A STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND PLANNING DEFICIENCIES
WITH RESPECT TO THE INTENSITY OF THE PHYSICAL AND
SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE CENTRAL CITY OF COLUMBUS, OHIO

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Master of Arts

by

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The Ohio State University
1964

Approved by

[Signature]

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I INTRODUCTION

The deterioration of certain of the once fine residential districts and the development of blighted areas surrounding the central business district have become characteristic of the growth of the nation's cities. 1 The Public Administration Service in their 1948 convention, proposed the following as some of the symptoms of blight:

Various indexes of evidences of blight ... seemed to be generally accepted. They include physical deterioration, obsolete structures, loss of population in residential districts (except in times of acute housing shortage), sometimes an increase of population due to overcrowding and extensive subdivision of living quarters, poor maintenance and repair, little or no new building replacement, high incidence of juvenile delinquency, and other characteristics of social disorganization. 2

Accepting this definition of blight, and considering the controls that cities can use to regulate this blight, such as building regulations, zoning, police enforcement and housing codes, it is not surprising that many authorities attribute the development of physical and social disorders to inadequate control and planning.

Gallion cites administration functions for "wanton neglect of the congested centers of our cities," 3 and Coleman Woodbury indicts planning for the same reason when he says, "Urban planning is still being done too much in the dark--on the basis of inadequate facts, half-truths, hunches, impressions, guesses, and prejudices." 4
A report made by the City Planning Commission indicates that the Columbus, Ohio situation may be the same. It states:

If we were to draw a circle around the heart of the city, approximately three miles out from Broad and High, we would encircle tens of thousands of buildings ranging in age from 40 to 100 years old. Many of these structures, which represent the city of yesteryear, have become dilapidated and completely substandard because of age, lack of maintenance, lack of sufficient utilities and facilities, and the lack of proper controls to insure stability . . .

In the interest of public awareness of city government functions and existing problems, this study was initiated to document the past and present situation of city administrative and planning functions, and the location and extent of blight in the city of Columbus, Ohio. It is the purpose of this study to examine the City of Columbus for these symptoms. Three questions are asked:

1. Are there administrative and planning deficiencies with respect to the older central city?

2. What is the location, scope, and intensity of physical deterioration and social disorder in the city?

3. Is there evidence that administrative and planning deficiencies have resulted in intensive physical deterioration and social disorder in the central city?


II A HISTORY: THE GROWTH OF THE CITY

1812 to 1900

From its first sale of land and designation as the state capital in 1812, the geographic location of Columbus has played a major role in its social and economic development. The types and numbers of transportation routes have been a major influence in the development of the city's physical and economic structure.

Transportation and Innovation

The Columbus Feeder Canal connecting Columbus with the Ohio-Erie Canal was opened in 1831 and the National Road (now U.S. Route 40) reached the city in 1833 bringing Columbus in contact with eastern markets for produce and livestock. These ponderous transportation facilities were outmoded 20 years later with the opening of the first railroad to Columbus, the Columbus and Xenia Railroad, in 1850. By 1854, four more railroads had been opened. The most influential innovations in the city occurred in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. Farming implementation was being constantly improved and between 1870 and 1900, technological advancement had brought the rise of mechanized farms and the "shifting of the nation's agricultural center from Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio to the midwestern states."¹ In this same period, Columbus experienced the addition of the waterworks in 1871, the first telephone in 1879, and the electric street car in 1891. The raw materials of iron ore, coal, and timber were made
available by the opening of the Hocking Valley Railroad, and natural
gas was discovered in the fields of Hocking and Knox Counties and was
piped to Columbus in 1891. The city's prestige was enhanced by the
opening of the Ohio Agricultural College just north of Columbus in 1873.

Economic Activity

Since agriculture dominated the surrounding countryside, it was
natural that commerce should develop. In addition to trade, the leading
capitalists derived much of their profit from "land sales to new settlers
who arrived in the city in increasing numbers in the middle 1800's."\(^2\)

Small shops with limited assets dominated the
city's manufacturing until after 1870. . . . Beyond
their interests in land and railroads, Columbus
businessmen apparently were not speculative: their
enterprise, energy, and business interests were
tempered by a sort of "old-time" conservatism.
Consequently, capital was cautious and not inclined
to take the risks that manufacturing involved.\(^3\)

The fact that Columbus was the state capital and was developing as a
transportation center, made the commercial gains resulting to Columbus
merchants appreciable.

In addition to the already established agrarian economy, post Civil
War prosperity brought six new banking houses and the city's first
building and loan company.\(^4\) The opening of the railroad to south-
eastern Ohio in 1870 brought a booming change to Columbus' economic
outlook, and an increased growth over the next thirty years.

Increased railroad activity gave impetus to
increased trade and commerce and, in turn, created
investment possibilities for local and foreign
capital. The city soon became a jobbing center . . .
the railroads afforded employment for large numbers of men in the shops they built. . . .
the shops, in turn, attracted manufacturing establishments which were suppliers to the railroad industry. With 15 rail lines entering the city in 1890, the Board of Trade believed "... the business man and manufacturer find the success of their enterprise unexcelled. . . ." in Columbus. 5

Columbus was also the center for carriages, wagons and many accessories with 23 establishments with a combined annual output of 20,000 vehicles. Although the period marks the significant growth of industrial activity, Columbus still remained a transportation center with a large through traffic. 6

The Columbus that emerged from the nineteenth century was that of a city with diversified economy of wholesaling, manufacturing, and services.

With the enlargement of the national scope of local companies, Columbus began the slow process of maturation as it became a part of the manufacturing economy of the nation. There were more than 900 factories in the city making everything from carriages and foundry products to jewelry and watches. While enlarging the national market, local industry remained stable and diversified. 7

Social Characteristics

As Columbus' transportation facilities improved, and it was more easily reached, and as it grew as a political, commercial, and transportation center, the population likewise increased prolifically in its first fifty years. From a settlement of 300 in 1812, the population swelled steadily to 31,274 in 1870.
### TABLE 1

**POPULATION GROWTH IN COLUMBUS, OHIO, 1820-1910**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>2,435</td>
<td>67.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>6,048</td>
<td>148.3</td>
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<td>1850</td>
<td>17,882</td>
<td>195.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>18,554</td>
<td>3.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>31,274</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>51,647</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>68,150</td>
<td>70.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>125,560</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>181,511</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The labor force was primarily one of unskilled laborers until there was a migration of "artisans from the eastern cities in the 1820's" and "an influx of skilled workers when many German immigrants made their way into Central Ohio in 1840. Prior to these two migrations, the basic settlement was by farm people from the south and east." With a 65% increase in 1880, it ranked as the thirty-third largest city in the nation. Between 1880 and 1890, Columbus experienced
an increase of 70 per cent in population whereas the state of Ohio gained by less than 15 per cent. The number of persons employed in manufacturing increased from 5,150 in 1870 to 17,000 in 1900, and low wages prevailed. Unlike most cities of the period, Columbus had more than 90 per cent American born population. "In 1900 when very few Negroes were employed in any type of manufacturing, they accounted for less than 7 per cent of the total population."10

1900 to 1922

Technology

This period brought the mass production of the "horseless carriage," a notable event in itself. In addition, some of the major innovations were the airplane and the radio-telephone in 1903; the tungsten filament lamp in 1913; and great gains in efficiency of operation in business and industry.

The western world in the last decade of the nineteenth century was a world of wood, iron, coal, and steam. Its industry was wasteful and inefficient, deafening and unwieldy. Already, however, American industrialists were beginning to yield to the possibilities of a new day. Well endowed technological colleges were applying chemistry and physics to the problems of manufacturing and communication. Highly trained scientists and engineers were discovering new wonders in nature, inventing new processes to make them available, new machines to make them profitable to business enterprise . . . . To these revolutionary changes in technology in the earlier period, Frederick W. Taylor was adding new ideas in industrial management.11
Economic Activity

The turn of the century and the next twenty-two years brought little in the way of the previous business and industrial activity of the 1880's and 1890's. Most of the new raw materials in central Ohio and the nation were already developed, and most of the new industry had already been drawn in. With the market crash of 1907 and the stringencies of the First World War, the balance of diversified economic pursuits remained approximately the same. Although, with the depression and perhaps a few ill-placed ventures, the number of plants in the city had decreased from 900 to 800, the number industrially employed rose from 17,000 to 34,000. The expanded market of the nineteenth century allowed continued growth of well-established businesses, but employment failed to increase in proportion to the population growth. The farmer was having problems, as efficiency of operation resulted in a surplus of goods, and only those capable of withstanding rigorous competition could survive. The war years, followed by another depression (1920-22), allowed relatively little change in the character of activity in Columbus until 1922.

Social Aspects

From 1900 to 1919 the city experienced an average increase in population of 43 per cent per decade, nearly doubling in size, as population jumped from 125,560 in 1900 to 237,031 in 1919. "The average wage for all types of labor was about $600 a year--an efficient low-wage labor force." However, inflation and monopoly
lifted the cost of living of the nation by 35 per cent between 1897 and 1913, unbearably squeezing the fixed income group.

**TABLE 2**

**POPULATION GROWTH IN COLUMBUS, OHIO, 1900-1960**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>125,560</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>181,511</td>
<td>44.6</td>
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<td>1920</td>
<td>237,031</td>
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<td>1930</td>
<td>290,564</td>
<td>22.5</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>306,087</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>375,901</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>471,316</td>
<td>25.3</td>
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**1922 to 1941**

**Technological Developments**

Nationally, one of the most important results of the First World War was the sophistication of industrial technology and business organization and "in the twenties these were developed to a very high degree of efficiency." Business sponsorship of research rose to unprecedented heights with the advancement of chemistry and the widespread
use of electricity. Newly developed products, such as electrical appliances and synthetic materials, brought possibilities for new businesses and a need for new markets. Innovation and change came rapidly, and in the ten years from 1920 to 1930 radio broadcasting was launched, non-stop flights were made across the Atlantic, the movies started talking, and the motor vehicle became a major means of transport. "Automobiles came into common use, reaching a total number surpassing twenty-three million, or enough for the total American population to take a ride at one time."\textsuperscript{15} Technological developments continued to increase until the economy collapsed and could not support them, but not before a level had been reached that was to establish the pattern and potential of the future economy.

**Economic Activity**

The nation's industrial activity was undergoing great changes, but many of the innovations on that level did not effect the Columbus economy to a great degree until World War II and after. From the 1900's on, Columbus maintained its diversity of economic activity and the distribution of the labor force remained approximately the same through 1929. The number of industrially employed workers was relatively unstable. From 26,751 workers in 1919, employment dropped in the early 1920's, and increased again to only 26,576 in 1929.\textsuperscript{16}

Columbus' trade with its surrounding agricultural area was strengthened by the introduction of the truck-transport, as Central Ohio produced 10 per cent of Ohio's $25,000,000 agricultural value as late as 1930.\textsuperscript{17}
With the betterment of transportation facilities and the expansion of the major automobile manufacturing centers within a few hundred miles of the city, the famous carriage industry declined rapidly. This vacancy in the economy was soon filled, however, as Columbus became "an important parts supplier as a mid-way point between the steel centers and the automobile assembly centers."\(^{18}\)

Columbus, like the rest of the nation, was undergoing a building boom in the 1920's. The number of dwelling units increased from 59,556 in 1919 to 81,049 in 1929, or an increase of 36.1 per cent.\(^{19}\) The twenties was also the period of the gigantic state and city building program\(^{20}\) with the development of the city's civic center, and the addition of a 555\(\frac{1}{2}\) foot skyscraper to the Columbus Skyline.

### TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Units</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Per Cent Increase</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>59,556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>81,049</td>
<td>21,493</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>95,028</td>
<td>13,979</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>113,347</td>
<td>18,319</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>151,964</td>
<td>38,617</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Columbus Chamber of Commerce Research Bureau
The Depression

By 1929 the American economy had accomplished miracles of production and the "economy of abundance" had become a genuine possibility. Industry had failed to pass on the profits to the worker, but instead, reinvested in production facilities. Wages failed to expand and left many Americans little buying power.

Naturally enough, too little income went for consumer goods in proportion to the torrents that flowed into investment channels and the call money market, into the making of new capital equipment for future production, and into the savings of the well-to-do. 21

Since the market for goods failed to expand at the same rate as technological improvements and productive capacity, the nation's economy collapsed.

Columbus, buoyed by the state and city building program, did not feel the effects of the depression fully until early in 1930. 22 From that time on, business diminished, employment decreased rapidly, and poverty and deterioration took their toll. Federal and state governments tried to initiate programs of rehabilitation to bring the country back to "normal," but not until the Second World War brought a need for intense production did opportunities again become plentiful, and then it was for the manufacture of war goods.

Population Characteristics

The population of Columbus increased by 22.5 per cent from 1920 to 1930 even though employment had not risen over those same ten years.
The twenties mark the real beginnings of a period of dispersal of the population outside the central city, as those who could afford it took advantage of the new facilities in the suburbs. Still, suburban growth was closely confined to the fairly nucleolated upper class suburbs or along major highways.23

As great as the movement of the population to the peripheries, however, it was never greater than the influx into the cities from outside . . . thus while . . . growth had a decentralizing tendency, congestion continued to increase.24

The congestion that resulted was due to overcrowding of the older residences in the central city. The twenties were characterized by a broad expanse between the wages of the upper class and the middle and lower classes, seriously limiting the buying power of the population as a whole. As the cost of living continued to rise wages failed to expand. An estimated 40 per cent of the population in this decade actually earned $500 less than the $2000 needed for minimum subsistence.25 Living conditions steadily deteriorated in these regions. As the tax money left the city, more intensive land use was undertaken to pay for higher taxes and service charges. "Under such pressures private dwellings that had accommodated single families were remodeled into tenements that housed eight or twelve."26 Overcongestion and low standard of living contributed to social disorder as well as physical deterioration. With the stock market crash of 1929 many more joined the ranks of the destitute, mortgage losses skyrocketed and financial instability added to the intensity of the problems. From 1929 to 1940 the Columbus population increased only by 15,523 and by 1935 the number of industrial wage earners had fallen to 17,516.27
1941 to 1946

**Technology**

The potential of technology had been felt in the twenties, and the needs of the Second World War brought the advancement of technology to a higher level than ever before. In addition to the production of war machines, such as atomic bombs, jet planes, radar, and rockets, a scarcity of raw materials for the consumer market brought the development of synthetic rubber and plastics. With the end of the war, Columbus was preparing to convert the greatest technological forces in history to the production of consumer goods.

**Economic Activity**

The war economy hastened the recovery of the nation as the government at the beginning of the war issued these policies:

Two broad policies were decided upon: to speed up all existing production by going on a seven-day week in every war industry, including the production of all raw material; and, rush additions to the capacity of production by building new plants, by adding to all plants, and by using many smaller plants for war need.²⁸

Columbus industry retooled and production jumped. Additional employment in the city in 1941 alone increased the community's payroll by $6,813,000.²⁹

Probably the greatest boom to the Columbus economic picture was the opening of the $14,000,000 government financed Curtiss-Wright plant in 1941, which at its opening employed 3,000 men and women and by the end of the war had trained and was employing a total of 25,000.³⁰
"Men and women . . . from cities, towns, and farms were attracted to Columbus by the high wages of the aircraft industry."\textsuperscript{31} The number of machine shops alone increased by five times as a consequence, and local firms received contracts and subcontracts totaling millions of dollars.\textsuperscript{32}

Although wages were high and recovery appreciable, the total economic picture is easily distorted by the conditions and controls of a war economy. It was, according to the Columbus Chamber of Commerce, "a period of economic upheaval and a dislocation of business and living practices."\textsuperscript{33}

Confined by materials shortage, private building activity dwindled. The Columbus Chamber of Commerce writes, "Faced by priority obstacles, and inability to obtain materials and official sanction to proceed, many local builders were planning to withdraw from the field."\textsuperscript{34} The Chamber interceded and got necessary sanction for local builders to construct housing instead of the government temporary housing. Even then, however, the number of new dwelling units per year increased only slightly over that of the depression years.

During that fiscal year [1945-46] came the close of the world's greatest war . . . with the end of the global conflict came a multiplicity of problems involved in industrial reconversion. Our economic pattern was badly jumbled. Our country was geared to the greatest war machine ever constructed. Suddenly we found ourselves with tasks of an entirely different nature--problems whose solution knew no precedent because of their magnitude and great variety.\textsuperscript{35}
Social Characteristics

The population of Columbus increased by nearly 10 per cent during the war. Much of this increase consisted of immigrants seeking high wage employment in the aircraft industry and other war-time productions. In 1941, the local Chamber of Commerce wrote: "As a result of the greatest influx of industrial workers Columbus had ever experienced, predictions of an acute housing shortage have come . . . 37

The war brought new problems and an expansion of old problems in the areas of social misbehavior. Employment and wages were high and goods scarcity brought "black market" dealings in violation of price, ration, and priority regulations. "Profiteering" in government contracts was also a result of the war activity. But even more important because of its lasting marks was the rise of juvenile crimes:

The extensive and lucrative employment of many mothers, boys and girls was followed by a sweeping rise in juvenile crimes. This was aggravated by a shortage of regular school teachers and social workers, many from these two professions going into more remunerative war work. Alarming warnings were sounded by various community leaders and by national spokesmen . . . 39

The war had given a tremendous boost to employment and business recovery, but the war years were not beneficial in many respects to the economic and social disorders of the depression years, and the chaos of the immediate post-war years were to inflict increasing problems upon the city.
1946 to 1960

Technology

The post war period was to bring unforeseen possibilities to technology into the realm of the average American. With the war's end research and development was again turned to consumer goods and this time the American public had the money to buy. The decades after World War II brought us from a scarcity economy and technology of necessity to an "economy of abundance" and a "technology of free choice." 40

Economic Activity

The post war years mark the increasing of productivity and industrial growth of Columbus as the number of plants increased from 521 in 1940 to more than 800 in 1963. 41 Although the number employed by industry had increased from 37,000 in 1940 to more than 73,000 in 1963 this remained as approximately 26 per cent of the labor force.

Hunker gives the chief cause of the addition of national firms to the manufacturing picture in Columbus as the opening of Curtiss-Wright during the war.

The new plant broke a stranglehold on industry held by a few old-line firms. It brought a new concept of manufacturing to the city, and with it, high-wage unionized labor policies not before common in Columbus.42

When the war ended, Curtiss-Wright layed off 17,000 workers and with its closing Columbus was presented with a large unemployed, skilled labor force. The industrial growth of the city by the attraction of large national firms can be attributed to the availability of
this skilled labor force and the Southeastern Ohio surplus labor area plus availability of space and transportation facilities to major market areas.43

Low wages have always prevailed in Columbus, however, and in spite of the influence of national firms and national labor unions, 1953 wages in Columbus were 5 to 15 cents per hour lower than those in northern Ohio. The October, 1963, Bureau of Unemployment Compensation bulletin indicates that Columbus had the lowest average production worker wage in the state, with the average annual wage about $300 lower than the state average.44

The markets had continued to expand and the economy thrived, though changes in the structure have arisen. With the city expanding over a far greater area after 1945 new businesses were inclined to locate outside the city or at the periphery and many old businesses needing room for expansion or replacement of obsolete facilities, relocated farther out from the central city.45

The 1958 Survey of Business shows that the Central Business District retailers had begun to lose their share of the increasing market as the major shopping centers developed in the suburbs. From 1954 to 1958 the Central Business District gained in volume of retail sales by only 9.4 per cent as the rest of the city gained by 20.9 per cent and the total number of Central Business District retail outlets decreased by 65 as the number in the city increased by 178.46
Population

By 1960 Columbus population had swelled to 471,316, an increase of 165,229 since the beginning of the war. Already faced with a wartime housing shortage, followed by the releasing of savings and the fantastic increase in the number of new families immediately after the war, a severe housing shortage was at hand.

... in times of acute housing shortage it was hard to avoid the feeling that almost any kind of shelter was a good thing. On the other hand a more realistic view was that the conditions of the war and immediate postwar year probably were aggravating the problems of blight in most American cities. Standards of space, design, and construction, both in new and remodeled buildings, had been seriously lowered. Many types of units were being created that would not hold up in competition once the shortage had been largely caught up. Families forced to live in temporary structures, basement apartments, and similar types of quarters, were simply waiting for the first opportunity to get away from the older areas to which they were now confined. Once they had reasonable choice in the market again, they would be adding to the flight from the city. 47

With the new-rich dominate middle class, a housing shortage, and government financing, real estate speculation was the natural course.

New housing developments continue to mushroom throughout Col-Met. The trend toward suburban development, which began in late 1950, goes on apace. By the end of 1950 most of the desirable, available building space in the city was filled. Construction then spilled over into the townships with increasing speed. Between the April 1950 Census and June 30, 1956, 39,869 dwelling units were added in Col-Met, an increase of 26.9 per cent. Of this total, 15,955 or 40 per cent were outside the city. In the last nine months of 1955, 60.5 per cent were outside the city. During the first six months of 1956, 66.2 per cent of the 3,402 dwelling units added were outside the city. Since the Census in 1950, four suburbs--
Whitehall (214.3%), Worthington (174.0%), Upper Arlington (140.1%), and Grove City (117.6%), -- and one township (Franklin, 126.3%) have increased their numbers of dwelling units by over 100%. In the same period, three other suburbs and eleven townships show increases ranging from 26.2% to 96.8%. Even though the number of units started in the first six months of 1956 is 5.4% less than for the same period of 1955, home building is at a high level. The demand for new homes has not abated and the continuance of this building activity is indicated. Supporting this trend toward suburban living, Col-Met has gained, within the last eight years, seven new suburban shopping centers. Two others are planned for the near future. 43

This ever increasing growth of the urban centered population with sprawling residential and commercial facilities has made it increasingly difficult for the city to efficiently expand its service facilities to meet growing demands.

The first and most noticeable problem of this dispersal of services is the problems posed in traffic engineering and street maintenance, as the number of miles of paved streets have increased nearly 200 per cent since 1950, and the number of motor vehicles in the city reaches 200,000. 49 The result is city-wide congestion of traffic on the obsolete street system, as increasing numbers show a preference for private transportation 50 and over 1,200,000 automobile trips are made daily by Columbus area motorists. 51

Summary

From its first sale of land and its designation as the state capital in 1812, the geographic location of Columbus has played a major role in its social and economic development. In the period from 1812
to 1870, the small settlement grew to a fairly large self-sustaining city. The first fifty years marked a transition from a self-sufficient agricultural economy to an active commercial and political center. The latter quarter of the nineteenth century in Columbus saw the inter-regional expansion of the railroads, the establishment of the raw material industries, the development of Columbus as a jobbing center, and an average of 67% increase in population per decade. Columbus continued to grow as a political and commercial center, and by the turn of the century, expanding markets and industrial growth had balanced the city's economic situation and made it a part of the economy of the nation. Population continued to expand and Columbus was the thirty-third largest city in the nation by 1880. The feverish economic activity of the latter quarter of the nineteenth century dwindled with the turn of the century; population continued to increase; the cost of living continued to rise; but wages failed to expand. The market crash in 1907 followed by the First World War and another depression from 1920 to 1922 forced continuing adverse conditions upon the population. Even in the prosperity years from 1922 to 1929, the numbers benefiting from a rise in economic activity were very small in relation to the numbers receiving less than subsistence incomes. The twenties was the beginning of suburban growth, as those few that could afford it escaped to the peripheries of the city. The financial situation of the lower class brought thousands to the city settling in the cheaper rent districts of the older central city and seeking employment
to subsist. But little was to be found, as employment was erratic and wages low. With the depression thousands more were forced into financial straits and for the next ten years poverty reigned over a vast portion of the city's inhabitants and the central city where they dwelled.

The Second World War was to bring economic recovery to the city, but the accompanying dislocation of families and business only magnified the social disorders of the previous years and goods scarcity continued to disable maintenance and construction of the physical environment. The end of the war in 1946 brought the need for rapid conversion of the "national war machine" back to private enterprise for consumer goods. This brought many problems, as the city was faced with vast changes in its physical and social structure—the shifting in location of business and residence and the growth of a dominate middle class with an ever increasing buying power. The rapid increase in population after the war intensified an already acute housing shortage and forced acceptance of low standards in living conditions.

As the new housing developments at the periphery drew the new-rich out of the city, the central city was left with obsolete and deteriorating structures and a predominance of social disorder. The rapid growth of the suburbs and the annexation of them, brought a dispersal of the city's service functions that spread thin the available services to the withering central city. Compounding this, the expanding suburban market brought a decentralization of the commercial functions and with it the changing economic function of the central city.


3 Ibid., p. 32.

4 Columbus Chamber of Commerce Research Bureau. (untitled mimeographed report)

5 Hunker, p. 43.

6 From the Board of Directors and Secretaries of the Columbus Board of Trade, Annual Report for 1890 (Columbus: Board of Trade, 1890), "Of 4,500,000 tons of coal shipped through Columbus in 1890, less than 10% remained in the city for commercial or manufacturing use.

7 Hunker, p. 50.

8 Ibid., p. 29.

9 Ibid., p. 40.

10 Ibid., p. 41.


12 Hunker, p. 64.

13 Cochran and Miller, pp. 298-299.

14 Ibid.


16 Hunker, p. 56.

17 Roderick Peattie (ed.), Columbus, Ohio -- Analysis of a City's Development (Columbus: Industrial Bureau of Columbus, 1930), p. 18.
18 Hunker, p. 52.

19 Arthur B. Gallion in The Urban Pattern (Princeton: Van Nostrand Co., Ind., 1950), p. 182, cites the fact that 75% of all dwelling units built in the 1920-30-decade were for the upper third of the income bracket.

20 The Columbus Dispatch, Magazine, October 14, 1962, p. 16.


22 The Columbus Dispatch, Magazine, October 14, 1962, p. 16.


24 Cochran and Miller, p. 254.

25 Wecter, pp. 10-11.

26 Gallion, The Urban Pattern.

27 Hunker, p. 56.

28 Oliver, p. 606.

29 The Columbus Area Chamber of Commerce, Annual Report 1941-42 (Columbus: 1921-42).

30 Hunker, p. 61.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid., p. 215.


34 Ibid., p. 10.

35 Ibid., 1945-46, p. 3.
36 Ibid., p. 5. This was an increase of about 30,000 and a large growth for war time.


38 Patrick, pp. 523-524.

39 Ibid., p. 523.


41 Chamber of Commerce Research Bureau.

42 Hunker, p. 62.

43 Ibid., p. 61 and p. 219.


45 See Hunker's survey "Location of Manufacturing in Columbus, 1953," The Industrial Evolution of Columbus, p. 64.


49 Bureau of Motor Vehicles.


51 Annual Report 1962, (Columbus: The City of Columbus, Department of Public Safety, 1962), P. 76.
III THE STUDY

Criteria for the Study

Since this study is to examine the City of Columbus for administrative and planning deficiencies with respect to the intensity of physical deterioration and social maladjustment, the symptoms to be examined are broken down into three categories.

Symptoms of Administrative and Planning Deficiencies

The city administrative body does not separate its functions within the city by physical subdivision, but encompasses the whole of the city. This aspect of the study, therefore, centers on those departments or divisions which have control of the development, stability, and/or rehabilitation of the physical and social environment, and the legislative tools with which they operate. Deficiencies in these areas would most immediately effect the older central city.

Symptoms of Physical Deterioration and Social Maladjustment

This category is designed to provide first, the location of physical deterioration and social maladjustment in the city by the use of census tracts, and second, to analyze the defined area to indicate the scope and intensity of physical deterioration and the magnitude and character of social maladjustment. The defined study area then is investigated for (1) Symptoms of Physical Deterioration and (2) Symptoms of Social Maladjustment.
The following is a list of symptoms used for analysis of the respective categories:

Symptoms of Administrative and Planning Deficiencies

- Inadequate Public Service Facilities
- Inadequate Policies, Codes and Enforcement

Symptoms of Physical Deterioration

- Degraded Residential and Commercial Environments
- Inadequate Sanitation and Utilities
- Excessive Concentration of the Population
- Overcrowding of Living Spaces
- Inadequate Low-income Housing

Symptoms of Social Maladjustment and Disorder

- Presence of Low-income Groups
- Presence of Minority and Aged
- High Incidence of Welfare Recipients
- Low Level of Education
- High Incidence of Disease and Illness
- High Incidence of Juvenile Delinquency, Adult Crime, and Vice
- Exploitation of Individuals and Groups

Data for the analysis of these symptoms has been drawn from respective interest groups—local, state, and federal agencies, city annual reports, and personal interviews with various authorities.
Investigation for Symptoms of

Administrative and Planning Deficiencies

Inadequate Public Service Facilities

Columbus' service area has more than doubled in size since 1953. This has caused a rapid increase in the quantity and frequency of demands for services. A disproportionate expansion of the service facilities could bring a dispersal of services and thus effect the older central city.

From the Columbus City Bulletin, Annual Reports, 1962, comes the following information:

The Division of Electricity reports an average annual deficit of $59,300 since 1957, while the Division of Water and the Division of Sewerage and Drainage remain self-supporting. The Division of Sanitation reports the ability to supply continued service "to every newly erected dwelling in the city of Columbus as well as those added through annexation." The Municipal Airport again shows an increase in traffic and revenue. The Department of Public Recreation continues to benefit from a $3,178,000 1960 bond issue; and the Division of Smoke Regulation, backed by one of the best smoke regulation ordinances in the nation remains effective.

But other city departments have complained yearly in their annual reports since 1953 of insufficient salaries and operating funds to obtain an adequate number of qualified personnel to meet the demand for services.
The Division of Traffic Regulation and Engineering

The Division of Traffic Regulation and Engineering apologetically boasts of an 87 per cent rating in Traffic Engineering by the National Safety Council and an above-group-performance-standard of 73 per cent in the 1961 American Automobile Association Pedestrian Program but complains:

The lack of an adequate engineering staff has curtailed traffic planning, studies, and services. Until enough trained maintenance personnel can be obtained our control system cannot be an effective unit. 3

In spite of the dire need for traffic engineering services, cuts in personnel continue. The Columbus Dispatch, Sunday, July 12, 1964 reports:

The city’s traffic engineering division has become a mere complaint bureau as a result of Safety Director Frederick J. Simon’s politically inspired layoff drive. . . . The division is working only on traffic matters that develop because of complaints or petitions.

Division of Police

The Division of Police likewise describes its dilemma as the city increased in area by 123 per cent in ten years and criminal activity shot upward by 97 per cent:

This increase, coupled with an overall rise in other demands for police service presents a pressing community problem. The allotment of manpower to the division of police [sic] during this same period has not kept pace. Sworn personnel strength, while increasing by 124 officers, or 28% more officers since 1953, had dropped from 10.7 police per square mile, to 6.2 per square mile, a drop of over 42%. The burden of
providing manpower for 29 cruiser districts in 7 precincts, patrolling in excess of 1,000 street miles on a 24-hour basis has made it increasingly difficult to maintain adequate police coverage.\textsuperscript{4}

Division of Fire

The Division of Fire reports a need for new equipment and a deficiency in its older facilities. Fire protection has expanded effectively to newly annexed areas but older areas are afflicted with lacking facilities.\textsuperscript{5} In spite of this, the division remains as efficient as ever since per capita losses over the last ten years have gone relatively unchanged.

Department of Urban Renewal

The Federal Government by the Housing Act of 1949, as amended has made financial assistance available to cities for the purpose of such urban renewal activities as the development of community renewal plans, the development of general neighborhood renewal plans . . . and for the actual carrying out of renewal activities in specific blighted areas by the clearance of these areas for redevelopment or by promoting conservation or rehabilitation\textsuperscript{6} activities to maintain existing housing in decent, safe and sanitary condition. . . . Generally this financial assistance is equal to two-thirds of the net costs of the specific planning or project activity . . . \textsuperscript{7}

The chief tool being used by the city to combat its problem housing areas is urban renewal.\textsuperscript{8}

An agency with authority for urban renewal and rehabilitation and conservation has existed in some form in Columbus since 1952. That agency became a separate department in 1955 and the name Department of Urban Renewal was applied in 1961.
Columbus has five active urban renewal projects. Four of these are clearance projects and one is conservation. Three more clearance projects are in the planning stages (see maps 1 and 2, p. 32, 33).

Citizen's Research, Inc., in their survey on "The Use of Conservation and Rehabilitation in the Problem Housing Areas of Columbus, Ohio," points out that with this heavy clearance schedule (see Table 4, p. 35) and the heavy demands of staff time for the one conservation program, few additional conservation projects will be planned and executed in the near future unless "additional staff is secured and new approaches to conservation projects are developed." The report presents the status of the urban renewal situation in Columbus by recognizing and presenting the deficiencies existing on the basis of its survey. It presents the following facts:

1. Columbus does not have a recent comprehensive analysis of its housing.
2. Columbus does not know for sure what areas need what kind of development.
3. Columbus has no priority list for future urban renewal projects, including areas that need immediate help to be saved by conservation.
4. Columbus is not making use of neighborhood organizations in conservation and rehabilitation.
5. No plans exist for the conservation and rehabilitation without Federal Aid.
6. Columbus has no comprehensive long-range urban renewal plan.
### Table 4

**Urban Renewal Projects, Columbus, Ohio**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Area</th>
<th>Type of Project</th>
<th>Stage and Date</th>
<th>Plan or Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodale</td>
<td>Clearance</td>
<td>Planning: 1954-1958</td>
<td>Neighborhood shopping center, high rise apts., garden apts., town houses, light industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Execution: 1958-1961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Redevelopment: 1961-1966</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market-Mohawk</td>
<td>Clearance</td>
<td>Planning: 1956-1959</td>
<td>Offices, motel, high rise apts., garden apts., bus station, dept. store, industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Execution: 1959-1964</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Redevelopment: 1964-1974</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Hospital</td>
<td>Clearance</td>
<td>Planning: 1959-1963</td>
<td>Medical center and light industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Execution: 1963-1965</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio State, North</td>
<td>Clearance</td>
<td>Planning: 1961-1964</td>
<td>University housing and cafeterias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Execution: 1964-1965</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1965</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennison Avenue</td>
<td>Conservation</td>
<td>Planning: 1958-1964</td>
<td>Conservation and rehabilitation of area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Execution: 1964-1968</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivar Arms</td>
<td>Clearance</td>
<td>Planning: 1962-1964</td>
<td>Service facilities in conjunction with public housing area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>De-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Layed</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not known</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Town East</td>
<td>Clearance</td>
<td>Planning: 1963-1965</td>
<td>Community shopping center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>De-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Layed</td>
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<td>Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wonderland</td>
<td>Clearance</td>
<td>Planning: 1963-1965</td>
<td>City park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>De-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Layed</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The City Planning Commission

"The Planning Commission is the only agency of city government responsible for physical and fiscal planning." A planning commission has existed in Columbus since 1921. The 1959 Annual Report of the City
Planning Commission presents a history of planning activity in
Columbus from that date and summarizes with this statement:

... in Columbus our planning has always been
too late. It has also been insufficient--most
of the planning, up until the post-war [sic]
period being the answer to a spot problem with
little consideration being given to long-range
needs. This is still being done to a great
extent.11

The commission had been described as ineffective in aiding or
deterring the growth of the city since 1959.12 It was further
explained, however, that the commission has a largely unqualified
staff one third the size needed to operate efficiently or effec-
tively.13 Most of the allotment of time centers on planning
allocation of funds for the Capital Improvements Program or in
mapping, processing subdivision plats, and reviewing zoning requests.
Thus the commission has not been able to work on revision of the
subdivision regulations and zoning codes. The commission has also
been forced to relinquish the major work of the Comprehensive Plan
to the Franklin County Regional Planning Commission.

Franklin County Regional Planning Commission

Although this organization is not a city department, the fact
that it is a coordinating agency between Columbus City Planning
Commission and the rest of Franklin County, and that it is developing
a study for a master plan for the region, warrants its inclusion in
this study. It should be pointed out that this commission has no
power in zoning code recommendations except in unincorporated areas
of Franklin County. The commission has only power of recommendation. The commission has a coordinating committee "as a task force charged with the responsibility of developing a comprehensive plan for the Franklin County Area."  

This committee is composed of three members each of the Franklin County Regional Planning Commission and The Columbus City Planning Commission, the three County Commissioners, three Columbus City Council Members, three representatives of the Franklin County Mayors Association, two members from the Ohio Department of Highways, and one member each from the Bureau of Public Roads, Housing, and Home Finance Agency, Columbus Area Chamber of Commerce, Development Committee of Greater Columbus, and The Columbus Area Downtown Committee.  

The 1964 Prospectus for Preparation of a Comprehensive Regional Plan: Land Use, Transportation, Facilities is the document presenting the recommendation of the coordinating committee for study and development of the Master Plan for the region.

This Prospectus outlines the general program elements for study over a four year period, with the goal being implementation of the master plan at that time. Table 5 (p. 38) gives the description of the elements of the four year program and the allocation of funds to each element.

Inadequate Policies, Codes and Enforcement

A strong annexation policy is one of the key tools in assuring the orderly growth of rapidly expanding urban areas. A firm stand on the granting of annexation petitions to only those areas that meet high standards would help enforce intelligent development of those areas within the realm of future annexation. The city of Columbus'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element and Description</th>
<th>Allotted Cost</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work program preparation</td>
<td>$21,143</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Detailed guides for each program task)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps and aerial photos</td>
<td>$34,822</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(maps and photos for other elements)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical studies</td>
<td>$15,349</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(geology, agronomy, topography)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population and economy</td>
<td>$173,861</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1/6 for future growth, 5/6 for economic study)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existing land use</td>
<td>$166,178</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(survey land utilization)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities and facilities inventory</td>
<td>$109,920</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current attitudes and policies affecting plan</td>
<td>$24,806</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(growth, utilities, policies)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop goals and standards to be incorporated in the plan</td>
<td>$152,173</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of factors affecting plan implementation</td>
<td>$75,606</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of transportation data, selection and preparation of plan</td>
<td>$403,716</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis and comprehensive plan preparation</td>
<td>$479,732</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detail plans and programs</td>
<td>$79,200</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public information program</td>
<td>$99,012</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$1,835,518</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
annexation policy seems, however, to be built on a less rational basis. The following statement is characteristic of many made throughout the last ten years by various city officials:

The city is expected to retain its rank among the leading cities of the United States in growth and development because of the continuing availability of newly annexed land for residential, commercial and industrial expansion.16

Two recently annexed areas, the American Addition and the Wonderland Addition, are among the worst problem housing areas of the city.17 Citizens Research, Inc. lists these two areas among the five they recommend for clearance.18 Such substandard areas unquestionably cost the city more in services than is gained in tax revenues, and the extension of utilities to these areas often results in higher than average costs to the city in installation and maintenance, not to mention the future costs for relocation of families, clearance and time losses waiting for redevelopment.

In addition to the influence of strict annexation policies the development of the city can be controlled by second tool. All new subdivisions inside the city limits and all those within three miles of its boundaries are subject to control through the Subdivision Regulations.19 According to the Planning Commission, however, Subdivision Regulations "have not been revised for a number of years and are sorely in need of a complete overall revision."20

The third control, which potentially provides the most effective means of regulation of land use and population density in the city, is zoning. By the lack of a comprehensive plan, the city automatically
relinquishes control of "spot" zoning changes. Of the zoning code itself the Planning Commission reports that "the present Zoning Code does not reflect desirable present day standards and in some instances certain sections are in conflict with each other."  

A fourth control of the physical environment is that of structure and materials through Building Regulations. Due to their technical complexity, Building Regulations and the enforcement of them become extremely difficult to evaluate. Throughout the research of available studies, and in interviews with urban officials there is no mention of an inadequacy in this area. If current failures are occurring it will not become apparent for several years.

The fifth and final area of city control of its physical facilities is in the maintenance of the dwelling units through the Housing Codes. While the codes seem to be considered adequate, questions arise concerning their enforcement.

One of the most important tools in administering a long-range city-wide program of conservation and rehabilitation is Housing Code Enforcement. If we are to have such a program there must be considerable expansion in the staff of the city's housing division . . . . A program of routine physical inspections of properties in good neighborhoods should be integrated as much as possible with those of inspections in "deteriorating areas" and thus insure abatement of violations before they multiply.

The recent "workable plan" initiated by the city through the Department of Urban Renewal to "achieve the systematic, city-wide compliance with the housing code instead of hit and miss spot check inspection" has received much publicity. The major problem is,
however, that there are approximately 151,000 dwelling units in the city of Columbus and only ten building inspectors.25

Investigation of the Intensity of Physical Deterioration and Social Disorder

In addition to the question of administrative and planning deficiencies this study is concerned with the location, scope, and intensity of physical deterioration in the city and the magnitude and character of social disorder with respect to the deteriorated area. Thus a study area was defined to facilitate evaluation of that area with respect to the symptoms of physical deterioration and social maladjustment and the data from that area compared to the whole city totals for the respective symptoms.

The Study Area

The study area for this study is defined by census tracts, since most of the available research material relies upon the Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing. The only city-wide statistics available on physical deterioration are provided in the U.S. Census of Population and Housing. The Bureau of Census limits its figures to dwelling units but lists them in categories including "deteriorating" or "dilapidated." Since areas of deteriorating residences are most often found in mixed land use areas, compilation of the percentage of deteriorating and dilapidated housing by census tracts provides, then, the limitations of the study area with respect to physical deterioration (see map 3, p.43).
The derivation of the study area is subjects to additional limitations with respect to the social problem areas. The U.S. Census of Population and Housing also provides figures for families with income below $4,000. Since this provides only an indication of low standard of living, which is not necessarily indicative of social instability, it becomes necessary to subject the study area to an additional criterion. Figures on the location of Welfare Recipients are available, on a census tract basis, and since Welfare Recipients include General Relief, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, certainly indicators of social maladjustment and instability, these figures are used to further limit the area (see maps 4 and 5, p. 44, 45).

The study area, then, as presented in map 6 is derived from the preceding three maps and is defined only by those census tracts of the city afflicted with all three of the criteria.

The study area remains completely within the inner-city comprising 27 census tracts containing 27.7 per cent of the total population of Columbus and 30.1 per cent of its total housing units.

Symptoms of Physical Deterioration

Degraded Residential and Commercial Environments

Residential Environments -- Of the 151,974 dwelling units in the city of Columbus in 1960, 15.9 per cent were classified as "deteriorating" and 4.5 per cent as "dilapidated" by the Bureau of Census. The Bureau defines "deteriorating" and "dilapidated" housing:
MAP 3
DILAPIDATED AND DETERIORATING HOUSING

- 60-100 percent
- 20-60 percent

1960 CENSUS TRACTS
COLUMBUS, OHIO AND CONTIGUOUS CITIES

PREPARED BY THE BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
PUBLISHED IN COOPERATION WITH THE COLUMBUS AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
MAP 5
LOCATION OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS

5-9 percent
1-5 percent

1960 CENSUS TRACTS
COLUMBUS, OHIO AND CONTIGUOUS CITIES

PREPARED BY THE BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
PUBLISHED IN COOPERATION WITH THE COLUMBUS AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
MAP 6

THE STUDY AREA

(Defined only by those census tracts afflicted with all three criteria)

1960 CENSUS TRACTS
COLUMBUS, OHIO AND CONTIGUOUS CITIES

PREPARED BY THE BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
PUBLISHED IN COOPERATION WITH THE COLUMBUS AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Deteriorating housing needs more repair than would be provided in the normal course of maintenance. It has one or more defects of an intermediate nature that must be corrected if it is to continue to provide safe and adequate shelter.

Dilapidated housing does not provide safe and adequate shelter. It has one or more critical defects, or has a combination of intermediate repair or rebuilding or is of inadequate original construction. Critical defects result from continued neglect or lack of repair or indicate serious damage to the structure.28

### TABLE 6

**DEGRADED RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Per cent Deteriorating</th>
<th>Per cent Dilapidated</th>
<th>Per cent Deteriorating and Dilapidated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Study Area</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus (whole city)</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of whole city cases in study area</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>67.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data shows that these 27 census tracts contain 63.7 per cent of the total deteriorating dwelling units in Columbus and 80.7 per cent of the total dilapidated units.

**Commercial Environ​s** -- The only available facts on commercial establishments in the city are from the 1958 Census of Business,29 and its comparisons are limited to the Central Business District which
comprises one census tract (tract 40) located within the study area. These figures show, however, that the number of retail establishments in that tract decreased from 739 to 674 or a loss of 65 establishments to the central city from 1954 to 1958. The Central Business District is comprised of many large retail stores, however, while the remaining 26 tracts contain mixed residential and commercial service facilities. These service facilities are often very small and provide only minimum subsistance to their proprietors and a great number are visibly deteriorating or dilapidated.

Inadequate Sanitation and Utilities

Figures for the indication of the number and quality of sanitation facilities and utilities are provided by the 1960 U.S. Census of Population and Housing.

As the Bureau of Census considers dilapidated housing units as not providing safe and adequate shelter, it only details plumbing characteristics for "sound" and "deteriorating" classifications. For the purposes of this study, plumbing characteristics of the "sound" category are not used. However, units classified as "dilapidated" are included, for comparison purposes, since they most often are substandard in this category. Table 7 presents the percentage of the total city inadequacies in sanitation and utilities that are located in the study area. The given figures are not mutually exclusive and thus prevent a presentation of totals for the study area. The facts are, however, that the study area contains a disproportionate number of the city's housing units with inadequate sanitation and utilities.
### TABLE 7

**INADEQUATE SANITATION AND UTILITIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dilapidated Units</th>
<th>Deteriorating Units</th>
<th>Bathroom</th>
<th>Heating Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lacking only hot water</td>
<td>Lacking other plumbing</td>
<td>Shared or no bathroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Area only</td>
<td>5534</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus (whole city)</td>
<td>6870</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>5208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of whole city in study area</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>78.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Excessive Concentration of the Population**

Figures of persons or families per acre or square mile are not available by census tract, nor is the acreage per tract obtainable. The Planning Commission has no data on the relative density of the census tracts, but the Principal Planner estimates that the central city, an area approximating the study area, has an average density that is easily double that of the whole city. He further estimates that the whole city average is approximately 4-6 families per acre while the central city area might average as high as 24-30 families per acre. Noting map 6 it can be visually discerned that there is a considerable increase in concentration of the population for the study area to contain 28 per cent of the population. There is no conclusive evidence
that excessive concentration of the population is a problem in terms of density per acre. However, 28 per cent of the city's population resides in a relatively small area containing 67.4 per cent of the city's substandard housing.

Overcrowding of Living Spaces

The Bureau of Census provides data on the number of housing units containing 1.01 or more persons per room by census tract. The Bureau classifies that figure as designating overcrowded housing units.

**TABLE 8**

**NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS WITH 1.01 OR MORE PERSONS PER ROOM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of occupied housing units</th>
<th>Number of housing units with 1.01 or more persons per room</th>
<th>Per cent of housing units with 1.01 persons or more per room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Study Area</td>
<td>41,962</td>
<td>6,879</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus (whole city)</td>
<td>142,378</td>
<td>14,560</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of whole city total in the study area</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sixteen and four hundredths per cent of the housing units in the Study Area are overcrowded compared to 10.2 per cent for the whole city. Although this difference is not grossly significant, the overcrowding that does occur only serves to compound the problems of physical deterioration.
Inadequate Low-Income Housing

A summary of a study of housing available to low income families by the League of Women Voters\textsuperscript{32} discusses their survey in this area through the use of newspaper advertising and the examination of the Public Housing Facilities. The survey indicates that available housing in the realm of a low income\textsuperscript{33} family of four is either located in blighted areas or substandard. In addition the summary states:

The majority of units, especially in the lower rent ranges have one or two bedrooms only, although the majority who need this housing (including a family of four if the minors are of opposite sex) have more minors than can be accommodated in the smaller units without severe overcrowding.\textsuperscript{34}

The summary goes on to explain that few low income families can meet credit standards or payments to buy homes, and that seven planned or active renewal clearance projects will dislocate approximately 10,000 families. Only one of these projects is designated for Metropolitan Housing Authority Public Housing. This project is Bolivar Arms, Phase A and Phase B. Phase A, now under construction, will provide 456 units in high rise buildings. Phase B, in the planning stage, will provide 392 more units, and the service and recreation facilities for both units and the neighborhood. This will mean a concentration of 848 multiple problem families in high rise structures. The Metropolitan Housing Authority already maintains 2,162 occupied units and has a waiting list numbering 1,700. A family of four with an income of $4,000 would be ineligible for admission, since the maximum income allowed is $3,000 plus $200 for each dependent up to seven minors.\textsuperscript{35}
From the study of housing available to low-income families report, it must be concluded that there is inadequate low income housing in the city with respect to size, numbers and living standards. Since a high incidence of low income was a definitive criterion for the study area, and the study area has been shown to contain the older housing units, the above conclusion is considered applicable to the study area.

Symptoms of Social Maladjustment

As defined earlier, blight comprises not only a deteriorating physical environment, but also characteristics of social maladjustment and disorder. An intensely deteriorating physical environment constantly subjects its inhabitants to extenuating circumstances effecting their social interaction and living standards. Arthur B. Gallion in The Urban Pattern states the case: "Blight . . . menaces health, breeds crime and delinquency, undermines civic pride, and gnaws at the human mind and nerves." Subjecting the conditions of social maladjustment to statistical measurement leaves much to be desired in actually realizing the circumstances of human suffering. The following analysis can only serve to indicate the human condition in the deteriorating area.

Presence of Low Income Groups

The high incidence of low income families in the study area is an inherent factor in the development of the study area. The preceding analysis of the symptoms of physical deterioration showed a high incidence of substandard structures, inadequate sanitation and utilities, and excessive concentration of the population in the study area. All
these factors point to the existence of an area of substandard living affecting the living habits and social interaction of 130,538 of the city's inhabitants.

Presence of Minority and Aged Groups

The characteristics of the population are an important influence on the economic stability and social adjustment attainable in an environment. A high incidence of aged would effect the character of the social environment quite differently from the problems posed by the presence of an insecure minority group.

| TABLE 9 |
| POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Aged (65 and over)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Area</td>
<td>130,538</td>
<td>82,305</td>
<td>63.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus (whole city)</td>
<td>471,316</td>
<td>393,011</td>
<td>83.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the incidence of races other than Negro is negligible and the incidence of aged is not significantly above that of the whole city, the data compiled from the U.S. Census of Population and Housing shows a disproportionate Negro population in the study area with respect to the whole city.
High Incidence of Welfare Recipients

The high incidence of welfare recipients is apparent in that the location of these families has been used to define the study area. It should be repeated, however, that this symptom, due to the type of problem families involved significantly reflects social instability in the study area.

Low Level of Education

The U.S. Census of Population and Housing provides data on the years of education for persons over 25 years old.

TABLE 10

PERSONS OVER 25 YEARS OF AGE WITH 8 OR LESS YEARS OF SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total persons over 25 years</th>
<th>No education</th>
<th>1-8 years of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Per cent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Area</td>
<td>72,179</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>45,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus (whole city)</td>
<td>258,004</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>83,544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the number of persons with no education proves negligible, the number with 8 years and less proves to be a majority of the inhabitants of the study area.
High Incidence of Disease and Illness

The Columbus Department of Health compiles data used for the examination of this symptom. Though recorded by census tract of person contracting the respective disease, the information is confidential. Therefore it was necessary to rely on the Department of Health census tract maps, which are color-coded by ranging intervals of cases per thousand or hundred thousand. This makes comparison of totals impossible, but by choosing the intervals of highest incidence recorded for the respective diseases, and comparing the number of census tracts that report these incidences, accurate comparison may be made. The diseases used give a good range of types of major illness, so that these figures might allow satisfactory conclusions to be made about the incidence of disease and illness in the study area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whole City Rate</th>
<th>Highest reported rate</th>
<th>Number of census tracts reporting highest recorded rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whole city</td>
<td>Study area</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infectious Hepatitis</td>
<td>34.5/100,000</td>
<td>100 and over</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syphilis</td>
<td>37.6/100,000</td>
<td>100 and over</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonorrhea</td>
<td>235.8/100,000</td>
<td>500 and over</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant Deaths</td>
<td>24.9/100,000</td>
<td>40 and over</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
High Incidence of Juvenile Delinquency, Adult Crimes, and Vice

The 1963 Annual Report of the Columbus Division of Police contains data on juvenile delinquency and crime by census tracts of residence and data on all offenses committed by census tract of location.

TABLE 12

INCIDENCE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, ADULT CRIMES AND VICE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Juveniles Charged (by residence)</th>
<th>Persons Charged (by residence)</th>
<th>Total offenses (by location)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Study Area</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>10,068</td>
<td>8,311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus (whole city)</td>
<td>2,488</td>
<td>21,023</td>
<td>21,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per cent of whole city in study area</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>38.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly one third (32.2 %) of the juveniles charged in the whole city reside in the study area. Nearly one half (47.9 %) of the total persons charged reside in the study area and 38 per cent of the offenses were made in the study area.

Exploitation of Families and Groups

The CIO-AFL-CSA Representatives to the United Community Council consider this an important enough problem to carry on a consumer education program to educate union stewards on the pitfalls of exaggerated offers. It is natural that uneducated, low income persons, trying to stretch a limited income to meet needs and desirous of many of the luxuries of today's living, are taken in by questionable credit offers.
Data on this type of exploitation, other than through personal observation, is meager. The Representatives did subscribe to the Municipal Court Record for a seven month period in 1963, and simply recorded the garnishment of wage cognovits during the period. It might be thought that a record such as this would be quite extensive and that the number of plaintiffs would run rampant. By comparing the number of plaintiffs to the number of cases, the data shows 50 business establishments initiated 2,356 cases in the six month period. A map was then developed, showing the approximate location of these businesses in the city. Map 7 graphically presents this data. The majority of those locations outside the study area are branches of downtown businesses. This data at least provides evidence that "easy" credits are conveniently accessible to the population of the study area and an indication of exploitation of "unknowing" individuals in the study area.

**TABLE 13**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Business</th>
<th>Number of Business Establishments initiating cognovits</th>
<th>Cognovits June-December 1963</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Furniture stores</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry stores</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing stores</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance companies</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collection agencies</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Companies</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,356</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4. Ibid., p. 18.

5. There exists an economic pressure here. *The National Board of Fire Underwriters* inspects and classifies areas of the city. This Classification becomes the basis, then for fire insurances rates.

6. It should be pointed out that conservation refers to an entire area; rehabilitation refers to an individual structure.


9. Ibid., p. 2.


11. Ibid., p. 11.


13. Ibid.

14. Prospectus for the Preparation of a Comprehensive Regional Plan: Land Use, Transportation, Facilities, for the Columbus and Franklin County Region (Columbus: 1964). Appendix B.

15. Ibid., p. 5.


18. Ibid.

19. Under Ohio laws the city retains the right of control over development located within three miles of its boundaries.


25. Even if it were physically possible for each inspector to thoroughly check 25 dwelling units per day, fill out a report and advise the home owner as to possible improvements, the project would take more than two years.

26. $4000 per year is fully one third below the amount considered necessary by the U.S. Department of Labor as a "modest but adequate income."

27. See League of Women Voters of Metropolitan Columbus, "Public Welfare in Franklin County," (Columbus: 1964). (Mimeographed)


30. Interview with James Ethridge, Columbus Urban League, April 14, 1964.
31 Interview with Grant Dyre, Principal Planner, The Columbus City Planning Commission, July 9, 1964.

32 League of Women Voters, "Public Welfare . . . ."

33 A low income family is considered $4000 in this case. The proportion of income considered adequate to maintain a reasonable balance of the family budget is 1/5 or in this case, $66 per month.

34 League of Women Voters, "Public Welfare . . . ."

35 Ibid.

36 "other races" comprise only .3% of the population of the city.
IV CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Review of Symptoms

Symptoms of Administrative and Planning Deficiencies

Inadequate Public Service Facilities--The Division of Traffic Regulation and Engineering has been reduced to answering complaints; the Division of Police finds it impossible to maintain adequate police coverage with its present staff; the Division of Fire, while maintaining efficiency, is found deficient in its central city facilities; the Department of Urban Renewal has been shown to have major deficiencies in its program as current renewal and conservation programs touch only a small portion of the deteriorating area; and the City Planning Commission has proven ineffective in its 43 year history and has yet to develop a master plan.

The current study program to develop a master plan, by the Franklin County Regional Planning Commission and the Columbus Planning Commission, has several deficiencies with respect to the central city, or for that matter the whole city. The embodying power of the "Blue Plan," the Coordinating Committee, has a notable absence of representatives of sociology, social psychology, and/or human ecology, or even local social agencies. Analysis of "government and private agency (utilities) policies and attitudes" effecting implementation of the plan are provided in the program, while no provision exists for analysis of social and psychological effects of plan implementation. The "population and
economy" study allows one sixth of its allocation for population growth studies and five sixths for economic studies. While major portions of the budget are appropriated for studies related to economic interaction [transportation studies (22%), and economic studies (7.9%)] there is no appropriation in the initial program for study of social interaction, psychological effects of environment, or social growth patterns. Only 5.4 per cent ($99,012) is appropriated for public information—for development of a plan that will effect nearly 1,000,000 people by 1970.

Inadequate Codes, Policies, and Enforcement—The city's annexation policies, subdivision regulations, zoning codes, and housing code enforcement were all shown to have major deficiencies, rendering them inadequate in exercising control over the city's environment.

Symptoms of Physical Deterioration

In defining the study area by the use of physical deteriorating housing units and low income unstable families, the size of the area thus defined is considered significant in itself. This area contains 45,731 housing units and 130,538 persons. Located in this area are 67.4 per cent of the city's deteriorating or dilapidated housing units, 60-80 per cent of the housing units with inadequate sanitation and utilities, and a density of population four times greater than the whole city average. The area contains 29.5 per cent of the city's dwelling units and 47.2 per cent of its overcrowded units and inadequate low income housing.
Symptoms of Social Maladjustment

In relation to the extensive area of physical deterioration, there is found to be a significant amount of social maladjustment symptoms, as the area is shown to contain a substandard living conditions, a high incidence of Negroes, a high incidence of welfare recipients, 53.9 per cent of the city persons with less than eight years of schooling, 50-80 per cent of the census tracts containing the highest incidence of disease and illness, and 47.9 per cent of the total persons charged for crime. In addition, there is indication of exploitation of individuals by a few businesses and finance companies.

Review of Questions

(1) Are there administrative and planning deficiencies with respect to the central city?

On the basis of the evidence presented it is concluded that there are extreme deficiencies in the administrative and planning services of the city of Columbus, Ohio in the possible controls that could be exercised, and in some cases, lack of enforcement of these controls.

(2) What is the location, scope, and intensity of physical deterioration and social maladjustment in the city?

The data has presented, graphically and statistically, evidence of the location of the blighted area, the relative size of the area, the number of persons affected by the environment, and the type of physical and social environment. On the basis of this evidence it is concluded that there is intense physical deterioration and social maladjustment over a large area in the center of the city.
(3) Is there evidence that administrative and planning deficiencies have resulted in intensive physical deterioration and social maladjustment in the central city?

On the basis of the foregoing conclusions it is further concluded that administrative and planning deficiencies have resulted in intense physical deterioration and social maladjustment in Columbus, Ohio.

**Recommendations**

On the basis of this study, the administrative and planning deficiencies shown, the scope and intensity of physical deterioration and social maladjustment, and the deficiencies in Urban Renewal and Master Plan Development, the following recommendations are presented:

To the City of Columbus:

It will be four years before a master plan is implemented. In that time the area of physical deterioration and social maladjustment presented in this study will increase in intensity and size and the city will continue to sprawl at random about the county unless intermediate action is taken.

**Recommendations:**

(1) Develop an intermediate master plan

A. That considers the changing economic function of the central city and develop long-term economic goals.

B. That regains control of spot zoning.
C. That develops high standards for subdivision regulations, zoning codes, housing and sanitation codes, and annexation policy to cope with deterioration before it starts and provide continual control.

D. That develops a master plan for Urban Renewal.

(2) Revise annexation policies, subdivision regulations, and zoning codes immediately.

(3) Increase salaries, staff, and qualifications for those departments affecting environment controlling policies, codes, regulations, and enforcement.

(4) Include studies of the growth, attitudes, and location of the consumer market in relation to the redevelopment of the central city.

(5) Include sociological and psychological disciplines in developing city policies and controls and exercising them.

To the Coordinating Committee for the Preparation and Development of the Master Plan:

To rightfully be considered comprehensive, master plan development should interrelate all factors of urban structure; not population, but society and the effect of environment on society. Failure to consider the social and psychological implications of the environment will result in drastic failures in the implementation of the Master Plan.
Recommendations:

(1) That plan development include detailed analysis of the social structure and the patterns of growth.

(2) That social interaction be considered at least equal to economic interaction.

(3) That the growth and attitudes of the consumer market be considered in relation to the development of the city.

(4) That the changing economic function of the central city be considered in relation to the transportation analysis and plan development.

To the city of Columbus and the Franklin County Regional Planning Commission:

(1) That both organizations consider the use of the resources of the Ohio State University for research, through the establishment of grants and fellowships for the study of specific problems.

(2) A significant deficiency in both the City of Columbus and the Franklin County Regional Planning Commission is the failure to utilize communications channels to those whom they represent and whose lives they effect. Without communications to the people, the possibility of feedback from them is lost. The Franklin County Planning Commission has a slight budget for nondetailed summaries to communicate to the public after
the plan is developed. It has no provision for periodic communications at key times during development. The City of Columbus has no mass media other than the grossly generalized newspaper articles, a few statements on the news broadcasts, and the uncirculated City Bulletin. Both organizations might present their problems and policies clearly and intelligently in organized communicative form. This would mean detailed, straightforward, and honest presentation of the specific problem—background and effects, and proposed solutions—in order to clarify the organization's goals and so that public understanding might generate public response.

Recommendations:

A. That thorough communications channels be established between related departments and between administration and departments.

B. That a government agency be established that is responsible for organizing and establishing communication to the public through the mass media of newspaper, radio, and television to present the true problems, their background, the possible solutions, and the public's responsibility toward them.

C. That a program be established, especially in the Urban Renewal Department, for detailed communications through neighborhood organizations in film and brochure form,
presenting detailed information on the Urban Renewal and Conservation and Rehabilitation program, and its reasoning and plans for the respective neighborhood before execution of the plans.

D. That the value of comprehensive communications in individual-neighborhood identification to Conservation and Rehabilitation be considered in allocation of funds.

E. That the Franklin County Regional Planning Commission allocate funds to develop detailed communications in the same forms as listed above to present periodic communications at key times throughout the development of the plan.
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