection and nursing care centers within the schools (as part of the community school complex). These centers would also be connected to shopping sub-centers.
4. To have public welfare services located in Shaw, and delivered in conjunction with other social services in Shaw.
5. To encourage day care facilities in new housing for families and in other public facilities throughout the area.
6. To involve Shaw residents in program development and implementation of the social service agencies servicing the Shaw area.

G. RECREATION

1. Establishment of a Black Arts Center embracing all the arts as an informative base for cultural achievement in the Shaw community.
2. Recreational facilities for all age groups tied in with schools, cultural and community centers, and housing.

H. POLITICAL

1. The declaration of Shaw as an experimental and demonstration area, whereupon, "Home Rule" is activated and evaluated prior to and in conjunction with District planning in the area of representation.

I. ENVIRONMENTAL

1. To have a strong sense of local neighborhood identity.

APPENDIX E

Description of MICCO's Final Schematic Design Concept

DESCRIPTION OF
MICCO's FINAL SCHEMATIC DESIGN CONCEPT

As a result of continuous dialogue between the Shaw community and MICCO, the final revised Schematic Concept offers the following proposals:

Transportation and Circulation

The following streets have been designated as major through streets:

North-South through traffic - North Capitol, 7th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Streets.

Note: 9th Street may have to be added according to reliable information from public agencies.

East-West through traffic - Rhode Island Avenue, New York Avenue, Florida Avenue, and U Street.

Other streets are being suggested as Local Distributor Streets for internal circulation.

North-South - 1st, 6th, and 11th Streets

East-West - N, P, Q, R, S, and V Streets

Crosstown - Vermont and New Jersey Avenues

Some streets are being recommended for controlled or restricted traffic or for possible closing.

These are:

North-South - 3rd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 10th, and 12th Streets

East-West - O, T, W, and Bates Streets

Crosstown - Vermont Avenue

Subway Proposal

The concept suggests that the subway be shifted from its present approved route straight up 13th Street to run north along 7th Street

to Florida, west across Florida along U Street to 14th Street, and north up 14th Street. This route would serve a substantially larger portion of the Shaw community in terms of walk-on accessibility, and would provide a tremendous boost to the economic life of businesses along these three major commercial streets.

Education, Recreation and Cultural Activities

The proposal for the Educational-Recreational-Cultural Parkway is an attempt to give a new definition to education for the total Shaw community. MICCO suggests that existing new schools, new swimming pools, playgrounds, theatres, museums, libraries, and other formal and informal cultural facilities could be linked together offering easy walking access to most residents. In short, education-recreation and cultural activities are visualized as one of the major instruments for social change. The proposal suggested lends itself to the creation of a focal point around which the community can achieve an identity of its own - i.e., a seam to physically, visually and hopefully, socially unite the community.

Churches have always been an important part of the lives of people in the Shaw community. This proposal recognizes the church as a strength to be built upon, and leaves all churches located in the parkway system unaffected as a natural part of the life of the people.

Activity Centers

Three major subway stops along the main commercial streets are being suggested as major activity and business centers: The 14th and U Streets area, the 7th and Florida Avenue area, and the 7th and O and/or N Streets area. It is hoped that the functions of these centers will serve to complement, enhance and compete with other business centers in the metropolitan area. That is, they should become viable business and employment centers, offering quality services to the Shaw community in particular, and the Washington Metropolitan Area in general.

Other small neighborhood convenience centers within walking distance of the residents are being suggested for location in scattered spots throughout the community.

Employment Centers

The concept suggests the area around Children's Hospital bounded by 13th Street on the west, Florida Avenue on the north and east, and U Street on the south for a major employment center area. This area is suggested based on its present use, potential re-use and its relationship to major through streets, as a logical area for industries and specialized institutional use. A feasibility study is presently being done to determine the types of employment and related meaningful job opportunities which may be realized for our community in this area.

Social Services

There are few social services located in Shaw today - only two public health facilities and no public welfare offices. MICCO's proposal for social services suggests that major agencies like welfare, social security, an employment office or a comprehensive health center be located at one of the major commercial centers where they can be reached easily by a majority of residents by public transportation. A variety of other services like health detection centers, food stamp offices, and day care centers can be located within spaces along the parkway mentioned above, and in the smaller neighborhood convenience centers. These then, would be within walking distance to most residents.

MICCO is working with a variety of public and private agencies in an attempt to encourage them to plan for the establishment of offices or centers in Shaw.

Housing

In the area of housing for the new Shaw, it is hoped that the housing types to be made available will reflect the life styles and living patterns to be cherished in up-to-date, new and rehabilitated structures in a better living environment. The following objectives served as guidelines for achieving this general goal:

- To provide housing at rents people can afford to pay through the use of various rent supplement and housing programs.
- To reduce overcrowding.
- To maximize home ownership (provisions available under the 1968 Housing Act).
- To minimize the impact of redevelopment on the relocation of families to be affected in the renewal process.

MICCO thus offers in the housing proposal, three major residential areas for rehabilitation and/or new construction of "low rise" structures.

The attempt here is to help preserve, maintain and strengthen the residential character of the community.

Six minor high rise areas to help relieve the overcrowded conditions in Shaw. These structures would also be used to buffer the residential neighborhoods from traffic.

These high rise structures will make it possible to accommodate more people at lower rents on high cost land.

With the high rise structures, it is possible to get more open land for community facilities needed in Shaw.

To be able to do all this, the proposal also offers a staging plan

which meets the goals and objectives of the community. For example, the housing for relocatees will be built on vacant land first without displacing numbers of people. This staging plan provides a basis for the First Year's Action in the Neighborhood Development (N.D.P.)

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