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RECREATION IN KNOXVILLE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE POWER STRUCTURE

A Thesis

Presented for the

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Degree

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Edward McSwine

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to look at the Knoxville recreation system versus current recreation theory and practice to ascertain whether modifications to the existing systems are justified. Specifically, the power structure within the Knoxville recreation system was reviewed, and the technique used for analysis was developed by Kenneth J. Gergen. In addition, citizen participation in recreation was assessed to establish if a citizen participation mechanism should be incorporated in any proposed modifications.

The major findings of this study were: First, the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation does not have an official citizen participation mechanism. Second, recreation policy is predominantly influenced by city government officials who are directly involved in recreation. These officials have varied opinions about recreation with regard to the institutional organization and delivery of service as opposed to the noncity government interviewees.

Conclusions drawn from findings taken from the interview schedules indicate: (1) Noncity government interviewees generally agreed that there is a need for a modification of the Knoxville recreation decision-making process. (2) The majority of the influentials as determined by the telephone

survey in recreation in Knoxville, Tennessee are employed with the city government and those with the most leverage, excluding the Mayor, are officials of the Bureau of Recreation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Leisure time has been greatly increased in recent years due to a variety of factors. One reason for the unusual rise in recreation demand is an affluent and expanding society. Other factors have also contributed to leisure pursuits; such as general demands for a shorter work week; the three-day weekend holiday program instituted by the Nixon Administration; the increase in total population; increased mobility; and shift in the nation's rural-urban balance. The American people have an opportunity to visit parks and enjoy other types of recreation on relatively extended bases. They may stay close to home or travel long distances to parks for recreation, fun and relaxation in an attempt to forget the day-to-day stress and strain.

In an effort to meet the leisure time demands of its citizenry, most cities provide public recreation in terms of facilities and programs. Their recreation departments provide, maintain and operate such facilities as playgrounds, recreation centers, parks, athletic fields, tot lots and golf courses. In addition, some cities provide programs in sports such as football, baseball, softball, hockey, soccer

and cultural activites such as crafts, ceramics, bridge and square dancing.

In Knoxville the Bureau of Recreation is the city government agency which has the responsibility for planning and developing leisure activities. In a preliminary analysis of recreation in Knoxville and particularly the Bureau of Recreation, it was concluded that only a few individuals actually determined recreation policy. The problem to be addressed by this study is to determine the relationship between influentials in recreation, citizen participation and recreation policy in Knoxville, Tennessee. Stated another way, it appears that there is no effective mechanism for citizen participation in recreation policy development in Knoxville.

The purpose of this study therefore is to look at the Knoxville recreation system versus current recreation theory and practice to ascertain whether modifications to the existing systems are justified. In addition, an assessment of citizen participation in recreation in Knoxville is undertaken in order to establish if a citizen participation mechanism should be incorporated in any proposed modifications. The modifications are presented as a conceptual model which depicts the institutional interrelationship deemed necessary in establishing an effective recreation policy process.

I. NEED FOR THE STUDY

In connection with an internship during the summer of 1972, the researcher had the opportunity to discuss the concept of citizen participation and other recreation problems with members of various recreation groups. The discussions focused on such issues as the organizational structure of the Bureau of Recreation, recreation commissions and the recreation needs of Knoxville. These discussions created interest in the planning and policy making process of the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation. In a further explanation of the subject, the writer received numerous complaints from various individuals about the Bureau of Recreation and its lack of coordination and communication with community recreation groups.

These individuals in expressing their concern about the problems of their recreation groups stated that:

1. The Bureau of Recreation does not publish any type newsletter or brochure informing the general public of various recreation projects and services which are available.
2. Only a relatively small group of influentials exercise authority over issues associated with recreation in Knoxville.
3. Existing recreation committees and commissions

have little influence on decisions made by the Bureau of Recreation.

4. The Bureau of Recreation is not responsive to the recreation demands of the inner-city residents.
5. The Bureau of Recreation has not established a method by which individuals or groups can voice their opinions concerning recreation problems within individual communities.

Based on the above perceived complaints and the fact that there appeared to be a genuine concern about the role of the various recreation groups, the researcher decided to focus on Recreation in Knoxville. In fact, the study has helped to clarify the role of the Bureau of Recreation and to explain its duties and functions for the researcher.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS

In order that the reader better understand the context of the study, the key terms used in this study are defined as follows.

1. Policy: This term refers to the selection of definite courses of action from among several options based on certain conditions which serves as a guide to present and future decisions.
2. Leverage: This term refers to the possible influence, advantage or power that may be utilized

by an individual or groups to obtain favorable economic, social or political position in their community.

3. Citizen Participation: This expression concerns the active involvement of an individual, lay group or groups in various community programs to insure that their recreation needs will be expressed in all recreation policy formulation.
4. Leisure: This word refers to the nonworking hours after employment which are designed for active, passive, physical or mental participation in outdoor or indoor activities.
5. Recreation: This term refers to the voluntary involvement of individuals in any leisure activity such as ice skating or needlepoint from which they received prompt enjoyment.
6. Planning: Designing a course of action to achieve ends; or systematic collection, organization and processing of information to facilitate decision making; or the anticipation of and a preparation for the future; or formulation of goals and designing means to achieve these goals.[1]

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[1]Seymour M. Gold, "A Concept for Outdoor Recreation Planning Inner City" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1969), p. 22.

7. Influential: This term refers to those individuals who because of their position or personal efficacy are able to get some type of action on behalf of their beliefs or desires.
8. Community: This term refers to a defined geographical area whose inhabitants are bound together by common social, political, economic, or racial ethnic ties that gives them a sense of belonging.

III. METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted by focusing on the concepts of leverage system. The power elite theory and the theory of pluralism are two prevailing schools of thought in relation to the power structure in the concept of leverage systems. The power elite theory holds that a power elite based on economic power or position in the economic sector of the community is a group of select individuals who maintain central control over policy decisions. "Theory of pluralism proposes that power is highly diversed and widely shared."[2] By concentrating on the "system" which is composed of interacting subsystems, the concept of leverage

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[2]Joseph P. Price, "The Place of Public Parks and Recreation in Memphis, Tennessee, As perceived by Members of the Black and White Power Structure" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1972), p. 16.

can be applied to the Knoxville recreation situation. The subsystems at one level might be the organization or institutions such as the Bureau of Recreation; at another level they might be the individuals such as the directors of the Bureau of Recreation.[3] Therefore subsystems vary in their degree and intensity of leverage in the system.

The research approach utilized to study this system is a technique proposed by Kenneth J. Gergen in The Study of Policy Formation. A two-stage process is involved in Gergen's technique. The initial stage required that sixty agencies, groups and individuals who have been associated and involved with recreation in Knoxville for the last ten years be categorized and stratified. From this list, thirty knowledgeable individuals were randomly selected for telephone interviews.

These thirty telephone interviews were conducted with knowledgeable persons about recreation policy in Knoxville. Each of these individuals were asked to indicate the top three influential persons and the top three key policy issues with regard to recreation in Knoxville.

During the initial interviews, the following information was obtained:

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[3]Raymond Bauer and Kenneth J. Gergen, "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation," The Study of Policy Formation (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 182.

1. Information concerning key recreation policy issues.
2. Ratings of persons who are considered influential in recreation in Knoxville.

On the basis of the information collected, the next step was to sharpen the focus of the study on a set of more specifically delineated subissues within the general topic area.

Then based on the information obtained, a complete list was compiled of all individuals said to possess influence in the system. The ratings were based on the number of times a person's name was mentioned. The top eight people whose names given the most were selected for more intensive interviewing.

During these interviews the following information was obtained:

1. Each respondent was questioned as to his age, sex, marital status, education, political affiliation, place of birth, place of employment, occupation and other personal characteristics.
2. Each respondent was also questioned as to their own opinion on the various issues which were identified.

In addition to the survey research, a literature search of relevant material was conducted. The focus of the literature search was to obtain:

1. A theoretical framework in recreation.

2. A theoretical framework in citizen participation and,
3. A theoretical framework in power structure policy formation.

A study of this nature has certain limitations that cannot be avoided. However, these same limitations may cause bias in the findings. The following is a list of these limitations which were encountered in this study.

1. The proliferation of issues associated with recreation.
2. The problems associated with choosing the persons who are influentials.
3. The problems of access to influentials once identified.
4. The degree of cooperation of the influentials which depends on their motivation and interest in this study.
5. The mood and temperament of the researcher during the interview which may affect influentials' ability and willingness to respond.[4]

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

Chapter II depicts general concepts of recreation including a historical review. Also, it reveals the different types of leisure and recreation activity pursued by various cultures from the early Egyptians to modern Americans.

ChapterIII is an overflow of the general concept of citizen participation. It begins with a brief historical

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[4]Price, op. cit., p. 7.

look at the involvement of the American people in their government from its inception to the present. Major theorists are presented in order to give the reader the views of leading proponents and opponents of citizen participation. Actual citizen involvement in recreation follows with a brief historical view, general comments about citizen involvement in recreation, and case studies as examples of what has been done in other cities.

Chapter IV examines the group and elite theories of the power structure as viewed by major theorists in the field. An analysis of the two studies of the power structure in recreation concludes this chapter which gives an account of influentials in recreation policy matters in Indianapolis and Memphis.

Chapter V presents an analysis of recreation in Knoxville, Tennessee. It includes an analysis and rating of the power structure and major issues, and an analysis of interviewees opinions of issues associated with recreation in Knoxville.

The final chapter, Chapter VI, is a catalog of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations for future consideration. More importantly, a conceptual model of citizen involvement in an official capacity in the recreation policy process of the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation is also presented.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF RECREATION

There seems to be something in most individuals that compels them to seek some kind of pleasurable activity. Whether it's playing tennis, golf, cards, chess or checkers, we all seem to pursue different types of excitement. Recreation which is any leisure activity that an individual participated for self satisfaction is the result of such excitement. The various categories of recreation in which individuals from early civilizations until the present have undertaken are presented chronologically in this chapter in order to establish the conceptual framework.

Since the beginning of time man has been involved in some form of recreation. Even prehistoric man, when his needs for food and shelter were met, turned to some form of play to absorb his leisure hours. Cultural, social and economic changes have always influenced the breadth and scope of reaction and will continue to have an effect upon man's quest for a full life.[5] Leisure and recreation are means for improving the quality of living.

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[5]Reynold E. Carlson, Theodore E. Deppe, Janet R. Maclean, Recreation in American Life (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1964), p. 23.

Although we do not know exactly how long human beings have existed on earth, anthropologists have learned that man found time along with his physical struggles to make life more enjoyable. This need for recreation can best be seen by assessing man's needs and desires throughout the major eras in civilization.

As early as records depict man's existence on earth, some form of leisure was evident. The Egyptians indulged in such interests as hunting, spearing, wrestling, and fencing for their relief from the daily struggle of obtaining some of their physical needs. Kite flying provided a dual pleasure in that it was a means of artistic talent as well as a means of using physical energy for both the Chinese and other Asiatic peoples, 4,000 years before the Christian era.[6]

Clay modeling and basket weaving for pleasure and in many cases for practical purposes have existed since primitive races took clay from the riverbeds and reeds from the marshes. Contests of speed and endurance were used by the Persians as recreation and a means to train warriors. The Japanese board game of "Go" existed 2,2000 years before the birth of Christ. Such things as singing, dancing, arts, crafts, sports and games, social activities, story telling,

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[6]Ibid., p. 24.

drama, music and nature activities have given satisfaction throughout the ages, affecting and being affected by the life of the times.[7]

During the prehistoric period in our history the lines between work and play were not sharply drawn, but as conditions changed and fluctuated, various activities changed from simply labor to the pursuit of leisure. Most of the forms of recreation used during this period had both utilitarian and survival value. As permanent communities were established, time for work and time for recreation became more clearly delineated, and leisure classes emerged.

The classical age included the cultures of Sparta, Athens and the Roman Empire. All of these cultures recognized the importance of recreation, but their objectives varied. During the Golden Age of Pericles, in the fifth century B. C., the Athenian democracy was dedicated to the idea that to live was not enough, the goal was to live well. "A sound mind in a sound body" was the harmonious balance expected from leisure.[8] For leisure nontheless a great deal of attention was paid to games in early Greek civilization which also constituted part of the education for the leisure class. The Athenian philosophy integrated

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[7]Ibid., p. 24.

[8]Ibid., p. 24.

art, literature, philosophy, music and sport into a unified concept of leisure. The concept of leisure as an opportunity for cultural development is evident in the Greek word for leisure "schole," from which our English word "school" was derived.

The Spartan civilization and its Roman counterpart viewed play also as a means of education. Although education was for the primary purpose of physically and emotionally conditioning the individual for the exigencies of war. Such a philosophy placed heavy emphasis on physical feats of daring, accuracy and endurance in the pursuit of recreation.

The Athenian child played with objects and played games similar to those found in modern day kindergartens.[9] At seven years old the emphasis changed and the child entered the gymnasium where he studied music, gymnastics, oratory, drama, poetry and politics. The Spartan child at the same period in his life was drilled in contests of speed, endurance and exposure to education comparable to the modern scouting programs for explorers.[10] The Greek child could look forward to participating in the Olympic games, the most celebrated of the Greek festivals. Other Greek festivals

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[9]Ibid., p. 25.

[10]Ibid., p. 25.

included symposiums and contests in singing, riddle solving and drinking. In the sixth century B.C., the Roman child could also look forward to the Panathenaic games. Public games called ludi provided spectator sports for scores of Roman citizenry who gathered to view the ludus troial (a sham fight on horseback), chariot racing, gymnastic contests, gladiatorial combats and military reviews.

Large stadiums and gymnasiums were built in Greece and Rome to house athletic activities. Also open-air amphitheaters were built for music, dance and dramatic festivals. An intellectual academy was built by Plato and called the academus. The Forum or public square were the centers for public debates. It was common to see people like Aristotle or Plato lecturing in the forums.[11] Public baths were often used as the settings for diversion, relaxation and business transactions. During the classical era, the forms of recreation mentioned were either for the elite classes or the physically strongest male child. This philosophy started the beginning of a clear class distinction that was to spread throughout Europe.

The Middle Ages or medieval period is a modern term coined to distinguish the 1,000 years after the fall of the Roman Empire. This was the period that Europe was held

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[11]Ibid., p. 25.

together only by the unifying influence of the Church. It has been said that the leisure activities of the classical period were a major cause of the deterioration of the Roman Empire. The Church subsequently turned its back on these activities in pursuit of political domination. Medieval civilization was characterized by class distinction which influenced choices of leisure activity. In a feudalistic system, people banned together for protection and several social and economic divisions emerged; the serf or peasant who tilled the land; the guildsman who worked at a craft; and clergyman, who administrated both education and religion.[12]

The "good life" was considered to be the life of abstinence; wordly pleasures were not the goals pursued. Life was a preparation for rewards in the life after death.

Leisure and the method used in its pursuit varied by social status. The nobleman when not engaged in warfare for protection of his home amused himself by playing mock battles in jousts and tournaments while his lady embroidered his jacket and played the role of spectator for these events. The male child during this period spent the first 21 years of his life training for the role of protector of his country.[13]

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[12]Ibid., p. 26.

[13]Ibid., p. 27.

The poverty-stricken peasant of this period indulged in activities that related to his daily tasks. Communal dances portrayed his harvesting labors. The craftsmen and guildsmen shared recreation as they shared their work. They avowed allegiance neither to the lords nor the serfs. They participated in fairs to display their works and wrote songs to be sung while performing their labors.[14] The church added to the cultural pursuits by being involved with art, literature, and drama. The drama, however, never condoned the athletic contests and spectator sports of the day.

The Renaissance is the period between the Middle Ages and the modern world. It has often been called the era of the rebirth of culture, the arts and a meaning of life. The old identification with casts diminished, and new social, economic and cultural states were formed. The aristocracy involved in formal balls, the theater and hunting. The rising middle classes mimicked the formal courtly balls in a lesser style. Fairs, exhibitions, banquets, operas and the theater were prevalent and popular at this time. Play activities were looked upon as essential to man's physical health.[15]

However, the demands brought about by existing in a new country gave rise to a different type of attitude toward

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[14]Ibid., p. 27.

[15]Ibid., p. 28.

recreation. Because survival in the circumstances depended upon hard work, the early settlers in both Virginia and New England forced rules against idleness. New England laws prohibited all forms of amusement or misuse of time. The earliest forms of recreational legislation were prohibited rather than permissive in America. Governor Endicott of the Massachusetts Bay Colony decreed that "no person shall operate his time unprofitably."[16] To be idle was to be evil, a concept deeply instilled. The results of such a philosophy was not to eliminate recreation, but to surround it with a sense of guilt.[17]

As increasing migration brought large numbers of non-Puritans to New England, rebellion against restraints began to mount. Also, an increase in economical prosperity and population helped in changing the people's attitudes toward leisure time and recreation. The slavery in the South gave the plantation owners the reputation as the most pleasure-seeking society America had ever known. Activities during the Colonial period consisted of dancing classes, social gaieties, fox hunts and the theater.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, the trans-Appalachian country was still largely unsettled. The

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[16]Ibid., p. 29.

[17]Ibid., p. 29.

westward expansion started with the ordinances of 1785 and 1787, which provided for the development of the Northwest and ended with the accession of the Floridas in 1819 and Texas in 1845 and the Mexican Cession in 1848 and 1853. These purchases and accessions set the present day boundaries of the United States, except for Alaska and Hawaii. This westward movement dominated the thinking of the American people of this period. In spite of the growth of cities along the eastern seaboard and the development of city culture, most Americans still lived on farms or in small communities. Recreation consisted principally of the simple pleasures of rural life such as country dancing, social gatherings, mutual work projects, local fairs, hunting and fishing. The Recreation in the West took on a different character. They indulged in such things as wolf drives, brutal ring hunts, shooting matches, gambling and heavy drinking.[18]

On the eastern seaboard, in the large cities, a new trend was starting to take place, arising out of the social and environmental needs of the people. In the East, they no longer accepted the Puritan's attitude toward recreation. Instead, they replaced these attitudes by moving from rural pleasures to commercial amusements and spectator activities.

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[18]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

The shift from active to passive diversions with an emphasis on minstrel shows, circus, amusement parks and other forms of commercial recreation.[19]

By the end of the nineteenth century, several important events had occurred that changed America's mind about recreation. Some important events that took place to set the pace for a new trend were:

1. In 1826, the first National Museum was developed.
2. In 1853, the first city park or playground was set up in New York City.
3. In 1832, Hot Springs National Park was reserved for the public in Arkansas (It did not become a National Park until the 1900's).
4. The first National Park established by the federal government was Yellowstone Park in 1872.
5. Development of the first public recreation facility system in America. As early as 1821, an outdoor gymnasium was opened by the Salem Latin School.
6. After the Civil War in 1881, school buildings were opened for recreational purposes. Attention was then focused on the school as a major facility in developing physical health.
7. Also during this period, the rise of voluntary agencies that shared in the responsibility for provision of recreation opportunities was seen. Such agencies as the YMCA in 1866, the Boy's Club in 1860 and the development of the YWCA were established.[20]

This started the beginning of a new era and a new movement toward organized recreation.

At the end of the century the nation embarked upon a period that evidenced adverse conditions for recreation.

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[19]Ibid., p. 31.

[20]Ibid., pp. 32-33.

This was a period that very nearly revived the colonial period's intolerance toward any activity that did not produce fruitful labor. However, growth of urban areas, increasing leisure, flourishing commercial recreation ventures of questionable reputation and exploitation of the nation's natural resources characterized the later years of the nineteenth century. At the same time this reversal gave birth to today's emphasis on educating the public with regard to the importance of provisions for recreation services.[21]

Organized recreation as a system was developed in Boston by Dr. Marie Zakresewka. She introduced the concept of playgrounds. Her ideas were the stimulus for the development of sandboxes and gardens in public parks. She got this idea from Berlin where she saw children playing in large sand piles in the public parks. Her project was funded by the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association in 1885. The sand piles were supervised by volunteers until 1887. After that, women were paid for such duties which gave rise to the concept of paid playground directors and supervisors. In other cities this same idea was picked up and implemented. Such cities as Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Pittsburg, Denver, Minneapolis, New York, Chicago,

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[21]Ibid., pp. 33-34.

Providence and Baltimore developed active recreation programs.[22]

George D. Butler in his book, Introduction to Community Recreation, reviewed the stages that marked the Evolution of the Boston experiment as follows:

1. It started as a private project, it was later taken over and operated as a public responsibility.
2. It was financed in the beginning through private philanthropy, support from public funds occurred later.
3. The playgrounds originally were private property but were gradually transferred to public areas.
4. The playgrounds were at first under volunteer leaders, but soon matrons were employed and subsequently kindergarten teachers and other trained workers were utilized.
5. The first centers were merely sandpiles for little children but apparatus and areas for older boys were later provided.[23]

Isolated individual developments in recreation were made throughout the nineteenth century. For example, the establishment of settlement houses, model playgrounds and small parks were some of the first developments. The first settlement house was established in 1886 by the Neighborhood Guild in New York City. Three years later, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Stan established Hull House as a settlement house to serve Chicago's needs. The first model playground was started near Hull House in 1892. In 1888, New York

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[22]Ibid., p. 35.

[23]George D. Butler, Introduction to Community Recreation (3rd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959), p. 73.

passed a law that appropriated one million dollars a year for acquisition of land for parks and playgrounds. In 1889, the Boston Park Department converted ten acres along the Charles River into an outdoor gymnasium known as the Charles bank Outdoor Gym. In 1898, the organization of the New England Association of Park Superintendents, now the American Institute of Park Executives was established, giving evidence of the growing concern for responsible leadership in the movement.[24]

Several events, conditions and feelings created the need for better recreation opportunities according to Carlson. They are as follows.

1. Depletion of natural resources.
2. Effects of the Industrial Revolution.
3. Urbanization.
4. Rise in crime and delinquency.
5. Increase in population.
6. Rise in incidence of mental illness.
7. Unwholesome commercial recreation.
8. Increased mobility of the population.
9. Need for unification of individual efforts in recreation.[25]

These events stimulated the development of an organized group formally known as the Playground Association of America and presently called the National Recreation Association. Their primary purpose as stated in their constitution was:

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[24]Carlson, op. cit., pp. 36-38.

[25]Ibid., p. 40.

> To collect and distribute knowledge of and promote interest in playgrounds and athletic fields throughout the country, to seek to further the establishments of playgrounds and athletic fields in all communities and directed play in connection with schools.[26]

In the second decade of the twentieth century, the disappearance of nineteenth century attitudes toward leisure brought agreement that recreation programs were necessary for all.[27]

In 1910, the Boy Scouts of America were incorporated. That same year the Campfire Girls were started. The next year 1912 brought the development of Girl Scouts of America. The federal government assumed a role in recreation in several ways. In 1912, the Children's Bureau surveyed recreation opportunities for youngsters. In 1914, the Smith Lever Act of Congress called for demonstration and instruction in agriculture and home economics for those not attending college and made possible many recreation opportunities for rural residents. In 1916, the Sixty-Third Congress of the United States formed the Bureau of National Parks, which became the present National Park Service.[28]

Schools were also involved in finding better means of providing recreation programs and facilities. Schools were

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[26]Butler, op. cit., p. 77.

[27]Carlson, op. cit., p. 42.

[28]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

approved by the National Education Association as sites for planned recreation. In 1914, the National Education Association brought about the inclusion of intramural sports programs into the school system. Possibly, the most significant contribution of education professionals was the inclusion of the "worthy use of leisure" as an important objective for education in the National Education Association's Seven Cardinal Principles of 1918.[29]

Before the entrance of the United States in World War I, there had been a heavy emphasis on decentralized neighborhood center activities for recreation. Because of the many physical and psychological strains on individuals and communities by the war, the War Department mobilized recreation resources into the War Camp Community Service.

The decade after the war is known as the predepression years. It was a period of prosperity that brought an upsurge of interest in recreation facilities, both private and public. New parks, community houses, swimming pools, dance halls, beaches, golf courses, picnic areas, skating rinks and bowling alleys were developed around the country. With mass production of cars allowing easier transportation for the masses, the tourist industry began to flourish.[30]

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[29]Ibid., p. 43.

[30]Ibid., p. 44.

Spectator sports increased in popularity and women began to join in sport activities without fear of reproof in the 1920's. New interest in every phase of programming brought publications on sports, art, drama, and music during this period. The awareness of the need for trained recreation leaders led to the establishment of a one year graduate course in 1926, by the National Recreation Association. It was primarily responsible for educating recreation executives until 1935, when institutions of higher learning became aware of the need for special curriculums for recreation professionals and initiated several more programs.[31]

The 1930's were the depression years, and one result of the depression was an increased emphasis on recreation. The modified work week, shortened in order to spread available work among more people, gave people more time for leisure and recreation activities. Commercial recreation programs closed for lack of business, since people no longer had the admission price for bowling, dancing, theater and spectator events, a heavier demand was placed on facilities and programs of voluntary and municipal agencies. However, municipal government was unable to handle these

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[31]Ibid., pp. 46-48.

increases. The resulting increased demand for recreation and decreased supply of opportunities available caused federal agencies to expose these activities to meet increased demand. This gave the recreation movement more impetus than it ever had before.[32]

The New Deal program provided several agencies to further the cause of recreation in a period of increased leisure time; and at the same time it was a way of aiding in the rehabilitation of the country by providing jobs. Such programs used the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps gave people jobs and were responsible for the construction and improvement of centers, parks, picnic areas, roads, trails, and similar facilities. The Work Progress Administration and the National Youth Administration hired recreation leaders and conducted institutes for volunteers and recreation workers. The depression years changed the fads of the twenties to less costly leisure pastimes.[33]

The forties era brought with it even a bigger problem. America had just barely survived the depression when she was thrust into another War with the attack on Pearl Harbor.

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[32]Ibid., p. 48.

[33]Ibid., pp. 48-49.

Some of the institutions that developed because of World War II was the establishment of the United States Organizations. Other existing nonprofit agencies became more stabilized and important to the welfare of the families of World War II veterans. In 1939, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was formed. Lack of gasoline for travel necessitated a return to neighborhood activities.[34]

The war years initiated many community programs. It created an environment in which progress in the development of programs could be made by people who had seen the need for such efforts. The change from the attitudes in the 19th century concerning recreation is illustrated by the change of war memorials. Instead of the traditional form of monuments in memory of the dead, World War II heroes received community recognition by naming newly developed swimming pools, civic centers, parks, picnic areas and playgrounds in their honor.[35]

During the second half of the twentieth century, the needs had changed considerably. People had more leisure time on their hands due to an earlier retirement age. Also, more emphasis was being placed on physical fitness. The juvenile delinquency problem was also rising. Professionals

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[34]Ibid., p. 49.

[35]Ibid., pp. 49-52.

became concerned with the needs of the old as well as the young. This was a period in recreation where a lot of legislation was passed at the federal, state, and local level with emphasis on physical health and rehabilitation.[36]

The organized movement in recreation began in 1906, since that time several transitions have occurred which have contributed to present concepts of recreation. During the Puritan era, recreation was seen as the work of the devil or sinful. Evolving from this philosophy in America was the concept of admissible recreation; however, one had to be in the work-play circle in order to obtain the privilege for such relaxation. As the concept of admissible recreation evolved and job monotony set in because of specialization, the concept of recreation as a legitimate activity was enhanced and increased leisure time became a reality in America. At first philanthropic organizations and individuals provided for recreation opportunities. Recreation, however, soon evolved as a governmental function.[37]

The concept of a recreation program changed dramatically with a new attitude toward leisure. Several key developments in this evaluation are noted as follows.

1. Recreation evolved from the young, to all ages and both sexes, including all levels of physical and mental activity;

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[36]Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[37]Ibid., pp. 57-59.

2. From outdoor summer programs, to year-round outdoor and indoor programs;
3. From playlots with no equipment, to equipment and creative facilities based on numerical and other standards;
4. From facilities to meet the needs of the urban industrial families, to rural, "megalopolis", and now inner city families;
5. From physical activity (games and sports), to esthetic and cultural activities;
6. From the absence of leadership to the leaders who prepared equipment and prevented accidents and fights, to leaders who are professionally trained in most phases of recreation programming.[38]

Most cities today over 100,000 population have combined the functions of the park and recreation departments. They are in most cases consolidated under one agency which is in many cases responsible to a board or commission. Today, recreation departments are for the most part equal to other departments of municipal government.

Reynold E. Carlson, Theodore R. Deppe, and Janet R. MacLean in Recreation and American Life suggest that the growth of evaluation and research in recreation is one of the principal developments in recreation. They assert that:

> Possibly one of the most significant developments in the growth of the recreation movement is the increased attention given to exploration of information that will augment the knowledge of leisure needs, the best way to meet them, and recreation's contribution to the participant. From a condition of basing programs on a casual survey of opinions

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[38]Ibid., p. 58.

> or the recreation director's guess, communities have come to realize the value of critical evaluation of present recreation outlets and of exploration of those factors that will influence and guide future planning. . . We have passed many milestones, but, in the road ahead, the American public must assume further responsibilities of the recreation needs of the emancipated citizen are to be met.[39]

After looking at recreation from the beginning until the present, it can be said that recreation or leisure is a need that is innately met by man. Cultural and environmental influences have placed a large part in the pursuit and development of recreation. No matter how hard the struggle or demands for survival may be, man has always found ways and time to indulge in some form of leisure activity.

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[39]Ibid., p. 59.

CHAPTER III

THE CONCEPT OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Participation has been an established objective of our government from its inception, although participation in government was limited in the past. A government for the people and by the people was emphasized even prior to the Revolution War. It has been said that current thinking regarding citizen participation on the other hand is a relatively new concept of participation in government. Today citizen participation in local decision making is limited by race, economic status and sex. However, historically there was little debate over the general principle that final governmental authority was to rest with the people. Accordingly, with the rise of Jacksonian democracy, this initial emphasis on the role of the citizen was greatly enhanced. Such renewed emphasis on decentralized decision making which opened up participation to any individual without regard to status or education enhanced the democratic nature of government in the United States.[40]

Other institutional changes such as the expansion of suffrage rights to those without property, immigrants, blacks,

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[40]John H. Strange, "The Impact of Citizen Participation on Public Administration," Public Administration Review, XXIX (July/August, 1972), p. 457.

women, poor, illiterate, and recently eighteen year olds have led to a much broader role for citizens in political decision making. Moreover, major developments in our political system have substantially increased citizen participation in government. Labor unions, trade and farm associations, civil rights organizations, and neighborhood groups are the major citizen interest groups that have been used as vehicles for widening the role of citizens. In addition, other developments in our political history such as recall and referendum, open primaries, and long ballots have been advocated as techniques of enhancing the concept of citizen participation, although in practice these methods have not entirely succeeded in this objective.[41]

The present concern with citizen participation began in 1945 with the passage of the first urban renewal legislation. Local citizens were required to participate and advise local officials regarding the community renewal process. Citizen participation then became an important political issue. After the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964, which called for, in the administration of the Community Action Program, "maximum feasible participation" of the poor. This phrase became one of the most controversial ideas in the last century although it was adopted with little

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[41]Ibid., pp. 457-460.

debate and virtually no discussion. The concept of citizen participation rose to prominence in 1964 and 1965 when the legislative drafters of the Model Cities Program were compelled to pay obeisance to the tenant of participation. By calling for the "widespread participation" of the business and organizational elements in the community rather than the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor, the drafters of the model cities legislation tried to limit its emphasis on participation by the black and the poor. In contrast to this, the black, the poor, and their leaders and spokesmen have extended their demands to community control of various governmental institutions such as law enforcement and school systems.[42]

I. MAJOR THEORIES

The previous pieces of domestic legislation have created more controversy than any other comparable pieces of legislation in recent years. In fact, perhaps no other legislative mandates espousing the theme of citizen participation have so persistently dominated debate concerning American government.[43]

Despite the increased attention given to citizen participation by the federal government through various

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[42]Ibid., pp. 457-458.

[43]Ibid., pp. 458-460.

poverty programs, the existing theoretical work in the field is quite limited. There is very little theoretical literature with regard to citizen participation. Small pieces can be elicited from the works of such renowned social scientists as Jewn and Edgar Cahn, Martin Rein, Edward Banfield, Harvey Perloff, James Wilson, Peter Rossi, William Kornhauser, Robert Dahl, Milton Kotler, Robert Crain and Floyd Hunter.[44]

Robert Dahl and Floyd Hunter were among the first to theorize about citizen participation. Their differing approaches to the power structure set the frame for their appraisals of citizen participation. Dahl, in Who Governs, sees greater potential for involvement in the pluralistic system of New Haven. Likewise, Hunter in Community Power Structure points out that until the closed power system is opened to shared citizen participation cannot become a reality in Atlanta. In "The Inner City and a New Politics," Harvey Perloff and Royce Hansen assert that "participation without power is a cynical ritual." In other words, Perloff and Hansen agree with this contention of Dahl and Hunter when they urge the reform of inner-city politics by widening the process of participatory democracy.[45]

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[44]Hans B.C. Spiegel, Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Concepts and Issues (Washington, D.C.: NTC Institute for Applied Behavorial Science, 1968), I, pp. 1-4.

[45]Ibid., p. 5.

Jean and Edgar Cahn, Martin Rein and Peter Marris, and Milton Kotler are among the leading advocates of citizen participation. For the proponents, the value of citizen participation is in its ability to satisfy a variety of social and political objectives. According to the Cahns, with regard to the choices necessary in any kind of "capital formation and investment," it is citizens participating in the original decisions to allocate community resources and frame institutions that is critical. In an analysis entitled, Citizen Participation, they reassert the importance of participatory action as an essential component of the faith we profess in the worth and dignity of the individual, as a source of insight, as a mobilizer of the resources and energies of the poor, as knowledge, and finally as the only guarantee that people are willing to abide by the terms of America's social contract.[46]

The other advocates of citizen participation deal with the broader realms of citizens defending their rights and participating to organize their interests in order to restore their self-confidence through a redistribution of power. These advocates view citizen participation as a twin force, capable of accommodating and involving low

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[46]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

income residents with regard to the demands of urban society, while simultaneously holding out the possibility of forcing institutions to better adapt to their needs. First Dave Kotler sees citizens participating in the performance and the shared exercise of authority in certain municipal functions within a territorial structure based on local self-rule and neighborhood power. He advocates citizen participation as a countervailing power on even a larger scale and carries the implications of it to their logical extreme community control which is on the affirmative pole of the continuum.[47]

There are in addition theorists who have stressed the negative and problematic features of citizen participation. Edward Banfield, James Wilson, Frances Piven, William Kornhauser, Roberta Sigel, Robert Crain, Donald Rosenthal, and Robert Seaver are among the most outspoken.

In City Politics, James Wilson and Edward Banfield draw sharp distinctions betwen a "public regarding" political ethics which is the domain of high status, middle class community oriented elements and a "private regarding" ethos which represents the need-satisfying preferences of the lower class. Wilson, in a separate article entitled "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal" stresses the low efficacy of the poor in organizational situations.

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[47]Ibid., p. 6.

Frances Piven whose article, "Residents Participation in Community Action Programs: An Overview" extends her attack on the aspirations of the low-income community. She asserts that the lower class interpretations of the country reinforce an inability to deal with societal circumstances, thus, political inefficacy results, which hinders participation and intensifies a sense of community powerlessness.[48]

The weaknesses of citizen participation are also discussed by William Kornahuser and Roberta Sigel. In "Power and Participation in the Local Community," Kornhauser suggests that poor people have fewer attachments to their community, therefore, fewer organizational ties and finally less motivation to support the rules according to which community affairs are basically conducted. In "Citizen Committees—Advice vs. Consent," Roberta Sigel feels that it is naive to suggest that "inarticulate masses" can develop urban renewal plans or other comparable planning endeavors. She further asserts that while the lower-class can be organized for action and implementation, their part is in the process of translating goals into programmatic action.[49]

Robert Crain and Donald Rosenthal in an article titled, "Community Status and A Dimension of Local Decision-Making,"

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[48]Ibid., pp. 6-8.

[49]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

discuss the emphasis of citizen participation and its relationship to community stability.

> The authors hypothesize that there is a direct correlation between socio-economic satus and the level of day-to-day citizen participation in community decision making. But, then they go on to suggest that the main effect of increasing citizen power vis-a-vis municipal authority is to promote high levels of controversy, partially immobilize political processes, and contribute to instability in government. Thus, a paradox emerges, namely that middle class, high status cities where conditions would seem more likely to engender community instability.[50]

In a summarization of the disadvantages of citizens' participation, Robert C. Seaver in his article, "The Dilemma of Citizen Participation," explains the problem as follows.

> The dilemma goes this way: Experience shows that failure to get across to the people the rationale of a given proposal may evoke opposition based more on emotion than on the merits of the case, and therefore, far more virulent. Yet, in some cases, efforts to bring the community into the process early enough to create understanding has seemed to do more to forearm the opposition than to win support. So arises the argument that the best citizen participation is the least citizen participation.[51]

On the other hand, there is a view that although citizen participation as both a formal structure and an organizational situation is a different task, active participation

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[50] Ibid., p. 8-9.

[51] Robert C. Seaver, "The Dilemma of Citizen Participation," in Citizen Participation in Urban Development. Concepts and Issues, ed. by Hans B.C. Spiegel (Washington, D.C.: NTC Institute for Applied Behavorial Science), I, pp. 61-74.

is the only way the people can be guaranteed meaningful representation in the affairs of their government. Contemporary theorists have identified serious problems associated with citizen participation; however, they must not be viewed as insurmountable. As Althshuler stated in Community Control, "active participation increases feedback, compels a recognition of diversity and encourages learning which are essential characteristics in our modern changing and complex society."[52]

II. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN RECREATION

Citizen participation in recreation has been a part of local government processes as far back as 1895. In that year, the first recreation commission was organized in Hartford, Connecticut, which continued to operate for the next 55 years. The commission has been discontinued now and in keeping with modern administration practice, it has become a part of the park department in the city government.[53]

Since the establishment of the first commission in 1895, recreation commissions or boards have increased in number

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[52]Alan A. Althshuler, Community Control (New York: Western Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), p. 48.

[53]Community Action Guide for Public Officials, Outdoor Recreation (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Counties Research Division, 1969), III, p. 9.

throughout the country. Traditionally, most of these recreation commissions were created by legislative bodies or by city charters along with city park and recreation departments. Usually, the chief executive of the city appoints the members of the commission although the number of commissioners in each city and their term in office may vary. The organizational setup of each citizen group also varies from city to city. The composition of these commissioners usually includes community leaders such as representatives from the school board, industry, church, business; as well as the poor, and other civic mined individuals. The commission or board is dependent on the individual city charter or ordinance to define its role as advisory or policy making.

The mechanism for citizen participation in Knoxville is through its recreation commissions, interest groups, and organized clubs. In the case of recreation commissions they were organized in the early sixties in Knox County prior to annexation. The people of Knox County initiated these commissions to provide recreation programs and facilities for their children. Most of the commissions are now located within the city limits since 1960 due to annexation. These commissions are strictly voluntary, and they are generally incorporated nonprofit organizations. They are composed of from 10-25 members each, and they elect their own presidents and other officers who serve for one year terms. The existing

commissions function as ground keepers and concession operators. They must submit for approval an annual budget, to the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation, which deals with both revenue and expenditures for their various programs. The commissioners do not receive any compensation for their labor. However, the Bureau of Recreation does provide the commissions for funds for innovative recreation programs.[54]

Since most of the commissions are now operating within city limits as a result of annexation, the Bureau of Recreation has absorbed commissions by default rather than creating them for a purpose. Therefore, this type of citizen participation mechanism can be at times dysfunctional because it is based on circumstances rather than a tradition or theoretical approach to recreation administration and organization. In addition, based on interviews conducted, a feeling exists in some communities that the recreation commissions have very little influence on decisions made by the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation.

There are, however, inherent difficulties in the formation of effective citizen involvement in recreation operations in most communities. Robert M. Artz in "Citizen Leadership" lists several of the problems as follows:

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[54]Personal interview, Mr. Gene Hill, Sports Supervisor, Knoxville, Tennessee, August, 1973.

1. The lack of broad community participation in the programming and planning of community recreation services.
2. The lack of coordinated effort from each segment of the community.
3. The absence of a genuine public education and information program.
4. The absence of a clear definition of functions.[55]

In an article entitled "Community Involvement," Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr. highlights the importance of effective citizen participation as follows.

> Citizen demands for functional involvement have met with opposition from the policy and decision makers who have preferred to substitute token participation to further their individual political or economic interests. . . . this substitution has resulted in a conflict in the values and desired status of the lay community and the professional establishment. . . . This conflict has blocked most attempts to establish constructive community involvement in the programming and decision making processes that affect the kinds, quality and distribution of community recreation services.[56]

Geoffrey Godbey takes still another view of the involvement of citizens in community recreation. In his study of citizen participation in recreation advisory councils in Philadelphia entitled "Recreation Advisory Councils and the Poor," Godbey found that participation in recreation varies in geographic areas of low socioeconomic status (Model Cities) when compared with councils in

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[55]Robert Artz, "Citizen Leadership," Parks and Recreation, VI (January, 1971), p. 109.

[56]Charles M. Pendleton, Jr., "Community Involvement," Parks and Recreation, V (October, 1970), p. 21.

geographic areas of higher socioeconomic status (outside Model Cities). Likewise, recreation advisory councils in areas of low socioeconomic status tend toward extremes in their participation when compared with councils in areas of higher socioeconomic status.[57]

Robert E. Sternloff in "Recreation and Park Boards" asserted that lay recreation boards totally lack an awareness of their proper responsibilities, duties, and functions. However, he does not offer empirical evidence to substantiate his opinion. Furthermore, he states the reason for this is that they spend too much time "riding the merry-go-round of administrative chores." Sternloff feels that very little has been done to adequately train or prepare newly elected lay board members.[58]

As states earlier, there are disadvantages of lay recreation boards, councils or commissions; however, there are strong reasons for citizen involvement. Robert M. Artz in his article titled "Citizen Leadership" summarized them this way.

1. By its very nature recreation in a personal matter.

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[57]Geoffrey Godbey, "Recreation Advisory Councils and the Poor," Parks and Recreation, VII (November, 1972), pp. 28-29.

[58]Robert E. Sternloff, "Recreation and Park Boards," Parks and Recreation, III (September, 1968), pp. 52-54.

2. Recreation services are people-to-people services and particularly needs the support of citizens whom they serve.
3. They move the electorate to expand and improve services, programs, and facilities in the community.
4. Lay people serve as the heartbeat of the community for recreation professionals.
5. They are their buffer—their boss—their partner —their sounding board.
6. With participation comes appreciation, understanding, and most of all effective leadership.[59]

III. CASE STUDIES AND LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT

In an effort to dramatize citizen participation in recreation, three case studies are presented and reviewed. These studies depict the legislative context, functions, and diversity of modern recreation departments and recreation boards. The first is a case study of King County, Washington, one of the leading states in recreation advancement.

> King County, Washington, is authorized to establish a park and recreation department by state law (Chapter 94, Laws of 1949, RCW 36.68.00). In addition to the usual provisions enabling the county to acquire, develop, and maintain parks, operate recreation programs, and establish a park and recreation board, the statute contains a provision which is less common. It pertains to membership on the park and recreation board.
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> Under Section III of the state law and relating to parks and recreation the county superintendent of schools is one of the seven members of the parks and recreation board. Other members are appointed by the county commissioners for six year terms and serve without compensation. The superintendent's

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[59] Godbey, op. cit., p. 109.

> position on the board, plus the proximity of his office to that of the park and recreation department, facilitates cooperation between these two agencies. They both work closely with a third agency, the county planning commission.
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> For county residents this cooperation means more efficient use of land and tax dollars and better coordination of recreation programs. Recreation activities conducted in neighborhood schools are within convenient travelling distance for participants.
>
> When construction of a new school is proposed, the director of parks and recreation is notified and works with the planning commission and school board in selecting the location of the future building and park. Land on which the school is to be built is purchased by the school district; adjacent parkland is purchased by the county.
>
> A contract signed by representatives of both agencies gives the park and recreation department authority to use classrooms and certain athletic and recreation facilities after school hours. A member of the park and recreation staff supervises the activity. The school district is reimbursed for the cost of the custodian and utilities. In return, students play in adjacent parks during recess.
>
> Use of schools eliminates to some extent the need for recreation centers. Some centers are built in relatively sparsely populated areas of the county, but in highly developed subdivisions, schools serve a dual role.[60]

Thus, the legal apparatus which created the park and recreation board gives impetus to the coordination between recreation and school departments. Since these two agencies work closely with the county planning commission, it would appear that the average citizen's recreation interests in

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[60] Community Action Guide for Public Officials, Outdoor Recreation, II, op. cit., p. 13.

King County, Washington are being protected. Although this mechanism for citizen participation is quite limited, the built-in school board representation seems to provide a more efficient use of recreation facilities which is in the interest of all King Countians.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is the second case study to be presented.

> In Philadelphia, the Department of Recreation has encouraged the development of an organized advisory system which fosters a great deal of support and participation by its population.
>
> By the end of 1966, about 75 local (neighborhood) advisory councils connected with recreation facilities had been formed. They, in turn, are organized into district councils corresponding to the department's recreation districts. In 1961, the Philadelphia Recreation Council, composed of two representatives from each district council, was organized. Its purpose is to coordinate the efforts of district and local recreation councils; to help organize new local advisory councils; to further friendly relations between the Department of Recreation and the city's schools, churches, and organizations, and to stimulate adult interest in adequate recreation leadership and facilities.
>
> The Philadelphia Recreation Department's close contact with the council members also enables it to determine the needs and desires of residents in each area of the city. Since the councils are consulted during the planning stages of new facilities and programs, they become staunch supporters of new ideas.[61]

The great number of recreation advisory councils tends to indicate that a large majority of Philadelphians are

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[61] Community Action Guide for Public Officials, Outdoor Recreation, X, op. cit., p. 15.

concerned and involved in their city's recreation program. There is a question on the other hand as to the actual authority of the councils; however, the great number of council participants should give rise to extensive input.

The final case study is the Baltimore County, Maryland Recreation Department.

> Because Baltimore County has no incorporated municipalities within its boundaries and thus is the only local government serving its residents, the county recreation department is reponsible for providing those facilities closest to the people including neighborhood and inter-neighborhood parks and programs. Although area wide special facilities are furnished also, primary emphasis is on parks within walking distance of county residents.
>
> Citizen groups have been involved actively in public recreation in Baltimore County since the 1940's when the first public recreation agency was established. By 1948 the initial agency had evolved into a Board of Recreation consisting of seven to nine members appointed by the county commissioners. (In 1958 a consolidated Recreation and Park Board was established).
>
> Together the director and board members met with citizens throughout the county to ascertain the nature and extent of interest in recreation. Interest was so intensive and widespread that nine recreation councils consisting entirely of volunteers were formed in various communities. Their functions were to advise the director and board of local needs and finance operation and maintenance of programs and facilities.
>
> Volunteers serving on the councils represent public and private schools, PTA's service groups, churches, and other civic groups. They are assisted and advised by six area superintendents who are qualified and professionals employed by the recreation department.

> Recreation councils serve as a vehicle by which the department learns of local needs in addition to providing an outlet for citizen participation.[62]

There are several attributes of citizen involvement in Baltimore County which make them relatively unique; (1) the employment of qualified professionals to assist the recreation councils; (2) the initial participation of the councils when the Department of Recreation was established; and (3) the creation of the climate and the eventual policy by the department to make citizen participation an essential element of the county's recreation program.

This review of citizen participation consisted of a brief historical analysis, theorists in the field of citizen participation, the background of citizen participation in recreation, and three case studies in recreation organization. This chapter has lead the researcher to the conclusion that there are many facets of citizen participation and there are great differences of opinions as to who will and should participate and in what fashion. However, active citizen participation it appears is essential to our democratic way of life. Whether it's "maximum feasible participation," limited involvement such as occured in Model Cities Program or advisory capacity, whether they appointed

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[62]Ibid., p. 14.

or elected boards or commissions, citizen participation is an established institution in local government.[63]

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[63]Spiegel, op. cit., II, pp. 2-10.

CHAPTER IV

POWER STRUCTURE CONCEPTS OF LEVERAGE SYSTEM

Group and Elite theories are the two most recognized concepts associated with the power structure analysis of leverage systems. Both concepts emerged after the turn of the century and have endured to the present. They have received a great many critiques by leading political and social theories. However, it may be noted that each theory has had a significant impact on the general concept of power structures. In fact, each theory is still being utilized as a method in policy research.

I. GROUP THEORY

One of the major theories of power structures is group theory. After his book, The Process of Government which first appeared in 1908, Alfred Bentley was considered the leading proponent of the group theory.[64] Robert Dahl provided an empirical test to this theory in his study of the power structure in New Haven, Connecticut. In this study, he concluded that different groups did influence decisions

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[64]Peter H. Odegard, "A Group Basis of Politics: A New Name For An Ancient Myth," The Western Political Quarterly, XI (September, 1958), p. 690.

made in three different policy areas.[65] Group theory in terms of the participants in a policy making process is based on the premise that power is highly varied and widely shared.

In Odegard's analysis of Bentley's group theory, he stated that

> The raw materials for the study of politics are acts not legislative acts alone, but action itself, activity. Government and politics invariably involve "the shunting of some men of other men's conduct along changed lines, the gathering of forces to overcome resistance to such alterations, or the dispersal of one grouping of forces by another grouping." This action, this shunting of men's conduct is always and invariably a group process. "The raw material we study," Bentley says, "is never found in one man himself, it cannot even be stated by adding men to men. It must be taken as it comes in many men together." Thus, groups of people pushing other groups and being pushed by them in turn—this is the process of government—this is the raw material of politics.[66]

Accordingly, as groups of people continue to push other groups, they tend to establish or enforce norms of group behavior. This pushing, in Latham's view, is the way groups participate in the political process. He states five ways by which this occurs:

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[65]Robert L. Dahl, Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 1-355.

[66]Odegard, op. cit., pp. 690-692.

1. The enactment of legislation.
2. The protection of civil liberties.
3. The process of public administration.
4. The conduct of party activity.
5. The formulation and execution of public policy.[67]

In Rothman's concept, there are three basic propositions in group theory. First, the political process can be considered as groups fighting for influence over their share of resources since society is composed of a plurality of interacting groups. Second, one's attitude is the principal source of group interaction. Third, since potential groups determine the code of conduct which different kinds of groups observe, and since any violation of these rules will cause an opposite recreation by a spirited new group, interaction tends toward equilibrium.[68]

The previous discussions summarize some of the views of major group theorists. These theorists view the group as the principal element in the policy-making process. However, this political theory has been criticized because of its efforts to eliminate the individual in the political process. These criticisms set the stage for the opposing theory of policy formation—the Elite Theory.

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[67]Earl Latham, "The Group Basis of Politics: Notes for a Theory," American Political Science Review, XLVI (1952), p. 381.

[68]S. Rothman, "Systematic Political Theory," American Political Science Review, LIV (March, 1960), pp. 18-20.

II. ELITE THEORY

The second major theory of community power structure is the elite theory. Basically, this theory asserts that only a few individuals influence policy. This influence is based on their socioeconomic status. C. Wright Mills and Floyd Hunter are the two men who originally espoused this sociological theory of power. Arnold Rose in The Power Structure: Political Process in American Society, states the importance of Mills and Hunter as follows:

> The influence of C. Wright Mills and Floyd Hunter, both on the general public and on academic researchers, has been startling, considering the usual reception given to sociological writings. Their concepts of the "power elite" and the "power structure" apparently drew a gut reaction, and a great number of their readers—from widely varied segments of the population—were prepared to believe their general theme that a relatively small economic elite controls the United States. The theme was not a new one, but Mills gave it an especially sophisticated formulation, Hunter backed it up with statistics, and both gave it an aura of sociological science. Although Hunter published his Community Power Structure in 1953, and Mills published The Power Elite in 1956, the influence of these works is as strong today as it was a decade ago.[69]

The basic thrust of the elite theory is the individual; his personality structure and background, his social role, and his strategies of behavior. Therefore, the value of the

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[69] A. M. Rose, The Power Structure: Political Process in American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 13.

average citizen and his participation in the policy formation process is deemphasized. In addition, because of the different socioeconomic position he tends to associate with individuals of similar status and thereby directing a well defined group. It is said that when key issues arise elitist preferences usually prevail. This hypothesis is regarded as the major shortcoming of the elite theory by such theorists as J. L. Walker and Robert Dahl.[70]

Although both the group and elite theories of the community power structure have come under criticism in recent years, they have been and continue to be used as the primary theories for empirical research. Two such studies have been done in recreation: one by Dennis Vinton and the other by Joseph Price.

III. A REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES IN RECREATION

There have been two studies conducted in the area of public parks and recreation with regard to power structure theories. Both studies were done by doctoral candidates at Indiana University. One study titled "The Relationship Between the Power Structure and Parks and Recreation in a Large Urban Community," was completed in 1969 by Dennis

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[70] J. L. Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy," Political Science Review, IX (June, 1969, pp. 285-289.

Allan Vinton. The other work, titled "The Place of Public Parks and Recreation in Memphis, Tennessee as Perceived by Members of the Black and the White Power Structures" was concluded in 1972 by Joseph Paul Price.

The relationship between the substantive area of public parks and recreation and the power structure in Indianapolis, Indiana was the problem Vinton addressed in his work. Basically, he used two techniques of power structure analysis to conduct his study of community power. These techniques are termed the positional technique and the reputational technique. The first technique assumes that one's position inherently gives a certain amount of influence in a community. The second technique assumes that one is perceived to have influence in a community because of his popularity or fame.[71]

In order to identify leaders based on their positions in society, four predetermined categories were selected: social, economic, governmental and nongovernmental. At the same time, key informants who were knowledgeable persons (chosen from nine institutional sectors of the community, parks and recreation, labor, mass communication, management, community organizations, welfare, government, religion,

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[71]Patricia Colling, Dissertation Abstract International, Education, Religion, XXXI; 1970, Section A, p. 245-A.

and education) were used to identify leaders according to their reputations.[72]

Most of the data was collected during personal interviews with 24 community influentials, 18 key informants, two juries of park and recreation and community authorities, and other knowledgeable persons within the community. Based on these interviews Vinton identified 34 individuals who were said to embody the power structure, and he developed and administered a survey instrument to these influentials. The interview guide was divided into sex sections: (1) ten questions in regard to the 34 members of the power structure; (2) seven attitude items; (3) six fill-in questions; (4) a checklist of issues related to parks and recreation; (5) a checklist of various community issues; and (6) two open-ended questions which pertain to the extent, type, and nature of the influentials in recreation.[73]

After collecting, organizing, and analyzing all his data, Vinton determined that businessmen in positions such as chairmen of boards and presidents of leading community firms made up more than three-fourths of the 34 influentials comprising the power structure. All of the members of the

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[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid.

power structure were caucasian except one, all were males; and when combined, the average age was over sixty-two.[74]

In evaluating the substantive issues of public parks and recreation, these influentials ranked the need for a comprehensive plan to direct future recreation development, the hiring of qualified professionals in the Park Department, and the "school community" concept of joint planning of school and recreational facilities as the most important issues. Also, in evaluating the ten issues of general community interest in terms of their relative importance, influentials ranked the provision of facilities, recreation areas, and services fifth in importance. Vinton concluded that the general relationship between influentials and public parks and recreation was based on a minimum amount of awareness, involvement and participation.

The following three conclusions and two recommendations were results of Vinton's study.

1. Influentials lack a general knowledge of existing recreation programs and needs.
2. Influentials are aware of the need to provide recreation services but lack a basic knowledge of philosophies, goals, and functions of such programs.
3. The power structure in Indianapolis, Indiana is economically bases and monolithic.
4. A program to inform the general public and especially the power structure concerning the problems, needs, and objectives of recreation programs and plans should be initiated by the

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[74]Ibid.

officials of the Metropolitan Park and Recreation Department.

5. In an effort to determine how influentials and their resources can best be utilized in the public park and recreation sector, additional power structure studies should be conducted.[75]

The other work in recreation which involved a community power structure technique is Joseph Price's study of the place of public parks and recreation in Memphis, Tennessee. Unlike Vinton, Price investigated both black and white influentials' perception of public parks and recreation in an effort to determine if race is a principal factor in accounting for differences in opinions.

Price utilized two additional research techniques namely, economic dominant technique and past positional technique, as well as the two previously mentioned techniques used by Vinton, to identify members of the black and white power structures. The dominant technique is based on the assumption that one's status in the economic sector automatically gives him influence on major issues affecting the community. Similarly, the past positional technique holds that because of one's previous office or position held, a person exercises some degree of power on major issues which affect any community.[76]

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[75]Ibid.

[76]Patricia Colling, Editor, Dissertation Abstracts International, Humanities and Social Science, XXXIII; 1972, Section A, p. 2187-A.

Four lists of individuals and their ranks were compiled by the use of those four power structure analysis techniques. From these lists, the top twenty black and white influentials were compiled in a master list. Price, like Vinton, used a similar survey instrument to collect his data from the influentials. These respondents were interviewed with regard to three basic policy issue areas. One issue was the importance of the provision of recreation in relationship to eleven specific problems; another issue was to determine the knowledge and attitudes of influentials toward parks and recreation; and the last issue was to determine the individuals' opinions of problems associated with public parks and recreation and their involvement in the solution to these problems. Finally, in order to determine whether black and white influentials perceive recreation differently, the Chi Square Test of Independence was utilized.[77]

Based on the data and his analysis, Price drew three conclusions and offered two recommendations.

1. Black members of the power structure seem to place a greater emphasis on public parks and recreation than do white power structure members.
2. Before the Memphis Park Commission Services can become more receptive to the specialized needs of certain elements of the Memphis community, black influentials feel that standard recreational programming should be altered.

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[77] Ibid.

3. Price, similar to Vinton, concluded that members of the power structure are not supporting the broad goals, functions, and philosophy of recreation programs.
4. Like Vinton, Price recommended that a more in-depth study of the Memphis power structure should be conducted to ascertain whether their influence can be beneficial to the Commission in the planning and developing of recreation resources.
5. In an effort to take advantage of the influence of the power structure, one black and one white influential should be permanently seated on the Memphis Park Commission.[78]

As stated earlier, this chapter examined the group and elite theories of the power structure as viewed by major theorists in the field. The concensus among the group theorists is that community power is shared by different groups. On the other hand, the concensus among the elite theorists is that a small economic elite controls community power. Also, an analysis of two studies of the power structure in recreation was presented in an effort to depict an account of influentials in recreation policy matters in Indianapolis and Memphis.

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[78] Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE KNOXVILLE RECREATION SITUATION

I. THE BUREAU OF RECREATION

In Knoxville the Bureau of Recreation is the city agency which has the responsibility for providing the general public with leisure activities. The Bureau was established in 1923 pursuant to the legal authority of the City Charter describing the duties and responsibilities of the Director of Welfare. In all concerns, the Director of Welfare, subject to the control and supervision of the City Manager (now Mayor and Council), shall:

> Manage and control the operation of all hospitals, charitable, correctional and reformatory institutions and agencies belonging to the city; the use of all recreational facilities of the city, including parks, playgrounds, and community centers, he shall have charge of the inspection and supervision of all public amusements and entertainments.[79]

In the late 1800's the city of Knoxville developed its first recreation program. Circle Park and Emory Park constituted the only park facilities until 1909 when Thompson Park and Chavannes Park were given to the city.

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[79]City Charter, Section 38, Knoxville, Tennessee, pp. 76-77.

Fifty thousand dollars in bonds were issued for the acquisition of two additional parcels of park land in 1916 and again in 1921.[80]

The Knoxville Community Service Council was organized in 1921, and through its efforts several playgrounds were equipped and supervised. In the latter part of 1923 the city took over all park and playground functions. The first tract of Sterchi Park (Chilhowee Park) was acquired in 1930, and during the same year four parcels of land were deeded to the city for the purpose of developing additional playgrounds. The city recreation program which was started in 1923 was discontinued during the depression of the thirties; however, it was reactivated in 1936-37 when the Work Progress Administration and the National Youth Association aided in constructing facilities and developing recreation programs in Knoxville.[81]

The Knoxville Bureau of Recreation was instituted in 1940 with a budget of $7,500. The budget for recreation has increased substantially since that time. For instance, in 1941 the budget was approximately $17,000; in 1959,[82] it was

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[80]Knoxville and Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission, Recreation Plan, Knoxville and Knox County, Tennessee, March, 1961, pp. 1-8.

[81]Ibid., pp. 6-18.

[82]Ibid., pp. 10-18.

over $224,000; in 1969, the budget was $1,123,560; in 1971, it was $1,317,724; and in 1973, the budget was in excess of $1,500,000 which supported approximately thirty neighborhood centers and over sixty playgrounds and parks. The proposed budget for 1975-76 is $3,496,541.[83]

The administration of the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation consists of the Director and three staff members. The staff members are the Assistant Administrator of Centers and Supervision, the Supervisor of Athletics, and the Assistant Administrator of Maintenance. The Director of Recreation is the chief administrative officer of the Bureau. The director is in charge of the overall administration, including budget and policy responsibilities. The Assistant Administrator of Centers and Supervision is responsible for the administration of the thirty-six community recreation centers and their programs. He has two assistants, one Supervisor of Centers and Playgrounds and a Community Involvement Coordinator who administers the federally sponsored recreation program in public housing projects such as College Homes Recreation Center. The Supervisor of Athletics is in charge of the city-wide sports activities such as baseball, softball, and basketball. He has a special assistant who handles insurance matters connected with the

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[83]Personal interview, Mr. Mark Meadows, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1975.

various sports programs. The Athletics Supervisor, with the consent of the Director of Recreation, hires part-time employees such as referees, softball and baseball commissioners and park officials. The Assistant Administrator of Maintenance is in charge of the upkeep and maintenance of the various public recreation facilities, areas and grounds. He has a staff of laborers, janitors and caretakers for this purpose.[84]

These officials administer a recreation program which consists of numerous team sports and services. For example, there are 613 basketball teams for all ages and classifications. There are 257 baseball teams, 115 midget football teams and 38 indoor hockey teams for boys. There are 365 softball teams for men. Moreover, there are other activities and tournaments in tennis, volleyball, badminton, boxing, swimming, kiting, marble shooting, crafts, dancing, and elementary music.[85]

II. AN ANALYSIS AND RATING OF THE INTERVIEWEES

In an effort to interview knowledgeable persons in recreation, a list of sixty agencies, groups and organizations was compiled. These sixty agencies are associated

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[84]Personal interview, Mr. Gene Hill, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

[85]Ibid.

with recreation in Knoxville (See Appendix A). From this list, a list of thirty agencies was randomly selected for a telephone interview (See Appendix B). The individuals contacted held key positions in the selected agencies. These individuals were asked to supply names of the three most influential persons in recreation and the three major recreation policy issues in Knoxville. From these telephone survey responses, a final list of eight interviewees and eight principal policy issues was compiled. This final list was compiled according to the cumulative rating of the thirty telephone interview responses.

Originally there were eight interviewees selected. After a preliminary review of this list of interviewees, it was determined that the list was overwhelmingly male and government oriented; therefore, three additional individuals were added to the list of interviewees. It was felt that the addition of these three persons would provide a broader view of recreation in Knoxville. These additional interviewees consist of a woman who is a specialist in recreation and two community recreation leaders whose names had been previously mentioned as possible interviewees in the earlier telephone survey procedure. The three additional people were added to the list in order to provide technical expertise, minority opinions, and community recreation leaders opinions.

The personal characteristics of the interviews are presented in table form in the analysis. The names of the interviewees are not listed in an effort to preserve confidentiality; however, their organizations or places of employment have been listed.

Table 1 depicts the sex of the interviewees. It is characteristic in that it is predominantly male. The female represented was added to the list of interviewees to broaden the technical base.

Table 1

Sex of Interviewees

Sex	Number of Interviewees	Percentage of Total
Male	10	91.0
Female	1	09.0
Total	11	100.0

Table 2 illustrates the race of the interviewees. Nine are white and two are black. One of the blacks was added to broaden the minority base. Also, two of the nine whites were to provide technical expertise and community input.

Table 3 reveals the place of birth of the interviewees. Six are native Knoxvillians, four were born outside of Tennessee, and one was born in another city in Tennessee. Of the three persons added to broaden the base, one was born

in Tennessee, one was born in another city in Tennessee, and one was born outside Tennessee.

Table 2

Race of Interviewees

Race	Number of Interviewees	Percentage of Total
White	9	82.0
Black	2	18.0
Total	11	100.0

Table 3

Place of Birth of Interviewees

Place of Birth	Number of Interviewees	Percentage of Total
Knoxville	6	55.0
Tennessee, but not Knoxville	1	8.0
Other States	4	37.0
Total	11	100.0

Table 4 depicts the degrees earned by the Interviewees. In analysis of Table 4, it may be noted that eight have college degrees. Of the eight, there are four undergraduate degrees, two Ph.D.'s, one Master's and one Associate degree. The remaining three interviewees have only a high school diploma. Of the three individuals who were added to the

original eight, two have high school diplomas and one has a Ph. D.

Table 4

Types of Degrees Earned by Interviewees

Types of Degrees	Number of Interviewees	% of Total
High School Diploma	3	27.2
Undergraduate		
A.A.	1	9.1
B.A.	2	18.2
* B.S.	2	18.2
Graduate		
M.B.A.	1	9.1
* Ph. D.	2	18.2
Total	11	100.0

*These degrees are the only ones which are health and physical education or recreation related.

Table 5 shows the type of organizations, occupations, and positions of the interviewees. Five of the interviewees are employed with the city government, and one each is employed by the Knox County School Board, Rohm and Haas, U. S. Post Office, The Boys' Club of Knoxville and two by the University of Tennessee. All of the three additional persons who were added to the original eight are noncity officials. One is a recreation specialist from the University

of Tennessee, one is a shop steward for Rohm and Haas and one is a postal supervisor.

Table 5

Primary Occupational Position of Interviewees

Type of Organization	Name of Organization	Position within Organization
City Government	Mayor's Office	Administrative Asst.
	Welfare Department	Director
	Bureau of Recreation	Director
	Bureau of Recreation	Sports Supervisor
	Bureau of Recreation	Asst. Director
County Government	School Board	Federal Project Director
Federal Government	Post Office	Manager
Education	University of Tennessee	Post Doctoral Intern Administrator
	University of Tennessee	Chairman Recreation Division
Industry	Rohm and Haas	Shop Steward

Of the five city government officials, three work directly for the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation. The other two are employed by the city, one in the Welfare Department of which the Bureau of Recreation is a part and one works in the Mayor's office.

Table 6 is the cumulative ranking of the interviewees according to the responses of the thirty randomly selected individuals for the telephone survey. In other words, these interviewees were ranked conforming to the votes of the knowledgeable persons in recreation in Knoxville. Thus, these eight interviewees are the most influential persons in recreation in Knoxville according to the telephone survey responses. An analysis of the table illustrates that the city government officials are the top ranking influentials.[86] This power structure analysis in recreation in Knoxville is based on Kenneth J. Gergen methodology in The Study of Policy Formation.[87]

Table 6

Ranking of Interviewees

Power Structure	Number of Votes	Percentage of Total
1. Director of Recreation	20	27.0
2. Sports Supervisor	15	22.0
3. Mayor	12	17.0
4. Welfare Director	9	12.0
5. Asst. Adm. of Recreation	6	8.0
6. Federal Project Director	4	6.0
7. Executive Dir. Boys' Club	3	5.0
8. Post Doctoral Intern	2	3.0
Total	71	100.0

[86]Telephone interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, results of interviews with a randomly selected list of recreation persons; January, February, 1974.

[87]Bauer and Gergen, op. cit.

Based on the telephone survey responses of the thirty randomly selected persons who held key positions in agencies in Knoxville, administration, budgeting and programs were rated as the top policy issues. Table 7 represents the rating of these major issues. An analysis of the table indicates that administration is number one and maintenance is numer eight according to the interviewees.[88]

Table 7

Ranking of Major Policy Issues

Major Policy Issues	Number of Votes	Percentage of Total
1. Administration	20	24.0
2. Budgeting	18	23.0
3. Programs	15	18.0
4. Athletics	10	11.0
5. Citizen Participation	7	9.0
6. Planning	6	8.0
7. Recreation Needs	4	4.0
8. Maintenance	2	3.0
Total	82	100.0

Noticeably, citizen participation and planning, two earlier mentioned problems ranked only fifth and sixth, respectively.

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[88]Ibid.

III. AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWEES' CONCEPTS OF THE ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH RECREATION

As stated previously, eleven extensive interviews were held during the second week in February and October 1974 with eleven interviewees concerning recreation in Knoxville. Originally, eight of these interviewees were selected by the cumulative rating of thirty randomly chosen individuals in key positions in recreation oriented agencies in Knoxville. Three additional interviewees were selected to provide technical expertise and minority input. Two distinct groups emerged from an analysis of these interviews. One group is composed of noncity government officials. The other group is composed of city government officials. Both groups were asked similar questions; however, because of each group's affiliation, the structure of the interview schedule was modified in order to probe opinions with regard to particular issues.

To noncity government officials, the following schedule was administered:

1. What are the ingredients of a good recreation program, or what is a well-rounded program?
2. How would you assess the current recreation program in terms of its effect?
3. How would you compare the expenditures for athletics to other recreation programs?

4. In light of the above, how would you modify the program?
5. How should recreation needs of the people be established?
6. What mechanism exists as a means of citizen participation and what official status does the mechanism have?
7. What do you think would be an effective mechanism for citizen participation?

In response to the above questions, one interviewee stated that the ingredients for a "good" recreation program are good leadership, variety, and a moral attitude to help children. It was also stated that a well-rounded program is one which provides a variety of activities. In comparing athletics to other programs, and in assessing the Knoxville recreation program in terms of its effect, the reply was: other programs are growing, but they don't get the support (financial or guidance) from the Bureau of Recreation. However, it was felt that the overall effect of the recreation program was good. Contrary to the overall effect, the interviewee believed there is no end to the improvement of any good program. The interviewee would modify the present process by separating the Bureau of Recreation from the Department of Welfare and by hiring more professionals. According to the interviewee, the best way to determine

needs is to start with the areas with the poorest facilities and move to the ones with the best facilities. The interviewee also stated that surveys which provide school censuses, property values, walking distances from neighborhoods to central facilities, and interests of local community residents are essential in determining recreation needs. The interviewee suggested that there is no official mechanism for citizen participation although commissions and committees have been organized by citizens to insure their involvement. In conclusion, it was asserted that an effective mechanism for citizen participation is voluntary community recreation commissions with official advisory authority.[89]

The next interview was held with a specialist in recreation. The interviewee felt that a "good" recreation program and a well-rounded program consists of trained professional leadership, good financial support, adequate available space and variety. The interviewee says there is too much emphasis on athletics and sports and very little consideration for the elderly and other special program needs in Knoxville. In assessing the Knoxville recreation program, the interviewee states that it is highly sports oriented and that the recreation center leaders are not

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[89]Personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

"strong" enough or professional. To modify the present program, the interviewee believed the Bureau of Recreation should (1) bring in top professionals to insure better management of centers and areas; (2) coordinate school facility development and recreation developments. The interviewee asserted that the best method to determine recreation needs is to get input from the people (surveying individual communities and assessing the facility and programs effectiveness). Finally, the interviewee said there is no effective mechanism for citizen participation, and the best procedure for effective participation is for the mayor to appoint a commission similar to the Metropolitan Planning Commission as an advisory body to the Director of the Bureau of Recreation.[90]

The third person to be interviewed stated that the ingredients of a "good" recreation program are qualified personnel and financial support. Variety is the essence of a well-rounded program, according to the interviewee. One cannot compare other programs to athletics, it was felt, because they seem to be the ones most emphasized in Knoxville. In assessing the current recreation program, the interviewee felt that there seems to be too much emphasis on sports. Furthermore, it was felt that the present

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[90]Personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

recreation program should be modified by broadening the base in order to reach the whole community and by building additional facilities for passive recreation. According to the interviewee, the best method to establish recreation needs is simply to ask the people what they want. The interviewee said that there is no mechanism for citizen participation except for special interest groups such as the East Knoxville Boosters Club. The interviewee felt that an overall advisory committee within the organization structure of the Bureau of Recreation and local committees is the best mechanism for citizen participation.[91]

The fourth interviewee stated the ingredients of a "good" recreation program and a well-rounded program are adequate supervision, opportunities to participate, and programs closely related to life experiences. In general, it was felt that Knoxville has a good recreation program; however, the leadership of the Bureau of Recreation does not emphasize programs which reflect true life experiences. The interviewee feels that athletics far outweigh other programs in terms of expenditure. The interviewee would modify the present program by getting area residents more involved in their community recreation programs and by requiring

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[91]Personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

recreation personnel to attend seminars to upgrade their education. The interviewee stated that recreation needs should be determined by going directly to the people and finding out exactly what they have in mind. Clubs, groups and commissions are the present mechanism for citizen participation in recreation, however, they have no official status, according to the interviewee. In conclusion, it was felt that because the Knoxville recreation program is so large, the recreation commissions should be an official part of the Bureau of Recreation.[92]

The fifth interviewee felt that a "good" and well-rounded program consists of professional leadership and full community support. The interviewee further states the recreation program is more than adequate because it has many sports programs to keep kids occupied. Moreover, the interviewee feels that the athletic programs receive about the same emphasis as other programs when the total budget is considered, especially the costs of operating the recreation centers. The use of a commissioner would modify the process by constructing more facilities for the adults in order to keep them away from the kids. Recreation needs, according to the interviewee can be determined by holding regular community meetings. The interviewee asserted that due to

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[92]Personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

the annexation of outlying areas, the Bureau of Recreation has acquired a mechanism for citizen participation. In addition, the interviewee would like to see the current recreation commissions given official status as a means for effective citizen participation.[93]

The last nongovernment official to be interviewed stated that the ingredients for a "good" recreation program and a well-rounded program are a combination of sports, games, social activities, sports and crafts, nature appreciation and pure entertainment. The interviewee felt that the athletics program is geared to children and young adults and that more emphasis is placed on this program because of its popularity. The current recreation program is overbalanced in sports due to its support, according to the interviewee. The process could be modified, says the interviewee, by employing experts in other areas and by requiring professional personnel in recreation centers. Survey instruments and community basis or personal contact can be used to determine recreation needs of the people asserted the nonofficial, although these methods are difficult. Furthermore, the interviewee said that the mechanism for citizen participation is the recreation commission boundaries for little league sports which has

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[93]Personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, October, 1974.

expanded to other sports. Finally, the interviewee felt an effective mechanism for citizen participation would be some type of closer communication between individual communities and the Bureau of Recreation.[94]

In addition to the noncity government officials, five interviews were held with city government officials. They were administered the following interview schedule:

1. How does athletics compare to other recreation programs?
2. How does the Bureau treat special recreation needs of adults versus juvenile versus elderly; cultural versus athletic; individual versus team; and instruction versus participation?
3. How are priorities established in relation to the allocation of resources?
4. How is criteria established for the acquisition of new land and on what bases are improvements made on existing land holdings?
5. What mechanism exists for citizen participation?
6. By whom and how are the budgets prepared?
7. How are priorities set for recreation?

The administrative assistant to the mayor was the first government official to be interviewed. First, he stated that

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[94]Personal interview, Knoxville, Tennessee, October, 1974.

priorities for recreation are based on the mayor's views and interests. In general, he felt athletics is emphasized more than other programs because more sports-minded individuals can participate. Recreation needs are established by studies made by KCDC and MPC, and there is no official recreation advisory body because the city charter does not provide for one. He said that the mayor left most of the budget considerations, the criterion for the establishment of special recreation needs, and the standard for the establishment of the allocation of funds, and the acquisition of land up to the Bureau Director and his top assistants.[95]

The Director of the Bureau of Recreation assessed the recreation program by saying it is number one based on Knoxville's recreation centers attendance when compared to other cities of similar size. (See Appendix C.) He said there were no such things as priorities in recreation because it is a service. Most of the budget preparation is done by him with the assistance of his top aids subject to deletions and additions by the Director of Welfare and the Mayor. His reply to other budget questions was: the recreation budget is completely separate from the Welfare budget; the overall budget is coordinated and prepared on the basis of units such as College Homes emphasizing

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[95]Personal interview, Administrative Assistant to the Mayor, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

personnel, equipment, maintenance, and acquisition. Recreation needs and the allocation of resources are based on the ability to pay simply because West Hill, for example, can spend more on programs than East Knoxville or Lonsdale. He further stated that such things as population and increased usage determined new improvements and increased allocations. When queried about athletics and other programs, his answers were: special recreation needs are only designed for the elderly and the young, team sports is emphasized more than individual because more people can participate and because East Tennessee is such a competitive area. In addition, he felt that athletics plus a variety of smaller programs make for a total well-rounded recreation program. The mechanism for citizen participation, he stated, is through recreation commissions or booster clubs in each community. He felt this mechanism is the best, and their functions are only to help determine which programs and facilities are to be implemented.[96]

The Administrative Assistant of Programs and Supervision said priorities for recreation are based on numbers (population), season, space availability, time and age. His answer to the question concerning what constituted a good

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[96]Personal interview, Director of the Bureau of Recreation, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

recreation program was that a good program is a well-rounded program providing variety. The major emphasis of the Knoxville recreation program is athletics because more kids can participate. More money is spent on the operation of the centers because the allocation of funds is based on center attendance. He also stated that "our recreation program is the best in the Southeast based on per capital expenditures"; and as the program stands, it does not need much modification. He stated that recreation needs are based on local community analysis (student intern and MPC surveys); special needs are decided by the local communities; and the only special recreation programs are designed for the elderly and the young. The respondent stated that the budget was prepared by the Bureau Director. He also stated that the acquisition of land and the improvements to existing facilities are based on the lack of space and usage. Finally, he said the present and best mechanism for citizen participation is voluntary community clubs and recreation commissions.[97]

The Director of Welfare's response to all of the above questions were basically the same as the Administrative Assistant's. The only reply of the Director of Welfare

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[97]Personal interview, Administrative Assistant of Programs and Supervision, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

which was different from the Administrative Assistant was that he felt the recreation program in Knoxville is the best in the United States. The Director also emphasized his full confidence in the Recreation Bureau Director and his Assistant's ability to carry out the functions and duties of their respective offices.[98]

The Supervisor of Athletics' response to all questions was also similar to the Bureau Director's responses. He stated that the Knoxville recreation program is the number one in the state of Tennessee based on a population of from 100,000-200,000. He felt that more emphasis is placed on athletics because East Tennessee is very competitive, and the Bureau of Recreation feels more boys can participate in this way. He also felt that voluntary community recreation commissions were set up to provide citizen participation, and this type mechanism is best because they decide which programs are to be implemented. Finally, he said that the budget is prepared on the basis of units (neighborhood centers and surrounding areas); the capital and operating expenditures are coordinated on the basis of community needs and center attendance.[99]

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[98]Personal interview, Director of Welfare, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

[99]Personal interview, Sports Supervisor, Knoxville, Tennessee, February, 1974.

In an analysis of the nongovernment officials' opinions of the issues associated with recreation and in a comparison of their answers, they held similar positions on the above interview questions.

The same observation can be made about city government officials when comparing their backgrounds with the issues associated with recreation. However, the Director of the Bureau of Recreation, the Sports Supervisor, the Mayor's Assistant, the Director of Welfare, and the Assistant Administrator of Recreation are all in positions to exercise some degree of leverage on recreation policy issues. Thus, these officials determine the budget, priorities and other recreation policy issues; therefore, their similarity of opinions on the above issues will ultimately guide recreation planning and programming in Knoxville, Tennessee.

In sum, this chapter delved into the Knoxville recreation situation. Specifically, a brief historical review of the Bureau of Recreation was presented. In fact, an analysis and rating of influentials in recreation and their opinions of issues associated with recreation in Knoxville was presented. Moreover, a ranking of the major policy issues associated with recreation in Knoxville according to the telephone survey of the thirty randomly selected interviewees was illustrated.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS, FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After a careful analysis of the data including the personal interviews, several conclusions were reached. Citizen participation has been an ingredient of our government since its inception. Institutional changes and pressure from the black and poor have brought about legislative mandates in the early sixties which called for maximum and widespread citizen participation. However, there are leading proponents and opponents of citizen participation which give rise to many different views as to what constitutes good or adequate participation. On the other hand, citizen participation in recreation has been a part of local government strategies since 1895. This participation generally takes the form of recreation commissions and recently in the guise of official advisors to newly established recreation and park departments. The mechanism for citizen participation in recreation in Knoxville, Tennessee is unofficial recreation commissions, committees and clubs.

There are two major theories of the power structure which are the pluralist and the elite. The first theory holds that group pressure is the basis of policy formation.

The other theory holds that a small number of individuals determine policy. There are two studies of the power structure associated with recreation studied. One study investigates the relationship between the power structure and parks and recreation in Indianapolis, Indiana. The other study investigates influentials' perception of parks and recreation in Memphis, Tennessee.

Concerning the Knoxville recreation situation, noncity governmental interviewees generally agreed that there is too much emphasis on athletics; that there is a need for more professional staff; that there is no mechanism for legitimate citizen involvement; and that there is a need for a modification of the Knoxville recreation decision-making process. On the other hand, all of the city officials rated their recreation program number one as far as Southeastern cities with 100,000 to 200,000 population, and they agreed that the present voluntary citizen involvement process is the best for Knoxville. Furthermore, the city officials emphasized athletics because of the competitiveness of East Tennessee and the opportunity for more youngsters to participate.

The majority of the influentials as determined by the telephone survey in recreation in Knoxville, Tennessee are employed with the city government and those with the most leverage, excluding the Mayor, are officials of the Bureau

of Recreation. The major issues associated with recreation as determined by the telephone survey are administration, budgets, programming and athletics.

I. FINDINGS

It is felt after completing this study that two major findings are justified. First, the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation does not have an official citizen participation mechanism. Second, recreation policy is predominantly influenced by city government officials who are directly involved in recreation, and these officials have different opinions about recreation with regard to the institutional organization and delivery of service as opposed to the noncity government interviewees.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these findings and the results of the study, it is therefore recommended that first a future study in recreation should be undertaken to determine whether other programs (cultural, arts and crafts, etc.) should be included in the Knoxville recreation program. The study should be undertaken based on the current emphasis by recreation professionals on new types of leisure activities and present recreation practice in many cities and the responses of the noncity government interviewees.

Second, an official Recreation Board should be established in order to provide for widespread citizen involvement. The reasons for the establishment of the board are: (1) it is in keeping with current theory and practice of public administration; (2) it is preferred by the nongovernment interviewees; and (3) it is recommended as a result of the literature survey conducted for this thesis.

The Recreation Board's function would be to serve as a liason between area residents and the Knoxville Bureau of Recreation and other agencies and organizations to enhance citizen participation in recreation in Knoxville, Tennessee. A conceptual model of the coordinate role of the Recreation Board among various organizations, local government, and area recreation commissions follows on the next page. The Board, it is recommended, should consist of a broad base of community residents and individuals including minorities, women, businesses, civic organizations, churches, schools, recreation commissions, inner-city representatives, and social agencies.

In summary, it is felt that the Recreation Board should be similar to other recreation boards in that it would be the policy arm of the Knoxville Recreation Department. As part of its overall policy-making process, the Recreation Board should exercise a continuing function and develop a cordial and working relationship directly with the residents

in discussing their communities' recreation problems, needs and interests through area recreation commissions, committees and groups. Moreover, it should have the responsibility of formulating goals, objectives and policies which, hopefully, would be mutually consistent within the broad construct of advice given by area residents, groups, and institutions. (See Figure 1.)

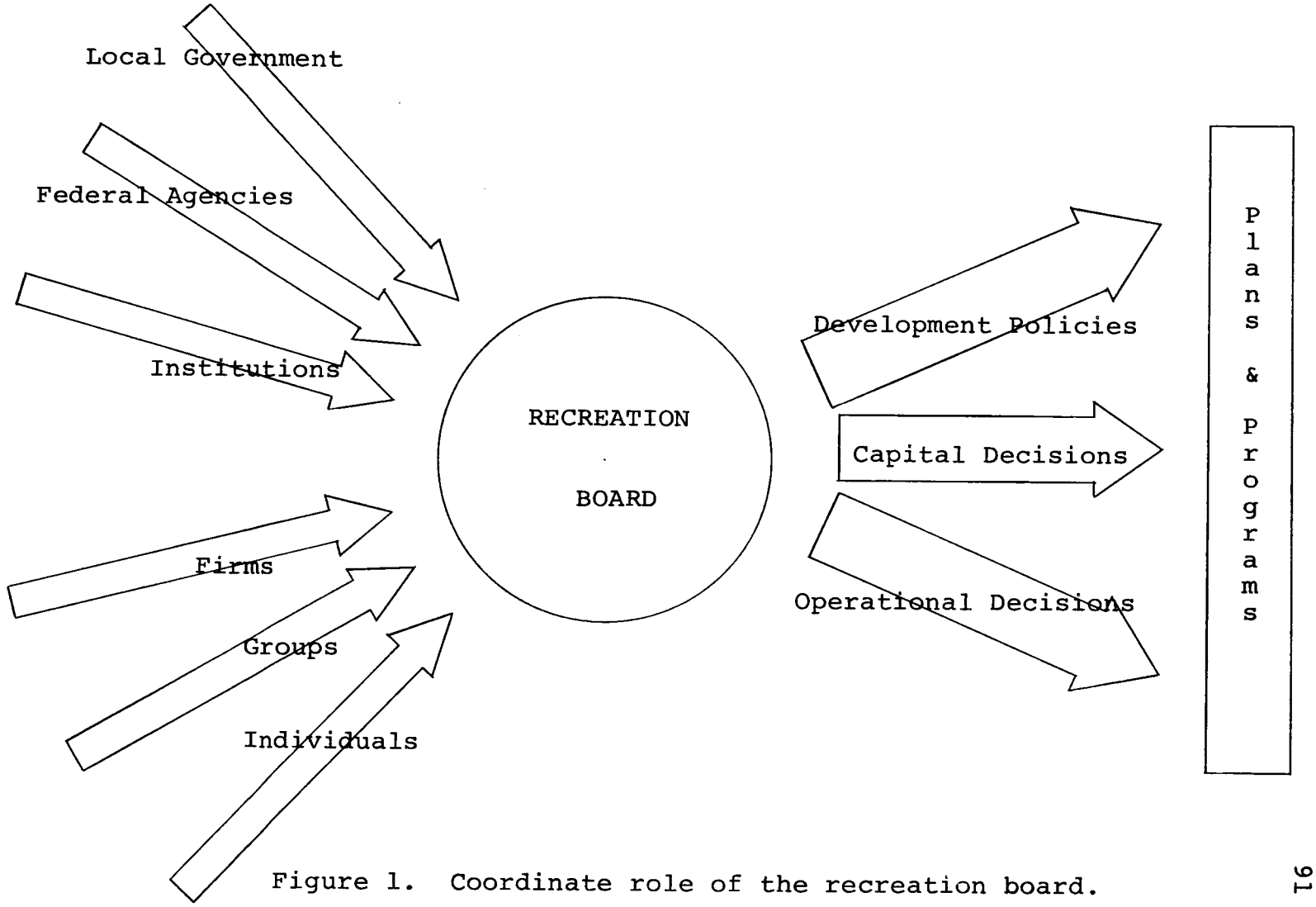


Figure 1. Coordinate role of the recreation board.

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C. INTERVIEWS

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GROUPS, AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS
ASSOCIATED WITH RECREATION IN
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

AGENCY	NUMBER OF AGENCIES LISTED
1. Kiwanis	2
2. Jaycees	2
3. Metropolitan Planning Commission	1
4. East Tennessee Development District	1
5. Tennessee State Planning Office	1
6. Bureau of Recreation Centers (city)	15
7. Knoxville Community Development Corporation	1
8. Chamber of Commerce	1
9. United Way	1
10. Department of Finance (city)	1
11 Bureau of Recreation (county)	2
12. Welfare Department (city)	1
13. Knoxville School Board	1
14. Knoxville Republican Club	1
15. Knoxville Democratic Club	1
16. Tennessee Valley Authority	1
17. Recreation Commissions	15
18. YMCA	2
19. YWCA	2
20. Boys' Club of Knoxville	1
21. Boy Scouts of America	1
22. Girl Scouts of America	1
23. Knox County School Board	1
24. Optimists	2
25. Community Action Committee	2

APPENDIX B

RANDOMLY SELECTED LIST OF TELEPHONE INTERVIEWEES

1. Coordinator of Federal Programs (city)
2. Director of Welfare (city)
3. Recreation Center Director (Cal Johnson)
4. Recreation Center Director (South Knoxville)
5. Supervisor of Playgrounds and Centers
6. KCDC Planner
7. Department of Finance - Office Employee
8. Assistant for Buildings and Grounds
9. Equipment Manager (Bearden)
10. Equipment Manager (Halls)
11. Equipment Manager (Holston-Chilhowee)
12. Recreation Commissioner (Inskip-Norwood)
13. Recreation Commissioner (Mechanicsville)
14. Recreation Commissioner (Alice Bell)
15. Little League Coach (South Knoxville)
16. Little League Coach (East Knoxville)
17. Little League Coach (Rocky Hill)
18. MPC Recreation Planner
19. ETDD Recreation Planner
20. TVA Recreation Planner
21. TVA Recreation Planner
22. YMCA Director (West)
23. YWCA Director (Central)
24. United Way Official
25. West CAC
26. South CAC
27. East CAC
28. Supervisor of Buildings and Grounds
29. YMCA Director (East)
30. Optimist (Director Youth Center)

APPENDIX C

Table 8

Knoxville Recreation Bureau, Center Attendance Summary, 1973

CENTER	REGISTRATION	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUG.	SEP.	OCT.	NOV.	DEC.	TOTAL
Bethel	85	Not Open	1,119	1,162	1,208	1,085	1,897	3,525	2,832	327	1,122	1,197	1,163	16,637
Cal Johnson	627	2,902	4,594	3,298	2,590	2,863	1,995	2,076	2,376	2,102	3,107	2,214	1,271	31,388
Cumberland Estates	936	8,762	9,366	9,931	9,807	8,125	10,630	10,916	10,167	5,696	7,644	7,109	6,778	104,931
Deane Hill	844	11,131	12,208	5,399	4,491	3,660	3,010	3,967	3,504	3,260	3,438	4,197	6,265	64,530
Fourth & Gill	74	1,413	1,020	1,153	897	1,049	1,084	1,476	950	1,119	701	628	1,515	13,005
Fountain City	249	2,807	2,682	1,870	2,972	3,118	3,364	2,879	3,553	1,138	2,817	1,785	2,115	31,100
Happy Homes	236	738	1,218	1,086	1,091	1,142	1,399	1,679	1,116	743	991	906	1,017	13,126
Holston-Chilhowee	715	11,561	11,534	13,709	9,440	10,040	10,698	9,897	10,539	8,185	8,832	9,434	9,543	123,412
Inskip-Norwood	563	2,566	2,443	3,048	3,503	3,756	4,841	4,007	4,691	2,216	2,990	3,332	4,072	41,465
Lonsdale	467	2,223	1,678	1,462	2,135	2,079	3,730	4,003	3,857	2,267	2,885	3,107	2,561	31,987
Lyons View	87	1,169	1,085	1,113	1,087	1,212	580	1,067	553	1,003	1,135	838	1,117	11,959
New Hope	234	1,601	1,704	1,636	1,594	1,934	1,869	2,251	1,812	2,000	2,020	1,753	1,604	21,778
North Knoxville	472	3,898	6,674	5,282	6,508	5,515	9,260	3,290	6,980	3,743	5,750	7,228	7,109	71,237
Prospect	337	1,870	2,200	2,113	1,813	2,150	2,781	2,693	2,869	1,822	2,104	1,751	1,681	25,847
Richard Leake	1,090	4,360	5,368	5,045	3,526	4,386	5,513	4,021	4,603	3,095	3,683	3,803	3,759	51,162
Sam Hill	60	593	531	595	242	Closed Center as of May, 1973								1,961
Simpson		728	789	685	378	Closed Center as of April 15, 1973								2,580
South Community	791				4,422	4,295	8,687	7,094	7,194	2,439	2,968	4,234	3,791	45,124
South Knoxville	700	9,835	10,140	6,635	5,467	4,939	4,127	4,536	2,853	3,952	5,026	6,945	6,973	71,428
South K. Optimist	187	1,691	3,155	2,681	3,042	2,514	5,047	3,142	4,134	2,218	2,378	2,143	2,547	34,692
West Haven # 1	1,201	7,769	8,761	7,848	5,705	6,480	3,172	3,201	3,696	5,843	6,290	5,987	6,621	71,373
West Haven # 2	76	527	522	593	528	476	694	578	241	367	621	489	623	6,259
West Knoxville	1,209	6,039	4,090	4,895	4,434	3,486	4,498	4,951	4,763	3,971	4,909	4,676	5,492	56,204
Craft		440	296	481	500	561	459	444	436	458	459	470	495	5,499
Fairview	157	331	315	303	355	375	267	269	272	272	278	97	310	3,444
Lamar Street														
O'Connor	3,000	2,376	3,715	2,394	3,169	2,981	3,781	2,876	2,681	3,919	2,794	4,181	3,420	38,287
TOTAL	14,397	87,330	97,207	84,417	80,904	78,221	93,383	84,838	86,672	62,155	74,942	78,504	81,842	990,415

VITA

Edward McSwine was born in Greenwood, Mississippi, on March 3, 1946. He attended McLaurin, Stone Street and Broad Street elementary, middle and high schools, respectively. In 1964, he enrolled in Knoxville College. Four years later, he graduated and approximately thirteen months later entered the United States Army.

After completing two years of service, including one year tour of duty in Vietnam, he returned to Knoxville to enroll in the University of Tennessee Graduate School of Planning. He successfully completed his graduate study and was awarded a Master of Science degree in March 1975.

Edward McSwine is married to the former Delores Womack and they have a fine son who is of course named after his father.