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Planning a Communications System in a New Town: the Case of Columbia, Maryland

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PLANNING A COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM IN A NEW TOWN: THE CASE OF COLUMBIA, MARYLAND

BY

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ABSTRACT

New theories which describe the city in terms of communications patterns, accompanied by the advent of new communications technology, especially that of cable communications, have posed new problems for planners; there is a need for their intervention into the planning process for communications systems to define communications goals, measure impacts of the technology on urban life, and use the technology in the public interest.

Although few experiments in communications planning exist, new towns, such as Columbia, Maryland, the subject of this case study, have promised to be good vehicles for experiments in that the new town setting presumably eliminates many of the barriers to planning for communications systems which exist in other cities.

In Columbia, planning for a cable system was part of a larger communications planning framework, including institutional and design communications-related goals as well as the cable system. Although the cable system planning in Columbia failed, the consideration of the implementation of the other goals sheds light on the policy behind the CATV situation and helps the planner to better understand the role of the cable system within a broader communications planning background.

Thus, the thesis first describes the goals developed in the communications planning in Columbia, then the implementation of the goals, first, the indirect, institutional and design related goals: new citizen orientation, developer/citizen relations, village center communications, neighborhood face-to-face contact, telephones, newspapers, and printing facilities. While these goals were attained to a large extent, the intended social benefits with respect to communications itself were not in all cases realized.

Then, the analysis proceeds to describe the CATV situation in Columbia. Here the planning process can be termed a failure due to developer mistakes: lack of coordinated plans, failure to install cable equipment during initial development, failure to negotiate with Howard County, and failure to include the citizens in the planning process.

Thus, the paper concludes that the communications planning process as a whole was insufficient to influence communications system development in Columbia from its beginnings to the present or to guide its development in the future, because, in essence, the barriers to effective planning were not overcome. Goals were vague and implementation not coordinated. New town authority was preempted by county regulation, resulting in an economically motivated county decision. Communications structures have developed incrementally, independent of

centralized planning, and communications planning has been performed only in response to expressed dissatisfaction and problem areas.

The analysis concludes with recommendations to improve Columbia's communications planning process in particular, and to guide communications planners in this field in general.

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INTRODUCTION

> "Cities were evolved primarily for the facilitation of human communication." -- Richard L. Meier[1]

This quotation, taken from Richard Meier's A Communications Theory of Urban Growth, published in 1962, marks the beginning of a new manner of viewing patterns of physical structures and social interactions in cities -- in terms of "urban communications," or "the flow of information within an urban region as it occurs to, from and between citizens, governmental units, and community organizations."[2]

If this initial assumption is true,[3] and if its corollary, that "an increase in the communications role is

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[1]Richard L. Meier, A Communications Theory of Urban Growth, (Boston: Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT/Harvard, 1962), p. 13.

[2]Metropolitan Fund, Inc., Regional Urban Communications, (Detroit, Michigan: March, 1970), p. ii.

[3]It is supported by Wilfred Owen: "Originally [cities] made it possible to communicate by enabling people to live close together in a relatively small place..." ("Notes on Networks," Ekistics, Vol. 70, No. 179, p. 293), by Goldstein: "Communications of all types have come to dominate the urban scene; have, in fact, become the very basis of urban living and, as such, guide the shape of urban development," ("The Development of an Urban Communication Density Model," unpublished PhD thesis proposal, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, undated, p. 4), and by Melvin Webber: "I have been suggesting that the quintessence of urbanization is not population density or agglomeration, but specialization, the concomitant interdependence, and the human interactions by which interdependencies are satisfied. Viewed from this orientation, the urban settlement is the spatial adaptation to demands of dependent activities and specialists for low communication costs. It is helpful, therefore, to view the spatial city as a communications system, as a vastly complex switchboard through which messages and goods of various sorts are routed," ("Order in Diversity: Community Without Propinquity," in Harold M. Proshansky, et al., Environmental Psychology, Man and His Physical Setting, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 542.

a prerequisite of economic growth,"[4] is also true, then the study of communications systems including all the structures for human communications: established mass media, travel for face-to-face contact, and mail and telephone transactions, becomes vital to the understanding of social and economic life in cities.[5]

Conversely, disruptions of the communications flow -- lack of understanding among citizens or governments, or "overloading of communications channels" can cause problems in city life, as can be seen in the examples of the 1968 urban riots, or the adverse reactions of residents during transportation or newspaper strikes. As Goldstein points out:

> Congestion on the highways is not very different from the high volumes of electric usage that caused the massive power failure in the northeast a few years ago; from the amounts of mail that are troubling our post offices and are causing the price of a letter to rise sharply; from the 'written diarrhea' that has resulted in a fantastic proliferation of magazines, journals, and books; and so on. And just as our man-made channels have clear capacities, so do our own individual channels. The high levels of interaction that characterize urban life often approach these capacities; thus the social pathologies associated with urban living.[6]

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[4] Meier, op. cit., p. 2.

[5] Webber discusses these relationships, particularly the influence of communications technology on location decisions of businesses and homes in metropolitan areas; "But as the transportation-communication technologies change to permit interaction over greater distances at constant or even at falling costs more and more outlying space is thereby brought into the market and the relative value of space adjacent to large settlements falls," (op. cit., p. 543) (see note 3).

[6] Goldstein, op. cit., p. 4.

Thus, not only must the city increase communications, but that communications must also be organized within the proper channels to facilitate urban living.

Parallel to the increasing awareness of the importance of communications to urban life and physical form has been a growing sophistication in communications technology, and a growing impact of this technology on the country as a whole. The number of telephones per 1000 population in the U.S., for example, doubled in the years from 1950-1970, from 281 phones per 1000 people to 563, and by 1969, 90% of American households had telephones. The average number of daily local telephone conversations doubled from 1960-1969, from 273 to 437 million, and the average number of long distance calls also more than doubled during this time. Similarly, the percent of U.S. households with televisions grew from 67% in 1955 to 95% in 1969.[7] Kalba points out that "in the aggregate we spend more time watching TV than in formal employment,"[8] and Meier has estimated that in a metropolitan area of 5 million population, about 4800 hours per year per capita are devoted to various modes of reception of social communications, such as reading, television, radio, lectures, discussions, observation of environment, films, and miscellaneous.[9]

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[7]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Pocket Data Book, U.S.A., 1971, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 294-296.

[8]Kas Kalba, "Telecommunications for Future Human Settlements; A Planning Framework for Minnesota Experimental City," (Minnesota Experimental City, February, 1973), unpaged.

[9]Meier, op. cit., p. 43.

This increase in use and broadening of services of the "traditional" forms of communications media has been accompanied by the development of new forms of technology: i.e., picture phones (1970), communications satellites (1965), and, most relevant here, community antenna television (or CATV or cable television) (1948). Cable television was originally developed as a method for bringing improved television signals into areas which were prohibited by distance or other physical obstacles from clearly receiving over the air broadcast signals. As described by some students: "Early CATV system operators by building a high tower on a hill and using directional antennas with amplifiers and then running cable with additional amplifiers from the tower to the community, distributes the television signal from the tower to the community, in much the same manner that telephone service is distributed to the home.[10]

The availability of the increased number of channels and the possibility of producing low cost programming has opened up many new uses for CATV services, which go far beyond the traditional news and entertainment functions of broadcast TV:

> In addition to movies, sports events and local news programs,....consumer-specific or narrowcast programs including health, education, cultural and entertainment, legal and safety topics could be broadcast. Health-related uses might include first-aid instruction, health insurance counseling and continuing medical education instruction

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[10]Carl V. Patton, "Cable Communications, Urban Policy and Personal Choice," submitted for presentation at Confer-in, 1972, American Institute of Planners, (Boston: October, 1972), p. 4.

> for physicians. Instruction for credit to home-bound students can be provided. Cultural or entertainment programs could be broadcast to specific segments of the community, black history being the most frequently cited example, but perhaps also including community theater. Consumer counseling could be provided over the legal channel while safety channels could operate as home fire and burglar alarms and emergency warning systems. In addition, channels can be established for use by citizens and community or neighborhood groups, providing a community voice.[11]

Besides this original function of providing improved over-the-air signals, cable television provides the advantage of opening additional channels -- 20-40 -- independent of the limited number available on the electromagnetic spectrum, thus greatly lowering the costs of programming. Cable can further provide certain two-way features, including restricted, special purpose channels, viewer polling, utility readings, and fire and burglary warning devices, among others.[12] A more comprehensive list is included in Appendix I.

With these possibilities, cable television has recently become the focus of much concern from many quarters, as the harbinger of a "communications revolution".[13] Since cable television is at a stage "where the general exercise of choice is still possible,"[14] in terms of ownership, regulation,

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[11] National Academy of Engineering, Communications Technology for Urban Improvement, (Washington, D.C., June, 1971), pp. 19-22.

[12] Sloan Commission on Cable Communications, On the Cable: the Television of Abundance, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971).

[13] Ibid., p. 23.

[14] Ibid.

system structure and program content, it has been made the object of numerous studies by scientists (Rand Corporation), humanists (United Church of Christ), journalists (Chicago Journalism Review), political study groups (the Urban Institute), minority groups (Black Efforts for Soul in Television), video producers (Raindance Corporation), and radical media Ramparts magazine).

Last to jump on the communications technology "bandwagon" have been city planners. As the implications of cable television for changing travel patterns in cities, alleviating social tensions, and fostering citizen participation in government are being explored and as more cities become involved in the process of granting franchises to cable operators, city planners have begun to realize the need for their intervention into the planning process for communications systems, so as "not to miss [their] chance to shape the new urban infrastructure."[15]

The questions then arise of why and how the city planner should exert this type of influence on the structure of the emerging communications technology. While the role of the planner in general is defined in many ways, students have agreed in noting the additive nature of urban planning functions in the U.S. from the beginnings of the field. As Perloff notes:

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[15] Ralph B. Hirsch, "Cable Communications and the Urban Planner: Will We Shape the New Infrastructure?" submitted for presentation at Confer-in, 1972, American Institute of Planners, (Boston: October, 1972), p. 2.

> From (1) an early stress on planning as concerned chiefly with aesthetics, planning came to be conceived also in terms of (2) the efficient functioning of the city -- in both the engineering and the economic sense; then (3) as a means of controlling the uses of land as a technique for developing a sound land-use pattern; then (4) as a key element in efficient governmental procedures; later (5) as involving welfare considerations and stressing the human element; and, more recently, (6) planning has come to be viewed as encompassing many socio-economic and political, as well as physical elements that help to guide the functioning and development of the urban community.[16]

Expanding this notion, Perloff goes on to note that:

> Looking back over the history of city planning, it becomes clear that both the term 'planning' and city planning activities have served extremely useful social ends. Planning -- as an approach, a symbol, and an activity -- has helped to bring...into the consciousness of governments and of the general public, the importance and desirability of being concerned (operationally) with relationships among people, physical objects, and ecological forces; of trying to see things whole; of setting goals and of trying to figure out the best ways of achieving them; of trying to coordinate and integrate the different kinds of physical improvement and development activities carried out by the government; of aiming at and working toward a better future. Thus, at least in the United States, a dynamic relationship has developed between city planning as an idea and an activity, on the one side, and, on the other, the broadening popular view of municipal government responsibility and the more widespread acceptance of the need for consciously working toward an improved urban environment.[17]

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[16] Harvey S. Perloff, Education for Planning: City, State, and Regional, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), pp. 11-12.

[17] Ibid., pp. 17-18

Given this framework for planner involvement, and the preceding discussion of the importance of communications systems to the urban environment, then the historical mandate for planner intervention into the planning for communications systems becomes clear. His role should be, as it has been in the fields of transportation, social welfare, and enviromental protection, for example, to set communications goals and to oversee their implementation in the public interest. This mandate is further reflected in the development of institutions which assign planners the task of being concerned about communications. Developers, county and city governments, and the federal government have undertaken communications planning. A further question is the question of the resources available to implement the plan.

The next question, then, must be how the public interest with respect to cable television can be defined in order to guide the planner's activities, and this is precisely the stage at which we are today. As stated by Foundation 70, a Massachusetts consulting group:

> The public interest in cable is based on a general pattern of plenitude and flexibility, not merely on the specialized demand for a few 'open access' channels. It is true that cable's future cannot be predicted and extrapolated from broadcast and telephone concepts; but our collective experience with the effects of short range and unimaginative planning with new communications and transportation technologies should serve as a warning to take the complexities of cable seriously. It is too early now to say whether cable will tend to

> be a monster or a miracle. But in five years or so the pattern will be established and tendencies for good and bad will have begun to solidify. The pattern will be developed and shaped with each decision to grant a franchise and with each system constructed.
>
> While to some extent the general pattern will be influenced by nationally oriented policies, the most fundamental and rudimentary decisions still lie with local municipalities. Decisions made one-by-one on the local level will create the aggregate pattern composed of many cable systems, our communications future.[18]

(Rather than engage in elaborate a priori discussions of "public interest", the case study will be recounted and the dilemmas concerning public interest will be explored in the light of this case study.)

However, even given this mandate for planner involvement, barriers to the participation of the planner in the process of communications system planning to date have been several:

> First, unlike land use or housing codes, major communications systems in our society rarely fall under the purview of urban planners. Communications regulatory agencies exist at the state or national levels. At the same time, the broad urban consequences of communications innovations (e.g., on location or family structure) are hard to measure and predict. What is usually more obvious are the immediate economic effects of a new technology or information service. And third, changes in the communications structure of a city or region are likely to occur in a very fragmented and incremental manner,

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[18] Foundation '70, "A Cable is a Very Big Wire," Yale Review of Law and Social Action, Vol. 2, No. 3, (Spring, [illegible]2), p. 205.

> which always makes planning difficult. There is simply too much scattered activity to follow (i.e., from radio station transfers and developments in laser technology to new television programming formats and computer-based abstracting services.[19]

A last factor is the difficulty inherent in even defining planning objectives in this nebulous, qualitative new field.

Thus, in the face of these obstacles, the next problem to arise is exactly how the city planner can overcome these barriers and exert his influence in the communications system planning process. Unfortunately, since the field is so new, and planners' intervention to date has been limited, few examples to guide their participation have been documented. One testing ground, however, the new town, has been seized upon by planners.[20] The new town setting, at least ideally,

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[19]Kalba, op. cit. He expands on these reasons in "Urban Telecommunications: A New Planning Context," submitted for presentation at Confer-in, 1972, American Institute of Planners, (Boston: October, 1972), p. 8.

[20]The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth, (Washington, April, 1968), p. 63, defines a new town as follows: "A New Town is an independent relatively self-contained, planned community of a size large enough to support a range of housing types and to provide economic opportunity within its borders for the employment of its residents. It is large enough to support a balanced range of public facilities and social and cultural opportunities. It is surrounded by a green belt of open space which serves to relate it directly to the surrounding countryside and to limit its size within a predetermined range regarding both population and area. Within reasonable limits the proportions of the total area to be used for industrial, commercial, residential, public facilities, and open space are specified during the planning process. The desired density of population overall and its relationship to open space are also provided for. New Towns are started on previously undeveloped land and are built by staged development over a period of time."

provides an opportunity to overcome some of the barriers to planning discussed above.

New towns generally have been viewed as suitable testing grounds for innovation. However, several factors contribute to this suitability for a CATV experiment in new towns. First, a new town is planned and built from the ground up, under centralized developer control; new systems can be planned and (more cheaply) installed during initial construction, and their effects gauged from the town's conception. Further, new towns tend to encourage innovations in technology, and attract those private companies which build and sell technological hardware. Privately developed new towns such as Columbia, in particular, are known for their partnership with these private enterprises in achieving planning goals. This factor is very important in the case of CATV, where the planning has heretofore fallen totally into the domain of the private sector. Problems of measuring urban consequences of communications technology can be handled in a new town, whose residents' communications patterns are presumably shaped after their arrival. Measurement of the results of communications experiments can be conducted using the new town residents' former experiences as a control. New towns further try to achieve a spatial and social independence from surrounding areas; they have their own goals and identity, which the communications system can reinforce. Flexible governmental structures also are a factor in encouraging innovation. Finally, the number of residents in a new town

is relatively fixed -- the scope and nature of their communications patterns can be envisioned during the planning. Also new town residents are likely to be well educated and affluent, ideal potential users for CATV.

This suitability has been capitzlied upon in a number of new town communications experiments, beginning with Columbia, Maryland, and Reston, Virginia, the first U.S. new towns, and continuing, in a more sophisticated form, in Disney World, Florida, and the yet unbuilt Minnesota Experimental City. The experiments have resulted in various types of systems: a non-regulated, privately operated cable television system in Reston,[21] a federally funded two-way experiment in Jonathan, Minnesota,[22] an illegal attempt to avoid system regulation in Park Forest South, Illinois,[23] and a coordinated telephone/cable system in Disney World.[24] One experiment, that of the attempt to plan a coordinated communications system in Columbia, Maryland, will be documented by this thesis.

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[21]Interview with Thomas Bartelt, Reston Transmission Company, Reston, Virginia, March 11, 1973.

[22]Kas Kalba, op. cit., (unpaged).

[23]Jerrold Oppenheim, "Park Forest South Rules Dispute," Chicago Journalism Review, Vol. 5, No. 9, (September, 1972), p. 3, and Jerrold Oppenheim, "Cable Report, Citizen Actions Spur Operator Reforms," Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 12, (December, 1972), p. 19. Cable Report uncovered fourteen violations of Federal and local law on the part of the cable operator in this new town.

[24]Kalba, op. cit., (unpaged).

Columbia, located in the Washington/Baltimore corridor, is a privately developed new town with a target population of 110,000.[25] Planned in the early 1960's, during the early stages of the growth of communications technology, Columbia had the opportunity of being the first large-scale testing ground for communications planning in a new community. Indeed, Columbia's planners did set forth both direct (system-oriented) and indirect (institutional and design-oriented) goals for communications during the early planning. Unfortunately, however, although the planning still goes on, the CATV system is yet to be built in Columbia.

In spite of this failure to implement a cable television system, the Columbia experience still has value as a case study of the communications planning process, for several reasons. First, Columbia did attempt a deliberate communications system plan; such efforts are still rare. Goals for the system were set forth; these can shed light on exactly what the optimum goals for a communications system might be, and on the feasibility of implementation. Further, the communications planning effort in Columbia was not limited to cable television, but was composed of many separate elements: design

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[25]Data on Columbia's population, housing and income mix are included in Appendix II. For other general references to Columbia's development and planning see: Gurney Breckenfeld, Columbia and the New Towns, (New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1971); Richard O. Brooks, "Social Planning in Columbia, Maryland," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 37 No. 6 pp. 373-9; Morton Hoppenfeld, "The Planning and Building Process in Columbia, Maryland," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (November, 1967), pp. 398-409; and James W. Rouse, "It Can Happen Here: A Paper on Metropolitan Growth," (September 16, 1963), unpublished.

considerations, institutional structures, and other media were all included in the planning process. Columbia's "work group" process[26] was one of the first attempts to integrate social planning considerations, including communications, into a "systems concept," with the overall purpose of deciding which facilities and structures would be implemented in the new town. Models of such efforts are of vital importance for future communications planning, which heretofore has not been conducted in such a framework. Thus, the failure to

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[26]Hoppenfeld, one of the first professionals connected with Columbia's planning, describes the work group process as follows: "The idea emerged of creating a group from a cluster of individuals each with 'expertise' in generally defined areas such as education, health, recreation, and so forth.... Typically this 'work group' met for two days and one night (important to sustain a thought pattern in depth). The meetings took place twice monthly and lasted in disciplined form for about six months through the evaluation of sketch plan alternatives and analysis of these by the group. Critical to the successful functioning of the group was the full time involvement of the psychologist, Donald Michael, to lead the sessions. In addition to this leadership skill, he represented the one 'field of interest' which is the least of the mix that is, the systems concept and the need for interrelatedness. It was his task not only to identify and articulate the conflicts among competing interests as they were revealed in these meetings, but more importantly to clarify the benefits and enrichment to community interests which were possible.... This process of interdisciplinary confrontation, of personal involvement and commitment to the process by planners and developer, and the continued search for social validity is at the crux of Columbia's effort. Design decisions based on sensual, engineering, or economic considerations must vie with the test of social purpose." "A Sketch of the Planning-Building Process for Columbia, Maryland," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (November, 1967), pp. 402-404.

implement cable television in Columbia represents only one segment of the total communications planning process.

Thus, this case study of Columbia will focus on the entire communications planning process in Columbia, with the purpose of examining the broad planning framework into which a cable television system plan must fit, identifying the obstacles encountered by the planners of Columbia, especially with regard to implementing the cable television system, and deriving recommendations for the involvement of other planners in this new field.

The results of the planning process will be assessed in terms of the outcome of the process itself -- the policy of the new town developer, as set forth in his goals, actions with respect to implementation, and statements reflecting his attitudes with respect to the communications system. The analysis will assume the following structure.

First, the communications planning goals for Columbia will be identified, as they are set forth in four major planning documents.[27] These goals will then be synthesized into categories for analysis, according to the policies and objectives set forth in the 1972 Report of the Columbia Task

[27]Herbert J. Gans, "The Everyday Life and Problems of the Average Columbia Resident," (February, 1964); Donald N. Michael, Report on the Planning and Programming of Physical Facilities and Social Processes for Columbia, Maryland, (September, 1964); C. Walter Stone, A Library Program for Columbia, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 15, 1965); and S. B. Withey, "Communications Systems and Sense of Community," Institute for Policy Studies and CRD, Inc., undated.

Force.[28] Here the author's analysis will be combined with the evaluation of problem areas delineated by the Task Force as part of the on-going planning effort in Columbia.

Communications planning is woven into the general social and institutional planning in Columbia; it has also been considered specifically in terms of actual communications media themselves. Thus, the categories for analysis will be divided into two groups: institutional, indirect communications mechanisms and direct, technological mechanisms. Cable television has been made the focus of this study as the most clearly identifiable institution of communications which is innovative and community wide. The original impetus for the case study was the planning for cable television, with the hope that the findings of the new town study will have relevance in other cities attempting to plan for the use of this new technology. Further, the developer was most directly involved in the planning for a cable system, leaving development of other media to the marketplace. The planning effort is readily evaluated in the case of the cable system; either a system is built or it is not.

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[28] Columbia Task Force, A Report by the Columbia Task Force on Neighborhood and Village Planning: An Interim Evaluation, (Columbia, Maryland: February, 1972). As described in the report of the First Annual Columbia Conference on Community Governance, March 24-25, 1972, p. 17, "the Columbia Association initiated the Task Force. Its membership is composed of one representative from each village board, two representatives from the Columbia Association, two representatives from HRD, the chairman of the Howard County Board of Education, and the Chairman of the Howard County Recreation and Parks Board. The Task Force was charged with reviewing the original planning concepts and purposes of Columbia, determining how well they have been realized and making recommendations for change if needed."

Thus, the other categories are treated in less detail; the purpose of their inclusion is to illustrate the overall planning framework in which planning for cable television must take place. In the case of Columbia, the policies evidenced in the planning in these other areas have affected, and will continue to affect developer policy with respect to the cable television system.

The next step of the analysis is to describe and evaluate the implementation of the non-CATV communications goals in Columbia, with the purpose of showing how the developer's policy in these areas has affected his policy with respect to cable television. The following step is to similarly describe and evaluate, in more detail, the attempt to build the CATV system.

Finally, recommendations specific to Columbia with respect to improvement of their communications planning process will be made, followed by generalized recommendations for planners in this field. A more detailed discussion of the methodology is contained in Appendix III.

It is hoped that this case study will be useful in defining a role for the planner in this new area of concern, and in providing more concrete guidelines to assist him in making the decisions which must be made to positively shape the future influence of communications technology on urban life.

II. COLUMBIA'S COMMUNICATIONS GOALS

As mentioned in the introduction, communications system goals are difficult to define, and their implementation, in many cases, is difficult to measure. These difficulties are compounded in the case of a developing community such as Columbia, where original goals are modified as conditions change. Further, formal statements of the goals are scattered through a number of planning documents spanning almost ten years from 1964 to 1973 -- the period of Columbia's development.

Communication was one of the original considerations of Columbia's planners, presumably falling into the category of "Create a community that would foster human growth," one of the five original planning goals set forth by the developer for the new town. The "work group" planners, in the process described above, did consider the problem of communications in the new town. While these considerations are woven into the substance of all the early papers, as were all the subject areas considered, two of the early planners considered communications goals more explicitly.

The most important early contribution was made by Dr. Stephen Withey, Department of Psychology, University of Michigan. His task in the work group was defined as follows:

> His role will be to describe the various kinds of formal and informal institutions and programs that affect interpersonal and mass communication as they relate to culture... He will identify the problems and opportunities of communication, culture, and community as they seem to be evolving. He will analyze the role of various media such as radio, TV, newspaper, the theater, schools, etc., and their particular place in a community the size of ours.[1]

Withey's contribution was a work paper, "Communications and Sense of Community,"[2] which focused, for the most part, on the communications needs of the community as it developed. Withey made two sets of specific suggestions -- long and short term. The first set treated "the needs of the growth period" -- attracting residents and businesses, informing residents of development, community activities, governmental structures, and new town goals. The second set concerned development of communications structures -- newspapers, community centers, local television.

The major concern of this paper is best expressed by Withey's exhortation to "consider the communication potential in any aspect of development." Withey was not trying to set up a formal, comprehensive communications system. He was more interested in "establishing the content and patterns of community communication than the target set of facilities to be developed."

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[1] Unpublished memorandum, Rouse Company, undated, p. 7.

[2] Withey, op. cit.

A second work group planner, Herbert Gans, also included communications problems in his consideration of "The Everyday Life and Problems of the Average Columbia Resident."[3] While Gans' recommendations in this regard were not as specific as Withey's, he did treat two major problem areas: the reduction of social isolation among Columbia's residents, and the resolution of political and social conflicts within the community. Gans' major concern was the social problems which would be faced by new town residents in terms of relating to the mixture of classes and races and life styles which they would encounter in the new town setting. He saw the communications process as a means of coping with the undesirable effects of the conflicts between classes and races which would undoubtedly occur in the new town, and he proposed that:

> Columbia should aim for a social structure which... d) reduces social and physical isolation and provides for the lonely, the culturally different minority resident, and what N. Foote calls the unelected...and f) recognize the inevitability of community conflict and seeks to cope with the undesirable aspects of such conflict by...iii) encouraging political communication and feedback so as to prevent the distorting and scapegoating that result from poor communication and thus interfere with the solution of problems...[4]

Despite the insights of these two early planners, however, it can be said that while communications patterns and potential problems were considered in general, communications

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[3] Gans, op. cit.

[4] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

system structure was never really treated as an isolated consideration in the early work group plans.

The ideas of Withey and Gans were later woven into another major planning document, the "Report on the Planning and Programming of Physical Facilities and Social Processes," of Donald Michael,[5] which was meant to be a summary of the work group process and papers. Michael envisioned three ways of carrying out the overall goal of "making provision for the greatest possible interchange of information and ideas within the community and easy access to information from the state, region, nation, and world,"[6] promoting communication through institutional structures on the town, village, and neighborhood levels; promoting face-to-face contact through design and through public transportation, and establishing formal communications structures through established forms of media and new technology. Only the latter category can really be considered as a totally independent communications goal, related solely to the actual means for achieving communications through a physical system.

Thus, summarized, the aim of Withey, Gans, and Michael was to establish the substantive content and overall purposes of a communications system, rather than to set forth specific plans for the actual communications media and institutional structures themselves.

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[5] Michael, op. cit.

[6] Michael, op. cit., p. 10.

While their specific comments are listed in Appendix IV, under "General Goals," an overview of these considerations is useful at this point. The primary concern was the creation of "a sense of community" within the new town. Withey's emphasis was on "(a) interaction that creates some complementarity or reciprocity, (b) attraction of common liking, (c) common opportunity or common goals, (d) common fate or common danger,....questions of how people treat people, respect, consideration, help, interest, resources, security, concern, etc."[7] Gans added to these very general considerations the desirability of involving the isolated in community activities and the necessity for political feedback and open resolution of conflicts. Michael reiterated Gans' and Withey's ideas and added the necessity of communications between Columbia and the rest of the world.

While the idea of a communications system was alluded to in this general fashion by Withey, Gans, and Michael, the actual physical possibilities were not described until October, 1965 in "A Library System for Columbia," by C. Walter Stone, Director of Libraries, University of Pittsburgh.[8] This report was not produced as a planning document for the Rouse Company,

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[7]Withey, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[8]Stone, op. cit.

but rather was commissioned by the Board of Library Trustees of Howard County, Maryland.[9]

The so-called "Stone Report" set forth descriptions of and recommendations for the use of cable television and other new communication's technology in the libraries, schools, businesses, homes, and cultural endeavors of the new town. Stone's report made operational some of the goals expressed by Michael and Withey; he advocated coordination of these various uses into a "total systems concept" for communications technology, rather than a "series of uncoordinated facilities," stating that "a comprehensive plan should be drafted now, regardless of when it is planned to achieve implementation."[10] His report set forth a series of possible components of such a system, while leaving its exact structure to the developer: "The scope of plans for providing services to Columbia may be as inclusive or specialized as is deemed desirable by the developers and others who will be involved in making decisions."[11] He made several practical recommendations, including a feasibility study for the installation of whatever communication system was desired to be undertaken immediately, a Columbia

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[9]According to Marvin Thomas, Director of the Howard County Library, this study was originally intended to be a broader feasibility study for the improvement of library services in the county; however, the committee, after being warmly welcomed by Community Research and Development, turned their attention to an idealistic picture of the possibilities of new communications technology. According to Thomas, the committee did not even meet with local school, library, or county government personnel in drafting their plans, to consider such vital factors as local budgets; it was a "no reality situation." Personal interview, Columbia, Maryland, March 12, 1973.

[10]Stone, op. cit., p. 6.

[11]Ibid.

Communications Service Agency to administer the coordinated communications system,[12] an agreement by Howard County and Howard Research and Development (HRD) ("Permission for a franchise must be granted by Howard County") and immediate installation of the cable equipment: "Finally, whatever else may be involved, it is hoped that Community Research and Development, Incorporated will take the steps needed immediately to insure installation of the necessary CATV antennas, cable and other equipment so that in the same way water and sewer service will become available, communications lines may also be tapped.[13]

After the work group plans, communications was apparently ignored in Columbia's planning; no communications plans were formulated between 1965 and 1972. This gap is confirmed

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[12]"The broad scope of plans for providing communication service to Columbia which have been set for the above....indicate that in Columbia a new approach should be devised for administration of public communication and information services. Such an approach would be represented in the establishment of a new non-profit corporation (or subdivision of the proposed Columbia Parks and Recreation Service Corporation) to be called the Columbia Communication Service Agency. Policies for the new agency would be set forth by a Board of Directors, each of whom should represent a specific segment of the educational, cultural, or economic community. In actual operation, it is expected that the CCSA Board would conduct its business in a manner common to similar groups associated with educational television, museums, and public service organizations.... Physical facilities to be occupied and/or managed by the CCSA would include a Town Center library and CCSA headquarters,... the several village libraries, and a warehouse facility located in that area of the city planned to accommodate such buildings where much needed space for storage of materials, equipment, and processing work could be obtained at low cost." Stone, p. 20. This administrative structure threatened the status and incurred the wrath of the Library Board, according to Thomas, and was a major factor in hindering the chances of implementation.

[13]Stone, p. 23.

by Hoppenfeld, who, in discussing the work group plans, uses communications as an example of one of the "potentials which were ignored in further planning."[14]

The 1972 "Report by the Columbia Task Force for Neighborhood and Village Planning" is the first formal attempt to distill and evaluate the original, widespread goals as they relate to the town-village-neighborhood concept in Columbia.[15] The Task Force, as described in the introduction, attempts to relate the early goals, after the fact, admittedly, and turn them into a workable planning document.

While the Task Force, like the early planners, does not consider communications in itself, but rather in relation to the town, village, and neighborhood concepts, this analysis will, for the purposes of clarification, consider as their overall communications policy that: "Communications, among people, in all their life roles, should be an essential aspect of the town's functioning," and as the operational goal that: "The Town should be structured so as to maximize communication, both institutionally and physically."[16] These goals seem to summarize the intent of the four earlier planners mentioned above.

The substance of the overall policy has been discussed above. While this policy is important as the general guide for

[14]Hoppenfeld, op. cit., p. 403.

[15]Columbia Task Force, op. cit. See footnote 28, Introduction for description of their composition and function.

[16]Ibid., p. 38.

communications planning, the analysis here will concentrate on the actual means for achieving the goals. This study will determine how well the planning process has succeeded in carrying out the general policy. Using the Task Force definitions, this analysis will interpret the institutional means for maximizing communucation as including the indirect, design and governance structures; and the physical means as including the direct, technological, media-oriented structures. With this overall structure in mind, the following communications goals (whether explicitly or implicitly stated in the early plans) have been extracted from the five sources described above for consideration here. Documentation of the specific goals from each of the four early planning documents is included in Appendix II.

Institutional/Indirect Goals:

1) Orient all new citizens upon arrival to the goals, way of life, and opportunities available within Columbia itself, to encourage human interaction and a sense of community.
2) Establish a continuing means for communication between the new town developer and the citizens.
3) Make the village centers serve as communications centers.
4) Encourage face-to-face contact through the neighborhood concept, the pathway system, and efficient mass transit on the town level.

Technological/Direct Goals:

5) Provide adequate telephone service to all homes and businesses.

6) Encourage independent development of local media -- newspapers, radio, etc.

7) Provide low cost printing facilities for community use.

8) Establish a town wide cable television system.

As indicated above, this paper will divide its consideration of goal implementation into the non-cable television related goals (1-7) and the cable television situation in Columbia. It is hoped that the more general discussion of the first seven goals will provide insight into some of the factors which influenced the CATV planning and decisionmaking.

III. IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNICATIONS GOALS IN COLUMBIA: THE EXISTING FRAMEWORK FOR CATV SYSTEM PLANNING

Unlike the case of CATV, the first seven communications goals for Columbia have all been carried out to some extent. This discrepancy can be accounted for by the philosophy underlying the communications planning, as articulated by Rouse:

> We became convinced that the fundamental discipline of the Plan had to be to magnify every opportunity to create a physical sense of community in order that there could be a human sense of community, in order then that people would come together in a natural, unself-conscious way day-by-day under circumstances where they would know one another, come to trust one another, and be able to share hopes, fears, and frustrations with the ability to do something about them.[1]

Given this philosophy, which emphasizes the indirect approach to the communications problem, and since the possibilities of communications technology were not well articulated at the time of the early planning, and the issue of CATV was only brought to the attention of HRD through an external study, it is reasonable to assume that more attention was paid during the early stages of the new town's development to those communications mechanisms which could be directly tied to the physical

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[1] Edmund M. Midura, Editor, Why Aren't We Getting Through, (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1971), contains article by Rouse, "Urban Communications, What are the New Cities Doing?", p. 175.

and institutional planning. Of course, Stone advocated the early implementation of a cable system, and its coordination with these other mechanisms, and the Rouse Company did begin studying the problem soon after his report was issued, but the problems and mistakes which characterized the cable venture (discussed in Chapter IV) prohibited this type of "systems approach", and the other goals were implemented independently of CATV plans.

Thus, the following evaluation of the attempt to attain the first seven goals will shed light on the communications planning policies of the developer which in turn affected his treatment of CATV, and to define the framework of communications mechanisms, patterns, and problems into which any future CATV system planning must fit.

Institutional Mechanisms:

New resident orientation: While the goal of "Orient all new citizens upon arrival to the goals, way of life and opportunities available within Columbia itself to encourage human interaction and a sense of community" relates primarily to new residents in the town, the process of orientation actually begins with the prospective homebuyer. The new town developer is in business to sell land, attract residents, and make a profit (a stated Columbia goal), so the first purpose behind communicating the new town concept is to encourage the homebuyer to locate in Columbia. Withey, in particular, emphasized this goal: "How are new residents and businesses

attracted?"[2] He suggests a town-wide information center for this purpose, which has been implemented in Columbia.

The prospective homebuyer in Columbia is first exposed to the new town concept in a trip to the Exhibit Center, in the town center area. Here he is met first with an outdoor display of colorful posters depicting the "logos" of the various villages; then he is treated to a multi-screen slide show explaining the new town idea: "The Columbia Exhibit begins with an impressive presentation of the cacaphony of unplanned cities then contrasts it with the orderliness, calmness, yet excitement of a planned community."[3] A series of telephone messages answer questions he may have about employment, housing types and prices, taxes, school facilities, and the like. Builder representatives as well as representatives of HRD are located here; maps and visitor guides are also available. By January, 1971, the Center was visited by as many as 4,000-5,000 people in a single day.[4] The Rouse philosophy of a new town as a place "to grow people" reinforced here by the "People Tree" sculpture, the "ever present symbol of Columbia,"[5] which stands outside.

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[2]Withey, op. cit., p. 3.

[3]Columbia Task Force, op. cit., p. 333.

[4]"Visitors Top the 750,000 Mark," Columbia Today, Vol. 4, No. 1, (December, 1970/January, 1971), p. 28.

[5]Columbia Task Force, op. cit., p. 8.

Provision of this type of information is, of course, to the developer's advantage; the new town idea is an attractive selling point. In addition to this general, public relations information, homebuyers receive a pamphlet from the builders describing in detail the restrictive covenants binding on their property and other legal requirements. All builders are required to provide this information before any contracts are signed; this pamphlet requirement was instituted by HRD after citizens requested such consumer protection information.[6] As a final approach to homebuyer orientation, it is planned to institute the device of an information trailer at the site of new villages. Although this device was not used elsewhere, it is planned for the Owen Brown site.[7]

After the new resident has bought his home and moved into the community, his village board[8] takes over the task of orientation. Since the influx of new residents is great,[9] and they all move into an area at the same time, resident information must be handled systematically; there are no well informed

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[6]Interview with Mickey Dunham, Columbia, Maryland, March 14, 1973.

[7]Ibid.

[8]As described in the "New Resident's Handbook," "Each village in Columbia has a Village Association...the Village Association elects a Board of Directors to be its voice in the community. Village Board members are elected annually and Boards meet regularly to discuss and find solutions to issues of concern to village residents...the Combined Board of Columbia is comprised of the members elected to the existing four Village Boards. It is presided over by a chairman and a vice-chairman. It offers a forum for issues of city-wide concern.

[9]Each month 200 new families move into Columbia. Interview with Mickey Dunham, Columbia, Maryland, March 14, 1973.

older residents in a new village. New residents naturally need information about public services available in the area; of course, the orientation process also enables the Columbia Association to "sell" its own services to the newcomers at the same time.

The very first (200) Columbia residents were greeted directly by the Columbia Association, which was located at that time in Slayton House, in the Village of Wilde Lake. Later, this welcome wagon function came to be assumed by the "communications committees" of the various village boards. The citizens involved call on the new residents, and provide them with an extensive information package, put together by the Columbia Association, which includes: a telephone directory, CA Annual Report, a "Package Plan" description, bus schedules and routes, a Medical Plan description, maps, a "people tree" sticker, religious information, descriptions of Howard County services, and a "new residents' handbook," which further explains all of the above. Welcome coffee hours are also held for new residents in the village centers. The Columbia Association plans to expand their welcome services in May, when a "resident information specialist" will be employed at each village center.[10]

Whatever the unstated purposes of the orientation process might be, a survey conducted by the Task Force affirmed

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[10]Interview with Alan Ray, Oakland Mills Village Manager, March 16, 1973, Columbia, Maryland.

the assumption that orientation for new town residents is a necessary process. The CA Welcome Service was considered 'very important' by 45.6% of those interviewed, and 'somewhat important' by 26.1%; no respondents had negative reactions. The welcome service was most important to the newest residents, ages 36-45, with incomes of $10,000-$15,000.[11] (The survey pointed out a weakness as well; the provision of a social services referral program, while not provided in the welcome services, was considered "very important" by 39.7% of the respondents and "somewhat important" by 25.0%.)

A second deficiency in the orientation process was brought to light in the 1971 "Howard County Human Services Community Action Seminar," a group of discussions sponsored by Howard Community College and the Howard County Association of Community services, among whose goals was to "define the meaning of human resources and social services in Howard County." The seminar included a "communications task force," which studied ways to improve Howard County/Columbia relations, a communications problem totally ignored in the early plans. Among the task force recommendations was the inclusion of information about Howard County in the information packet given new residents; this was included as of early 1973. The task force also recommended extension of the Friendship Exchange,

[11] Columbia Task Force, op. cit., p. 175.

a citizen-run volunteer service which assists new residents in moving, transportation, and other problems, to serve all of Howard County; this recommendation has not been carried out.[12]

On the village level, several perceived difficulties in the orientation process exist. The Chairman of the Board of one village, in which there is a high concentration of multi-family housing (50%), noted that the welcome wagon system, based on door-to-door calls, is less effective in the apartments than in the single family homes.[13] The manager of a second village complained that initial communication does not necessarily result in new residents' participation in village activities: "We are trying to develop a process for easy involvement of the residents."[14]

Thus, the orientation goal has really only been partially met; while homes are sold and the residents introduced to new town concepts, services and way of life, the process has not really succeeded in encouraging interaction and involvement of all segments of the new resident population.

Developer/Citizen relations: The relationships between the new town developer and the new town citizens are unique in

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[12]Richard E. Dewey, Howard County Human Services Community Action Seminar, November 19-21, 1971, Report, Howard County Association of Community Services and Howard Community College, (Columbia, Maryland: January 15, 1972), p. 30.

[13]Interview with Hans Marchand, Village Board Chairman, Harper's Choice, Columbia, Maryland, March 15, 1973.

[14]Interview with Alan Ray, Columbia, Maryland, March 16, 1973.

that the developer assumes many of the responsibilities which would normally fall under the purview of a local government -- especially with respect to planning, provision of services, and institutional development. While a "homeowners' association" type of government has been established in Columbia in the village association structure, these associations have only an advisory role and a minority vote in the Columbia Association.

The new town development process requires a delicate balance between the developer's plans and the citizens' desires for participation; too much participation of citizen groups can lead to costly delays for the developer. Thus, the problem arises of how to keep citizens informed of changes in their environment, find out their views, and enable them to play some role in the development process, while still keeping the development going smoothly. Withey captured the developer's perspective in his early work group paper: "Communication should make it clear that the developer is open to influence without his relinquishing responsibility for development."[15] Thus the developer, while encouraging communication within his community to a point, limits the extent to which it can affect his own plans and profits.

These issues led to the recommendation by the early planners for a "Representative of the King"[16] to answer citizen

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[15] Withey, op. cit., p. 4.

[16] Ibid., p. 4, Gans, op. cit., p. 12, Michael, op. cit., p. R-8.

questions on behalf of the developer, and to gain feedback from residents regarding complaints and problems. During the early development of the first villages, this function was informally handled by the Columbia Association staff.

It was only after the first three villages were almost complete, in 1971, that HRD and CA realized that this function was not appropriate for CA to handle; the information of the staff was not current and often not complete, and "the boundaries between the developer's, the CA's, the county's and the builders' responsibilities were often unclear."[17] The decision was then made to institute the "King's Representative" within the structure of HRD itself. In January, 1971, the job of "developer's representative" was created, and Ms. Mickey Dunham, formerly on the staff of CA, was recruited for the position. Reporting to the general manager of Columbia, the developer's representative was made responsible "for identifying and communicating to the appropriate authority within HRD (or CA) deficiencies in our services to the community."[18]

Interviews with Ms. Dunham, on the one hand, and with several Village Managers, on the other hand, seem to indicate that the function has proven itself needed and successful. Although the major form of contact is informal -- Ms. Dunham

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[17]Interview with Mickey Dunham, Columbia, Maryland, March 14, 1972.

[18]See Appendix V.

responds to telephone calls from residents[19] and village managers -- Ms. Dunham also formally attends all HRD and CA board meetings as a representative of citizen interests and makes formal presentations at village board meetings as well. One village, Oakland Mills, has arranged to have Ms. Dunham available at their village center for a two hour period once a week, for direct contact with the residents. This procedure may be extended to other villages in the future.[20]

Tied to the function of "developer's representative" on the village level is another new institutional arrangement, that of the village "development director." These individuals, on the HRD staff, serve as a link between residents and HRD regarding development problems on a village level. Their success has been particularly illustrated in the case of Owen Brown Village, where resident representatives from each existing village act as a team with the Owen Brown director to contribute suggestions for the planning of the new village based on their own problems and complaints. This team will serve until the Owen Brown residents are numerous enough to assume responsibility themselves. Similar teams are in operation for Hickory Ridge, (the sixth village), the Town Center, and the Mandel Tract, a piece of HRD property outside the New Town boundaries.[21]

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[19]The developer's representative's phone number is listed with other "important numbers" in the Columbia Directory's inside cover.

[20]Interview with Alan Ray, Oakland Mills Village Manager, March 16, 1973, Columbia, Maryland.

[21]Dunham interview.

The creation of these two institutions is a manifestation of what the Task Force report terms a "new open policy" with respect to communications on the part of HRD.[22] The policy encompasses, in addition to the developer's representative and development director functions, the opening of CA executive committee meetings to the public and a weekly press luncheon with General Manager, Michael Spear. According to Scott Ditch, Public Relations Director for Columbia, "we made a list one year ago /with respect to communications policy/ and have done everything on it." The village managers contacted confirmed this opening of channels for developer/citizen contact, one of them saying that "recently the communications situation has improved quite a bit."[23]

While the developer's representative function seems to be working well in the eyes of the village managers and boards,[24] the major drawback in terms of planning is the fact that the position, although recommended by the work group in 1964, was not instituted until seven years later, in 1971. As Ms. Dunham herself admits, "It would have been so much easier to do this job had it started from the beginning, but HRD did not see so great a need at first, and did not create the position until

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[22]Columbia Task Force, op. cit., p. 290.

[23]Interview with Alan Ray, March 16, 1973.

[24]"She does her damndest," (Dina Flowers, Harper's Choice), "I would consider relationships between HRD and Columbia a reasonably good effort.... I have no problem in reaching the person I want to talk to." (Hans Marchand, Harper's Choice), "We feel she is valuable," (Alan Ray, Oakland Mills).

problems arose.... Many of the early suggestions were not followed through."[25] Ms. Dunham further felt that putting the job on a village basis, with "answers from all the village centers," might be a valuable change. This recommendation had also been made in the early plans.[26]

In a similar manner, the entire "open policy" of HRD was instituted as a response to the fact that the developer was "negligent in this area and could see the results;"[27] however, while this policy does aid in dissiminating information, it does not provide an effective vehicle for the citizens to use this information to influence any major decisions, and it can even be interpreted as a developer attempt to substitute "communications" for more vigorous citizen control. Citizen reaction to this "open policy" was expressed in the report of Columbia Roles Study Committee in September, 1972, as a result of the Columbia Conference held in March. The governance conference registered complaints as to the relationship of the developer with the community as a whole, recommending that the developer "clarify the exact role of the developer's representative regarding policies, responsibilities and duties," and that "the role of the resident participant in future Columbia building (non residential) be clearly identified and explained."[28]

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[25]Interview with Mickey Dunham, March 14, 1973.

[26]Michael, op. cit., p. R-50.

[27]Interview with Scott Ditch, Public Relations Director, HRD, Columbia, Maryland, March 16, 1973.

[28]First Annual Columbia Conference on Community Governance, Report, (Columbia, Maryland: March 24-25, 1972), pp. 32 ff.

They further called for an explanation of the exact relationship between the developer and the Columbia Association, the vehicle for citizen governance.[29]

Summed up, the citizen feeling seems to be that the informal nature of the new communications mechanisms, many times dependent on personalities of those involved, leaves much to be desired in terms of developer accountability to citizen wishes. Indeed, many of these new developer policies were initiated only after dissatisfaction was expressed and public pressure initiated during the citizen-run conferences -- the Columbia Commission, the Governance Conference, and the Howard County Human Services Seminar.

These problems lead to a discussion of the relationship between governance structures and communications in general. Gans, in the early planning, stressed the need for "political communication and feedback" in the new town, and for mechanisms to reduce community conflicts. These needs can best be met, of course, through a governance structure which maximizes citizen participation and makes the governing agency responsive to citizen concerns. However, a distinction can be drawn between feedback and open discussion on the one hand, and, on the other, actual citizen control. Here the definitions of ideal "communications" differ, depending on the point of view; the developer would envision ideal communications as feedback without loss of

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[29] Columbia Roles Study Committee. Citizen Participation in Columbia, (Columbia, Maryland: September, 1972), pp. 32 ff.

control (as stated by Withey: "The developer should make it clear that he is open to influence without relinquishing control"), while the citizens would equate ideal communications with maximal citizen control. The above-mentioned citizen-initiated conferences to clarify these relationships illustrate the dynamics of this conflict.[30]

Village communications centers: Planning for village communications centers in Columbia was closely related to the philosophy of the developer, as articulated above, that the intangible aspects of interaction and communication would naturally follow from a well designed physical environment. The hierarchy established between neighborhoods of 1,200 families, villages of 12,000-15,000 people, comprising three or four neighborhoods, and a town center serving all the villages, was planned with the goal of defining a sense of community, one of Withey's original exhortations.[31]

While neighborhood level communication was to be centered around interaction on the streets and in some neighborhood meeting rooms, the village center, with its concentration of facilities -- "where high school, middle school, churches, basic community meeting rooms, supermarket, medical center,

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[30]For a discussion of these conflicts -- the growing desire for control by the Village Association and Combined Village Boards and the response of the developer see: R. O. Brooks, Hiding Place in the Wind: The New Towns Attempt to Realize Communal Values in an Urban Society: A Case Study of Columbia, Maryland, (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Brandeis University, April 1973), pp. 226-268.

[31]Withey, op. cit., p. 2.

and library would all be in one place"[32] -- was seen as a common ground for interaction among all the residents of the village. As Rouse explains:

> As a result of being in one place, there would again be the kind of natural, unself-conscious meeting of teacher, student, minister, parent, merchant, doctor -- in the normal course of life, in a population size in which people were capable of knowing a great many other people and, therefore, feeling comfortable, secure, and willing to communicate with one another, more able to do something about whatever it was that needed to be done.[33]

Thus arose the recommendations of the planners that communications facilities -- bulletin boards, displays, meeting rooms, developer and CA offices, health displays -- be provided in the village center areas. These have all, with the exception of health care displays, been implemented to some extent in Columbia.

The most important of these mechanisms is the provision of a community activity center facility in each village center, where CA and village board offices are located. The center thus becomes the source of information for all village activities and CA activities in other villages as well. Bulletin boards and pamphlet displays make this information readily available, and questionnaires elicit citizen requests for new programs. Meeting rooms here bring citizens together directly. Village "town meetings" are also held in the centers, encouraging village level political interaction. Although developer

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[32] Rouse, op. cit., p. 177. (Midura book).

[33] Ibid.

offices are not located in the village centers, the developer's representative is open to appearing at the centers periodically. One village board chairman contacted said he did not see the need for a regular office of the developer in each village.[34]

A second effective mechanism is the provision of bulletin boards and kiosks outside the community center building, in the village center area itself. These provide places for individual notices of activities, services, items for sale, etc.

However, the fact that the planning has been successful in terms of providing the facilities themselves does not necessarily guarantee that these facilities will serve the desired function of bringing people together for face-to-face interaction. While the Task Force reports that "village meeting halls are apparently well used,"[35] and this conclusion is corroborated by at least one village association in as much as "there is a crush at night when community organization meetings are held," studies of use of the village center facilities show that they are not a total success in this regard. A report written by the Village Association of Oakland Mills lists the following complaints:

> What happens when a resident enters his community facility? Is it a warm, inviting place where he or she can meet neighbors, sit and chat over a cup of coffee, or just relax? Are there facilities for young children so that mothers and/or

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[34] Interview with Hans Marchand, Chairman Harper's Choice Village Board, Columbia, Maryland, March 15, 1973.

[35] Columbia Task Force, op. cit., p. 233.

> fathers can attend adult functions...are residents able to mix easily with the various age groups, interests, and concerns that exist in the village? When a resident has a problem, can he go to his village center and know that he will get help or direction from those who can help him? If residents have questions about their community, can these questions be expertly handled now at the Village Center? The answer to all of these questions is no. The fact is that our Village Center, its architecture aside, is a cold, impersonal and uninviting place. During the day it is virtually empty. At night, unless a resident has a specific meeting to go to there is no reason to go to the community facilities and indeed he is apt to feel unwanted there.... As our development nears an end our residents have pulled away from each other instead of together.... Obviously we have all failed to develop a sense of community in our village.[36]

While this is the only village center examined here, this report provides a good example of the insufficiency of physical planning alone to bring about communications goals.

The monthly town meeting concept has also proven less than successful. While this mechanism seems to work when there are only a few residents in a village, an increased village population brings attendance levels down. The Governance Conference Roles Committee felt "that our increasing population alone may soon render the town meeting obsolete."[37] This problem illustrates the limited scope of the early plans; while they set up communications mechanisms for the early stages of

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[36]Facilities Operation Committee, Oakland Mills Village Association, Preliminary Draft Proposal for Operation of the Community Facilities in the Oakland Mills Village Center by the Village Association, (Columbia, Maryland, 1972), p. 12-14.

[37]First Annual Columbia Conference of Community Governance, op. cit., p. 26.

development, they did not consider the long range implications of these devices.

Face-to-face contact: The idea of promoting communications through face-to-face contact is a natural offshoot of the philosophy which guided Columbia's planning as a whole: "that it is absolutely essential to making a city work that we create physical and institutional circumstances in which there is an opportunity for people to relate to one another and to their institutions."[38]

The village center concept has already been discussed as the most important manifestation of this policy; its other elements include the neighborhood concept and the inter-neighborhood pathway system, and the implementation of town-wide mass transit.

Rouse describes the neighborhood concept as follows:

> The control on the size of the neighborhood became the elementary school, which seemed to us to be the first integrating community force in urban life. We plumped for small schools instead of big schools. We were trying to hold them to 500-600 students. This means about 1,200 families in a place where we would have to put all the other things. With the school we put all the other services for that kind of population -- a child care center, swimming pool, park, playground, meeting room, and small store -- a restoration of the old corner drugstore-grocer concept at the heart of the neighborhood. This meant also a path system to connect the people in the neighborhood to the central place so that a mother with children of baby-carriage age could go

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[38] Midura, op. cit., p. 180.

> someplace with the prospect that other people would be there -- in the meeting room, or the child care center, or school, store, or snack bar. Meeting would become a function of the neighborhood, meetings that would not occur if all these things were scattered across the landscape and were reached only by automobile.[39]

The design of neighborhoods of 1,200 families and the pathway system has been carried out in Columbia; however, the link between the provision of these institutions and actual face-to-face communication brought about as a result is as yet unevaluated. While the Task Force reports that neighborhood meeting rooms are generally well used, they find that the goal of using the neighborhood store manager as a neighborhood confidant has not succeeded; this was listed as "failures" in the Task Force report,[40] due to the fact that the franchise type operations in Columbia do not lead to the same type of involvement with the community as inner-city "mom and pop" enterprises. Several of the neighborhood convenience stores have recently gone out of business and the Columbia Association is considering rescuing their community function by assuming responsibility for their operations and combining them with the neighborhood meeting centers.[41]

As far as the pathway system is concerned, the Task Force report suggests that its effectiveness in fostering face-to-face communication has not yet been sufficiently tested.

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[39] Ibid., p. 179.

[40] Columbia Task Force, op. cit., p. 99.

[41] "CA Considering Takeover of Two Convenience Stores," Columbia Times, (April 9, 1973).

One survey, conducted in 1969, indicated that of 216 respondents in Columbia, 35% had not walked to a single place in the week prior to the survey, and 46% has walked to only one place. Only 15% had walked to a grocery store; however, 60% had walked to a friend's house.[42] In general, these results would indicate that the pathways are not well used, at least by the adults interviewed.

The Task Force suggests the following further tests of the pathway's effectiveness in fostering face-to-face interaction: First, the question must be asked: "Does face-to-face contact occur more frequently in Columbia than in the previous experience of residents:" Then, the question must be tested out through the following means: 1) Observe people interacting, 2) query people as to the effect of the pathway system, 3) compare Columbia and other communities, and 4) query citizens as to the comparison between Columbia and other communities in which they have lived with respect to face-to-face contact.[43]

While face-to-face contact within the neighborhood can be promoted through paths and neighborhood centers, town-wide face-to-face interaction, especially for the "isolated", those without cars, is best promoted through a mass transit system. As Michael recommends:

> Not all communication can be accomplished at a distance; some communications are only feasible of effective when people and people or people and things are brought directly together.

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[42] John B. Lansing, et. al., Planned Residential Environments, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, (Ann Arbor, 1970), p. 184.

[43] Columbia Task Force, op. cit., p. L-2.

> To make this form of communication maximally effective the community should have an efficient, inexpensive, and convenient mass transport system linking all major public areas not within walking distance of each other. A minibus system, operating on a 4-minute headway schedule, in its own road bed, should be the approach used. It should circulate at least among the village centers and the town center and the fare should be no more than five cents.
>
> Such a system will encourage people to make fuller use of the resources of the community, because it will be easy to get around the community. Also it will ease economic burdens for some by removing the need for a second car. Moreover, the freed-up funds can then be used more creatively. For both reasons, people will be more likely to attend to a wider range of communications regarding the opportunities and events in the community if they have the convenience of the bus.[44]

A mass transit system on a scale which would make face-to-face contact most possible has not been built in Columbia, although this system has been planned for and rights-of-way for a fixed-route mass transit system reserved. The Columbia Association runs buses which operates on fixed routes, on a half-hour headway, and a dial-a-ride system, also run by CA is also available. However, the goal of achieving a majority of one-car families in Columbia has not been achieved. Columbia in 1969 had an average of 1.73 cars per family.[45] Major users of the bus system are those without cars -- youth and elderly. In a survey of bus use, 78% of 202 respondents reported that they never used the bus, even though a stop was within ten

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[44] Michael, op. cit., p. R-7.

[45] Lansing, op. cit., p. 144.

minutes walk of their home; only 7% used the bus more than 2-3 days a month.[46]

Further, while the CA-run bus system and dial-a-bus do operate within the new town, there is no efficient system to link Columbia with the rest of Howard County. The Howard County Human Services project documents a real need for this service, especially for those low-income Howard County residents who work in Columbia, and for the handicapped.[47]

Thus, just as in the case of the village centers, the provision of physical and institutional structures themselves does not guarantee that they will serve to bring about the communication and interaction desired.

Telephone: Telephone service in Columbia is provided by the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of Maryland, which has set up an "Electronic Switching System Office" in the village of Wilde Lake. Services such as home intercom, speed calling, call forwarding and three-way service are all available. There are forty telephone answering services in the area.

There is no direct evidence of any developer intervention into the planning process for telephone services, although Dunham suggests, rather vaguely, that "everything possible was done to plan the phone system."[48] The recommendation of Stone for consideration of "division of effort" between the developer

[46] Ibid., p. 179.

[47] Dewey, op. cit., p. 30.

[48] Interview with Mickey Dunham, March 14, 1973.

and the telephone company, to coordinate wiring of homes for telephone and cable systems, was not followed through.[49]

Newspapers: The policy of the early plans also called for the independent development of local papers:

> Local or nearby facilities should be regarded as potential partners. There would appear to be no strong reason at present to own or buy a newspaper or broadcasting facility. If the role of the developer is to help and encourage and stimulate,...much of this need would be left open to doubt by communication ownership ....accept the Washington and Baltimore newspapers as the papers for international and national news.[50]

HRD did make two initial publishing ventures. The first, a glossy, color-photo magazine, Columbia Today, was essentially oriented to a market outside the new community, and served as an advertising medium for Columbia builders, and a means of attracting residents and businesses to the new community. It further contained articles relating to institutional development and data related to the developing town. Columbia Today lasted five years; it ceased publication in 1972, because "it was no longer needed;"[51] presumably Columbia had received enough publicity by that time to eliminate the need for this expensive publication.

Initially HRD also published a monthly newsletter for Columbia residents, which functioned as the major local news medium for the first village, Wilde Lake. However, when the

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[49] Stone, op. cit., p. 14.

[50] Withey, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[51] Interview with Mickey Dunham, March 14, 1973.

second village, Oakland Mills, was developed, the residents wanted their own newsletter, and responsibility for publication was transferred from HRD to the village boards.[52] Today, each village board publishes a newsletter, with varying degrees of regularity. The letters are printed either on village facilities or by the Columbia Flier, a town-wide free publication, and are distributed along with the Flier, free to each home. Copies are also available in the village centers. These papers usually restrict their coverage to village activities and village issues, such as election candidates, particular local crises, etc. The village letters were criticized by Mickey Dunham of HRD as "not really effective" in "keeping the inactive members of the community informed," and by Hans Marchand, Manager in Harper's Choice, because "they are treated as junk mail."[53]

The development of town-wide newspapers was deliberately left up to the marketplace, which has resulted in the development of five local papers to date, one of which has already ceased publication. Two of these, the "News Columbian," of the weekly Central Maryland News, and the "Columbia Times" of the semi-weekly Howard County Times, are sections of existing papers. The two others, the Columbia Life and the Columbia Flier, are solely Columbia produced and oriented, and are distributed

[52] Ibid.

[53] Interview with Hans Marchand, March 15, 1973.

free to all residents, although the Columbia Life will soon begin charging subscription fees. The last, now defunct, Columbia Villager, a weekly subscription paper known for its more liberal viewpoint, was in business only a year; its failure was generally attributed to bad management, rather than a saturation of the market. All of the papers provide coverage of HRD and CA news, local school and sports events, calendars of forthcoming activities, and classified advertising services. Editorial policies differ somewhat, but coverage is repetitive, perhaps because sources of news are essentially limited to press releases and press conferences by HRD, CA and the county government. One limitation of these weekly and semi-weekly publications is the time lag in reporting important news items or announcements. Mickey Dunham, speaking for HRD, bemoaned the lack of a radio station to serve this purpose, saying that "if something unusual and great were happening right now, we'd be hard pressed to get the news out."[54] Although none of the papers is presently a daily, the "Columbia Times" may soon "go daily" in the future.[55]

Printing facilities: As Madison and Hamilton pointed out centuries ago, one of the most valuable tools for the dissemination of information among political factions is an accessible press. Similarly, the Columbia planners recommended that

[54]Interview with Mickey Dunham, March 14, 1973.

[55]Interview with Missy Zane, reporter, Columbia Times, Columbia, Maryland, March 9, 1973.

low-cost printing facilities be made available for citizen groups. This recommendation was carried out in Columbia; such facilities are available at the various colleges, the village centers, the library, and the Columbia Association general offices.[56]

Conclusion:

This description of the implementation of the first seven goals leads to several conclusions, regarding the developer's policies with respect to communications system planning in Columbia.

First, and most important, the developer's concern with communications systems was highly connected to the overall design philosophy for Columbia. HRD assumed responsibility for implementation of communications goals only as they related to the neighborhood-village concepts, which were basic to the whole structure of Columbia; other communications mechanisms were left to the marketplace. The experience of the failed neighborhood stores, and the unused village centers have shown that, while the physical facilities were provided, the communications goals were not really achieved, especially in the area of reducing the isolation of those who do not readily become involved in community activities. Pathway systems and transit systems are not widely used and the resulting wide use of automobiles has actually reduced the opportunities for face-to-

[56] Rates at the Columbia Association offices are 4¢/page for the first 50 copies, 2.6¢/page for the first 100 copies, etc.

face contact, which was HRD's primary communications emphasis. These failures of physical planning to increase social interaction and communications goals are not unique to Columbia. Studies by sociologists of physical planning have indicated that the changes in social patterns, often taken for granted by physical planners to result from their efforts, do not necessarily occur. Irving Rosow, in a study of residential planning, asks the question:

> What are the social patterns which housing and design have changed? If anything, one is impressed perhaps less by the changes than by the continuities and the persistence of previous social patterns.... There is little conclusive evidence of more than ephemeral changes in social patterns through the medium of planned communities.... Thus, to all intents and purposes, it remains to be established how planning does significantly more than shift or regroup active -- not latent -- social relations into new settings.[57]

And Suzanne Keller, in a study of planned neighborhoods, in which planners attempts to encourage interaction through reduced distance (face-to-face contact), also notes that:

> Except under very special conditions,...the manipulation of physical and functional distance does not have an unequivocal impact on social life. Even where the reduction of physical and functional distances leads to increased visual and personal contacts among residents, this may not be followed by increased sociable contacts among them, and when applied to incompatible groups, it may even increase interpersonal friction.

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[57] Irving Rosow, "The Social Effects of the Physical Environment," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 27, No. 2, (May, 1961), p. 132.

[58] Suzanne Keller, The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective, (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 75.

While these problems have been noted in Columbia to a certain extent, the impetus for changing the situation has come from village associations and citizen groups rather than from the developer.

Second, the developer's interest in promoting communications between HRD and the citizens of the new town seems to have been motivated primarily by public relations considerations. Planning for homebuyer and new resident orientation has revolved around the process of selling homes and CA services, and again, has proven unsuccessful in promoting the desired "sense of community" among all classes; apartment dwellers (lower income) and the "uninvolved" are reported not to be affected by these processes.

The mechanisms developed for continuing resident-developer feedback have also carried this implication of channeling citizen views into the HRD corporate structure, rather than leading to the development of strong citizen-controlled participation in the planning process. The citizens have expressed dissatisfaction with these mechanisms as evidenced in the Governance Conference and Human Services Project reports, which request clarification of the exact purposes of these devices and more clear developer accountability in terms of citizen wishes and demands.

Finally, while the village-neighborhood planning has been conducted in a rational, comprehensive manner, the implementation of communications aspects was not coordinated, but

rather occurred incrementally, over time, as a response to problem situations and citizen dissatisfaction. Many of the early recommendations, made by the work group to eliminate problem situations, were implemented only after these very problems occurred. Some of the problems, especially Howard County/Columbia relations, are yet to be addressed by the developer.

All of these considerations have direct bearing on the developer's role in the CATV situation. With this policy framework as a background, then, the analysis can proceed to the CATV experience, the most serious failure of the entire communications system planning process.

IV. THE CABLE TELEVISION SITUATION IN COLUMBIA

While the developer laid great stress on neighborhood and village planning and had some concern for the development of newspapers and telephone services, apparently, prior to the Stone Report, CATV was only regarded by the Rouse Company in terms of its capacity for improved signal reception, and considered more or less unnecessary for Columbia, in the middle of two broadcast areas, although TV antennas are prohibited in the Columbia restrictive covenants.[1] Stone's report, however, fired the HRD corporate imagination, and a search was begun in 1969 for a cable operator who could fulfill the more socially oriented requirements set forth in the report, such as remote reference services, job training, shopping and merchandising services, shared time computer service, school communications, business facilities, hospital and health care uses, etc.[2] Howard Research and Development hired a consultant to perform the recommended feasibility study -- Policy Research Associates, a Washington based firm, (since out of business), interviewed 27 cable operators, and finally, in the summer of 1969,

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[1] Agreement, October 19, 1970, between Time-Life/Columbia Cable Television, Inc. and the Howard Research and Development Corporation, p. 11.

[2] Stone, op. cit., pp. 6-13.

started negotiations with Time Life Broadcasting, Inc. of New York, operator of Sterling Manhattan Cable Corporation, among others.

A private agreement, signed in October, 1970, granted to Time Life the exclusive rights, in perpetuity, to construct, maintain, and operate a cable TV system centered in Columbia. HRD set forth certain standards for the system, which Time Life agreed to meet. HRD was a co-partner in the venture, having a 25% equity interest and a 20% controlling interest in the system. Time Life agreed to set aside three channels for community programming, to set up a main color studio, one camera and audio system for each village center, and one mobile unit. Further, they agreed to set aside "5% of the annual subscriber and cable use revenues of the company...on a cumulative basis in a special fund or reserve to be distributed by the company to such community organizations as specified to it in writing annually by HRD for the sole purpose of encouraging and supporting community participation in local programming on the company's facilities, including developing and originating programs responsive to the needs of the community."[3] The stated purpose of Time Life in coming to Columbia was to set up an experimental system, testing new concepts for use elsewhere in the country.

HRD granted to Time Life all the easements and rights-of-way to install the system which were under the control of

[3] Agreement, p. 14.

HRD -- between 90-97%. This involved essentially all rights-of-way in Columbia except for several owned by Howard County, which HRD agreed to obtain. In the contract, HRD specifically states that: "No other approval or consent is required by any person, firm, or corporation for the construction and operation of the system in the areas covered by this Agreement as contemplated hereby," in spite of the face that Stone and others had warned long before that County permission was necessary for a franchise agreement. HRD further promised in the contract to continue the restrictive covenants which prohibited TV antennas in Columbia, and "to use its best efforts to require contractors building homes in the area in which the company operates to prewire such homes for CATV in such manner as may be reasonably requested by the company at the time of construction."[4]

After the contract was signed, Time Life began laying cable in Columbia. Their representative, Richard Krolik, assured the public that Time Life would be quite willing to work very closely with HRD and to incorporate community suggestions into system operations.

At the same time, December, 1970, Columbia citizens, uninformed of the dealings with Time Life and the other

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[4] Agreement, pp. 12-13.

[5] Despite a "no-third party" clause in the Time Life agreement, which barred any formal involvement of a citizens' group. See "Cable TV Picture Brightens," Central Maryland News, (November 26, 1970).

prospective operators until the announcement was made, and seeking a legal structure for contract with Time Life to protect community interests, formed a citizens' council to "insure a system with the desired integrity of involvement."[6] This citizens' group was an outgrowth of a former "electronic communications committee" of the Columbia Village Boards, which was founded earlier in 1970 with the stated purpose of "functioning as an informed resource to operators, developers, or residents concerned with all methods of electronic information distribution (including CATV)." The newly formed CTVC (Community Television Council of Howard County), headed by Norman Winkler, former manager of Wilde Lake, was composed of two representatives from each village board and an equal number elected by the council itself. It had a five-fold "mandate," including: assisting village boards in utilizing the CATV system, aiding in the development of town and county wide interconnection, coordinating county and town services, funding activities, conducting studies, and acting as a citizens' representative with Time Life.[7]

The citizens, however, were not the only parties dissatisfied with the closed negotiations between HRD and Time-Life. Howard County also sought a voice, and a share of the

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[6]Unpublished Memorandum, November 5, 1970, Columbia Electronic Communications Committee.

[7]A Mandate for the CATV Council, submitted by the Columbia Electronic Communications Committee, December 3, 1970 and adopted by the Joint Village Boards, 1971.

profits of the system, and used its control over certain of the rights-of-way within Columbia /and the absence of any state laws governing CATV operations/ as a basis for entering into the negotiations. They arranged for public hearings to be held to investigate the Time Life contract and to develop a CATV franchise ordinance for the county. At these hearings, in February, April, and August, of 1971, Richard Krolik explained and defended the Time Life proposal, supported by Rouse himself, who, in the August hearing stressed the need for speed in passing an ordinance which would allow Time Life to continue operations in Columbia. Time Life continuously threatened to leave Columbia, if not allowed by the county to revive installation of cable, stopped in August. "In this case," Rouse testified at the August hearing, "procrastination can surely be said to be the thief of Time."[8]

Notwithstanding the Time Life and HRD requests for speed, the council delayed passage of the franchise ordinance until October, 1971. The final ordinance, drawn up with the aid of Edward Roth, a Washington consultant, was modeled on the New York City franchise ordinance, one of the most stringent in the country at that time. The bill, amended 35 times before passage, included a grant to the county of 5% of the receipts from the system. A description of the ordinance finally agreed upon is included in Appendix VI. Amendments included a committee to advise the council and the county executive on

[8]Rouse at County Council hearings, as in Note 26.

cable operations, free and reduced rates to citizens over 65, delineation of responsibility with respect to cable installation in the schools, and free service to educational institutions. A five member Public Service Advisory Commission was also established, and scheduled to meet within two months after the franchise was granted.[9]

While Time Life originally tried to see how it could continue operations under the provisions of the new ordinance, they finally terminated their contract with HRD in May, 1972. According to Vice President Edgar Smith, the corporation's reasons for leaving included: "increased costs, other opportunities that have merged during the three years Time Life has been negotiating in Columbia, the time lost through the intervention of the county and the...'too restrictive' franchise conditions."[10] One major problem was the issue of rate regulation; crucial to the experiment was the testing of various services on a pay-TV basis, with rates to vary according to the services provided.

The current phase of the process involves the yet unfinished search for a new cable operator. While Michael Spear, Columbia General Manager, promised at the time that HRD was "ready to work with the county and the community to make CATV a reality,"[11] the applications were required by the ordinance to be submitted to the County Council, HRD actually

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[9] "Cable TV Bill Amended," (September 9, 1971).

[10] "Time Life Severs Ties With Cable," Columbia Times, (May 1, 1972).

[11] Ibid.

assumed a "hands off policy,"[12] and the interests of the new town came to be represented by the CTVC, headed by Winkler. The Council set out to find an applicant which would work with them to create a community owned system.[13] In this arrangement, the citizen group sought to apply for the franchise themselves, then contract with an operator who would install the actual hardware. In such a way, total responsibility for system operation and program content decisions would rest with the CTVC and the other community shareholders.

From the time the ordinance was enacted until the November 1 deadline for applications, only three formal applications were made to the county: Community CableVision Systems of Howard County, Inc., Howard Cable Television Associates, and Sammons Communication Corporation of Texas. Negotiations were entered into between RCA and the CTVC, with the purpose of arriving at an agreement for a community-owned system, but these were never consummated. One member of the CTVC attributes this failure to the fact that the RCA negotiations were "leaked" early to the press, leading RCA to leave. "The Council acted irresponsibly in this matter," she said.[14] None of the three pending applications provided for community ownership or other methods of citizen control.[15] The County Council

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[12] Interview with Scott Ditch, March 16, 1973.

[13] "Winkler Again Heads County Cable TV Group," Baltimore News-American, (August 11, 1972).

[14] Interview with Judith Neiman, Rouse Company, October 3, 1972.

[15] A comparison of the two pending applications is included in Appendix VII.

spent several months reviewing the applications and finally scheduled public hearings on the three applications for March, 1973.

In February, however, long after the deadline for applications had passed, a new movement for citizen control, led by Wilde Lake Village Board member, Richard Barnett, was initiated. Barnett, quickly gaining the support of Winkler's group and the combined Village Boards, sought to delay the hearings in a last minute move for a community controlled system. Although this movement was initially discouraged by HRD, Michael Spear later sent a letter to Winkler expressing support: "Before we negotiate the CATV right-of-way in Columbia we will assure ourselves that the community has an effective and meaningful role in cable television in Columbia."[16] Of course, through denying permission to pass through the HRD owned rights-of-way in the New Town, HRD could exert considerable leverage in this matter. As Michael Spear noted in a press conference early in 1972: "Anyone who came to Howard County and wanting to put a cable television system into Columbia would find it in their best interests...to work with HRD," pointing out that HRD owns all non-public rights-of-way and 1700 housing units, and sells all land in Columbia; as provided in the Time Life contract, they can require that all builders prewire the homes for cable during construction.[17]

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[16] "Winkler Trying to Stop Approval of CATV Bids," Columbia Times, (February 19, 1973).

[17] Press conference, February 17, 1972, transcribed from videotape made by Imagination Foundation, Columbia, Maryland, January, 1973.

The County Council, however, was reluctant to postpone the hearings, and one Councilman, Edward Cochran, stated that he felt the Council "would be disposed to grant a franchise" to one of the three pending applicants barring the revelation of "serious deficiencies in the applications or law" at the hearings.[18]

In the week prior to the hearings, Sammons Communications Corporation of Texas withdrew its application, leaving the other two applicants to present their cases before the County Council. Poorly attended public hearings were held on five evenings in March, although the CTVC, the newspapers, and the applicants themselves tried to encourage attendance. Norman Winkler, representing the CTVC, refused to endorse either applicant, saying that neither applicant would "bring to this community a cable communications system that allows the potential of this technology to develop in the best interests of this community;"[19] the Columbia Village Boards had mixed feelings about the candidates. The citizen control move died before the hearings, and another move, on the part of Councilman Cochran, to change the method of granting the franchise from county bill to county resolution, was also defeated. This would have taken the decision out of the council's hands and given final approval to the county executive, with the possibility of a citizen referendum on the matter. As he had done during passage of the

[18] Columbia Times, February 19, 1973, as in Note 16.

[19] Community Television Council of Howard County, Report to the Howard County Council, (March 22, 1973), p. 4.

ordinance, Cochran questioned the legality of the decision being made by the council alone, but his arguments were dismissed by the County Solicitor.[20]

As of this writing, the County Council is still debating the issue, with pressures to go ahead on the part of some residents and pressures not to grant the franchise at all on the part of others, including the CTVC. The Council requested further financial information from both candidates in April, and announced that its decision would be forthcoming in May.[21] As of this writing, no decision has been made.

The failure to implement CATV in Columbia to date can be attributed to several gaps and mistakes in the planning by the new town developers. While a system may still be installed in the future, it is hypothesized that the absence of a coherent planning framework with respect to relating the cable system to the other communications services will hinder the effectiveness of the cable system in meeting the early planning goals.

One major mistake in the planning was the failure to fit the CATV system into any coordinated communications system plan. Indeed, as Rouse himself admits, Cable TV was not planned for in Columbia until after the independent publication of the Stone Report.[22] One evidence of the lack of comprehensiveness

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[20]"Council Rejects Move to Change Cable TV Franchise Procedure," Columbia Times, (April 5, 1973).

[21]"Council Asks More CATV Information," Columbia Times, (April 19, 1973).

[22]Testimony of James W. Rouse, County Council hearings, August 25, 1971, transcribed from videotape made by Imagination Foundation, Columbia, Maryland, January, 1973.

in the planning is the fact that, as mentioned above, the communications goals were never interrelated, but rather scattered throughout the early planning documents.[23] The Stone Report itself was never requested by the Rouse Company. And even when it was espoused by HRD, its recommendations for a "comprehensive plan to be drafted now" and for a Columbia Communications Service Agency to administer the plan in a systematic way were totally ignored. No attempts were made by HRD to draw any of the county institutions whose involvement was described in the report into its planning. Indeed, the substance of all early studies done by HRD itself was carefully hidden from the public until Time Life signed the contract in 1970.[24]

A second mistake was the failure of the developer to install the cable equipment along with the other utilities in Columbia, before any operator was selected.[25] While the sleeves and runs under the roads were left open, meaning that the roads would not have to be torn up in order to place the cables underground, no cable was laid before Time-Life's entry into Columbia.

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[23]The Task Force found that "it took four months of diligent effort to discover in any meaningful way what the original goals and concepts were." op. cit., p. 334.

[24]Interview with Norman Winkler, Columbia, Maryland, October, 1972.

[25]Such a process was undertaken by Robert Simon, the developer of Reston, Virginia, who "installed a rudimentary cable system when Reston was built," meaning that "when Gulf Reston took over and decided to install a full service cable, it told the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors it was simply modifying an existing system, rather than creating a new one, and thus was not subject to regulation of the franchise awarding process." The first signals in Reston went out in 1970. Interview with Tom Bartelt, Station Manager, Reston Trans. Co., Reston, Virginia, March 13, 1973.

Rouse attributed this delay to a fear of putting the cable operations into the wrong hands: "We saw a danger in putting the cable in the ground too quick."[26] However, Marvin Thomas feels that the fact that no cable was laid is evidence of HRD's lack of commitment to actually building a system, after they had capitalized upon the publicity value of the studies which were done.[27]

Another, most grave, mistake on the part of HRD was their irresponsibility with respect to the prospects for county regulation of the system in granting the contract to Time Life directly. While Ditch claims that since "cable wasn't covered by anything at that time, we didn't feel it necessary to speak with the county,"[28] and the agreement itself states that "no other approval or consent is required by any person, firm, or corporation for the construction and operation of a system in the areas covered by this Agreement,"[29] the Stone Report had specifically stated as early as 1965 that "permission for a franchise must be granted by Howard County." It is the opinion of one member of the CTVC that "the Rouse Company chose to ignore the county in the early stages...they could very well have negotiated."[30]

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[26]Rouse testimony, August 25, 1971 hearings, as above.

[27]Interview with Marvin Thomas, Columbia, Maryland, March 12, 1973.

[28]Interview with Scott Ditch, March 16, 1973.

[29]Agreement, p. 12.

[30]Interview with Judith Neiman, Rouse Company, October, 1973.

It must be granted that the early studies and searches for a cable operator by HRD took place in a time when the issues of regulation of cable systems were still unresolved. Only in 1968, was the issue of FCC authority to regulate cable systems established in the courts.[31] Previous to that time, however, local governmental authority to franchise cable operators found its source in the power of local governments granted by the state to control the use of its streets, alleys, and public ways, just as they would do for a telephone or utility company wishing to install its equipment there.[32]

By the time the Time Life contract was signed, in October, 1970, this local authority had been held up in the courts as well,[33] although no specific Maryland legislation on the issue existed at that time. It was this "absence of state law" which motivated State Senator James Clark to advise the County to regulate Columbia's system early in 1971.[34] The move for state regulation in Maryland is currently being studied by a governor's commission initiated in 1971, after the defeat of Governor Mandel's bill supporting statewide regulation.[35]

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[31] U.S. v. Southwestern Cable Company, 392 U.S. 157, (1968).

[32] Stephen R. Barnett, "State, Federal and Local Regulation of Cable Television," Notre Dame Lawyer, Vol. 47, No. 4, (April, 1972), p. 690.

[33] Illinois Broadcasting Corporation v. City of Decatur, 96 Ill. App. 2d NE 2d 261, (1968).

[34] "Fate of CATV Hinging on Legislative Outcome," Columbia Times, (March 22, 1971).

[35] "Fischer Heads Phantom Group on State Control of CATV," Columbia Times, (December 27, 1972).

The issue of who actually controls the rights-of-way in Columbia is debatable. HRD in the Time Life Agreement states that: "The easements and rights-of-way to install, service, maintain and operate a community antenna television system heretofore reserved by HRD under and across all lands within Columbia, Maryland, which HRD has prior to the date hereof conveyed and leased to others are valid rights-of-way and are such as to permit construction, operation, and maintenance of a contiguous community antenna television system by the company in such areas. HRD has by deed, license, or other instrument obtained, or will so obtain from Howard County, Maryland and the state of Maryland such easements and licenses and rights-of-way as are necessary to permit extension of the cables of the system from its head end across all county or state roads within or passing through Columbia, Maryland. As of the date hereof, there are no federal roads within or passing through Columbia, Maryland."[36]

However, the Howard County Cable Television Systems Franchise Act, passed one year later, defines the "streets" as "the surface of and the space above and below any street, road, highway...and public ground now or hereafter held by Howard County which shall within their proper use and meaning entitle Howard County and its grantee to use thereof for the purpose of installing or transmitting CATV transmissions."[37]

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[36] Agreement, pp. 11-12.

[37] Howard County, Maryland, "Cable Television Systems Franchise Act," October 12, 1971, (mimeo), Sec. 14.701(f).

The issue revolves around whether those roads which the New Town developer paid for, constructed, and deeded to the county still "belong to him as far as cable rights-of-way are concerned. At the franchise hearings in August, 1971, Art Held of HRD stressed the fact that HRD has requested that the easements be located behind the homes, and not in the roads, stating that less than 1% of the cable would be installed under roads, and only "a tiny fraction" of that under county roads.[38] Winkler corroborates this fact, that HRD has "preserved certain rights for utilities under the streets."[39] Although it was not possible to obtain precise figures, the consensus seemed to be that HRD controlled 90-97% of the necessary rights-of-way for the system.

Further, although they had a 20% controlling interest in the system, HRD did not make any effort to tailor the Time-Life contract to the communications goals of the early planners; Stone in particular. Krolik indicated, "there were no /HRD/ plans for utilization; they just wanted the potential."[40] Rather, HRD accepted Time Life's own stated purposes of experimentation with the system, and left the details to them. The contract with Time Life contains several provisions which are not in the public interest, and which point up the business-oriented slant of the agreement.

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[38] Arthur Held, HRD, August 25, 1971 hearings, as above, (Note 22).

[39] Interview with Norman Winkler, October, 1972.

[40] Telephone interview with Richard Krolik, Washington, D.C., September 25, 1972.

First, the contract is granted "in perpetuity," and may not be revoked, canceled, limited, or impaired by HRD or any such corporation or person for any reason whatsoever," subject only to assumption of "complete operational control and direction of the system," by HRD[41] only if Time Life should provide to be in default of its obligations. HRD's interest in the system is the only formal leverage over Time Life; while they have 20% controlling interest in the system, no provision is made for stock to be made available to community residents, or for any form of community control over programming decisions, other than the above funds to be distributed to citizen organizations. These funds still remained under HRD control, since the developer was to specify which groups would receive the money.

User fees are not regulated, but "shall be determined by the company in its sole discretion."[42] Time Life also is granted complete control over programming and operations.

Only three channels are set aside for community generated programs, subject to censorship by Time Life. Studio expenses are to be paid by the community groups using them, rather than by the operator. No provision is made for free service to educational or municipal institutions.

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[41] Agreement, Sec. 8(d), pp. 8-9.

[42] Agreement, p. 5.

Coverage is limited only to a five mile circle with its center in Columbia. No provision is made for extension to the rest of Howard County, lower in residential density and less likely to be economically viable. (This fact probably contributed to the differences in thinking with respect to rights-of-way; naturally, if a system were to be extended into the rest of the County, a much larger percentage of the rights-of-way would be under county control.)

Richard Krolik, Time Life's representative in Columbia, made a formal distinction between the type of system which they were trying to set up and cable television: "We came to Columbia because we wanted to experiment, to do research on the kinds of things people are looking for in a communications system. We had no intention of putting in standard minimum service in Columbia."[43]

Even when Time Life was trying to "live with" the franchise ordinance, they requested a second, unregulated cable on which they would offer various experimental services on a "pay TV" basis. This attempt, plus various statements of Krolik -- "We will create an opportunity to test whether the citizens of Columbia representing the new cities and new life styles of America will support new types of TV programming,"[44] and "The reason we are here is to innovate these things and find out

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[43] Baltimore News American, August 10, 1972.

[44] Richard Krolik, "Cable Television Comes to Columbia," Columbia Today, Vol. 4, No. 1, (January, 1971/December, 1970), p. 22.

if they can be sold. We make no bones about it,"[45] and "Among the elements which we should bear in mind is the essential role of the developer; he acquires the land and then salts it with only as many amenities as he absolutely has to in order to make it attractive for sale. All developers with whom I've talked look on CATV as simply another attraction which they assume some other financial entity will bid on and finance, like service stations, restaurants, office buildings, etc.,"[46] -- lead to the conclusion that Time Life was interested in using Columbia as a test market for their system experiments, and HRD was interested in the system only in so far as it would help them sell homes. Thus, assured of 20% of the profits, and relieved of the responsibility for operating or maintaining the system, HRD was willing to support Time Life in whatever venture they cared to conduct.

This attitude is evidenced in the desire of HRD to keep the county uninformed of their dealings, their eagerness to keep Time Life in Columbia after the franchise ordinance was passed, without becoming involved in the issues raised by the franchise ordinance, and their strict "hands off" policy with respect to cable TV after Time Life left Columbia. "We are spectators," said Scott Ditch of HRD's involvement in the current search for a new operator in Howard County,[47] perhaps for

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[45] Krolik testimony at February, 1972 hearings of Howard County Council, transcribed as above, (Note 22).

[46] Krolik memorandum to Edgar Smith, Jan. 10, 1972.

[47] Interview with Scott Ditch, March 16, 1973.

the reason that extension of the service into the whole county makes the enterprise far less profitable and perhaps even unviable as a business venture.

While HRD declines to participate and the county controls the decision, the citizens of Columbia and of Howard County have no direct means of influencing the choice of an operator beyond testimony at public hearings. This weak bargaining position for the citizens points out a final mistake in the planning process -- the failure to involve the citizens from the beginning. Winkler states that "community inquiries were met with silence" during the early negotiations with the various cable operators before Time Life's selection.[48] The CTVC, far from being encouraged by HRD as a participatory mechanism, set itself up to find out what was going on with respect to the cable situation, and to make Time Life accountable in some way to citizen feelings. Winkler does say that Krolik was eager enough to establish personal relations with the council and with other community organizations during Time Life's involvement in Columbia, although no specific plans were ever made.

The CTVC now has an informal agreement with HRD that their decisions will be backed by HRD: "Before we negotiate the rights-of-way in Columbia we will assure ourselves that the community has an effective and meaningful role in Cable TV

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[48] Interview with Norman Winkler, October, 1972.

in Columbia,"[49] is the promise of Spear. But the citizens have no way of assuring that their wishes will be carried out, as one member notes: "The cable council has no responsibility with respect to cable."[50]

This lack of formal authority and the lack of any funding from HRD or CA has helped to make it difficult for the CTVC to generate citizen interest in the cable issue.[51] Although the issue has been well covered in the press, the level of citizen interest has been low as evidenced by the poor attendance at all of the public hearings held on the current applications. The Village Manager of Harper's Choice has attributed this lack of interest to the fact that "they don't discuss what cable will mean for Columbia. We can't identify with it."[52] Another feels that "no concentrated effort to prepare for what we can do" has been made, saying "I don't feel that the county or

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[49]"Winkler Trying to Stop CATV Bids," Columbia Times, (February 19, 1973).

[50]Interview with Judith Neiman, October, 1972.

[51]The CTVC has itself been accused of secrecy in its dealings with the public, particularly at the time when they were negotiating with operators themselves for a publically owned franchise. Certain of their surveys, the "Kirkley survey" in particular, which contacted various institutions to see how they could use cable services, have never been revealed to the public. Some citizens feel that the CTVC is "in for a piece of the action" for themselves in the cable situation, and not really acting in the best interests of the community.

[52]Interview with Dina Flowers, Harper's Choice, March 14, 1973.

Columbia is prepared at all for cable."[53] The fact that the citizens group is acting alone, with no responsibility to HRD or any of the institutions involved in planning for the advent of the system means that this kind of public involvement and planning is effectively impossible. The last minute move for citizen control, the Barnett proposal for village board applications for the franchise, was opposed by HRD. According to one account, Spear, speaking for HRD, said that "CA cannot be used as a financing vehicle for CATV," and "even if CA were to approve the idea, HRD would veto it."[54]

The "hands off" policy, the disinterest in tying cable TV into future institutional planning, and the lack of support for citizen ventures may all be the result of the fact that HRD does not even feel that CATV will be a financial success in Columbia under the current regulation. While Spear in a press conference stated that "we have great confidence that CATV...is too important to the community not to be here,"[55] Ditch in a recent interview declared: "I think they'll have

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[53] Interview with Alan Ray, March 16, 1973. One group in Columbia, the Imagination Foundation, a non-profit corporation organized by a group of Antioch students and faculty, have been trying to initiate cable experiments within the community. They have the appropriate video equipment, and, with the aid of a Ford Foundation grant, conducted various video surveys for the Human Services Project Transportation Task Force, Grassroots, etc. See Antioch-Columbia Media Project, Report to the Ford Foundation, Project Print Out, January-June, 1972. While one of their officers is on the CTVC, no formal means for using their equipment or talent for training projects, etc. have been developed.

[54] "HRD Points Thumbs Down on Board TV," Central Maryland News, (February 8, 1973).

[55] Press conference, HRD, February 17, 1972, videotaped and transcribed as above.

very slow going putting cable in Columbia.... I think cable will have a hard time selling around here; it's a media saturated area."[56]

Meanwhile, the citizens feel that cable television is necessary for the success of communications systems in Columbia. Recommendations for studies of cable's implementation were made by the Task Force, as indicated above, and by the 1972 Columbia Governance Conference, which made the following recommendation:

> Columbia should have a community wide communication network. The need for a "non-political," internal capability to transmit information between community components, the citizen, and our organizations is apparent; many frustrations and difficulties could be positively diverted if "as needed" information were systematically available. Potential communication is being lost while our growth patterns increase both our communication needs and the complexity for future network development. Informal systems often currently utilized are being overtaxed and rendered immeasurably ineffective. The potential for cable TV in establishing such a network is unlimited and should be explored at this stage in our growth.

They further recommend:

> 1) that an analysis of current community communication be undertaken by informed experts in order to determine present level of effectiveness, and to recommend models for effective communication as Columbia and its communications needs grow. Existing systems appear to be ill-prepared for growth patterns for proliferating groups, organizations and institutions. Already saturation, strangulation, and overlap appear to be established as communications precedents.

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[56] Interview with Scott Ditch, March 16, 1973.

2) this analysis should lead to practical recommendations for both existing and future (projected) communications needs.

3) both demographic and subjective data should be drawn upon in order to effect realistic and creative analyses and recommendations.[57]

There is no evidence to suggest that any such studies are currently being conducted within HRD. Perhaps the selection of one of the current applicants for the cable franchise by the County Council, negotiations of the Columbia rights-of-way, and installation of the first portions of the system will stimulate such a plan to prepare for the day when the system at last becomes operational.

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[57] First Columbia Conference on Community Governance, op. cit., p. 26.

V. CONCLUSION

It is the conclusion of this paper that the communications planning process was insufficient either to influence communications system development in Columbia, including both the cable system and the other devices mentioned, from its beginnings to the present or to guide that development in the future. The several reasons for this failure can be synthesized from the preceeding discussion.

First, the communications goals are not clearly defined at the outset. No specific study was done to analyze communications problems or needs at the outset, and the rather vague statements of Withey were the primary initial guide. As mentioned above, the goals are contained in a number of documents, and they are never coordinated into a specific set of recommendations. One cause for this failure is that the work group documents were never intended to serve as plans: "We said to the group that we did not want a report at the end; we did not care about reaching an agreement...do not worry about whether it is feasible or not."[1]

A second cause for the lack of definition is the fact that not all the documents setting goals were even part of the Rouse Company's own planning effort. Rouse himself admits that HRD did not even intend to build a cable system for Columbia

[1] Midura, op. cit., p. 173.

before the independent publication of the Stone report. While the Stone report aroused enthusiasm in the Rouse Company, its recommendations were never made a formal policy and no attempt was made either to tie the recommendations into existing institutional structures and communications needs, or to create new institutions as recommended by the report, although, as Thomas points, out, the report was "milked" by HRD for its public relations value.

A last cause of not defining the communications goals is the possibility that they were never intended to be carried out in a systematic way. As the Task Force reports: "We found very little common knowledge of the details of Columbia's goals and the policies to achieve them. The operational objectives used in this report were developed only after being requested by the Task Force, and it was reported that a considerable resolution of conflicts was necessary before the final document emerged."[2]

Since the communications goals were never clearly defined at the outset, and since not all were implemented, the planning process can be criticized for a lack of comprehensiveness. As explaine above, the institutional, indirect, goals are implemented more successfully than the technological, system-oriented goals, probably due to the "environmental determinism" of the developer, the philosophy that "the fundamental discipline of the Plan had to be to magnify every opportunity to create a

[2]Columbia Task Force, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

physical sense of community in order that there could be a human sense of community."[3] Ditch reiterated this same philosophy in explaining HRD's lack of involvement in the cable TV issue today, saying: "the basis of communications in Columbia was meant to be natural everyday interpersonal relations...I think cable will work better adding to these existing structures rather than substituting for them."[4] However, the proceeding sections have illustrated some of the failures in this type of planning; further, the fact that cable TV is now the domain of an independent operator and county regulation does not insure that the system built will be able to remedy these difficulties. Just as HRD was happy to go along with Time-Life's market tests, while not even intervening in the process enough to insure that Time Life would provide "standard minimum service" to the community, now they are making no effort to see how the current applicants' plans will fit into Columbia's design or institutional structure.

A third factor is the failure of the Rouse Company to insure the compatibility of their policy with respect to cable television with the policy of the county in this area. Since Time Life repeated over and over that service to the entire county was unfeasible economically, and since HRD has a 20% stake in the profits of the company, it can be assumed that the secrecy of their negotiations was preserved to prevent

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[3] Midura, op. cit., p. 175.

[4] Interview with Scott Ditch, March 16, 1973, Columbia, Maryland.

exactly what happened -- requests by the County for an extension of the Columbia system. Speculation as to the results of early negotiation and cooperation with the county on this issue can be guided by the experience of Reston, which succeeded in signing their own contract with TVC, Warner's, unregulated by Fairfax County, through openness with the county officials from the outset.[5]

A final area of shortcoming in the HRD plans is that of their scope. As the job description for Withey makes clear, consideration of communication in the early plans was directed toward "the emerging needs of the community as it develops." No real consideration was given to long range communications needs; the advantage of having a predictable future total population was never capitalized upon. It is interesting to repeat that the communications needs of the developing community are very closely tied to the process of developer advertising to sell homes, and developer public relations to keep new residents happy. The Task Force criticizes Columbia's planning for its unresponsiveness to change: "An analogy may be drawn between unplanned growth of cities and the unplanned process of change versus planned communities and planned change. Columbia with respect to its change process is in the unhappy state,"[6] and the governance conference points out that "existing systems

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[5]Interview with Thomas Bartelt, Reston Transmission Co., March 11, 1973, Reston, Virginia.

[6]Columbia Task Force, op. cit., p. 333.

appear to be ill-prepared for growth patterns."[7] As pointed out above, the developer has responded to problem areas, but with questionable motivation, more for the purpose of channeling change to his purposes than planning for creative change in the communications process. Community requests for change in the governance conference, the Task Force, and the Human Services project, have not been carried out or responded to.

Thus, it can be concluded that the new town planning process, as exemplified by Columbia, is no answer in itself to overcoming the barriers to communications planning outlined in the introduction. Columbia's communications goals, although part of a centralized planning process by the developer, were vague, and not made use of during the early construction of the town. The developer's autonomy in setting up the system was successfully challenged by county regulatory authority. The County Council, rather than basing its decision upon the social merits of the applications, is concentrating on economic factors. Columbia's governance structures did not allow for effective citizen participation in either the Time Life situation or the current decisions. Finally, the communications patterns of the residents have developed haphazardly, and the communications structures incrementally. Since there was no initial plan made, nor goals set, there is no control against which to measure the consequences of those structures which have been set up, nor is there a basis for future planning.

[7] First Columbia Conference on Community Governance, op. cit., p. 25.

The question then remains of how exactly a planner can overcome these barriers and influence the communications planning process. In the case of Columbia, several measures would contribute to better planning in the future.

First, the recommendations of the Governance Conference for an analysis of current community communications should be carried out; first, through a primary investigation of the substance of Columbia's communications problems, which will encompass governance structures, social organizations, etc. To perform this analysis, a person trained in communications planning should be hired, either by the Columbia Association or by HRD. This individual should be required to perform a continuing function of communications planning for the new town, and an arrangement should be made whereby his recommendations incorporate the wishes of the citizens, and HRD is made responsible for implementing the suggestions.

After Columbia's communications needs and problems have been defined, these studies should include investigations into various uses of cable television in Columbia and Howard County, to be conducted in conjunction with the various institutions and organizations involved. Mandelbaum[8] suggests a three step approach for such studies: 1) aggregate agency and group requirements, 2) describe the technological and organizational

[8] Seymour J. Mandelbaum, Community and Communications, (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 225.

requirements of a system capable of carrying these messages, and 3) explore the possibilities of public/private cooperation. In the case of Columbia, this latter function would involve cooperation with whichever cable operator is granted the franchise.

Some possible areas for investigation in Columbia would include:

-- and HRD study with respect to how CATV can be used to further developer/citizen relations, including the use of CATV in the ombudsman position, and the development director position.[9]

-- Village Boards study with respect to how CATV can be used to publicize activities and involve residents in community governance.

-- Howard County study with respect to how CATV can be used to further Howard County/Columbia relations and common interests.

-- Library and school facilities study, with the organizations involved.

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[9]L. L. Johnson, et. al. editors, Cable Communications in the Dayton Miami Valley: Basic Report, (Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, January, 1972), pp. 5-15 - 5-17. Dayton has an "ombudsman" program similar to Columbia's although the role of the ombudsman is more structured; complaints to the ombudsman's office have been logged -- in its first three months the office received 460 complaints. The Dayton study suggests that cable TV could be used to give the ombudsman more access to media time, giving the public more exposure to his activities; and allowing him to describe certain cases to the public in detail. Two-way cable could enable the public to respond to the ombudsman on the spot. The end result would be that "in-depth television coverage will provide a better understanding of a given issue and thus contribute to improved service." Ditch reported that HRD would use cable to report current planning in the community, although he did not mention the developer's representative in this connection, (March 16, 1973).

Second, an agency on the order of the CCSA recommended by Stone should be investigated with responsibility for "research, experiments and training of individuals and groups for optimum use of communications resources available to Columbia citizens and institutions."[10] The CTVC might be the nucleus of such an organization. The most important immediate function of such an agency would be to commence training of the citizens in the use of the video equipment they will use to produce local CATV programs. Such equipment is currently available at Antioch's Columbia campus, and it will also be made available for public use by whichever cable operator (if either) is chosen by the County Council to implement the system. This council or agency should, of course, work closely with the communications planner in integrating the new technology and current communications media and practices. Possibly the planner could be made directly responsible to this group.

On a broader level, the planner in any city can perform several functions which will aid in integrating the communications planning process with other city planning considerations.

First, the communications planner must attempt to define substantive, long range communications needs and goals for his community. While some of these goals will depend upon the needs of the community itself, it is possible here to posit some overall goals which would apply to any communications system. As mentioned in the Introduction, this is one of the most difficult

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[10] Stone, op. cit., p. 20.

aspects of beginning the task of communications planning and few such efforts have yet been made. Thus, the goals mentioned here are offered as starting points; they are certainly open to debate and elaboration.

In general, the overall goals of a communications system in any governmental jurisdiction can be divided into two categories: to encourage and preserve freedom of expression; and to increase access to information for all citizens. Of course, it is easy to see that the opposite policies -- curbing of freedom of expression and supression of access to public information may well be governmental communications goals as well; we will assume here that a democratic society espouses the former.

Thomas Emerson[11] lists four objectives which fall into the broad category of "freedom of expression:" 1) "individual self fulfillment," or expression as an end in itself, whether or not other social goals are promoted; 2) "the attainment of truth," or the airing of all points of view; 3) "popular decision making," or the participation of citizens in their government; and 4) "a balance between stability and change," or open discussion which encourages nonviolent, constructive change within a society. While Gans implies that communications should aim to resolve conflict, Emerson here postulates that communications "is intended, in one sense, to encourage conflict" but to contain it within the political system.

[11] Thomas Emerson, "Communication, Freedom of Expression," Scientific American, Vol. 227, No. 3, (September, 1972), pp. 163-75.

The second goal, that of access to information, also implies several sub-categories. The first, that of access to information itself, implies making available to each individual all the information which he needs to function both in public and in private. Of course, this implies fostering a free press and a variety of communications media, but it also urges a certain governmental policy as well. A second aspect of this goal is access to the means of communication themselves. While newspapers and broadcast television have met this goal to a certain extent, cable TV can here play a vital role, through its multiplicity of channels and the possibilities for cheap programming on its public access channels. Finally, this category of access to information, as implied above, promotes a definition of the responsibilities of the government to its citizens; in this sense, the right to have information is connected to the right to use it to affect governmental decisions.

These, then, are broad goals for a communications system; the next step must be to refine these goals into operational objectives to serve as the basis for system design. This process involves several steps; the first, as mentioned above, is that suggested by Mandelbaum -- a collection of requirements of all relevant agencies and groups, and a description of the technological and organizational requirements of a system capable of carrying these messages. For example, in the field of health care, an operational objective might be the desire for physicians to handle emergency calls at home.

This would require special links between the doctor's home and the hospital with which he is connected.

In a new town, this function of goal formulation will be tied to the planning for physical structure of the community and plans for governance and citizen participation. In an established community, existing institutions will be involved. This study of community needs should be combined with continuous monitoring of new technology in the field, as recommended by Kalba. This would require a planning partnership between the developer or planner and any private companies interested in providing these services. As new services do arise which promise to suit community needs, they should be tested, by the planning partners, for feasibility with the institutions involved. These tests should attempt to consider the following questions:[12]

> technical -- can the appropriate equipment be developed and put into use?
> economic -- is the service cost effective?
> financing -- can funds be made available through existing budgets?
> institutional -- can the service be integrated into present practices?
> administrative -- how will the service change job roles and procedures?
> software -- what are other routines that would perform the same function? How will the service fit in with these other practices? Where will it be located?
> political -- will the citizens accept the service? What are the chances for implementation?
> social -- what are the long term social impacts of this service?
> behavioral -- will the service accomplish what it set out to do?

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[12] Kalba, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

This early stage of development is the level at which the planner can be most useful; it is his job to ascertain the specific needs of each agency, to educate them as to the technological possibilities for meeting these needs, to assess costs and benefits of alternative technological approaches, to fit the technology into actual operating budgets, and to convince the governing body of the benefits of implementation.

The planner should further study the regulatory structure in his area, working with the government to determine the appropriate level of regulation, local, metropolitan, or state. Here the issues of efficiency and equity become important, as well as that of scale. The appropriate level of regulation for a large, densely populated metropolitan region would be different from that for a small town in a county government context, for an autonomous city government in rural surroundings, or for a small state with possibilities of statewide interconnections.

When the regulatory agency is decided upon, the planner should work with its staff in developing the franchise ordinance for the area, to insure inclusion of the services which will fulfill the specific planning objectives set forth in the early stages of the planning. Connected to this function is the exploration of ownership alternatives for the system.

Hirsch suggests that the planner "suggest the concept of a publicly owned utility for the cable system."[13] If this

[13]Hirsch, op. cit., p. 4.

is not feasible, the opportunities for public participation in the system operation should be clarified. Baer and Camph discuss the issues which revolve around this concept of "the public interest" and alternative forms of system ownership. They charge the decision-maker in an area with balancing the tradeoffs between the following system features, in deciding what form of ownership, private, governmental, or non-commercial, to advocate:

> Prospective owners usually offer a mix of the following features: lower subscriber rates, higher fees to the city, greater ability to finance and build the system, willingness to operate at a loss for some time, faster system construction, more efficient operation, 'free' educational or municipal services, service to low-income areas, better local origination facilities and programming, more channels, higher-quality service, new services, greater responsiveness to the public, faster system updating and improvement, greater innovation, nondiscriminatory use of cable channels, more sensitivity to local issues, more local hiring or job training, more minority group ownership, management, employment and programming, more equitable rate of return for private investors.[14]

However, they caution that:

> Most of these value choices are independent of the form of ownership. The trade-off between lower subscriber fees and more expensive local origination facilities must be made whether the cable system is owned by a large corporation, a non-profit group, or the city itself. The public benefits from cable will be determined as much by the local franchise -- which must deal explicitly with trade-offs among the criteria listed above -- as by the form of ownership.[15]

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[14] L. L. Johnson, et. al., editors, op. cit., p. 10-7.

[15] Ibid., p. 10-8.

A comparison of the various forms of ownership as defined in the Baer and Camph study is found in Appendix VIII; the point is that the planner must approach this issue armed with the specific functions he wishes the system to perform, and with a franchise ordinance that includes these criteria as limits to any owner's use of the system.

Finally, once a communications system is operating in a community, the planner should be responsible for evaluating its operation. Such an evaluation is currently being conducted by the Rand Corporation for the system operated by the Metropolitan Regional Council of New York. The evaluation comprises the following tasks:[16]

Communication impact component:

1. Background research, data collection, and interviewing
2. Base case mail survey
3. Documentation of a baseline description of... communication in the region
4. Preliminary examination and processing of survey data
5. Specification of data analyses
6. Designation of comparison groups
7. Follow-up mail survey and interviews
8. Data analysis
9. Final documentation of communication impacts
10. Monitoring of media, professional organizations, and knowledgable persons in the region

Management and technology component:

11. Interviews with MRC-TV users
12. Interviews with non-users
13. Monitoring MRC-TV operations
14. Feedback of management and technical advice to MRC
15. Documentation of management and technology guidelines.

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[16] D. J. Alesch and G. C. Summer, Method of Evaluation for the Metropolitan Regional Council Telecommunications System, (Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, May, 1972), pp. 34-35.

In the end, the entire communications planning process must be evaluated in terms of what real purposes it serves in improving the quality of urban life. Clearly, planning will be useless if its primary motivation is the installation of technological mechanisms for their own sake, or even the prevention of negative effects of the technology, without some broader consideration of what exactly the role of improved communications patterns in a city should be. Webber suggests the need for integration of communications planning into the more traditional planning process, and the specific communications goals of freedom of expression and access to information have been set forth above. New communications technology is promising in that it can achieve both of these ends; however, the problem of deciding exactly how these goals are to be achieved remains the major obstacle in using the technology effectively. This decision requires careful study of specific local problems and conditions, and close involvement with residents and governing bodies.

The advent of cable technology has certainly provided the impetus for such study, more than ever in the past. This is perhaps its major contribution to urban life; the burden of making this contribution rests with the planner. To do this, he must not limit his actions to utilizing the technology, but must question the basis on which the use of the technology now rests and create a new basis which is responsive to the needs and problems of the citizens he serves.

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APPENDIX I

BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF POTENTIAL

HOME INFORMATION SERVICES

1. CASHLESS-SOCIETY TRANSACTIONS. Recording of any financial transactions with a hard copy output to buyer and seller, a permanent record and updating of balance in computer memory.

2. DEDICATED NEWSPAPER. A set of pages with printed and graphic information, possibly including photographs, the organization of which has been predetermined by the user to suit his preferences.

3. COMPUTER-AIDED SCHOOL INSTRUCTION. At the very minimum, the computer determines the day's assignment for each pupil and, at the end of the day, receives the day's progress report. At its most complex, such a service would use a real-time, interactive video color display with voice input and output and an appropriate program suited to each pupil's progress and temperament.

4. SHOPPING TRANSACTIONS (STORE CATALOGS). Interactive programs, perhaps video-assisted, which describe or show goods at request of the buyer, advise him of the price, location, delivery time, etc.

5. PERSON-TO-PERSON (PAID WORK AT HOME). Switched video and facsimile service substituting for normal day's contacts of a middle-class managerial personnel where daily contacts are of mostly routine nature. May also apply to contacts with the public of the receptionist, doctor, or his assistant.

6. PLAYS AND MOVIES FROM A VIDEO LIBRARY. Selection of all plays and movies. Color and good sound are required.

7. COMPUTER TUTOR. From a library of self-help programs available, a computer, in an interactive mode, will coach the pupil (typically adult) in the chosen subject.

8. MESSAGE RECORDING. Probably of currently available type but may include video memory (a patient showing doctor the rash he has developed).

9. SECRETARIAL ASSISTANCE. Written or dictated letters can be typed by a remotely situated secretary.

10. HOUSEHOLD MAIL AND MESSAGES. Letters and notes transmitted directly to or from the house by means of home facsimile machines.

11. MASS MAIL AND DIRECT ADVERTISING MAIL. Higher output, larger-sized pages, color output may be necessary to attract the attention of the recipient--otherwise similar to item 10 above.

12. ANSWERING SERVICES. Stored incoming messages or notes whom to call--possibly computer logic recognizing emergency situation and diverting the call.

13. GROCERY PRICE LIST, INFORMATION AND ORDERING. Grocery price list is used as an example of, up-to-the-minute, updated information about perishable foodstuffs. Video color display may be needed to examine selected merchandise. Ordering follows.

14. ACCESS TO COMPANY FILES. Information in files is coded for security; regularly updated files are available with cross-reference indicating the code where more detailed information is stored. Synthesis also may be available.

15. FARES AND TICKET RESERVATION. As provided by travel agencies now but more comprehensive and faster. Cheapest rates, information regarding the differences between carriers with respect to service, menus, etc. may be available.

16. PAST AND FORTHCOMING EVENTS. Events, dates of events, and their brief description; short previews of future theater plays; and recordings of past events.

17. CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL. Taped or live high school, university, and vocational courses available on request with an option to either audit or graduate. Course on TV, paper support on facsimile.

18. DAILY CALENDAR AND REMINDER ABOUT APPOINTMENTS. Prerecorded special appointments and regularly occurring appointments stored as a programmed reminder.

19. COMPUTER-ASSISTED MEETINGS. The computer participates as a partner in a meeting, answering questions of fact, deriving correlations, and extrapolating trends.

20. NEWSPAPER, ELECTRONIC, GENERAL. Daily newspaper, possibly printed during the night, available in time for breakfast. Special editions following major news breaks.

21. ADULT EVENING COURSES ON TV. Noninteractive, broadcast mode, live courses on TV--wider choice of subjects than at present.

22. BANKING SERVICES. Money orders, transfers, advice.

23. LEGAL INFORMATION. Directory of lawyers, computerized legal counseling giving precedents, rulings in similar cases, describing jurisdiction of various courts and changes of successful suits in a particular area of litigation.

24. SPECIAL SALES INFORMATION. Any sales within the distance specified by the user and for items specified by him will be "flashed" onto the home display unit.

25. CONSUMERS' ADVISORY SERVICE. Equivalent of Consumer Reports, giving best buy, products rated "acceptable", etc.

26. WEATHER BUREAU. Country-wide, regional forecasts or special forecasts (farmers, fishermen), hurricane and tornado warnings similar to current special forecase services.

27. BUS, TRAIN, AND AIR SCHEDULING. Centrally available information with one number to call.

28. RESTAURANTS. Following a query for a type of restaurant (Japanese, for instance), reservations, menu, prices are shown. Displays of dishes, location of tables, may be included.

29. LIBRARY ACCESS. After an interactive "browsing" with a "librarian computer" and a quotation for the cost of hard copy facsimile or a slow-scan video transmission, a book or a magazine is transmitted to the home.

30. INDEX, ALL SERVICES SERVED BY THE HOME TERMINAL. Includes prices or charges of the above, or available communications services.

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APPENDIX II

Howard County, Maryland
Demographic Profile

I - 1970 Census of Population
II - 1970 Census of Housing
III - 1970 Sales Management

		Howard County, Md.	%	Maryland	%	United States	%
I. Population							
Total	1970	61,911	71	3,922,399	27	203,165,699	11
	1960	36,152	56	3,100,689	32	183,285,009	19
	1950	23,119	--	2,343,001	--	154,233,234	--
Race	White	56,573	91.4	3,193,021	81.4	177,612,309	87.4
	Negro	5,016	8.1	701,341	17.9	22,672,570	11.2
	Other	322	.5	28,037	.7	2,880,820	1.4
Age	0 - 9 years	13,023	21	749,020	19	37,121,943	18
	10 - 17	10,874	18	632,713	16	32,531,207	16
	18 - 24	5,545	9	456,973	12	23,697,703	12
	25 - 34	8,916	14	524,543	13	24,908,490	12
	35 - 44	9,199	15	471,613	12	23,071,631	11
	45 - 54	7,096	12	463,550	12	23,202,735	12
	55 - 64	3,931	6	322,290	8	18,582,398	9
	65 & Over	3,327	5	299,697	8	20,049,592	10

II. Housing						
Total Units 1970	17,969	100	1,248,564	100	68,627,366	100
Seasonal Migratory Units - '70	7	.1	14,471	1.2	1,019,524	2
Occupied Units - 1970	16,880	94	1,174,933	94	63,417,322	91
Occupied Units - 1960	9,459	--	863,001	--	53,023,875	--
Occupied Units Increase - '60-'70		56		36		20
Population in Housing Units - 1970	60,673	98	3,817,618	97	197,353,275	97.6
Persons Per Unit	3.6		3.2		3.1	
Owner Occupied Units - 1970	12,892	76	690,194	59	39,862,346	63
Median Value	$28,600		$18,800		$17,000	
Renter Occupied Units - 1970	3,988	24	484,739	41	23,554,976	37
Median Rent	$123		$110		$90	
Units in Structure - 1970						
One	14,610	81.3	851,332	68.2	46,900,548	68
Two or More	2,718	15.1	364,519	29.2	18,859,968	27
Mobile or Trailer	634	3.5	18,242	1.4	1,847,326	3
III. Income						
Effective Buying Income Per Household	$13,212		$11,257		$10,565	
Households by Inc. Category						
$ 0 - 2,999		8.1		12.4		16.9
3,000 - 4,999		11.2		11.2		11.5
5,000 - 7,999		25.0		25.5		21.3
8,000 - 9,999		15.5		16.0		15.2
10,000 & Over		40.1		34.9		35.1

APPENDIX III

METHODOLOGY

This case study of Columbia involves an examination of an ongoing planning process, extending from 1964 into the present. Some of the original communications planning goals have already been carried out; in these cases an attempt has been made to evaluate the specific results of the planning. Other goals, notably that of the cable television system, have not been implemented; in these cases, the research effort has centered around determining the reasons for any failures and identifying current issues which will have an effect on future decisions.

In every possible instance, concrete data, available from published or unpublished studies, reports, and memoranda, were used in the evaluation. Newspaper coverage of the past and ongoing events was also heavily relied upon. These articles, studies, reports and documents are documented in the footnotes and bibliography. In the other cases, the major source of information was interviews with participants in the ongoing planning process. These interviews took place during four field trips to Columbia in October and November, 1972, and January and March, 1973. The respondents, their positions, and the dates of the interviews are listed below:

Scott Ditch, Vice President, Rouse Company, March 16, 1973
Mickey Dunham, Developer's Representative, HRD, March 14, 1973
Norman Winkler, Community Television Council of Howard County, October 2, 1972, and numerous conversations in January and March.

Hans Marchand, Chairman, Village Board, Harper's Choice Village, March 15, 1973
Dina Flowers, Village Manager, Harper's Choice Village, March 14, 1973
Alan Ray, Village Manager, Oakland Mills Village, March 16, 1973
Richard Krolik, Time Life, September 25, 1972 (telephone)
Paul Schatzkin, CTVC, October, November, January and March conversations
Judith Neiman, Rouse Company and CTVC, October 3, 1972
Thomas Bartelt, Reston Transmission Co., March 11, 1973
Marvin Thomas, Director, Howard County Library, March 12, 1973
Missy Zane, Howard County Times, March 9, 1973

In addition, the author personally attended one meeting of the CTVC, and four public hearings on the current applicants for the Howard County cable TV franchise, on March 7, 8, 12, and 13, 1973. Previous Howard County hearings of February and August, 1971, were recorded on videotape by Antioch students; these were also made available to the author and the testimony of James W. Rouse, Richard Krolik, and Arthur Held transcribed.

While an effort was made to contact all participants, several obstacles to comprehensive data collection arose. Arthur Held, the Rouse Company employee originally concerned with cable television planning, has since left the company; while he was contacted by telephone at his new position, he refused to answer questions concerning his involvement. Letters to S.B. Withey, the early work group planner, were unanswered. Policy Research Associates, the Washington firm hired by the Rouse Company to conduct early feasibility

studies for cable television, has gone out of business. The Rouse Company file on the early cable television planning has been reported lost by several sources within the company, and thus not available for reference. The distance to Columbia and the restricted length of the four visits made continuing contact with the participants impossible.

In addition to these gaps in the data, there are other limitations in a methodology which relies heavily upon data from interviews and personal contacts. Respondents may be biased, or they may simply not be telling the truth. However, since the purpose of the interviews was precisely to identify issues and points of view of the participants, since a cross section of the participants was contacted, and since published data generally support the verbal record, these limitations have been judged by the author to be at least partially overcome.

APPENDIX IV

COLUMBIA'S COMMUNICATIONS GOALS

General Goals:

Withey:

p. 2: A communication system may be built and run...but a sense of community will have to be grown and nurtured and tested.... A sense of community is usually associated with: a) interaction that creates some complementarity or reciprocity, b) attraction or common liking, c) common opportunity or common goals, d) common fate or common danger, e) the traditional residue of any of these.

p. 3: Questions of how people treat people, respect, consideration, help, interest, resources, security, concern, etc. The sense of community that is desired in this community is much more this background spirit than it is the front window exhibit of the community skyline.

p. 4: Initial processes should include relating to all aspects of the community or at least as much of the community as possible.

p. 5: In short, think of the communication potential in any aspect of development.

Communicate a set of values that encourages acceptance of differences.

Communicate a willingness to share and solve shared problems.

p. 6: What I am basically proposing is that human interactions be started now and maintained. Human interaction is the core of any communication facility and the content of any communications interest.

Gans:

p.3-4: Columbia should aim for a social structure which....d) reduces social and physical isolation and provides for the lonely, the culturally different minority resident, and what N. Foote calls the unelected.... /and/ f) recognizes the inevitability of community conflict and seeks to cope with the undesirable aspects of such conflict by.... iii) encouraging political communication and feedback so as to prevent the distorting and scapegoating that result from poor communication and thus interfere with the solution of problems...

p. 12: Encourage overt discussion of all conflicts which can be aided by maximizing feedback and inter as well as intra-institutional communication as much as possible.

Michael:

p. 10: Provision must be made for the greatest possible interchange of information and ideas within the community and easy access to information from the state, region, nation and world. Communications is fundamental to communal life.

p. 20: The community should be designed so that its leaders may respond and sense communications in many ways with its citizens and vice versa for the purposes of information, education, recreation and economic growth and the enlargement of a sense of self. Especially, important, Columbia should seek to support and enlarge its citizens by supporting and generating a "sense of community."

p. 22: This community should be designed so that people can find in it exceptional opportunities to apply and stimulate their aspirations to give of themselves as well as to fulfill their needs to be responded to as persons, as neighbors....

Stone:

p. 5: There is recommended for Columbia, development of a total communication and information service program....

p. 6: Columbia City may enjoy a significant advantage by designing its communications service within a total systems concept rather than as a series of uncoordinated facilities... A comprehensive plan should be drafted now regardless of when it is planned to achieve implementation.

Operational Goals; Institutional/Design, Indirect:

New Citizen Orientation:

Withey:

p. 3: How are new residents and new businesses attracted?... What is communicated by the environment during development?

p. 4: There should be a continuing trickle of information about developing plans so that people think they know what is going on.

Gans:

p. 9: A kind of welcome wagon that sells organizations and not merchants might be in order if it is designed to encourage the socially isolated.

Michael:

p.B4: There should be established a welcome wagon system which goes into operation before the family moves into the community, greets them as they do come, and which follows up a few weeks later...in this way new citizens can be comfortably prepared for the transition to the community.

Developer/Citizen Relations:

Withey:

p. 3: How does one find out about community development?

p. 4: Communication should make it clear that the developer is open to influence without his relinquishing responsibility for development.

An intelligence service should be developed that reports to the developer what is going on "at the scene" as well as what his sensitivities ought to be. There is no reason for this to be secretive. People should know how to get word to responsible people even when they do not have direct access. But some channel should be available.

Gans:

p.12: Another possibility is to set up what earlier work group sessions called "the King's representative," which might be a group of community members from all political parties who would have the responsibility of opening up those issues that are in danger of being driven underground and airing them.

Michael:

p.B-1: Arrangements are desirable to enhance communications between the developer personnel and the citizens, to demonstrate to the citizens that the developers really are interested in feedback from them and to maintain awareness and sensitivity to citizen attitudes and needs.

p.R-8: It would be desirable, perhaps, if CRD or the CID introduce, from the very beginning of the community, the Scandinavian institution of the Ombudsman, the King's Representative. It is his or her task...to be recognized as the readily accessible representative of CRD or the CID to whom citizens can make complaints regarding matters which it is the responsibility of CRD or the CID to deal with. Through these representatives, the complaint or request is conveyed directly to CRD or the CID for direct action; no bureaucratic foot dragging, no disappearance into the maze of organizational hierarchy... These representatives should move around, but should be located in the villages.

p.B-2: CRD should have specially trained and explicitly defined representative in the villages...to whom the citizen can express his grievances or his suggestions...regarding matters which are CRD's responsibility.

Village Centers:

Withey:

p. 5: Establish facilities for informal communication and activity while recreation, learning, shopping, eating, etc. is going on.

Michael:

p.R-37: The village center should be the prime community communications center as well.

p.R-38: There should be an office of the CID/CA in each of the villages. Two of its major functions should be to convey information for the CID to the village, and to act as the "king's representative" in the village. Symbolically, the office should be clustered with the health services, the library, and the village meeting rooms.

p.R-50: Displays linked by telephone to the appropriate CID offices questionnaires filled out on the spot, interviews...and all such means should be regularly and systematically used to generate, feedback and to demonstrate that CID wants it.

There should be a village information center, which provides 1) information about CRD plans with respect to the whole community in general, and the village in particular, 2) notices of opportunities for individual and village participation, 3) schedules of events, 4) demonstrations of new resources available in the village and other parts of the community.

p.R-48: Appropriate health education displays should be located here so that those using the Village Center's other facilities are likely to see them.

Face-to-Face Contact:

Withey:

p. 5: Stimulate, where possible, the development of healthy interaction in...commercial neighborhood street fairs... churches, clubs, schools, and similar community facilities for communication and interaction.

Michael:

p.B-15: (Store manager).... He could be defined as a useful and direct feedback communications link between the neighborhood and the CID.

Operational Goals, Physical/Technological, Direct:

Newspapers:

Withey:

p. 4: Local or nearby facilities should be regarded as potential partners. There would appear to be no strong reason at present to own or buy a newspaper or broadcasting facility. If the role of the developer is to help and encourage and stimulate...much of this mood would be left open to doubt by communication ownership.

p. 5: Accept the Washington and Baltimore papers as the papers for international and national news.

Help build up a local paper (or papers) as strong local media.

Gans:

p. 12: A weekly column in the local paper, and a program on the TV station might be set up to discuss the rumors that are current, explain why they came about, provide information that would eliminate them.

Michael:

p.A1-2: Eventually there should be a weekly magazine or daily newspaper focused on community activities.

Telephones:

Michael:

p.R-6: Information on community activities and special events should be available on a direct dialing basis as should

be health education information...the library should also provide special reference services by phone.

Stone:

p. 14: A T & T and its various state subsidiaries are providing an increasing number of communications services for the home. These include extension telephones, automatic dialing devices, intercommunication systems within the home.... These services are available now or will be supplied in the near future. A question presents itself as to a division of effort. With what functions should this communications plan concern itself and what services should be left to common carriers? For example, it would be desirable to install a system of interconnecting circuits when a house is constructed.

Television/Cable Television:

Withey:

p. 5: Help build up and develop local TV services that serve community, civic and school functions as well as the cultural, sports, news, and entertainment functions that are traditional.

Gans:

p. 12: A program on the TV station might be set up to discuss the rumors that are current....

Michael:

p. 23: The community should be linked by a closed circuit TV system which would tie homes and public resources together.

p.R-5: A particularly effective way to accomplish the above listed purposes would be through a community-wide closed circuit TV system, produced in the community and used by the community for community purposes.

P.R-6: The advantages seem so great that it should be planned to wire every dwelling to receive closed circuit TV. It should be connected to the major sources of community activities and education.

p.A-2: An extensive program should be established using CATV as a means for drawing them (housewives) out. At first, such TV programs will be used by them to enrich their home environments during their isolation, but if the substance of the programs is planned effectively, this exposure should draw them out into the community.

p.29-30:The inexpensive convenient,bus system, combined with closed circuit TV between schools, combined with open enrollment, should make it easy for students...to congregate...

Stone:

p. 3: Is there a possibility that in Columbia there can be demonstrated a new approach to provision of public communication and information services, including performance of the library function, an approach which may truly "measure up" to all requirements as well as prove economically feasible?

As new service units and programs are planned, what differences, if any, should exist between service offered Columbia residents and to those living elsewhere in the county?

There is recommended for Columbia development of a total communication and information service program...the program is to be established under new administrative arrangements working in harmony with existing authorities but providing with new economic efficiency the full range of communications services needed.

Columbia City may enjoy a significant advantage by designing its communications service within a total systems concept rather than as a series of uncoordinated facilities.

p. 20: In Columbia a new approach should be devised for administration of public communication and information services. Such an approach would be represented in the establishment of a new non-profit corporation (or subdivision of the proposed Columbia Park and Recreation Service Corporation) to be called the Columbia Communication Service Agency.

p. 23: As a means of launching the effort, as soon as possible, funds should be sought to support a major study in depth on the costs of operating the service proposed, as well as design of suitable structures appropriate for housing the various programs.

Finally, whatever else may be involved it is hoped that Community Research and Development, Incorporated will take the steps needed immediately to insure installation of the necessary CATV antennas, cable and other equipment so that in the same way water and sewer service will become available, communications lines may also be tapped.

Printing Facilities:

Michael:

p.A-1: There should be an organized inexpensive (or free) facility to handle the printing needs of the community for notices, posters, school papers, special interest group publications, etc.

These quotations have been taken from the following documents:

Gans, Herbert J. "The Everyday Life and Problems of an Average Columbia Resident," February, 1964.

Michael, Donald N. Report on the Planning and Programming of Physical Facilities and Social Processes for Columbia, Maryland, September, 1964.

Stone, C. Walter A Library Program for Columbia, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 15, 1965.

Withey, Stephen B. "Communications and Sense of Community," Institute for Policy Studies and CRD, Inc., undated.

APPENDIX V

JOB DESCRIPTION

"DEVELOPER'S REPRESENTATIVE"

Reports to: General Manager of Columbia

General: The Developer's Representative will be responsible for identifying and communicating to the appropriate authority within HRD, (or CA), deficiencies in our services to the community. The representative will be available as a resource for the community:

(1) to facilitate communications to the developer

(2) to promptly determine the developer's role or policy in matters of interest to the community and,

(3) to assist in arranging meetings or establishing lines of communication with other members of the Columbia family, (CA, builders, institutions), when requested.

The developer's representative will have no line authority and will not be responsible for HRD's performance.

Specifically to:

(1) receive, without prejudice, complaints, grievances and suggestions for an improved Columbia;

(2) review and properly articulate deficiencies to the responsible authority;

(3) be alert for patterns which indicate breakdowns in process and to point out the need for new methods;

(4) inform all parties where there are legitimately conflicting issues involved and to mediate as best as she can.

By:

- Being highly visible and available to the community, through publicity, proper office location, and attendance at community meetings.
- Being sensitive to community concerns, caring enough to listen to all frustrations, and being diligent in the follow up of unanswered communications.
- Being alert to circumstances which do not meet Columbia's standards or which are potential problems which will require the developer's attention.
- Being fully informed on HRD's (and CA's) organization, objectives and policies through aggressive inquiries and communications with HRD executives and department heads.
- Keeping the General Manager and/or Assistant General Manager fully informed on pending problems and by requesting assistance on matters which need executive attention or concern.

Source: Mickey Dunham, Howard Research & Development, Inc.

APPENDIX VI

Summary of the

"Howard County Cable Television Systems Franchise Act"

I. Channel Allocation

A. Requires the franchise grantee to provide thirty (30) channels within one year from effective date of franchise

1. Three (3) Howard County channels for governmental use
2. Eight (8) owner's channels (pay TV, closed circuit sports, etc.)
3. Three (3) educational channels
4. Three (3) public access channels (free, non-commercial, non-discriminatory use by people on a first-come, first-served basis
5. Thirteen (13) over-the-air broadcast channels

B. As channel capacity increases, new channels allocated as follows:

1. One (1) Howard County channel
2. One (1) public access channel
3. One (1) educational channel
4. One (1) owner's channel

II. Two-Way Capability

A. All subscribers of the basic service must be provided with two-way capability for audio/data message and signalling

B. Two-way capability for audio/data message and signalling and two-way video capability must be provided for "...all public agencies, public and private schools, police and fire stations, hospitals, prisons, reformatories, detention centers, day care centers, and such other locations as the Executive may from time to time direct...."

III. Subscriber Rates

A. County Council is the regulatory agency for rates, within the terms of the franchise act

B. Basic Service monthly rates

1. $6.00 for the first outlet
2. $1.50 for each additional outlet
3. $1.50 for each converter

IV. CATV Service Advisory Committee

A. Five (5) members, appointed by Executive and confirmed by Council

B. Shall advise the County Executive and the County Council on all matters relating to the use of cable communications systems and facilities

V. Compensation to County

A. In compensation for the franchise issued, the grantee shall pay Howard County 5% of gross annual receipts

B. Such receipts will be put in a specially designated fund for the purpose of financing the administrative costs of implementing the franchise act and for financing public service communications on public channels, County channels and education channels

C. County Executive must consult with the CATV Service Advisory Committee regarding the expenditure of funds

IV. Up-dating the System: the company shall undertake any construction and installation as may be necessary to keep pace with latest developments in the state of the art, such as increasing channel capacity, furnishing improved converters, instituting two-way services, or otherwise

Source: Community Television Council of Howard County

APPENDIX VII

Summary of Applications: The two applications have been submitted by Community CableVision Systems of Howard County, Inc., and Howard Cable Television Associates.

The analysis was made by The Imagination Foundation of Columbia, and published in the Columbia Times, December 7, 1972, p. 1B, under the title "An Analysis of Cable Television Franchise Applications."

SUBJECT	Community CableVision	HCTA
ownership and control	local board appointed by CCS of Md. (51%) and Warner Communications (49%)	board elected by stockholders, elected by subscribers
FINANCING ASSETS	$110,000	$11,000
Capital	Warner will provide up to 80% of system cost: 20% raised from sale of private stock	Unspecified: Daniels & Associates committed to 80%; 20% from sale of stock
SYSTEM DESIGN		
Total channels	30	30
# of head ends	2	1
two-way	unspec.	unspec.
local origination budget	unspec.	unspec.
construction schedule	1 year	2-4 years
SUBSCRIBER COSTS		
Basic service	$9.95	$9.95
Installation	$5.00	$6.00
Monthly rates	$1 converter rental	$1 converter rental

APPENDIX VIII

OWNERSHIP ALTERNATIVES FOR CABLE TELEVISION
IN THE DAYTON METROPOLITAN AREA

Form of Ownership	Basic Financing	System Operator	Comments
Private Corporation			
Single corporate owner	Private debt and equity financing	Single operator	Regional interconnection would require extensive coordination among separate franchises
Multiple corporate owners	Same as above	Multiple operators	Same as above
Government			
Municipal department (e.g., Dayton water or airport departments)	General municipal obligations, earned surplus, or revenue bonds	Municipal department, or private corporation under management contract from municipality	Regional coordination needed to tie together individual municipal systems; unincorporated areas not covered
Special regional authority	Authority's general obligations or revenue bonds	Regional authority	Requires new enabling legislation from State of Ohio
County, with approval from Community Improvement Corporation	Industrial development revenue bonds	Private corporation under lease from county	Total project limited to $5 million for each municipality or unincorporated area; special IRS rule probably needed

APPENDIX VIII Cont'd

Nonprofit Corporation or Group			
Nonprofit institution (e.g., private university, foundation, public television station)	Endowment funds, foundation grants, or governmental support needed for basic (equity) capital; private financing for debt	Noncommercial group, or private corporation under management contract	Foundation or government loan guarantees might be available under some circumstances
Local community group	Same as above	Same as above	Same as above
Subscribers' cooperative	Same as above	Same as above	Same as above

Source: Walter Baer and Donald Camph. "Ownership Alternatives," from Johnson, et. al., ed's. Cable Communications in the Dayton Miami Valley: Basic Report, Rand, Santa Monica, January, 1972, p. 10-13.