# STRUCTURAL CORRELATES OF COMMUNITY INNOVATION

DISSERTATION

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By

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Structural differences between communities which exhibit a tendency toward innovation and communities which fail to exhibit this tendency are studied. The Model Cities program is used as a test case for the tendency toward innovation, and two samples (applicants and non-applicants) are matched on the basis of population size. Four structural elements are examined as related to applicant status: community differentiation, community poverty, community social-human resource commitment, and the centralization of local governmental structure. Each of the structural elements is further refined by operationally defining specific measures.

Community differentiation is measured by occupational and racial/ethnic differentiation. Community poverty is reflected by economic and educational poverty. The variable of community social-human resource commitment is developed using the following measures: per capita community fund goals, per capita amounts raised, per cent of goal raised, and the number of private social agencies in a community that are devoted to social-human resource needs. The centralization of local governmental structure is measured by the

presence or absence of the city manager form of government, the presence or absence of non-partisan election, the size of city councils, and the per cent of the city council elected at-large.

The findings of the research suggest that the relationship between structural characteristics and community innovation is highly specific with reference to the population size. The measures of differentiation and poverty are significantly related to applicant status only in the smallest cities (25,000 to 49,999). The measures of social-human resource commitment are related to applicant status in the smallest and the largest cities (100,000 and above). Measures of local governmental centralization generally lack any significant relationship to applicant status. The middle-sized cities (50,000 to 99,999) are characterized by a general absence of significant relationships between any of the structural variables and applicant status.

Structural characteristics associated with innovation vary with population size. The analysis questions certain past investigations which use Urban Renewal as a test case for innovation. Rather than nullifying the findings of Urban Renewal research, the findings suggest that the importance of structural characteristics in studying innovation is a function of the type of innovation which is sought by a community and the population size of communities. The research underscores certain methodological weaknesses of past

investigations and suggests the need to consider community innovation on at least three separate and distinct levels: the decision to apply for extra-local funding for community efforts, the receipt or failure to receive that funding, and the success of innovation among cities which receive extra-local funding.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

# CHAPTER I

## THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY INNOVATION

### Introduction

In recent years the study of community power has undergone both theoretical and methodological development. From a theoretical point of view, there has been an increasing emphasis on power, or "the ability to get things done," as a structural property of the community rather than as an individual and personal attribute of an actor within the social system.[1] From a methodological perspective, the study of community power has shifted from the case study approach, which analyzes one city, to an increasing use of comparative approaches, which seek to induce empirical generalizations.[2]

Reflecting these trends, this study investigates structural characteristics of communities and the way they relate to community innovation. The process of community innovation is considered a matter of community power in that it is an attempt on the part of the community to attain some basic community objective. As distinguished from much of the past

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[1]Amos Hawley, "Community Power Structure and Urban Renewal Success," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (June, 1963), 422-431.

[2]Terry N. Clark, "Community Structure, Decision-Making, Budget Expenditures, and Urban Renewal in 51 American Communities," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (August, 1968), 576-593.

research on community innovation, the investigation represents the following fundamental modifications: (1) a departure from the more traditional methodologies which have been employed and (2) a re-conceptualization of basic questions of the nature of community innovation.

## A Review of Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives on Community Power and Innovation

Three themes dominate the development of contemporary literature on community power and innovation: the transition from general and broadly defined community studies to a specific concern with community power structures; an increasing emphasis on structural, rather than individual and personal, variables as components of power; and the departure from case studies in the analysis of power, in favor of comparative methodologies which analyze many cities with respect to a single power issue. A review of research serves to indicate the manner in which these specific trends have coalesced.

As a collection of major research efforts, the tradition of community studies has yielded numerous descriptive accounts of the social life within a variety of American communities. Studies such as Middletown,[3] Middletown in Transition,[4]

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[3]Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (New York, 1929).

[4]Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York, 1937).

Elmtown's Youth,[5] and Yankee City[6] represent this approach, as do many analyses belonging to the classical "Chicago" tradition. Although the "Chicago" tradition encompasses investigations such as Street Corner Society,[7] The Gold Coast and the Slum,[8] and The Ghetto,[9] which describe the social life of specific sub-communities within larger community systems, these studies share many commonalities with the other studies noted above. Specifically, all of these investigations represent attempts to depict the structure and functioning of social processes within a given area.

Stein, in The Eclipse of Community,[10] offers a valuable review of many of these studies, as well as a framework within which a comparative analysis of the studies can be undertaken. In an attempt to develop a "theory of community life," Stein focuses upon urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization as the fundamental processes of change within American communities. He reviews the works of the "Chicago" tradition to underscore the effects of urbanization

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[5]August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York, 1949).

[6]William L. Warner, Yankee City (New Haven, 1963).

[7]William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1955).

[8]Harvey Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum (Chicago, 1929).

[9]Louis Wirth, The Ghetto (Chicago, 1929).

[10]Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community (Princeton, 1960).

upon the natural areas of the city and treats the studies of Middletown[11] and Yankee City[12] as reflecting the processes of industrialization and bureaucratization.

What Stein calls a "theory of community life" and what is present, at least in part, in these studies, is an extremely broad and descriptive account of a number of social processes. The interest in any one study may range from elements of stratification, in both the class and status sense, to the process of socialization of the community or sub-community members. The concern with community power structures in a specific sense, however, represents a far more narrow focus and one which has had its own historical development.

Specific interest in the topic of community power was largely stimulated by the pioneering efforts of Hunter in his study of Atlanta, Georgia.[13] By use of what has subsequently been termed the reputational approach, Hunter attempted to identify both the nature and location of community power. Selected community residents, deemed knowledgable about local affairs, were asked to identify those citizens whom they thought were most instrumental in community activities. From this list, the forty leading nominees were examined according to their occupations, positions, and

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[11]Lynd and Lynd, Middletown.

[12]Warner, Yankee City.

[13]Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1953).

memberships in organizations. In the second stage of the investigation, Hunter interviewed twenty-seven of the forty individuals, asking respondents to identify the "biggest man in town," as well as to rank their choice of the ten most important individuals in the community. Finally, he employed a variety of sociometric techniques to determine the extent to which the named individuals actually constituted social groups.

On the basis of this analysis, Hunter advanced certain conclusions which have since served as foundations for the elitist perspective on community power. In this view, the formulation of community policy with respect to a given issue lies within the purview of a relatively small number of individuals who are largely drawn from the business sector of the community. A larger body of lesser individuals are responsible for policy implementation. Top leaders tend to prevail in policy formulation across many issue areas, although the lesser influentials emerge individually with respect to specific issues.

Dahl presents somewhat contradictory findings from his investigation of New Haven, Connecticut.[14] Although Dahl relied upon numerous techniques of analysis, his work is often cited as exemplary of the decision-making approach which analyzes the historical development of particular

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[14]Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven, 1960).

community issues and the strategic actors in the process of decision-making. By focusing on the issue areas of public education, urban renewal, and political campaigns, Dahl attempted to determine the extent to which "social and economic notables" acted to influence community decisions.

Dahl advanced what was later called the pluralistic view of community power. According to him, the dominant power group in New Haven had undergone a transformation in which the established social and economic power structure changed under the influence of the industrial revolution. What eventually emerged and came to be the pattern of power at the time of Dahl's analysis was a structure of coalitions, formed on the basis of specific issue definitions. The pluralistic nature of power, in the view of Dahl, derives from the fact that no single group of individuals dominates in all instances of decision-making.

The contradictory nature of the Hunter and Dahl studies can be, and often is, exaggerated. Frequently there is an attempt to read the two studies as descriptions of polar opposite power configuration (elitist and pluralist).[15] However, if one notes the finding of Hunter that top leaders do not participate in all issue areas, a point of compatability with the Dahl orientation can be established. In actuality, both investigations indicate the tendency for certain leaders

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[15]John Walton, "The Bearing of Social Service Research on Public Issues: Floyd Hunter and the Study of Power," Cities in Change, edited by John Walton and Donald E. Carns (Boston, 1973), pp. 318-332.

to become involved in certain issues, although this factor is far more apparent in the New Haven study. Because the compatability of the views is often overlooked, a debate between the elitist and pluralist approaches has arisen. Resulting from this, however, have been several theoretical and methodological advances.

Questions have emerged as to the extent to which specific methodologies have influenced theoretical findings. The reputational approach has been criticized as producing an elitist power configuration. The equating of power with the reputation for power has been equally questioned. The decision-making approach, in many instances, has been judged as producing a limited view of community power. Certain key leaders may function hidden from view, and the selection of issues for analysis may not give a true reflection of issue saliency within a community.

Beyond these methodological concerns, substantial criticism has arisen over the inability of case studies which focus on individual cities to provide empirical generalizations about the nature and workings of community power. As Clark has noted in discussing the more recent trends in community power research,

> . . . by the end of the 1950's, some researchers had begun to undertake comparative studies of two or more communities . . . systematic differences began to emerge between the decision-making patterns of various communities, and a broader range of questions gradually came to be perceived as essential for understanding community decision-making processes. This series of questions focuses attention on those structural

> characteristics of a community which predispose it toward one or another pattern of decision-making.[16]

As the comparative approach to community power gained acceptance, it became characterized by two orientations--the secondary analysis of existing case studies and the more systematic analysis of structural characteristics in a number of communities with regard to a specific issue area.

Exemplyfying the first of these approaches, Walton reviewed thirty-three studies of fifty-five communities to determine the extent to which power structures (pyramidal, factional, coalitional, or amorphous) were related to selected community variables such as region, population, economic diversification, and industrialization.[17] This effort at synthesis failed to generate any substantive generalizations. Region, population size and composition, industrialization, economic diversification, and type of government were not found to be related to the type of power configuration which prevailed.

In a tentative explanation for the lack of relationships, Walton emphasized the "relationship between the community and extracommunity institutions" as a determinant of power structures.[18] Noting that the omission of this variable

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[16]Clark, "Community Structure," p. 576.

[17]John Walton, "Differential Patterns of Community Power Structure: An Explanation Based on Interdependence," Cities in Change, edited by John Walton and Donald E. Carns (Boston, 1973), pp. 502-517.

[18]Ibid., p. 514.

may be largely responsible for the failure to obtain clear relationships between structural variables and power configurations, Walton offered the following theoretical position:

> . . . the introduction into the local community of the institutions and influences of a national urban culture produces a 'fragmentation of local normative order' or a disruption of consensual expectations concerning the the norms prescribed by existing power arrangements. As expectations are altered and interests are differentiated, new resources are exploited for the creation of competing power groups.[19]

Walton further adds, however, that such a theory "focuses on one direction of influence in what is undoubtedly a complex process."[20] While the validity of such a statement can be accepted, a critical point should be made. As is demonstrated in a subsequent discussion of the dominant patterns in contemporary power research, this specific dimension--extracommunity relationships--has been implicit in many investigations, but without explicit theoretical or methodological specification. Very often the tendency is to hypothesize certain structural variables as being related to power or innovation, but without any clear definition as to what levels (stages) of power or innovation are being considered.

Another, and perhaps more systematic approach to comparative power research, is characterized by the work of Hawley.[21] In addition to employing a more rigorous methodology, he stimulated a redirection of the traditional

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[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Hawley, "Community Power Structure," pp. 422-431.

conception of community power. Within his framework, power is theoretically redefined as a property of the social system or community. Rather than an individual or personal attribute of actors, power is a functional property that rests within the social system and is independent of position occupants. It is the "ability to mobilize the personnel and resources of the community" vis à vis some collective action on the part of the community.[22] In this sense, the "systemic" characteristic of community power is emphasized.

> Proceeding from the notion that system power resides in the subsystems or functional units of a community, we can infer that it must be exercised through the managerial functions of the subsystems.[23]

Hawley hypothesized that whenever there is a greater concentration of this power or ability, there is a greater probability of success in a collective community activity. As a measure of the independent variable (the concentration of community power), Hawley utilized the ratio of manager, proprietors, and officials to the total employed labor force.[24] Success in urban renewal was selected as the dependent variable. Cities which were still involved in or had completed urban renewal programs at the time of the study were considered as representative of the greatest amount of success; cities which had withdrawn from the

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[22]Ibid., p. 424.

[23]Ibid.

[24]The ratio of the managers, proprietors, and officials to the total labor force is hereafter referred to as the M.P.O. ratio.

program after an initial entry were considered as representative of lesser success; and cities which had never entered into the program were categorized as the least successful in innovating. Although evidence was found to support the basic hypothesis (that lower MPO ratios, or greater concentrations of power, are associated with greater success in collective community action), several criticisms of Hawley's methods can be raised.

Straits, for example, noted that many investigations had judged power concentrations to be a function of city size.[25] Citing the work of Schulze,[26] in particular, Straits underscored the evidence supporting the idea that absentee ownership and "hired management" is characteristic of larger cities, whereas a more locally derived and concentrated power base is found in small cities. Rather than further substantiating this link between power concentration and city size, Hawley concluded that the MPO ratios tend to be independent of city size.[27] Straits further questioned the operational definition for the MPO ratio, at least to the extent that the measure does not reflect the MPO population

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[25]Bruce Straits, "Community Adoption and Implementation of Urban Renewal," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (July, 1965), 77-82.

[26]Robert O. Schulze, "The Bifurcation of Power in a Satellite City," Community Political Systems, edited by Morris Janowitz (Glencoe, Illinois, 1961).

[27]Hawley, "Community Power Structure," p. 424.

which is employed in a particular city but which resides outside the city boundaries.

Despite these criticisms, Straits engaged in a secondary analysis of the Hawley data and employed a regression model as a basic methodological modification.[28] Also, a series of control variables (for example, age and condition of housing) were introduced to examine the extent to which the need for renewal operated as an extraneous variable. In predicting the MPO ratios by the regression model, cities which had never embarked upon renewal were treated as having a value of "zero," while cities which had completed the program were accorded a value of "ten." Values within this range were assigned according to the length of time a city had been involved in the renewal program. Straits found moderate correlations between the control variables (reflecting the need for renewal) and the MPO ratios and suggested that the control variables may be related to both the MPO ratios and success in urban renewal implementation.

It should be noted that both the Straits and Hawley investigations lack any theoretical justification for including in their analyses cities which never entered into the Urban Renewal Program. The assumption is seemingly made that the structural variable (the MPO ratio), which is fundamental in achieving urban renewal success after the program is initiated, is the same variable which influences the decision to enter the program initially.

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[28]Straits, "Community Adoption and Implementation," pp. 77-82.

Even with these limitations, a number of research efforts have been derived on the basis of the Hawley model. Interest in further testing of the MPO ratio has been maintained and additional concern has been directed toward other structural correlates of community innovation. In these more recent investigations, variables such as population size, diversification, formalized political structure, and socio-economic levels of the community have been analyzed for their relationship to community innovation.

Crain and Rosenthal, for example, examined the effect of community socio-economic status on decision-making processes relative to success in urban renewal efforts.[29] The selection of community socio-economic status as an independent variable is noteworthy and deserves attention in that it introduces the concept of political culture to the study of community innovation. In developing the political culture framework, the authors argue that the more highly statused a community (measured by the per cent of the population having attained four years of college), the greater the probability that its citizenry will become involved in the political affairs of the community. These individuals are more apt to become members of voluntary associations in which they can perform their political roles. Finally, the authors suggest that

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[29]Robert L. Crain and Donald B. Rosenthal, "Community Status as a Dimension of Local Decision-Making," American Sociological Review, XXXII (December, 1967), 970-984.

when the issue is whether or not a community should engage in a controversial program or initiate community action, efforts toward implementation are apt to be greatest in the cities which are characterized by a lesser statused electorate.

The steps leading to the basic proposition that community socio-economic status is inversely related to innovation may be outlined as follows: (1) a middle-class electorate can more easily organize opposition to proposed governmental policies; (2) citizen groups are more likely to react to issues than to initiate them; (3) the reactive and opposing nature of the middle-class electorate may be distorted in the view of elected officials, to the point that there is a reluctance to attempt innovation; and (4) if a controversial issue arises, the tendency on the part of public officials will be to assume a posture of neutrality. Conversely, those communities with a less statused electorate are more apt to be governed in a machine fashion, or by an elitist structure. Though there would be fewer innovative programs anticipated under these circumstances, the argument outlined above suggests that the decision to apply for programs would be characterized by less controversy and opposition by citizen groups. It would further be expected that such programs would follow with greater success in execution.

In finding general support for their inverse relationship between community socio-economic status and innovation, the authors offer their findings as consistent with those

of Hawley.[30] This conclusion assumes that the measure of community socio-economic status, as developed by Crain and Rosenthal, is compatible with the MPO ratio constructed by Hawley. For the measures to be considered analagous, educational attainment must be assumed to be accurately reflected in the labor force structure. Moreover, the educational measure of Crain and Rosenthal is based upon the entire adult population, whereas the MPO ratio of Hawley is drawn from the employed (labor force) segment.

Other methodological procedures deserve critical evaluation as well. The Crain and Rosenthal analysis was based upon 308 cities which had some involvement with the Urban Renewal Program as of 1962. The cities were classified according to their statuses in the program. "Entry" cities were those which had entered into the program and were still involved. "Completion" status was accorded those cities which had, in fact, completed a renewal effort. Finally, cities which had entered the program but had subsequently withdrawn were classified as "Dropout" cities. In this context, the analysis is perhaps more correctly stated as a study of secondary decision-making processes; the major concern is with program implementation after the initial decision to enter the program was made. By limiting the investigation to a secondary level of community innovation, Crain and Rosenthal avoid some of the theoretical inadequacies

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[30]Hawley, "Community Power Structure."

which are common to both the Hawley[31] and Straits[32] studies. It is recalled that in these earlier studies no theoretical justification was offered for the inclusion of cities which had never been involved in urban renewal with those cities which had reached various states in the renewal effort.

Final consideration should be given to the work of Aiken and Alford, as it represents perhaps the most extensive attempt to test the currently competing theories of community innovation.[33] In this analysis, the relevance of socio-economic status, political culture, governmental structure, community differentiation, and integration were examined as the major theoretical constructs characterizing contemporary community innovation research. The speed of innovation (date of entry into the Urban Renewal Program) and the presence or absence of urban renewal were studied in 581 cities. Structural correlates derived from the theoretical orientations were posited as related to urban renewal success. A summary of the theoretical views which were examined is outlined as follows:

(1) Political Culture: There is more innovation among cities where majorities hold "public regarding" (i.e., support for policies which may not be of direct benefit to an

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[31]Ibid.

[32]Straits, "Community Adoption and Implementation."

[33]Michael Aiken and Robert R. Alford, "Community Structure and Innovation: The Case of Urban Renewal," Cities in Change, edited by John Walton and Donald E. Carns (Boston, 1973), 369-389.

individual but which may be of benefit for the larger community) than in cities where majorities hold "private regarding" values.

(2) Centralization of Formal Political Structure: Cities with centralized public administrations (city managers, nonpartisan elections, at-large elections, small city councils), rather than a more fragmented (party-oriented, mayoral-centered) governmental structure, are more likely to innovate.

(3) Concentration or Diffusion of Community Power: There will be more innovation among cities with a greater concentration of "systemic" power (the MPO ratio of Hawley), and there is less innovation among cities where power is diffused through mass citizen participation.

(4) Community Differentiation and Continuity: The bureaucratic tendency associated with older and larger cities results in less receptiveness to innovation.

(5) Community Integration: Innovation is apt to be greater in cities with a high degree of integration (low unemployment and low migration) than in cities with a lesser degree of integration.[34]

Each of the theoretical constructs (political culture, centralization of political structure, concentration or diffusion of community power, community differentiation and continuity, and community integration) was tested for its relationship to the multi-dimensional concept of innovation,

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[34]Aiken and Alford, "Community Structure and Innovation," p. 370.

as measured by four separate indicators: the presence or absence of the Urban Renewal Program, the number of years after the presence of state enabling legislation before entering the program, the number of years after 1949 (the date of federal legislation for urban renewal) before entering the Urban Renewal Program, and the level of output in number of dollars reserved per capita.

In examining the relationships between the four measures of political culture and the four measures of community innovation, support was found for only one in the hypothesized direction: the per cent of foreign stock (as a measure of political culture) was found to be positively related to the number of years between the presence of enabling legislation for the community and its entrance into the Urban Renewal Program.

With reference to the theory of centralization of formal political structure, it was hypothesized that there was a greater probability of innovation among cities with more centralized governments. The findings, however, contradict this hypothesis. Cities with the city manager form of government, nonpartisan elections, at-large elections, and small city councils were found to be less innovative than cities without centralized governmental features.

Finally, instead of the inverse relationship between innovation and differentiation and continuity (as measured by age and size of population), the authors found that the

older and larger cities were more likely to innovate. In a tentative explanation, the authors suggest that the older and larger cities may simply have been in greater need of urban renewal.

Certain aspects of community innovation research can now be evaluated. The research models of urban renewal efforts, as studied in community innovation, have gained substantial degrees of popularity and uniformity. Obviously, this is partially due to the standardized nature of urban renewal application and execution procedures themselves. A number of cities can readily be compared on this single issue, and several studies can also be reviewed for similarities and differences in findings. Despite the popularity of current research models which focus on the Urban Renewal Program, severe and critical inadequacies remain. These inadequacies primarily reflect the failure to properly align theoretical and methodological orientations. Other inadequacies are also found in the operationalization of several variables. These limitations are noted in the following section of this research report, and specific objectives are set forth to overcome them.

## Specific Research Objectives

As suggested previously, much of the past research on community innovation has been characterized by the discovery of contradictory findings or the failure to substantiate a variety of theoretical propositions. While certain operational

inadequacies may be apparent, other methodological shortcomings have traditionally escaped notation. For the most part, these limitations reflect the inability to properly derive methodological models from theoretical orientations.

Community innovation has traditionally been measured by the "degree of success" in the implementation of a specific community program. A program is selected for analysis--typically the Urban Renewal Program--and cities are variously scored on innovation according to the extent to which the program was implemented. Complete implementation is considered as representative of more innovation than partial implementation or the failure of the community to enter into the program altogether. In some instances, a factor of time in implementation is further added as a measure of success.

A criticism of this type of methodology may be raised, however. Since community innovation can be translated in terms of power or the ability to achieve basic objectives, it is necessary to consider the various levels at which these processes or abilities operate. As Clark has noted, urban renewal efforts are highly dependent upon outside funds for execution.[35] Because extralocal variables influence the funding of urban renewal projects, as well as many other community programs, it is important to clearly delineate the levels of power or innovation that are being investigated.

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[35]Clark, "Community Structure," p. 579.

In order to further explicate the need to consider specific levels of community innovation, a paradigm illustrates these levels. The paradigm (Figure 1) identifies certain of the assumptions present in much of the past research on urban renewal. The various levels of community innovation are identified as follows: (1) the basic decision to apply for program funding, (2) the success in receiving outside program funding, and (3) the extent to which a program is implemented among cities which receive outside funding. The assumption which is common to much of the past research cited is that the structural characteristics or variables which influence success at one level of innovation influence, in varying degrees, success at another level.

Recalling the work of Hawley,[36] for example, it is noted that cities which never entered into urban renewal were included in the analysis in addition to cities which had arrived at various stages of implementation. He did not, however, distinguish between those cities which never applied for renewal funds and those which applied but did not receive funds. Both types of cities were classified as never being in the program and occupied the same position along a continuum of community innovation (i.e., "never in the program"). Moreover, the same structural variable, the MPO ratio, was hypothesized as the explanatory variable for all of the levels. The apparent assumption is that the MPO ratio is

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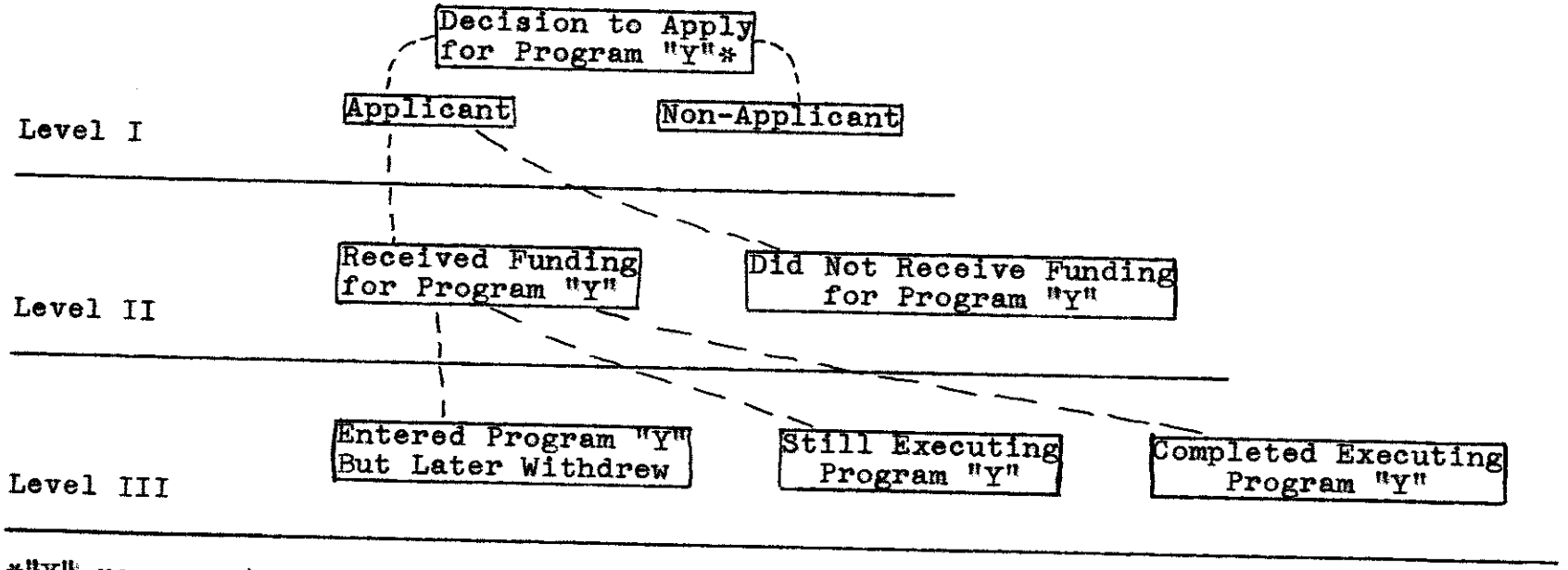
[36]Hawley, "Community Power Structure."




*"Y" represents a specific community program. Success in the implementation of "y" is traditionally treated as the dependent variable in functions where Xi...n are independent structural variables.

Fig. 1--Levels of community innovation

not only related to success in implementing urban renewal, but that it is also related to whether or not a community applies for or receives funding for the program.

These same assumptions are also present in the work of Straits.[37] He retained the implicit assumption that the structural correlates which determine the greatest success at Level III (Figure 1) are simply present in lesser degrees at the other levels. As does Hawley, he implies that those variables which influence a community to apply or not to apply for funding operate to influence both the receipt of the funding and the subsequent success in implementation of urban renewal.

The work of Crain and Rosenthal[38] is perhaps more precise, since it is focused on a single level of innovation. Their concern is solely with those communities which had advanced to Level III (as depicted in Figure 1). This work represents a study in the secondary decision-making processes, or the relationship between structural variables and the extent to which cities receiving funding actually implement urban renewal. At the same time, there is no concern with the decision to apply for the program as a level of innovation in itself.

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[37]Straits, "Community Adoption and Implementation."

[38]Crain and Rosenthal, "Community Status."

The work of Aiken and Alford[39] seems to imply a theoretical orientation similar to that of Hawley[40] and Straits.[41] Aiken and Alford see a single series of structural correlates as being related to varying levels of innovation. There is also a failure to distinguish between cities which never applied for renewal funds and those cities which applied but did not receive funding. This has the effect of combining two levels in the process of innovation in a single model. Questions on community innovation should more properly be put in terms of the variables which are associated with community decisions to apply for extralocal funding, the variables associated with success in receiving funding, and the variables which are related to program implementation after funding is received. In essence, there is a need for the development of theoretical and methodological models which are compatable with one another and the design of research which recognizes the existence of the various levels or dimensions of community innovation.

The present research is concerned with this need for greater specification in the field of community innovation research and the analysis of correlates of community innovation. Specifically, the research is an attempt to consider the structural variables, or community characteristics, associated

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[39]Aiken and Alford, "Community Structure and Innovation."

[40]Hawley, "Community Power Structure."

[41]Straits, "Community Adoption and Implementation."

with the decision to apply for extralocal funding for a community project.

The focus on the initial level of innovation--the decision to apply or not to apply for extralocal funding--represents a major departure from the more traditional methodologies which have been cited. The research also introduces changes in the interpretation of how certain structural variables related to innovation. Also, by viewing the Model Cities Program, rather than the Urban Renewal Program, an attempt is made to develop a framework in which theories concerning the process of community innovation can be tested apart from the single focus of physical rennovation which is characteristic of urban renewal.

In summary, the specific objectives of the research are as follows: (1) to substantiate certain theoretical propositions concerning the structural correlates of community innovation within the context of the most basic level of innovation (i.e., the decision to apply for extralocal funding); (2) to introduce methodological techniques which are considered more appropriate to the questions under investigation; and (3) to test propositions about community innovation within a more generalized context (i.e., by viewing the Model Cities Program as an issue of innovation).

# CHAPTER II

# THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

## Theoretical Orientation of the Research Problem

Based upon the review in the preceding chapter, several structural variables, or community characteristics, are hypothesized as being associated with a specific level of community innovation--the decision to apply for extralocal funding for a community program. In this research, the community program which is utilized as exemplyfying community innovation is the Model Cities Program. Each of the structural variables may be thought of as theoretical constructs employed in hypotheses which can be empirically tested. The constructs are identified as follows: (1) community differentiation, (2) community poverty, (3) community social-human resource commitment, and (4) centralization of formal political structure.

## The Model Cities Program

In response to the widespread concern with poverty and social ills of the mid-1960's, the Model Cities Program was enacted by Congress in November, 1966. It was conceived as a comprehensive and innovative program which would allow communities to design their own programs for achieving social, economic, and environmental rehabilitation. In addition to

requiring the assistance of existing local governmental agencies, the program required the participation of local community residents in the total planning process.[1]

Aid to the cities under the program was of a dual nature: supplemental funds were to be granted for the execution of locally designed innovative projects; categorical funds were to be allocated to meet the expenses for programs already available through federal agencies. The receipt of Model Cities funds required a willingness on the part of the community to advance a multi-directional program for abating community problems.

Program guidelines required that applications include an analysis of the social, economic, and physical problems of the proposed Model Neighborhood Area (the area within a community which was to be the target of the program). In addition, each applicant city was to include a statement of proposed program goals, to describe the approach that would be taken in meeting these goals, and to state how the administrative organization would execute the programs. Substantial emphasis was placed upon the use of local citizenry in all aspects of the planning process.[2]

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[1]Title 1, Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Act of 1966, H. R. 15890, Public Law 89-754.

[2]United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, A Comparative Analysis of City Response Patterns and Their Relation to Future Urban Policy (Washington, 1973), pp. 1-15.

The broad scope of the Model Cities Program allowed cities to express a variety of needs relative to the social, economic, and physical conditions of the city. As distinguished from the Urban Renewal Program, programs for employment training could be introduced, or efforts to modify existing educational facilities could be proposed. In this sense, the Model Cities Program is of broader scope and can serve as a more general test case for the study of community innovation.

## The Structural Correlates and the Formulation of Hypotheses

Community differentiation.--In studying community differentiation and continuity as variables associated with innovation, Aiken and Alford[3] employed age and size of cities as operational measures. Several objections to these measures can be raised.

The age and size of populations may be decisive elements in considering the extent to which a population is differentiated, but they do not constitute differentiation, as such. Actually, Aiken and Alford argued that older and larger cities would be more bureaucratic (in the sense of local governmental structure), and that this would result in less innovation. If the authors were indeed interested in the matter of governmental bureaucratization, measures other

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[3]Michael Aiken and Robert R. Alford, "Community Structure and Innovation: The Case of Urban Renewal," Cities in Change, edited by John Walton and Donald E. Carns (Boston, 1973), pp. 369-389.

than age and size of population would seem more appropriate (for example, the number of administrative governmental employees per capita).

The reliance on age and size of population also fails to account for the variety of forms that community differentiation can assume. If both racial/ethnic and occupational differentiation are studied, a theoretical position somewhat contrary to the Aiken and Alford point of view can be advanced. One might assert that the presence of a variety of racial/ethnic groups or occupational classes creates a situation in which community needs are more readily identified and subsequently emerge. Although he considered the idea in the context of state-level public policy, Sullivan has specifically noted the association between differentiation and innovation.

> . . . if numerous and diverse groups of people exist, each group might be expected to advocate its own special programs, and in order to maintain a working majority, many groups will probably get at least some of their demands met. This effect should result in both more programs, or laws, and in an earlier adoption of these laws.[4]

Aiken and Alford, in offering an explanation for their failure to substantiate many of their findings, also echo this idea of interest-group competition as it relates to innovation.

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[4]John E. Sullivan, "Political Correlates of Social, Economic, and Religious Diversity in the American States," The Journal of Politics, XXXV (February, 1973), 79.

> The degree of structural differentiation and complexity of a community may also influence innovation for two reasons. First, the larger cities are more likely to have more organizations devoted to specific kinds of decision-areas. . . . Secondly, it is precisely in the larger, more structurally differentiated communities that coalitions that can implement innovation will be easiest to establish.[5]

On the basis of both the Sullivan and Aiken and Alford commentaries, the following hypotheses related to the construct of community differentiation are advanced:

(1) The greater the racial/ethnic differentiation, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

(2) The greater the occupational differentiation, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

Community poverty.--Innovation in the form of efforts to introduce a community program designed to meet social needs is not likely to occur if needs are not present. Although it can be argued that innovation is not apt to occur when situations do not warrant it, the converse argument does not necessarily follow. There may be other factors present in a community which block attempts at innovation, even though community levels of poverty might justify some solution. However, it is appropriate to suggest that increased levels of poverty increase the probability that some effort toward amelioration will be exerted.

The idea that community poverty is positively associated with innovation is not contradictory to the position of

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[5]Aiken and Alford, "Community Structure and Innovation," p. 385.

Crain and Rosenthal,[6] which suggested an inverse relationship between community socio-economic status and innovation. The Crain and Rosenthal measure of community socio-economic status (the per cent of the population with four years of education), however, does not reflect the distribution of educational attainment at the lower levels. Also, the Crain and Rosenthal measure does not consider the matter of community poverty in the sense of income levels. Their argument of an inverse relationship between community socio-economic status and innovation rests on the assumption that high levels of education is associated with membership in voluntary organizations, and that these organizations are acting in opposition to innovation.

Against the "political culture" argument, it seems useful to consider the essentially practical side of community innovation--the need to innovate--and to consider the level of community poverty as a relevant structural characteristic involved in innovation. The association between community poverty and innovation is tested by the following hypotheses:

(1) The greater the per cent of families earning less than $3000 per year, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

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[6]Robert L. Crain and Donald B. Rosenthal, "Community Status as a Dimension of Local Decision Making," American Sociological Review, XXXII (December, 1967), 970-984.

(2) The greater the per cent of adults with less than five years of education, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

Community social-human resource commitment.--As a theoretical construct, community social-human resource commitment can be viewed as the extent to which private social or human resource organizations are present in a community and the extent to which cities are committed to sustaining organizations of this type. In addition to the sheer number of organizations within a community which might influence innovation, coalitional strength may also be a function of the economic commitment on the part of the community.

Three dimensions of community social-human resource commitment should be considered: (1) the number of social-human resource agencies within a community which might stimulate efforts toward innovation, (2) the extent to which there is an economic commitment to sustain these organizations, and (3) the extent to which the community meets this commitment. To test the relationship between this multi-dimensional concept of social-human resource commitment and innovation, the following hypotheses are advanced:

(1) The greater the number of private social agencies devoted to social-human resource needs, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

(2) The greater the per capita goals of United Fund/Community Chest campaigns, the more likely cities are to apply

for model cities funds.

(3) The greater the per capita amounts received in United Fund/Community Chest campaigns, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

(4) The greater the per cent of the goal which is raised in United Fund/Community Chest campaigns, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

Centralization of formal political structure.--The traditional approach to the relationship between formal political structure and innovation has been to investigate the extent to which local governments are centralized. The views on local governmental centralization, however, vary with respect to the matter of community innovation. From one perspective, it is argued that certain features of reform government (e.g., the city manager form of government, nonpartisan elections, at-large elections, and small city councils) are more conducive to innovation. The underlying assumption is that groups which might potentially oppose innovative programs are ineffective because party or ward political systems have been abandoned. The opposing argument is that the greatest concentration of power and the ability to initiate innovation is best achieved through the development of a strong party orientation and a less centralized governmental structure.[7]

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[7]Aiken and Alford, "Community Structure and Innovation," pp. 375-376.

The first of these two perspectives is utilized in this research. The city manager form of government is viewed as more efficient for advancing community applications which seek extralocal funding. The fundamental administrative character of the city manager office derives from the traditional non-elective nature of that office. The absence of a city manager, on the other hand, suggests an increased emphasis upon the mayoral or council positions as the administrative units charged with submission of applications for extralocal funding. Both nonpartisan and at-large elections seem to be more favorable to advancing issues of a community-wide nature. Rather than promoting innovative programs on the basis of ward or district interests, nonpartisan and at-large elections allow a broader identification with issues by the community. The size of the city council may have little relationship to innovation, per se, but still tends to be inversely associated with governmental centralization; smaller city councils are more characteristic of the centralized governmental structures.

In examining the relationship between local governmental centralization and innovation, the following hypotheses are tested:

(1) Cities with the city manager form of government are more likely to apply for model cities funds than cities without the city manager form of government.

(2) The smaller the size of the city council, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

(3) Cities with the nonpartisan form of election are more likely to apply for model cities funds than cities with the partisan form of election.

(4) The greater the per cent of the city council elected at-large, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

## Summary of the Research Hypotheses

The major theoretical propositions and specific research hypotheses employed in this study may be summarized as follows:

I. Cities which exhibit a tendency toward innovation will have higher levels of community differentiation than cities which do not exhibit this tendency.
   - A. The greater the racial/ethnic differentiation, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.
   - B. The greater the occupational differentiation, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

II. Cities which exhibit a tendency toward innovation will have higher levels of community poverty than cities which do not exhibit this tendency.
   - A. The greater the per cent of families earning less than $3000 per year, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

B. The greater the per cent of adults with less than five years of education, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

III. Cities which exhibit a tendency toward innovation will have greater degrees of community social-human resource commitment than cities which do not exhibit this tendency.

A. The greater the number of private social agencies devoted to social-human resource needs, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

B. The greater the per capita goals of United Fund/Community Chest campaigns, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

C. The greater the per capita amount raised in United Fund/Community chest campaigns, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

D. The greater the per cent of the goal raised in United Fund/Community Chest campaigns, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

IV. Cities which exhibit a tendency toward innovation will show greater degrees of governmental centralization than cities which do not exhibit this tendency.

A. Cities with the city manager form of government are more likely to apply for model cities funds than cities without the city manager form of government.

B. The smaller the size of the city council, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

C. Cities with the nonpartisan form of election are more likely to apply for model cities funds than cities with the partisan form of election.

D. The greater the per cent of the city council elected at large, the more likely cities are to apply for model cities funds.

## The Analytical Model

In this research, the Model Cities Program is used as the issue for testing hypotheses about community innovation. Cities which applied for model cities funds are considered as more innovative than the cities which did not apply for the funds. Applicant status, therefore, is treated as the dependent variable in the analysis. Four structural elements (community differentiation, community poverty, community social-human resource commitment, and centralization of the local governmental structure) are posited as the independent variables in the study; each of the structural elements are further refined by specific operationally defined variables.

Applicant cities are matched with non-applicant cities on the basis of population size because of the possible relationship between size and the independent variables. The dependent variable of applicant status assumes a dichotomized form (i.e., applicant or non-applicant). The $t$ test for matched samples is employed in most instances and determines the presence of significant differences between applicants and non-applicants for most of the independent variables.

The t test is used when the level of measurement of the independent variable is at the interval level. The chi-square test of significance is used in those cases in which the independent variables are at the nominal level of measurement (i.e., the presence or absence of the city manager form of government and the partisan or nonpartisan form of election).

The initial phase of the analysis involves the testing of hypotheses with reference to all cities, regardless of population size. Subsequent analyses are undertaken for each of the specific population groups: 25,000 to 49,999; 50,000 to 99,999; and 100,000 and above.

## Sampling Technique

Initially, 187 cities and 6 counties throughout the nation applied for model cities funds in May, 1967.[8] The availability of data for the independent variables required that the investigation be restricted to cities with populations of 25,000 or more.

Census population figures for 1960 were recorded for each of the cities listed among the initial applicants; those cities which were under 25,000 in population were omitted (46 such cities) and a universe of model city applicants was established, consisting of 141 cities. Six applicant counties were not included in the analysis. From the 141 cities in

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[8]"Model Cities Program Draws Application from 193 Cities and Counties," Journal of Housing, IV (1967), 196-198.

the applicant universe, 55 were selected so as to achieve approximately a 40 per cent sample. The proportional representation, by population category, was noted for the applicant universe. A systematic random sampling technique was used to establish an applicant sample which accurately reflects the distribution of cities in the applicant universe by population category. The population categories used in the sampling process are as follows: 25,000 to 49,999; 50,000 to 99,999; and 100,000 and above.

A listing of cities by population category also provided a universe for the selection of the non-applicant cities.[9] A systematic random selection was made for each of the three population groups so as to match the non-applicant sample. Each city selected was checked for its applicant status, and if found to have been among the initial applicants, it was excluded from the non-applicant sample and replaced by the next city in the listing. The use of such a sampling technique yielded the results in Table I.

TABLE I

APPLICANT AND NON-APPLICANT SAMPLES

| Population Categories | Model City Applicants | Non-Model City Applicants |
|---|---|---|
| 25,000 to 49,999 | 13 cities | 13 cities |
| 50,000 to 99,999 | 14 cities | 14 cities |
| 100,000 and above | 28 cities | 28 cities |

[9]Orin F. Nolting and David S. Arnold, editors, The Municipal Yearbook, 1967 (Chicago, 1967).

## Measurement of Variables and Sources of Data

The dependent variable, or the tendency toward community innovation, is measured by the applicant status of a city relative to the Model Cities Program. Only the response to the initial call for applications was considered in this research, although subsequent announcements for applications were made. Later applications (second-round applicants) were modified in the sense of what was required on the part of the local community in order to submit an application; the study was therefore limited to the first-round applicants. Also, by limiting the study to first-round, or initial, applicants and non-applicants, a standardized time frame could be established for the collection of data.

Records from the Department of Housing and Urban Development provided information as to which cities applied for the funds, both initially and subsequently.[10] Although concern was with the initial applicants, data were recorded as to whether cities in the original non-applicant sample were later model city applicants.

Both racial/ethnic and occupational differentiation were studied as indices of community differentiation. Data on racial/ethnic and occupational differentiation were obtained from the 1960 Census, Detailed Characteristics of the

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[10]Records provided by Edward Mathews, administrator of Model Cities Program, Regional Office of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Fort Worth, Texas, August, 1973.

Population.[11] Racial/ethnic differentiation was measured by the presence of white, Negro, and other non-white elements within the population. Occupational differentiation was treated as a function of the presence of white-collar, blue-collar, and unskilled groups within the labor force.

To obtain a measure of heterogeneity or differentiation of the population, the Gibbs and Martin measure originally designed to measure "division of labor" was employed.[12] The measure was computed as follows:

$$1 - \left[ \frac{\Sigma X^2}{(\Sigma X)^2} \right],$$

where X = the number of persons in a specific racial/ethnic or occupational category. This measure indicates the extent of variation within a population. Higher values of the index indicate greater degrees of differentiation (either racial/ethnic or occupational).

Consistent with the multi-dimensional nature of the concept of social-human resource commitment, four separate measures were employed: (1) the per capita goals of United Fund/Community Chest campaigns; (2) the per capita amounts raised in these campaigns; (3) the per cent of the goal that was raised in these campaigns; and (4) the number of private

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[11]United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census Detailed Characteristics of the Population, 1960 (Washington, 1960).

[12]Jack Gibbs and Walter Martin, "Urbanization, Technology, and the Division of Labor: International Patterns," American Sociological Review, Vol. XXVII, No. 5 (October, 1962).

social agencies extending services, such as ethnic relations, legal aid, and employment training.

The first three measures were designed to reflect the economic commitment to social-human resource organizations by communities. Data for these measures were obtained from the annual report of United Fund/Community Chest agencies covering 1967 campaign activities.[13] Data for the number of private social agencies within a community were obtained from an annual directory of private social agencies.[14]

Two measures of community poverty were derived to reflect both economic and educational poverty: (1) the per cent of families with less than $3000 income per year and (2) the per cent of adults, twenty-five years of age or older, with less than five years of education. Data for both measures were obtained from the County and City Data Book,[15] although figures listed therein are derived from 1960 Census data.

The centralization of the local governmental structure was measured by the following: (1) the presence of the city manager form of government, (2) the presence of nonpartisan elections, (3) the per cent of the city council elected

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[13]United Community Funds and Councils of America, 1966 (New York, 1967).

[14]Helga B. Croner, editor, National Directory of Private Social Agencies: 1966-67 (Flushing, New York, 1967).

[15]United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1967 (Washington, 1967).

at-large, and (4) the size of the city council. Data for the measures were obtained from the Municipal Yearbook.[16]

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[16]Nolting and Arnold, The Municipal Yearbook, 1967.

# CHAPTER III

## DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of data is presented through a discussion of each of the theoretical constructs and its relationship to community innovation. Each construct is analyzed by testing specific hypotheses and subsequent analyses by size of city. For purposes of simplification, the population categories are hereafter referred to as follows: small cities (25,000 to 49,999); medium size cities (50,000 to 99,999); and large cities (100,000 and above).

### Community Differentiation

It was hypothesized that both racial/ethnic and occupational differentiation would be positively related to the tendency toward community innovation. Cities characterized by greater degrees of racial/ethnic and occupational heterogeneity were hypothesized as being more likely to have made initial application for the model cities funds. Heterogeneity indexes (as measures of differentiation) were calculated for both the racial/ethnic and occupational distributions in each city. The heterogeneity measure was derived from the Gibbs and Martin measure noted previously.[1]

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[1]Gibbs and Martin, "Urbanization, Technology, and the Division of Labor."

When all cities are grouped without regard to specific population size, occupational differentiation is found to be significantly related to applicant status; whereas racial/ethnic differentiation is not related to applicant status. Table II reveals the mean and standard deviation scores for both heterogeneity indexes for all cities by applicant status. The relationship between occupational heterogeneity and applicant status is significant at the .01 level and in the hypothesized direction ($t = 2.653$). The $t$ value of 1.267 indicates the lack of significance in the relationship between racial/ethnic heterogeneity and applicant status for the total city group.

TABLE II

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION, AND $T$ VALUES FOR OCCUPATIONAL AND RACIAL/ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION BY APPLICANT STATUS FOR ALL CITIES

| Differentiation Scores | Applicants | Non-Applicants | $t$ | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Occupational: | | | 2.653 | .01 |
| $\bar{X}$ | .62 | .60 | | |
| SD | .02 | .04 | | |
| Racial/Ethnic: | | | 1.267 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | .20 | .16 | | |
| SD | .15 | .16 | | |

Controlling for population size introduces variation in the pattern of relationships. The relationship between occupational differentiation and applicant status remains significant in the hypothesized direction for small cities, but with a lower level of significance than for all cities ($\underline{t}$ = 2.319, probability less than .025 for small cities; $\underline{t}$ = 2.653, probability less than .01 for all cities). Applicant cities within the small population category are characterized by a higher mean occupation differentiation score ($\overline{X}$ = .62) than the non-applicant small cities ($\overline{X}$ = .60).

The relationship between racial/ethnic differentiation and applicant status attains significance at the .10 level in the hypothesized direction for the small cities ($\underline{t}$ = 1.592). As predicted by the hypothesis, applicant cities within the small population category are characterized by a higher mean racial/ethnic differentiation score ($\overline{X}$ = .16) than the non-applicant cities ($\overline{X}$ = .08).

For the medium size cities, occupational differentiation is significantly related to applicant status, whereas racial/ethnic differentiation is not. The relationship between occupational differentiation and applicant status is significant at the .05 level ($\underline{t}$ = 1.938) in the hypothesized direction ($\overline{X}$ = .62 for applicant cities, $\overline{X}$ = .59 for non-applicant cities). In contrast to the measure of occupational differentiation, the measure of racial/ethnic differentiation is not significantly related to applicant status for the medium size cities ($\underline{t}$ = .372).

Although occupational differentiation is related to applicant status in the cases of small and medium size cities, as well as all cities grouped together, the relationship is not significant for the large cities ($t$ = .647). The large cities also fail to show a relationship between racial/ethnic differentiation and applicant status ($t$ = .530).

Table III reveals the mean, standard deviation, and $t$ values for the measures of occupational differentiation by applicant status for the population groups.

TABLE III

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND $T$ VALUES FOR OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | $t$ | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | 2.391 | .025 |
| $\bar{X}$ | .62 | .60 | | |
| SD | .02 | .03 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | 1.938 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | .62 | .59 | | |
| SD | .02 | .07 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | .647 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | .61 | .61 | | |
| SD | .02 | .03 | | |

Table IV reveals the mean, standard deviation, and t values for racial/ethnic differention by applicant status for the various population categories.

TABLE IV

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND T VALUES FOR RACIAL/ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | t | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25,000 to 29,999: | | | 1.592 | .10 |
| $\bar{X}$ | .16 | .08 | | |
| SD | .15 | .11 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | .372 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | .17 | .14 | | |
| SD | .17 | .17 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | .530 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | .24 | .21 | | |
| SD | .14 | .16 | | |

## Community Poverty

Levels of community poverty were hypothesized as being positively associated with community innovation; cities which had applied for the model cities funds were expected

to exhibit higher levels of economic and educational poverty than the non-applicant cities. The per cent of families earning less than $3000 per year was employed as a measure of economic poverty; the per cent of adults twenty-five years of age and older with less than five years of education was used as a measure of educational poverty.[2]

There is no significant relationship between the economic poverty measure and applicant status when all cities are considered together ($t$ = .117). In contrast, the educational poverty measure is related to applicant status at the .10 level of significance ($t$ = 1.595) for all of the cities. Consistent with the hypothesis, applicant cities are characterized by a higher mean educational poverty measure ($\bar{X}$ = 8.17) than the non-applicant cities ($\bar{X}$ = 7.58). Table V presents the mean, standard deviation, and $t$ values for the two measures of poverty by applicant status for the total sample group.

For the small cities, the relationship between economic poverty and applicant status is significant at the .05 level in the hypothesized direction ($t$ = 1.824). In this case, the applicant cities are characterized by a higher mean level of economic poverty ($\bar{X}$ = 19.31) than the non-applicant cities ($\bar{X}$ = 14.46). The relationship between educational poverty and applicant status in the small cities is significant at the .005 level ($t$ = 3.702). As predicted in the hypothesis,

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[2]Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1967.

applicant cities are characterized by higher levels of educational poverty ($\bar{X}$ = 9.85) than the non-applicant small cities (5.12).

TABLE V

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND T VALUES FOR ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL POVERTY BY APPLICANT STATUS FOR ALL CITIES

| Measure of Poverty | Applicants | Non-Applicants | t | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Economic Poverty: | | | .117 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 17.32 | 17.48 | | |
| SD | 5.59 | 8.48 | | |
| Educational Poverty: | | | 1.595 | .10 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 8.17 | 7.58 | | |
| SD | 3.57 | 6.16 | | |

For the medium size cities, neither educational or economic poverty is significantly related to applicant status. Although the relationship between economic poverty and applicant status is significant at the .05 level for large cities ($t$ = 1.691), the relationship is opposite from the hypothesized direction. Non-applicant cities have a higher mean level of economic poverty ($\bar{X}$ = 19.66) than the applicant cities ($\bar{X}$ = 16.87). The measure of educational poverty, however, is not significantly related to applicant status for the large status.

Table VI reveals the mean, standard deviation, and *t* values by applicant status for the measure of educational poverty by population category.

TABLE VI

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND *T* VALUES FOR EDUCATIONAL POVERTY BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | *t* | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | 3.702 | .005 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 9.84 | 5.11 | | |
| SD | 4.34 | 2.73 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | .178 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 6.74 | 6.45 | | |
| SD | 2.26 | 5.05 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | .039 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 8.10 | 9.30 | | |
| SD | 3.51 | 7.32 | | |

Mean, standard deviation, and *t* values for the measure of economic poverty by applicant status and population are presented in Table VII.

TABLE VII

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND $\underline{T}$ VALUES FOR ECONOMIC POVERTY BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | $\underline{t}$ | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | 1.824 | .05 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 19.31 | 14.46 | | |
| SD | 7.28 | 7.63 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | .129 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 16.36 | 15.92 | | |
| SD | 5.37 | 11.38 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | 1.691 | .05 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 16.87 | 19.66 | | |
| SD | 4.74 | 6.71 | | |

Community Social-Human Resource Commitment

The multi-dimensional concept of community social-human resource commitment was hypothesized as being positively associated with community innovation. Model Cities Program applicants were expected to exhibit higher levels than non-applicants on each of the following measures: the number of private social agencies devoted to social-human resource activities, the per capita goals for United Fund/Community

Chest campaigns, the per capita amounts raised in these campaigns, and the per cent of the community goal that was raised.

The number of private social agencies is related to applicant status when all cities are treated as a single group and in the case of each population category. For the total city sample, the relationship between the number of social agencies and applicant status is significant at the .0005 level ($\underline{t}$ = 5.89) and in the hypothesized direction. For the small cities, the relationship between the number of social agencies and applicant status is significant at the .025 level ($\underline{t}$ = 2.298). As predicted in the hypothesis, applicant cities are characterized by a higher mean number of agencies ($\overline{X}$ = 2.54) than the non-applicant cities ($\overline{X}$ = 0.92).

Applicant status is also related to the number of social agencies in the hypothesized direction for the medium size cities ($\underline{t}$ = 2.132, probability less than .05). This, however, is one of only two instances in which significant relationships are noted for the medium size cities.

Large cities are also characterized by a significant relationship between the number of social agencies and applicant status. The relationship is significant at the .005 level and conforms to the hypothesized direction. The applicant cities in the large population category are characterized by a higher mean number of social agencies ($\overline{X}$ = 8.11) than the

non-applicant large cities ($\bar{X}$ = 4.07). Table VIII presents the mean, standard deviation, and t values for the number of private social agencies by applicant status for each of the population categories.

TABLE VIII

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND T VALUES FOR THE NUMBER OF PRIVATE SOCIAL AGENCIES BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | t | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All Cities: | | | 5.981 | .0005 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 5.78 | 2.85 | | |
| SD | 4.26 | 3.08 | | |
| 25,000 to 29,999: | | | 2.298 | .025 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 2.53 | .92 | | |
| SD | 2.18 | 1.26 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | 2.132 | .05 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 4.14 | 2.21 | | |
| SD | 3.21 | 2.69 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | 5.202 | .0005 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 8.11 | 4.07 | | |
| SD | 4.16 | 3.34 | | |

The second measure of community social-human resource commitment, the per capita goal in United Fund/Community Chest campaigns, exhibits a somewhat less definite relationship to applicant status than the variable of number of social agencies. For all of the cities, the per capita goal variable is significantly related to applicant status at the .10 level in the hypothesized direction ($\underline{t}$ = 1.427). As was predicted, the applicant cities are characterized by a higher mean per capita goal ($\overline{X}$ = 4.42) than the non-applicants ($\overline{X}$ = 3.82).

The per capita goal variable is also significantly related to applicant status at the .025 level for the small cities ($\underline{t}$ = 2.661). Consistent with the hypothesis, the per capita goal measure is higher for the applicant cities ($\overline{X}$ = 1.51). Among the medium size cities, however, the per capita goal variable is not significantly related to applicant status ($\underline{t}$ = .963). Similarly, the large cities are also characterized by a lack of significance in the relationship between per capita community goal and applicant status. Table IX presents the mean, standard deviation, and $\underline{t}$ values for the per capita goal measure by applicant status for the various population categories.

The per capita amount raised in United Fund/Community Chest campaigns has a pattern of relationship to applicant status similar to that for the per capita goal variable. Significant relationships are noted for the total city group and for the small and large cities as well.

TABLE IX

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND $\underline{T}$ VALUES FOR THE PER CAPITA GOAL MEASURE BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | $\underline{t}$ | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All Cities: | | | 1.427 | .10 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 4.42 | 3.82 | | |
| SD | 2.37 | 2.69 | | |
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | 2.661 | .025 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.57 | 1.51 | | |
| SD | 2.24 | 2.11 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999 | | | .963 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.21 | 4.10 | | |
| SD | 2.14 | 3.25 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | 1.242 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 5.42 | 4.76 | | |
| SD | 2.16 | 1.98 | | |

In the case of the total city group, the relationship between per capita amount raised and applicant status is significant at the .10 level and in the hypothesized direction ($\underline{t}$ = 1.610). The applicant cities are characterized by a higher mean per capita amount raised ($\bar{X}$ = 4.52) than the non-applicant cities ($\bar{X}$ = 3.81).

A significant relationship at the .025 level is also noted for the small cities. Consistent with the hypothesis, applicant cities within the small population category exhibit a higher mean per capita amount raised ($\bar{X}$ = 3.57) than the non-applicant small cities ($\bar{X}$ = 1.51). In the case of the medium size cities, however, there is no relationship between the per capita amount raised and applicant status ($t$ = .800).

In contrast, a significant relationship between the two variables is noted at the .10 level in the case of the large cities. As predicted by the hypothesis, the applicant cities are characterized by a higher mean per capita amount raised ($\bar{X}$ = 5.64) than the non-applicant large cities ($\bar{X}$ = 4.81). Table X presents the mean, standard deviation, and $t$ values for the per-capita-amount-raised variables by applicant status for the various population categories.

TABLE X

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND $T$ VALUES FOR PER CAPITA AMOUNT RAISED BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | $t$ | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All Cities: | | | 1.610 | .10 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 4.52 | 3.81 | | |
| SD | 2.60 | 2.70 | | |

TABLE X--Continued

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | t | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | 2.587 | .025 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.57 | 1.51 | | |
| SD | 2.29 | 2.14 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | .800 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.17 | 3.94 | | |
| SD | 2.26 | 3.22 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | 1.382 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 5.64 | 4.81 | | |
| SD | 2.46 | 1.98 | | |

As a final measure of community social-human resource commitment, the variable of per cent of goal raised (in United Fund/Community Chest campaigns) was examined for its relationship to applicant status. This allowed a measure of the extent to which community goals or commitments were actually fulfilled. With the exception of the medium size cities, the variable is noted as being significantly related to applicant status. Table XI presents the mean, standard deviation, and *t* values for the per-cent-of-goal-raised variable by applicant status for the various population categories.

TABLE XI

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND $t$ VALUES FOR THE PER CENT OF GOAL RAISED BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORIES

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | $t$ | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All Cities: | | | 1.602 | .10 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 88.27 | 74.98 | | |
| SD | 32.02 | 44.11 | | |
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | 2.682 | .01 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 76.46 | 38.31 | | |
| SD | 44.00 | 50.48 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | .016 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 76.21 | 71.07 | | |
| SD | 42.85 | 45.66 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | 1.483 | .10 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 99.79 | 93.96 | | |
| SD | 5.05 | 26.94 | | |

For all of the cities, treated as a single group, the relationship between the per cent of goal raised measure and applicant status is significant at the .10 level. The relationship is in the hypothesized direction ($t$ = 1.602). Consistent with the hypothesis, the mean per cent goal raised

is higher for the applicant cities ($\bar{X}$ = 88.27) than for the non-applicant cities ($\bar{X}$ = 74.99).

For the small cities, the relationship between the per-cent-of-goal-raised variable and applicant status is also in the hypothesized direction ($\bar{X}$ = 76.46 for the applicant cities; $\bar{X}$ = 38.31 for the non-applicant cities). In this instance, the relationship attains significance at the .01 level ($t$ = 2.682). The medium size cities, however, fail to show a significant relationship between the per-cent-of-goal-raised variable and applicant status ($t$ = .016). The large cities are characterized by a significant relationship between the per-cent-of-goal-raised variable and applicant status at the .10 level ($t$ = 1.483). The relationship conforms to the hypothesized direction.

### Centralization of Formal Political Structure

The concept of political centralization was hypothesized as being positively associated with innovation; cities with the more centralized local governmental structure were predicted as more likely to be Model City Program applicants than non-applicants. Four measures were employed as indicators of political centralization: (1) the size of the city council, (2) the per cent of the city council elected at-large, (3) the presence or absence of the city manager form of government, and (4) the type of council election (partisan or nonpartisan).

An inverse relationship between the size of city councils and innovation was hypothesized; applicant cities were expected to be characterized by smaller city councils than the non-applicants. When found to be significant, however, the relationship between city council size and applicant status is contrary to the hypothesized direction.

In the case of the total city group, the relationship between council size and applicant status is significant at the .10 level. The relationship, as suggested above, is opposite from the hypothesized direction. As a total sample, applicant cities are characterized by larger city councils ($\bar{X}$ = 9.85) than the non-applicant cities ($\bar{X}$ = 8.31).

For the small cities, there is no significant relationship between applicant status and city council size ($t$ = .065). Similarly, the medium size cities are also characterized by a lack of significant relationship between the city council size and applicant status ($t$ = .345).

A significant relationship between council size and applicant status is noted, however, in the case of the large cities. In this instance, the relationship attains significance at the .10 level ($t$ = 1.61). This relationship is opposite from the predicted direction; applicant cities are characterized by larger city councils ($\bar{X}$ = 11.89) than the non-applicants ($\bar{X}$ = 8.64). Table XII presents the mean, standard deviation, and $t$ values for city council size by applicant status for the various population categories.

TABLE XII

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND $\underline{T}$ VALUES FOR CITY COUNCIL SIZE BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | $\underline{t}$ | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All Cities: | | | * 1.326 | .10 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 9.85 | 8.31 | | |
| SD | 6.86 | 5.08 | | |
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | .065 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 7.77 | 7.69 | | |
| SD | 3.00 | 4.57 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999 | | | .345 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 7.71 | 8.21 | | |
| SD | 2.64 | 5.07 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | *1.611 | .10 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 11.89 | 8.64 | | |
| SD | 8.83 | 5.44 | | |

* Indicates opposite from hypothesized direction.

The second measure of political centralization, the per cent of the city council elected at-large, was found to show less relationship to applicant status than the size of the

city council. A significant relationship was noted for only one of the population categories (the small cities).

For all of the cities, there is no significant relationship between the per cent of the city council elected at-large and applicant status ($t$ = 1.181). The significant relationship between the per cent of the city council elected at-large and applicant status for the small cities is at the .05 level ($t$ = 1.894). Against the hypothesis, however, among the small cities, the applicant cities exhibit a smaller mean percentage of council members elected at-large ($\bar{X}$ = 51.92) than the non-applicant cities ($\bar{X}$ = 75.92).

The lack of a significant relationship between the per cent of the city council elected at-large and applicant status is characteristic of both medium size and large cities. In the case of the medium size cities, the $t$ value is .300. The $t$ value for the large cities is .701. Table XIII presents the mean, standard deviation, and $t$ values for the per cent of council members elected at-large by applicant status for the various population categories.

TABLE XIII

MEAN ($\bar{X}$), STANDARD DEVIATION (SD), AND $T$ VALUES FOR THE PER CENT OF CITY COUNCIL MEMBERS ELECTED AT-LARGE BY APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | $t$ | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All Cities: | | | 1.181 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 62.84 | 71.49 | | |
| SD | 42.23 | 39.50 | | |

TABLE XIII--Continued

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | t | pr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | *1.894 | .05 |
| $\bar{X}$ | 51.92 | 75.92 | | |
| SD | 43.64 | 38.29 | | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | .300 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 72.00 | 67.93 | | |
| SD | 40.56 | 40.94 | | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | .701 | ns |
| $\bar{X}$ | 63.32 | 71.21 | | |
| SD | 42.76 | 40.57 | | |

The third dimension of local governmental centralization which was studied was the presence or absence of the city manager form of government. It was hypothesized that the city manager form would be more characteristic of the applicant cities because it is associated with the reform or centralized governmental structure. The analysis of data failed to support this hypothesis.

Table XIV reveals that the city manager form of government is characteristic of 50 of the 110 cities, and that the presence or absence of the city manager form of government

is unrelated to applicant status (chi-square = .14). Also noted is that among the small cities, the presence or absence of the city manager form of government is unrelated to applicant status (chi-square = 1.02).

TABLE XIV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CITY MANAGER FORM OF GOVERNMENT BY APPLICANT STATUS AND CHI-SQUARE VALUES BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| CITY SIZE | APPLICANTS | NON-APPLICANTS | CHI-SQUARE |
|---|---|---|---|
| All Cities: | | | .14 |
| Manager Form Present | 24 | 26 | |
| Manager Form Absent | 31 | 29 | |
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | 1.02 |
| Manager Form Present | 4 | 7 | |
| Manager Form Absent | 9 | 6 | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | .12 |
| Manager Form Present | 7 | 7 | |
| Manager Form Absent | 6 | 8 | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | .00 |
| Manager Form Present | 13 | 13 | |
| Manager Form Absent | 15 | 15 | |

Similarly, the medium size cities are also characterized by a lack of relationship between the presence or absence of the city manager form of government and applicant status (chi-square = .12). Among the large cities, the distribution of manager and non-manager forms of government is identical for both applicant and non-applicant cities, indicating the lack of relationship between the variables.

The fourth dimension of governmental centralization studied is the form of local elections; nonpartisan elections were considered more representative of centralized governmental structure and were hypothesized as being more characteristic of the applicant cities. This element of governmental centralization, however, was found to be unrelated to applicant status, regardless of city size.

In the total sample of cities, the nonpartisan form of council election is the most characteristic form. As Table XV illustrates, among the 110 cities in the study, 68 were characterized by the nonpartisan form, and there was no significant relationship between the variable of election type and applicant status. The tendency for the nonpartisan form of election to be twice as frequent as the partisan form is also reflected in the small cities. In the case of the small cities, there is a lack of any significant relationship between election form and applicant status (chi-square = 0.00).

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION OF THE TYPE OF ELECTION BY APPLICANT STATUS AND CHI-SQUARE VALUES BY POPULATION CATEGORY

| City Size | Applicants | Non-Applicants | Chi-Square |
|---|---|---|---|
| All Cities: | | | .16 |
| Partisan Election | 22 | 20 | |
| Nonpartisan Election | 33 | 35 | |
| 25,000 to 49,999: | | | .00 |
| Partisan Election | 4 | 4 | |
| Nonpartisan Election | 9 | 9 | |
| 50,000 to 99,999: | | | .16 |
| Partisan Election | 10 | 5 | |
| Nonpartisan Election | 4 | 9 | |
| 100,000 and above: | | | .74 |
| Partisan Election | 8 | 11 | |
| Nonpartisan Election | 20 | 17 | |

The distribution of election type by applicant status presented in Table XV is also similar with respect to the medium size cities. The nonpartisan form is present in thirteen of the twenty-eight cities, and the type of election is unrelated to applicant status. As in other instances, the

form of council election is found to be unrelated to applicant status for the large cities. For these cities, the nonpartisan form of election is characteristic of thirty-seven of the fifty-six cities.

## Summary of the Findings

The analysis of data indicates support for many of the hypotheses tested in this study, but the significant findings occur most frequently in the case of the small cities. When medium size cities are considered, there is a lack of support for the majority of the hypotheses. The pattern of findings with respect to the large cities is one of significant relationships being noted in the case of the community social-human resource commitment variables. A general lack of support for the hypotheses is also noted when all of the cities are grouped together for analysis. Table XVI provides a summary of the test statistics (*t* and chi-square) and associated probabilities for the various sample population categories.

The totality of the findings reveals a rather interesting pattern when each of the constructs is analyzed by city size. Educational and economic poverty are found to be related to applicant status (in the hypothesized direction) only for the small cities. Similarly, occupational and racial/ethnic differentiation are related to applicant status only for the small cities, with one exception; occupational differentiation is significantly related to applicant status among the medium size cities.

TABLE XVI

TEST STATISTICS* AND ASSOCIATED PROBABILITIES FOR RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND APPLICANT STATUS BY POPULATION CATEGORIES

| Variable | All Cities | | Small Cities | | Medium Size Cities | | Large Cities | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Value | pr | Value | pr | Value | pr | Value | pr |
| Differentiation: | | | | | | | | |
| Occupational | 2.653 | .01 | 2.391 | .025 | 1.938 | .05 | .647 | ns |
| Racial/Ethnic | 1.267 | ns | 1.592 | .10 | .372 | ns | .530 | ns |
| Poverty: | | | | | | | | |
| Educational | 1.595 | .10 | 3.702 | .005 | .178 | ns | .039 | ns |
| Economic | .117 | ns | 1.824 | .05 | .129 | ns | **1.691 | .05 |
| Social-Human Resources: | | | | | | | | |
| No. Social Agencies | 5.891 | .0005 | 2.298 | .025 | 2.132 | .05 | 5.202 | .0005 |
| Per Capita Goal | 1.427 | .10 | 2.661 | .025 | .963 | ns | 1.242 | ns |
| Per Capita Raised | 1.610 | .10 | 2.587 | .025 | .800 | ns | 1.382 | .10 |
| Per Cent Raised | 1.602 | .10 | 2.682 | .01 | .016 | ns | 1.483 | .10 |
| Government Structure: | | | | | | | | |
| Presence of City Manager | .14 | ns | 1.02 | ns | .12 | ns | 0.00 | ns |
| Type of Election | .16 | ns | 0.00 | ns | .16 | ns | .74 | ns |
| Per Cent of Council At-Large | 1.181 | ns | **1.894 | .05 | .300 | ns | .701 | ns |
| Council Size | **1.326 | .10 | .065 | ns | .345 | ns | **1.611 | .10 |

*t and chi-square values.

**indicates opposite from hypothesized direction.

Political centralization bears no clear relationship to applicant status. The instances in which city council size is associated with applicant status (for large cities and all cities combined) are not in the hypothesized direction. For the large cities and the total city group, applicant cities are characterized by larger councils than the non-applicants. The per cent of the council elected at-large is related to applicant status only for the small cities. The remaining measures of governmental centralization (type of council election and the presence or absence of the city manager form of government) are unrelated to applicant status for any of the population categories.

Social-human resource commitment is related to applicant status for most of the instances involving small and large cities. At the same time, the four dimensions of the construct, with one exception--the number of social agencies present in the community--are unrelated to applicant status for the medium size cities. The number of social agencies, the per capita community goal, the per capita amount raised, and the per cent of the goal raised are significantly related to applicant status for the small cities. These variables, with the exception of the per capita goal measure, are also related to applicant status for the large cities.

In summary, the findings reveal relationships between community characteristics and applicant status which are highly specific with respect to city size. Whether or not

a particular variable is related to innovation is apparently very much a function of city size. At the same time, for cities in various population categories, different structural or community characteristics are related to innovation.

# CHAPTER IV

## INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

The most obvious and noteworthy finding developed out of this research is the highly specific manner in which community characteristics are associated with innovation. The relevance of population size to the question of innovation is underscored in two respects: the variables which are associated with the decision to apply for model cities funds are found to operate only in certain city sizes; among cities of different population categories, different variables are related to the decision to apply for model cities funds. No single variable is related to innovation for all size classifications of cities, and the variables which are associated with innovation are interrelated to city population.

These findings contrast with certain aspects of past research on community innovation. This interpretation of findings suggests a need for theoretical perspectives which account for variations in the types of innovation a community may undertake, the types of variables which are related to a particular type of innovation, and the manner in which the structural correlates and types of innovation may differ by city size.

## Types of Community Innovation

In contrast to some of the major research on urban renewal, this analysis of the Model Cities Program indicates that the association between community characteristics and innovation varies by population size. In Hawley's study of urban renewal implementation, the variable hypothesized as being related to successful program implementation (the MPO ratio) was found to be independent of city size. Success in urban renewal varied inversely with the MPO ratio, regardless of population size.[1] Although Crain and Rosenthal[2] did not control for the variable of population size, they suggested that there was an inverse relationship between community socio-economic status and urban renewal implementation, and that their finding was consistent with Hawley's.

The present analysis, however, reveals associations between community characteristics and innovation which are population size-specific. None of the variables hypothesized as being related to innovation are statistically significant for all population categories. While this general finding does not necessarily contradict or nullify the findings of

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[1]Amos Hawley, "Community Power Structure and Urban Renewal Success," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII (June, 1963), 422-431.

[2]Robert L. Crain and Donald B. Rosenthal, "Community Status as a Dimension of Local Decision-Making," American Sociological Review, XXXII (December, 1967), 970-984.

Hawley,[3] Crain and Rosenthal,[4] or other studies of urban renewal, it does suggest that there may be considerable differences in the types of community innovation which are undertaken by a community and the types of variables which are associated with a particular type of innovation.

In the opinion of many, urban renewal is an "establishment benefiting" type of innovation. It is directed solely toward the physical rehabilitation of a community and offers sizeable gains to local businessmen in the form of relocation allotments.[5] Also, the Urban Renewal Program might be considered a particular type of innovation in that it has often been criticized by residents of a potential renewal area as being detrimental and serving only to remove residents from their own surroundings. The issue, in one sense, is not whether urban renewal is "good" or "bad," but the extent to which the program, by virtue of its singular, physical orientation, constitutes a particular type of innovation. Additionally, if urban renewal is considered in light of its "establishment benefiting" character, it is not surprising that its execution is related to a variable such as the MPO ratio of Hawley. It is not surprising that many of the findings in this study contrast with findings developed

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[3]Hawley, "Community Power Structure."

[4]Crain and Rosenthal, "Community Status."

[5]Terry Clark, "Community Structure, Decision-Making, Budget Expenditures, and Urban Renewal in 51 American Communities," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (August, 1968), 576-593.

out of urban renewal research. The hypotheses employed in this investigation, in many cases, developed from the urban renewal studies. But there may be serious question as to the validity of using renewal as a test of innovation.

The Urban Renewal Program stands in contrast to many of the more recent federal programs, such as the War on Poverty or Model Cities Program, which allow communities to introduce programs more specifically directed toward the social or economic rehabilitation of a city. If urban renewal constitutes a particular type of innovation (as contrasted to the more socially oriented federal programs), then it is reasonable to assume that the variables which are associated with the Urban Renewal Program success are likely to be different from the variables associated with successful implementation of other forms of innovation. It is also reasonable to assume that in the case of other types of innovation (as opposed to urban renewal) the associated variables are more dependent on city size. This may be particularly true in the case of the Model Cities Program, which is investigated in this analysis because of the variety of types of innovation that can be undertaken through the program. Needs of cities are likely to vary by city size, and the type of innovation a city undertakes through the Model Cities Program, in turn, may vary accordingly. At the same time, the correlates of innovation may reflect type of innovation and, therefore, become size dependent.

## Types of Structural Correlates and Community Population

Noted above is one possible explanation for the population size specific relationships between community characteristics and innovation; the type of innovation a community is apt to undertake may be a function of city size. The present analysis does not consider the specific form of innovation that was sought under the Model Cities Program (social, economic, or environmental). But, as noted previously, the association of structural characteristics with innovation may be tied to the goal orientation of a particular type of innovation; the variables associated with success in some type of physical innovation are very possibly different from the variables associated with economically or socially related types of innovation. The goal orientation of innovation may, in turn, reflect community needs, which, themselves, are apt to be dependent on city size. The present research treats the Model Cities Program as a more generalized form of innovation than the Urban Renewal Program. Obviously, there is a need for further investigation of the specific type of innovation that a community seeks under the Model Cities Program and the way certain variables are associated with particular types of innovation.

Also, there is a clear need for further refinement of city size measures. While the present investigation indicates size-specific associations between community characteristics and innovation, the pattern of association is one which

emphasizes extreme population variations. Statistically significant associations between community characteristics and applicant status are noted in the cases of small and large cities, but the medium size cities are rarely characterized by statistically significant associations.

The lack of findings with respect to medium size cities has implications which are probably more methodological than theoretical. Were the category of medium size cities to include cities of either larger or smaller populations, different results may have developed. Obviously, a preferred means of examining the relationship between community characteristics, innovation, and city size is to employ models which allow the regression of interval level variables (structural characteristics) on the dependent variable (community innovation). These types of models, however, are dependent upon considerable future refinement of both the independent and dependent variables in questions of community innovation.

### An Interpretation Based upon Community Dimensions and Their Historical Development

Two possible explanations for the size-specific findings of this analysis have been presented. First, from a theoretical point of view, size-specific associations may reflect the variation in type of innovation by city size. Secondly, from a methodological perspective, size-specific associations between community characteristics and innovation may reflect

the manner in which city size is measured. A third and more substantive interpretation can be offered, however. This is an interpretation based upon the various dimensions of a community's structure and the manner in which these dimensions develop historically.

Very often there is the tendency in community innovation research to attempt to discover the variables which are most strongly associated with some measure of innovation. These attempts, no doubt, have their utility, particularly in the sense of developing predictive models for the study of community innovation. Still there is a need for more substantive interpretations which offer greater understanding of the process of community innovation itself.

Rather than considering community characteristics as separate indicators which are somehow predictive of the tendency toward innovation, the variables might be grouped into categories which represent logical dimensions of a community's social structure. It may be shown that certain dimensions of community structure are more relevant to innovation in certain city sizes, and that the relevance of these dimensions is also highly dependent upon the historical development of a community.

The measures of community differentiation and poverty may represent a singular, objective dimension of community structure in that these variables have a certain "visible" character. Concentrations of poverty may be reflected in

poor housing, high unemployment rates, or inadequate tax revenues to support city services. Extreme levels of differentiation may be reflected in the emergence of a variety of issues which are tied to various groups.

The measures of community social-human resource commitment, on the other hand, may represent a more subjective dimension of community structure. Although this dimension reflects a certain sense of community "identity" or "awareness," it may function independently of objective criteria. In some cities, for example, problems associated with poverty and differentiation may be met with a strong willingness on the part of the community to alleviate the problems, while in other communities, the same types of problems elicit little community concern. Still other cities may be characterized by a strong degree of social-human resource commitment, but one which is exerted even in the absence of any clearly defined community needs.

A third, or administrative, dimension of community social structure may be seen in the local government. This dimension is traditionally charged with legally instituting community action, although it can conceivably function in accordance with or contrary to both the objective and subjective dimensions or criteria. For example, the need for improved housing for low-income families may be demonstrable, but a local government may fail to authorize the development of a public housing authority. In other instances, a local

government may allocate budget expenditures quite independently of the interest of various community groups.

Within the framework of such a typology, the findings of this research can be interpreted in a more substantive manner. Each of the dimensions can be considered in light of its relevance to innovation among cities of certain sizes.

## The Objective Dimension of Community Structure

The objective measures of poverty and differentiation are found to be most strongly associated with innovation in the case of the small cities. The measures of poverty and differentiation are significantly related to applicant status for the small cities. Only the measure of occupational differentiation is related to applicant status in the medium size cities, and the significant relationship for large cities (the association between economic poverty and applicant status) is in the opposite direction from that predicted.

Initially, this might suggest that the objective dimension of community structure is more relevant to innovation in the case of small cities. This interpretation, however, must be qualified with respect to mechanisms which are used to implement innovation. A distinction between formalized or extra-local and less formal or internal mechanisms not only furthers an understanding of community innovation, but allows the historical development of community response to problems to be considered.

The more formalized and extralocal mechanisms of innovations are represented in programs such as the Model Cities Program. Like the Urban Renewal Program or the War on Poverty, these extralocal programs are developed by the federal government and are characterized by specific program guidelines for execution and administration. In contrast, innovation can equally come from existing, internal community resources. These less formal mechanisms may already be present in the community in the form of human relation councils, economic development organizations, or private social agencies. Such mechanisms may have developed historically within the community and may be restricted, at least in the sense of external requirements for program execution and administration.

The association between the objective criteria (poverty and differentiation) and applicant status in the small cities may reflect the tendency on the part of small communities to adopt the more formalized or extralocal mechanisms of innovation when faced with objectively defined community problems. The lack of association between the objective criteria and applicant status among the large cities does not necessarily reflect a lack of innovation. It may be that innovation is equally present in the large cities, but it develops through the less formal and internal mechanisms for social change. In essence, large and small cities may be equally responsive to objective needs within a community, but the mechanisms for

response may be very different. The reason why large and small cities respond differently, moreover, may reflect an historical pattern of adjustment on the part of communities. This point is demonstrated by considering the means and coefficients of variation for the measures of poverty and differentiation in the small and large cities. (See Table XVII.)

TABLE XVII

MEAN ($\bar{X}$) AND COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION (V) SCORES FOR MEASURES OF POVERTY AND DIFFERENTIATION FOR SMALL AND LARGE CITIES

| Variable | Small Cities | | Large Cities | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $\bar{X}$ | V | $\bar{X}$ | V |
| Poverty: | | | | |
| Educational | 7.48 | .57 | 8.70 | .47 |
| Economic | 16.88 | .46 | 18.27 | .33 |
| Differentiation: | | | | |
| Racial/Ethnic | .12 | 1.10 | .23 | .65 |
| Occupational | .61 | .05 | .61 | .04 |

As might be expected, large cities are characterized by higher mean levels of economic and educational poverty than the small cities. Small cities, on the other hand, are more heterogeneous with respect to economic and educational poverty;

small cities are more different from one another with respect to levels of poverty than the large cities. This is particularly relevant to the question of the type of mechanism a community utilizes in meeting needs associated with poverty.

From an historical point of view, the relatively high levels of poverty in large cities (as compared to the small cities) may give rise to the development of a number of internal mechanisms for instituting social change (i.e., meeting the needs arising out of conditions of poverty). These internal mechanisms for innovation may be more common among the large cities because high levels of poverty are more common in these cities (note higher $\bar{X}$'s for the large cities as compared to the small). Internal mechanisms for innovation may be less apparent in small cities, however, because levels of poverty tend to be lower (than in large cities) and high levels of poverty in small cities are less typical (note the higher V's for the small cities, indicating greater variation).

In the context of community response to problems of poverty, and the reliance on either internal or external mechanisms for responsive action, the following propositions can be offered: the larger a city, the more likely that internal mechanisms for social change will be present and utilized in response to community problems; and, conversely, the smaller a community, the less likely that internal mechanisms will be available. These propositions offer possible

explanations for the findings in this research. Although high levels of poverty were less characteristic of small cities (as compared to large cities), among the small cities, those which applied for the model cities funds were characterized by higher levels of poverty than the non-applicants. That the large cities were characterized by a lack of any association between levels of poverty and applicant status may reflect the fact that this investigation focuses on an external mechanism for innovation. Obviously, the validity of this interpretation of the response pattern of large cities is subject to further investigation.

The response to problems arising out of community differentiation may be quite similar to the question of poverty. Although small and large cities are characterized by identical mean levels of occupational differentiation, an association between this variable and applicant status is significant only for the small cities. Among the small cities, applicants are more likely to have higher levels of occupational differentiation than non-applicant cities. Similarly, the relationship between racial/ethnic differentiation and applicant status is significant only for the small cities.

Differentiation is considered to reflect the presence of a variety of interest groups within a community. Higher degrees of differentiation are hypothesized as increasing the probability that issues will emerge within a community and that some form of innovative response will result. Finding

support for this hypothesis only in the case of small cities does not necessarily imply that large cities fail to respond to interest-group conflict or pressure, but rather that large cities may respond differently than small cities. Again, in the large cities, organizational networks may already be present to answer to community needs arising from community differentiation, whereas needs of the same sort among small cities require a reliance upon external mechanisms for innovation.

## The Subjective Dimension of Community Structure

The social-human resource commitment, or subjective dimension of community structure, is interesting because it is related to innovation for both the small and large cities (the one exception being the lack of association between the per capita community goal and applicant status for the large cities). Perhaps more interesting, however, is the fact that the subjective dimension may be instrumental in innovation, but that its relationship to innovation may be independent of objective criteria. This is indicated in the fact that, among large cities, the subjective dimension is related to applicant status, whereas the objective measures of poverty and differentiation are not. Again, explaining the relationship between the more subjective measures of community structure and innovation requires the distinction between internal and external mechanisms for innovation, as well as a consideration of the historical development of communities.

In the small cities, both the objective and subjective dimensions of community structure are apparently important in a community's decision to adopt some external mechanism for innovation. In the present analysis, there is no means for determining which of the two dimensions is more instrumental in the step toward innovation, although the associations between the measures of social-human resource commitment and applicant status are noted at higher levels of significance than the associations between the poverty and differentiation measures and applicant status.

On the other hand, the subjective dimension of community structure is apparently related to the adoption of external mechanisms for innovation among large cities, but the objective dimension is not. It may be that large cities which rely upon external programs of community innovation are cities which traditionally have sought external mechanisms for social change. These types of cities may not only have historically relied upon external mechanisms for innovation, but have done so since a time when the city was smaller and objective criteria more instrumental in stimulating innovation.

As Coleman has noted in discussing community conflict, "the outcome of one dispute loads the dice in favor of a similar outcome the next time."[6] This notion of some type of "historically patterned" response may equally be true with

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[6]James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois, 1957), p. 2.

respect to the type of innovation which a community seeks and whether or not a community seeks innovative responses to social situations at all. Specifically, in the case of the larger cities, the association of the social-human resource commitment variables with innovation is likely to reflect what amounts to an independent community response and a response in favor of external mechanisms for community innovation, regardless of objective conditions in the community.

The Administrative Dimension of Community Structure

The administrative dimension of community structure is equally interesting in that it shows little relationship to community innovation in the present investigation. Again, one of the most plausible explanations for this lack of association has to do with the type of innovation that is being sought by the community. The present investigation deals with the Model Cities Program as a test case for theories about community innovation. By analyzing other federal programs, however, different results might be anticipated.

Federal Revenue Sharing, for example, is highly dependent upon the existing local governmental structure for its execution and administration. The Model Cities Program, on the other hand, is highly dependent upon local citizen groups for planning and execution. Urban renewal occupies a "middle ground," in that interest in implementing the program may stem both from community groups as well as existing governmental housing authorities.

In this context, the relevance of local governmental structure to community innovation may be viewed as dependent upon the administrative involvement which is required of the local government in the execution of a particular program. One might expect, for example, that an examination of types of expenditures (as types of innovation) under the Revenue Sharing Program would reveal strong associations between governmental characteristics and types of innovation.

The possibilities for additional research on the relationship between local governmental characteristics and innovation illuminates the importance of the findings in the present analysis. Rather than dismissing the local governmental structure as an irrelevant variable in the matter of community innovation, it seems more appropriate to consider its importance in the execution and administration of any given program of innovation. The lack of association between the measures of local governmental centralization and innovation in this study is very apt to be a function of the high degree of citizen participation and the suppressed role of the local government (in the formal sense), which is common to the Model Cities Program.

## Further Specification of Results

In preference to accepting the above as definitive interpretations, some consideration should be given to additional factors which could have influenced the findings of this research. From a methodological point of view, cities which

were initially non-applicants, but which later did apply to the Model Cities Program, may have falsely represented the non-applicant cities. Secondly, it is important to consider the extent to which the character of a city--either urban or suburban--may have affected the tendency toward innovation. Finally, the "need for innovation" should be considered as a variable which may be closely aligned with community innovation.

## Second-Round Applicants

It was noted previously that the present investigation is limited to the initial application period for the Model Cities Program (applications submitted by May, 1967). This was done in order to establish some point of reference in time and to standardize the study with respect to application procedures. A second round of applications to the Model Cities Program was received by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, but more extensive program outlines were required from the second-round applicants.

In one sense, the second-round applicants are indirectly comparable with the initial applicants; in both cases (first- and second-round applications) there is a tendency toward innovation. From a methodological point of view, second-round applicants which were included in the study as initial non-applicants constitute still a third group of cities--later applicants. It is possible that including these later applicants (second round) among the initial non-applicant group

had the effect of reducing any true differences between applicants and non-applicants on the community characteristics which were investigated.

Eleven of the original non-applicants were found to be later applicants, and they are present in the population groups as follows: one of the original non-applicants in the 25,000 to 49,999 group is a later applicant; two of the 50,000 to 99,999 group non-applicants are later applicants; and eight of the 100,000 and above population group non-applicants are later applicants. By removing each of these later applicants, as well as a matched applicant city from the respective population category, an altered model can be established which eliminates the possible extraneous influence of later applicant cities. If the later applicants distorted the true differences between applicant and non-applicant cities, substantial changes in $t$ values would be expected when compared with the initial findings.

The variables of educational and economic poverty were selected as test cases to compare the original model with the altered model. The variable of educational poverty had been found to be significantly related to applicant status at the .005 level for small cities, but not significantly related to applicant status in the other population categories. The variable of economic poverty had been found to be significantly related to applicant status at the .05 level for the small cities and at the .05 level for the large cities,

although the relationship in the case of the large cities was in the opposite direction from that predicted. (See Table XVIII.)

TABLE XVIII

T VALUES AND ASSOCIATED PROBABILITIES FOR RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELECTED VARIABLES AND APPLICANT STATUS UNDER CONDITIONS OF THE ORIGINAL AND ALTERED MODELS

| Variable | Original Model | | Altered Model | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | t | pr | t | pr |
| Educational Poverty: | | | | |
| Small Cities | 3.702 | .005 | 4.115 | .005 |
| Medium Size Cities | .178 | ns | .282 | ns |
| Large Cities | .039 | ns | .273 | ns |
| Economic Poverty: | | | | |
| Small Cities | 1.824 | .05 | 2.157 | .05 |
| Medium Size Cities | .129 | ns | .794 | ns |
| Large Cities | *1.691 | .05 | *1.636 | .10 |

*Indicates opposite from hypothesized direction.

Table XVIII illustrates, however, that removing the later applicants and their matched counterpart original applicants has little effect on the t values. The one instance in which a change in a t value is noted is the measure of economic poverty for the large cities; in the original model,

the relationship between economic poverty and applicant status is significant at the .05 level, whereas under conditions of the altered model the relationship is significant at the .10 level.

## The Urban and Suburban Character of Cities

Comparing findings under conditions of the original and altered model allowed an examination of one type of possible extraneous influence. Actual relationships between community characteristics and applicant status could have been hidden because of the presence of later applicants among the initial non-applicant sample. On the other hand, apparent relationships could have been falsely present because of some additional factor. Especially in the case of the small cities, significant differences between applicant and non-applicant cities could have been a reflection of differences between the urban and suburban character of the cities. Cities which are more suburban in character might lack many of the social problems associated with the more urban cities. A suburban status might also account for lower levels of poverty and less occupational and racial/ethnic differentiation. Social-human resource commitment would possibly be less in the more suburban cities because of less need for such a commitment.

To test for the effect of a suburbanization factor, cities were classified by suburban status. Cities between 25,000 and 49,999 population and outside of the "urbanized area," according to 1960 census data, were classified as

suburban. Cities within the "urbanized area" were categorized as urban. For cities between 50,000 and 99,999 population, a different measure of suburban status was employed. If a city within this population category were the central city of an "urbanized area," it was classified as urban in character. Cities other than the central city were classified as suburban. The use of the two classification systems allowed a relative indication of suburban status (i.e., relative to population size). It was believed that the examination of suburban status for the larger cities (100,000 and above) was unwarranted.

Table XIX illustrates the distribution of suburban status by applicant status for the small cities. The chi-square value of .14 indicates the lack of any significant relationship between the variables (probability greater than .70).

TABLE XIX

SUBURBAN STATUS BY APPLICANT STATUS FOR SMALL CITIES

| Applicant Status | Suburban Status | Non-Suburban Status |
|---|---|---|
| Applicants | 9 | 4 |
| Non-Applicants | 6 | 7 |

Chi-square = .14; probability greater than .50.

Similarly, for the medium size cities, there is a lack of any significant relationship between the variables of suburban status and applicant status (chi-square = .12). (Table XX.)

TABLE XX

SUBURBAN STATUS BY APPLICANT STATUS
FOR MEDIUM SIZE CITIES

| Applicant Status | Suburban Status | Non-Suburban Status |
|---|---|---|
| Applicants | 7 | 7 |
| Non-Applicants | 6 | 8 |

Chi-square = .12, probability greater than .50.

## The Need for Innovation

The need for innovation is a variable which has been considered relevant in many investigations of community innovation. Straits,[7] for example, introduced measures of the age and condition of housing as control variables in his study of urban renewal implementation. These measures appear to be appropriate and objective indicators of the need for innovation, particularly in the case of urban renewal research. The question of the Model Cities Program as another type of innovation, however, requires consideration of other measures which reflect the need for innovation. In contrast to urban renewal, which is designed to provide new housing stock for a community, the Model Cities Program allows cities to enter into a variety of innovative programs ranging from economic and educational development of the community to the introduction

[7]Bruce Straits, "Community Adoption and Implementation of Urban Renewal," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (July, 1965), 77-82.

of recreational programs for disadvantaged youth. In analyzing these kinds of innovation, it is difficult to utilize a series of objective indicators as measures of the need for innovation.

Particularly when the interest is in a type of innovation (such as the Model Cities Program) which is heavily socially oriented, there is reason to consider not only objective aspects of the need to innovate, but the subjective perception of the need to innovate as well. One way to approach the problem is to view the occurrence of civil disorders as a reflection of the need for community innovation. Naturally, using such a measure requires the assumption that civil disorders in some way reflect a sensitivity on the part of certain elements in the community to existing social and economic conditions, and that there is some need for ameliorative action.

An examination was made to determine the extent of any relationship between the occurrence of civil disorders in 1967 and applicant status for the cities in the study.[8] The relationship between the variables was found to be significant only in the case of the large cities. As Table XXI illustrates, among the large cities, applicant cities were more likely to have experienced a civil disorder than the non-applicant cities (chi-square = 8.64; probability less than .01). The

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[8]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington, 1968), pp. 158-162.

relationship between the occurrence of civil disorders and applicant status was not significant, however, for either the small or medium size cities.

TABLE XXI

OCCURRENCE OF CIVIL DISORDERS IN 1967 BY APPLICANT STATUS FOR LARGE CITIES

| Applicant Status | Occurrence of Civil Disorder(s) | No Occurrence of Disorder |
|---|---|---|
| Applicants | 20 | 8 |
| Non-Applicants | 9 | 19 |

Chi-square = 8.64, probability less than .01.

It seems inappropriate to speculate about the "cause-effect" nature of this relationship, due to the fact that applications for the Model Cities Program were received as late as May, 1967, and the civil disorders referred to in this instance began as early as May, 1967. At the same time, the finding does hold some significance for the topic of community innovation. This analysis treats innovation as an attempt on the part of the community to meet some objective. The Model Cities Program represents a structured and external mechanism for community action and one which is theoretically of benefit to the community. But at the same time, civil disorders also represent innovation, at least to the extent that they are attempts to obtain some degree of change within a community.

Although the matter may be open to question, major civil disorders are often regarded as destructive to the community. There may be a feeling among residents of a "riot area" that civil disorders do indeed have some beneficial end,[9] but it is reasonable to assume that the general public is reluctant to accept the occurrence as anything but destructive. Civil disorders, nonetheless, are attempts at innovation, and in the context of the more traditional responses to community needs, they may be described as instances of more spontaneous innovation.

That civil disorders may be symptomatic of the need for community innovation is clear in the findings presented earlier. Among the large cities, applicants were more likely to have experienced disorders than non-applicants. This research also demonstrates, however, the close association between the subjective dimension of community structure and innovation among the large cities. These two findings, taken together, suggest that the association between the occurrence of civil and community commitment may be a situation of "diminishing returns."

Civil disorder may be a response to well-intended efforts on the part of a city, but efforts which are never completed or fail to function successfully. High levels of social-human resource commitment on the part of applicant cities

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[9]Report of Commission on Civil Disorders, pp. 128-145.

may reflect a willingness on the part of these cities to attempt a variety of extralocal and structured programs in response to community problems. Reliance on external mechanisms of community innovation may develop over time as a highly predictable type of response. But if these programs "fall short" of their objectives and issues remain unresolved, less traditional and more violent forms of innovation may be sought by certain elements of the community. As a situation of "diminishing returns," the continued reliance on external mechanisms of social change may operate as a stimulus for disorder.

This point has been touched upon in certain discussions of the Urban Renewal Program. Greer, for example, has accused the Urban Renewal Program of "materially reducing the supply of low-cost housing in American cities."[10] While disorder itself may not have resulted, the Urban Renewal Program can be viewed as a cause of the problem it was designed to relieve. The case of the Model Cities Program may be very similar. The program was offered as an attempt to relieve poverty and attendant social problems of the city, but under certain circumstances, it may have pushed the level of "rising expectations" beyond any point of stability.

Obviously, this point has strong implications for the development of community programs at the federal level, as

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[10]Scott Greer, Urban Renewal and American Cities (Indianapolis, 1965), p. 3.

well as the adoption of programs at the local level. The point also has implications for current research on community innovation and civil disorder. First, it is timely that investigators of community innovation broaden their definitions of innovation to include the less traditional forms. Secondly, investigations of civil disorder should take into account factors such as a community's previous reliance on external mechanisms for social change and the manner in which this may relate to "rising expectations" of central city residents, rather than unilaterally focusing on socio-economic and demographic characteristics of cities as the determinants of civil disorder.[11]

## Implications of the Research and Questions for Further Investigation

This analysis presents several findings which suggest that the study of community innovation deserves considerable future attention and refinement. A variety of issues, both theoretical and methodological, remain. The following discussion outlines some of these issues and offers suggestions for future research which can add to the knowledge about the processes of community innovation.

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[11]For example, see William Morgan and Terry Clark, "The Causes of Racial Disorders: A Grievance-Level Explanation," American Sociological Review, XXXVIII (October, 1973), 611-624.

## Levels of Innovation

The present analysis focuses on a single level of innovation--a community's decision to apply for extralocal funding for a program of innovation. In contrasting the aims of this research with other instances of community innovation research, the need for greater specification of the levels of community innovation is demonstrated. Still remaining, however, are studies which follow the influence of certain community characteristics throughout the entire process of innovation. For example, a logical extension of the current research is an examination of the differences between the "funded" and "non-funded" applicant cities that were originally studied.

The same type of investigations are equally applicable to urban renewal research. Structural characteristics can be examined for their relationship to the decision to apply for urban renewal, the receipt of renewal funds, and success in execution of the program. Such studies would not only provide further insight into the study of community innovation, but also could possibly reduce the contradictory nature of many of the findings with respect to urban renewal research.

## Types of Innovation

This research also demonstrates the need for further refinements of the types of innovation which are studied. Efforts in this direction may not only add greater specificity to the findings of community innovation research, but also

may further explain the role of city size in questions of innovation. Several typologies relative to types of innovation are apparent.

A fundamental typology can be constructed on the basis of the "goal orientation" of community programs. In this context, distinctions can be drawn between programs which are physical, social, or economic in character. Within the category of socially oriented programs, further distinctions could be made between programs which focus on education, health, or legal services.

A second typology could be constructed on the basis of the types of mechanisms which are employed for community innovation. In this instance, the interest would be in the differences between communities which rely on internal mechanisms for social change as opposed to those which seek change through external mechanisms (such as federally funded programs). One might, for example, study the various ways that communities design housing programs to provide low-cost housing. Cities which develop housing programs through the efforts of local citizen organizations could be compared with cities which institute urban renewal.

Still another typology can be developed on the basis of the "character" of innovation. In this case, the interest might be in the structural differences between cities which experience civil disorders (as a type of spontaneous innovation) and cities which are less prone to disorder. As

noted previously, research is still lacking which fully considers a city's historical reliance on external mechanisms for social change as variable related to civil disorder. However the problem might be approached, it seems fruitful to begin considering the question of violence and disorder as a form of community innovation.

## Retrospect and Prospect

The question of community innovation remains a topic of interest in two essential respects. First, from a sociological point of view, the study of community innovation can offer insight into social change and the ways that cities attempt to meet the problems associated with social change. Secondly, from a practical point of view, the study of community innovation can provide the more empirically-grounded and predictive statements about community responses to particular issues.

Still, the study of community innovation lacks the theoretical and methodological refinement which is necessary for developing definitive statements about such a phenomenon. There is an obvious need to refine the concept of innovation in order to account for the differences in the types, levels, and character of innovation. But more than this, there is a critical need to consider the variables which are associated with innovation as related to a city's social structure. To study community characteristics as little more than predictive indicators of community innovation fails to generate any

substantive knowledge about the process. The present research has attempted to overcome some of these limitations. It has attempted to do so by considering a single level of innovation and noting the way a distinction between the objective, subjective, and administrative dimensions of community structure can be utilized in explaining community innovation. It has also raised the issue that violence and disorder may be interpreted as an innovative response to the social conditions of a community. Beyond this, however, the research suggests that the study of community innovation is the study of a highly complex phenomenon and subject to the complexities that are characteristic of contemporary cities.

# APPENDIX

## LIST OF CITIES INVOLVED IN THE INVESTIGATION*

### Model City Applicants

Pine Bluff, Arkansas
Oxnard, California
Blowing Green, Kentucky
Chelsa, Massachusetts
Muskegon, Michigan
Orange, New Jersey
Amsterdam, New York
Grand Forks, North Dakota
Stubenville, Ohio
Easton, Pennsylvania
Rock Hill, South Carolina
Cheyenne, Wyoming
Joplin, Missouri
North Little Rock, Arkansas
Richmond, California
Pueblo, Colorado
Rock Island, Illinois
Covington, Kentucky
Chicopee, Massachusetts
Holyoke, Massachusetts
Lowell, Massachusetts
Malden, Massachusetts
Mt. Vernon, New York
Springfield, Ohio
Chester, Pennsylvania
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania
Ogden, Utah
Detroit, Michigan
Grand Rapids, Michigan
Duluth, Minnesota
Kansas City, Missouri
Omaha, Nebraska
Jersey City, New Jersey
Albany, New York
Rochester, New York
Yonkers, New York
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

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*Applicants and non-applicants were so designated on the basis of their status relative to the initial application period.

Cincinati, Ohio
Columbus, Ohio
Toledo, Ohio
Portland, Oregon
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Providence, Rhode Island
San Antonio, Texas
Newport News, Virginia
Portsmouth, Virginia
Seattle, Washington
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Little Rock, Arkansas
Fresno, California
Denver, Colorado
Hartford, Connecticut
Waterbury, Connecticut
Gary, Indiana
Chicago, Illinois

Non-Model City Applicants

Decatur, Alabama
Rendale, Michigan
Hamden, Connecticut
Kingsport, Tennessee
Madison Heights, Michigan
Mishiwaska, Indiana
North Miami, Florida
Plainfield, New Jersey
San Bruno, California
Temple, Texas
Yakima, Washington
Beloit, Wisconsin
Appleton, Wisconsin
Abilene, Texas
Bloomfield, New Jersey
Ft. Smith, Arkansas
Downey, California
Hialeah, Florida
Lake Charles, Louisiana
Meriden, Connecticut
Oak Park, Illinois
Pittsfield, Massachusetts
Royal Oak, Michigan
Sioux Falls, South Dakota
Vallejo, California
Wilmington, Delaware
Augusta, Georgia
St. Louis, Missouri
Akron, Ohio

Long Beach, California
Norfolk, Virginia
Sacramento, California
Anaheim, California
Canton, Ohio
Corpus Christi, Texas
Evansville, Indiana
Glendale, California
Jackson, Mississippi
Lincoln, Nebraska
Montgomery, Alabama
Peoria, Illinois
Rockford, Illinois
Savannah, Georgia
Syracuse, New York
Wichita Falls, Texas
Houston, Texas
Dallas, Texas
New Orleans, Louisiana
San Francisco, California
El Paso, Texas
Miami, Florida
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Allentown, Pennsylvania
Beaumont, Texas
Chattanooga, Tennessee

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