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MAJOR GOVERNMENTAL, POLITICAL AND
SOCIAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING
DELAWARE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

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PREFACE

This booklet is a slightly revised version of my Master's Thesis submitted to the Graduate Division of the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

I selected "Major Governmental, Political, and Social Problems Confronting Delaware County, Pennsylvania" as the topic of my thesis because I believed that the knowledge I gained would be helpful in my job as Executive Director of the Citizens Council of Delaware County. I also wanted to write something which might awaken more civic and political concern on the part of Delaware County residents, so that county governmental administration, policy, and structure could be gradually improved. I very much hope that this booklet will accomplish this latter end, and that my Bibliography will be helpful to those who wish to examine these problems in greater detail.

I would particularly like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. David Kurtzman; Dr. Charles Gilbert, Swarthmore College; Professor John Logue, Villanova University; Mr. Morton Lustig, Assistant Director of the Fels Governmental Consulting Service; and several others, all of whom made very helpful suggestions at one or more stages in the preparation of this work.

For reasons of economy, I have abandoned the traditional system of footnotes with page references. Instead each footnote number refers to the appropriate source in the Bibliography. Those interested in individual page references may consult my original thesis which is on file at the Fels Institute of Local and State Government Library.

JOHN A. HARRIS

June, 1965

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

Between 1940 and 1960, the percentage of the total United States population living in metropolitan areas increased from 55 to 63 percent. These metropolitan centers account for about three-fourths of the nation's total economic activity, and a large share of the costs of local government. All indications are that the relative importance of metropolitan areas in the nation will continue to increase,³ and that by the year 2000, there may be 295,000,000 Americans living in metropolitan areas.⁶

"The tremendous growth of these metropolitan areas has caused serious governmental problems and the vitality of urban America is at this moment one of the most important domestic priorities."⁶ There is a growing disparity between what small local governments are called upon to do, and their ability to perform. There appears to be four major reasons for their inability "to perform area-wide functions effectively, namely: (1) fragmentation and overlapping of governmental units, (2) disparities between tax and service boundaries, (3) state constitutional and statutory restrictions and (4) metropolitan areas' overlapping of state lines."³ Each of these problems is of major importance in the Penjerdel Region.

THE PENJERDEL REGION²⁹

Delaware County lies within the Penjerdel Region* which is a rather arbitrarily defined metropolitan area, and will be part of the future "megalopolis" expected to extend from north of Boston to south of Washington. It lies primarily within the Delaware River Basin and contains some 4,600 square miles including the counties of Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania; Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, Mercer, and Salem in New Jersey, and New Castle in Delaware. Penjerdel's major cities are Camden, Chester, Philadelphia, Trenton and Wilmington. Its population of over five million is considered 90 percent urban, and averages 1,100 people per square mile, twenty times the national average. Its people are of many races and religions. Its racial composition runs from 33 percent non-white in Chester and 26 percent in Philadelphia and Wilmington to almost zero in some of the suburban

communities. Its 1961 unemployment rate was higher than that of the United States due partly to dependence on general manufacturing which is able to automate and mechanize more than other segments of the economy. Its population expanded by over 800,000 in the decade 1950-1960, and since its cities decreased slightly in population, a figure even larger than this moved into the suburban municipalities. Typically these communities were not equipped to properly absorb this huge population increase.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE PENJERDEL REGION

The Penjerdel region is a maze of 387 all-purpose governments consisting of 218 townships, 138 boroughs, 21 cities, and 11 counties,* and range in size from two million people in Philadelphia to only ten in Tavistock Borough, New Jersey. In addition, there are 419 school districts, and many public authorities and other units.²⁹

These municipalities are hampered by legal restrictions on their activities. "Over the years, the states [in general] have imposed a fantastic variety of constitutional and statutory restrictions on local government, partly because of incompetence and corruption at the local level, partly because of traditional rural-urban antipathy, and partly because of local civic fears of extravagant policies in government."³

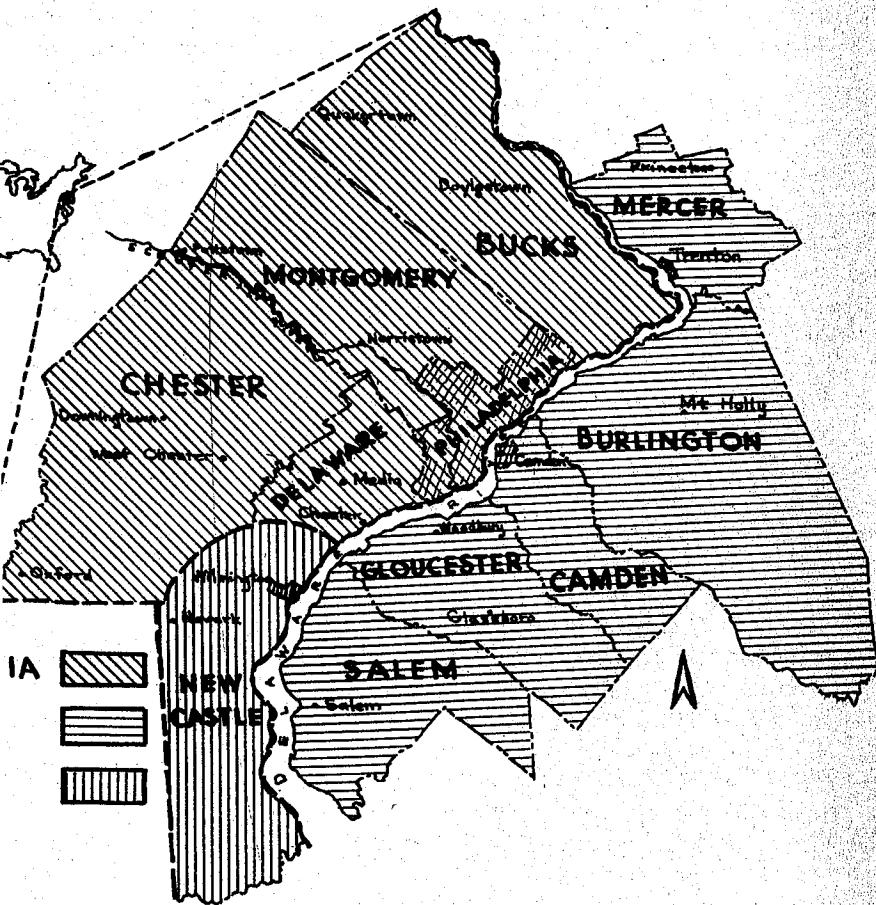
Another problem is that "in seeking to cope with changing conditions in the past decade, local governments in the 11-county Penjerdel region have been impeded by fragmentation — fragmentation of its tax base, fragmentation of the local government structure, fragmentation in both demand and need for services, and fragmentation of citizen and mass media interest."²⁴ In the last connection there are about 50 radio stations, 20 daily and 160 weekly newspapers, the latter usually only local in coverage.²⁹ The two major metropolitan papers have increased their suburban coverage considerably, but have not yet become deeply involved with governmental affairs in the counties, nor included editorial columns in their suburban sections.

The local governmental decisions are made at hundreds of decision centers, each set in a separate social and economic environment, each responding to different types of interest, and each struggling to maintain a separate existence. These sometimes substantial social and economic differences appear to be fundamental to the whole question of metropolitan government, and hinder the growth of inter-governmental cooperation except in those fields which least conflict with basic values.¹¹ Those who can afford to move into the more attractive communities usually do so, particularly if they are interested in getting the best possible education for their children.

*Philadelphia is included as both a city and a county.

*See map on page 3

FIGURE I
THE PENJERDEL REGION



Source: THE PENJERDEL REGION, A PORTRAIT

"In general, communities with largest area have adapted best to the challenges of growth. The smaller jurisdictions [excluding Swarthmore], because of limited areas and populations, suffer from lack of resources, high unit-cost for service, and insufficient volume of work to permit employment of full-time competent personnel."³⁴

Then, too, there is little public interest or awareness on the part of the citizenry of municipal problems, and almost none on the part of citizen or public official of the far greater regional problems.

THE CHIEF ELECTED OFFICIAL

The average chief elected official in the Penjerdel Region holds the general philosophy that local governments should be citizen-oriented, have limited functions, and provide necessary services. Prime reliance is based on local effort, and there is scant recognition that many problems exist on a regional basis. He believes that his most important problem is keeping taxes down, and, after taxes, he is most concerned with providing local services, planning and zoning and meeting the problems of growth.²⁶

The chief elected official is seriously handicapped by a lack of administrative, professional and technical personnel equipped to adequately cope with present and especially emerging metropolitan problems. Government service is held in low esteem in most parts of our country and local governments have failed to adjust their pay scales to enable them to compete effectively with private industry or federal service. Career opportunities are limited, residence requirements limit mobility, personnel are poorly prepared and inadequately trained, and many are near or over retirement age. The civil service commission, while affording protection from political removal, often ties the hand of the administrator in exercising authority or in removing incompetent personnel.⁶ Government is expanding at all levels, and there is an increasing need for trained administrative and professional personnel if waste of our ever-increasing taxes is to be kept to a minimum.

REGIONAL AGENCIES AND STUDIES

The above picture of the disparity between the needs and the capabilities of Penjerdel governments is being slowly countered by increased federal and state aid often with the accompaniment of minimum standards, and by the following regional civic and governmental agencies and studies.

Delaware River Basin Commission — will formulate a comprehensive water resources plan for those parts of the Delaware River Basin lying within Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsyl-

DELAWARE COUNTY AND ITS POLITICS

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Delaware County's 1960 population was 553,000, which was larger than the population of Alaska, Delaware, Nevada, Vermont, or Wyoming.⁹ Its 1964 population was 590,000 and its 1980 population is estimated at 840,000.²⁰ Yet the area of the County is only 185 square miles, the third smallest in Pennsylvania. It leads all counties in Pennsylvania in per capita industrial output, and is exceeded only by Allegheny and Philadelphia counties in total volume of industrial output.

Delaware County's 49 municipalities* include one city of the third class, 27 boroughs, 12 townships of the first class, and 9 townships of the second class. Millbourne Borough has an area less than one-tenth of a square mile, while Concord and Radnor Townships each contain almost 14 square miles. Populations vary from about 650 in Chester Heights and Rose Valley Boroughs to 95,000 in Upper Darby. Densities range from 125 persons per square mile in Birmingham Township to almost 17,400 in Darby Borough.¹⁰

The County is a sea of contrasts. It includes some of the finest residential suburbs in the country, and yet the city of Chester has achieved national attention because of its racial and economic difficulties. Median family incomes vary from \$4,200 in Chester Township to well over \$10,000 in Swarthmore and Rose Valley Boroughs.⁴ For purposes of identification, I have separate the county into five general areas which have different economic and social interests, and little or no contact with each other. They are: the mixed industrial and lower income residential belt generally located south of Baltimore Pike (U.S. Route 1) and extending from Chester to Upper Darby; a second area characterized by the middle income apartment and multiple dwelling units mixed with some industry in the Upper Darby area, and including parts of Haverford Township; the wealthy "Main Line" communities of Haverford, Radnor, and adjacent parts of Marple and Newtown Townships, whose residents consider themselves "Main Liners" or Philadelphians rather than Delaware Countians; the semi-rural municipalities of the western section of the County where farming is still important, which area is becoming a suburb of Wilmington as well as of Philadelphia; and finally, the middle to upper income bedroom communities in the center of the County.

*See map on next page.

vania. Included will be an inventory of water supply; an analysis of population and demands for land and water; recreation; fish and wildlife demands; power potentials and demands; investigation of projects proposed by others which could affect water supply or quality; and flood control.²²

Delaware River Port Authority — Responsible for most highway and mass transit facilities between New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the general Camden-Philadelphia area as well as the promotion of port activities.

Penjerdel — Although it has suspended operations, this region-wide civic agency did foster some civic awareness and some professional coordination on interjurisdictional problems by its studies and conferences, and by its financial aid and advice to county-wide civic associations.

Penn-Jersey Transportation Study — Although primarily concerned with highways, it describes alternate suggestions for a transportation network in the Camden and Philadelphia metropolitan area and may be expanded to include other land use planning.

The Regional Conference of Elected Officials (RCEO) — This group is beginning to make progress in educating public officials of the Penjerdel region in the solution of many of the problems which are common to most, permitting elected officials to get to know and understand each other, and acquainting them with the problems which can only be solved on a regional basis.

Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) — Although still meeting resistance on the part of Delaware County in early 1965, it seems probable that in time this agency will own and/or operate all bus and rail mass transit facilities in the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area and weave them into an efficient integrated system.

A comprehensive open space plan undertaken by the University of Pennsylvania, with a grant from the Urban Renewal Administration, will be based on the assumption that "the criteria for open space systems should develop from an understanding of natural processes, their permissiveness and prohibitions to other land uses."¹⁵ Related studies on air pollution are being conducted by the Drexel Institute of Technology and, hopefully, by the Regional Conference of Elected Officials, if funds can be secured.

This introductory chapter has attempted to outline some of the constructive and some of the destructive forces affecting the Penjerdel Region of which Delaware County is an integral part. Against this background, one should be able to get a clearer grasp of some of the governmental problems facing us in Delaware County and in the Penjerdel region.

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

"County government may be conveniently divided according to two main purposes: the political purpose and the administrative purpose."⁴⁴ In Pennsylvania the county is the center of the organization and activities of the political party, and the Philadelphia region is probably different from any other in the depth of partisanship and party organization both in the city and its suburbs.⁴²

The administration of Delaware County Government is controlled by a Republican Organization which is one of the strongest political machines in the United States. Fonzi believes that the basic justification for its existence is not to provide government — it does this as a sideline — but to perpetuate itself by winning elections, which it has successfully done for over 60 years. Every move of any political significance, including the hiring and firing of all employees, is cleared through an unofficial "Board of Supervisors" also known as the "War Board".¹²

THE LATE JOHN J. McCLURE*

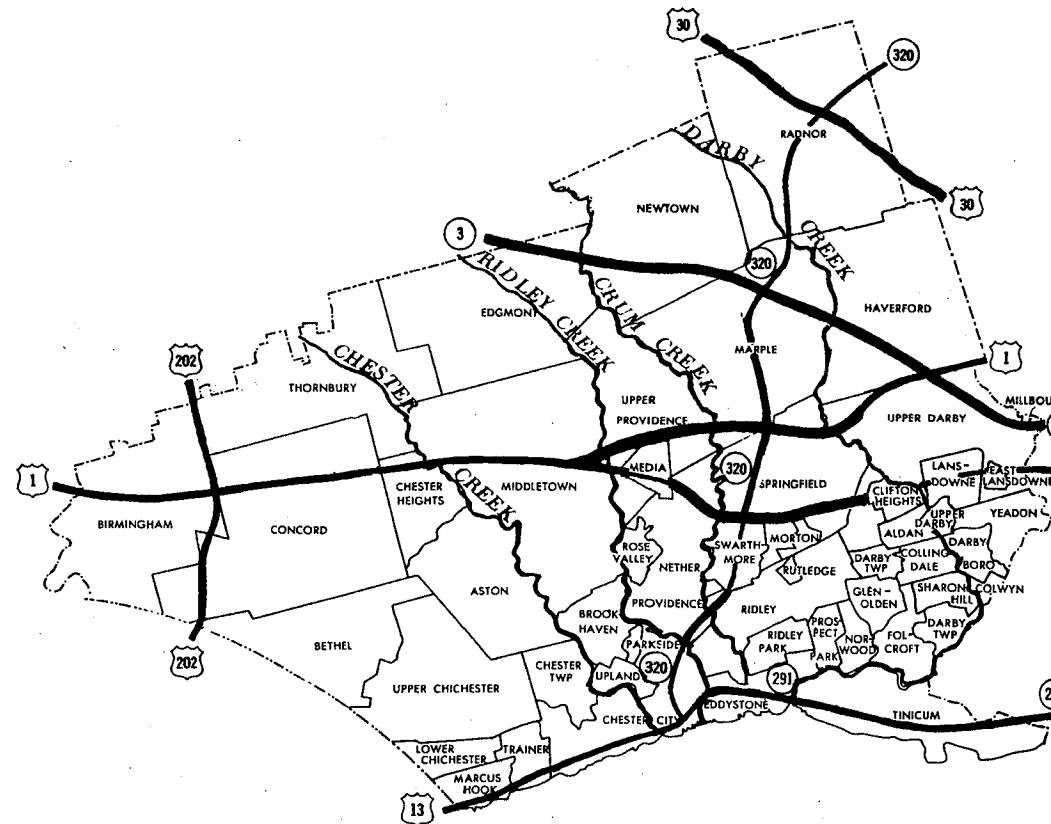
Although undoubtedly an exaggeration, one writer has stated that "most of what Delaware County is today, most of its assets and liabilities, can be directly attributed to the policies and programs perpetuated by John J. McClure."¹² Mr. McClure, the Republican machine's former behind-the-scenes boss, inherited the Chester Republican machine from his father in 1907. By the Twenties, he had expanded his political control to where he was undisputed boss of Delaware County. In 1928 he won a seat in the State Senate, but his later conviction as the head of an elaborate multi-million dollar rum-running organization under the Volstead Act was primarily responsible for his losing his seat to a fusion ticket of Republicans and Democrats in the next election in a very close race. Mr. McClure never again ran for public office. He had minutely studied the techniques used by the most successful political bosses, and his philosophy had been to conduct the business of politics in the same way that business is conducted — make it work and show a profit, and the people will return you to power no matter what is said about you.†

*After the first draft of my thesis was typed, Mr. McClure died. Although a power struggle will undoubtedly develop within the political organization, information obtained from newspaper articles and people I have talked with leads me to believe that his policies could continue to dominate the political thinking of the Republican leaders for many years to come.

†For deeper, more colorful and truly fascinating accounts on Mr. McClure and the machine, see both Fonzi's and Gilbert's works.

FIGURE II

MUNICIPALITIES OF DELAWARE COUNTY



Source: Citizens Council of Delaware County

THE "BOARD OF SUPERVISORS"

The County is run by the unofficial Republican Board of Supervisors, whom Mr. McClure carefully selected because of party loyalty and political effectiveness. Each member is co-opted because it is believed that he is the political leader or represents the political thinking of a major segment of the County. The stronger members tend to offset each other, and each attempts to make sure that no one else becomes more powerful than he. In addition, the more powerful County offices are usually rotated after two terms, and when factional battles do develop, personalities, not issues, are discussed, and the party image is therefore rarely hurt.*

The Board of Supervisors has been able to survive change by resisting it and clinging to the status quo whenever it could, then bending and bowing whenever it had to and, finally, by relying on the brute strength of its power organization which is at the same time both flexible and tightly controlled.¹² In a County which, by virtue of its ethnic, social, and financial characteristics could be fairly evenly balanced in party registration, it is remarkable that as of March 4, 1965, registration was Republicans 229,000, Democrats 68,000, and other parties 7,000.⁹ In spite of the fact that Mr. Johnson carried the County by 36,000 votes, only one Republican running for State or national office from the County was defeated.† Thus, the power of the political leadership is still substantial. Let us, therefore, further examine the political power structure to see how it controls the County.

THE URBAN BASE OF POWER

Until recently, when Upper Darby became a major power, the strength and leadership of Chester dominated the County Organization. In Chester gambling, prostitution, and illegal sale of liquor were evidently well-established by the turn of the century, and before the repeal of prohibition, "protection" centered in Chester was probably

*One major exception occurred several years ago when a Republican County Commissioner and member of the "War Board", Albert Swing, apparently believed that Mr. McClure's illness would soon be fatal. He first tried unsuccessfully to take over the organization, and then he teamed up with the minority commissioner, William Welsh, to pass some measures distasteful to the Organization. He was not only defeated by almost three-to-one by each opponent in the primary, but within a short period of time a law was pushed through both Republican controlled houses of the State Legislature, and signed by the Governor, which made it illegal to serve out his unexpired term as County Commissioner unless he resigned his lucrative post as tax collector of Radnor Township.

†The County Commissioners and many of the Row Officers are elected in non-Presidential years. Since the average citizen is even less interested in voting during these off year elections, the machine controlled vote is all the more effective.

the most important source of income to the Organization. Upper Darby too has had a history of racketeering in the core area during the 20's and early 30's, and some believe that its current political leader Samuel Dickey was actively involved during that period.⁴² Even today Chester is considered by many as one of the leading vice centers of the east and as recently as December 19, 1964, thirty-four persons were arrested by State, County and City law enforcement agents in a large vice raid.⁹ "In its (Chester's) depressed areas, organization sanctions are impressive and methods persuasive; registration and election fraud have been frequently reported; police have commonly manned the polls and have periodically disciplined the Negro population; patronage and other political sensitivity extended throughout the city government including the school system and the minor judiciary. . . ." ⁴² Many believe that economic sanctions were used against minority "trouble makers," and that the city per capita tax would only be applied to Negroes who registered to vote.

PATRONAGE

As with other strong machines such as those existing in Philadelphia, Chicago, or Jersey City, or in some other Pennsylvania counties, patronage is the cornerstone of power. Administrative professionalism is unknown except in a few departments. Jobs are openly admitted to be political rewards and employees are reportedly expected to contribute from 3 percent of the salary for \$3,500 jobs, to 10 percent for the higher paying offices.* These jobs are neither very demanding nor very remunerative by professional standards, and act as a psychic reward for party loyalty, and afford ample opportunity for political activity.⁴² There are over 1000 patronage jobs in the County government and in the Institution District to be parceled out to municipal party leaders. In addition, many State positions are used to satisfy county organizations that influence legislative votes and gubernatorial nominations. Those counties with large legislative delegations, and heavy voting populations are especially favored, and there are perhaps 500 State jobs controlled by the Delaware County Organization.⁴² With the choice for nomination to federal or state offices depending almost entirely on party loyalty and rewards for past service, it is not surprising that there has rarely been a powerful, independent, or person of real leadership ability elected to these posts from Delaware County.

*See the June 1965 series of articles by Don Murdaugh in the *Delaware County Daily Times* which reveals how systematically county jobholders contribute to the Organization.

THE JUDICIARY

In Pennsylvania, most judges reach the bench through political appointment. All Delaware County judges have been selected by the Organization primarily because of political loyalty.* Until the death of Judge Toal this January, three of the judges came from Chester, and another from the "Chester Pike" region. Two were former members of the War Board, and two had served as Mr. McClure's personal attorneys. However, non-political decisions are said to be fairly decided in civil and criminal cases, and partisan connections of counsel do not affect the disposition of these cases.⁴²

KEEPING TAXES DOWN

An extremely careful watch was kept on the County purse strings by Mr. McClure. Providing necessary services to the lower income population, and yet keeping taxes at a relatively satisfactory level is popular with all taxpayers. However, this has been done by living on a hand to mouth basis, by not spending in areas where it isn't immediately necessary, resulting in fairly adequate daily services, but increasing the difficulties in those areas that require long-range planning.¹² In the long run, however, this is not real economy, and other areas may degenerate to the point where massive federal aid will be needed such as is now happening in the city of Chester.†

"HOME RULE"

The theory of "home rule" is a basic American philosophy, and is another keystone to the success of the Organization. Each municipal leader is permitted to run his municipality as he sees fit with little or no criticism or advice as to administration, policy, or relationships with neighboring communities so long as the appropriate number of votes are delivered at election time. Courthouse jobs are said to be awarded in direct proportion to the percent of the quota of votes delivered.¹² In turn, the County Organization aids with talent and money when the party is seriously challenged. Thus, each level of the political organization helps to build and support the other.

*The two most recent selections were not on the list of three recommended by the Delaware County Bar Association.

†Perhaps due to circumstances beyond their control, this policy has not been successful. The current combined tax rate on real estate is 16.2 mills, while the next highest rate is Bucks County, at 13.7 mills, which includes 1.5 mills for a community college.

FEAR OF OUTSIDE DOMINATION

This practice of home rule protects the local official from outside domination, a major fear of many Delaware County politicians. The County politicians are extremely provincial and isolationist, and the County has been referred to as a "tight little island in a metropolitan sea."¹² The fear of being dominated by other counties, and in particular, Philadelphia, has much to do with the often negative response of County politicians to cooperation between municipalities, and particularly to undertakings on a regional scale. A great deal of anti-Philadelphia feeling exists in the lower parts of the County, and this hostility has been capitalized upon and/or created by the Organization. Many of the newer residents in this area moved out of Philadelphia as soon as they could afford to, and adopted (at least as far as registration is concerned) the Republican Party as part of their new status. Philadelphia's former Democratic boss heightened this feeling by attempting to put part of Delaware County into a Philadelphia Congressional District. This fear was further increased the Sunday before the 1962 election when groups of Negro families were induced to roll into certain municipalities in broken-down jalopies and began walking up and down the streets looking at homes.¹² The majority of Delaware Countians who work in Philadelphia leave the city as soon after work as possible, and regional names such as "Greater Philadelphia" invoke negative responses in many areas.

OUTWARDLY HONEST

Although there is probably a good bit of business by favoritism in both County and municipal awards, it has been a long time since the County Organization has been tainted by outright scandal as so often happens when one party is particularly strong or in power for many years.* Therefore it is hard for reformers to find any real cause since those improprieties which do develop are dwarfed by the publicity given those occurring in Philadelphia.

PARTY FINANCES

The Republican Organization is well financed. In addition to the contributions of County and municipal employees which reportedly contributed close to \$157,000 last year,⁹ it receives solid financial support from the officers and owners of industry, as well as road

*Two borderline cases are the 1940 revelation that McClure, the Mayor, and four councilmen of Chester, had made a profit of \$250,000 on the sale of the water company to that city, and the 1958 alleged attempt by Upper Darby politicians to induce their municipality to lease a property for \$40,000 per year for 40 years, which some friends had purchased for \$22,700.¹²

builders, truckers, and contractors in general. A majority of the wealthier suburbanites are Republican, and because of the breakdown of political contributions between local, state and national levels, it would be difficult to keep the County Organization from getting its percentage of Republican political contributions even if that were not their desire. Then too, many in the County are registered Republicans because they might want to ask a favor, such as help in their tax assessment some day, and feel that at least a nominal contribution is good insurance.

THE "McCLURE DEMOCRATS"

Until fairly recently, the Republicans had been extremely successful in infiltrating the Democratic Party, and tearing it apart through internal strife. However, with the Democratic upsurge, the "McClure Democrats" are reportedly being weeded out.¹²

CIVIC LEADERSHIP

"The lack of area-wide civic leadership in metropolitan America has been a major cause of the failure of local governments to face up to the decisions that would accommodate growth. Without active civic leadership, political leadership will not respond to community needs. Without political leadership, governmental administrators lack the sustaining force of well conceived programs.⁶

The average politician is interested primarily in his own and his party's political security. He tends to lag behind the people, is timid as far as innovation is concerned and decides an issue not on whether it is good, but whether it has been popular, and will therefore give him more votes. Unless there is some civic group which can educate the voter as well as the politician, government will usually be poor.

There is virtually no county-wide civic leadership in Delaware County.* As pointed out earlier, there is little popular awareness of county government,† much less of metropolitan problems. There is often little contact between civic groups even within the individual

*The Pennsylvania Economy League closed its Delaware County office a few years ago. The Citizens Council of Delaware County was beginning to become an effective organization a few years ago with capable leadership and with financial aid from Penjerdel. However, it was seriously hurt by an internal fight over the location of the Mid-County Expressway (Blue Route), and Penjerdel itself was unable to continue financial support. The Council has an office and a part-time Executive Director and is now in the process of rebuilding, but it appears that it will be a while longer before it can become an effective force in County affairs.

†A recent poll showed that 60% of those contacted didn't know what the county did, and another 10% mentioned functions not performed by the county.⁴²

49 municipalities, and almost none between the five general areas described above which, like many of the municipalities, have different attitudes and interests. Community leaders therefore, spend their time and money in local charitable drives or in civic and charity work in the core city of Philadelphia. Most have little desire to get involved in politics, much less tangle with a very powerful machine, particularly that of their own party.

Then too, the average businessman is unwilling or unable to keep up with the many new federal, state and local programs which promise to expand greatly and become far more complicated as time goes on. There appears to be little coordination and often open conflict between some of these programs, particularly on the federal level. Often, because of adverse federal interference in what he considers purely business affairs, he is loath to call for federal help in governmental affairs. He therefore has neither the time nor the inclination to get involved in the total picture in what used to be rather uncomplicated governmental decisions. The many local and metropolitan papers generally provide little county-wide news, and for accurate up-to-date information he must rely on various types of experts or academicians whom he, perhaps rightly, often considers impractical. The potential county leader, therefore, is interested primarily in those problems which he is able to or has the time to study, thereby abdicating his responsibility in county and metropolitan civic and governmental affairs.

Therefore, with no one to complain about the conduct of government except the minority commissioner (whose party affiliation is different from many potential civic leaders)* it is no wonder that Delaware County has serious governmental problems.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATION OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT

COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

"Counties have been referred to as the dark continent of American Government," . . . , and "recent events have raised the question whether the county as a political subdivision should be eliminated or de-emphasized."¹⁴ County powers vary from state to state and

*Mr. Welsh has at least partially overcome this handicap by his personal qualifications, and by his constructive criticism of majority party policy and administration.

from one section of the country to another,* but in general have "numerous elective officers, boards and commissions, lacking a single administrative head, and constitutional restrictions in half of the state constitutions prohibiting modern structures of county organization," . . . , and creating a "cluster of independent, unintegrated offices lacking executive direction and control."³⁷ "There have also been important changes in the structures of some county governments in the United States [notably Dade County, Florida, and Los Angeles, California], but the movement for reorganization has not progressed as rapidly on this level of government as it has on the levels immediately above and below it," and "students of government agree that county government has failed to shoulder its fair share of responsibility for providing services to meet the needs of its people."⁴⁴

"In an urban metropolitan area, only the county unit is in a position to provide the administrative government large enough in area to cope with the problems confronting the metropolitan complex,"³⁷ and "the probabilities are great for the continued functional growth of counties provided the inadequacies of county government organization are realistically faced and rectified."¹⁴

COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA

The development of county government from a largely judicial unit to one run by the Commissioners has come about in two primary phases. From 1900 to the 1930's the counties received discretionary highway powers and control of assessments, power to establish parks and recreation, and libraries, flood control, T.B. and contagious disease hospitals, and from 1937* on, powers in the area of planning and zoning, public housing and urban redevelopment, sewage disposal, refuse disposal, public health, child welfare, industrial development, tourist promotion, and mass transit.⁴² Therefore, its powers are quite broad, if exercised to the fullest extent.

In Pennsylvania, counties are arbitrarily divided into classes according to population. Delaware and two of the three other Philadelphia-suburban counties are of the third class — 250,000 to 800,000 population. "The concepts behind laws pertaining to all counties except Philadelphia and Allegheny have not been changed since the days when all counties were primarily rural."¹⁶ The State Legislature, not the Constitution is responsible for the administratively minor but sometimes politically important differences in the County codes, and "there is substantial evidence that the classifica-

*Alaska has no counties, though their boroughs are similar to counties, and in 1960 Connecticut abolished counties and transferred their functions to the state.

*In 1937, the State assumed the entire responsibility for public assistance, leaving the counties with institutional care.⁴²

tion technique is responsive to specific political desires rather than the results of any sound and consistent rationale."³⁶

At the present time both the county and the townships exist as strong units of local government with the former generally lacking supervisory authority. Most optional county functions are also possible functions for the municipalities. There are very powerful associations of municipal offices, each with access to a substantial number of state legislators, zealously guarding the prerogatives of its particular form of local government as well as of its offices.^{36*}

As can be seen on the following page, the structure of Pennsylvania county government is extremely confused, with responsibility being shared among the county commissioners, the dozen other elected or "row offices", the judiciary, and the independent, but often overlapping boards, authorities, and commissions. For this reason it is difficult if not impossible to fix responsibility on any one person or agency, a situation which no business could tolerate, but which does not disturb the political party in power because it makes political control easier. ✓

THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS

There is no one person responsible for the administration of Delaware County government, although as pointed out in the previous chapter, the unofficial Republican War Board sets and enforces policy. Under Pennsylvania law, two majority party commissioners and one minority party commissioner† are the ruling body in most non-judicial matters. In actual practice, the vote of the minority commissioner of little value since it is extremely rare that a difference of opinion is settled along other than on party lines. Then, too, the minority commissioner need not be consulted before important decisions are made, and in addition, it is difficult for him to obtain information from county employees who are entirely of the opposite party.

Each of the Delaware County Commissioners is a part-time employee (although they do put in a pretty full week on governmental affairs), untrained in the administrative functions of government. His time and loyalties are divided among at least the following: his outside business which generally is more remunerative than his \$11,250 governmental salary; the political party of which he is at least nominally the head; and his legislative and administrative functions as County Commissioner.

*See ⁴⁶ for further details on Pennsylvania Township Government.

†Pennsylvania is the only state requiring a minority commissioner.³⁷

A detailed study of the duties and powers of commissioners of counties of the third class will not be attempted here since this information is available in outline form on page 18. However, although the elected county offices (except in the smaller class counties where consolidation of certain elective offices is provided for) are prescribed by the State Constitution, the duties and powers of these offices are set by the State Legislature. In recent years there has been some strengthening of the role of the commissioners by the State Legislature, and the request by the Local Government Commission of the General Assembly that the Pennsylvania Economy League study the problem has resulted in the recommendation that a county administrator be optionally provided for in third-through-eighth class counties.³⁷

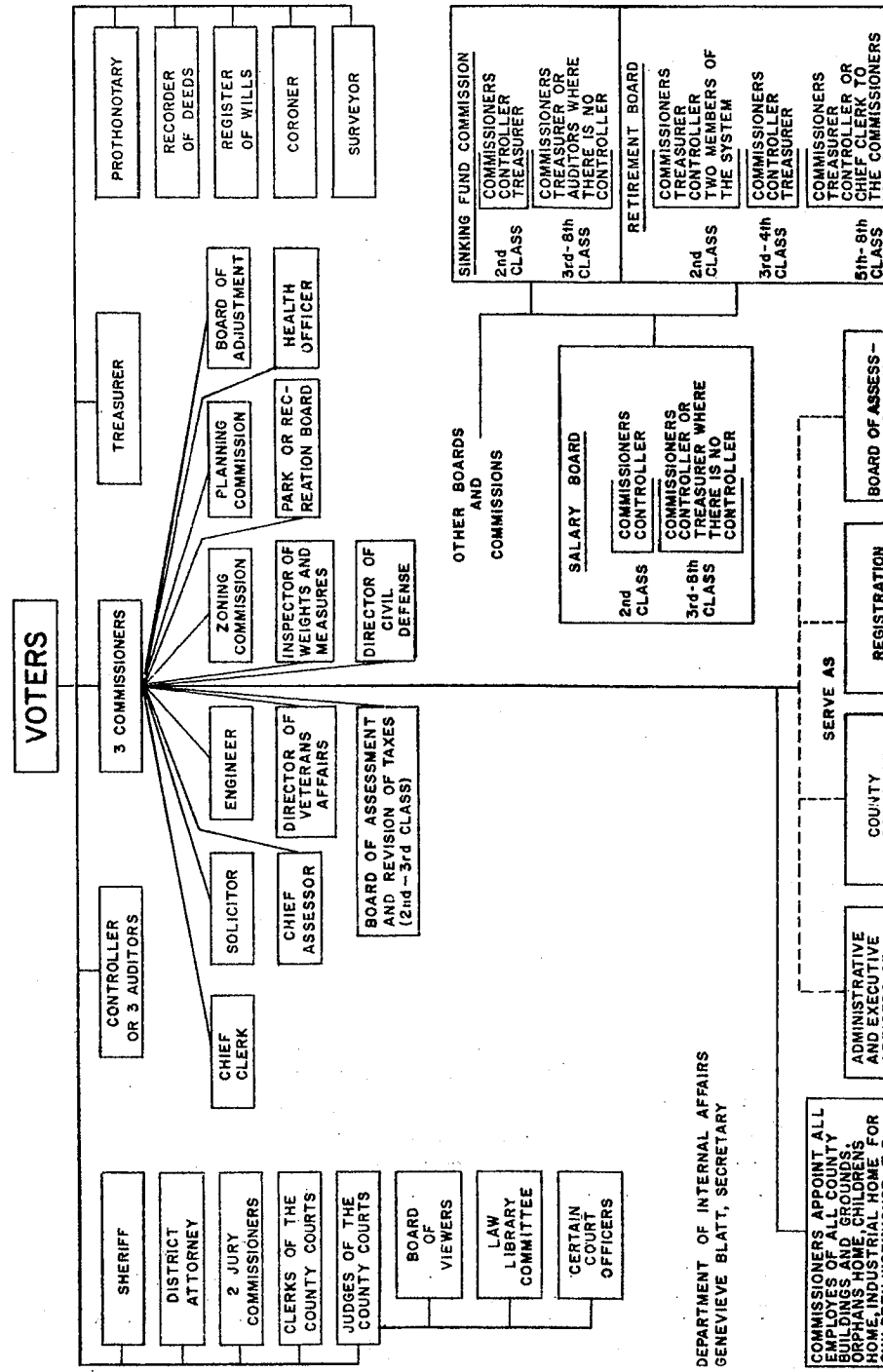
The Delaware County Commissioners are also in charge of the County Institution District, which administers the welfare services provided by the County. This department employs more personnel than all the other departments of government, and has a separate taxing authority and debt limit. There has been a steady merger of many of the administrative functions of these two arms of government, but there has not yet been a complete consolidation as has been mandatory since 1963 in counties of the fourth through sixth class. "The reason for the exclusion of institutional districts in second class, third class, and seventh and eighth class counties appears to be a matter of political expediency rather than public rationale",³⁶ and Delaware County is considered responsible for the exclusion of counties of the third class.⁴²

THE "ROW OFFICES"

In addition to the county commissioners, there are twelve independently elected "row offices" in third class counties, some of which perform judicial functions, and others those of general government. The general governmental offices are: Controller, Treasurer, Surveyor, Recorder of Deeds; and the judicial offices are: Prothonotary, Clerk of Court, Register of Wills, Sheriff, District Attorney, Coroner, and two Jury Commissioners. The necessity of their election cannot be abolished except by constitutional revision. "The county commissioners set the budget for their 'row offices', and with the county controller and the elected official concerned, constitute the salary board that sets salaries in the office [and approves new positions]. Beyond these functions, the Commissioners [and the Judges] have no say in the administrative procedures established by the particular row officer, and thus may have difficulty in organizing efficient administrative policies throughout the county government."³¹⁶

Although these officers do not all run for office at the same

TABLE I
TYPICAL COUNTY ORGANIZATION CHART
(2nd-8th CLASS COUNTIES)



time, their number, when added to municipal, state, and national candidates, tends to confuse the voter, and makes it that much more difficult for him to learn much about the individual candidate, therefore increasing straight party voting. It is also conceivable that a candidate from the minority party might win one of these offices and be unable to conduct his assigned job properly because of a lack of cooperation on the part of the other departments. This would, in turn, give him the opportunity of trying to sabotage the administration for political purposes. If a "row officer" did make a bad mistake, the majority commissioners could pass the buck back to the voters, by disclaiming responsibility for the office holder in question. Then, too, many of the supposedly specialized jobs are subject to the party's usual two-terms in one office rule which is not conducive to good administration.

THE JUDICIARY

Until 1732 the courts were the primary governing body of Pennsylvania counties, "and although the powers of the courts have been drastically reduced, they still share to some extent the administrative powers of the commissioners."¹⁴ Even today the county municipal building is referred to as the "Court House".

Although the courts are State agencies, and the judges are paid by the State, with the county providing the space, the judges are involved both in county politics (where they are appointed and/or elected) and in county administration. They make appointments to vacant elective local offices, oversee all transactions affecting the public use of real property, and their judicial decisions vitally affect parts of the health and welfare fields as well as the maintenance of law and order. They are thus arbiters, consultants, or policy makers on a broad variety of affairs.⁴²

The minor judiciary processes perhaps 80 percent of judicial cases. The practice of the plaintiff paying for legal costs is in some cases a form of legalized pay off, but this writer is not qualified to comment further except to say that the minor judicial system, recently under investigation in Philadelphia should be thoroughly investigated on a state-wide basis. Although the present custom of rotating the juvenile court judge is not considered a good practice, Delaware Countians can generally be proud of their county courts which are among the most expeditious in the State.*

*In the processing of cases (with the possible exception of automobile liability suits) Delaware County is one of the most efficient in the Commonwealth. It has no real backlog of cases whereas in Philadelphia and other counties it may be two or three years before a criminal case is brought to trial.

PERSONNEL

With the exception of several departments notably the planning commission, the child care service in Media and its children's cottage in Lima, and the juvenile home and courts,⁹ there are few professional and technically trained personnel. Jobs are considered rewards for political service, and this acknowledged spoils system "places in public position employees who are incompetent — or at least not the most competent to do the work", and "weakens the formal organization established by law and responsible to the legislative body, and encourages the growth of informal controls exercised by political machines."⁷ The majority party's usual policy of a maximum two terms in one office, and the shifting of top politicians between appointive and elective offices in unrelated fields is also not conducive to developing expertise in administration. The department head is often not as well informed on a particular subject as some of his subordinates, and in some departments he is primarily a figurehead. Thus his power over subordinates is reduced, and since he and his subordinates both owe their jobs to the War Board, there is further motivation for the subordinate evading his responsibilities to the department head.

As is the case in most municipal governments, particularly the smaller ones, salaries are generally not high enough to attract either professional or laymen with the desire or ability to do a good job.

During the alliance between Commissioners Swing and Welsh a commendable effort to improve the efficiency of Delaware County government was made by hiring a team of efficiency experts to analyze its operations. The general conclusions of the resulting report¹⁹ was that the county was inefficiently run and poorly staffed, and "ten suggestions were made that could save the county \$300,000 a year, including one that the staff of the Board of Assessors be cut by eighty percent."¹²

Since the completion of this confidential report, some administrative improvements have been made. These include the installation of duplicating equipment, the consolidation with some of the tasks of the County Institution District, the rental of data-processing equipment, and the formation of a central purchasing department. However, a recent exposure on the part of Commissioner Welsh of collusion in bidding on furniture (resulting in its subsequent rescinding and later award at a 25 percent saving),⁹ and majority Commissioner Frank Snear's admission that a better system for obtaining bids for county purchases should be looked into, proves that setting up on paper an administratively efficient plan does not necessarily mean that the job will be carried out in a more efficient manner.

CHAPTER IV
PHYSICAL AND FISCAL PLANNING

THE PLANNING PROCESS

The planning process in government is unfortunately still a highly controversial one. "In the eyes of its friends planning is synonymous with 'coordination,' 'foresight,' and 'concern with the future' — almost with the whole of rationality. In the eyes of its enemies, planning is sometimes described as though it were identical with 'regimentation' and even 'collectivism'."

Planning in government, particularly on a local level, is generally thought of as physical planning, but in reality it should be a combination of physical and social planning since each so vitally affects the other. Although "there tends to be some friction between social planning and physical planning in solving urban problems, some social welfare planners are beginning to think about the large physical and economic urban area which so greatly affects the conditions they must deal with, . . . and some physical planners are beginning to turn to sociologists and social workers for knowledge about the people for whom they should be planning."³⁰

Planning on the State level is the responsibility of the Pennsylvania State Planning Board which in the past has made little effort to relate state and local planning functions.³⁰ With a smaller budget and staff than some county planning agencies, much of the planning assistance to local governments comes through the Bureau of Community Development of the State Department of Commerce, also quite limited in resources and staff.*

LAND USE PLANNING IN DELAWARE COUNTY

Land use planning on a county-wide level does not yet really exist in Delaware County. Although the County Planning Commission has applied for federal funds to make a comprehensive county study, it will take several years to complete the work assuming its application is approved. When this study is completed, many of its recommendations may be completely ignored because planning commissions in counties of the third class, although they review all municipal subdivision plans, have no legal authority over local municipalities except those few which have no planning agencies.

Delaware County had one of the first planning commissions, but by 1961, the neighboring suburban counties had already passed it in per capita expenditures.³⁰ The staff has been professional from

*Although the southwestern municipalities were relatively slow in taking advantage of federal planning assistance, as of December 31, 1960, Pennsylvania led the nation in the amount of federal 701 funds approved.³⁰

the beginning, and has emphasized basic county data on housing, highways, population characteristics and land use patterns.⁴² Even so, the planning function and staff is considered as being too liberal by many politicians in the "Court House" who do not really understand or sympathize with the planning process. The staff also provides local municipal planning assistance at 50 percent of cost, but many of the wealthier communities prefer to retain outside consultants for their land use and zoning plans and ordinances, and have little contact with the county planning staff.

The local municipal planning commissions, subject to legislative bodies and court approval, have exclusive control over zoning and land use except as noted above. Most of these local planning commissions and zoning boards seem not only unaware of regional plans and problems, but also ignorant of those of their neighboring communities. They also often lack knowledge and coordination with their own municipal and school officials, and may be pursuing entirely different policies within the same municipality. "Viewing the local community primarily as a place to live, rather than as a place where important public decisions must be made, officials and citizens alike tend to become concerned over only one issue: keep taxes low. This narrow preoccupation precludes the development of long-range goals and programs for future growth."³⁰

The easiest and most logical way to keep taxes down is to keep people, particularly the lower income groups with children of school age, from moving into the undeveloped areas. About 45 percent of the land in the four Pennsylvania suburban counties is zoned one acre or more,³³ and public sympathy in the municipalities generally supports these zoning restrictions. However, large area zoning often increases municipal costs (excluding schools), tends to force our expanding population into already over-developed areas, and often breaks down under economic forces.

All municipalities are competing to attract profit-producing property. A study by Lower Merion Township (Montgomery County) estimated that residential use had a deficit of 26 percent of income, while apartment use (generally the expensive high-rise type) had a profit of 81 percent, business 68 percent, vacant land 67 percent, and special use 33 percent of income.²⁴ The wealthier municipalities with good schools and attractive communities generally are able to attract the most desirable type of businesses, while the poorer communities will take almost anything that they can get. This competition for a stable tax base increases the economic differences between municipalities. It also often happens that one municipality will receive the tax benefits, while another, close by, may have its traffic and other municipal problems increased greatly without any increase in its own tax base.

TRANSPORTATION

"An adequate and efficient transportation system is recognized by all students of metropolitan affairs as a vital necessity to the continued vitality of this nation's metropolitan affairs. . . . If that system fails, then the city fails, and if the city fails, then the metropolitan area of which the city is the core also degenerates."³⁹ Although transportation is usually separated into automobile and mass transit (the latter sometimes broken down into bus and rail service), this is an artificial distinction. Academicians and, more recently, federal and local officials of the larger municipalities are realizing that transportation planning should be under the control of regional planning and management. Until the post World War II suburban migration, public transportation was the chief determining factor in the growth of urban areas, and it is still of major importance. Many cannot afford one car, much less two, and roughly one-half the population, the old, the young, the infirm and the poor, do not have drivers' licenses. To many of these people public transportation is a necessity. To others, particularly along the rail lines, where at least four out of five could come by automobile, but prefer the train,²⁷ it is a convenience.

The Philadelphia metropolitan area is fortunate in that it did not permit its mass transit facilities to be abandoned as has happened in so many cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco. In the latter city the people have finally demanded that over a billion dollars be spent to build high-speed commuter rail lines because of the inability of their vast networks of freeways to solve transportation needs without ruining the city. "In general the public transportation system does not suffer from major capacity deficiencies," although "suburban rail is almost entirely orientated toward center city, and does not provide any circumferential or short haul radial service of any importance."²²

It has been estimated that a single lane of track can accommodate as many people per hour as twenty lanes of superhighway for strictly automobile use. With some 45 percent of the wage earners of Delaware County working outside the County,⁴ and traffic bumper-to-bumper much of the day, it seems incredible that the county has not yet joined its neighbors in subsidizing regional mass transit which would result in lower fares, improved comfort, speed, and frequency of operation, and take some of the traffic off the highways.* Although

*Professor Gilbert lists the following reasons for this failure: tax consciousness on the part of the commissioners, the oil, road-building and trucking industries, merchants in Chester and Upper Darby who do not want to subsidize center city shopping, and the belief on the part of the political power structure that the other counties are not sympathetic to Delaware County problems including the Red Arrow Lines.

refusing to join the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Compact (SEPACT), Delaware County did join the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority (SEPTA) in 1962, perhaps due to a Red Arrow Line bus and rail strike and the threat of heavy financial losses to the company. In spite of the fact that the County is not fully paying its assessed share of its financial quota for 1965, it still remains a member, and as federal aid increases, as differences over policy and the Red Arrow Lines are resolved, and as pressures from within and without the County increases, the Organization may finally realize the need for subsidizing public transit operations.

"The low operating levels of the existing arterial system, the paucity of circumferential arterials, and the difficulty of improving arterial streets, especially in Pennsylvania, indicate that the present arterial system (in the Penn-Jersey Area) is inadequate even as a feeder system for an expanded system of freeways."²² The Pennsylvania Department of Highways maintains more mileage than New England, New York and New Jersey combined.⁴² Prior to 1955 it had very little highway planning. Therefore, when the federal Interstate Highway Act was passed, it took Pennsylvania a great deal more time to get organized than some other states, and to start building its share of interstate roads. Even today, highway planning, except for the interstate roads, seems to be on a piecemeal rather than on a network basis.

In Pennsylvania, as in many other states, at least partially because of the domination of legislatures by rural representatives, the urban areas have not received their share of the revenue collected from gas taxes; and Delaware County's representatives were not able to lobby for their share effectively. A twelve year battle over the location of the Mid-County Expressway (the "Blue Route"),[†] combined with virtually no improvements in the north-south highways of the County, and only moderate improvements in the east-west arteries, has much of the traffic during the rush hours, traveling at a snail's pace. Then too, there has been constant bickering among local governments, and upon occasion barriers have been erected by one municipality to keep cars from another from using a particular street. The State Highway Department, with demands which greatly exceed the supply of funds available, and always anxious to keep as much out of politics as possible, has made few improvements on roads where the municipalities were in conflict, or in cases where one of a series of municipalities fought the widening of a state road through its own particular

[†]The long delayed public hearing on the alternate locations for this expressway lasted from 7:30 P.M., until 6:45 the following morning as municipal officials, civic associations, Swarthmore College, and individuals, attempted to keep the final route from going through their own built-up areas, or ruining parks, open space, historic sites, or their own properties.

area. Under the present Secretary of Highways, there has been a recent flurry of resurfacing projects completed, and plans for widening of major arterials revealed, and the County legislators have banded together to exert political pressure for these improvements. Still, today, there are many bottlenecks where traffic could be relieved with some thought, and little or no expense, by changing the timing of some traffic lights, widening certain intersections to permit left and right turn lanes, and by the construction of passing lanes on long, steep, two-lane hills.

OPEN SPACE

Delaware County is far behind its neighbors and national standards* in the amount of large park acreage available to its citizens, as can be seen in the following table:

FEDERAL, STATE AND COUNTY PARK ACREAGE
IN PENJERDEL REGION 1961†

County	Bucks	Chester	Delaware	Montgomery	Philadelphia
Percent of land area	0.6	4.8	0.3	1.0	8.2
Acres per 1000 population	7.7	10.8	0.5	6.4	3.4

†The percent of land area in Bucks County has been changed by this writer because the original work misplaced the decimal point. The addition of State Parks under Project 70 will help all suburban counties to some extent.

Although a County Park and Recreation Board had been founded in 1932, by 1956 only 259 acres had been donated to the County for parks and the Park Board is almost entirely concerned with the policing of its properties. In 1956 the Health and Welfare Council started a campaign for more open space aimed particularly at preserving the Creek Valleys. This movement had some initial political support, and in 1960 a bond issues of \$650,000 was approved for open space acquisition and development. However, none of the \$200,000 earmarked for Creek Valleys was ever spent for the purpose, and most of the balance was used on the development of a nine hole golf course on land much of which had been donated.‡

*The National Recreation Association advocates ten acres of municipal parks and ten acres of outlying parks for every 1,000 people, and many cities such as Baltimore and New York are setting their open space goals much higher.³³

‡Professor Gilbert lists the following reasons for the Creek Valley Movement's failure: planning was too comprehensive, inflating land costs and alarming taxpayers; too much emphasis on condemnation; a large part of the population was interested only in active recreation, not creek valleys and green belts; to which should be added fear of minority and low income groups from Philadelphia using the facilities.

Ann Louise Strong lists four primary purposes for the retention of "Open Space": *Recreation*, both active and passive for all ages; *Conservation*, watershed protection, including reservoirs, forestry, historic sites, and wildlife protection; *Shaping Development*, by defining communities or separating neighborhoods, and keeping the costs of municipal services and facilities at reasonable levels; and finally, *Reservation*, by deliberately holding for the needs of future development either exclusively for residential subdivision, industrial development, or parkland, or a combination of two or more of these uses.³³

In Delaware County neither the people nor the power structure yet realizes that "open space can serve strictly economic as well as less well-defined social and psychological ends," or as many cities have reported that "increased property values in the city due to park development have amounted to several times the cost of the entire park system."³³ With the exception of a few municipalities (such as Springfield Township) where the political leaders have taken the lead in acquisition of land for public purposes, provision for playgrounds and small community parks has only been made when the voters have demanded it. There has been little effective pressure for the acquisition of larger areas, and as yet the majority commissioners have raised no new funds for the purchase of the rather modest amount of acreage applied for under Project 70, in spite of the fact that the County voters approved of this legislation by almost two to one.

HOUSING

Delaware County has both a Redevelopment Authority and a Housing Authority, as does the city of Chester. Although there are some "blighted" and "gray areas" in other parts of the County, the Redevelopment Authority has done little except in Darby and a recently approved project in Chester Township. Municipalities generally are loath to admit that they have such areas, and there is strong local antagonism to "federal interference". However, as these areas deteriorate further, and the causes and solutions to urban and suburban blight becomes better understood, these two authorities will undoubtedly play an increasingly important role in the housing field, particularly in the more urban areas.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Delaware County has a more serious tax base and unemployment problem than Bucks and Montgomery counties, and appears to have done less than either of them about it.⁴² As pointed out earlier, the various municipalities are competing with each other for their own definitions of desirable industry, and county-wide business

and civic leadership is lacking. What little has been done has been primarily through the understaffed planning commission or the Chester-based Delaware County Chamber of Commerce which receives state aid for promotional activities.*

The City of Chester has been permitted to stagnate and deteriorate to the point where the power structure was forced to support the recently formed Greater Chester Movement which will need intelligent leadership, public support and massive federal aid if that area is to be rejuvenated. Not only Chester, but much of the southeastern part of the County is not particularly attractive to the higher wage-paying industries because of its general physical appearance, poor mass transit service, overcrowded highways, lower educational standards, and general economic characteristics.

FISCAL PLANNING

As outlined earlier, there is little long-range planning in the setting of goals or policy, and the County operates almost on a day-to-day basis. Nowhere is this more apparent than in financial planning. Although expenditures amount to almost fourteen million dollars annually,⁹ there is no capital program or capital budget. "The preparation each year of a five or six-year capital budget is generally recognized as essential, not only to practical progress toward achieving the long term goals of planning, but also to achieve efficient municipal administration."⁵

The Board of Assessment and Revision of Taxes is the most sensitive office in the county because of its relations with the public, opportunities for special consideration, and its numerous political appointments. Assessors are almost always politically active in their local districts, few of the overstaffed board are trained in their field, and State laws leave much to discretion.⁴² Inequalities exist between the ratio of assessment to market value not only between various municipalities, but within municipalities themselves. A gradual reassessment of all properties in the County is supposed to take place during the next three years,⁴⁷ and this reassessment could help to correct these inequalities.

The cost of collecting local taxes in Pennsylvania is extremely high. Pennsylvania is one of the few states permitting duplicate, expensive local collections based upon percentage compensation to the collector and virtually everyone except the politicians has attacked this wasteful system. The costs of real estate tax collection in 1959 varied from \$9.22 to \$49.00 per \$1,000 collected in selected municipal-

*The Chamber has recently taken a more active position, and enabling legislation now permits the creation of three fund raising districts in the County for Pennsylvania Industrial Development Authority purposes.

ities in the County,²¹ with the per capita cost decreasing as population increases. "A comparison of the percentage cost of collection data shows that the costs in the six Pennsylvania categories ranged anywhere from two to almost eight times as much as the costs in a typical Ohio county,"³⁸ which collects its taxes on a county basis. With the County preparing the tax duplicates on its new data processing machine, there is little for the local tax collector to do except to mail the bills and deposit the money. The County government has, therefore, recently reduced its own collection fees by about 42 percent,* saving County taxpayers \$140,000 a year.⁷ Since the tax collector is often the highest paid municipal official (many of their incomes exceed that of the county commissioners) he is usually the top political leader. There is, therefore, strong political opposition to abolishing these lucrative posts which afford the holder ample time to attend to political affairs.

CHAPTER V

HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

"Approximately \$1.25 billion is spent in the Penjerdel region each year for social insurance, public education, health services, all forms of public assistance and welfare services, recreation services, and central services related to health and welfare."³¹ As pointed out in Chapter IV, planning should be a combination of both physical and social planning since each so vitally affects the other. Yet as with physical planning, there is little comprehensive social planning because of the necessity of dealing with 3 states, 11 counties, 377 municipalities, 387 school systems, 26 United Funds and over 1,500 public and private welfare agencies.³¹ These social problems overlap political boundaries to an even greater extent than in physical planning, and inadequate protection in one municipality will often affect another. "The uneven distribution of taxable wealth among local government jurisdictions leads to complete distortion in the relationship of resources to needs."³¹ There is also a lack of cooperation, understanding and even communication not only among municipalities, but also between different social and economic classes and religious, ethnic and racial groups within the same municipality. Some sort of coordination must be devised if vast sums of money are not to be wasted, and confusion is not to increase.

*Commissioners Swing and Welsh had previously cut these fees, but their action was reversed when Swing was defeated by the Organization.

RACIAL TENSIONS

In Delaware County, as elsewhere, racial problems will play an increasingly important part in governmental decisions. The City of Chester has the highest percentage of Negroes of any city in the Penjerdel Region, and many parts of the County are characterized by de facto segregation. Because its scope is necessarily limited, this study cannot go more deeply into the subject. However, it is my feeling that no one can really tell what will happen except that racial tensions and violence could increase substantially over a prolonged period of time.

EDUCATION

The goal of education has been described as "to prepare all children and adults for responsible citizenship, economically useful roles, enriched lives, enjoyment of leisure, increased knowledge and skills, and the appreciation of beauty."³¹ In reality, many of our health and particularly welfare and crime problems are due to the inadequacy of our educational systems in providing the basis for more than a partial realization of these goals.

The principle of home rule in education is jealously guarded in the suburban municipalities. Public education in Delaware County is essentially shared between the State (which provides more than 50 percent of school support on a state-wide basis) and the 42 school districts, 15 of which are members of joint districts, and 3 of union school districts,¹⁰ with the County playing an intermediary role. The County Superintendent of Schools, although elected by the separate school districts, is basically a State officer, and he and his 125 employees are responsible for doing things that a local school district cannot do, or would find too expensive to undertake, as well as in providing specialists to help various categories of problem children. These categories include slow learners, those hard of hearing, partially sighted, physically handicapped and emotionally disturbed, as well as those who have suffered brain damage or have speech problems.⁴⁷

There are sizeable differences in the quality of education in the school districts of the County, and those interested in the best education possible for their children often move into the communities with the best educational standards that they can afford. This differentiation between school districts is gradually being corrected by the Commonwealth in two ways. The first is by raising the minimum amount of State financial aid per pupil which will make more State money available to the poorer districts. The second is through enforced consolidation of the smaller school districts. These consolidations will tend to make the new larger districts more efficient, but

are being opposed by some of the wealthier communities who do not wish to merge with districts which are thought to have lower educational standards or social status. They are also being opposed on purely economic grounds. School tax rates vary from seven mills in Millbourne to 110 mills in Bethel.¹⁰ This difference is because some communities have industries which pay a large share of the taxes while others are primarily residential communities with many children of school age. Some of these "tax haven" municipalities will have their tax rates raised substantially by these mergers, and in one case it will be more than doubled.

LIBRARIES

A 1962 study concluded that in 1960 more than 90,000 Delaware Countians in 22 municipalities had no library service, and that, in general, available facilities offered a limited range of services, were inadequately staffed, and lacked the necessary quantity and quality of books. * The larger and/or wealthier municipalities have the ability to provide adequate services, but the smaller ones do not. Adding more small libraries either private or municipal, unable to maintain high service levels to the already large number of units in the County is not the answer to the problem.³⁵

In 1961 the General Assembly authorized a statewide integrated library system with four regional centers, and as many as 30 district libraries. In 1962 a study recommended that libraries in the eastern part of the County be included in the Philadelphia District, and those in the western part should belong to a district with West Chester as the center.¹⁶ As yet, Delaware County has appropriated no funds for the creation or support of County library services which would be matched by State grants.

POLICE PROTECTION

Crime is increasing three times as fast in the suburbs as it is in the cities,⁹ and this trend could increase substantially as amateur and professional criminals realize the inadequacy of police protection in many suburban communities. Then too, as the mobility of juvenile gangs from inside and outside the County increases, and the probability of increased racial strife looms larger, there are few municipalities which have a force of sufficient size to quell major disturbances.

"The least efficient and therefore most expensive police agencies are the small ones. In general units of five, fifteen, or even fifty-odd officers cannot afford the services of top administrators, cannot at-

*³⁵Quoting from Drexel Institute of Technology — Pennsylvania State Library Project made for the Lansdowne Branch of the American Association of University Women.

tract the most desirable recruits, cannot provide training facilities, and must allow a large share of personnel to administrative and housekeeping tasks."⁴⁵ Although municipalities may train their personnel at the Philadelphia Police Academy, and there is coordination to the extent of a county-operated radio system, and a willingness on the part of local police departments to respond outside their jurisdiction, if requested,⁴³ it is this writer's belief that many communities receive inadequate protection, some at high cost.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Over 1,500 separate health and welfare agencies function in the Penjerdel region. In Delaware County alone there are more than 150 separate agencies and departments providing health and hospital services at a cost of over \$11,500,000 annually.²⁵ The organizational structure and the factors that determine function, policies, and standards in the Penjerdel Region are so complex that no general description is possible.³¹

A 1956 study attempted to classify services in terms of goals they serve and listed 153 separate kinds of services divided into four major groups distinguished by their goals as follows: Assuming minimum necessities for decent living (32 specific kinds of services); maintenance and improvement of physical and mental health (79 services); improvement of social relations and social responsibility (35 services); enrichment of life and enjoyment of leisure through recreational and cultural pursuits (10 separate kinds of services).*

Income for these services is derived as follows: government 45 percent, fees 41 percent, and private donations, including United Funds, other contributions and income from investments, 14 percent.³¹ However, the private donations, although small when compared to other sources, do provide a higher percentage of funds invested in planning and preventive work as well as those concerned with individual services.

In Pennsylvania the county plays a smaller role than elsewhere with the State, local municipalities, and perhaps the voluntary agencies playing a larger role.⁴² Public assistance is entirely a State function carried on through a county field office. Delaware County does have extensive health and welfare services, and appears to be ahead of its neighboring suburban counties, perhaps because of the needs and demands of its more urban population. In general, County health and welfare administrative structure is even more confused than is the structure of general government.

In 1961 the Health and Welfare Council found health programs and organization virtually unchanged since a previous study in 1933.⁴² In the health field alone there are approximately 75 governmental administrative units which spend more than \$1,500,000 annually in Delaware County. "This is obviously a cumbersome administrative structure and there is no central point for the coordination or integration of these closely related services. Furthermore, there are a number of essential services which are minimal, not provided at all, or provided very unevenly throughout the County."²⁵

Pennsylvania counties have the power to establish a county health department to provide and coordinate the full scale of health benefits. Four counties have already done so; but Delaware County with the greatest need for such action, because of its larger expenditures and extensive programs, has not done so. Nor has it followed the recommendation of the Health and Welfare Council that, barring a regular health department, a skilled medical coordinator be hired.

One possible reason why the County government has not followed these recommendations is because of the unwillingness of the political organization to interfere with its basic policy of letting local officials run their municipalities as they see fit. Each borough and first class township must have a health board. This gives the members some stature in the community, and affords the local Organization the opportunity of making political appointments. "Except in the larger municipalities, the work of these local boards of health is carried on by part-time health officers, most of whom receive annual salaries of \$300 or less."²⁵ "The local health officers are rarely skilled, being mainly political appointees and often having little or no knowledge of conditions causative of epidemic or infectious disease . . . the State Health Department has not always been energetic or decisive; it too, is often political and affords little aid in local health problems."⁴³

Although there has been some consolidation of housekeeping activities, the Institution District and the County Government remain separate taxing and functional entities, because the Organization was unwilling to consolidate these bodies as noted above.

There are two areas where the social services of the County appear superior to most other Pennsylvania counties. The first is in child welfare, where some time ago a judge successfully persuaded the power structure of the social and political benefits to be obtained by a completely professional staff, which is mandatory in order to obtain federal funds. Many of the optional functions of the juvenile courts are being gradually handed over to the child welfare agencies, but the judges maintain their strong interest in dependent, neglected and delinquent children, although they have not, as pointed out earlier, appointed a permanent judge for Juvenile Court.

*³¹ Quoting from Health and Welfare Council, Inc., of Delaware, Montgomery and Philadelphia Counties.

The other is its Home for the Aged, "Fair Acres," which is located on a beautiful 210 acre country tract. But here too benefits to the loyal voters are not to be forgotten, and some feel that it is possible to gain admission through political favoritism.⁴² In addition, in order to keep expenses down, in the past it has favored private admissions over those who are unable to pay.

There are large numbers of medically indigent, particularly among minority groups, who are unable to pay their hospital bills. Although the County has expanded the number of hospitals receiving financial assistance, it is presently providing less than one third of the estimated cost of services to the medically indigent, and the local hospitals will undoubtedly have to make up the difference.

While this booklet deals primarily with governmental problems, it is important to remember that the private charities and fund drives provide almost 14 percent of health and welfare funds, and get most of the civic leaders' attention in the Penjerdel Region. Here too, there is much confusion and overlapping of functions and responsibilities.

The health and welfare councils have done much in the way of planning, coordination, and providing central services to member agencies. However, they have been severely limited in their efforts because of insufficient funds, and because they have advisory powers only and therefore cannot enforce policies except indirectly by their recommendations concerning the allotment of United Fund appropriations. Then, too, since they are intimately related to and almost entirely supported by the private institutional structures which are usually resistant to change, they are not really equipped to be a change agent for the social system.³¹ Yet, if vast sums are not to be wasted in the field of private charity, the health and welfare councils appear to be the only agencies which can cut down this waste in money and talent that now exists.

The concept that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure has only begun to permeate the thinking of private and governmental people in the health, educational and welfare fields. Health and welfare services are now geared to care primarily for the ill and dependent with some 85 percent of the total cost spent for this purpose, and only 15 percent to keep people well, to prevent people from getting into trouble, or to help them out of it.³¹ This is probably one of the reasons why the federal government is playing an increasingly important role in planning requests, and in starting pilot projects to prove the feasibility of new techniques to private and public agencies alike. The minimum standards for matching funds (true in the case of states also), although partially offset by red tape and delay, will undoubtedly promote increased efficiency and competence in both public and private welfare.

WATER SUPPLY AND POLLUTION

Although both water and air pollution are very closely related to open space planning, they are also serious health problems which the general public is not very much aware of or concerned about. It has been estimated that by 1980 or 1985 our national demand for water will exceed the supply and that in the future, most of the water used in this country will already have been used by someone else.³²

Therefore, water supply, flooding and pollution should be studied together and, as the reuse of water increases, it is imperative that strict codes be enacted to clean the County's polluted streams and protect wells and community water sources from contamination.

The Philadelphia Suburban Water Company supplies most of the water for County residents except in the Chester and Media areas. Although its cost is reputed to be very high, its water is of excellent quality. The company is making provisions to insure that an adequate supply is available for anticipated future use.³⁵

The suburban answer to the disposal of sewage has often been the septic tank, but, depending on soil conditions, it is generally not the long term answer unless the lots are of at least one acre. There have been many areas where sub-divisions served by septic tanks have had to convert to sewers and treatment plants at huge additional cost.* In short, "the use of individual wells and septic tanks on the fringes of our cities often endangers public health, rarely provides a permanent solution to the problem of obtaining water and the disposition of waste, and encourages urban sprawl."³² Yet in spite of overflowing septic tanks, contaminated wells and streams, and repeated warnings, public awareness and concern is minimal.

The disposal of sewage has been the cause of serious disputes between municipalities and although most built-up areas are now members of one of the authorities, some municipalities have been able to drive a pretty stiff bargain with their neighbors. Since the efficiency of per capita sewage treatment increases with the size of the facility,* it is to be hoped that new areas will be able to be taken care of by hooking up to existing authorities at a reasonable cost rather than by the creation of new ones, except on a County or Watershed basis.

*For information on the economics of installing sewage systems in advance of building, see reference 23.

*The comparable costs are only \$8.00 per million gallons for a 100,000,000 gallon capacity treatment plant compared to \$58 per million gallons for a 1,000,000 gallon plant.³²

AIR POLLUTION

It has been estimated that 83 percent of the population of Pennsylvania breathes impure air and that 90 percent of the urban population of the United States breathes air which is objectionably polluted.¹⁷

The full effects of air pollution on health (like the habit of smoking) are unknown, but appear to be considerable. In 1948 a period of dense air pollution in Donora, Pennsylvania, caused 20 deaths, and in 1952 a week of severe smog in London has been blamed for some 4,000 excess deaths.²⁸ The economic cost in property damage is estimated at \$750,000,000 a year in Pennsylvania alone,²⁹ and the costs of control are also extremely high. At the moment there are relatively few days in the Penjerdel region when a thermal inversion makes pollutants in the form of smog unpleasantly noticeable, but the cumulative effect of impure air on its inhabitants is undoubtedly considerable. In addition, during the next 25 years, three million more people are expected to move into the region with more houses (fuel burned), automobiles, public facilities, employment centers and utilities. This increased consumption of fuel when combined with the combustion from areas being built up nearby will have an increasingly harmful effect on our personal health and economy.

A basic problem is that air technology has not yet really been established as a science. Smoke can be seen and at least partially controlled by legislation. There are, however, many different types of air pollutants given off by the various different types of combustion, and some of these dangerous pollutants cannot be seen or smelled, and the general public, therefore, doesn't know that they exist. As yet no real air standards exist for human or animal health, or property damage, and little on crop damage.

Of all the problems faced by urban communities, air pollution is probably the most regional or national in scope. Like water pollution, it often does not affect the offender and the substantial efforts made by government and industry in this country have been too geographically restrictive to be wholly effective except in a few places.²⁸

According to a 1959 survey, seven municipalities in the Penjerdel region (only Springfield Township and Yeadon Borough in Delaware County) had smoke or air pollution control ordinances, and these programs were usually administered on a part-time basis by a health officer or building inspector.²⁸ The County itself employs no one to inspect facilities or discover violations such as is done in Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties or by the municipalities in the Lehigh Valley, and complaints are referred to the State Engineer of

Control District Number Seven. Except for those suffering from respiratory diseases such as bronchitis or emphysema, there is little knowledge or concern on the part of Delaware Countians or their elected officials.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

IMPROVING GOVERNMENT IN DELAWARE COUNTY

There are serious governmental, political and social problems in Delaware County, and in the Penjerdel region. These problems will increase in scope and intensity as the Penjerdel region absorbs millions of additional residents, and is gradually merged into the future Megalopolis along much of the eastern seaboard.

POLITICS AND CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

The principal reason for many of these problems is that there is a lack of civic concern and leadership on an area-wide basis and particularly on a county-wide basis within Delaware County. The voters have permitted an extremely powerful political machine to dominate County affairs for over half a century. The rulers of this machine have dropped further and further behind the times as their age and tenure has increased, and their lack of activity and leadership in major fields has been one of the prime reasons why Delaware County does not compare favorably with other Penjerdel counties in many areas.

Politics will continue to be the place where governmental decisions are made, and if the citizens do not take a more active interest, County decisions will continue to be made behind "closed doors". In spite of the death of Mr. McClure, the Republican Organization may well remain one of the most powerful machines in the United States for many years. Unless effective civic pressure can be brought to bear to require efficiency and adequate services, the Organization will undoubtedly continue to consider County government primarily as a means of providing jobs for the party faithful and with winning the next election, rather than thinking in terms of what would be good for the County on a long-term basis. The political leaders could well continue to remain extremely provincial and isolationist in their thinking, and generally unwilling to cooperate in regional undertakings unless effective pressure is brought to bear upon the party hierarchy.

However there are reform elements within the Republican Party in some municipalities. These modern Republicans appear to be having more influence and may succeed in gaining the upper hand in County affairs even before the older party leaders die off.

The Democratic Party is gaining strength, and Commissioner Welsh has become an effective spokesman for better government. More evenly balanced parties would encourage better administration and policies, and give the voters a choice of candidates and issues. But a change in party rule will not necessarily insure better government, particularly on a long-term basis, if the voters generally remain apathetic and do not live up to their civic responsibilities.

That is why strong efforts should be begun by business, labor, charitable foundations and academic institutions to help build strong county and regional groups concerned with governmental affairs. Among established groups I would include the various county citizens councils, the Pennsylvania Economy League, and the Regional Conference of Elected Officials. The Citizens Council on City Planning, and the Greater Philadelphia Movement should expand their operations to include the whole metropolitan area, not just Philadelphia because they have the talent and financial resources to be effective, while the suburban county civic organizations as yet do not.

Information on the County and on the Region, their problems, and the alternate methods of solving these problems should be disseminated to a far greater degree than has been done in the past. Forums featuring governmental experts in various fields should be held within the counties, and the metropolitan papers could help immensely by more extensive suburban political coverage, and by editorials on county administration, policy and structure in their suburban sections.

COUNTY ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

A further problem is that Delaware and most other Pennsylvania counties must labor under a very inefficient administrative structure, hamstrung by State constitutional and Legislative restrictions.

The Pennsylvania Constitution requires in all counties the election of two majority and one minority commissioner, and of many independent "row offices" responsible to no one except indirectly to the electorate. This administrative defect should be corrected by a constitutional amendment which would require an elected county executive, an elected legislative body, and the elimination of the election of all other county administrative offices.

A stopgap legislative solution would be to permit counties to create the position of county administrator. This means of achieving

a more modern structure of county organization has been adopted in 79 counties in the United States, ranging from Petroleum County, Montana, with a population of 894, to Los Angeles County with over six million inhabitants.³⁷ It would then be up to the voters to make sure that their own county implemented the enabling legislation, and for this reason a mandatory provision might be more desirable.

There would undoubtedly be much political opposition to almost all suggested administrative improvements. In Pennsylvania the county is the base of the political organization. State legislators, particularly those from the strong one-party dominated counties, would not be anxious to vote for any administrative improvements which could be detrimental to their own safety, or to that of members of their own party hierarchy. However, some counties such as Montgomery appear to have political leadership which is genuinely interested in improving government. The suburban counties could combine their talent to form a metropolitan study commission* to determine whether they should be granted "home rule" powers, and what form of modernized county government would be suitable for their counties. If several suburban counties did combine their votes with those of their more urban neighbors to demand an efficient county administrative structure with adequate powers, proper legislation could be passed by the State Legislature.

COUNTY POWERS

Delaware County's forty-nine municipalities have vast differences in size, population, physical appearance, economic and social status, educational levels, ethnic and racial characteristics, and often have opposing goals and interests. In spite of the fact that many municipalities are unable to cope adequately with the increasing governmental challenges, each is permitted virtual "home rule". The County government is the logical body to assume those functions which the municipalities cannot or will not perform, and should be given the legal power to do so. Many, including this writer, are fearful of federal bureaucratic expansion and control, but this is precisely what will happen if the municipalities or the County are not successful in solving their increasing problems.

The improvements suggested thus far have been rather general in nature. Below are some specific recommendations which apply to individual departments or functions.

*See (1) for an excellent example of such a study.

PHYSICAL PLANNING

A principal area where the County Organization has fallen short is in not providing the funds or support for a comprehensive land use plan within which framework the municipalities could guide their own policies. Although it appears that the County may be beginning to assume its responsibility in this field, not only has much damage already been done, but it seems to this writer that the federal grant applied for is not sufficient to permit a truly comprehensive County plan which would fully integrate all regional plans and studies in the fields of population distribution, transportation, open space, water and air pollution. While this plan is being prepared, the County Commissioners should be empowered by legislation to enact and enforce minimum subdivision controls, a minimum housing code and building regulations.

Inadequate transportation is one of the most pressing problems of Delaware County. In the field of mass transit, it appears that the major obstacle is that the power structure has not been willing to subsidize mass transit services, or to fully cooperate in regional transit planning. At the very least the County should pay its share of the subsidy and improvements in service which should be provided by SEPACT to Delaware County residents. Although it appears logical that it should fully cooperate with SEPTA, an interim suggestion would be to help pay the cost of improved Red Arrow service within the County.

In the highway field, the present shortcomings will be at least somewhat alleviated by the interstate system, but there appears to be more attention paid to the laying of concrete and blacktop than to the speeding of traffic. The State has not been able to properly solve the problem; so perhaps Delaware County should be empowered to take over the planning of all improvements within the County, including the power to compel municipalities to permit street widening or other improvements which do not cause serious damage to the municipality affected.

The County, even with the addition of the Jeffords tract as a State Park, lags far behind its neighbors and below national standards in the amount of large publicly-owned park acreage. This is particularly apparent in the southeastern parts of the County where parks are badly needed to provide more recreation, and to give the area a more attractive appearance, thereby raising property values. The County should therefore now raise the funds to fully utilize the State grants allocated under Project 70.

FISCAL REFORMS

The County's powers should also be broadened in fiscal affairs. The present system of local tax collection is unnecessarily expensive in all municipalities, and it would be far less expensive if the County were empowered to collect all local, school, and County taxes as agent for those taxing bodies, with regional offices where necessary.

Although some improvements appear to have been made in fiscal affairs, there is as yet no long-range financial planning. A capital program and budget should be established and adhered to. A professional finance officer should be hired to coordinate all aspects of the County's financial activities, including the appointment and supervision of the tasks of assessment and purchasing.

There are many inequities in the County tax assessment system. Part-time assessors should be eliminated, and all assessors should be required to pass qualification tests. There should be at least some specialization as to categories of assessed property, rather than a division of the workload based solely on geographic area.

POLICE PROTECTION

Police protection is inadequate and expensive in many parts of the County, and this shortcoming will become more apparent as the suburban crime rate continues its upward spiral. One solution would be for neighboring municipalities to band together for better service. Another might be for small communities to contract for police service from neighboring municipalities such as Narberth receives from Lower Merion Township, or perhaps a County Authority could be authorized to provide service as has been done in many areas of California, and in Nassau County, New York.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

Although judicial administration appears to be one of the most efficient in the State in terms of the disposition of cases, it too, could undoubtedly be improved by the appointment of a permanent, capable juvenile court judge, and statewide reform of the minor judiciary.

PERSONNEL

Partially because of the low regard for politics and public service, synonymous in Delaware County, salaries are generally too low to attract either technically trained or capable administrators. Although it would probably serve no useful administrative purpose

to raise salaries across the board, they should be raised in those areas where professionals and technicians are needed. Job applicants should be required to take civil service or competitive examinations, civil service should be established, a mandatory retirement age of 70 or less set, and a qualified personnel officer hired to carry out a program as free as possible from political interference.

HEALTH SERVICES AND REGULATIONS

Large sums in health and welfare are being spent by a vast array of public and private agencies with much waste and duplication, and yet many needs are not being adequately fulfilled within the County or within the Penjerdel region.

There is much disparity in the quality of health services throughout the County. The local health boards are generally ineffective and politically controlled, and the State Health Department has not always been energetic or decisive. A County Health Department should be established now as permitted by law in order to better organize health service and administration, and full-time qualified County health officers should enforce standards once they have been established. Municipalities wishing to keep their own health boards and officers to insure compliance with County or perhaps their own stricter health ordinances should be permitted to do so. In addition, the County legislators in Harrisburg should withdraw their opposition to the consolidation of the Institution District with that of general government in counties of the third class, and assume their full responsibilities for the medically indigent.

Although it appears that the Philadelphia Suburban Water Company has made adequate provision for the expected population growth in its area for at least the immediate future, the County should make sure that its rates are reasonable, and that both it and the municipal water authorities are assured of an ample supply by the provisions of the Delaware River Basin Commission which is expected to play an increasingly important role in this field. There now appears to be more concern about water pollution, and the County should make a concerted effort to clean its polluted streams. Since the present sewer authorities will undoubtedly be unable to adequately serve the expected population increase in all parts of the County, a county-wide authority should be created to increase efficiency, lower per capita costs, and to lessen the burden on individual municipalities.

Air pollution may be the region's most dangerous health problem. Yet enforcement of clean air standards is practically nonexistent, and Delaware County is passing the buck by claiming that it is primarily a State responsibility. The County should assume

this responsibility by having competent employees periodically inspect all industrial and large commercial establishments to insure that proper control equipment is in use at all times. In addition, it should encourage other counties to do the same, and fully cooperate in all regional air control programs.

EDUCATION AND LIBRARY SERVICES

Education is the essence of long-range social betterment, and the quality of education varies considerably within the County. This differentiation will probably be adequately solved by increasing State aid, and by the consolidation of the smaller school districts. The vocational-technical school program should be expedited. The County Commissioners should carefully study the proposed community college, and come to a definite decision.

Library services are inadequate in many parts of the County. Service should be expanded, better integrated with the schools, and the state-recommended regional system is probably the best means for so doing.

CONCLUSIONS

There are few, if any, easy solutions for better government in Delaware County. Local, County, State, regional and federal levels of government will be involved in varying degrees, and the ultimate solutions will lie in the political arena after various civic, economic, political and social compromises have been made. The end results will depend primarily on the degree to which the voters become intelligently involved in the political process; and it is up to civic, educational, business and labor leaders to provide the necessary leadership and financial backing.

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