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ABSTRACT

This activity is one of a series of 17 teacher-developed instructional activities for geography at the secondary-grade level described in SO 009 140. The activity is a simulation which involves 15 to 25 students in making decisions about the best use of an inner city tract of land. The developers recommend that the game extend over at least three class periods, including a preparation phase, a role-playing phase, and a discussion phase. On the first day students read newspaper clippings, a scenario description, and a City Planning Commission Hearing Worksheet and study a map of the area. Role cards, favor cards, and bias cards are then distributed. There are three major sets of roles: planning commissioners, city-wide roles, and local community roles. On the second day the simulation begins with a hearing before the planning commission. Three city agencies proposing development plans--the public housing authority, the parks and recreation department, and a private land developer--present arguments to support their choices. When each has finished his presentation, the commission members may ask questions about the proposal. Local citizens from diverse social strata then testify, arguing for or against the various proposals. On the last day the planning commission announces its decision and the teacher leads a debriefing discussion. All materials needed for the simulation are provided. (Author/DB)

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NEIGHBORHOOD RESPONSE

IN LAND-USE PLANNING:

A ROLE-PLAYING GAME

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This simulation deals with a controversial land-use decision in a large city. The game will actively involve students in evaluating information, clarifying value orientations, and making decisions about the "best" use for a parcel of land. The simulation process will help students develop skills in analysis as well as an appreciation for the complexities of the political decision-making process.

INTRODUCTION

The city is the product of countless land-use decisions, many of which have been the subject of public controversy. Classical urban models¹ cast land-use competition primarily in terms of economic interest. This role-playing game deals instead with the geographic dimensions of land-use competition between social groups, each of which can advocate that land-use proposal which seems most conducive to its needs, both felt and expressed. It is designed to acquaint students with the complexities of land-use decision-making and emphasizes the fact that prevailing social conflicts manifest themselves in all aspects of city life, including planning. Its format allows students to identify with urban viewpoints and biases other than their own.²

¹For example, William Alonso, Location and Land Use: Toward a General Theory of Land Rent, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964; and Richard F. Muth, "The Spatial Structure of the Housing Market," Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, 15 (1965), 173-83.

²Related games of special interest to geographers include the several in: Feldt, Allan G., CLUG: Community Land Use Game, New York: The Free Press, 1972; and Kibel, Barry M., Simulation of the Urban Environment, Commission on College Geography, Technical Paper No. 5, Washington, D. C.: Association of American Geographers, 1972.

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The game deals with a choice between three proposals for the redevelopment of an inner city tract of land to be cleared by urban renewal processes and has been modeled on a real situation in a large eastern city. The original situation has been generalized to accentuate the spatial dimensions of social conflict between local groups. Conflict occurs at two levels of generalization, or scales: (1) local groups are in opposition to each other as a result of economic and ethnic tensions, and (2) local people are pitted against an array of citywide decision-making agencies only slightly familiar with local conditions. The game has been used with success in both introductory and advanced geography courses taught both by ourselves and other teachers.

We feel that the game is suitable for use by students, especially in urban studies courses in which there has been previous instruction and reading in the social and economic forces of the city. There are 15 roles defined in the game, some of which can be played by more than one player up to a limit of about 25 persons. However, the game may be played by fewer than 15 or more than 25 with the loss of critical roles or a reduction in individual participation, respectively. A standard front-facing seating arrangement in the classroom will simulate a meeting hall.

There are three sets of roles: (1) planning commissioners; (2) citywide (e.g., governmental or corporate) roles; and (3) local community (private citizen) roles. We have found that three is an appropriate number of planning commissioners, although this number might be increased in a large class. The chairman of the Commission should be selected on the basis of strong personality or leadership qualities, because the chairman must control the "public hearing." Under some circumstances, the teacher may wish to assume this role. Without guidance of the game by the chairman, the game may degenerate into a shouting match between contending role players, but this is not to suggest that players should be inhibited from expressing the emotions inherent in such a situation. In fact, the game is most successful when role players advocate their positions aggressively and with a will to win. All other roles may be assigned essentially at random among the remaining students.

The citywide roles are: (1) a representative of the city's protection services (e.g., police, fire department); (2) a representative of the city's public housing authority; (3) a representative of the city's park and recreation department; and (4) a representative of a large real estate development firm. The last three roles will be the proponents of the various development plans that the Commission will consider, and they will be responsible for presenting the proposals to the Commission at the beginning of the "hearing". These roles represent segments of the urban economic power structure, and related public and private agencies that would normally participate in such a decision are subsumed herein. Additional citywide roles might be created to accentuate points that the teacher might wish to emphasize, especially with respect to local conditions.

Private citizens make up the largest group of role players and are representative of the social diversity in the vicinity of the planning site. The eight suggested roles include a middle class black, a lower class black, a "little old ethnic lady," a white industrial worker with strong ethnic ties, a lower class Puerto Rican, an affluent white executive (WASP-Urbanite),



a white teenager and a local small businessman. These roles are representative of the local social structure described in the scenario below. The number of these roles may be increased by adding such characters as an affluent resident of a nearby high rise apartment, the principal of a local school, the head of a local civic or fraternal organization or a radical student who rents a room in the area. Characteristics of the core roles appear on the ROLE CARDS below, and the teacher must provide comparable descriptions of any roles he wishes to add. These role players should be advised that their characters are very concerned about the future of their immediate neighborhoods, unlike the citywide characters, who are concerned with the relationship of the planning problem to the well-being of the city in general or who have simpler economic motives.

The teacher's part is to introduce the game and to guide play according to the agenda below. The game requires that each participant receive certain items from two sets of handouts (see below):

1. Package A, comprising (a) a newspaper clipping, headlined "Planners to Hold Public Hearing," representing the principal public notice of the planning problem, (b) a scenario and map, which describe the social and physical characteristics of the site and surrounding neighborhoods, and (c) summary site descriptions entitled "City Planning Commission Hearing Worksheet." Students should read these materials before being assigned particular roles.
2. Package B, comprising players' instructions and ROLE CARDS, FAVOR CARDS AND BIAS CARDS. These should be distributed after the students have mastered the contents of Package A. Each player will receive a set of written instructions and a single ROLE CARD, the distribution method to be determined by the teacher. Members of the planning commission will also receive one randomly selected FAVOR CARD and one randomly selected BIAS CARD, which are used to impart individual political and attitudinal characteristics to the members. Use of these optional favor and bias cards with three-member commissions yields 105 possible variations in the make-up of that commission. Again the teacher is free to substitute favor and bias cards to simulate other characteristics of interest. It is possible for favor and bias cards to appear contradictory; this may introduce a political dilemma for a commissioner.

Based on a number of trials, we recommend that the game extend over at least three class periods, including a preparation phase, a role-playing phase and a discussion phase. In a 50-minute period in which all roles are represented in an average three-minute oration, 36 minutes will be used for "testimony" only, and it is common for the three proponents of plans to use even more time. Time is also consumed in the preparation of statements by role-players. Therefore, the authors suggest that part of Day One be used for introduction of the game and distribution of materials, Day Two for the role-playing activity and Day Three for announcement of results and discussion of the outcome and of the game, generally according to the following agenda.

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AGENDA

Day One

1. Teacher reviews past work on neighborhood interaction, barriers, social cohesion and fragmentation, invasion, succession and the formation of social order, with particular reference to the spatial dimension of these concepts.³ We recommend that the teacher amplify the scenario (see package A) by explaining the significance of concepts that the students have not previously encountered. This may be facilitated by preparation of an overhead transparency or classroom size copy of the neighborhood map.
2. Teacher distributes Package A to students. Reading of these materials may be assigned as classroom or outside reading.

Day Two

1. Teacher distributes parts of Package B.
2. Each role player decides which of the three proposals his character will support and prepares a brief statement advocating that choice. If roles are duplicated joint statements may be desirable. Role players may not discuss their positions with players of other roles. Community role player's will thus be unable to predict the actions of other role players. If only one class period of "hearings" is scheduled, it is important that his preparation period be limited to about ten minutes. It is possible to disseminate roles on Day One, but this tends to relieve the crisis atmosphere of the game and may also result in an excess of zeal among some role players who would arrive too well prepared.
3. The three agencies proposing development plans, the housing authority, the parks and recreation department, and the private land developer, present arguments to support their choices. They should be admonished by the teacher not merely to recite the descriptions that the group has already read, but instead to try to sell their ideas to the Commission. When each has finished his presentation the commission members may ask questions about the proposal. Questions from the floor or direct rebuttal are not allowed at this time to insure a fair hearing for all viewpoints.
4. Other role players testify before the Commission arguing for or against the various proposals. Again, direct rebuttal or questions

³We recommend the following readings as background to this game: Herbert Gans, People and Plans: Essays on Urban Problems and Solutions, New York: Basic Books, 1968; Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, New York: Vintage Books, 1961; William Michelson, Man and His Urban Environment, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1970; and Garner, Barry and Yeats, Maurice, The North American City, New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

are proscribed--principally due to time constraints--although the commissioners may question witnesses or make comments.

5. If time permits, rebuttal testimony may be allowed. Rebuttal is deferred until all who wish to speak have presented their arguments in order to conserve time and assure that all viewpoints are heard. If rebuttal is permitted earlier, or if the interest and enthusiasm of the group are sufficient, an additional class period may be used for the role-playing activity.
6. The Planning Commission announces that it will defer judgment until its next meeting.

Day Three

1. The Planning Commission decides which plan to recommend to City Council and announces its decision.
2. Any outside lobbying by role players since the last meeting should be disclosed.
3. The teacher leads a discussion on the changes that might be expected in prevailing patterns of social interaction and social space as a result of the new land use. The discussion can cover rent, mobility, land values, social pathologies or other areas of the teacher's expertise. Geographers may wish to emphasize the process of land use change and the modification of the spatial dimensions of social contact patterns, whereas teachers in other disciplines may focus on responses to crisis or on strategies for influencing public agencies. Some possible ramifications of each of the possible choices include:
 - A. If a park is developed,
 - (1) it could become a common meeting ground which serves all the adjoining neighborhoods, or
 - (2) park space could become socially segmented with each population claiming a section of the park, or
 - (3) it may become a battleground for rival teenage gangs.
 - B. If the public housing project is built,
 - (1) it may reduce crowding in adjacent poor neighborhoods, or
 - (2) it may overload local facilities such as streets and schools, or
 - (3) it may become a community within itself, isolated from other neighborhoods, or
 - (4) it may accelerate the dissolution of adjacent white neighborhoods.
 - C. If a luxury housing project is established,
 - (1) it might hasten the diffusion of upper-class row housing in the area, or

- (2) it might become the target for the frustrations of nearby poor people, or
- (3) just as the public housing project, it might become a separate community and/or overload local facilities.

In the authors' experience, role players tend to discover many of these ramifications during the game. The teacher should elaborate on these and point out items which were missed.

This game has been purposefully left with few rules and a loose structure. No quantitative scores are used to determine "winners" and "losers." The authors feel that this expands the utility of the game in undergraduate instruction, especially as the game can be played with a minimum of time spent learning rules or computing payoffs. Success or failure is assessed verbally and non-technically, thus simulating the way community groups evaluate their activities.

PACKAGE A
NEWSPAPER CLIPPING, SCENARIO, MAP,
AND
PLANNING COMMISSION HEARING WORKSHEETS

PLANNERS TO HOLD PUBLIC HEARING

The City Planning Commission will hold a public hearing into the controversial question of the re-development of the Old City Prison site.

There are currently three alternative proposals, according to Planning Director John Smith. These include a luxury high rise development, a public housing project and a city park.

Representatives of the proponents of these alternative developments are expected to be present at the hearing, Smith said. Interested community spokesmen are also invited to testify, he added. Explosive sentiments have been expressed in some quarters regarding the various proposals, because the jail now separates several rather disparate neighborhoods.

The luxury high rise project, called "Daedalus Towers" by its developers, RACARC, Inc., will consist of three sixteen story structures containing approximately 289 apartments. Over eighty per cent of the land in the project will be reserved for gardens and amenity space, including a swimming pool and tennis courts for use by the residents. There will be a multi-story underground parking garage that will allow each household to maintain at least one car.

The apartments will have one or two bedrooms. The floor area of the apartments will average 800 square feet, and each unit will have a balcony. There will be a twenty-four hour security service, including surveillance of all entrances and the parking garage. There will be a doorman and valet parking available at all hours.

Rents in the complex are expected to start at \$300 per month.

The project has been compared to Morley Towers, an existing luxury complex a few blocks from the prison site.

The second proposal before the Commission is a public housing project, which the City Housing Authority has named "Pobreza Gardens."

The authority proposed to build ten six- and seven-story structures containing 528 two- and three-bedroom apartments.

There will be four pre-school oriented playgrounds. There will be parking for one car per unit, all on the surface.

Rents will be individually determined--not to exceed twenty-five per cent of the tenant's income. Eligibility requirements will be established for the project, including a provision for an upper limit on family incomes.

The final proposal to be presented to the planners will be a neighborhood park. The emphasis of the park will be on outdoor recreation. There will be a recreation building that will contain a large meeting room and several small craft centers. Sports equipment will be available in the main building. Other physical facilities will include a soccer-football field, a regulation baseball field and two smaller softball-little league size fields. There will be recreation department personnel on duty between the hours of noon and 9 p.m., Monday through Saturday, according to recreation department spokesmen.

SCENARIO

The setting of this game is a tract of approximately one hundred and fifty acres located within easy walking distance of the downtown section of a large northeastern city, and which has as its center a four square block county jail (see Map). The jail is a physical buffer between a number of socially incompatible neighborhoods. The central problem concerns the fact that the jail, which is now obsolete, will soon be demolished, and a different type of land use, as yet undetermined, will be instituted on the site. Given the nature of the surrounding area, it will become the task of the players of this game to determine the most suitable land use.

The area in question is overwhelmingly residential, as some 25,000 people are crowded into a very heavily built-up environment. Nearly all of the residential structures are brick row homes, two or three stories high, which extend from the sidewalks in front to narrow alleyways in back, and which share common walls with adjoining units. Very few houses have front porches or lawns, and open space is rare in this area which is characterized mostly by brick and concrete. Most streets are very narrow--some barely wide enough to accommodate a large automobile--and all are lined with parked cars belonging to local residents. There are no large stores in the area, and only some minor concentrations of commerce along major streets such as Monroe or 81st, but downtown is only minutes away, and there are numerous small "ma-and-pa" type grocery stores, taverns, variety shops, barber shops, etc. Most intersections in the area have at least one such establishment, only the most important of which are shown on the map. Each of these small stores serves a spatially constricted market comprised of neighbors from the immediate area, and the relationships between their proprietors and customers have traditionally been generally warm and friendly.

Four distinctly different social neighborhoods surround the jail.

(1) To the northeast is Puerto Rican area characterized by overcrowding, low rates of home ownership, and physical decay. Most residents are poor, and high rates of natural increase and continued immigration contribute to population growth and increasing pressures on all public facilities.

(2) To the east of the jail are the fringes of one of the largest concentrations of urban Blacks in America. This area is also very crowded, and has large numbers of very poor people. This is a rapidly deteriorating neighborhood, and condemnation rates approach 50 percent in some blocks. Although there are some long-term, middle class black residents who own their own homes, they are not present in sufficient numbers to provide a strong stabilizing influence.

(3) To the west and directly south of the prison is a white working class neighborhood characterized by extremely high rates of homeownership (approximately 75 percent) and high densities. The neighborhood is ethnically mixed, as individuals from a variety of European backgrounds live here, and about one-third of the population is foreign-born. There is an over-representation of elderly people in this neighborhood, as many families with children have migrated to the suburbs, and some 15 percent of the area's population lives in single-person households.

(4) To the north and northwest of the jail is a growing neighborhood of recently renovated row homes and high-rise luxury apartments. Rents are high, and the residents are mainly upper-income individuals and families who live in the area because of its convenience to downtown businesses, and cultural and recreational opportunities. Many residents are career-oriented, former suburbanites without children, and are disinclined to participate in the local street life described below.

The borders between these neighborhoods are clearly defined; the jail is the most important boundary, and other boundaries are wide and heavily-travelled streets, and the right-of-way of the city's transit system. Recent years, however, have seen infiltration across some of these borders, as some neighborhoods have been expanding at the expense of others. Thus, the neighborhood of upper class whites has been expanding both east and south, thereby exerting economic pressure on the Puerto Rican and "white ethnic" neighborhoods. Prompted by the fact that real estate developers have been acquiring and transforming their homes into high-rent structures, Puerto Ricans have become increasingly crowded along the boundaries at 84th and Monroe Streets, and some have moved into predominately black blocks. Similarly, the blacks, many of whose homes are being torn down by the city, have been moving across established borders in search of new residences in the white working class and Puerto Rican areas. As a result of these processes, the white working class neighborhood has been shrinking in size, and during the last two decades some 30 percent of its residents have fled to the suburbs.

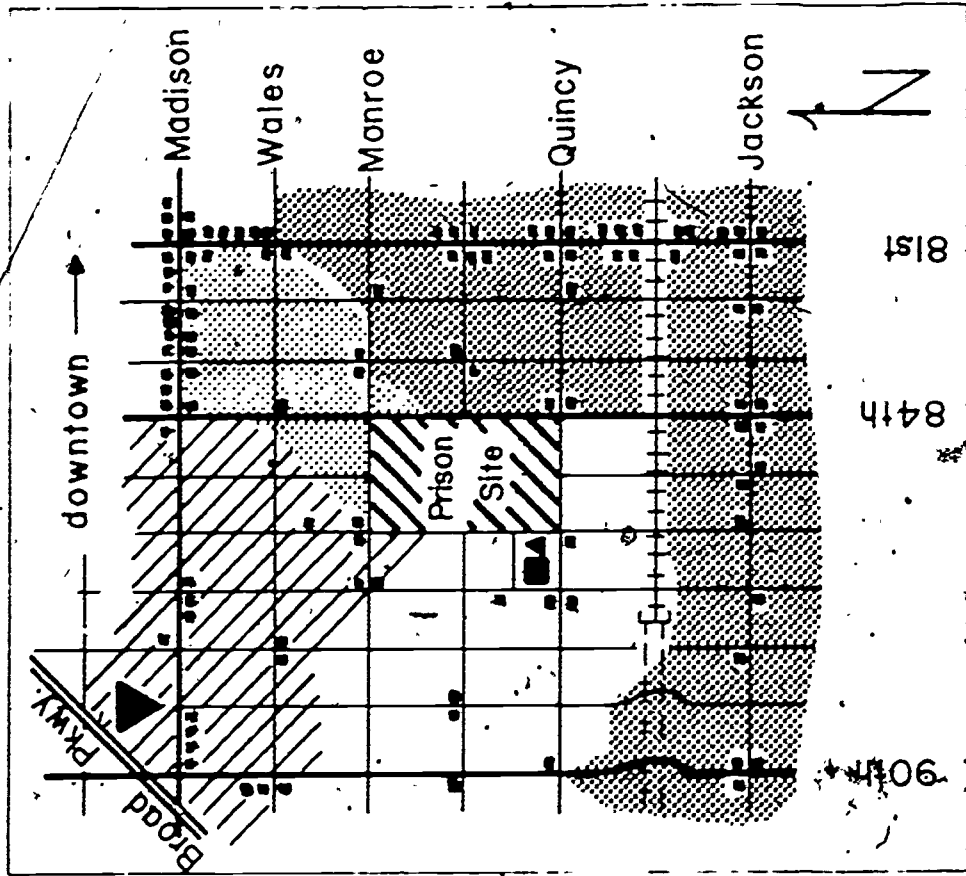
In each of these neighborhoods, except perhaps in the upper class area, there is much outdoor interaction between neighbors, and on pleasant evenings thousands of people can be found socializing at their doorsteps, in local taverns, or on the streets and sidewalks of the area. A prevailing social code regulates visiting inside private residences, as only relatives and intimate friends are welcomed indoors. Children play outdoors at games which are specially adapted to brick and concrete environments (e.g., basketball, stickball, hopscotch), and frequently frolic in the waters of illegally opened fire hydrants. There is only a small number of minuscule playgrounds available to them, and the nearby park is accessible only across dangerous boulevards, and it itself is unsafe because of the violent teenage gangs which roam its grounds. Local teenagers congregate in cliques at a number of street corner hangouts, and play cards, roll dice, or just talk. After dark, many teenagers date or drink beer, and intimate couples and small groups can be found in all sorts of nooks and crannies of the area.

Residents of this area are concerned about a number of local problems. Drug abuse is on the increase, and narcotics are sold openly at a number of locations. Rising crime rates are also a problem, and wars between rival gangs have terrorized many residents. Vandalism of private property is also common. Local population densities are so high that existing facilities, with the exception of schools, which are adequate by inner city standards, are heavily overloaded, and children and teenagers have no recourse but to play in the streets. Decay has taken its toll of local houses, but the recent redevelopment of old houses into luxury units has been a deterrent to this process in some areas. Parking is a serious problem, as is the unsightly litter on the streets. Because of population

heterogeneity, community cooperation in solving these problems is difficult, and most problems remain unsolved and are becoming increasingly troublesome.

In summary, the question of what will become of the jail site after demolition is extremely critical in that the jail is presently a barrier to the spatial diffusion of problems, both real and imagined, from one neighborhood to another. White residents commonly associate problems such as crime and housing decay with blacks and Puerto Ricans, and are fearful that the demolition of the jail will encourage the spread of these people and their problems into White-occupied areas, while many black and Puerto Rican residents see an opportunity to end their ghetto-like confinement, and eagerly look forward to the possibility of acquiring better housing for themselves. Some blacks and Puerto Ricans, however, fear the expansion of the high rent neighborhood in that it creates economic pressures on them, and fear that they might become priced out of their homes. On the other hand, working class whites, most of whom are homeowners, are hopeful that this process will rescue their own neighborhood from residential penetration by blacks and Puerto Ricans, and hope that their own property values will rise. Parents in all neighborhoods are worried that if a park or playground is built on the site of the jail, it will become a battleground for rival teenage gangs from local neighborhoods, because the demolition of the jail would disturb the existing "turf" system between them. The planning commission is aware of the serious implications of whatever land use decision its members reach, and is actively trying to come up with a satisfactory solution.

Prison Site and its Present Environment



- Commercial Uses
 - Rapid transit line
 - Tunnel
 - School
 - Morley Towers Apts.
- SOCIAL AREAS**
- Rich whites
 - White ethnics
 - Blacks
 - Puerto Ricans

SCALE
0 500 1000'

CITY PLANNING COMMISSION
HEARING WORKSHEET

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REDEVELOPMENT AREA

1. The site has been cleared of all structures.
2. Area: four city blocks; 5.7885 acres.
3. Adjacent uses

| | <u>Nature</u> | <u>Condition</u> | <u>Stability</u> |
|-------|---------------|------------------|------------------|
| North | Mixed Resid | Mixed | Unstable |
| | Commercial | Fair | Stable |
| East | Mixed Resid | Poor | Unstable |
| South | Single Resid | Good | Stable |
| West | Single Resid | Good | Stable |

The principal commercial concentration at Madison and 81st serves the entire study area with a novel mix of locally oriented stores dealing in both general and ethnically specialized commodities.

4. Population groups

| | |
|-----------|--|
| Northwest | White, well-to-do |
| Northeast | White and Puerto Rican, latter increasing |
| East | Black and Puerto Rican, both increasing, density rising |
| South | White, ethnically mixed, large proportion of foreign stock |

5. Transportation

Streets: East-West, Madison, Monroe and Jackson all carry heavy traffic, but Madison is the principal thoroughfare. North-South, 81st, 84th and 90th are the principle streets; all are of local importance; 81st most important.

Public Transportation: Several bus routes serve the area on Madison, 81st, 90th and Broad Parkway; RAPIDTRANS stop at 81st.

6. Public facilities

Schools: Adequate, at least in the context of similar inner city neighborhoods. There is a planned future elementary school on the west side of the residential area.

Recreation: A problem for all age groups. Young children must play in the streets. Older children mostly hang around the streets or meet at the homes of their friends. Adults can patronize the local taverns.

Parking: A perennial headache. Residents arriving late at night must often park several blocks from their homes.

PACKAGE B
PLAYER'S INSTRUCTIONS,
ROLE CARDS, FAVOR CARDS AND BIAS CARDS

"NEIGHBORHOOD RESPONSE"

Players' Instructions

1. Read your role card. This activity is of value only to the extent that each character actively advocates his position and attempts to sway the decision of the planners.
2. Restudy the scenario. Your character's biases, not your own, should influence the way you feel about the neighborhood and about the re-development dilemma.
3. Restudy the proposals and the site description. Evaluate them from your character's viewpoint. Choose the one that your character would prefer.
4. Prepare a statement in writing in support of one of the alternative proposals. You will be delivering this statement orally to the Planning Commission. The Commission is undecided as to which proposal to recommend to City Council, so your statement well might be the deciding factor. If you feel that none of the three proposals is suitable, you may suggest an alternative. (If you do it must be well presented to have a chance of success.) You will have only about ten minutes to prepare your statement. Think carefully about the impact of each of the proposals on your neighborhood or social group.

ROLE CARDS

Role Card

PLANNING COMMISSION CHAIRMAN

You must evaluate and choose between conflicting proposals for the re-development of an inner city tract of land. You are a middle class, professional, well educated layman who is generally familiar with the whole city but does not know this immediate neighborhood well. You are a practical person who likes to please as many people as possible, so you are amenable to compromise. Because you are practical, the benefit of any doubt always favors the powerful. Remember that power can take many forms.

As chairman, you will have to conduct a public hearing into several re-development proposals. Without being brusque, you must keep witnesses talking to the point. You must also be willing to ask people to yield the floor so that others may be heard. The utility of the whole public hearing approach to planning has been in question in your city in recent years, and you are anxious to demonstrate that your commission's hearings are conducted fairly.

Role Card

PLANNING COMMISSIONER

You must evaluate and choose between conflicting proposals for the re-development of an inner city tract of land. You are a middle class, professional, well educated layman who is generally familiar with the whole city but does not know this immediate neighborhood well. You are a practical person who likes to please as many people as possible, so you are amenable to compromise. Because you are practical, the benefit of any doubt always favors the powerful. Remember that power can take many forms.

Role Card

PARKS & RECREATION REPRESENTATIVE

Your philosophy of life holds that outdoor recreational opportunities are an important positive social good. In addition, success in your field is dependent upon increasing the amount of park land in the city. You therefore regard every piece of vacant land as a potential park site.

Role Card

PRIVATE REAL ESTATE DEVELOPER

You are unashamedly in business to make a profit. You perceive a trend for upper middle class households to relocate in luxury housing near downtown office centers and are eager to capitalize on this trend. The high cost of land will force you to build a large number of dwelling units (about 50 dwelling units per acre) in order to recover your investment. A

point in your favor is the considerable property tax revenue that would accrue to the city from your project.

Role Card

CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY REPRESENTATIVE

Recent articles in the press have been very critical of your agency, accusing you of ripping down more houses than you build. Alternatively you are accused of destroying low-income neighborhoods to create housing opportunities for the rich. You feel the need to redeem yourself. Cost efficiencies dictate that you build high-rise housing (about 100 dwelling units per acre) to accommodate the largest possible number of poor families.

Role Card

CITY PROTECTION SERVICES REPRESENTATIVE

(Police, Fire)

Your job is to protect citizens and their property from crime, fire, civil disorder, etc. You perceive that certain kinds of physical and social areas are more difficult to patrol and protect than others. Your concern is to evaluate proposed land uses with a view toward minimizing crime and related problems.

Role Card

SMALL BUSINESSMAN

You have operated a neighborhood-scale business in this area for a number of years, most of them at the same location. In the last decade, however, your business has declined as the young people in the community have established homes in newer areas of the city. The new residents do not frequent your store with the same regularity as old customers did. Local vandalism and high rents, taxes and insurance rates are forcing you to raise prices at the same time business is falling off. This rise in prices has made some residents suspicious that your shop is taking advantage of local people. You are thus frustrated by the whole pattern of change in your neighborhood, changes in which you cannot see any logical pattern.

Role Card

WASP-URBANITE

You are a successful senior executive with a large firm head-quartered downtown. You live in the area because of the availability of luxury houses and because of the proximity to cultural activities and to your job. You enjoy your new inner-city cocktail circle and shopping for specialty items in the local ethnic stores. You seek a reinforcement of these preferences through the creation of opportunities for new residents like yourself.

Role Card

LITTLE OLD ETHNIC LADY

You like tea and toast and pictures of your grandchildren in the suburbs. You feel uncomfortable around the younger residents of the neighborhood. Your social life centers around the church. Beyond that your only contacts are the corner grocer and his wife. You are vaguely aware of social changes in the country and see them as threats to your security, linking this with changes in neighborhood social relationships. You can't see the reason for any further change in the physical characteristics of the neighborhood, fearing that such changes would lead to still greater personal insecurity.

Role Card

LOWER CLASS BLACK

You don't like your present housing because it's too small and poorly insulated, and rats and roaches are a problem. Still, you can't afford to buy or rent improved housing. You've been on a waiting list for new public housing for three years, and therefore feel that the rate of building new public housing should be increased.

Role Card

LOWER CLASS PUERTO RICAN

You don't like your present housing because it's too small and poorly insulated, and rats and roaches are a problem. Still, you can't afford to buy or rent improved housing. You've been on a waiting list for new public housing for three years, but every time you are called, the housing is in another part of the city (which would mean giving up your job, because you can't afford to buy a car). You would very much like to see public housing constructed in your part of the city.

Role Card

WHITE TEENAGER

You don't like hanging around the house much, but you enjoy your circle of friends. You and your friends have no place locally to spend your free time, except street corners or at your friends' houses while their parents are at work. Money and wheels are in short supply. You'd like a place to spend time with friends without constant adult scrutiny.

Role Card

MIDDLE CLASS BLACK

You have saved the money to buy a better house than the one you now occupy. You don't like your present neighborhood, because you feel it is not safe and healthy for your children. You want to keep your local contacts, so you want to find a house near your old address. Experience has caused you to be fearful of living in all-white neighborhoods, and you see your best bet as lying somewhere near the racial boundary, in order to minimize the likelihood of conflict between your children and your neighbors. One of your goals in your new neighborhood will be to prevent the expansion of the slum conditions you are escaping.

Role Card

WHITE ETHNIC

You are the European-born, hard working head of a household with children. All your life you have sacrificed your own pleasures to buy a house and provide for your family's security and education. You are resentful of persons and groups you feel are getting a free ride in such matters as housing and economic opportunity. You can't afford to move to the suburbs, so you would like to see some of the advantages of the suburb brought to your neighborhood.

FAVOR CARDS

(One for each Planning Commissioner)

FAVOR CARD

You owe a favor to the Sons of Europe, a city-wide fraternal organization of mostly working class, immigrant membership with a strong chapter in this area.

FAVOR CARD

You owe a favor to the Neighborhood Coalition, a black socio-political organization.

FAVOR CARD

You owe a favor to the Urban Growth Association, an organization of realtors and land developers.

FAVOR CARD

You owe a favor to ACCION, an organization of Spanish-speaking citizens.

FAVOR CARD

You owe a favor to your brother-in-law, who owns Morley Towers.

BIAS CARDS

(One for each Planning Commissioner)

BIAS CARD

In addition to the background you share with other Commission members, you have a history of opposition to Public Housing projects.

BIAS CARD

In addition to the background you share with other Commission members, you have a history of supporting Public Housing projects.

BIAS CARD

In addition to the background you share with other Commission members, you have a personal interest in the development of additional parks, open space and recreational opportunities. You generally feel that green is beautiful.

BIAS CARD

In addition to the background you share with other Commission members, your prevailing social philosophy is a kind of "boosterism." You feel that quality redevelopment of the inner city is a way to improve the city's image.

BIAS CARD

In addition to the background you share with other Commission members, you feel in general that high density living arrangements are conducive to social pathologies such as crime and delinquency. You much prefer the low density suburban environment in which you personally reside.

BIAS CARD

In addition to the background you share with other Commission members, you feel in general that minority group members are responsible for the decay of the inner city. You would not normally go out of your way to help them.

BIAS CARD

In addition to the background you share with other Commission members, you believe that racial integration is conducive to the alleviation of social inequalities. You would therefore favor land uses that were at least non-discriminatory, if not actively integrationist.