

the housing, and that is what they felt they should do, and what they concentrated on. But frankly, you do not make a success of upgrading many these families by just providing good housing. You have got to find some way to get the people to understand how to live in this housing and use it properly and cooperate with their neighbors, and I think this is the whole problem that is involved here—how best to do that. And you must also convince the public that the program works effectively in that direction.

Mr. EMLIN. Mr. Stewart wanted to add something to your answer.

Mr. STEWART. Simply a comment on Mrs. Sullivan's basic question as to the interest of people in social problems as against what you might call an economic interest.

Now, as fundamental supporters of the urban renewal program, it is clearly a matter of record that our most persistent criticisms of the administration of the urban renewal program have been that it has seemed to veer away from the problem of residential environment—wretched residential environment—into saving commercial centers. Our original support, for the reasons we endorsed at the outset, was based on our concern for poor residential environment, the poor quality of living environment. We have not been disposed at all to applaud its veering away from social objectives to an economic one which you do find.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. I realize that people in your type of business are not supposed to be responsible for social problems of the people with whom you do business. But when they are being handled—

Mr. STEWART. We have been concerned with people and I think our feeling—it could be said that our feeling is that the answer is not so much a matter of administration—a matter of administrative coordination, as it is in fundamental objectives at the outset of the program. The cities are in a good position to use the program to ameliorate those situations and very often they are the least rewarding, they are the most difficult to go into these areas. They don't always catch the imagination of the whole community like some do. But persistently we have urged that the accent in urban renewal programs be in that field where it starts, in the old, rundown residential areas.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Many times the objective is lost sight of as you get to work with these things. I think the objective had been lost sight of for many years. I know that in the past few years the cities have been doing as much as they possibly could in rectifying the mistake involved in believing that the people could do this on their own accord. I feel that this legislative proposal is a very imaginative one. We are not certain how it would work out, however, and that is the reason why we have these hearings—so that we can search for, and try to discover, the very best way to meet the problem. It does no good, in my opinion, to spend all this money on urban renewal and then neglect really basic needs of the people who are living in the areas.

I just have one other question that I wanted to ask you and I realize this does not involve cities particularly, but there came to my office this morning a picture which was taken in one of our small towns in Missouri of some housing built through the Farmers Home Administration. They are trying, through legislation that we proposed a number of years ago, to build low-cost housing for the elderly. I thought this was extremely exciting to see. That they have built some court apartments for the elderly in this small town with low-interest-