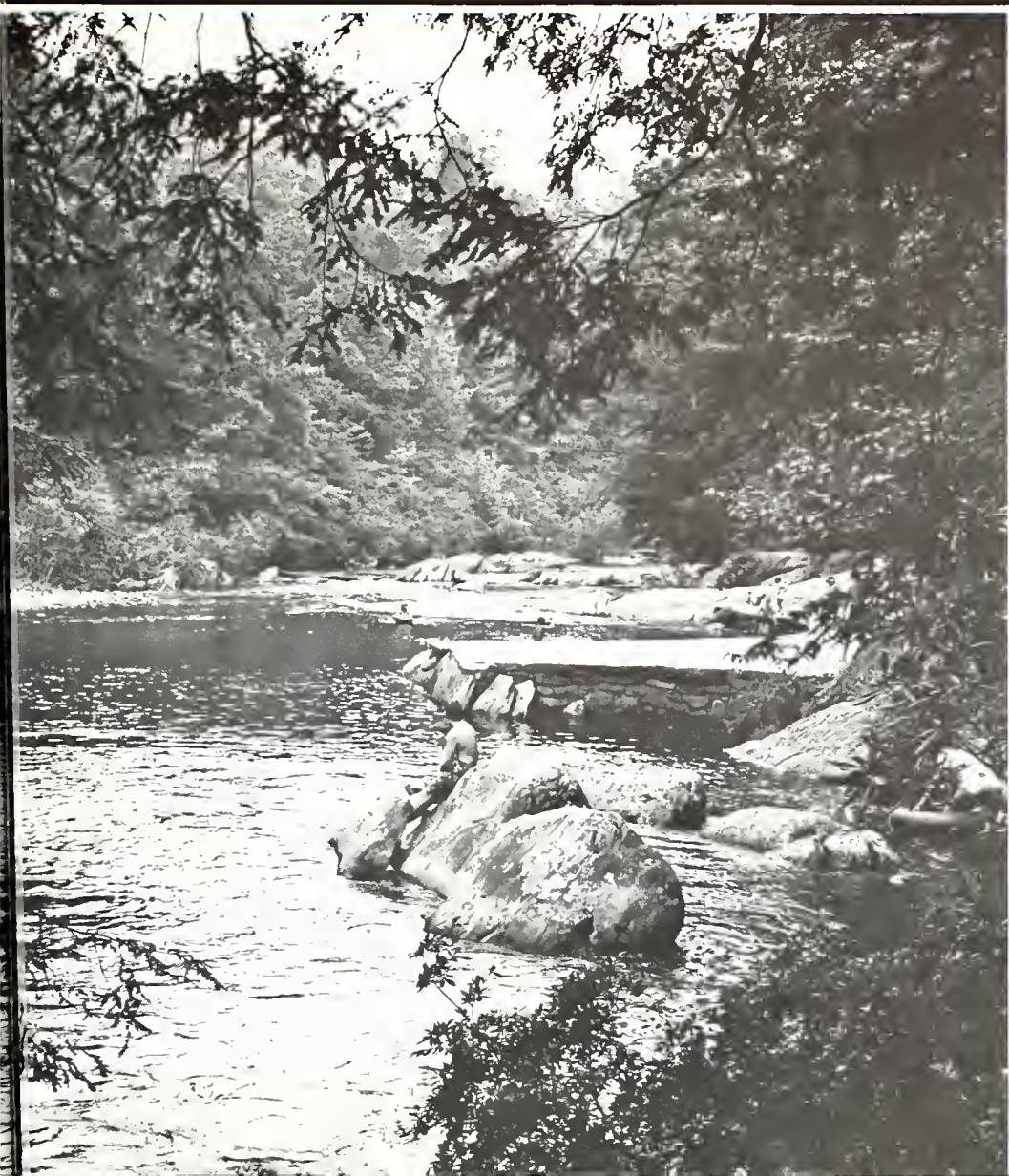


# POPULAR GOVERNMENT

February / 1970

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## This month

We Still Have Time to  
Save North Carolina

A Realistic Look at  
Juvenile Delinquency

Public Information

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*This month's cover features a small piece of the North Carolina environment that Lieutenant Governor Pat Taylor writes about this month (see page 1). This spot is the Carolina Hemlocks Recreation Area, Pisgah National Forest, near Micaville. (Photo by Clay Nolen, N. C. Department of Conservation and Development.)*

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# Where We Live

## PROTECTING NORTH CAROLINA'S ENVIRONMENT

By H. PAT TAYLOR

One of the first things we teach children is their address—where their house is. At the same time we are teaching them to take care of that house. But how good are adults at housekeeping? Most of us immediately think of our houses or apartments, and we are satisfied except for an overdue paint job or a dripping faucet. We are not looking far enough.

Do we actually live all our lives at a certain street number or mailbox? Of course not. We move from house to house, from town to town. We go many miles to work or on a vacation. We shop in town or at the shopping center. Our food comes from many places. So does the water and the air that keep all of us alive and well.

In the twentieth century a house and a piece of land are only a small part of where we live. They are even less important in terms of survival. Practically speaking we all live in one large house—our environment. We live in it with our families and with strangers, with plants and with animals. Man counts his numbers in millions. Only a teaspoonful of the soil we walk on may contain 30,000,000 living organisms. An acre of soil may contain a ton of animal life. In almost any count, man is a very small part of all the life forms on earth. All of these other living things

function in the process of nature which allow man to survive. What happens to anything in the environment happens to man also. Fortunately nature's system of checks and balances has kept a pretty tidy house since the earth began over five billion years ago.

Only the advent of what we call civilization brought any real threat of catastrophe. The trials and wars of civilized society dwarf anything that primitive man had to face. Never have famine and drought loomed so menacingly as they do for modern man. While we often look down upon peoples we consider primitive, we would do well to remember that in 50,000 years the American Indian lived on this continent without harming the environment. In a hundredth of that time we have brought that same land to the edge of ruin.

Civilized man entered the house of environment very late in its history. Many other residents, plants and animals, had come and gone. It was like coming in on the middle of a conversation, and ever since man has been listening and asking questions to find out the nature of his environment. At the same time he has been altering the environment for his own pleasure.

Only recently have we begun to study man's relationship to environment and to the millions



**THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR  
SPOKE BEFORE THE GOVERNOR'S  
BEAUTIFICATION COMMITTEE  
IN CHARLOTTE LAST FALL**

of other living things in it. This study is the highly complex science of ecology. While ecology is a young science, it has already found out one very important fact: man with his marvelous tools of technology and his relative ignorance of nature has already altered the environment very dangerously. If we can conceive of certain areas or rivers and lakes as rooms in the house of environment, then it is literally true that man has turned them into the rooms of a morgue. What man has done to other forms of life he may be doing to himself.

I am not going to predict a doomsday. Man is too unpredictable for that. But we are at a very severe crisis in our environment, not just far away in India or China or South America or New York, but in North Carolina.

If we look to the north of us, we can see our own future if we do not use our imagination very quickly and skillfully. North Carolina lies at the tail end of an 800-mile megalopolis—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, and Petersburg. North Carolina and especially the Piedmont Crescent could be victimized by all the plagues of megalopolis—clogged transportation, water and air pollution, intolerable noise, large slums, overcrowded schools, defaced landscape, and in general a diminishing of human values. That very loss of human values due to carelessly or even callously planned growth has helped fuel the tragic split between rich and poor, between black and white, between city and

suburb. It has helped make human achievement and life seem cheap.

Anyone who has driven or flown from here to New York in daylight knows what is coming. He has driven across the James River whose entire volume is polluted by the Richmond sewer system before flowing to the ocean. He has seen a crime-ridden national capital. He has seen and smelled the clouds of air pollution over Baltimore, Maryland, and Wilmington, Delaware. He has smelled the spoiled New Jersey marsh lands, dead rivers, and oil refinery gases. He has seen the highways of New York City become endless parking lots.

Most of these things already exist in North Carolina. We cannot sit back and think we have time. We cannot say we'll worry about those problems when we are more developed. If we follow old ways just because they are there, we will end up like citizens of a town built on a crooked old cow path. Eighty years ago Walter Foss concluded a poem on cow paths like this:

A hundred thousand men were led  
By one calf near three centuries dead.  
They followed still his crooked way,  
And lost one hundred years a day;  
For thus such reverence is lent  
To well-established precedent.

Some precedents are good, some are bad. We are now at a time when we must re-examine

precedents and find out just what our path to development should be. We cannot have development for its own sake. Development must exist for the sake of North Carolina and the people of North Carolina. More important, it must exist for the future of North Carolina.

We cannot simply control obvious abuses of real estate and the immediate dangers of urbanization and industrialization. We should deliberately and boldly plan for as nearly an ideal society as we can have. We are fortunate that our existing problems are not so urgent that they deny us time and space for planning our future environment.

All of these problems are easy to talk about. It is also easy to propose lofty goals. Yet when all the talking and speechmaking is done, we must think of the problems in specific terms of cities, farms, suburbs, and, most important, people. After that, we must have specific answers to the problems.

The crisis in our environment is a crisis in space and population: a crisis of people and land uses. We share this crisis with the country as a whole. Raw land in this country is being used at over 1,000,000 acres a year. The population increases by 15 percent, or 30,000,000 people, every decade. In our cities it increases 30 percent every decade.

North Carolina is not so urbanized as many states, but we rank eleventh in population, and clearly the trend is toward our towns and cities. Between 1950 and 1960 Greensboro and Charlotte nearly doubled their populations. Winston-Salem grew by 38 percent, Raleigh by 36 percent. Figures from the next census will be equally impressive.

People are moving out of the country into the cities. Over half of all counties in the United States had general losses of population in the 1950s. Many others lost rural population. By 1980 urban population will be up 76 percent over 1962. There is nothing inherently wrong with people's moving into a city, but that is not exactly what happens: People move into circles around the center of a city. They move into the suburban and rural fringes, and the city expands to include them after the development pattern is set.

The victims of this movement are people and businesses in the central city. The heart of the city decays. Burdened by old buildings and high renewal costs, businesses and people are trapped and doomed in the central city. They can afford

neither renovation nor the high price of new land. Central cities, like rural land, often lose population. Meanwhile many jobs remain in the center of the city, causing workers to commute longer distances over more crowded roads, through less desirable parts of town.

Outside the central city, land costs spiral. Lots become smaller, population more dense, and housing of poorer quality. As the original owners move up the economic ladder, they will abandon their ring around the city and move out to another ring. Our future slums may well be the large half-acre-grid tract developments where today's houses sell for \$20,000.

As all this happens, the divisions among people become sharper. The problem of housing, communities, cities, and regions are not just physical problems. They work on the emotions of people. Those who are trapped become angry. Those who are threatened become defensive and fearful.

Perhaps one of the reasons we have overcrowded our cities with people, buildings, and cars is our passion for roads. North Carolina has prided itself in its road-building progress. There is no doubt that we have built a good system of highways, secondary roads, and avenues and streets. However, perhaps we have been lulled into thinking that any hard-surface road going anywhere on a relatively straight line is a good thing.

We must rethink our road planning, especially around our communities. Our passion for getting places is beginning to get too many of us too few places. We may have been shortsighted in many instances. Because of what highway planners call cost/benefit ratio, we have placed roads where the most traffic and congestion is: we wanted maximum use. But this use attracted even more use. New roads become obsolete too quickly. When new roads are near large towns and cities, commerce springs up in a shallow strip of small lots, a chaos of signs and dangerous intersections. Homes and dense population follow. The result is neither efficient nor beautiful. And the quick obsolescence of these roads is not economical. Cost/benefit ratio must be projected over a longer period than one year or five years or even ten years. We can no longer build roads just anywhere. We must plan them

## ROADS

to save landscape, homes, parks, and natural resources of all kinds.

It is time we thought about roads that will lead us to new things, that will help population move to new areas where land is cheaper and room more plentiful.

## WATER

The general movement of people to cities and the resulting sprawl does not work on lower-income citizens alone. It has profoundly affected the very basics of life itself—water, air, and even the climate.

In the northeastern states not a single major river system is unpolluted. In North Carolina we are not much better off. Industrial wastes, silt from field and building erosion, sewage, and agricultural chemicals have severely damaged most of our large water supplies. This is not just a matter of good fishing becoming poor fishing or clear water becoming cloudy water. In 1967 industrial water pollution affected 19,000 acres of lake and river water severely enough to cause fish kills. Much more water was unfit for human consumption. During the 1968 drought many hard-hit towns were not without water—they were just without water that could be cleaned.

The supply of water on this earth is relatively fixed. We have usable water because nature has constructed an environment that works for us. In a healthy environment water constantly renews itself through an endless cycle of seepage, evaporation, and condensation. Trees and other plants release water into the air through transpiration. Nature provides a balance between supply and use. Rising needs and pollution upset this balance. A polluted storage reservoir or river is a "wet desert." That water is removed from the renewal cycle. We have too many of these deserts already, yet the future demands purer water.

In America as a whole the maximum fresh water supply is projected at 650 billion gallons a day. However, our need by the year 2000 will be 1,000 billion gallons a day. We must have water that is free of pollution and fit for re-use. We can achieve this only by intensive and scientific planning at every level of government.

The flood plains of rivers and streams must be protected from dangerous clearing. Their value as wildlife shelters and pollution control buffers is high. Because of their soil and the unstable nature of water tables, flood plains are

unsuited for housing and industrial uses. Local governments should consider zoning flood plains for wildlife refuges, utilities rights of way, game preserves, recreation, or lots without structures. The engineering studies for this kind of planning are inexpensive and much data is already available through the Army Engineer Corps.

While we are thinking about our water resources, we must not neglect our wetlands and marshes whose water is not drinkable but is nevertheless a unique resource. While coastal marshes often appear useless and barren, they are more productive than even the best farmland. The rich earth and constant wetness produce seven times the tonnage of plant matter a farmer gets from an acre of wheat. This production begins the food chain that sustains our seafood industry and salt-water fishing. Bird migrations depend on the marshes, and coastal bird-hunting would almost disappear without marshes.

Though we value our coast for summer homes and permanent houses, we cannot indiscriminately dredge or drain or fill in our marsh lands simply because a marsh looks empty and useless. Perhaps one reason man often views the marsh as useless land is that he sees no human activity in it—no houses, no parks, no roads—only the occasional hunter. The marsh needs no human help. It plants, harvests, and fertilizes itself. Man is extra, and so far he has been able to do little but destroy. It is hard for man to realize that he is unnecessary and unwanted. Perhaps the psychological message of the salt marsh is as important as the biological message. It says that man is not the center of nature.

Proper care of water supplies and wetlands will not only assure survival of fresh water and of seafood industries but will bring us profits too. Adequate water supplies attract both people and commerce. Properly managed reservoirs and watersheds can serve as local businesses as well as water supplies. Waynesville, North Carolina, has a fine timber-management program on its 8,200-acre watershed. Between 1948 and 1967, Waynesville collected \$275,000 from tree farming.

In the northeastern United States 400 city watersheds with over a million acres of forest land serve a third of the region's 50,000,000 people. The maintenance of the forested areas around the watershed not only provides a cash crop and recreation, but also decreases the cost of water. The woodland filters water and increases its value. Newark, New Jersey, figures that its forest-filtered water may cost \$7.50 a

million gallons to treat, whereas water from contaminated rivers costs \$20 to \$50 a million gallons to treat.

Pure water is a must for both the economy and the health of the state. More planning for large watershed areas must be done at the state and interstate levels. We must consider stronger and more easily enforced antipollution standards. We must upgrade our standards where possible and provide for efficient monitoring of pollution levels. At the same time we must provide incentives for industry to take corrective measures. Development of all kinds must be planned so that water resources are not sacrificed to the building of houses and industry. Every local government must reassess its water supply, not only in terms of quantity, but also in terms of cost, efficiency of water management, quality, and future needs.

## NEW TOWNS

ing of new towns. Successful towns have been created in both Europe and America.

The country of Holland, about a fifth the size of North Carolina and with twice as many people, has fought the trend to megalopolis with 25 new towns. Near Montreal, Canada, the new town of Don Mills was started with 500 people in 1953 and now has more than 20,000. It was built by a private company and provides both shopping facilities and jobs for its citizens.

In our own country we have Reston, Virginia, a 6,800-acre city for 75,000 people. It is composed of several villages, and 14 percent of its land is reserved and undeveloped open space. Columbia, Maryland, is a 14,000-acre city for 125,000 people. It will help relieve population pressures on Washington and Baltimore. Clear Lake City near Houston, Texas, is an example of a city keyed to a sudden influx of population. Among its 200,000 people will be many newcomers who work with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration installation. Education can also be the center of a new town. Irvine, California, was created on the 93,000-acre Irvine Ranch and centers around a new branch of the University of California.

New towns for North Carolina would necessarily vary in character according to our needs. If we could make them true communities and

not just high-class, exclusive resorts for a wealthy few, they would repay all the effort and money we put into them. New towns not only would relieve the decline of many rural areas, but also would give our present cities time to cope with their urgent problems. They might also relieve some of the inflationary pressures on the price of land around growing cities.

## OPEN SPACES

Whether we build new towns or renovate the old ones or both, we must no longer look upon land as a commodity to be bought, sold, and used at will. We simply do not have enough of it. The key to our efforts in both new towns and old is open-space planning and control of population density.

In the past we have been too much in love with our own creations, no matter what they were. We covered the earth with them. We cut down trees, leveled hills, and put streams in pipes. Though many of us who live in town were brought up on farms or lived in the country, too many have forgotten the intangible benefits of open spaces.

Cities and towns cannot be farms or forests, but they must have planned preservation of open space. True, it brings no profits from commerce or housing. Often it brings no taxes. But whether the open space is a small business district park or a huge greenbelt around the outside of a city, it brings more important things than money. Planned open space provides recreation in parks and playgrounds. It serves education if used for nature study or for athletic fields. For the occasional walker it relieves stress and the constant mental demands of crowded streets, buildings, and sidewalks. In the growing city, open space is a barrier against decay and blight. It stops urban sprawl. Wooded open spaces keep wildlife where the city person can observe it. The plants of open spaces renew the oxygen in the air while its soil absorbs the rain and returns it to the water table rather than to a sewer system.

Without open spaces the density of cities becomes dangerous. No matter how much food, water, clothing, and education we can provide, people packed too tightly together will not be happy. Scientists have shown this with animals. Given every basic necessity of life, animals living too close to each other fight and even die.

Today our largest cities provide only 10 to 20 acres of open space for each 1,000 people. Popu-

lation growth is decreasing this ratio. We are not preserving enough open space as we develop. As space grows more and more expensive, the chances to reverse the trend fade away. Industry and housing fight for waterfront. Recreation becomes less and less accessible to city people. By the year 2000, only 30 years from now, three out of four Americans will live in urban areas. Cities are consuming 30,000 acres a day. Perhaps in our fascination with technology we are forgetting that nature provides for our basic needs and makes all civilization possible. We must save space for it.

In the Metropolitan New York area it is fantastically expensive and almost too late to save open spaces. Yet a recent survey found that 88 percent of the population now favored large-scale government expenditures for parks and scenic areas. We must be warned, and we must prevent the frustrations that those people now live with.

A few large parks here and there are not enough. They are quickly saturated, and their grand size gives a false sense of achievement. Open-space lands serve many purposes, and they can be of no one character. The preservation and development of open land must be tied to the needs of both people and nature. This calls for both regional planning and local planning. And the two must go together. Local plans must be keyed to regional logic.

Zoning is the most useful tool of government in preserving open space. This does not mean simply forbidding the use and development of open space, it also means encouraging its best possibilities. Some feasible zoning descriptions might include agriculture, conservation, flood plain, natural resource, and recreation.

In new housing areas, zoning can also be used positively to ensure open-space breathing room. Large-lot zoning is one obvious tool. All four counties around Philadelphia now zone undeveloped land for minimum one-acre lots. A more flexible zoning plan is keyed to density or cluster development. The same Metropolitan New York survey cited about open space also found that a great majority of people wanted to live in less densely populated areas. Advance planning could have saved them from this frustration. Monterey County of California uses density planning by requiring developers to cluster houses and key the number of units not to lot size but to the size of the whole development. This puts housing on land best suited for building and leaves open the least suitable land, which is

nevertheless good for recreation or for scenic value. A cluster development of 300 lots on 140 acres saved a California developer \$75,000 over the standard grid tract practice and left the community 28 acres of open land where children were in no danger of cars and where they had unpaved and unfenced land on which to play.

A plan that might be suited to North Carolina, where sparsely populated rural areas are sometimes close to cities, would be to zone tracts of land for second homes. Property tax revenues would be increased, but the burden of providing schools for children would be absent. The intermittent use of the second home would keep the over-all density of the area down.

Zoning on a regional or intercounty basis could preserve land along particularly scenic or valuable streams and rivers. This would provide long, continuous corridors of trees and fields to break up the sprawl of rapid development.

If zoning were the only tool we had for the vital job of preserving open spaces, we would indeed be unimaginative and apathetic. Zoning is only the most obvious and traditional tool. In North Carolina we have not used much else, but many states have provided us examples to study. We might think about methods such as purchase and leaseback, excess condemnation, installment purchase, acquisition subject to life estate, and special forms of easements. We might also think about laws that will make it easier for people to donate or will land to the state and local governments. Much of California's 3,000-mile loop of riding and hiking trail was given to the state in separate gifts. And what about state grants? New Jersey has made grants up to \$400,000 to local governments for beaches and jetties. And what about bond issues? New York, New Jersey, California, and Pennsylvania have passed bond issues for parks. And can we make changes in tax laws to help? New York and Maryland have tax laws that provide property tax reductions for scenic easements. Can we create revolving funds for the purchase and resale of threatened land? How can we covenant with land owners to restrict the use of private lands?

Well-planned open space is not wasted space economically. It adds to the quality of life that must be the basis for any sound economic advancement. It increases and maintains property values. Most important, it helps guarantee the future of the environment. What could be more attractive to real economic development than that?



## LAND PRICES

While we are considering the economics of land use and improving our environment, we should pause to consider the consequences of rising land prices. As believers in the value of private enterprise and private property, we naturally want people to be able to own their own homes. One of the most serious obstacles in our progress toward increased home ownership is the rising cost of land. Between 1946 and 1964 the price of land used for housing rose 300 percent, as opposed to a 58-percent rise in the general price level. For home buyers, the cost of the lot rose from 11 to 19 percent of the house price.

Figures supplied by the National Association of Home Builders, the Federal Housing Administration, and the United States Department of Agriculture show us that the original rural owner of land is not usually the man who profits most on land prices. Between the rural owner and the subdivision dweller are speculators. Often with borrowed money or nothing but an option they obtain land at low prices and resell at higher prices. Along the way they put in little work and do nothing to improve the land. A typical farm acre worth \$300 may bring the farmer a special price from a speculator of say \$1,300. After the land passes through the hands of at least one speculator, the developer gets it for perhaps \$3,000. He invests in sewers, curbs, gutters, and roads, spending anywhere from \$1,000 to \$6,000. Finally he tacks on his profit. By now the land price has appreciated over 1,000 percent.

A study of land price increases in North Carolina cities illustrates the process at work. In 1964 developed lots in Greensboro were priced 1,458 percent over farm value of the land. In Raleigh they were up 1,280 percent. In Rocky Mount they were up 813 percent. In Charlotte they were up 592 percent. In Winston-Salem they were up 1,148 percent. Often, after the purchase and improvement of the lot, prices were 40 percent higher than the total costs to developers.

This all means that because of spiraling prices the chances for the average man to own his own home are becoming less and less. Low and moderate income families have trouble finding new housing. Building quality is lower in relation to the over-all price of lot and house. Once again we may be creating a situation that helps a few people to fast profits and ignores the public good. In the end it may hurt us all. If not

for ourselves, we may be creating a dim future for our children.

In some places we are in danger that developers, banks, and other businesses will become dependent on inflationary land prices. That is the point where hope for the good life could become fantasy. People who live in fantasy will not be stable people.

To moderate run-away land prices, local government must be careful about its zoning practices. Zoning preserves property values, but used unimaginatively it drives up the price of undeveloped land. Nor do property taxes help very much in controlling profiteering by speculators. Large land holders in the 50-percent tax bracket deduct half of property taxes from income. The federal capital gains tax arrangements also benefit the land speculator.

In this day of increasing consumer awareness, we should find ways to educate buyers to what is going on. Consumers groups need to provide market information and make their feelings known to local governments and businessmen. They should be aided by professional planners and economists. Consumer protection from the state should be considered in real estate just as it is in other fields. Merely licensing brokers and salesmen is not enough.

## STATE AND LOCAL PLANNING

North Carolina's solutions to problems of growth, development, and urbanization must be as carefully planned and coordinated as the physical growth itself. To this end Governor Scott proposed a department of local affairs to bring local government into the long-range planning processes of the state. In this agency and others we must make more use of ecologists—men who study the intricate relationships between environment and living plants and animals, including man. Ecologists are the accountants and bookkeepers of the biological world. They tell us where our pluses and minuses are and how we can keep in balance with the world around us.

Perhaps the most necessary bookkeeping must be done in the area of population. We must study more closely the specific effects of population shifts and growth on the quality of our

life. In particular, since we are behind in our efforts in education, we should study the effects of urbanization and population on our school systems. We should explore imaginative possibilities of controlling population shifts, influxes, and increases so as to minimize their negative effects on all aspects of life in the state. We should seriously consider whether endless growth for communities and for the state is desirable. If not, how and when do we stabilize?

## THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

Because we live in a democracy, no governmental efforts to solve growth problems will succeed without an educated public. The first step toward education is in our schools. We must intensify the study of environment in our public schools and in our colleges and universities. How can we build up our ecology program and attract students into this relatively new science?

We must also reach the people who are no longer in school. No matter how good a job the schools do, we cannot wait for a new generation to solve our problems. Businessmen who deal in real estate and housing must know more than how to keep financial records and sell property. Right now we do not require a real estate broker or a developer to have any knowledge whatsoever of soils, wildlife, water and air pollution, community structures, or social psychology. Yet the real estate people are de facto planners of our environment.

On a broader level, every voter must improve his knowledge of environment in order to make intelligent decisions about bond issues for roads and recreation. And of course he must be able to judge the policies of the elected officials who represent him.

Many existing organizations should be taking a more active role in educating the public and campaigning for environmental improvement. These include Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, the 4-H, garden clubs, hiking and camping groups, bird clubs, museums, and many civic groups.

Public education is a most important reason for having a state zoo. We should not think of a zoo as a series of cages exhibiting curious animals. Imaginative educators should help plan the zoo, which should include research facilities for improving our knowledge of nature. And these

study activities should involve students and interested groups of youths and adults. The grounds of the zoo should provide models of environmental planning and the principles of ecology. Special consideration should be given to the imaginative use of the area around the zoo. For instance, could we encourage private enterprise to set up actually inhabited model communities to demonstrate new ideas for improving man's environment?

Educational-recreational projects like this have been successful in many parts of the country in both urban and rural locations. One museum and zoo in a relatively isolated desert area of New Mexico features trails, untouched wild areas, and animals in what are called natural cages. Ecology is the theme. Each year students from 75 schools in a 125-mile radius visit the museum along with 150,000 visitors and 5,000 campers from a nearby church camp. The Plains Conservation Center near Denver draws 250,000 school children a year. The New Jersey pine barrens near Philadelphia and the Nassau County Museum of Natural History in New York feature protected natural areas and trained teachers to conduct an intensive education program.

The state zoo or any educational activity is a very expensive proposal, but so is a highway or a skyscraper. What we need for the zoo and for all our planning is not a simple, short-term cost/benefit ratio. We need to think in terms of large total equations that include the future of the state and our children. Expenditures that do not bring immediate returns are not extravagance. In fact, we are already living with the folly of short-sighted, quick-return investment. The megalopolis to the north of us threatens us with nothing less than chaos and tragedy created by the short-sighted investments of those areas.

I do not mean to be an alarmist about our problems. For this reason I have emphasized facts and figures rather than emotion. And I have emphasized broad human values because government in a democracy exists for all its people. If it does not, it will fall.

We in North Carolina may be behind in our over-all development, but we are infinitely ahead in opportunity because of our past slowness. We are human beings with imagination, intelligence, and knowledge. Since we have these qualities, I hope that each of us here will re-examine how we keep this house of our environment and will determine to use our priceless opportunity to improve the quality of life for everybody.

# The death of Judge Allen H. Gwyn

removes from the North Carolina scene a remarkable man. Judge Gwyn was remarkable because his vision ran ahead of his time. His energies helped others to catch his vision; his convictions were translated into effective and courageous action; and his compassion and fairness permeated all that he touched. His character and personality inspired others to advanced thought and action.

For Allen Gwyn was both a dreamer and a doer. He not only believed in rehabilitation rather than retribution; he put into effect his "work, earn, and save" plan, a pioneer program that helped prepare the state for its subsequent work-release program. He was a charter member of the North Carolina bench-bar-press-broadcasters-law enforcement committee and contributed greatly to its work and progress. He was a durable and constant friend of the Institute of Government and strongly supported its programs.

Throughout his long and distinguished career as attorney, solicitor, and superior court judge, Allen Gwyn served all the people of the state with great ability, sensitivity, imagination, and humanity. He had the rare capacity to see the ideal and translate it into reality.

In the words of Albert Coates: "His person has left us, but his personality lives on in the lives of his friends and those whom he befriended. And beyond them, it continues in the work he began and which, thank God, will go on."

—E.R.O.

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*Judge Allen Gwyn will be missed by many people in many places and in many ways. In few places outside the circle of his family will he be more deeply missed than here in the Institute of Government. He was ever a true friend of this institution—ready with advice, help, and encouragement—but never one to intrude with unsought aid. As an active member and President (1963-64) of the North Carolina Conference of Superior Court Judges, he was the prime mover in establishing and strengthening a relationship between that organization and the Institute that has meant much to both. He was always ready to share with others his ripe knowledge of the law and of his fellow man, and his participation enriched many of the Institute's programs over the years. We are in countless ways his debtors, and we make this small acquittance of our obligation to him in sadness and in gratitude.*

JOHN L. SANDERS

# Keeping the Public Informed

By ROBERT MORGAN

**S**OLON, the economic reformer of Ancient Greece, once said that speech is the image of actions. It is through speech that we communicate our ideas, thoughts, and actions to each other, as public officials, and to the people.

With the advent of a more educated, more politically sophisticated public, we cannot afford to carry on the affairs of government in silence, for silence breeds distrust. We are more exposed to public opinion than ever before; our actions in government are closely observed and monitored by the news media serving a waiting and inquiring public. And rightly so. As one of our Presidents so aptly put it, "Public officers are the servants and the agents of the people." I believe that it is our responsibility to bring the people in closer touch with the government through press conferences, speeches, informative letters, and open meetings.

Franklin Roosevelt in his fireside chats went to the people to discuss with them the problems of the nation. He spoke in words that reawakened the spirit of America and brought unity to a troubled people. He went to the country not to "stump" but rather to converse with his fellowmen. They responded with strong support for his New Deal policies.

Today, lines of communications must be opened and kept open so that a better understanding might be fostered among our agencies and the public we serve. We must insure that government does not become so vast in scale, so crowded, and so remote that it becomes inaccessible and ineffective. We must not allow ourselves to become so secluded that we cannot keep our eyes and ears open and our responses flexible.

Open meetings invite enlightened politics. There is a need to create direct citizen participation through which citizens who retain their private status can participate in public business. Needless to say, this will not be easy to accomplish. Only through open meetings can the people and the government operate as a whole body, not with each part suspicious of the other.

Thomas Jefferson voiced this belief when he stated, "No one more sincerely wishes the spread of information among mankind than I do, and none has greater confidence in its effect towards supporting free and good government."

**W**E HAVE BEEN ELECTED to share in the responsibility of serving the people. We have also taken upon ourselves a political responsibility. One can speak of political responsibility only if there is a generally accepted standard of judging actions that affect the community. Therefore, we can say that political responsibility presupposes a kind of public interest. Theoretically, the politician or administrator is directly responsible to those who gave him his office, namely, the voters.

In order to function effectively as citizens, the people must be sufficiently and honestly informed. They must have access to truth. Without this, the whole foundation of government is weakened. Neither should the public's access be restricted to information of a noncontroversial nature. They should not be asked to accept "government on faith." Too often the government restricts information and says, "Have faith in us; we're doing what's best for you." And some of our leaders take the position that many issues

## *The Attorney General addresses the Public Information Seminar*

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are far too complicated for the people to understand. This is an extremely dangerous practice.

Our early leaders were as convinced as Patrick Henry was that the business of government must be publicized. They believed that the survival of the new nation depended upon the people's being kept informed.

Madison, the father of the Constitution wrote: "Knowledge will forever govern ignorance. And a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power knowledge gives. A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce, or a tragedy, or perhaps both." Clearly, the founders of our nation considered informing the people to be a function of democracy.

Especially after the last turbulent decade, dissatisfaction with the government is growing among the people. If the present situation of crisis following crisis—of violence in the streets and on the campus—continues, the silent public which has, to some extent, lacked interest in government can erupt. We in public life can see more "citizen action" than we want if we do not take it upon ourselves to keep the public informed. Times are not placid, and unrest is replacing apathy in more and more people.

To the average person, the government sometimes presents itself to be an uncontrollable body of mass laws, restrictions, and even persecutions. The government is often the scapegoat of all sorts of social and political mores, and, frequently, the people consider the government as a dictator in complete control of the destiny of the nation. The concept that government is of the people, for the people, and especially, *by* the people too often seems to be lost.

**W**ITH THE GROWTH of the credibility problem, former President Eisenhower acknowledged: "In the diplomatic field it was routine practice to deny responsibility for an embarrassing occurrence when there is even one percent chance of being believed, but when the world can entertain not the slightest doubt of the facts there is no point in trying to evade the issue." Eisenhower could not forget the discovery of the United States U-2 spy plane deep inside Russia. The Russians smugly kept silent about the capture and confession of pilot Francis Gary Powers until after the United States government had released a contrived story stating that the plane was on a weather

reconnaissance flight for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. "The big error we made was, of course, in the issuance of a premature and erroneous cover story," Eisenhower reflected. "Allowing myself to be persuaded on this score is my principal regret—except for the U-2 failure itself—regarding the whole affair."

Credibility in governmental programs is the first essential, and it cannot be achieved by falsehood and hypocrisy that would and should be promptly exposed.

A measure of the impact of the credibility problem on the American people can be seen in the results of polls taken regularly by members of Congress. One congressman asked, "Do you believe that the government gives the people reliable information on what is going on?" Of those responding, more than 86 percent answered "No."

Access to information about the government is required for the democratic system to work successfully. In order to maintain a government run by an informed people, secrecy must be minimized and the flow of accurate facts maximized. A government whose leaders cannot be believed runs the risk of losing the privilege of representing the people, and the people risk losing the contest between democracy and despotism. In a democracy, it is essential that the people possess and exercise the right to criticize the actions of the government.

**T**HE 1960 REPORT of the President's Commission on National Goals concluded: "Improvement of the democratic process requires a constantly better-informed public . . . What America needs is not more voters, but more good voters, men and women who are informed, understanding and reasonable. To produce such men and women in ever larger numbers should be a major goal of all labors to preserve American democracy."

We are faced with and have faced a crisis in credibility and an ever widening gap in communication. *Now we must come to the people.* We cannot permit ourselves to remain aloof and out-of-touch. As Attorney General, I am trying to breach these gaps in credibility and communication and to initiate a bond of strength and mutual respect between the general public and the Office of the Attorney General and to let the public know that I respect the intelligence of those who elected me.

# DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

## *fact* *and* *fantasy*

By J. Robert Weber

### INFORMED CITIZENS

know by instinct what professionals know from experience. That is, a substantial number of criminal offenses are not reported to the police. Of those known to the police, a good many are never closed by arrest. Of those persons arrested, not all are formally referred to the court. Of those referred, by no means are all adjudicated, and only a small percentage of those adjudicated are rehabilitated. Knowing this, we must realize that statistics about juvenile offenders and offenses can be very misleading. Thus, to such a question as "Is delinquency increasing?" the only honest answer is that we don't know for sure. The problem is further complicated by the fact that what is delinquency and what is crime varies by statute from state to state. For instance, a seventeen-year-old stealing an automobile can be defined as delinquent in one state and convicted of a felony in another. Some youngsters are adjudicated delinquent for things that are not crimes—running away, incorrigibility, truancy, etc. Nevertheless, we do know that the age group from 15 to 25 years is the one that commits the vast majority of criminal offenses in our society.

Despite the unreliability of our statistics and appallingly inadequate reporting procedures in all parts of the juvenile and criminal justice system, most ex-

perts agree that crimes against property have been increasing in recent years and that they are committed by offenders who are to a large extent what we call youth. The rate of violent crime, however, does not appear to be up. The most reliable statistics on all crimes are kept on homicide, and the homicide rate is lower today than thirty years ago. It is calculated that if New Yorkers killed one another at the same rate as frontiersmen did, there would have been 35,000 murders in New York City instead of the 904 that did occur last year.

There is some preliminary evidence that the pattern of offenses committed by juveniles and young people is also changing. For instance, vandalism in schools across the nation appears to be on the increase in both the number of incidents and the cost of damage. The dynamics of this pattern, to my knowledge, have not yet been analyzed. Drug use by juveniles, as we are well aware from the mass media, is indeed increasing across the nation, and children are using drugs at earlier ages than ever recorded before. The teen-age gang conflicts that were so prevalent in the '50s but practically disappeared in the '60s show early signs of perhaps becoming a major problem in the '70s. Other offenses like burglary, auto theft, and breaking and entering continue to be committed by youngsters at what appears to be a slightly accelerated

rate, although the operative factor in this apparent increase may be just more efficient law enforcement.

Another fact about delinquency that we continually must be aware of is that the youngsters who are adjudicated, placed on probation, committed to institutions and returned to our communities, on parole or after-care status, are largely from lower-class populations, with over-representation from black and Latin minority groups. Three national commissions—the Crime Commission, the Civil Disorders Commission, and now the Violence Commission—have all commented on this fact. All three agreed that to a large extent crime is a response to deprivation and unequal opportunities and thus to some degree can be viewed as a symptom of racism, inequality, and social injustice, and that a major pathway to the prevention of delinquency and crime is the assurance to each American of a stake in the benefits of American life. In this larger sense, then, delinquency and crime prevention and the struggle for broad social justice are coequal. A lot of Americans seem to have a tough time understanding this fact.

### IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

nearly everyone has his own pet solution for the problem of juvenile delinquency. I call this the myth of panaceas—and you have all heard them: punish the parents, curfew laws, recreation, open juvenile court hearings, stricter law enforcement, get tough, bring back the woodshed, and so on. The fact is that there is no simple answer. The causes of delinquency are varied, complex, inter-related, and—to borrow a word from the National Crime Commission—“mysterious.” Essentially, the word delinquency applies to a category in which we place certain youngsters. Thus, to understand the phenomenon we need to pay as much attention to the process of definition as we do to the defined delinquent youngsters themselves. To say this in another way: if we are to understand delinquents, we need to understand the behavior of those who define the delinquent. In the last analysis the definer of delinquency is the juvenile court judge, but there are a number of behaviors we need to understand before a youngster ever gets to a juvenile court hearing; these are the behaviors of teachers, welfare workers, police, court intake workers, and even parents and neighbors. This is a task of knowledge-building that we have barely begun.

Before you can solve a problem, you must first define it. In defining a problem such as delinquency, there are essentially two factors: the first is the question of policy—the political question, if you will, about the nature of our communities, about what is considered normal, and thus abnormal or deviant, and about the allocation of resources to the social control apparatus of police, courts, and corrections. The second factor is the state of knowledge about behavior, behavioral change, and the process of child development. In connection with any social problem, when

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there is congruence between the political or policy factor and the knowledge factor, the citizens can be assured that the problem in question is being intelligently and effectively confronted. When there is a gap between policy and knowledge, the citizen can be assured that everything is going to go wrong and the problem, undoubtedly, will be exacerbated. Knowledge must be linked with policy, and this is particularly true in an increasingly complex society like ours. There is scarcely a sorrow to be avoided when the political process begins with the assertion of knowledge.

Probably it is not so much ignorance that hinders as it is having quantities of mis-knowledge. When we look back at the '50s and '60s and the amount of energy and resources that went into delinquency prevention and our high hopes for social gains, it is depressing to contemplate now what I consider serious social losses. I think we are worse off today than we were twenty years ago. Let me give you some of my thoughts about what some of our mistakes were—mistakes made largely by the professionals, the caretakers in our communities.

### FIRST, WE DID NOT

seek knowledge in our programs; we sought action. We assumed that we knew what the problem was and we wanted to do something for kids. But with the technology increasingly available for providing objective feedback information evaluating the effectiveness of our programs—about what worked, in what ways, and with whom—it is almost criminal that we are as nearly ignorant about delinquency today as we were then. If we are any smarter, it is just that we know what does not work.

Second, there has been a tendency on the part of managers of delinquency programs to confuse rhetoric with reality. Too often false information has been given to the general public. Let me be more specific. In the early '60s, to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, the Ford Foundation, and other agencies who were making grants to local communities, it was fashionable to say that delinquency prevention was what the money was being sought for, and this happened despite the fact that on many project staffs and managers knew that their programs related to prevention only in the most abstract man-

ner. Other examples are words like rehabilitation and treatment. They are rhetorical terms that sound good and can mean anything. I have seen isolation strip cells in juvenile institutions called "treatment rooms." I have seen a program called "work therapy" that consisted of having kids dig holes in the ground and then fill them up or carry stones from one pile and make another pile. I have seen judges commit youngsters in need of psychiatric treatment to training schools that have never had psychiatric services, presumably in the name of the welfare of the youngster. I believe we should be more careful of our language and call things by their appropriate names. The public today is confused to a large extent because we professionals have confused rhetoric with what really exists. In some cases I think we have been afraid to describe in everyday language what really goes on.

Third, the professionals in the field have too often and in too many places placed too much reliance on the medical or psychiatric model of clinical treatment with delinquents and predelinquents. This is another example of our ignorance. For some youngsters engaged in illegal acts, the problem is emotional and susceptible to psychiatric intervention, and more psychiatric resources are needed for these children. But in my opinion most delinquents and predelinquents are not amenable to psychiatric treatment or one-to-one counseling techniques. Their problems are not personality disturbances but rather concern values, norms, and role expectations that are group-derived, and any intervention program must be targeted at the group if the individuals in it are to take on new value systems, new behavioral norms, new role models.

Fourth, in planning and talking about delinquency prevention, decision-makers have tended to separate delinquency from its context. Thus delinquency has been divorced from its reality and prevention efforts have been misdirected. Delinquency is totally interrelated in the most complex manner imaginable with our communities. To talk about prevention in any meaningful way is to talk about diagnosing those community ills that interfere with what we consider to be desirable child-development experiences.

### I DOUBT THAT

anyone in this room has a Utopian vision of eradicating all juvenile delinquency in our society. Yet when I listen to some people talk about delinquency prevention, they sound as if indeed this is their goal. All children misbehave. To learn to exercise good judgment, a youngster must be allowed to make mistakes consistent with his level of development. Because of immaturity and sometimes strange and incomprehensible feelings, youngsters make severe mistakes and endanger the community. I think it preferable to talk about delinquency prevention in the sense of maintaining a socio-ecological balance. Think for a mo-

ment about your high school biology course and the concept of a balance in nature. When a particular species is removed from the forest, another species multiplies and creates imbalance. Or another species dies off because of inability to adapt to a new food source. Thus, nature in its own inexorable fashion brings back balance with reciprocal relationships between plant and animal life. The analogy is not exact, but in our community life we also strive for a certain equilibrium. On one hand, we value personal freedom, and this is balanced by our tolerance for deviance. The greater our tolerance, the greater our freedom and the greater the diversity of life styles by the people. Or to put it another way, the less tolerance for differences, the more behavior that is defined as deviant and subject to social control. In this sense, then, when we talk about delinquency prevention, we are talking about the level of youth activities that can be tolerated by the community without intervention resulting in a delinquency label. The level of tolerance will vary from one community to another and from one region to another, but this rather abstract concept is not very helpful when we as individuals are personally confronted with a youngster in trouble and for whom we see further grief and personal misery.

We hear much talk about early identification and early intervention with potential problem children, and we hear of programs aimed at preventing later delinquency. A careful analysis of the literature and the research available indicates general failure to prevent delinquency effectively. Part of the explanation has been that programs tend to label kids, who then behave in ways they perceive as expected—that is, delinquently. Another explanation has been that schools have been the focus of these programs, which might well be effective in terms of educational goals, but schools lack adequate strategies and techniques for intervening in the families and neighborhood problems to which the youngster is responding.

Interestingly enough, when NCCD's Information Center was asked to evaluate the effectiveness of prevention programs by reviewing available research projects, we learned that the most effective programs, however scarce and isolated, were programs aimed at preventing recidivism of first and second juvenile offenders. In terms of primary prevention—that is, reducing the number of predicted delinquents before the commission of a delinquent act—we found no program to surpass the early Chicago-area project of the '20s and early '30s.

Easily overlooked when we talk about prevention is the law itself. I believe the law is a fruitful target for prevention efforts. If we were to change our laws so that certain behaviors would no longer be illegal, by definition, we would decrease delinquent and criminal acts. There is considerable evidence to indicate that with certain acts this would be a socially wise and prudent course to follow. Although I am not



talking now about legalizing marijuana, I do believe that the penal sanctions currently in effect are unwise and socially destructive. I am, for instance, talking about truancy. Truancy is a school problem and, in my opinion, better handled by the school system than the justice system. Similarly, the running-away of children, incorrigibility, waywardness, etc., are better handled as child welfare problems than as justice problems. Alcoholism should be treated as a public health problem, not as a criminal problem. Yet on any day there are more arrests for drunkenness than for any other offense. Narcotics addiction might be better handled as a public health problem than as a problem for the criminal justice system. Our laws regarding sexual acts between consenting adults could well be examined. Historically, we have used the criminal law in an attempt to legislate morality, and it has proved an ineffective device to deter or prevent immoral behavior. We could do a good deal in the name of prevention merely by devoting our energies to penal law reform and assuring procedural safeguards of due process in our civil courts that deal with deviant behavior.

Another area of concern in prevention is developing new ways of delivering services to youths and families with problems. Our old and current ways have not been effective. In connection with certain delivery systems such as youth service bureaus and other innovations in existing community agencies and organizations, let me put my two cents' worth in now. I would like the county welfare departments to become public family service agencies serving the total community, with a severe reduction of activities in financial assistance. There are other methods for income maintenance of dependent children, the infirm, and the aged than our present expensive and demonstrably ineffective welfare program. Although the current administration's proposal for welfare reform is a very tiny step, it does go in the right direction.

Another variable of very real concern in prevention is jobs or rather the lack of job opportunities for 16-to-22-year-olds. Our schools and job-training centers have been under increasing pressure to program for youth in such a manner that they can keep kids out of the job market and also provide increased vocational skills to keep pace with employment needs. This has been a tough task and often very discouraging. There is an increasingly serious problem in what we expect non-college youngsters to be doing with their time. For a large number, the military offers the only route to independence from childhood status and roles. Job training for the late adolescent is a major need in our society today. This factor will be complicated even further if the number of new jobs created by the economy does not keep pace with the current rate of population growth. Only the large number of draftees and enlistments to the military during the past five years has reduced the potential

dimension of our youth unemployment problem and its impact.

## OUR COMMUNITIES

have severe problems. Taxes are high, school budgets are defeated in elections, public institutions and social service programs lack adequate budgets to maintain widely accepted standards. The cities are physically falling apart; housing deteriorates and is not being replaced. People are no longer buying homes because of tight money markets. Inflation causes reduced standards of living and housewives are incredulous at their weekly grocery bill—week after week. Roads and highways cannot keep up with the hegemony of the automobile. Environmental pollution gets worse by the year. We are engaged in an ugly, expensive, and divisive war that was never declared by Congress. The militant voices of minority groups make us feel uncomfortable and nervous. Our youth smoke pot and speak a mystical language that we feel hodes no good. I could go on with the list, and so could you. What does all this have to do with delinquency? In my opinion, a great deal. What can we do about it? I am not sure.

Our society has developed very severe strains and cracks. Inappropriately, the criminal justice system and the juvenile justice system have been used like glue in an attempt to reinforce the torn places in the fabric of our society. I say inappropriately because the police, the courts, and the correctional institutions are not solving the problem. They are a patchwork of unrelated constituent parts that appear to have been put together with chewing gum and baling wire in an age that no longer exists.

No one would deny that the criminal justice system plays a major social control function in any modern society. But we sometimes forget that there is a large array of social control techniques that lie outside the police function of the state. I include persuasion; peer-group acceptance; systems of reward and recognition; the impact of the mass media, in particular TV and the advertising industry; manipulation by government policy and program of people's aspirations and hopes. Again, each of you could add to the list. If there are problems in social control, I suggest that these factors be looked at as well as the inadequacy and lack of resources of our criminal and juvenile justice systems.

## WE CAN ALL MAKE

laundry lists of our particular gripes and community problems. There is not much satisfaction in doing so. The further we go in analyzing our social problems, the more complex and disheartening the problem seems. We sense powerlessness, and I think this is one of our major problems. Two years ago I had the pleasure and frustration of running a program aimed at developing more effective programs for adjudicated

delinquents. We carefully selected states ripe for change and then asked the governor of each to invite twenty-five to fifty key decision-makers in his state to a two-day institute to consider specific programs that would operate as alternatives to existing ineffective programs. In state after state I was astonished to perceive that no one disagreed, everyone saw the logic and desirability of trying something new. Yet these carefully selected people, chosen because of their influence, expressed a sense of powerlessness to do anything. Undoubtedly, the lack of funds from local, state, and federal tax resources goes far to explain the sense of powerlessness. But their despair also seemed to reflect a feeling that citizens have lost their power to effect change. It was almost as though power were so concentrated, policies so entrenched, and facts kept so secret or so distorted that citizens were losing faith in grass-roots political action. This included even cynicism regarding efficacy of committees, surveys, and conferences to effect change. In New York City last week I watched my weekly travel expenses increase by \$2.50. I did not like it but there was nothing I could do about it. Most New Yorkers seemed resigned. I think a sense of powerlessness in Americans is on the increase. I am not sure how we can turn this around, but we must try. To this end, I have the following four thoughts.

Our biggest problem has been the rapidity of technological change. My parents knew how to skin and dress a rabbit, kill a chicken and prepare it for dinner, can fruits and vegetables. I do not. We live in a very different world that demands very different skills and very different attitudes. Our children will grow into a world even more different from ours than our generation is from the last. The simple recognition of this fact will help a great deal.

Second, we must reorder our priorities in the distribution of public funds. We must not rely on our criminal and juvenile justice systems to solve our problems because our community problems are not amenable to solution via either retribution or rehabilitation of individuals; nevertheless the need for more personnel with better training and greater program resources exists in every agency of our juvenile and criminal justice systems. All of our community institutions ultimately impact on individuals and the quality of our community life. We need more effective social institutions to provide family stability, income maintenance, relevant education of our children and remedial and rehabilitation services for people with problems. This means more money for our schools, our social agencies, housing, medical aid, etc. But additional resources in and of themselves are not enough. There must also be a commitment to a search for new knowledge to effect rational change in our schools, community organizations, and juvenile and criminal justice agencies. Perhaps cutting our

community expenditures back might permit us to see what needs changing and what it is we can afford to dispense with. In a sense I think this is what will happen, but in a society as rich as ours this seems an unnecessarily harsh process.

Third, in defining a problem like delinquency, we must learn to listen to the delinquents to see how they perceive their own problems and what they would recommend as programs that might have prevented their committing delinquent acts, much as in other service areas in which we have learned that if programs are to be effective they must involve the recipients of services in defining program goals and procedures.

Fourth, and last, we need to involve our youth more meaningfully in all of our organizations, in our political life, and in the setting of our national goals and priorities. Lowering the voting age to 18 would be a significant step but is not itself sufficient. Schools, churches, social agencies, recreational centers, etc. need to look at ways they can bring youth into policy and program development activities.

Most of our assumptions about how our social institutions function and how they are perceived by our youth are wrong. Every step must be taken to understand what they really feel and think and do. We must be consciously aware of how youth fail in our social institutions and are failed by them. We must find means for new discoveries about ourselves, what we are, what we really feel and think and do. We must relearn to feel the excitement of discovery in ourselves and in each other. Our youth can help us.

### AMERICAN SOCIETY

has come a remarkably long way, but there is still much to do. Can we do it? Do we really care enough? Can we honestly face the hypocrisy, the stupidity, the meaninglessness of many aspects of our society and do something intelligent about it without violence to those achievements of which we are so rightly proud?

What we do now, and the spirit in which we do it, will structure the response of our youth. Will they sneer at us in cynicism—as some already do? Will they revolt against us and all that we tried to maintain—as some already do? Will they retreat into realms of fantasy, drugs, and psychosis—as some already do? Will our children at maturity be able to stand straight and strong and say, "Yes, this task our elders have begun is worthy of our talents and energies to complete?" Will we as parents and as adults instill sufficient guts into our youth to allow them the courage to fight to change what they see is wrong? If not, the alternative is more police, bigger correctional institutions, more alienated youth, more conflicts, more delinquency.

## Too Good Not to Use, But Too Late for the Patrol Issue

*This fine photograph of Governor Bob Scott and Patrol Commander Edwin C. Guy commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the North Carolina Highway Patrol arrived too late to meet the deadline for the December POPULAR GOVERNMENT. But better late than never. (Photo by Jim Page, N. C. Department of Conservation and Development.)*



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# The Public's Right to Know —and Understand

By ELMER R. OETTINGER

*From an address before the Institute of Government's Public Information Seminar, January 5-6, 1970.*

The proper study of mankind, wrote Alexander Pope, is man. The crux of that study—as playwrights, poets, and philosophers long have been aware—is the question who are we. Or, in terms of the individual, the question is who am I. If man is eternally in quest of himself, if his ultimate goal has to be to understand himself and his environment to the utmost degree that they can be understood and he can understand them, to the end that he can realize his own talents and potential for service to mankind to the fullest, then anyone charged with conveying information to the public has a challenge of complex dimensions and a calling of high seriousness.

ELMER DAVIS once wrote that those disseminating the news were in danger of becoming “mere transmission belts for pretentious phonies.” He was writing at a time when Senator Joseph McCarthy was changing the number of communists he alleged were in the State Department almost daily. But what Mr. Davis was saying essentially was that most news involving ideas and substance has dimensions stretching far beyond its factual basis, and to report only the bare facts is to make one-dimensional that which has many dimensions. The practical result of this sort of bare-bones reporting is to omit any semblance of interpretation and to oversimplify to the point that the reading, listening, or viewing public is so little informed as to have no sufficient basis for understanding the true import of the news and, consequently, for forming opinions, evaluations, and judgments based on the news.

It is my observation that the spread of the radio and television news commentary and the newspaper column, together with editorial pages, has helped bring added dimensions to the reader, hearer, and viewer. The tragedy is that so large a proportion of the population appears not to read the editorial pages or newspaper columns and that a considerable number of listeners and viewers seem to pay scant attention to commentaries and documentaries. It is a sad fact that not only is the power of analysis not given in large degree to all human beings but also the power to appreciate and, therefore, the desire to understand news in depth is lacking in too many. The challenge, it seems to me, is not to inform or interpret less but to inform and interpret more—and more creatively—in an effort to reach an even larger portion of the population. For an informed public provides the only basis upon which democracy, even though representative democracy, can be assured of functioning in the interest of all.

BUT, YOU MAY SAY, “I don't write editorials or columns or deliver news commentaries or produce documentaries. Sometimes the media try to interpret the information I provide them about the workings of my agencies. But my job is to get out what used to be called the straight dope [that is a naughty word now]. My job is (in more modern idiom) to tell it as it is, to tell it straight.” The virtues of reporting the news with objectivity have been set forth too often to require restatement by me. But we all know that objectivity in news often is translated to mean

bare-bone facts, oversimplification, and under-informing the public. If your experiences in any way parallel mine, I believe you will agree with my conviction that true objectivity in the news is not only extremely difficult to obtain but often to recognize, even in retrospect. I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am not saying that one must be partisan in his reporting. But I do say that information, to be worthwhile, must be reported in depth and breadth. I would point out to you the obvious—that you are partisans by the very nature of your jobs and the agency you represent. And that raises some interesting questions, not the least of which is, Do you distort? Do you try to send out information straight? Do you distort information to put the best face on it from the standpoint of your agencies' viewpoint? Or do you interpret information so as to give the public all the options to which it is entitled in its thinking? How do you avoid being either mere transmission belts for an agency or conduits of agency-slanted information? My guess is that the danger is not so much that you may slant the news as that you *select* those aspects that are calculated to ingratiate your agency or boss with the public and achieve general support and approval for their ideas and programs. If this be true, I think it is time for reassessing our public obligations in providing information.

THE KEY to performance of public information responsibilities in public agencies must lie as much in obligation to the public as to the agency. This is to say that the public has not only a right to know what goes on in government but also a right to know what it means. To fulfill that right, you must arrange your primary resources—words—in vivid, useful, and meaningful patterns. In other words, there are certain basic requirements that any able public information officer or official must have in our increasingly complex world. First, he must have enough basic knowledge and background information in government to write

about government. That means that the person responsible for informing the public must know the nature, responsibilities, and goals of both *his* own department and agency and of all *related* departments or agencies. He must know fundamental principles, philosophical and practical, underlying our government and its programs. He must keep abreast of changes and developments in government, including new programs. And he must understand government in all aspects in depth and in detail. Otherwise information is retailed routinely and in single-dimensional form. If this informing in depth for perspective be interpretation, make the most of it!

LONG AGO Marquis Childs wrote a column in which he declared that the question was not whether governmental news was managed but *how* it was managed. Perhaps so, but any news management is inherently dangerous. The reasonable alternative is full disclosure, illuminated with a wealth of background and related information, keyed to the public interest and understanding. The question then becomes not so much one of objectivity as of fairness. We must remember that we can determine objectivity only subjectively. That in itself limits the meaning and application of the word. I can recall only too well from my ten years as radio news director and news commentator just how much one inflection can affect the interpretation the listener gives to a broadcast. Somehow, when the first Governor Scott was quoted after a news conference as saying that the Durham-Chapel Hill Boulevard was a football road, the smile on his face and the soft tone in his voice never reached the public. Similarly your choice of words, your emphases, the tone of your writing affects printed, broadcast, and telecast news. In sum, prepare yourself and your information with an eye and ear attuned for fair and full understanding and interpretation by your real, ultimate boss, the public weal.

## Institute Calendar for March and April

Sheriffs' School	Mar. 2-4
Finance School	Mar. 4-5
Purchasing School	Mar. 5-6
Wildlife Investigation Techniques	Mar. 9-14
Model Cities Seminars	Mar. 10-12 Mar. 16-18 Mar. 23-25 Apr. 6-8 Apr. 13-15
Superior Court Judges	Mar. 13-14
New Tax Collectors	Mar. 16-20
County Attorneys	Mar. 20-21
Department of Local Affairs Seminars	Mar. 20-21 Apr. 3-4 Apr. 17-18
Wildlife Basic School	Mar. 23-28
Personnel School	Mar. 25-28
Wildlife Testing	Mar. 31-Apr. 3
Communication Seminar	Apr. 1-2
State Management Development Training	Apr. 5-10
Tax Collectors	Apr. 15-17
County Accountants	Apr. 13-15
N. C. Juvenile Correction Association	Apr. 17
N. C. Planning Association	Apr. 21-24
Probation Officers	Apr. 27-May 1
Police Traffic Instruction School	Apr. 27-May 8
Librarians and Library Trustees	Apr. 29-30

### Continuing Schools

Highway Patrol Basic School	Jan. 4-Apr. 10
Local Government Administration	Mar. 2-20 Apr. 13-24
Building Inspectors	Mar. 6-7 Apr. 10-11 Apr. 17-18
Police Administration	Mar. 10-12
Municipal and County Administration	Mar. 13-14 Apr. 3-4 Apr. 23-25

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA  
Local Government Commission

*The Bond Buyers Index<sup>1</sup>*

Date	20 Bonds	11 bonds
1- 8-70	6.61	6.42
12-31-69	6.79	6.57
12- 4-69	6.72	6.56
1- 2-69	4.85	4.72

*National Volume Outlook, January 9, 1970*

Blue List supply	\$288 million
30-day visible	\$617 million
Total supply	\$905 million
Total supply last week	\$936 million

*Yields Currently Available on North Carolina Issues (%)*

	Aaa	Aa	A
10 year	5.75	5.90	6.00
20 year	6.20	6.30	6.45

Recent Bond Sales in North Carolina

Issuer	Date of Sale	Purpose	Amount	No. of Bidders	Years Average Life	First, Second, and Last Bids	Winning Manager	Moody's NCMC	
								Rating	Rating
County of Durham	11- 4-69	Courthouse	\$ 675,000	9	8.20	5.5229,5.5448-5.7767	1st NB of ENC	Aa	89
County of Stanly	11- 4-69	Courthouse & Jail	3,120,000	5	13.20	5.8477,5.8532-6.0714	NCNB	A	85
County of New Hanover	11- 4-69	Airport	395,000	8	8.90	5.6792,5.7085-6.0284	NCNB	A-1	85
County of Cabarrus	11-18-69	School & Jail	370,000	9	8.59	5.6674,5.6737-5.7539	Interstate	A	88
City of Wilmington	11-25-69	Sanitary Sewer	1,625,000	2	15.47	5.999 - 6.000	1st Citizens	A-1	82
County of Mecklenburg	12- 2-69	Various Purpose	14,300,000	4	14.98	6.4526,6.4690-6.7055	FNCB	Aa	88
Town of Banner Elk	12- 9-69	Water	57,000	12	21.67	4.1250	EDA	NR	NR
Town of La Grange	1- 6-70	Water, A	150,000	5	10.38	6.9845,7.051-7.9980	1st NB of ENC	NR	68

Visible Bond Issues, February and March, 1970

Forsyth County	2- 3-70	Water	4,000,000
Wayne County	3- 3-70	Refunding	345,000
Gaston County	3-17-70	School	8,000,000

Edwin Gill, Chairman and Director  
H. E. Boyles, Secretary  
E. T. Barnes, Deputy Secretary

1. Weekly Bond Buyer, January 12, 1970
2. United States Government financing, Economic Development Administration

# Tobacco is first with us.

Last year we had about one and a half billion dollars worth of tobacco sales.

We are proud of that fact, and of our tobacco friends who made it possible. Growers. Dealers. Warehousemen. Wholesalers. Vendors. Everyone in the tobacco industry.

With their help, we are first in tobacco sales in the U.S.A.—and we intend to stay that way.

But, like most modern-thinking companies, we're also expanding into other areas: Food. Beverages. Aluminum. Packaging. Corn Refining Products. Containerized Shipping.

And, we need a new name under which all of our companies can cluster. That's why we plan to become R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc. This will be our new corporate logo:



R.J.Reynolds Industries, Inc.

**R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company**

Winston-Salem, North Carolina