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**SMALL TOWNS, BIG GRANTS:
FEDERAL AID AND NONMETROPOLITAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ILLINOIS**

Alvin D. Sokolow

Nonmetropolitan communities in Illinois and elsewhere in the past few years have become new or greatly expanded participants in federal grant programs — perhaps the single most important development in small town government and policymaking for many decades. Once seen as fiercely independent and hostile to the intervention of outside forces, rural and other small governments are becoming increasingly dependent on various forms of federal aid. If not always welcomed enthusiastically by local officials, this new dependence is at least accepted for the community benefits it brings.

The trend has been especially striking since 1972, when the "no strings" money of the General Revenue Sharing (GRS) program began to flow to virtually all counties, municipalities, and townships. Other grant and loan programs for small towns and rural communities have been established or enlarged since that time. Local governments in these places still make less use of federal aid than those in bigger and more urban communities. But their reliance on outside funds has increased dramatically in the 1970s, according to U.S. Census of Governments data. For Illinois cities and villages under 50,000 population as a group, the percentage of total general revenues derived from federal sources shot up from less than 2 percent in fiscal 1972 to almost 10 percent in 1977. The comparable trend for municipalities over 50,000 was more stable during this period, increasing only from 12 percent to 18 percent. While the 1960s may be remembered for their big city and metropolitan focus, the 1970s could very well be labeled as the decade of the small town.

The increasing reliance on federal aid raises some important questions about the performance of local governments in small communities. Certainly there are impacts on local policymaking and administration, but are they negative or beneficial? Does fiscal dependence on federal programs lead to the loss of community political autonomy, for example? Or are governmental operations directly improved and officials stimulated further to tackle their problems with local resources?

These are appropriate questions for Illinois. Despite its urban reputation, this state has a substantial non-metropolitan population and numerous small municipalities and rural localities. About two million persons (18 percent of the state's population) live in the seventy-nine counties (as of 1970) located outside Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA), mostly within the borders

of more than 700 small cities and villages. These places have a new vitality and attractiveness today, marked by recent population increase or stabilization because of the reversal of many decades of rural to urban migration. Between 1970 and 1976 nonmetropolitan areas in Illinois experienced a 2 percent increase in population, largely due to net immigration, while the SMSAs actually lost population by almost 1 percent.

This report is a brief examination of the federal aid trend among nonmetropolitan communities in Illinois, particularly the grants that flow directly to small municipal governments. It is based on a field study of the recent experiences of ten cities and villages in east central Illinois. Initially, though, we review the statewide pattern of federal aid to nonmetropolitan jurisdictions.

THE STATEWIDE PATTERN

No matter how rural or small, there are no incorporated cities or villages in Illinois today that do not receive one or more forms of federal aid. At minimum, each municipality receives GRS funds. The importance of this one program in bringing small jurisdictions into the federal grants system cannot be overstated. Enacted in 1972 as the keystone of the Nixon Administration's attempts to decentralize federal aid, GRS provides quarterly and almost unrestricted payments to virtually all general purpose local governments in the nation — municipalities, counties, and townships. Most rural municipalities and townships, as a result, received their first direct federal grants in 1972. And many shortly thereafter began to tap other federal sources, as a variety of new or enlarged programs were opened to small communities.

Table 1 lists the seven grant programs that now account for the bulk of federal aid to cities and villages in non-metropolitan areas of Illinois. Both block grant and project grant programs are represented on the list. Block grants include GRS, CETA, and some community development programs; they distribute funds on an ongoing basis to eligible agencies according to set formulas. Local recipients in effect are "entitled" to particular payments, and their use is relatively unrestricted. In contrast, project grants generally involve competitive applications by local agencies for one-time spending on specific projects. Features of both types of programs are involved in the community development grants administered by HUD. While the great majority of such funds are distributed by formula to big entitlement cities and counties located primarily in metropolitan areas, small cities compete for "discretionary" grants

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Under the seven programs listed in Table 1, a total of about \$5.3 billion was distributed to Illinois municipalities and other local governments from 1971 through 1978. About 17 percent (\$925 million) of this amount went to units in nonmetropolitan areas. This was slightly less than the nonmetropolitan share of Illinois's population, about 18 percent.

The seven grant programs represent a relatively new nonmetropolitan direction for federal assistance to municipalities. Five of the programs were established within the past eight years, while the other two date from the 1960s but have been expanded in recent years. Two have eligibility requirements that specifically favor small governments — the Farmers Home Administration loans and grants to communities under 10,000 population and the "small cities" or discretionary part of the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program. The CDBG program clearly illustrates the new small town emphasis. In 1974 it replaced a series of categorical grants administered by HUD including urban renewal and model cities. Only twelve of the sixty-four nonmetropolitan municipalities funded by CDBG (both entitlement and discretionary grants) from 1975 through 1978 had participated in the earlier HUD programs, as compared to thirty-seven of fifty-four metropolitan cities.

It should be pointed out that Table 1 concentrates on the "big money" programs and does not tell the full story of federal assistance to small Illinois municipalities. Although involving relatively small amounts, other grant programs have had numerous nonmetropolitan recipients. They include grants for park acquisition and development, ambulance purchases, and local fire equipment and training.

In addition, police departments in many nonmetropolitan communities have received criminal justice grants (funded by the Department of Justice and administered by the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission and regional LECs) for equipment and training.

Despite their greatly increasing use of federal aid, cities and villages receive less than a majority of total grant funds that flow to nonmetropolitan communities. County governments are also major users of federal aid — more because of their traditional role in the delivery of state and federally mandated and supported services such as roads, welfare, health, and courts, than because of any recent aggressiveness in pursuing grants. School

districts also receive substantial federal funds. Other recipients include regional planning commissions, other regional agencies, and nonprofit agencies involved in social services. Township governments in Illinois have not joined the grantsmanship ranks to any appreciable extent, other than to receive automatically their GRS entitlements.

TEN MUNICIPALITIES: THE FIELD STUDY

For a more intimate view of the federal grants process at the community level, field research was conducted in May and June of 1979 in ten small cities and villages. All of the municipalities are under 10,000 population, and all are located in nonmetropolitan and primarily agricultural counties in east central Illinois. Two criteria guided the selection of the sample from among the more than 140 incorporated municipalities in fifteen counties:

- The degree of participation since 1971 in the four major project or competitive programs — Farmers Home Administration, EDA, EPA, and CDBG discretionary grants. Based on the number of separate grants or loans received, five "high" and five "low" municipal recipients were selected.¹
- Varied population size. Two communities each represent five separate population categories, ranging from under 1,000 population to 5,000-9,999 population as of 1975.

The sample thus consists of five pairs of municipalities in varying population categories, with each pair including one high and one low participant in major grant programs. Table 2 identifies the ten sample municipalities (pseudonyms are substituted for the actual names) according to their estimated 1975 populations, form of municipal government, and per capita measures of community wealth. The project grants received by the municipalities since 1971, including funds from federal sources other than the four major programs, are also listed. All of these cities and villages, of course, are GRS recipients, and in recent years all have had some experience with temporary employees placed by the CETA program. An effort was made to select two municipalities within each high-low pair with similar community characteristics in addition to population size. Each of the three smallest categories includes communities in the same county, while the four larger municipalities are all county seat towns. Some significant per capita wealth differences within pairs, however, could not be avoided.

By no means can these ten municipalities be regarded as a statistically representative sample for all of Illinois's 790 nonmetropolitan cities and villages. For one thing, most of these east central towns are relatively prosperous compared to the majority of nonmetropolitan communities throughout the state. Yet, the sample does contain a range of local situations, which permits a more revealing analysis of municipal grant experiences than would be possible with just data on statewide grant distributions.

¹ The selection of the high grant communities was initially based on the receipt of at least two grants from among the four project grant programs. Later, during the course of the field research, it was discovered that the original information was incomplete and that two of the low grant municipalities had actually received two grants apiece. The basic high-low distinction was still maintained, however, as these two low municipalities received fewer grants overall than the comparable high municipalities.

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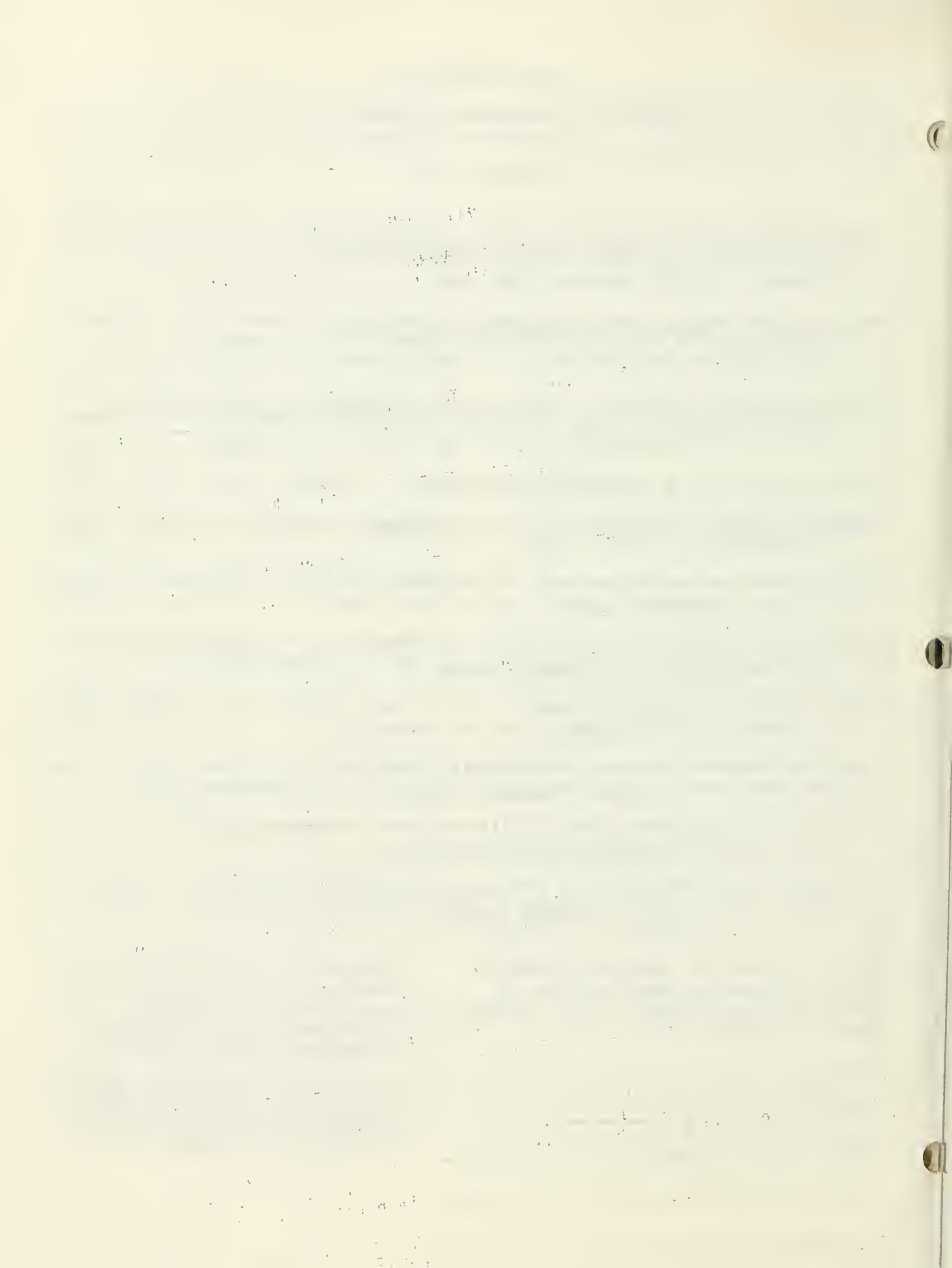
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Yet none of the four grantsmen in the ten community sample occupied such a position. They were:

- In Clearwater, the half-time director of community development (CD) for the city who also served half-time as executive of the local chamber of commerce,
- The chief of the rural fire district in Summerville,
- Acorn's city clerk, and
- The mayor (village president) of Simplicity

The clerk and the mayor were elected municipal officials, while the fire chief and CD director were appointed. Of all these positions, that of the CD director most closely approximated in formal responsibilities the job of a full-time municipal executive. But his background was in business, and neither he nor any of the other identifiable grantsmen had any specific training or experience in professional city management or planning.

Only a few of these grantsmen actually sat down and wrote entirely all of the proposals their municipalities submitted to federal programs. Assistance for this task, including the necessary information gathering, came from outside agencies — a county planner in one instance and, more frequently, the engineering firms employed on local projects, the Illinois Department of Local Government Affairs, and a regional community college.

More than compensating for the absence of professional expertise was the time, energy, and interest the four grantsmen devoted to the job of pursuing federal aid for their communities. All were informed about changing federal programs or knew where to get such information, and they doggedly handled the numerous local actions required for grant applications and administration. In some respects they were probably more effective than either local professionals or outside consultants could have been. Three of the four were members of the local political establishment, long-time leaders with solid reputations who could readily sell others — particularly municipal councils — on the desirability of obtaining aid for specific projects.

Furthermore, they were able to move quickly to make use of sudden opportunities and to broker local resources to extend the benefits of federal aid. When EDA told the Summerville fire district that it was eligible for a public works grant for a new station but had only ten days to submit complete plans and specifications, the fire chief persuaded his board to hire an engineering firm to come up with the documents from scratch. Acorn's city clerk saw the leveraging potential when a local farmer died and left the community \$60,000 to purchase land for a park. He persuaded the executors of the estate to release the money for development of the park, put together a successful proposal for a LAWCON grant for land acquisition, and helped arrange for the volunteered labor and donations of various community groups to construct park facilities, including a swimming pool and ball diamond.

With the exception of the CD director in Clearwater, grantsmanship was not formally an aspect of the positions held by these officials. Rather it was a self-defined role, a long-term assignment the grantsmen themselves took on because they had a genuine interest in achieving community improvements, the necessary time, considerable drive and perseverance, and probably no little ego. As a member of a family who had been associated with the volunteer department for more than forty years, Summerville's fire chief was an empire builder who seized upon

the opportunity provided by grant funds to expand facilities, equipment, paid personnel, and skills of his department. In the little village of Simplicity, the \$25-a-month mayor came into office in 1965 with the intention of building a sewer system to replace the town's septic tanks. Starting before the clean water mandates of state and federal governments were widely applied, it took him thirteen years to accomplish this goal as he persevered through numerous grant delays, cost increases, and plan changes. The clerk of Acorn was a retired businessman who set out to pay back the community for a good life. He saw the clerk's position as extending beyond its formal record-keeping responsibilities, it was an opportunity to bring new resources to the town.

Few if any of the other fire chiefs, mayors, and clerks in the ten municipalities saw grantsmanship as an important or even justifiable part of their jobs. One clerk pointed out: There are all kinds of grants available, and it takes somebody who knows something about this. I don't have the time in my office. I do work with the Department of Local Government Affairs, and I think the city should utilize their services more. But I don't make the rules, I just administer them.

Why then does the grantsmanship role appear as attached to certain positions in only some of the communities in the sample? The field research did not dig deeply enough to offer a solid explanation. Possibly these were idiosyncratic happenings — the emergence of the right person at the right time. But several clues suggest that less random factors may have been at work. The interest and support of business leaders, especially the top officials of banks and savings and loan institutions, seemed to lie behind the activity of several of the grantsmen. Strong support by a town's economic dominants, however, cannot guarantee that one or another official in local government will voluntarily take on the role. Moreover, informal grantsmanship is vulnerable to political change. Nonetheless, while professionals in municipal government may be more able to provide long-term continuity in grantsmanship, in a small town the greater advantage seems to come to the local, volunteer grantsman backed by his position in the community.

Opposition and Conflict

One expected distinction between the high and low grant municipalities failed to materialize. Leaders in the low grant communities were not necessarily more opposed to the use of federal aid than those in the high grant cities and villages. In fact, not one of the persons interviewed in this study criticized the local acceptance of grants on philosophical grounds, despite the traditional small town dislike of federal spending and actions. In their hearts they may have been unhappy about the expansion of grant programs, but on pragmatic grounds they were only too willing to accept the aid. One official rationalized the acceptance in these terms:

My attitude and that of the planning commission is that there is a lot to do in this town. In principle I agree that federal grants are not good. If nobody in Chicago and Cook County wanted the HUD money this would be fine, and we could cut back federal taxes. But this city doesn't have a local tax base to support all the improvements that are needed. We may not like taking federal money in principle. But why send the money just to Lincoln and Springfield? We are paying for it with our own tax dollars.

Table 2
THE TEN COMMUNITY SAMPLE: FEDERAL AID EXPERIENCES IN 1971-78

HIGH GRANT MUNICIPALITIES		LOW GRANT MUNICIPALITIES	
General Data	Project Grants	General Data	Project Grants
<i>5-9,999 Population</i>			
Clearwater — Delavan County (county seat) 7,500 population Commission \$230 p.c. sales tax \$5,053 p.c. income	CDBG — \$900,000 FmHA loan — \$2.5 million EPA — \$25,650 LAWCON — \$21,000 Ambulance	Portland — Esther County (county seat) 9,700 population Commission \$178 p.c. sales tax \$4,637 p.c. income	EPA — \$239,000
<i>3-4,999 Population</i>			
Summerville — Mansfield County (county seat) 4,200 population Commission \$183 p.c. sales tax \$4,519 p.c. income	EDA — \$200,000 (fire district) FmHA loan — \$1.15 million EPA — 2 projects \$1.7 million; \$66,000 Ambulance (fire district)	Stream City — Stream County (county seat) 4,800 population Commission \$253 p.c. sales tax \$4,240 p.c. income	EPA — \$30,000
<i>2-2,999 Population</i>			
Acorn — Daniel County 2,200 population Aldermanic \$237 p.c. sales tax \$4,614 p.c. income	EDA — \$186,000 FmHA loan — \$190,000 EPA — \$808,000 LAWCON — \$33,000 Ambulance	Arnold — Daniel County 2,100 population Village \$263 p.c. sales tax \$5,303 p.c. income	EPA — \$15,000 Ambulance
<i>1-1,999 Population</i>			
Nativity — Crossbow County 1,500 population Commission \$122 p.c. sales tax \$3,832 p.c. income	FmHA grant — \$50,000 EPA — 2 projects \$247,000, \$10,000 EDA — \$115,000 Ambulance	Grassland — Crossbow County 1,400 population Village \$258 p.c. sales tax \$4,012 p.c. income	EPA — \$447,000 EDA — \$142,000
<i>Under 1,000 Population</i>			
Simplicity — Stream County 600 population Village \$218 p.c. sales tax \$4,047 p.c. income	FmHA loan/grant — \$877,000 EPA — \$800,000 Ambulance	Topton — Stream County 600 population Village \$46 p.c. sales tax \$3,149 p.c. income	FmHA loan — \$138,000 EPA — \$5,025

Note: Community and county names are pseudonyms. For definition of high and low grant communities see footnote 1.

General Data Key

1975 estimated populations (approximate)
Form of municipal government
1976-77 per capita sales tax revenues for municipality
1974 per capita personal income for community

Project Grants Key

CDBG — Community Development Block Grant (HUD)
FmHA — Farmers Home Administration loans or grants (USDA)
EDA — Economic Development Administration
EPA — Environmental Protection Agency
LAWCON — Land and Water Conservation grant
Ambulance — Ambulance Grant (DOT)

large fiscal reserve because of a municipally owned gas and electrical distribution system. Local officials thus were better able than those in other places to turn to local revenues for major projects. The village of Arnold paid for a \$500,000 improvement to its water system in 1978 by issuing bonds based on the revenues of the system.

Grantsmanship was further discouraged in these relatively wealthy communities because officials believed they would not be eligible for federal aid. The belief was probably valid, as the Farmers Home Administration, CDBG discretionary, and EDA programs generally favor communities that are unable to raise funds elsewhere or that have high indicators of poverty or unemployment.

Levels of wealth, however, did not uniformly distinguish between high and low grantsmanship and grant use among the municipalities in the sample. In the case of the largest and smallest population categories, the high grant municipality in each pair was actually the more prosperous in terms of sales tax revenues and personal income.

Political Leadership

Four of the high grant communities had a recognized grantsman — a person in government office who aggressively and willingly sought federal funds. No such persons occupied public positions in the low grant communities. This was the most critical difference between the two groups of municipalities.

Recognizing a community need that could be tackled with federal aid is only the first step; there is also the hard work involved in identifying the appropriate program, building local support, and applying for the grant. The grantsmanship process for small towns, many commentators have insisted, is a complex and frustrating one, what with extensive information gathering, paperwork, and time requirements. Nonmetropolitan local governments generally lack the expertise to compete with larger units for grants; the usual solution is to employ city managers, planners, or other full-time professionals or to rely completely on consultants, regional planning agencies, or other sources of outside expertise.

Two sets of questions guided the field research. One involved the grantsmanship process and the differences between high and low participants; the other concerned the local impacts on government and policymaking of increasing dependence on federal aid. Open-ended interviews — conversations, actually — were conducted with one to five knowledgeable persons in each community, including municipal clerks, mayors, council members, municipal attorneys, cooperative extension personnel, bankers, and other businessmen. Other interviews were held with grant administrators in state and federal agencies, staff members of the Illinois Department of Local Government Affairs, and regional agency executives. Information sources also included recent issues of newspapers published in most of the communities, municipal records, and federal and state agency files.

VARIATIONS IN GRANTSMANSHIP

Different levels of grantsmanship generally distinguish between the high and low federal aid recipients in the ten community sample. Two sets of factors help to explain the variations. These may be characterized as "perceived need," on the one hand, and "political leadership," on the other.

Perceived Need

Many cities and villages seek project grants to help deal with specific public needs. Typically these fall into one or a combination of three categories: (1) improving basic infrastructure such as sewers and water supply, (2) stimulating economic development, or (3) enhancing such public amenities as parks and recreation facilities. In an objec-

tive sense, all communities have such public needs. The difference, however, is in the intensity with which the need at a particular time is perceived by public officials, and what they decide — or don't decide — to do about it.

Perceived needs are stimulated in various ways, some unrelated to local government officials and residents. A crisis, such as a water shortage, quickly draws attention; wells in two of the municipalities went dry in recent years, and the communities qualified for expedited loans and grants from Farmers Home Administration. A more common instance of externally imposed needs involves the water quality standards established by the state EPA, which forced most municipalities in the sample to seek federal and state funds from the same agency. In most cases, however, aggressive grantsmanship was the result of locally inspired views of desired projects. Sometimes these views were helped along by seeing what a federal grant had bought a nearby community, such as a new water tower or an attractive community building.

Two variables that influence local perceptions of need are the timing of public projects and relative community wealth. In at least three of the municipalities with low records of grant use and grantsmanship — Stream City, Arnold, and Grassland — officials from 1971 to 1978 believed that their communities were in good shape, governmentally and economically. Two of these communities had just completed major infrastructure improvements, thus eliminating some of the potential for grantsmanship at the time federal programs were beginning to focus on nonmetropolitan jurisdictions.

All three of these low grant municipalities were also financially well off, as compared to the high grant cities and villages. Sales tax revenues were relatively high, and municipal debt was low. Grassland had accumulated a

Table 1
FEDERAL AID AND NONMETROPOLITAN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN ILLINOIS, FY 1971-78

Program and Federal Agency	First Funding Year	Eligible Recipients	Total to Illinois Localities (millions)	NONMETROPOLITAN DISTRIBUTION		
				Amount (millions)	— % of Total	Number of Local Recipients (municipalities)
BLOCK GRANT PROGRAMS						
General Revenue Sharing, Treasury	1972	Municipalities, counties, townships	\$ 1,640	\$ 273	16.8%	1,924 (790)
CETA Public ¹ Service Employees, Labor	1975	Local governments and nonprofit agencies	584*	96	16.4	NA
CD Block Grant — Entitlements, HUD	1975	Large cities and urban counties	457	22	5.1	7 (7)
MAJOR PROJECT GRANT PROGRAMS						
Public Facilities Loans and Grants, Farmers Home Administration, USDA	1965	Municipalities, special districts, and nonprofits on small communities	188	158	84.0	302 (155)
Public Works Grants and Loans, EDA	1966	Local governments	176	37	20.8	110 (71)
Wastewater Facility ^{1, 2} Construction Grants, EDA	1972	Municipalities and special districts	2,265	298	13.1	495 (455)
CD Grants — Discretionary, HUD	1975	Small municipalities and counties	60	41	68.0	71 (62)
<i>Totals</i>			\$ 5,370	\$ 925	17.2%	

Note: Figures on amounts distributed are based on published reports or computer printouts issued by federal or state agencies administering the separate programs.

* Indicates estimated amount.

¹ Grant programs administered by state agencies: Governor's Manpower Commission for CETA grants and Illinois EPA for EPA grants.

² EPA grants include both federal and state (Water Pollution Bond Issue of 1970) funds.

By the same token, few significant controversies were generated directly by any of the grantsmanship activities in the ten communities studied. There were conflicts associated with some of the projects to be funded with the grants, but these did not directly concern the municipal decision to apply for aid. Wastewater treatment projects funded by EPA grants, for example, often were controversial because of the complex and lengthy series of local actions required between initial application and construction. A common problem was the required 25 percent local share of funds. In one community an initial bond issue failed, and in another higher utility rates were turned down. The proposed site of the treatment lagoons in one town was opposed by residents of the neighborhood. In still another community, council members disputed the validity of pledges made by merchants to match a federal grant for downtown improvements.

As in small towns everywhere, there was frequent griping about the paperwork requirements and shifting criteria of federal programs. These difficulties were mentioned most often by officials in the low grant communities. From the viewpoint of the four grantsmen in the sample, however, the difficulties were more annoyances than serious obstacles. Two of these officials indicated:

Sure there is a ponderous amount of paperwork. But we are getting damn well paid for the paperwork, we're getting the grant money.

You go to other cities and they say there is too much red tape. I am glad they feel this way, because it means much more money for the rest of us. There are lots of headaches with these programs, but they work. After we get one grant, we go after the next one.

One possible explanation for the minimal opposition to federal aid programs recorded in this research is the initial grant experiences of most of the small municipalities with their GRS checks. Because of its simple procedures and minimal requirements, GRS caused few problems for local officials and may have helped soften local hostility to federal programs in general.

SOME IMPACTS

If grantsmanship did not cause much controversy in these communities, the effects of federal aid did not go unnoticed. Most of the public improvements so funded were highly visible and appreciated. They included new or improved wastewater treatment facilities, enlarged water systems, repaved streets, parks, and municipal buildings.

Other effects of federal aid are more long-term and not as easily observed. At least some limited changes in local government organization and procedures were noted in several of the high grant communities. The city of Clearwater, for example, as a direct result of its CDBG grant and the work of its grantsman CD director, began to reorganize its planning and building code functions. Ac-

counting and budgeting procedures were changed in several of the small municipalities which had received Farmers Home Administration loans, because of the need to repay the loans. Elsewhere, intergovernmental cooperation between separate municipalities was enhanced. In one case two towns jointly obtained an ambulance grant. A more common example was the receipt of multi-jurisdictional grants for police and fire training and communications equipment.

Such management and administrative changes are hardly startling developments. A far more profound impact would involve the loss of political autonomy, or the capacity to handle local problems with local resources, as small communities become increasingly dependent on the funds provided by federal programs. This did not appear to be the case in the five high grant communities, where federal aid in some cases actually stimulated the use of local resources. Acorn's example in combining a grant with local funds and donated labor to construct a new park was notable. Similar public-private combinations were reported in other communities, including Clearwater where the costs of administering the CDBG grant were reduced because planning commission members volunteered to supervise housing rehabilitation efforts. Summerville, Acorn, Arnold, and Nativity all had non-profit community foundations or development corporations that worked on local projects in conjunction with — or independently of — federal grants. Two of the municipalities that went into the ambulance business with the assistance of grants subsequently began to levy tax rates to support and expand the service. The record shows that local initiative in these few communities was actually enhanced by the use of federal aid.

CONCLUSION

For nonmetropolitan municipalities in Illinois, federal grant programs are becoming the dominant funding source for major public improvements. The small cities and villages, however, do not share equally in the new federal largesse, as this study suggests. Much of the aid is still in the form of categorical or project grants, despite the appearance of GRS and other block grant programs, and aggressive grantsmanship is still a necessary step to obtaining the big dollars. Grantsmanship in the small Illinois municipality is very much a variable circumstance, more dependent on the personality and initiative of individual officeholders than on definite and continuous municipal policy. As a result, community need — objectively defined — may have little bearing on the relative amounts of federal aid sought and received by different cities and villages. This is an issue of equity and the design of federal grant programs that goes far beyond the confines of this limited study.



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