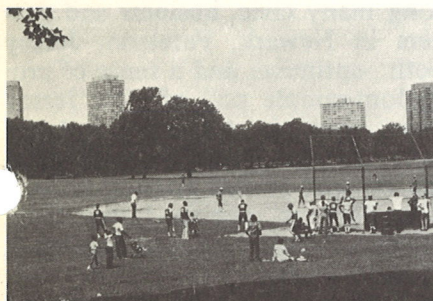


New Jersey Cities



1. Most downtowns have remained lively. (Paterson)



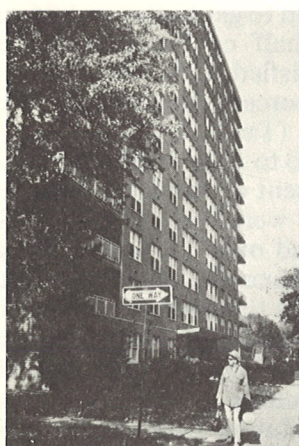
2. Many parks are well-maintained and well used. (Newark)



3. Every city has at least one neighborhood that can compete in appearance with neighborhoods anywhere in the Region—not only single-family blocks (Passaic) . . .



4. but older apartment sections. (East Orange)



5. New, unsubsidized apartments have been built, too, as along the bus routes in Elizabeth.

NEW JERSEY CITIES NEVER DID SINK AS FAR AS MOST PEOPLE THOUGHT, AND A LOT HAS BEEN HAPPENING LATELY TO ADD TO THEIR ATTRACTION.



6. New public investment in schools, parks, and State offices has transformed many blocks, most notably the higher education complex next to downtown Newark—four new campuses including the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry here.



7. Private investment is beginning to follow in Newark.

CONTENTS

PART I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Chapter 1. Trends and Goals	2
Chapter 2. Summary and Basic Recommendations	6

PART II. MORE DETAILED OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 3. Downtown Revitalized	9
Chapter 4. Bad Neighbors: Crime and Vandalism	17
Chapter 5. Education	19
Chapter 6. Community Organization	20
Chapter 7. Jobs and Training	23
Chapter 8. Housing	25
Chapter 9. Local Government Efficiency and Taxes	28
Chapter 10. Transportation	30
Chapter 11. Neighborhood Services	31
Chapter 12. What the State Needs to do	32

PART I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

CHAPTER 1.

TRENDS AND GOALS

"It's the year of the cities. Developers, political leaders and trade organizations are all calling for the revitalization of the nation's urban cores," *The National Real Estate Investor* stated in July 1978.

Should they be revitalized? Are New Jersey cities capable of revitalization? If so, how?

This project aimed at answering those questions. It began with the recognition of continuing statistical declines in the State's major cities, reported in June 1977 as the first phase of this study ("Statistical Trends in the Six Largest and Eight Smaller Cities of New Jersey"). This second phase is, frankly, a subjective view based on wide interviewing and observation.

The New Optimism

Stella Wright: metaphor for urban change in New Jersey. Stella Wright was a mess. A public housing project near the center of Newark that once housed over 1,100 families, its conditions became so bad that tenants stopped paying rent in protest. The City threatened to turn off power

and water, clear the buildings and, like Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis, demolish the buildings and start over.

Now, Stella Wright is full again; some families who could afford to move out have chosen to stay. The halls and yards are neater; things work.

A project that had been called unmanageable is being managed by tenants once thought unable to manage anything. Tenants are organized to set and maintain standards; the Housing Authority is cooperating.

Views about cities, 1978. When asked whether people living in Stella Wright wouldn't rather live in the suburbs, the manager and an assistant manager replied: Why should they? Newark's where things are happening. Lots of construction. This is where the jobs are. You can get public transportation and day care. There's a new Superintendent of Schools and if there's leadership from the administrators, our kids can learn. Sure, there's crime, but you can get hit on the head anywhere. Racial tensions? "People respect what people are. They're becoming more broad-minded, particularly the younger generation."

Stella Wright's metamorphosis and the viewpoint of its managers reflect the mood Regional Plan found among many civic, business and governmental leaders in Newark, Paterson, Jersey City and Elizabeth: optimism and a sense of progress. But a random-sample poll of New Jersey city and suburban residents, taken by Rutgers' Eagleton Institute for Tri-State Regional Planning Commission as part of this project, reflect optimism only in Newark, not in Jersey City, Elizabeth or Paterson-Passaic (grouped together), the other cities polled. (Table I.)

Asked whether they think their City will get better or worse over the next five years, 46 percent of Newark respondents expected conditions there to get better to only 22 percent saying worse. Only 23 percent of suburbanites expected their town to get better and 26 percent said worse.

Over half of Newark's respondents said they were satisfied with the City—15 percent "very" and 36 percent "somewhat," with 45 percent dissatisfied. (Table II.) Of course, Newark has a long way to go to achieve suburban levels of satisfaction—46 percent of Northern New Jersey suburbanites said they were "very satisfied," 37 percent "somewhat" and only 13 percent dissatisfied. But Newark has been—to the whole nation—a symbol of the depths to which American cities have sunk, so this new optimism—based on solid achievements—should give hope to cities generally.

In January 1978, Robert V. Van Fossan, President of Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, said about Newark: "The City is not without its problems and not too long ago was headed for oblivion. Newark has changed its direction and has attained the momentum to make it a great City once again." Mutual Benefit increased its employees in Newark by 50 percent in the last five years. And in May, Paterson Mayor Lawrence F. Kramer made the same comment about his City:

Table I
Eagleton Institute Poll

DO YOU EXPECT YOUR TOWN TO GET BETTER IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS?

	Much Better	Somewhat Better	The Same	Somewhat Worse	Much Worse	Don't Know
NEWARK	18%	28%	10%	9%	13%	22%
JERSEY CITY	9	17	18	16	19	21
ELIZABETH	6	15	18	25	15	20
PATERSON-PASSAIC	6	11	27	24	29	3
OLD SUBURB	7	16	32	17	7	21
NEW SUBURB	4	17	37	19	8	14

Table II
Eagleton Institute Poll

ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE TOWN AS A PLACE TO LIVE?

	Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Don't Know
NEWARK	15%	36%	23%	22%	3%
JERSEY CITY	16	29	28	21	6
ELIZABETH	23	43	16	14	4
PATERSON-PASSAIC	22	33	19	22	3
OLD SUBURB	45	38	9	6	3
NEW SUBURB	48	37	8	4	2

The last four years have not solved all the City's problems; it would be ridiculous to believe they have. "But the City is turning around."

This project tends to confirm these views.

The Trends To Be Reversed

Reversing the long trend of city decline will be difficult to do, however. This project's first phase, a statistical analysis, showed that nearly all of the largest 23 cities in New Jersey were losing jobs and population and all but Hackensack were losing white non-Puerto Rican population. The State's most recent population estimates indicated that Newark lost an eighth of its population in the first six years of the 1970's. Per capita income in the 23 largest cities went up much more slowly than the State's as a whole in the 1960's, and the cities' share of the poor and less educated went up. Retail sales declined by more than a fifth in the largest six cities between 1963 and 1975 (constant dollars) and by more than a tenth in the next largest 17. The percentage of city households without automobiles increased, so that the out-movement of jobs and services meant a thinning of opportunities for a rising proportion of residents. The skyrocketing of the crime rate in America occurred mainly in the cities. Recently reported school test scores show city youngsters well behind the rest of the State. Despite a relative drop in city taxes recently, real estate tax levels in cities remain far above most suburban taxes. On the other hand, the cities did gain office

and service jobs, even comparing a recession year, 1975, to a prosperous year, 1960. In the six largest cities, financial, insurance and real estate jobs were up 19 percent; in the 17 next largest by 44 percent. Service jobs increased by 58 percent and 144 percent.

But basically, what has been happening is a shift of the mainstream of New Jersey life away from city centers to the suburbs and beyond, where not only factories but offices and huge shopping centers have been scattering. With lessening incentive to live in the cities as the best jobs and services moved out, with increasing incentives to leave as social conditions deteriorated and taxes soared higher than the suburbs', households who could afford to leave have been doing so. The old and the poor, the black and the Puerto Rican, remain and become a larger and larger share of city residents.

Why Bother To Revitalize Cities?

We propose a two-point definition of city revitalization: (1) a return of cities to their traditional role as the places where people come together, as the centers of the urban-suburban community—which means a larger share of the jobs in the State; (2) attractiveness to a substantial number of households of all income levels (though not necessarily a majority) so they **choose** to live in cities—which means improved housing, social conditions and public places.

Most people are voting against cities now, with their feet and their investment. Why then try to revitalize them? Indeed, the Eagleton Poll showed that cities—as they are now—are not very popular. Only a third of present city residents said they prefer to live in a city, and only a quarter of those now living in the suburbs would prefer to live in a city.

But cities have begun attracting again even in their present state. Only a few of our interviewees expressed negative feelings toward the cities where they work or live. The new magnetism is revealed in the interest in property in the Newark James Street Historic District, expressed in over 150 letters after the Newark Chamber of Commerce briefly publicized the James Street redevelopment. It is expressed in the demand for housing in Manhattan and its spillover into Hoboken and Jersey City as well as once-deteriorated parts of Brooklyn. It is expressed in the surprising success of Quincy Market in downtown Boston and the Gallery in downtown Philadelphia and in the revival of neighborhoods in those cities and, most notably, in Washington and Baltimore. Middle- and high-income households have moved into crumbling low-income blocks, often despite high crime rates and high taxes.

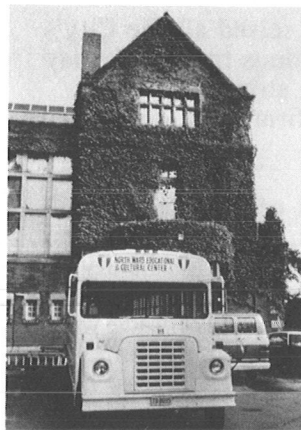
We expect that demand to continue, fueled by increasing households without children, in

many cases impermanent households whose members frequently shift and so need more of society than did the stable families with children in the 1960's. Housing economics are likely to contribute fuel: the high prices and low vacancy rates of suburban housing leave the middle-income household a choice between the city and new subdivisions in Ocean or Sussex County, two of the fastest-growing counties of New Jersey.

What the total demand for city housing might be as more potentially attractive city neighborhoods are discovered and social conditions stabilize, one cannot guess. But Clifton's success suggests an answer. All of our interviews and Clifton's high house prices testify to the satisfaction people have with that City. Yet it is a city. A majority of its households live in housing and at densities not unlike the more troubled old cities. And it is in a highly urban location, wedged between Paterson and Passaic. This suggests that if New Jersey cities can moderate their social problems, lower their taxes, impress people with their government efficiency, and really enforce their housing standards to reach Clifton's conditions, people will pay high prices to live there. New, very plain two-family houses are selling in Clifton for upwards of \$100,000; new town houses, built in the past few years to sell for \$38,000, are selling for much more than that now.



1. The Portuguese in Newark's Ironbound section and



2. the well-organized Italian community in Newark's

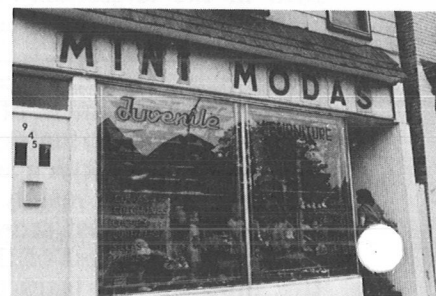


3. North Ward symbolize the stability and continued magnetism of city neighborhoods for tightly-knit ethnic communities.

MANY ETHNIC GROUPS HAVE STAYED TOGETHER IN CITY NEIGHBORHOODS AND ARE CONTINUALLY UPGRADING THE AREA.



5. block after block as well as



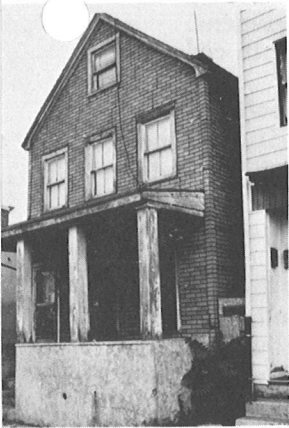
6. neighborhood shopping streets and

What Will It Take To Turn The Trends? And Should We Try?

Cities don't need a majority of Americans living there. It is not necessary to have a great influx of population for cities to return to their central role and improve physically and socially. What cities do need are the major activities in their centers, conditions that allow city lovers of all income levels to feel comfortable moving in, and freer movement outward by city residents who prefer more spacious living, whatever their race and income. City revitalization is consonant with a majority of Americans living in the suburbs, as long as their settlements remain "sub" to the real "urb."

Will the new flow back revitalize New Jersey cities? The movement is still much stronger to the urban fringe in scattered and widely spaced development that Regional Plan has labeled "spread city."

What does it all add up to—the new optimism in the cities, the rise of impressive city leaders intent on staying and improving the city environment, the new burst of interest in city living among middle-income households? Not a guarantee of revitalization; only a base on which new policies by business and all levels of government can build revitalized cities.



4. The Cubans in Elizabeth have reconstructed a decaying residential area



7. an arterial shopping street into downtown.

Public interest justifies building on that base. Keeping activities in city centers and population in and near cities benefits New Jersey and the nation:

- by fully using existing buildings, utilities and services;
- by saving energy: the higher the density, the lower the per capita energy use;
- by saving farmland;
- by keeping opportunities within reach of all: (1) 40 percent of the households in the Big Six cities have no auto, (2) the old and handicapped as well as the poor depend for their mobility on public transportation, but they cannot support it by themselves, and others will use it only if there are strong downtowns;
- by keeping society together, not separating those who cannot leave the cities in a social and economic backwater.

The obstacles to revitalization of cities are easy to predict: we can't afford it; we can't ask people to go to high-crime areas; city children aren't learning to read and add; many more. But consider the alternative.

After considering the alternative, President Carter presented a strong pro-city National Urban Policy in March 1978, promising considerable federal tilt toward the cities, including putting all appropriate federal installations in cities, favoring city businesses in federal procurement, providing incentives to business to locate in cities, and some added financial aid. The Governors of Massachusetts, Michigan, California, New York and Connecticut have announced similar comprehensive pro-city urban policies recently. And Governor Byrne has put his Administration on record in favor of revitalization. This new government stance changes the forces considerably. Much of the decentralization from cities has been traced to past pro-decentralization federal and state policies; now we are promised centralizing policies.

Turning the downward cycle up. Cities are useful when they bring a lot of activities together. The more activities that slip away—corporate offices moving to large suburban campuses, professionals to small county seats, department stores to suburban malls—the fewer advantages a city offers. Also, the more disadvantages the cities face—fewer people on the street and fewer jobs for city people add up to more crime; fewer businesses add up to less tax revenue and poorer services. So the less cities have, the less they are likely to get. But the reverse is true also—the more cities get, the more they are likely to get. The job is to turn the cycle around.

Clearly, some New Jersey cities have bounced back from their nadir. They are beginning to offer some benefits that spread city does not. The new optimism and self-confidence in cities, the new public pronouncement and policies by states and federal government come at just that moment of rebounding. So there is hope that the tremendous thrust away from cities can be reversed.

Half-hearted policies will not do it. A few extra dollars, a handful of added public jobs won't save the cities. If New Jersey leaders are not completely persuaded that the balance of arguments favors city revitalization, that the reasonable arguments on the other side must be put aside because of the supreme importance of keeping most New Jersey cities alive, there is little point in discussing how to strengthen the cities. We should try instead to figure out either how to help poor and old people move out to the suburbs and live satisfactorily there and what to do with the empty shells of cities, or how to maintain poor and old people satisfactorily in the backwaters that the cities could become rapidly. Neither alternative to city revitalization seems advisable.

This Publication

The material that follows is based on a year-long survey of New Jersey cities, added to 20 years of Regional Plan Association research and public participation events on the development of the whole New Jersey-New York-Connecticut Urban Region.

Survey coverage. Regional Plan surveyed five cities particularly and another five cities more superficially: (1) Newark, (2) Elizabeth, (3) East Orange, (4) Passaic and (5) Clifton; and (6) Paterson, (7) Trenton, (8) New Brunswick, (9) Jersey City and (10) Hackensack. The first five were recommended by an advisory committee because together they seemed likely to reflect conditions in all New Jersey cities. The last five were added as potential metropolitan centers in Northern New Jersey.

Process. Several hundred persons were interviewed or discussed the study's questions in a group with a project reporter present (List of interviewees available from Regional Plan Association.) About half of the persons were interviewed by Regional Plan staff, about half by volunteers from civic organizations, higher education and corporate urban affairs staffs, brought together by New Jersey Bell. (Acknowledgments on last page.) In addition, conditions were documented in a photographic survey and supplemented by information from newspapers and reports. To overcome the uncertainties of a report heavily dependent on personal viewpoints, we have checked our observations and conclusions with a number of knowledgeable people (acknowledgments) and with the scientific sample survey conducted by Eagleton Institute under the supervision of Tri-State Regional Planning Commission.

CHAPTER 2.

SUMMARY AND BASIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Current Conditions

In general, conditions seemed better than the image outsiders have of New Jersey cities. There appears to be a strong base on which to build

greater attraction for jobs, investment and residents.

Every city has at least one splendid neighborhood whose appearance could compete with neighborhoods in suburbs or cities anywhere in the country.

Parks and public places, on the whole, are well kept and attractive. Huge public investments have been made recently in handsome schools and colleges.

Taxes in some cities have been cut, mainly as a result of intrepid federal grant harvesting and the new "Thorough and Efficient" school financing, which has moved toward greater local finance equity.

Most of the downtowns are livelier than city reputations would lead one to expect.

Housing rehabilitation is spreading; private enterprise money is being invested for profit along with public money and "good-citizen" below-market loans by banks.

Crime rates are falling while suburban crime rates rise, though—admittedly—they are not yet very close. Still, downtowns are safe from crime during the day. Large segments of the cities are organized into community groups to fight crime and vandalism, encourage housing maintenance and rehabilitation, and set priorities for public improvements. Particularly impressive has been the improvement in public housing projects—many declared uninhabitable at one time—through tenant organization and improved management.

There is strong local leadership, both civic and governmental, in many cities.

Perhaps most important is the new spirit that our interviews have found among city, business and civic leaders, especially in Newark and Paterson.

Finally, race relations: the issue that has dominated attitudes toward cities over the past two decades or more. We have no doubt that the confrontation tactics of black leaders and activists in the late 1960's have changed. Throughout this project, there has been no incident in which black people have responded to white or black interviewers with anything but friendliness, cooperation and interest in the future of their city. The Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey also has devoted considerable time and cooperation to the project. We have observed annual conferences of two large community organizations, the Coalition for a United Elizabeth and the Roseville Coalition in Newark. Both brought together a remarkable representation of their communities (with perhaps some underrepresentation of Hispanics), young and old as well as black, white and various ethnic groups. Personal relations among participants appeared to be cordial; the spirit, again, was new and very positive.

We cannot say that unprejudiced racial views are unanimous among white city residents—a problem still to be resolved. But in at least one place, there is a new attitude. The North Ward Educa-

tional and Cultural Center of Newark is in a predominantly Italian community. This community had a reputation for trying to keep black families out of their neighborhood. But they consciously decided they wanted to stay in the City even though they recognized they would never regain the dominance they once had. The Center has taken the next logical step: developing a program that serves and brings together the varied groups in the Ward, including many blacks and Puerto Ricans. But most important, the picture should be revised that many white people probably carry from the 1960's: that any relations with minority groups will have to start with insults, threats and non-negotiable demands, a painful period of overcoming deep mistrust and separatism. We have found none of that.

In sum. Crime and anti-social attitudes, poor schools and unpleasant race relations were important causes of the downfall of American cities in the 1950's and '60's. None of these have been solved, but . . . Crime rates are beginning to decline, particularly in relation to the suburbs, and with community organization, anti-social behavior has moderated—especially vandalism. There is hope for further improvement since the crime-prone years are 18-25 and that age group has stopped increasing. Schools remain poor, but there appear to be more activity and determination to change that. In the meantime, households without children are rapidly becoming a larger share of the population. And the willingness and ability of black, Hispanic and white city residents to work together for a better city are being demonstrated.

Proposed Policies

Significant policy changes of business and all levels of government are still needed to achieve city revitalization. We suspect that the pro-city mood sensed among many New Jersey city residents and visible around the country's larger cities could dissolve as quickly as it was formed if solid progress toward city revitalization does not follow.

New Jersey cities need stronger magnets in their centers to give people a reason to want to live in the city. Then they need greatly improved living conditions to convince people to respond to the magnet. Regional Plan offers three primary policy proposals aimed at meeting those two needs.

1. It is now time for private firms to take another look at New Jersey cities to consider putting office and service jobs there and making investments and contributions that would enhance the office environment. The kind of investments that might be appropriate, in addition to office space, are in hotels, near-downtown apartments, specialty goods shops and restaurants, and in rehabilitating housing throughout the city. Examples of appropriate social contributions of service: professional-executive talent to help improve administration in civic, arts and school agencies; job

training and "sheltered" employment. Examples of social contributions in money that would improve the environment for employees as well as residents: arts, historic preservation, downtown vest-pocket parks.

Regional Plan has proposed that perhaps a half-dozen corporations get together and concentrate on a single city's revitalization, much as Johnson & Johnson has done in New Brunswick (details below). The firms would meet with city, county, State and federal officials, community and civic leaders to determine what steps are needed to create a lively center suited to their office staff and investment, ultimately to create an attractive city. The public and citizen representatives would make sure that the business needs coincide with the public interest. Then, they all would agree on the steps each party would take: if the feds do this, the State will do that, the county and city this, the corporations that.

In trying to interest business leaders in such a program over the past seven years, Regional Plan has used the catch-phrase "adopt-a-city." Some non-business people have objected to that title—the implication that corporations would be in the role of "daddy" to a city. Given the democratic processes of most American families these days, the implication does not seem bad, however. Even though the corporations would propose steps to create the right environment for their employees and investment, actually taking those steps would require agreement by public and civic leadership. In another way, "adopt-a-city" is an especially appropriate term. It implies a change from a foster-parent role that some suburban corporations have assumed toward cities—providing contributions of funds and employee assistance to alleviate social problems without really being part of the city family—to throwing in their lot with the city. So with this explanation—meaning no derogation to governments' role nor dominance by business—we will continue to refer to the process as "adopt-a-city."

Adopt-a-city fits the new federal concept, as expressed, for example, by Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams last summer: "The 'conservation of our communities' and the 'coherent long-range urban policy' the President has called for can't be achieved by the public or the private sector alone; it won't be accomplished by piecemeal programs being pursued independently by a galaxy of Federal agencies. That's why joint efforts . . . are so essential . . . The 'working alliance' of all levels of government with the private sector and with the citizens of the community will serve . . . to instill a new sense of purpose and mutual interest."

Task forces at Governor Byrne's Conference on Economic Priorities for Job Creation last March also supported a public-private "working alliance," and one observed that any specific package must be tailored "not to cities in general but to the particular needs of particular cities."

The proposed adopt-a-city approach also helps to meet the obstacles to economic revival in cities cited by business leaders and scholars at a seminar called by the Secretary of Commerce early in 1978. They noted, according to the seminar summary, that the suburbs have immediate advantages, and "many businessmen feel that the local public officials and the community generally are not interested enough to provide the cooperation needed to overcome the extra burdens of business in the cities." This would be taken care of in the adopt-a-city process. Another seminar comment: "A major inhibitor of local long-range economic development strategies is the short-term perspective of most public officials. One way of broadening and lengthening the perspective on local economic development is for city officials and business executives to work closely together. The business leaders can bring knowledge, capability to act, long-term continuity, and, by becoming involved, their commitments to the city may strengthen."

While it may be easier to put together a consortium of large corporations initially to adopt each of the cities, middle-sized firms are the best prospects over the long run—first, because they are, on the whole, growing faster than the largest firms and, second, because they would benefit more from the interaction downtown than the largest firms, which often provide internally the services smaller firms must obtain from outside.

For business, getting together with other potential downtown enterprises before money is invested provides assurance that enough activities will be assembled in the center to offer benefits. Neither the enterprise nor the city and State will gain much from token downtown activity. Furthermore, committing an enterprise to a city's future at this stage is risky. Having a half-dozen other corporations as well as all levels of government involved is reassuring.

If Northern New Jersey's job and service growth is concentrated in the major cities, the whole State will benefit. Suburbs can remain suburban, i.e., essentially residential neighborhoods related to a nearby central city. Otherwise, they will become increasingly engulfed in "spread city," i.e., a haphazard scatter of jobs, shopping and housing subdivisions. Public transportation can link smaller cities to larger ones and so strengthen the smaller cities too. Rural areas and precious farmland can remain as they are, but with higher quality varied urban services available in the cities spaced through Northern New Jersey. Furthermore, with the State required to make school financing equitable among school districts, there is no longer any taxation reason for sprinkling nonresidential development throughout the State. School districts no longer need that tax base to assure them a "Thorough and Efficient" education program without exorbitant local taxes. Jobs and services can locate where they most benefit employees, clients and the State as a whole.

In sum, we recommend the adopt-a-city process for selected cities that could become metropolitan centers.

2. The most important recent contribution to improved living conditions in the cities seems to have come from citizen organization—tenant and block associations and coalitions of these neighborhood groups. They should be fostered by governments, churches and civic organizations.

These neighborhood associations can—and many successfully have—performed at least five services for residents: (1) fought crime as the eyes and ears of the police; (2) reduced vandalism, littering and other unpleasant behavior in public places by insisting on good-neighbor standards from all residents; (3) provided assurance of neighborhood stability so owners dare to invest in fixing homes and so banks feel that loans there are a prudent investment; (4) worked with the city government to parallel private improvements with public improvements in timely fashion; (5) provided a sense of community, which seems to be one of the attractions of city living, particularly among young people.

Elected officials often are wary of citizen groups. Some of the time, they are pressuring city government. They may be parochial and fail to see citywide needs in pursuing neighborhood interests. City government isn't always the villain in dealing with citizen groups; often it is defending the interests of the majority against the demands of a small minority. Despite the friction that frequently occurs between neighborhood associations and local elected officials, Regional Plan and many other observers around the country conclude that the associations are essential to improve city living conditions and that governments at all levels should stimulate their organization and foster their operations—but also broaden their viewpoint whenever possible. The broader viewpoint can be encouraged by frequent meetings of neighborhood spokesmen on citywide issues, perhaps regular information sessions with city officials, and by sewing together neighborhood and tenant associations into larger coalitions. For example, the Coalition for a United Elizabeth has expanded over a decade from a single neighborhood concerned only with housing for low-income residents to an organization with varied Citywide interests and many middle-income members. Its latest project has involved people from all neighborhoods. In such a broad coalition, each member organization must meld its priorities with those of the wider community.

Federal grants and technical assistance are now available to neighborhood associations, but subject to veto by the mayor.

3. The State of New Jersey should establish a firm urban policy to use all State levers to steer the economic and social mainstream back to the cities.

The most important element is not more State spending but more carefully directed State investment.

First, all New Jersey State offices should be in downtowns. That is the intent of a past State Executive Order, but State agencies are inclined to take the easy way of avoiding downtown problems so determination must be firm and the process tight. Under the federal Executive Order, a U.S. agency that does not feel it should locate in a city must get White House approval to locate elsewhere. Second, State investment in community facilities—highways, roads, sewers and water, schools, community colleges, hospitals—should be

made only where the development it induces will not end up weakening cities and costing State taxpayers extra money in the long run. State investment typically encourages haphazard urbanization into the countryside, which then requires State investment not only in more new facilities on the fringe while similar facilities in the cities are underused, but in social services in the abandoned old cities and suburbs. It is economically as well as socially less expensive to invest State funds and put State-financed facilities in city centers.

PART II. MORE DETAILED OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 3.

DOWNTOWN REVITALIZED

Why Downtowns Are Important

"If I were a Newark City official, I would really work to bring downtown up. If we could get the downtown fixed up, then all different kinds of people would want to move into the City instead of moving out, and the businesses would stay. It would be easier for people to find jobs, and there would be lots of different things to do when we're not working. Instead of being shut down after dark like it is now, Broad Street would have restaurants and theatres and discos. The Library and Museum could stay open evenings." Mrs. Blonnie Watson, President, High Park Gardens cooperative housing, Newark Central Ward.

For those now working and shopping in spread city, a lively, compact downtown offers: (1) the stimulation of activities very close together—they are much more likely to attend a theatre or museum, take a college course, meet a friend for lunch, or use the library if it's right there; (2) the convenience of shopping and services and a choice of restaurants nearby; (3) the options of public transportation or walking to get to and around downtown; (4) variety, excitement, serendipity (unplanned meetings and happenings); (5) a focus for the community, where different groups come together and the community can talk to itself (in spread city, where can you hold a parade?).

For the State as a whole, a lively downtown creates a magnet that draws people to choose to live in or near the city again—saving open land, public investment that would have been needed in outer areas, and energy, and helping to relieve the State's burden of public transportation subsidy by increasing its use and resulting fare collections.

For present city residents, downtown revival provides crucial benefits, too—even if a majority of downtown employees lives in the suburbs and many of the firms are large international corporations. City downtowns are the key to keeping the mainstream of the American economy running

through the cities, accessible to city residents for jobs and services and related to non-city residents so the majority of Americans pays some attention to city needs.

For example, many city stores charge more for poorer quality goods in a less pleasant environment than suburban stores. So city residents with cars drive out to the better suburban stores. City stores become poorer as they are left with fewer customers with the lowest incomes. By reversing that—making city stores best—suburbanites will be attracted in.

Though some suburban-located firms contribute money and talent to solving city problems, corporations actually located in the cities are more likely to do that.

Other downtown facilities also help city residents. For example, the higher education facilities near downtown Newark offer daycare services for normal and cerebral dysfunctional children and reach out to minority students and provide remedial programs to bring them to college capability; they also set up Science High School and pre-college engineering programs in Newark high schools. Undoubtedly, the great health care improvement in Newark grew in part from the center-of-town location of the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry and its partnership with Martland Medical Center. Had the College located in suburban Morris County, as proposed by its directors, it would have been out of Newark's world. Hospitals have had to provide out-patient services for city residents as fewer and fewer private doctors practice in cities, and they also have helped hold doctors in the city, according to the *Trenton Sunday Times Advertiser* (April 24, 1977).

For colleges, downtown is as important as colleges are to downtown. According to a recent article in *Metro Newark!* magazine, the average

age of a college student in New Jersey is now close to 30, and part-time students have been increasing more than twice as fast as full-time students at State colleges in New Jersey. As college presidents have been predicting, higher education is becoming part of adult life. High tuition cost means many students must postpone undergraduate work or do it in small steps over many years. The knowledge explosion means we all need to continue our education after getting a degree. So higher education should be convenient to and associated with work and other activities, i.e., downtown.

How?

Start with offices—and a promise of more than that. We have suggested starting central business district revival with office jobs, but if downtown is to offer advantages over spread city for office enterprises, all the other downtown facilities must be there, too—good shopping, restaurants and public transportation; libraries, higher education, entertainment, the arts—specialized activities that usually require concentrated population for their support. Since everything can't come at once, there must be a firm promise that it will come. The adopt-a-city process can provide that promise.

On July 10, 1978, *Business Week* reported that "across the nation . . . 'we are heading into a major office space crunch.' . . . The outlook is grim for companies that need additional office space . . . Nationally, . . . the office space vacancy rate is now about 5%, the lowest in years . . . In Denver, Anchorage, Houston, San Francisco, and Washington, there is no space at all for a company with 100 or more employees . . . In an additional seven big cities that much space can be found only with great difficulty . . . In some cities, particularly in New York, it is increasingly difficult and expensive to assemble the land for a new building."

New Jersey cities with easily cleared downtown sites should get into the market fast. "... Many developers now refuse to start a project until they have signed a tenant to occupy 35% to 50% of the building," *Business Week* noted. Finding tenants seems the direction to start.

Next: retailing. Office workers can supply some support for downtown shopping. In Newark, a huge proportion of total sales occurs during weekday lunch hours. In addition to nearby workers, downtown stores are partly supported by other business purchases; nationwide, 20 percent of all retail store purchases are by other businesses, according to an Urban Institute study. But basically, America shops from home and increasingly in the evening, so a sense of safety on city streets at night is essential.

The solution requires a group of enterprises of sufficient size to attract crowds large enough to transform downtown at night into a lively place. Guarantees of adequate policing will be needed, of course; but a sense of safety will depend on large numbers of shoppers, not on large numbers of police.

"The Department of Housing and Urban Development is starting a campaign to get major retailers to locate more stores in downtown areas," *The Wall Street Journal* reported September 1. "... A spokeswoman for Sears said that 'our people were very impressed' with preliminary discussions of HUD's proposals . . . HUD's message to the retailers is that downtown areas are reviving and ought to be considered in selecting new locations for retail stores." Jamaica, Queens, received a HUD Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) in January 1979, to help a retailer reoccupy an abandoned department store.

A major retailer in this Region told Regional Plan recently that cities are now the most underserved parts of the Region in retailing. There is potential demand; retailers in Boston's Quincy Market are earning \$300 per square foot of space per month, called "an extraordinarily high figure" by a downtown expert. Philadelphia's Gallery is producing \$400 a square foot! In our own Region, both White Plains, New York, and Stamford, Connecticut, are getting huge downtown shopping malls, anchored by Penney's in both cities at one end and by A & S in White Plains and Macy's in Stamford at the other.

Next, near-downtown residents. The more educated and the higher the income of nearby residents, the more support for downtown activities. Higher-income households can be attracted.

A Massachusetts Institute of Technology researcher surveyed 105 neighborhoods in 30 cities and found that those neighborhoods in which higher-income residents were replacing lower-income residents generally: are either within the central business district or within one-half mile of it; are likely to have attractive topography, e.g., on a hill, near a park, along a river or lake or near an important public square; and are likely to have some distinctive historical significance or architectural style. (As to the problem of displacement of present low-income residents, see the Housing chapter.)

But involve present city residents, too. A small museum study Regional Plan did a dozen years ago showed a far higher percentage of non-college-educated using the Newark Museum than using Midtown Manhattan museums, probably because it is part of their community; and New Jersey Institute of Technology reports that in their outreach program, by the end of the second year, the student who had to be given a special impetus to try college has "largely overcome his educational disadvantage and is able to proceed to the BS degree on his own." Blacks and Hispanics now comprise 10 percent of the Institute's students compared to 1 percent before the special program began. Of Essex County College students, 70 percent go on to four-year colleges. In short, support for downtown activities can be increased by stimulating participation of current city residents as well as by redeveloping near-downtown neighborhoods for higher-income residents and by drawing more workers and customers from the suburbs.

CHANGING AND DIVERSE NEIGHBORHOODS WITHOUT ETHNIC COMMON BONDS ARE BECOMING ORGANIZED. RESIDENTS ARE TAKING CONTROL OF THEIR OWN ENVIRONMENT, EVEN IN PUBLIC HOUSING.



1. Where neighborhoods have not been stable, as in Newark's Roseville, the new and



2. varied groups that now live there have been organizing



3. to gain the common trust and stability of single ethnic communities.



4. As a result, houses are being fixed up.



5. Many neighborhood groups have improved living conditions. (Clinton Hill, Newark)



6. In many public housing projects, too, tenants are organizing to improve conditions. In Newark's Stella Wright,



7. tenants manage the project.

Finally, the city should make it easy to locate downtown. Business people have come to feel that cities are difficult places to locate in—every step time-consuming, costly and often unpleasant. A number of cities have organized Economic Development Corporations to cut through city red tape, provide information to business people about government programs that might help them, go out looking for prospective businesses, find sites or available buildings and generally put together a package, often including loans and subsidies. Newark, Paterson, Trenton, Plainfield and New Brunswick have such organizations.

Which Cities Could Become Metropolitan Centers?

Why a selection should be made. When New Jersey was growing rapidly, Regional Plan simply

recommended that activities people do together should be in community centers—any center of appropriate size. Now, these activities are growing very slowly, and there will not be enough to go around in the foreseeable future. It is important to concentrate the growth so at least some cities can achieve the central magnetism to begin to compete with spread-city development across the State's open lands. Therefore, we suggest that recruiting substantial corporations to adopt a city should be restricted to those cities with a sufficient (1) existing base of activities, (2) residential density, (3) present or potential public transportation service focused on downtown, and (4) total city-suburban metropolitan community to support specialized enterprises. Since government is an important part of the economy and

serves the poor and old disproportionately, the selected metropolitan centers should be government centers also—e.g., county seats. In Northern New Jersey, it looks to us as though the best possibilities are Paterson, Newark, New Brunswick, Trenton and possibly Hackensack.

We have not looked in depth at some of these cities, but here are thumbnail sketches of conditions related to downtown development.

Paterson's first modern office tower, 15 stories built for the Broadway Bank, is now filled, and a second tower is being considered on the site. Greenbaum Brothers furniture is buying the retired Police Headquarters for added space. Every Market Street merchant burned out in a 1976 fire has rebuilt on the same center-of-town site. And on Saturdays, downtown is bustling. Nevertheless, *Sales Management* figures show a 10 percent decline in total sales, 1973 to 1977, in 1973 constant dollars, though a 30 percent increase in General Merchandise sales (constant dollars). The City has concentrated on what it can offer that surrounding highwaysides cannot and has invested in restoring the nation's first industrial district at the Great Falls, next to downtown. Old factories are being recycled into a museum, offices, apartments, classrooms and modern industry. An annual Great Falls Festival brings people into the City from all around. The City Administration has emphasized foot patrolmen, clean streets and tax cuts. Paterson's Public Information Officer reports that major crimes have been reduced by 24 percent over the past four years. Passaic County Community College is right in the center of the City and has just won commendation for raising its standards.

Our interviews turned up many compliments for the present Administration: businessmen who said they feel they can work with the City now and that the government is responsive and efficient. A researcher from the Center for the Analysis of Public Issues emphasized professionalism in describing the Mayor and the team he has put together. A succession of tax cuts buttresses their observation, carried out while building new schools, firehouses, a police headquarters and libraries. However, the effective tax rates, calculated recently by the Center for Local Tax Research, shows Paterson's still about 30 percent higher than the State average on residences and nearly 50 percent higher on businesses.

The interchange of routes 20 and 80 and feeders connecting Paterson's inner loop, committed by the State, will make downtown unusually accessible by auto and truck. Parking downtown is now adequate but will have to be expanded for new development.

Altogether, Paterson seems ripe for adoption by a consortium of businesses: The City is ready and able to work with them, with excellent understanding of appropriate federal programs through which the City has won nearly \$100 million in grants over a recent four-year period. Less tangible but perhaps equally important: an artist colony

is developing there. Artists frequently are precursors of middle-income revival in cities and neighborhoods. Then there is the view of downtown by the observer of the Center for the Analysis of Public Issues: "It is quite a crowd, and amicable, too. People stop to talk to other people, both friends and strangers."

Newark. The most important recent support for Newark's downtown is Public Service Electric and Gas Company's decision to build a new skyscraper headquarters in its center, following Western Electric's new Gateway building and another Gateway office tower completed a few years ago next to the Pennsylvania Railroad Station and the new Gateway Hilton Hotel. Newark has been awarded a \$10 million UDAG for the construction of an 18-story office building downtown. Prospective tenants are being sought. In addition, the N.J. Economic Development Authority (EDA) has approved a loan guarantee for the redevelopment of Newark's Ballantine Brewery into a large industrial, commercial and residential project to be known as the Ironbound River Plaza. Though some firms have moved thousands of Newark office jobs to suburban campuses in recent years, total office jobs in Newark rose somewhat between 1960 and 1975, and Mutual Benefit Life has increased its work force in the City by 50 percent in five years. A *Star-Ledger* survey of 10 of Newark's largest employers, however, revealed that between 1976 and 1978, only three had increased or maintained their work force. United Airlines and Bamberger's increased their work force by 92 and 100 respectively, while Anheuser-Busch reported no change. Six of the 10 employers reduced their work force: Prudential, down 1,052; Westinghouse, down 1,004; New Jersey Bell, down 645; Western Electric, down 138; Mutual Benefit, down 87; and Engelhard Industries, down 55. (The article left out one.) In addition, Newark was forced to lay off public employees after Congress failed to approve an anticipated \$10.8 million in federal "anti-recession" aid.

A second important fact is the higher education complex next to downtown, with some 25,000 students: Rutgers Newark, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Essex County College, New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry and, on the other side of downtown, Seton Hall Law School. These campuses are within walking distance of downtown offices, department stores, the Newark Museum and Library.

More than the other cities, Newark has the basis for accumulating a large enough mass of jobs and activities fairly quickly to provide a real attraction for middle-income households to move in—if a good near-downtown neighborhood can be formed. The James Street program to rehabilitate town houses a few steps from the Museum and major offices is a start. Four are done. Demand far exceeded supply so 25 more are being done. A 100-block new-town-in-town is being built, also, between the university complex and downtown,

financed by Prudential Insurance Company and built by an affiliate of the Aspen Group, a widely-praised rehabilitating firm. It will include new and rehabilitated housing, new uses for old buildings, varied types of parks, and close relations between the colleges and other institutions and present and future residents. The goal is to improve living conditions for present residents but, very important, to attract higher-income residents to the area.

Even before it gets a near-downtown middle-income neighborhood, Newark's artistic life is not dead. Although the Chairman of the New Jersey Symphony Board asserted that "Symphony music does not appeal to the population of Newark," a good hall for music is hard to find and Newark's Symphony Hall's fall bookings (through November 1978) were 75 percent more than in 1977. They included nine classical presentations (New Jersey Symphony, Opera and Ballet, Dance Theatre of Harlem, Alvin Ailey), five popular music performances, and four ethnic presentations. Spring 1978 bookings were 150 percent ahead of spring 1977 and total audiences 75 percent ahead. In addition, seven programs are being presented to children during school time; the full day's program includes a visit to the Newark Museum and historic James Street. Symphony Hall has been discovered by business also and is now being used for large meetings.

Newark Museum attendance has been rising; its 230,000 visits in 1977 were 12 percent above 1976. In 1978 the museum had 267,000 visitors, a 16 percent increase over 1977. The demand for children's programs exceeds the space, and the Museum is contemplating enlarging into a third building. There are Saturday and after-school children's classes not just in the plastic arts but in theatre, ecology, and African dance. There is a junior museum and mini-zoo.

Only about 10 percent of the Museum members live in Newark and few of its 100 volunteers. The Museum directs its publicity to downtown employees and suburbanites. Security is emphasized—the fact that the parking lot connects directly to the Museum garden is publicized and there are visible uniformed guards. The Museum Membership Secretary observed that suburbanites who go on the Museum's many well-attended tours of Newark usually are surprised at the nice things they see. The atmosphere has relaxed, she commented, since the tense period following the riots, and children growing up in the suburbs may well want to move to the City. "People say there aren't enough brownstones in Newark to satisfy the demand."

While Newark has the strongest base of activities and downtown jobs from which to begin attracting additional middle-income residents and visitors, it also has the greatest need. Its "effective buying income" (personal income minus taxes, as calculated by *Sales Management* magazine) is more than 10 percent lower than Trenton's and

Paterson's and lower than that compared to other large New Jersey cities. Retail sales, the magazine's figures indicate, dropped 21 percent in stable dollars between 1973 and 1977. Nevertheless, retail sales per capita are much the same as in Jersey City, Paterson and Trenton, according to *Sales Management*.

Newark has the best public transportation network in the State, from the suburbs as well as in the City. The nearby airport is an asset for many businesses; only 12 minutes by limousine from downtown with frequent trips. Downtown parking is convenient, but highway access will have to be improved if activities are to be increased substantially, including better street maintenance.

The Eagleton Institute Poll (see Chapter 1) indicated a strong negative reaction to the appearance of cities. While much of downtown Newark looks very nice, there are many key places likely to repel a visitor: e.g., right around Penn Station; Market and Broad Streets; the activity gap half way between the two downtown office clusters where Child's and Klein's went out of business and have not been replaced. Small investments in these and similar places could have a large effect on the image.

Unlike the other cities, Newark already has a substantial base of concerned and responsible major corporations to begin adopt-a-city processes. Indeed, the active Greater Newark Chamber of Commerce, another City asset, already maintains close relations with the City. In many cities, the corporations already existing in Newark would be enough to launch a renaissance. But Newark's high unemployment, high taxes, low income, low educational achievement and nationally-derided image have been a heavy weight for them to carry. More than a third of City residents are on welfare. An infusion of a few new corporations, joining those already working on these problems, would signal to the outside world Newark's recovery because the commitment would come from firms without a stake in proclaiming the City's renaissance.

New Brunswick has, in effect, been adopted by Johnson & Johnson, a corporation large enough to have a substantial impact on a City of only 45,000 persons, especially with the further stimulus of Rutgers' 30,000 students and faculty. But, of course, a successful downtown development in New Brunswick must aim at drawing its labor force and customers not just from the City but from much of Middlesex, Somerset and Monmouth Counties, perhaps half a million persons. Surrounded as it is by large shopping centers and scattered office campuses, particularly in Woodbridge, its jobs and services will have to be substantial to begin to focus that spread and scattered settlement into a metropolitan community around its downtown.

In a revitalization campaign only three years old, these major achievements:

— Johnson & Johnson will build a new world head-

quarters on a six acre downtown site.

- A 120,000 square foot office building is to be occupied by Chicopee Manufacturing Corporation. This is the second recent new office building. A third will be started soon.
- Rutgers has moved its School of Creative and Performing Arts into an empty department store, bringing people downtown night and day and offering public exhibits and performances. A full-scale Rutgers cultural center will be located downtown.
- A proposed 300-room hotel-conference center has received a federal UDAG which makes it feasible for Prudential to finance and Hyatt to operate.
- Local banks have committed \$300,000 to finance rehabilitation of homes owned by FHA to be sold to moderate-income families.
- A downtown hospital is being enlarged into a teaching hospital, with related elements of the Rutgers medical school moving downtown from suburban Piscataway; altogether 800 jobs will be added downtown.
- Route 18 will be extended into downtown to greatly improve auto-bus access.
- New and refurbished parks and design improvements have followed an overall downtown plan by I.M. Pei.
- A downtown traffic-less mall is being planned for shopping.

The adopt-a-city process works through New Brunswick Tomorrow, a nonprofit corporation directed by a 24-member Board, a third from City and County government and Rutgers, a third civic and labor leaders, a third business leaders. A development corporation, with some overlapping directors, packaged the latest office projects and will build the hotel.

Route 18's extension illustrates the public-private give-and-take needed. The State approved the construction only after it was demonstrated to be essential to the downtown development plan. Similarly, the federal grant for the hotel was approved only after it was demonstrated that many times that amount of private investment would flow from it.

New Brunswick Tomorrow also is working with two residential neighborhoods alongside downtown to improve their appearance, public services and housing quality and to attract younger households into aging communities. It also stimulated recycling of a former cigar factory into housing. Much of the near-downtown housing is attractive; with a lively downtown, demand should be more than sufficient to keep the neighborhoods stable and even attract people of higher income than had lived there.

New Brunswick Tomorrow has concerned itself with services for residents, also; for example, it raised the money to retain the County Family Health Care Center, which otherwise would have been closed.

Trenton has a similar organization, New Trenton Corporation, nonprofit, with City

officials and business people on the Board. New government and private office space, subsidized housing, shops and parks costing \$150 million will be built in Trenton over the next three years. Housing rehabilitation in the attractive historic near-downtown Mercer-Jackson neighborhood has achieved nearly 100 percent renovation, and the program is moving to the next door Mill Hill neighborhood. Redevelopment is being done with care for the historical values and design. While the experience of other cities suggests that these historic neighborhoods might attract middle-income households, particularly if downtown Trenton gets more office jobs and urban attractions, the near-downtown new housing construction is for low-income families rather than for smaller households who work downtown and would use its facilities more.

Trenton is a handsome city with good highway and rail access. But downtown has an empty and forlorn feeling, despite the nicely designed Trenton Commons. In part, this is because activities are spread out for a downtown. Mainly, the State hurt Trenton—allowing agencies to go out to the suburbs. The present Administration's emphasis on putting State jobs in the center again should help Trenton.

Jersey City planners have seen the City's economic future as Lower Manhattan West—attractive to firms and residents who want to be close to Manhattan but need lower taxes and rents.

Office space in Exchange Place, one stop away from Lower Manhattan on PATH, was doubled in the last decade to 750,000 square feet with two new buildings, First Jersey National Bank headquarters and Ukrainian National Association headquarters. Colgate-Palmolive is still looking for a partner with which to build a proposed office building there. Telephone rates to Manhattan are a major stumbling block the City is working to overcome.

PATH occupies 110,000 square feet of office space above its Journal Square Transportation Center. New Jersey Bell also occupies a new building, 60,000 square feet, in Journal Square. Altogether, there are about 800,000 square feet of office space in this largest Jersey City commercial center, but there is little parking.

The Port Authority intends to build a large industrial park and, our interviews indicate, Jersey City remains attractive to manufacturers, who respect its labor force. In retailing, the City is working on improving neighborhood shopping but is not trying to compete with regional shopping malls all around in the suburbs.

Considerable attention is focused on making the City an attractive place to live, with waterfront parks, neighborhood parks and historic districts. Liberty State Park eventually will contain 1½ square miles of green, with direct ferry access to the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. Federal UDAGs are being used to subsidize new and rehabilitated housing for low- and moderate-income households and even some for higher-income

households. Some totally private two-family and attached houses are being built in the City, and some brownstones are being restored by middle-income households.

The City also is concentrating on stabilizing existing neighborhoods by providing neighborhood organizations with capital funds they can spend according to their own priorities.

Altogether, Jersey City planners seem to be working toward a future of strong neighborhoods with a wide range of incomes and an economy of both manufacturing and office work, with office growth dependent on Manhattan. They do not seem to be thinking about substantial central business district office-retailing development to serve a wide area that would justify a formal adopt-a-city corporate consortium.

Hackensack is the only city in Northern New Jersey to gain white non-Puerto Rican population as well as black and Puerto Rican residents in recent years.

These new residents have been attracted to 4,727 units of luxury apartments built in the 1960's. Permits for another 2,782 units were issued (and are mainly occupied) in the 1970's. In 1969, the Census indicated, Hackensack's per capita income was 16 percent above the State average; but Hackensack had the same percentage of low-income households as the State.

The center of the principal apartment cluster is less than a mile from the center of Main Street, so downtown should have strong support. Its new office space is full, and County and City as well as private office space remains clustered in the center. But in retailing, Main Street—a long stretch of small shops with Sears at one end—must compete with Riverside Square shopping center, anchored by Saks Fifth Avenue and Bloomingdale's, which is less than two miles from the apartments. The City is working on appearance on Main Street, coordinating signs, bricking the cross walks, and tearing out any eyesore stores. Though close, Riverside Square is not really part of downtown Hackensack, being over a mile from Sears, the closest Main Street store. Hackensack's downtown has the best bus service in Bergen County; Riverside Square has little bus service.

Between Main Street and the river are several blocks of under-used land ripe for development. Some in Hackensack favor the location of the proposed Bergen County cultural center downtown; the Bergen Community College in Paramus also is fighting for it. A few years ago, there was a similar debate over the location of what became Ramapo State College. The argument seemed close—between a Hackensack downtown site and the Mahwah site finally selected. Then the Mayor declared he didn't want any more tax-exempt institutions, and the College went to Mahwah. Regional Plan, favoring a Hackensack location, argued that the City would gain far more taxes by accepting the College, which could be expected to add to Hackensack's attraction and so raise prop-

erty values and taxes. The cultural center is a similar opportunity.

Hackensack has a city manager form of government, and its effective tax rate is at the State level on residents and more than 25 percent below the State average on businesses.

Hackensack's good bus service and its high residential density near downtown at an income level able to support special downtown events and high-quality shopping make it a good place for further development.

But should Hackensack seek an adopt-a-city corporate consortium and try to develop into a major metropolitan center? Hackensack's planners do not seem to be thinking in these terms. Hackensack is certainly the best location in Bergen County for office jobs, retailing and special services like the cultural center, but Hackensack and Paterson would do well to work together for the economic development of their two counties and define their respective roles within the area.

The other old downtowns, like Passaic's, Elizabeth's, East Orange's, should get whatever office, retailing and other services are needed to serve their local areas. Like Hackensack has done, these cities should find as many sites as possible near downtown or along major bus routes for apartments. Elizabeth, in particular, has good commuter service to Newark and Manhattan by train and bus, has a better image than most old cities and probably could attract more commuters to its apartments.

In East Orange, a developer is working with the City on a major project in the Brick Church Urban Renewal area, for which market studies are being made. The first phase would be a covered regional shopping center. The second phase would include a hotel-conference center and an office tower. The firm has just completed a downtown mall in a small Minnesota city.

The Brick Church area has depressed the whole City, with boarded up and empty stores and temporary uses of stores that once catered to suburban carriage trade. Undoubtedly the long delay in the urban renewal project contributed to the decline; merchants were unable to maintain their stores because the future was uncertain. But East Orange's real problem, our interviews seem to indicate, is fear. The crime rate has been almost as high as Newark's—and the fear of crime seems to far exceed the concerns of Newark residents and business people. The mall should help the City's morale as well as bringing more people into the City and so adding to its safety. But a full-scale attack on crime and the fear of crime would seem essential to keep the City stable.

East Orange has splendid transportation—two major highways crossing at its center, two railroad stations and bus service. It is still a very good-looking community. It has over two million square feet of modern office space, though about a quarter was vacant when an estimate was made in 1975. Altogether, it is a good place for retailing

and office work if the fear can be overcome, and for living if safety and schools are improved.

Recommendations

1. Adopt-a-city meetings should be organized as soon as possible in the suitable cities, including corporations already represented in those cities and others that show interest.
2. City governments, civic and neighborhood organizations should make clear to city residents the importance to them of substantially enlarging their downtown activities and providing housing attractive to higher-income

residents who will help to support these activities.

3. Opportunities for attracting higher-income residents in and near downtowns should be sought and exploited, making the most of Manhattan's magnetism as well as the city's own downtown attractions by relating such housing to Manhattan commuting lines where possible.
4. Cities should look to the appearance of their downtowns. The downtowns around the nation that are competing well with suburban malls are visually striking and fun.

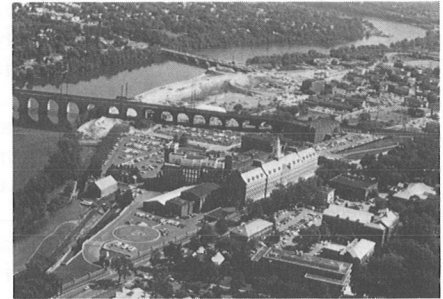
Other recommendations affecting downtown development will come up in all other chapters.



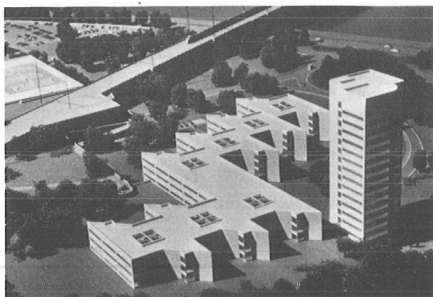
1. New Brunswick Tomorrow, a public-private-civic partnership, shows the way.



2. When New Jersey agreed to improve bus and auto access to New Brunswick's downtown,



3. Johnson & Johnson agreed to build its



4. new international headquarters downtown instead of along a suburban highway.



5. A public-private development corporation is completing two new office buildings.

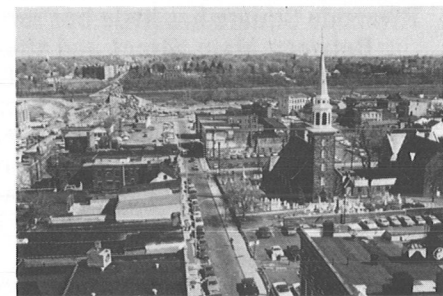


6. Rutgers University put its visual arts school in an unused downtown department store.

RECOMMENDATION: A GROUP OF BUSINESSES SHOULD GET TOGETHER TO CHOOSE A CITY WHERE THEY WOULD CONSIDER PUTTING MORE JOBS AND INVESTMENT. THEN GOVERNMENTS AT ALL LEVELS SHOULD WORK WITH THEM TO ACHIEVE THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS TO DO THAT.



7. Rutgers also is placing a segment of its medical school next to this downtown hospital.



8. An Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) from the federal government supplements investment by Prudential Insurance Company of America to build a Hyatt hotel-conference center downtown, on the site behind the old church, across from the new Johnson & Johnson headquarters.

CHAPTER 4.

BAD NEIGHBORS: CRIME AND VANDALISM

Image and Reality of Crime

Image. All the police we interviewed stressed that the image of crime in their city has been exaggerated. This is reassuring in that most government program administrators try to convince people the problems they address are great so they can get more money. Many other interviewees agreed, but most rated fear of crime as perhaps the biggest obstacle to satisfactory living and working in a city.

A large share of Eagleton Poll respondents also reacted strongly to the issue of police protection. Dissatisfaction with their area's police protection correlated more closely with general dissatisfaction with their area and intent to move than any other condition except appearance. Of city residents, 55 percent rated police protection only fair or poor; of suburbanites, 21 percent did. In Elizabeth, police protection was rated only fair or poor by 35 percent, in Jersey City 58 percent, in Newark 68 percent.

Nevertheless, a number of people have moved into high-crime areas in the past few years—Brooklyn, Manhattan, Washington, D.C., for example—apparently feeling the risks are balanced by the benefits. City manufacturing spokesmen we interviewed also seemed to put crime in second place as a factor they consider. They complained about the cost of crime and vandalism, and they worried about having women workers leave after dark, but their first criterion for a site appeared to be a labor force with a reputation for skill and hard work.

Reality. Statistically, crime remains an important consideration in a city. In Newark, with the highest crime rate of the cities we studied, statistically, a resident can expect to be a victim of a major crime every five years. But crime is highly selective in time and place, and many city neighborhoods are safer than some suburbs. Downtown in the daytime is scarcely a risk at all. The chance of being robbed is once every 2,000 years, of being hurt in a robbery once every 10,000 years. Since downtowns can be lit as light as day, night times could be safe, too, if there were crowds on the streets—as in the Ironbound. There are events in downtown Newark at night; pre-Christmas shopping last winter and Symphony Hall events, for example.

Solutions

Citizens anti-crime action. Police officials we interviewed were unanimous in viewing the participation of the neighborhood as essential in effective crime fighting, and they backed that view with regular meetings of police officers with community groups, special phone lines for quick reporting, and education of citizens on how to defend their

property and themselves. Many community groups operate citizen patrols and a network of shut-ins watch through their windows. The great sense of safety felt in, say, the Ironbound section of Newark is said to come from everyone in the neighborhood being on the watch for potential troublemakers. This is easiest done, of course, when most people in the neighborhood know each other—one of the functions of community organization.

But the organizing of a community is not just for defense against outsiders; perhaps equally important, it has given members a sense of responsibility for their own turf that often had been lacking. For example, some youngsters patrolling as part of Project Pride's fight against vandalism in Newark admitted to having been the vandals before the Project started. Tenant participation in running public housing projects seems to have had the same effect; the tenant manager of Stella Wright, for example, said that when tenants were made responsible for cleaning sections of the project, they themselves assumed responsibility for keeping it clean. In a Passaic project, housing managers report, a laundromat operator was driven out of the project by vandalism; when a tenant bought the business, vandalism was cut to a tolerable level.

Perhaps most important, when a community is organized, the "good neighbor" majority sets the standard of conduct; it is not dominated by the minority of bad neighbors.

Other successes. Two kinds of solutions are in progress and being recommended. "Retail" solutions make marginal inroads. Among recent small-scale but genuine achievements in fighting crime cited by the Newark Office of Criminal Justice Planning are:

- Independence High, which concentrates a lot of attention and assistance on a small number of delinquent youngsters, with the result that many go on to college and careers and only 10 percent have gotten into trouble again in the five years the program has operated.
- Employment of ex-offenders with long histories of anti-social acts in a paper recycling plant with needed social services; recidivism is only three percent.
- A police unit relying on decoys and disguises and concentrating on high-crime or busy areas, including downtown; each of this unit's officers makes twice the arrests of other policemen.
- The North Ward Educational and Cultural Center programs to help the whole community, but especially youth programs that appear to have diverted many from delinquency.
- The State's "Safe and Clean" grants to 28 urban aid cities, which have put about 850 walking patrolmen on the streets, adding to people's sense of security.
- Training of residents and property owners in how to protect property and persons against crime. The Coalition for a United Elizabeth (CUE) is particularly active in this area. CUE's

crime prevention program includes distribution of a pamphlet urging citizens to take preventive measures against crime and to organize within their neighborhoods. CUE also offers assistance to groups in starting Block Watch programs.

- "Team policing," which keeps a neighborhood's complement of police in the neighborhood regularly so they can relate closely to the community. It won wide approval and had an impressive record in both Newark and Elizabeth, but it has been dropped in both cities. In Newark, it was dropped for lack of funds; it does cost more to operate than other arrangements. In Elizabeth, the Police Director attributed the decision to "lack of political support," according to the *Elizabeth Daily Journal*, but team policing had strong public support. Opposition also may have come from the disturbance within the department caused by such a major reorganization.
- Outside New Jersey, Seattle's anti-arson campaign is reported by *The Washington Post* to have cut incidents and increased arrests and convictions dramatically since 1975. To overcome a lack of cooperation between police and fire department investigations, the program mandates that police detectives be assigned to a special arson investigation unit within the fire department. The program also includes a counseling program for children who show an unusual interest in fire, night patrols in marked cars for neighborhoods with high arson rates, "secret witness" and arson hotline programs, a long-term publicity campaign, and cooperation from local insurance companies in withholding payments for large, questionable claims.

These and similar successful anti-crime programs, added together, make little statistical impact compared, for example, to the 28,000 or so crimes committed annually in Newark. But they may affect the behavior of many others not counted in project statistics. For example, every ex-offender or delinquent who moves into a responsible position undoubtedly influences many persons around him in the same direction. Publicizing the growing effectiveness of police work could deter persons from trying crime. And coupled with more visible presence of police on foot and scooters, which several cities are providing, public recognition of police improvement could reduce resistance to moving home or business into a city.

"Wholesale" attacks. Some observers see the potential for a wholesale attack on the nation's high crime rate. Rationalization of the whole criminal justice system is one recommendation. This means assuring that the person apprehended for a crime is promptly tried and that punishment/rehabilitation follows. Doubtless many anomalies could and should be smoothed out. But it may not be possible to make major improvements without a much closer consensus on how to treat crime. The range of responses now—from electric chairs to education—is too broad to bridge with a

single system. That is a national issue, of concern to suburbs as well as cities, but it could well be the issue that determines whether cities flourish again in America or not. The whole idea of cities is living together; the dominant idea of suburbs, as developed in the 1960's, was protecting one's family against unwanted social contacts. So cities must solve the crime problem, or people will continue to choose to avoid each other again. The Eagleton Poll indicates that "social aspects" of cities and suburbs remain important to the great majority in considering city or suburban living. Dealing with anti-social behavior lies at the heart of that decision.

The other wholesale attack on crime cited often is a combination of jobs, hope and self-esteem for black youngsters. "I think you are right in noting the relationship between unemployment rates and crime," one urban affairs scholar commented. "Sometimes these two factors are thought to be connected only in relation to . . . property crime. I think, however, that unemployment and its close correlates, despair and reduced empathy toward others, are also important factors in determining the level of assaults, rapes, homicides, etc. We are doing some exploratory work on these connections" at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton.

Finally, for individual cities, perhaps the fastest "wholesale" solution is attracting into the city to work, shop and live, many more law-abiding citizens.

Recommendations

1. All of the "retail" solutions listed should be considered by all high-crime cities and the State and federal agencies who support and work with them.
2. Political leaders are crucial to an improved approach. They should:
 - a. Try to improve the whole criminal justice system, split among separate parts of government, to achieve more of a unifying concept and smooth relationship. This may require considerable leadership and public discussion to achieve enough consensus on punishment/rehabilitation issues.
 - b. Emphasize to the public that there are no easy solutions, but that the image is worse than reality; and redouble efforts to publicize achievements.
3. As the number one obstacle to attracting jobs and middle-income people into cities, crime should be attacked by a wide coalition of civic groups, city, state and federal officials. The main points of attack may have to come through recommendations in the chapters on Education and Jobs and Training since unemployed youth, particularly school dropouts, are the main problem.
4. Reliance on organized neighborhoods should be extended throughout the cities. To quote the IMPACT ACTION PLAN for Newark (1973): "Once a cohesive 'neighborhood community' is developed, it can be one of the most

powerful, dynamic and positive forces in target crime prevention Given an existing neighborhood structure, a goal would be to involve the total community in the planning and implementation of community security. Teenagers and young adults especially must be given a responsible role”

5. A mitigating factor would be adequate compensation of victims. New Jersey’s Legislature made a decision to compensate crime victims, but then appropriated so little money that the promise is unfulfilled. The appropriation should be increased.

CHAPTER 5.

EDUCATION

Disaster

Table III tells the state of city schools—half or fewer of the ninth graders in eight cities passed the Minimum Basic Skills test which many observers felt was ridiculously easy. When New Jersey Bell found that job-seekers from the cities could not fill out their applications, a Bell executive became involved in the movement toward achieving Minimum Basic Skills (reading and mathematics) in the State’s public schools. The Educational Reform Project had focused attention on this need. The first step was devising a test of the skills they found were needed. Despite widespread criticism that the test was too easy, the great majority of city residents did not pass.

Nevertheless, the State has hesitated to take steps to overcome this disaster, despite the recent State Supreme Court decision laying on the State responsibility for a “Thorough and Efficient” education for all. One reason seems to be the State’s worry over invading the domain of local school districts. But the Advisory Commission on Minimum Basic Skills found the State has not even evaluated experimental programs and disseminated the results sufficiently.

Some Directions Toward Solutions

As in fighting crime, there are some “retail” achievements, e.g., Science High School and University High in Newark; the Passaic In-School Suspension program, whose director has been widely praised in our interviews.

Looking at wholesale solutions, there have been several national studies in recent years trying to find what conditions relate to student achievement. One frequent correlation is the quality of the school principal, and the new Superintendent of Newark Schools took hold of that handle and made large-scale shifts of principals, publicly declaring that many were moved to non-jobs because they could not be fired, but at least they would be out of the way.

The Education Editor of the *Star-Ledger* recently reported on studies that emphasized the teacher’s importance in student achievement. Two such studies correlated teachers’ verbal ability with student achievement. One also correlated a teacher’s success with his belief that children of every background can learn, regardless of their past record. A third found that teacher participation in finding new approaches increased the probability they would succeed. Since there is now a surplus of teachers, perhaps it is time for the kind of bold action in regard to them that the Newark Superintendent took with his principals, pushing aside those with less verbal skills and confidence in their pupils’ potential to make room for teachers not now in teaching positions who have more of these qualities. Tenure was instituted to protect freedom to teach without political pressures on subject matter. In the face of the failure in New Jersey cities, should tenure stand in the way of hiring the most competent teachers, when many people are seeking teaching positions? For example, could there be a periodic State review of teacher competency?

Another wholesale solution might be greater business involvement in the schools. Some of our interviews suggested that youngsters have little

Table III

Minimum Basic Skills Test

Percent scoring above minimum, April 1978

	New Jersey	Clifton	East Orange	Elizabeth	Hackensack	Jersey City	Newark	New Brunswick	Passaic	Paterson	Trenton
Reading											
3rd Grade	86.3	97.4	65.7	79.4	81.2	51.5	61.3	61.3	63.6	63.6	51.1
6th Grade	75.3	91.7	48.9	59.9	65.3	43.7	41.4	37.5	47.2	50.0	41.8
9th Grade	76.3	85.2	48.3	50.3	72.2	41.8	37.6	37.8	48.8	33.6	37.7
11th Grade	89.9	96.9	71.9	64.7	85.4	66.2	63.7	69.6	79.1	61.5	55.9
Mathematics											
3rd Grade	75.3	88.7	43.1	67.1	66.2	41.0	39.5	46.2	47.8	56.0	34.5
6th Grade	70.4	93.0	31.6	60.9	60.2	40.6	27.9	15.9	36.3	47.5	32.9
9th Grade	70.4	87.1	31.9	50.5	75.3	42.4	30.4	18.8	38.8	38.9	28.2
11th Grade	84.0	94.3	50.8	58.7	81.7	55.2	52.0	42.9	62.8	61.1	43.9

Source: New Jersey Department of Education, Educational Assessment Program, *Minimum Basic Skills Tests*.

motivation to learn because they don't see that the work is relevant to getting a job. If area business spokesmen could develop courses with the schools to assure that what is taught includes what is essential to getting a job with them, and then if they would participate enough in school activities (not just an auditorium presentation) to convince students that getting through the curriculum really will determine whether they work or not, the necessary motivation might be achieved. One of the Governor's Job Conference Task Forces made a similar recommendation. Police officials blamed high school drop-outs for much of the cities' crime and blamed dropping out on a sense that school is irrelevant, so this step can have a broad and rapid effect if it succeeds.

University High School in Newark has incorporated local businesses into its highly praised program. In the summer, local businesses and public agencies are used as extended classrooms. For example, Prudential employees teach an actuarial math course. Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company is joining the program. In addition, University High School juniors are sent to various programs across the country to gain work experience. Pittsfield, Massachusetts is developing comprehensive career education programs for all grades and adult basic education with an advisory council of business and professional representatives, according to the local newspaper.

Finally, there is a new effort to accomplish what is almost universally acknowledged to be the prime element in school improvement, i.e., public and particularly parental involvement: School-watch is a Statewide organization financed by foundations and businesses that recruits parents to monitor what is happening in their schools, helps them do it and informs them of State school actions. Community education is one approach to increasing community involvement, mainly by bringing programs to the schools for all ages. In September 1978, a New Jersey Task Force on Community Education recommended that the State set up model community school districts, encourage community school conversion and construction, develop a long-range plan, provide funds for implementation, and appoint a follow-through committee of the Task Force.

Recommendations

1. The Minimum Basic Skills test provides a suitable launching pad for an emergency school improvement campaign. It comes at a time when at least some cities have achieved a level of citizen self-confidence and determination capable of supporting it. As one veteran Newark observer commented on the new Superintendent's action: "The folks are ready for bold action. They are ahead of their elected officials." If all of the varied civic organizations concerned with different aspects of city conditions put this one topic on the top of their agendas for, say, a two-year period, the movement might achieve enough momentum for

them to go back to their regular priorities at that time. It is an appropriate priority for specialized as well as general public-interest organizations because it is essential for good health, economic development, youth development, neighborhood preservation, the advance of cultural activities, crime control—just about any element of city life. The September 6, 1978 report of the Advisory Committee on Minimum Basic Skills provides a detailed program for action. But the political thrust to achieve action will require the combined clout of all such organizations.

2. The State should accept more responsibility for city school progress. Everyone in the State has a stake in what is virtually a literacy campaign. At the least, the State Education Department should encourage and facilitate the civic campaign recommended in number 1.
3. Business participation in the "metropolitan center" cities can be arranged through the adopt-a-city process. In other cities, the businesses within the labor market should join to relate public school education and its standards of achievement to job opportunities, not just job openings today but projected jobs over a decade or more.

CHAPTER 6.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The Need

For several years, many city neighborhoods and housing projects have been dominated by bad neighbors—junkies, vandals, thieves and terrorists. They never constituted more than a small minority of the residents, but they dominated. A dramatic recent improvement in city conditions has come from the majority organizing into block and tenant associations and neighborhood coalitions to set high standards of good neighborliness and make that the community standard: people taking personal responsibility for their own environment. For neighborhoods where people have not grown up together, these organizations have provided some of the same conditions that have kept many old ethnic neighborhoods stable. By helping people get to know each other and formally allocating responsibility for community action, they assure each other that if I fix up my house, you will do the same; if I report suspicious happenings on the street, I won't be alone in sticking my neck out.

They also provide local eyes and ears for city departments, particularly the police—as every police interviewee emphasized—but also for public works departments and housing inspectors.

The Problems

However, neighborhood associations often present problems.

First, they sometimes look only at their own small piece of the city and oppose projects that would benefit a majority of city people. And it



1. Residents organized themselves in this Jersey City neighborhood.



2. They are protecting houses already abandoned and



3. making them livable again—getting State and federal aid for parks, as well.

to cover or has even communicated with most of the people living there. Association leaders are different from the people they speak for; they are more active and concerned, and their viewpoint is not likely to be exactly the same as other members of the community. This is especially likely when there is no hot issue facing the community. Most people take part in civic organizations when there is a problem that really worries them. When the problem stops pressing hard, they go back to doing other things. But typically, the organization continues; the leaders continue speaking for the whole neighborhood, but fewer neighborhood people have been to the meetings where the policy was considered. While it is important for the organization to continue, looking ahead to avoid the next crisis and ready to deal with it if it comes, the organization's voice between crises may not be representative of the area.

Fourth, keeping neighborhood leaders genuine advocates for the residents is especially difficult

RECOMMENDATION: EXTEND AND STRENGTHEN NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS. CHURCHES, CIVIC GROUPS AND ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD HELP TO ORGANIZE THEM, ASSIST THEM, INFORM THEM, AND THEN LISTEN TO THEM. SUCH ORGANIZATIONS HAVE STOPPED BLIGHT AND TURNED DECLINING NEIGHBORHOODS UPWARD.

isn't always a case of the poor neighborhood protecting itself against the city bureaucrats and business fat cats. For example, in the mid-1960's, resistance of fewer than 2,000 middle-income households to New York's proposed Lower Manhattan Expressway speeded the loss of some 250,000 manufacturing-wholesaling jobs held by low- as well as middle-income residents, many black and Puerto Rican. The neighborhood voice should be heard; but the elected city officials must retain responsibility to the whole city for decisions affecting the whole city.

Second, neighborhood groups and particularly tenant groups involved in management are dealing with big projects that require knowledge and training they often do not have. Furthermore, without enough knowledge, groups are sometimes diverted from the important issues, which are decided without their even being aware of them.

Third, it is difficult to ascertain that a voluntary group speaks for the whole area it purports

when the organization is given formal management responsibilities. For example, the Coalition for a United Elizabeth was wary of accepting a grant to operate a project because they had been warned that advocacy groups should not deliver services. Service deliverers tend to shift their viewpoint; the clients they once represented are across the table and again need a group advocating their position.

Neighborhood groups are so important in the strengthening of cities and their achievements already are so impressive—though nowhere near sufficient—that the associated problems should not discourage fostering and listening to and helping them. Furthermore, the problems can be mitigated.

Recommendations

1. Organize, organize, organize. Effective neighborhood groups appear to cover far less than

half the population of the cities we have looked at. So the first task is encouraging more organization.

We propose that any agency that can—city, State, civic, religious, business, social, cultural—directly or indirectly—stimulate the formation of block, tenant and neighborhood organizations. Our survey suggests that, so far, church leaders have been among the most successful, and churches seem appropriate agencies. The New Jersey Council of Churches, Catholic dioceses, and synagogue associations might make this a high priority for social action.

In Newark, the Mayor's Policy and Development Office stimulates the organization of block clubs and provides technical assistance on problems the group wants to attack, e.g., health, fire, crime. Frequently, the Office interests blocks in organizing around the planting of a garden, for which they also provide guidance. But some civic leaders are wary that government-organized groups will never grow into independent, forceful associations.

While mayors around the country inveigh against the growing power of neighborhood groups, all the city administrators we interviewed from department heads to program directors have been very favorable to them. New Jersey's Housing Demonstration Program devotes considerable attention to organizing city neighborhoods and helping the organizations identify their highest priorities. This program should have more State funds. The Director reported that one of the most important lessons of their first projects was the value of involving residents of the neighborhoods. Pennsylvania also has programs fostering neighborhood organizations.

2. Government agencies should make it as easy as possible for organizations to make their cases; and they should be forthright in responding with a citywide view of the issues if they differ from the neighborhood view.
3. The best resource for training and continuous information for neighborhood groups might be a nonprofit, independent civic group covering perhaps all of northern New Jersey. Establishing such a resource should be one of the first steps of adopt-a-city coalitions. While cities and the State might contribute funds to it and make expertness available as needed, this resource agency should not be heavily dependent on city funds or staff, so it is free to offer unbiased information on policy issues affecting neighborhoods and housing projects as well as on management. It should provide continuous training for association leaders, including technical courses for co-op managers and boards and tenant associations. The U.S. Housing and Urban Development Department offers funds for just such a resource agency.
4. To overcome parochialism in neighborhood groups, bringing them together with the other

neighborhood organizations in the ward or in the whole city, will help each one see how their interests fit with others'. The city can do this by inviting regular citywide conclaves, but the neighborhood groups themselves should consider forming continuing coalitions. CUE is a model. It grew from an organization with a single aim, protecting and improving housing of black residents of one neighborhood, Elizabethport. It has extended its program to include issues that attract support from all sections in the City, and the delegates to its conventions are broadly representative of blacks and whites, young and old, middle-income and poor, with perhaps an underrepresentation of the Cuban and of the very well-to-do population. CUE also demonstrates the importance of training to a neighborhood organization's success. Its leaders were trained over a long period of time by American Friends Service Committee experts. The North Ward Educational and Cultural Center in Newark is another highly professional organization that might serve as a model. It, too, has broadened its constituents from just the Italian community to include black and Puerto Rican and other residents of the area.

The Roseville Coalition in Newark is an example of a grass roots group representing a highly diverse community that is turning around an area that had been declining severely for some time. Among programs reported in the 1978 annual report are: greater police visibility in the neighborhood, control of commercial establishments used as centers of drug activity, increased applications for Neighborhood Improvement Program housing rehabilitation funds, identification of 96 unsafe structures which the City then demolished, new neighborhood parks, a senior citizens' nutrition center and Meals-on-Wheels, a plan for reopening shops on the main artery.

5. The city government should keep informal track of how active a neighborhood organization is and treat the recommendations of its leaders accordingly. No formal "community planning board" structure is needed to get the sense of the community and have it influence city policies. Without a formal structure and relationship to the city, (1) organizations whose following has dropped away can be treated as dormant, (2) one neighborhood is not as likely to be allowed to block a project that is important to the rest of the city, and (3) the neighborhood organization is not as likely to begin to act like government, requiring another advocacy group to speak for the citizens.
6. Some civic leaders say neighborhood groups cannot be useful unless they have the confidence of the mayor. Others say almost the opposite: they should guard their independ-

ence from the mayor. Our conclusion (from Regional Plan's own experience) is that the associations should keep their freedom to push, pull and criticize the mayor while working with the administration as cooperatively as possible. Therefore, they should avoid operating programs for which the mayor has ultimate responsibility, or taking so much government money that they can be classified as a public agency, like the CAP programs in the 1960's.

7. Both Passaic and East Orange appear, from our interviews, to particularly need more involvement of neighborhood organizations, not just with city officials but with each other. In East Orange, there has been widespread fear and discouragement about crime, but the Citywide coalition of citizen groups appears to be dormant, weakening the attack on crime and on the low morale crime has brought. Interviews with Passaic residents and business people also indicate low morale, differences about how to improve Passaic, and mistrust of one part of the City by the others. Getting them all together might begin to resolve these differences. For example, downtown business people blame the high-income Hill community for resisting more apartments needed to increase downtown activity, but a Hill Association spokesman insists they oppose only apartment proposals larger than the zoning allows. Many white interviewees described the black residents of Speer Village as wild vandals, which a very short walk to that public housing project would have disproven. Many non-Hispanics blamed the Puerto Ricans for the ills of the City, but in the experience of a previous City Business Administrator, the organized Puerto Rican community has demonstrated responsibility—and concern toward City property. In addition, there are many unresolved issues about Passaic's future worth discussing: e.g., what to do with the partially-used old factories and what clientele downtown Passaic should seek to serve.

Both Passaic and East Orange community leaders might consider initiating a Goals process (e.g., like the one Dallas has been operating for many years) to discuss such issues, but mainly to get better acquainted and confirm that each community within the City has responsibility and is willing to accept responsibility for the City's well-being.

CHAPTER 7.

JOBS AND TRAINING

Factory Jobs

Important, but don't stop there. Unemployment remains a serious problem for nearly all New Jersey's large cities, and the unemployed are predominantly low-skilled. It is, therefore, under-

standable that the State's and cities' main economic development efforts have focused on factory jobs. But the likelihood of solving unemployment in New Jersey cities by bringing added factory jobs to city workers is very small:

1. Factory jobs are declining nationwide.
2. Of that declining number, the Northeast is losing its share. Manufacturers attribute this to higher energy rates, higher taxes and, for some jobs, higher wages.
3. Factory jobs are declining faster in the Northeast's cities than outside them because modern factories use a great deal of land for each employee, and few cities have large stretches of land available. Most existing city factories are several stories high, and manufacturers prefer one or, at most, two stories.

All of New Jersey's large cities lost factory jobs between 1960 and 1975. Even Elizabeth, well spoken of by manufacturers and the most successful of the Big Six cities at hanging onto manufacturing, lost nearly a third of its factory jobs in that period.

So, while it would be foolish not to try to attract and hold as many factory jobs as can be attracted to or near the cities, they should not solely be relied on to restore prosperity to Northern New Jersey and particularly to its cities.

What to do with old factories. In trying to hold factory jobs in the cities, use of existing old factories is at issue. We have heard of considerable demand for this space for factory use—in Jersey City, Elizabeth and Newark—wherever the labor force has a reputation for dependability. Passaic has a great deal of old factory space and, while much of it is used by small firms, a good deal is empty—some say because the local labor force does not have a reputation for dependability. Because old factory space is used generally by small firms paying low wages, they rely on workers who live near the factory. Some people disparage this kind of enterprise, but one or another firm may turn out to be an infant industry that will grow. A recent study attributed the Northeast's economic lag more to the lack of new industry replacing the firms that regularly die than to migration of firms to the South and West. Furthermore, a study published in 1978 by researchers of seven New Jersey colleges found much to recommend concentrating on multi-story factories right in cities where residents can walk or take a bus to work, as opposed to extensive one-story industrial parks on the edges of cities (Robert W. Taylor, ed., *Urban Policy and Industrial Land Use in New Jersey*, Montclair, N.J.: Montclair State College, 1978).

The extent of use of old factory space and the several expressions of interest in it we heard in interviews suggests that an intensive campaign to rent it for factory use precede any wholesale shift in its use. Paterson is renovating some of its old factory space for new manufacturing, though it is also recycling factory buildings into offices, a museum, a school and apartments.

Clearing the land for housing or recycling the buildings to apartments may make sense where a middle-income near-downtown neighborhood might be possible, especially if the site has potential amenities like a river. Clearing the land to build modern factory space has these disadvantages: a typical one-story plant will provide a fourth, fifth or sixth the floor space of the factory it replaces, and new factories generally are more automated than the old and so provide fewer jobs on that fraction of the old floorspace. One might question, then, whether the city is the right place for modern factories. Cities are to bring people together; intensive rather than extensive use is usual. Furthermore, there is a great deal of vacant land for factories nearby, even in some of the cities—in the Meadowlands and along the Hudson. For example, The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey is going ahead with its program to build large industrial parks on already vacant land in Newark, Jersey City and Elizabeth as well as New York City, some 30,000 jobs in all, a project expected to cost a billion dollars.

This massive effort to provide new space (and recycled raw materials and power from wastes to try to lower costs) illustrates why attention must also be paid to office and service work to revitalize the cities. The 30,000-job goal is less than a fifth of the factory jobs lost in New Jersey between 1970 and 1976.

Preparing For the New Jobs

Office jobs. Though virtually all New Jersey cities lost factory jobs between 1960 and 1975, they gained office and service jobs, enough to make up for factory losses in some cities. Generally, however, office jobs have located outside the cities, and a principal reason, according to corporate spokesmen, is the poor quality of the city work force.

We have inquired extensively about training programs that concentrate on office skills and found few. In cities where fewer than half the public school pupils pass simple reading and mathematics tests, one might question the hope of creating office workers to fill additional downtown buildings. But, the lesson of the study cited in the Education chapter should be reiterated: success was correlated with teachers who had confidence in the pupils' ability to succeed, regardless of background and previous failures. One of the few office training programs we did find, operated by the North Ward Educational and Cultural Center, is 100 percent successful in placing its graduates. Indeed, there are now many examples of people succeeding where they never were expected to—unprepared college students who got themselves prepared and graduated, the several special high schools, the ex-offender recycling plant in Newark. It therefore seems worth a much greater effort to prepare city residents to be office workers, especially when one considers the alternative—city residents with little opportunity in

the new economy and a possible shortage of office workers in the Region. There are reports already of difficulty in hiring clerical-secretarial workers in the White Plains-Greenwich-Stamford area and long commuting for those who do work there. In preparing new programs to train city residents for office work, it might be worth inquiring how the Stella Wright management team put together the office skills they need to run a housing project of 1,100 families from among essentially inexperienced tenants.

Skilled jobs outside of offices also deserve attention. Several manufacturers commented that the skilled labor force that kept them in the Essex-Hudson-Passaic area is essentially middle-aged, and they see no young people being trained to take their places.

Long-term unemployed. Getting the long-term unemployed into the labor market is in large part a matter of instilling normal work habits consonant with a group effort. That is best done in the private sector, according to several task forces of the Governor's Conference on Economic Priorities for Job Creation in March 1978. Unfilled jobs remain alongside large numbers of unemployed, one task force noted, because there is no adequate process that links jobs, training and the unemployed. A civic leader told us another argument for private sector training: CETA workers in city government are not considered part of the permanent organization, so little effort is made to hold them responsible for reasonable productivity. This brings little benefit to the city, poor work habits for workers, and demoralization for regular employees. Even where public employment is provided for long-term unemployed, one Governor's Job Conference task force suggested, the private sector should participate to assure a transition to unsubsidized employment.

A number of systems have been proposed which would make way for the long-term unemployed in profit-seeking enterprises without burdening the enterprise and without threatening minimum wage and pay scales for regular workers. The principle must be "sheltered" employment, acknowledging that the long-term unemployed cannot produce enough goods and services to warrant their being paid normal wages, but eventually they can meet the normal workplace demands. In October 1978, the U.S. Congress approved tax credits for employers who hire certain categories of hard-to-employ persons. Employers can be reimbursed for 50 percent of wages up to \$6,000 in the first year of employment and 25 percent in the second year. Eligible employees include welfare recipients, disadvantaged persons aged 18 to 25, Supplemental Security Income recipients, Vietnam veterans under 35, and some handicapped people, ex-offenders and students.

Recommendations

1. To supplement existing efforts to retain factory jobs in and near cities, a special effort

should be made to find small firms for existing factory space before recycling the buildings or demolishing them. The most important attraction for such firms, besides low-rent space, is a dependable labor force. Cities with a lot of old factory space and a poor labor force reputation should try to improve that reputation. That is a suitable project for the Economic Development Corporation discussed in Chapter 3.

2. Small firms are a good target for economic development. Cities might survey existing small businesses to find (a) how they got started and why they located in the city as a lead toward stimulating more and (b) current problems that would drive out firms if not solved.
3. But city economic development efforts should concentrate mainly on office and service jobs. Preparing city residents for office jobs is important. This requires—and deserves—a major campaign of employers, schools, colleges and training agencies.
4. Training for skilled non-office jobs also deserves attention. The Technical Training Project of the chemical industry in Northern New Jersey is an example.
5. A simple national system for fitting long-term unemployed into the working world should be established that allows the private sector to participate without losing money on it and which does not disturb normal pay scales. This must be a federal responsibility, but New Jersey leaders should seek a pilot program.

CHAPTER 8. HOUSING

Rehab: The New Emphasis

A new attitude. A few years ago, private loans were not available to improve housing in most declining city neighborhoods. Accelerating abandonments, the collapse of housing units that had recently been rehabilitated at great cost, and large-scale foreclosures of federally-guaranteed home mortgages were big news stories. Many housing experts scoffed at the potential for wholesale rehabilitation of inner-city housing.

Today, rehabilitation has become a major movement. Multiple federal and State programs feed into it, and banks and savings and loan associations are providing the bulk of the capital, with public money used as “leverage” to bring down the interest rate for low- and moderate-income households and improve the general environment and public services to assure neighborhood stability. In some neighborhoods, local banks provide below-market-rate loans as a public service, without subsidy.

For example, in six years up to the fall of 1978, according to the Newark Housing Development & Rehabilitation Corporation (a quasi-governmental organization), 1,900 multi-family units, mainly tax-delinquent, were rehabilitated by private developers or nonprofit community groups using various federal subsidies. Over 600 one-to-four-unit buildings were rehabilitated just since 1976 by the Corporation under other federal-aid programs. In a two-ward area of Passaic, the Neighborhood Improvement Program provided for the rehabilitation of 59 units with 277 more in process and awaiting public funds up to fall 1978. A survey indicated that 150 units had been rehabilitated through private loans in the two wards. Clifton has provided grants and low-interest loans for about 50 units since 1976, but Clifton has been rigorous in maintaining housing code standards so there is little general deterioration.

Elizabeth has organized a \$500,000 pool of funds from local banks to purchase housing for rehabilitation, and the City has allocated \$500,000 from its Community Development Block Grant to subsidize rehab work through the Neighborhood Development Corporation of Elizabeth. A related organization, HOME, uses State Mortgage Finance Agency funds to help residents buy the finished buildings. In 1976, 20 units were completed; in 1977, 44; in 1978, 50. At the same time, Cuban residents have rehabilitated at least 10 square blocks of Elizabethport housing without public assistance, and in the Elmora and North Elizabeth parts of the City, buildings are being rehabilitated as a business venture without public aid.

Two reasons seem most responsible for making large-scale rehabilitation feasible. One reason is negative—the steep rise in the cost of new housing construction just as the number of newly-forming households is rising steeply, too. More positively, the preservation movement backed by a nostalgia mood has turned many back to treasuring the old. Some households have returned to city living because of their concern for protecting the rural environment and saving energy.

A new approach. Furthermore, rehabilitation is now being done, generally, as part of a whole neighborhood preservation program, with federal, State and municipal government participation along with private capital, often working through a neighborhood corporation. New Jersey's Neighborhood Housing Demonstration Program epitomizes what is happening throughout the country in city housing preservation, both in its work and in its findings from the first 12 demonstration neighborhoods. The key elements are:

- The program is formulated for each neighborhood, putting together a different array of tools and varied levels of financing to fit individual needs.
- Federal, State, city and private funds are used. Local bank commitments are important.
- Public improvements are coordinated with housing improvements.

- From planning to completion, the project involves the people of the neighborhood. Much neighborhood housing money funnels through nonprofit neighborhood corporations.
- Technical assistance as well as funds are available.
- Investment and improvements are concentrated so they are quickly visible.
- Code enforcement is designed to fit the program.
- Interest rates are lowered through State bond financing (New Jersey Mortgage Finance Agency) as well as federal subsidies. These programs encourage home ownership.

When the time is right, even a less organized program can turn an area around. For example, a group of realtors in Newark committed \$100,000 to fix up five houses on a block described by a Newark rehab expert as "bad" in a neighborhood he described as "fair." The stimulus worked; 40 other houses in the area have been fixed up.

The homestead program is one of the stimulants to home ownership for moderate-income households. The federal government gives to selected cities the properties that have reverted to federal ownership. The cities sell them at auction to households who will bring them to code standards within 18 months of occupying them and stay three years. In Newark, 400 homes have been auctioned to homesteaders since 1973; 60 percent have succeeded in bringing them to code and living in them. The average selling price was \$2,200—none sold for more than \$2,500. Total cost with renovation has been in the \$12,000-\$15,000 range.

There is insufficient money, both State and federal, now. But continued rehab success should bring added appropriations. Saving housing and neighborhoods is a bargain for the public compared to new housing on the urban fringe. And our interviews indicate political support for encouraging home ownership as a neighborhood stabilizer.

Speeding tax-or mortgage delinquent property into user hands is a final improvement needed. Then when properties are put up for sale, who is eligible and where and how the sales are advertised all can be improved, we were told.

Examples of remaining need. While rehabilitation and preservation progress has been widespread and gives a strong sense of cities turning around after years of abandonment, New Jersey cities have a great deal of housing yet to save. For example, in its 1978 Survey of Housing Conditions, East Orange estimated there are 3,500 substandard housing units suitable for rehabilitation in a City with only 31,000 units in all. Foreclosures in Newark were averaging over 1,000 a year recently. Passaic has over 1,000 applications for rehab aid in its two Neighborhood Improvement Program wards.

New Construction.

Recent record. Despite the new emphasis on rehabilitation, new housing has been built recently

in some cities—in fact, more new units than rehabilitated in Newark. Over 5,000 new units in 17 projects were completed in the 1967-77 decade, according to the Chamber of Commerce. The great majority of the units were financed by the State Housing Finance Agency, which uses low interest rates available for State bonds to lower mortgage rates on new housing. Over the past decade, the Agency has financed more than 16,000 housing units, more than 3,000 this year alone—without cost to the State taxpayer.

Table IV.
Housing Permits Issued

	1976	1977
HACKENSACK	7	451
JERSEY CITY	86	144
NEW BRUNSWICK	4	4
PATERSON	105	84
PASSAIC	15	66
CLIFTON	129	80
ELIZABETH	20	8
NEWARK	539	1,224
EAST ORANGE	185	802

Source: Tri-State Regional Planning Commission

Housing permit figures have not been divided by subsidized and unsubsidized, but we know that units in Clifton, Hackensack and Jersey City, at least, include unsubsidized.

Continued new housing need. The New Jersey Department of Community Affairs estimated in 1974 that Newark's low- and moderate-income households need 63,000 more housing units. Generally in Northern New Jersey, the number of households will be increasing even though the population may not; so there will be a demand for additional housing units. Some of this addition may be squeezed from subdividing large homes or apartments or recycling nonresidential buildings like excess schools or obsolete factories. But if demand for separate housing units for each household is to be met, and if the vacancy rate is to be raised to a level that allows what is considered normal market fluidity—it is little more than half that rate now—new housing will be needed. Most cities have room for some of it. With good design, the additional housing and resulting increase in population probably would make cities more attractive rather than less.

City Housing For Whom?

Recirculation of population. Recent experience in many cities around the country, including Hoboken and Jersey City, indicates that in certain city neighborhoods, there is demand for housing by higher-income households than currently live there. To free the flow of population so people can choose the kind of environment

they want—city, suburb or rural—rather than segregating themselves by income—poor in, richer out, four steps are required: (1) the centralization of jobs and services downtown, as discussed in the first section; (2) more attention to attracting middle- and high-income households to cities; (3) relocation policies in neighborhoods that are being upgraded so lower-income households improve their housing if they move and have a choice of staying; and (4) opportunities for low- and moderate-income households to move to other parts of the cities and to the suburbs.

Though many present city residents do not like the idea of seeking higher-income residents for the cities, they have a great deal to gain by it. Increasing the income and educational level of city residents would contribute taxes, civic energy and talent, successful role models, and support for downtown activities—generally helping to keep cities within the American social and economic mainstream, returning the best jobs and services to the cities, within reach of city residents.

Hoboken's middle-income revival testifies to the stimulus outsiders coming in can provide not only in neighborhood improvement but in beginning to energize efforts to improve services and education.

How to facilitate recirculation. The Hoboken revival required intensive publicity aimed at people who might be interested—educated professionals for the most part—though many “born and raised in Hoboken” are joining in the upgrading now. Likely customers and the types of housing and blocks they are inclined to want can be identified through—for example—Hoboken's experience, a New York City Citizens Housing and Planning Council study, and the Tri-State Regional Planning Commission Eagleton Institute Poll. As long as city schools have a reputation for failure, households without children should be a prime target, though some cities have parochial and private schools with good reputations. But cities will not do all they need to recirculate population unless present city residents are convinced that they will benefit from the in-migration of people who have higher incomes and better education than the majority of them have.

Protecting existing residents. Displacement of low-income households by higher-income households probably will not be substantial at first because of abandonments and vacancies in unstable neighborhoods where residents move in and out frequently anyhow. Newark, Jersey City and Hoboken have much lower populations than they once had; there is room. But specific tenants of specific buildings may suffer enormously from dislocation; the building owners may harvest a bonanza from the new demand for their property, but tenants have nothing to gain. Later, when property values rise, old residents may not be able to pay the taxes; again, owners can sell at a profit, but tenants would be faced with higher rents as a

result of the upgrading of the neighborhood (even if their own building were unimproved), and many may not be able to afford it. Hoboken had federal relocation aid funds, but they are now available only as part of a city's block grant, which the city is under pressure to spend in many other ways. However, there are subsidies available to bring rents down, and these can be used in the overall plan for a changing-back neighborhood, to help some tenants stay and others relocate without thwarting the upgrading of property and environment or the revitalization of the city.

Deciding to seek new residents from outside the city even when it might mean displacing some existing residents is a hard political decision, but without it, the likelihood of the city becoming a backwater, hurting all residents, is very great. Therefore, a relocation policy which tries to improve the condition and enlarge the choice of those who must move seems the best strategy. An alternative is to try to attract middle-income households to new housing built on vacant or underused land.

Who Should Be Allowed Into The Suburbs?

The wish to suburbanize. In fact, a majority of city residents still say they want to move to the suburbs. The Eagleton Poll indicates that only a third of the residents of Newark, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Paterson, Clifton and Passaic say they prefer living in a city. They may be reacting to current conditions in their cities rather than preferring suburbs generally to well-maintained and well-run cities. But right now, two-thirds would prefer to live in a suburb. Some of our interviewees expressed the same sentiment. As the Director of the Inmate Self-Help Committee in Newark said: Most people in public housing projects want to move out to suburban areas like Sussex or Morris County. Small housing units should be subsidized out there.

A way it might be done. The new federal housing subsidy system called Section Eight, combined with available federal and State mortgage aids, could be used to allow low-income households to live anywhere there is housing at a reasonable rent, since it gives the household the difference between a fair market rent and 25 percent of the household's income. But Section Eight funds are allocated by municipality, and there is little encouragement to recipients to look outside the city where they live—which they could do. Similarly, welfare recipients receive housing allowances which might buy better housing outside the city, but welfare workers seldom consider this possibility.

Of course there are few vacancies anywhere in New Jersey suburbs, so new construction or recycling of nonresidential buildings into housing would be necessary. A number of federal and State financing channels are available to nonprofit or limited-profit firms especially when backed by

some Section Eight guarantees. (Only a small number of units in a development need be subsidized; the rest can rent at full rates, and no one but the owner need know which or how many units are subsidized.) Civic and religious organizations might initiate suburban projects open to low- and moderate-income households. Under the New Jersey Supreme Court's Mt. Laurel decision, a proposal for an appropriate site is likely to be upheld even against municipal opposition.

Recommendations

1. To speed the neighborhood preservation and rehabilitation process by getting foreclosed and tax delinquent buildings into appropriate hands faster, the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs and the district office of HUD in Newark should meet with rehab firms, neighborhood leaders and housing and real estate people city by city to try to identify unnecessary delays and blockages and enlarge the market for these properties.
2. More federal and State funds should be appropriated for the proven preservation programs. These programs will save far more money than they will cost.
3. Enlarging choice—both for suburban residents to move to potentially attractive city neighborhoods and for city residents to move to suburbs or outer city neighborhoods—should be a prime goal. To do this:
 - a. Cities should identify the kinds of higher-income households likely to be attracted to a city and the kind of housing and neighborhoods that might attract them and bring the two together.
 - b. Recipients of federal housing subsidies should have a choice of city and suburban locations, which will require nonprofit or limited-profit organizations building or recycling suburban housing at a price that fits subsidy requirements in places convenient for households of limited means.
 - c. Low- and moderate-income tenants in neighborhoods of rapidly rising housing values should be assisted to relocate or stay, as fits their needs and the neighborhood's, but the city's need for middle-income households should weigh heavily in the decision.

CHAPTER 9

LOCAL GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY AND TAXES

Tax Equalization

The inequality. Table V makes clear that businesses and residents in most cities pay higher taxes than they do in the rest of the State. In addition, Newark imposes a 3/4 percent payroll tax, which

many interviewees feel is a greater deterrent to business than the high real estate tax rate. Yet the majority of city residents and businesses get poorer public service and a poorer public environment. Some of the causes are the low property values and high percentage of tax-exempt land and facilities, lowering tax returns. The low tax returns are not the fault of the great majority of city residents. Their concentrated poverty raises the cost of education and other programs, draining the funds that are collected. These tax-heightening forces should not be borne by city residents and businesses by themselves. Regional Plan concluded 10 years ago with the help of a distinguished advisory committee that poverty is a national problem and government spending to ameliorate it should be borne entirely by the federal government.

Attaining greater equalization. So it would seem both fair and important for strengthening city attractiveness to bring city tax rates more into line with suburban rates. The trick is to do that without losing local budget responsibility. Working out such a formula would take expertness and time. As one of the task forces at the Governor's Job Conference in March 1978 said: "While noting that high property taxes are the major disincentive to urban capital investment in New Jersey, the task force recognized that avenues to reduce the reliance upon the property tax in New Jersey cities are neither simple nor apparent." We can only suggest some considerations and possibilities.

As to considerations, present practices of giving tax breaks for new investment in cities are unfair to those firms that have loyally stuck it out in the cities to their nadir and helped begin the rebound.

As to possibilities, we would suggest the following be examined for their effect on typical city tax rates and on local budget responsibility:

1. A State school aid formula that makes up for the extra costs of city schooling more than at present.
2. Full federal assumption of anti-poverty program costs, including public housing, public health and all welfare, with State assumption of some of these costs until the federal government accepts its responsibility for poverty.
3. A shift of federal aid from new water and sewer lines and roads into open countryside to the rehabilitation of aging city infrastructure and public transportation.
4. Targeting federal and State block grants more toward localities with low-income residents.
5. Payment by all government agencies of an equivalent of what a private organization would pay in real estate taxes.
6. City-suburban tax sharing, e.g., as in the Twin Cities metropolitan area where 40 percent of the taxes from nonresidential development are distributed to the whole metropolitan area.

To the argument that the State cannot afford most of these proposals, we would point out that

Table V.
Effective Real Tax Rates of Selected New Jersey Cities, 1977
(per \$100 actual value as indicated by sales during 1977)

	New Jersey	Clifton	East Orange	Elizabeth	Hackensack	Jersey City	Newark	New Brunswick	Passaic	Paterson	Trenton
RESIDENTIAL	2.79	1.75	6.12	3.67	2.75	4.72	3.98	3.29	3.12	3.52	4.32
BUSINESS	3.54	2.22	8.97	4.40	2.82	7.30	7.89	4.50	5.49	5.15	6.00

Source: *Effective Real Property Tax Rates in the Metropolitan Area of New York* September 1978. Center for Local Tax Research

these same costs are now being paid by the poorest portions of the State. Can they afford to pay for them more than the whole State?

Efficiency

Present situation. The second part of reducing city tax rates—and improving services and facilitating private investment—is improving government efficiency. Local governments in New Jersey spent one-third more in 1975 than they did in 1972 and the State had not grown in population!

The two low-tax-rate cities included in Table V do not share the poverty burdens of the others. But since their rates are below the State level not just below the other cities', they may reveal lessons in efficiency. Both have city manager governments with a reputation for letting the manager run the administration. The recent compliments to Paterson's government are similar—the Mayor, it is said, has hired professionally competent department heads and is giving them freedom to administer. This was made possible by the recent charter reform.

One expert urban observer remarked on the importance of efficiency in city government: "In most cities that are turning around, it is because of strong **continuous** leadership—Gibson in Newark, Kramer in Paterson." Continuity is important; business people want to be able to plan; no surprises.

Our interviews with local government administrators in the several cities we looked at revealed a high level of knowledge and dedication. While that competence and concern may not penetrate deeply into the whole administration, it does provide a framework on which improvements might be built.

New Jersey keeps a tighter rein on its municipalities than most states, including budget caps that hold down spending rises and supervision of municipal finance officers. The New Jersey Qualified Bond Act has helped several municipalities keep their bond interest low.

Some possible routes to improvement. At the high administrative level, New York City has had some success with bringing business executives in temporarily—a year or two or three—to straighten out financial operations in particular. Often, business executives find government too different from business to make a contribution, but some

have done well, particularly when the task closely parallels a business task. For permanent high-level staff, there is a cadre of professional city administrators who can be reached through such professional associations as the American Society for Public Administration and the International City Management Association. For short-term consulting or training, the Passaic Business Administrator, who has worked professionally in a number of local governments, suggests that teams of competent municipal administrators could be put together from nearby governments.

Below the department-head level, observers see a need for better training. Convenient courses as well as incentives to take them are needed. (Teachers, for example, usually get extra pay when they take courses.)

Public Technology, Inc., has been organized to help improve government productivity by several associations of governments and professional administrators. But no effort will be useful if political or trade union organizations resist efforts to improve productivity.

The form of local government affects the public's ability to hold officials accountable. New Jersey cities have several options for organizing their government under the Faulkner Act; 86 municipalities have taken advantage of it since the Act was passed in 1950.

The gradual professionalization of county government in New Jersey—four counties with elected chief executives (Essex, Mercer, Hudson, Atlantic) and one with a county manager (Union)—is worth watching. In some counties, shifting programs to professionalized county government might gain the advantage of a more reasonable area for administering certain programs as well as more professional operation. Right now, however, we found little support among local government observers for shifting local programs to counties.

Recommendations

1. Further equalization of tax rates between cities and suburbs is a high priority. Some research agency—perhaps a university urban research center—should be tapped to provide an array of recommendations that would not substantially weaken local budget responsibility, showing the impact each would have on tax

rate equalization. This study should begin by analyzing where the extra taxes taken from city businesses and residents go: e.g., to make up for a lower tax base? heavier social burdens? extra costs of size? greater inefficiency? or are city residents getting services suburbanites do not get?

2. Greater professionalization of city administrations should be one of the qualities corporations should expect of cities if they are to bring in more jobs and investment. State audits should show citizens the administrative weak spots and compare the cost and quality of the services they are paying for with those of other local governments.
3. Training of local government personnel should be emphasized more, with convenient courses and incentives to take them.
4. Civil service and trade union protections should be written so they reward productivity.
5. The competent administrators now working in New Jersey cities should be publicly recognized, a deserved appreciation for them and an improved image for the cities.
6. Cities should consider borrowing executives from successful businesses where the tasks closely parallel business tasks. Sometimes it works well; sometimes not.

CHAPTER 10.

TRANSPORTATION

Public Transportation

Downtowns and transportation. Only compact downtowns can support satisfactory public trans-

portation. In a time of uncertain energy supplies, this is a city asset that should be emphasized. And only cities and older suburbs offer the chance to walk places; newer suburbs have not been built for the pedestrian. So city households can get away with one car where outer suburban households need two; in some parts of some New Jersey cities, a household might even manage fairly conveniently without a car. In the Eagleton Poll, more suburbanites complained about transportation than any other quality of living—about one-fourth said it was the condition they liked least about the suburbs.

So good public transportation is an important element in attracting jobs and residents to cities. Now, however, many parts of the cities are not well served by public transportation, even though over 40 percent of the households in the largest six cities do not have cars. On the Eagleton Poll, 17 percent of city residents said that transportation was what they least liked about city living while 38 percent said it was what they most liked about it, with Jersey City residents most favorable to its transportation and Newark not far behind.

Getting better public transportation. Recentralization of activities into downtowns is the best step toward improving public transportation service, but more public subsidy is needed, too. Many American cities recently have stimulated rising ridership with fare cuts and improved service. If New Jersey is serious about reviving its cities, better public transportation—which does require more subsidy—is a necessary part. Federal operating subsidies to New Jersey also should be increased. The present formula discriminates against the heavy public transportation-using parts of the



1. As new highways stretch outward, housing follows, draining the cities and older suburbs.

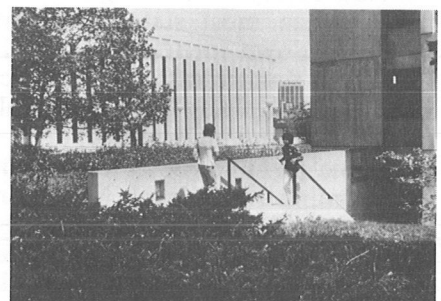


2. Jobs and services go out along the highways, too.

RECOMMENDATION: THE STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS SHOULD STOP USING PUBLIC MONEY TO OPEN THE COUNTRYSIDE TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT THAT COMPETES WITH THE CITIES AND SHOULD ANNOUNCE THAT OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS, MOST PUBLIC INVESTMENT WILL GO TOWARD IMPROVING CITIES.



3. More State investment in public transportation to downtowns rather than in new highways onto vacant land



4. and new public facilities in city centers could improve opportunities for the cities and existing suburbs and attract private investment back to urban centers, as the Newark college complex seems to be doing.

country. An added aid program for the larger cities was voted by Congress in 1978, but little money was appropriated to fulfill the promise. If better public transportation contributes to city revitalization, it will save State and federal funds in the long run.

But with more State investment in bus service, routes should be re-examined to fit not only present demand but the shape of future development the State wants to stimulate. In our mind, that means beefing up service to the major downtowns. State Transportation Commissioner Louis Gambaccini has proposed that the State acquire private bus companies as an alternative to continuing to pay millions of dollars in subsidies with no State voice in operation. The *Record* reports Gambaccini as saying that the takeover would reduce operating costs by eliminating duplicate routes and consolidating services and would eventually lead to the restitution of many inner city routes.

The opportunities. Newark's light rail system should be upgraded with new cars and extended in conjunction with plans for new residential development. New ideas should be considered, like transforming Springfield Avenue into a light rail route only, with a green median strip, and use of the Erie-Lackawanna tracks through Belleville and Bloomfield when they are no longer needed for commuter trains. The most expensive investment of the system is in place, the downtown tunnel; it should be used as much as possible.

Newark airport should be publicized as a major business attraction, with 12-minute limousine service from downtown Newark, over 350 daily scheduled commercial flights, and plenty of capacity to meet increased demand. Newark also has 18 trains a day to Washington, more to Philadelphia. Six Metroliners a day stop there. They make it to Washington in three hours, but the ride is scheduled to be speeded and improved. About half the Metroliners do not stop in Newark now, but increased business activity downtown could change that. Similarly, Trenton has only three Metroliner stops each day, saving a half-hour to Washington over other trains. More downtown activity in Trenton could result in more stops. Only two Metroliners a day stop both at Newark and Trenton now.

Where rail service to Manhattan is good, New Jersey cities might, with adequate advertising, attract more households who would like to live in Manhattan but can't afford it. More walk-to-the-station apartments around commuter stops would strengthen downtowns like Elizabeth, as well as supporting rail service. If the Secaucus connection is completed, allowing the Bergen lines to run directly into Manhattan, such opportunities would be opened up in Paterson. If the Kearny connection is completed, commuting to Manhattan from East Orange will be more attractive. Similarly, many stations of PATH—the best transportation buy in the Region—are surrounded with underused land which should be developed for commuters to Newark, Jersey City and Manhattan.

Examples of relating land use to transportation well are the Port Authority's Journal Square office building and Newark's Gateway complex (though we recognize that Gateway is seen by some Newark people as an attempt to avoid the City of Newark rather than simply relating efficiently to transportation). San Francisco and Atlanta are good examples of downtowns being rebuilt to fit transportation systems, in those cases new ones, but the example is as applicable where existing transportation hubs are underused. Toronto is the best example of a city relating residential complexes to the transportation system, with densities allowed that fit the quality of the public transportation service.

Auto Access To Downtowns

Though good transit is essential to exploit the compactness of cities, even urban America travels primarily by car, and several short highway links or improved arterials to downtowns should be completed as activities downtown pick up in Paterson and Newark.

Recommendations

1. Most important, bus service should be rationalized and improved with greater State-federal subsidy.
2. Investment in rail—Newark's light rail tunnel, PATH and the commuter rail network—should be more intensively exploited with improved and extended service, more commercial development at their downtown points and more residential development at other stops.
3. Improved road access to downtown Paterson and Newark should be completed as downtown activities increase.

CHAPTER 11.

NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES

Conditions in Newark

Newark's shopping streets are almost bare of shops, while Elizabeth's are flourishing and Passaic's are quite lively. There is little grocery store competition in Newark, and the quality is so low that those with cars generally drive to suburban shopping malls, leaving the inferior stores to those without cars. Now, with neighborhoods perking up and once-empty housing units occupied in some areas, a chance to regenerate neighborhood services may be possible. But it will require initiative by the City because retailers are not likely to be aware of the positive changes going on and no shopkeeper is likely to try without assurance that other shops will be coming along next door. The first stores should be clustered around a single busy intersection.

In Newark, the Architects' Community Design Center (ACDC) and Roseville Coalition are packaging and trying to sell a project on Orange Street.

Recommendations

1. Where neighborhood shopping is poor, the city or neighborhood association should:
 - a. Commission an independent market analysis in the more promising locations, whether for a single supermarket or a row of shops.
 - b. Investigate why Elizabeth and Passaic neighborhood shopping is supported.
 - c. Identify a suitable location, probably clustered around a major intersection.
 - d. Package the development of a group of shops—if sufficient potential was indicated by the market analysis—much as a shopping mall promoter does.
 - e. Find short-term subsidies for those making the first moves. Community Development funds could be used; Urban Development Action Grants are possible.
 - f. Until the shops are filled by private firms, put the neighborhood association or coalition office in one. It will strengthen the organization and begin to attract people to the shops.
2. The State or the federal government must take hold of the whole problem of insurance in neighborhoods thought to be too risky for commercial insurance.
3. The empty store fronts are debilitating, and the buildings should not be wasted. Beyond the commercial clusters that appear supportable, stores should be homesteaded for residences where there is demand.

CHAPTER 12.

WHAT THE STATE NEEDS TO DO

Why Channeling Jobs Into Cities Is Justified

There is little doubt that some New Jersey cities have started upward. There remains a big question of how far upward they will reach. That will depend largely on State and federal policies.

Both President Carter and Governor Byrne have spoken strongly in favor of bringing the economic and social mainstream back through the cities. Regional Plan agrees: it is very much in the public interest. But for most business interests, it is still more expensive and troublesome to locate in a city than a suburb. And for most households who can afford an alternative, it is still too risky, especially if they have children. The only hope of overcoming city liabilities so that benefits outweigh the social and economic costs for individual households and firms is for more businesses and residents to move in. In short, acting individually, the firm or household does better to avoid cities; acting in a large enough group, many would do better to come in to a city; and that would be in the public interest.

For this reason, we have suggested that a consortium of businesses be formed to adopt a city—several businesses joining together. Like the neighbors in a block association, one assures the other that if you invest, I'll invest because if only one

of us does, it is all wasted. The other recommendations, too, would lower the social and economic costs and raise the benefits of locating in a city. We wish that would be sufficient, but we don't think it will be. The thrust of development out of the cities is too strong now, and the total foreseeable job and service growth in the State is too small to allow much to be lost outside the cities. We, therefore, propose a policy to complement those recommendations that will make it less difficult to come into a city—a policy that will make it a little more costly and difficult to develop on the urban fringe. This is justified not only for the many social goals of revitalizing the cities but even in dollar terms. Public and quasi-public (utility) investment required by scattered development in outlying counties is a burden on everyone, while similar facilities are underused in cities and close-in suburbs: e.g., schools, sewers, water lines, telephone and electric lines, gas pipes, streets, sidewalks, public transportation.

State and Federal Levers

Diverting development from fringe areas. The President's National Urban Policy calls for diverting federal funds from subsidizing facilities for urban-fringe development to rehabilitating facilities in cities. It requires federal jobs to be located in cities where feasible (as Governor Byrne's Executive Order requires State jobs to be) and gives priority to goods and services produced in cities in government procurement.

We propose that all the State's levers that can discourage urban-fringe growth and urban-center decline be used for that—and that a clear announcement of that fact be widely publicized. Henceforth, no developer should plan an installation in the expectation that once it's in, the State will come in with the investment needed to make it work. The State has just revised its population projections to conform more closely to its city-supporting policies. This will mean priority in water supply for urban areas, for example, according to the Newark *Star-Ledger*.

It will be hard to enforce this policy 100 percent. While unemployment is high and prosperity is uncertain, a state is not likely to deny public facilities to a firm that threatens to take its jobs out of state if they are not provided. But the State could, without losing potential development, (1) try to persuade investors to come into a center and provide subsidies to keep the cost in a center lower than on an outlying site; (2) charge the developer for the extra public costs entailed in an outlying location; (3) deny retailers the public investment needed if they do not go into a community center—they cannot take their market out of State in most instances; (4) discourage residential developments in outlying counties that tend to draw jobs and services farther out, in favor of compact subdivisions and apartments around commuter rail and bus stops and near the cities; (5) locate only in community centers all State and State-aided (e.g., county) facilities, such as higher education, hospitals and offices.

Table VI

New Jersey State and Local Government Revenue and Expenditures per \$1,000 of Personal Income of New Jersey Residents Compared With Other States.

State	General revenue per \$1,000 of personal income						Direct general expenditure per \$1,000 of personal income					
	Total	From Federal Government	All State and local general revenue sources	Taxes		Charges and miscellaneous general revenue	All general expenditure	Education		Highways	Public welfare	Health and hospitals
				Total	Property only			Total	Local schools only			
NEW JERSEY	175.22	31.88	143.34	118.26	66.60	25.08	178.95	65.78	50.85	12.71	22.56	9.33
UNITED STATES AVERAGE . .	203.74	44.21	159.53	124.72	45.33	34.81	203.25	77.32	53.82	19.01	25.00	16.45
MEDIAN STATE	205.11	48.11	155.42	118.26	38.63	37.09	207.58	78.51	53.20	23.63	19.64	15.33
NEW YORK	262.81	50.98	211.83	173.29	62.60	38.54	263.82	78.51	58.23	12.71	42.73	27.02
PENNSYLVANIA	181.16	42.32	138.83	115.40	29.63	23.43	187.85	68.77	50.58	19.29	29.02	11.82

Source: Bureau of the Census, *Governmental Finances in 1975-76*.

State officials seem to support these principles strongly, but the public needs to understand and support them, too, or individual decisions always will be exceptions allowing development to continue to scatter outside cities.

Some essential city improvements also need more money. Altogether, public costs resulting from recentralizing in cities probably will end up lower than they would be if spread city continues, as the federal study, *The Cost of Sprawl*, indicated. But for now, there are some expensive programs that cities need in order to compete with spread city, e.g., much better public transportation, more anti-crime funds, better streets, more investment in looking good, tax-lowering grants, rehabilitation of infrastructure. The typical reaction is: But the state can't afford it. Table VI puts that response in national perspective. State and local government revenues and expenditures ranked according to the population's income show New Jersey more than 10 percent below the national median and the national average. But a more important perspective is: when State taxpayers say they cannot afford to help the cities, they are saying either that the poorest segment of the State must somehow afford it or that cities are to be allowed to become backwaters for the poor and old at a much greater cost for the State in the long run.

The Long-Term Economic Benefit

In a time of energy uncertainty, New Jersey's still-compact development in and around its cities is a good sales point. The framework is still here for a satisfactory public transportation network serving the cities. Few of the newer regions of the South and West have urban areas like that. New Jersey should make an asset of this in its economic development promotion and work hard to keep it from eroding.

Recommendations

1. State political, business and civic leaders should organize in support of the principles of the new National Urban Policy. Its strong pro-city stance would help New Jersey far more than it would help most states.
2. Adjust the State land-use plan now under discussion to clearly indicate that the State wants development to stay near and convenient to cities with major nonresidential facilities in city centers. Other State plans—for energy, air quality, water quality and Coastal Zone Management—should similarly aim at keeping development in and near the cities.
3. Identify all State leverage that can achieve such a plan, both carrots and sticks, with emphasis on those that will persuade private enterprise to fit the State's needs without driving them out of State. Then use the levers.
4. Publicize widely the plan and the levers that will be used to achieve it.
5. In promoting the State, emphasize the security in a time of energy uncertainty of locating in a compact city that can be served by public transportation and has a large nearby labor force. Promote, also, the advantages of a small city location within easy public transportation reach of Manhattan.
6. The State agency governing the Meadowlands should be particularly sensitive to its effect on the surrounding cities. Its plan should complement, not compete with the cities; e.g., offices and retailing in the Meadowlands should be limited to day-to-day services for the local population. Huge shopping centers that would draw shoppers from miles around should not be allowed. The zoning ordinance should be redrafted to eliminate office buildings that are not needed to serve the local population.
7. I-287 and I-95 should not be completed. They will draw development outward from the cities and close-in suburbs, and the money is needed to improve access to downtowns.
8. Another attempt should be made to develop an effective farmland preservation system.
9. School finances should truly be made equitable under the "Thorough and Efficient" program so municipalities do not need to compete for nonresidential investors to support their schools, regardless of whether their location fits the whole State's interests. Municipalities should then be informed that they have little to gain financially from chasing offices and shopping.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Regional Plan Association very much appreciates the considerable help provided for this project by New Jersey Bell and Prudential Insurance Company of America and by the Greater Newark Urban Coalition and Planning Association of North Jersey. We also thank the individuals who contributed to the extensive interviewing, listed below.

Funds for the Project were contributed by:

Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation
Fund for New Jersey
Hoffmann-LaRoche Foundation
Johnson & Johnson
Merck Company Foundation
New Jersey Bell Telephone Company
Prospect Hill Foundation
Prudential Insurance Company of America
Schering-Plough Corporation
Schultz Foundation
Florence and John Schumann Foundation

The project was directed and the report written by William B. Shore, based in large part on reconnaissance and interviewing by Louis B. Schlivek, who also photographed the slide presentation that supplements this report. Lawrence Dolan and Carol Henderson contributed extensively to the research.

A Regional Plan Association Committee supervised the work: *Richard B. Sellars*, Committee Chairman, Director & Chairman, Finance Committee, Johnson & Johnson; *Alexander J. Allen*, Vice President, Administration & Public Affairs, National Urban League, Inc.; *Samuel S. Beard*, President, The Development Council; *Martha Greenawalt*, Director, Regional Plan Association; *Gustav Henningburg*, President, Greater Newark Urban Coalition; *John R. Jannarone*, Vice President, Consolidated Edison Company of New York; *Edward A. Jesser, Jr.*, Chairman of the Board, United Jersey Bank; *Thomas H. Kean*, President, Realty Transfer Company; *Donald R. Knab*, Senior Vice President, Prudential Insurance Company of America; *Thomas G. Labrecque*, Executive Vice President, The Chase Manhattan Bank; *Edward J. Lenihan*, Vice President, Public Relations, Public Service Electric & Gas Company; *Albert W. Merck*, Public Affairs, New Jersey; *C. McKim Norton*, Counsel, Regional Plan Association; *Jack John Olivero*, Manager, Community Relations, American Telephone & Telegraph Company; *Verdell Roundtree*, New Jersey State Director, United Negro College Fund, Inc.; *Mrs. Webster Todd*, Co-Chairman, Gateway Citizens Committee; *Katherine Elkus White*, Director, Regional Plan Association.

Volunteer Interviewers

(Positions are those held at the time of the project.)

Adewale Aderibigbe	Rutgers student
Julius Akeredolu	Rutgers student
Marvin L. Comick	Greater Newark Urban Coalition
John Cronin	Prudential Insurance Co. of America

Barbara Glazer	Prudential Insurance Co. of America
Steven Gould	New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.
Gilbert H. Hatcher, III	Hoffmann-La Roche, Inc.
Lawrence S. Hecker	Greater Newark Area Chamber of Commerce
Stephen Heller	New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.
Orion C. Hopper	Private Businessman
Robert F. Howat	Prudential Insurance Co. of America
Marvin E. Johnson	Private Businessman
Gregory King	College student
Stephen J. Kukan	Public Service Electric & Gas Co.
John H. Maddocks	Public Service Electric & Gas Co.
Justine Miller	New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.
Stephen Ness	College student
Miguel A. Rivera	New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.
Richard A. Roper	Office of Newark Studies
Barbara J. Sokerka	Economic Development Office of Clifton
Patricia Tate	New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.
Lee A. Van Gorden, Jr.	First National Bank of New Jersey

Some Experts Who Have Advised on the New Jersey Cities Project or Commented on Report Drafts (Positions are those held at the time of the project.)

Peter Bearse	Center for New Jersey Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
J. Douglas Carroll	Executive Director, Tri-State Regional Planning Commission, and staff
Jameson Doig	Professor, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
Grace Harris	Executive Director, Planning Association of North Jersey
Gustav Henningburg	President, Greater Newark Urban Coalition
Walter Johnson	Area Administrator, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
James Krauskopf	Director, Center for New Jersey Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
Kenneth Mahony	Business Administrator, City of Passaic
Fred Meissner	Director of Urban Affairs, New Jersey Bell Telephone Co.
Richard A. Roper	Director, Office of Newark Studies
Patricia Sheehan	New Jersey Commissioner of Community Affairs, and staff
George Sternlieb	Director, Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University
Abraham Wallach	President, New Brunswick Tomorrow



Regional Plan Association

235 East 45th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 682-7750

Regional Plan Association, Inc., is a research and planning agency supported by voluntary membership to promote the coordinated development of the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut Urban Region.

*Chairman of the Board and
Chief Executive Officer*

William M. Ellinghaus *

*President and Chief
Administrative Officer*

John P. Keith *

Treasurer

Walter B. Shaw *

Counsel

C. McKim Norton *

Edward H. Ahrens, Jr.
Alexander J. Allen
Kenneth S. Axelson
Terence Benbow
Henry Bing, Jr.
Howard W. Blauvelt
Albert H. Blumenthal
George M. Brooker
George Bugliarello
Edward J. Cleary
Eleanore C. Collins
Morris D. Crawford, Jr. *
Seymour B. Durst
Alan M. Fortunoff *
Nathaniel M. Giffen
Lois S. Gray *
Martha Greenawalt
Willard G. Hampton
Edward E. Harrison
Marian Heiskell
Gustav Heningsburg
John R. Jannarone
Edward A. Jesser, Jr. *
Thomas H. Kean *
Donald R. Knab

Thomas G. Labrecque *
Lawrence Lachman
Edward M. Lamont
Edward J. Lenihan
Eugene H. Lunney
Eleanor Mamelok *
Albert W. Merck
Joyce Miller
Francis W. Murray, III
Jack John Olivero
Lloyd F. Pierce *
Richardson Pratt, Jr.
Robert N. Rich *
George P. Roniger
Verdell Roundtree
Richard B. Sellars *
Gene W. Setzer
Richard R. Shinn
Mrs. Webster Todd
Wilfred O. Uhl
Robert Van Fossan
Phyllis Vineyard
Richard C. Wade
Robert F. Wagner *
William S. Woodside *

* members of executive committee

STAFF

*President and Chief
Administrative Officer*

John P. Keith

Counsel

C. McKim Norton

*Vice President—Administration
and Secretary*

Richard T. Anderson

Development Director

Ricki Gardner

Research and Planning

Vice President

Boris Pushkarev

Economic Consultant

Dick Netzer

Chief Economist

Regina B. Armstrong

Urban Design Consultant

F. Carlisle Towery

Chief Planner

Jeffrey M. Zupan

Public Affairs

Vice President

William B. Shore

Information Director

Sheldon Pollack

Field Studies Consultant

Louis B. Schlivek

Librarian

Thelma Vanderberg

Design: Jerome Pilchman
Typesetting: William R. Frye

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

Members receive periodicals of Regional Plan Association without charge. They have library privileges and are invited to the annual corporate meeting of the Association. Members receive the Region's Agenda, Regional Plan News, and a 30% discount on all Regional Plan research bulletins and are invited to participate in special events, conferences, and field trips.

PERSONAL MEMBER—\$25 per year

(Student or Retiree \$15)

Members receive one copy of publications and membership privileges. Publications are sent to home address only.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION

Members receive up to eight copies of publications. The dues rate and the number of publication copies depend upon the number of employees in the organization:

Under 10 employees	\$50 (one copy)
10 to 24 employees	\$100 (two copies)
25 to 49 employees	\$200 (four copies)
50 employees or over	\$300 (eight copies)

MUNICIPALITY or COUNTY (in Region)

Members receive up to six copies of publications.

Membership dues are based on population (1970 Census):

Less than 5000 . . .	\$50	30M to 35M . . .	\$110
5M to 10M	\$60	35M to 40M . . .	\$120
10M to 15M	\$70	40M to 45M . . .	\$130
15M to 20M	\$80	45M to 50M . . .	\$140
20M to 25M	\$90	50M to 100M . .	\$150
25M to 30M	\$100	More than 100M	\$200

NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION, SCHOOL DISTRICT, OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCY—\$25 per year

Members receive one copy of publications and membership privileges.

SUBSCRIBER

Corporations and foundations are urged to provide additional financial support for the Association's work. Contributors of more than \$300 are considered subscribers. They receive multiple copies of publications and may consult the Association staff (within reasonable time limits) on information gathered for planning purposes.

ORDER FORM

name _____

address _____

city _____

state _____ zip code _____

Please enroll the above agency or individual as a member of Regional Plan Association.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Personal | <input type="checkbox"/> Subscriber |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Student, Retiree | <input type="checkbox"/> Business Organization |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Municipality or County (in Region) | <input type="checkbox"/> Non-Profit Organization, School, Other Government Agency |

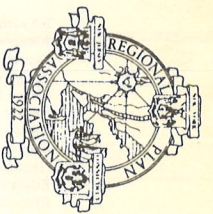
☐ We wish to purchase the following RPA publications: _____

Enclosed is a check for \$ _____
(Please make checks payable to Regional Plan Association.)

If you wish to become a member of Regional Plan Association, please write or call the Membership Secretary, 235 East 45th Street, New York City, (212) 682-7750.

REGIONAL PLAN NEWS

Number 105 August 1979



Regional Plan Association
235 East 45th Street
New York, New York 10017