THE ISSUE OF GOVERNANCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD

PLANNING PROGRAMS

by

BRIAN PRICE

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

August 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

THE ISSUE OF GOVERNANCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD

PLANNING PROGRAMS

Brian Price, M.S.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2012

Supervising Professor: Enid Arvidson

Neighborhood planning programs are a kind of initiative cities all across the country utilize to engage communities in planning processes affecting their own neighborhoods and to target resources and city initiatives within these spaces more effectively. These programs also represent a governance process, where publically relevant affairs are regulated at the interface of public, private, and civic sectors. Because these programs are highly variable between cities and are structured based off of local needs, trends, and agendas, an exploration of governance contexts and relations at the urban and neighborhood level is helpful for explaining these differences in program goals and outcomes.

At the center of these governance relations are the ways planners themselves understand the neighborhood planning process and how these understandings interact with formal structures to guide the direction of these programs. This study utilizes a comparative case study approach looking at the neighborhood planning programs of both Dallas and Fort Worth Texas to examine divergent institutional frameworks and their effects on who is included in the neighborhood planning process, what their roles are, and what kinds of relationships planners are involved with.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

x

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

<u>1.1 Neighborhood Planning and Governance Relations</u>

Neighborhood planning is a subfield of planning that focuses on integrating

neighborhood and community concerns into broader urban planning process (Rohe and Gates

1985); it involves the design of new and revitalization of old neighborhoods, but also attempts to

go beyond good physical design to include larger social objectives (Rohe 2009; Peterman

2002). While there is a wide array of purposes and functions the literature ascribes to the field,

some of the primary objectives of the field include the greater integration of citizen participation,

greater responsiveness to local issues, focus on actual projects and not just policy

development, development of social ties, and increase in the political constituency of planning,

and a more equitable distribution of resources (Rohe and Gates 1985, 52-69). In fact, Rohe

highlights that neighborhood planning has, and continues to tackle some of the biggest

problems facing our society by planning at the neighborhood scale, including "alienation, crime,

poverty, political apathy, perceptions of powerlessness, economic marginalization, and

environmental degradation" (Rohe 2009).

Neighborhood planning programs themselves have operated and been studied

alongside shifting governance processes and state-society relations both broadly and in the

urban context specifically. Praise for the inclusion of non-state actors in policy and planning is

viewed along side criticisms of privatization and less democratic accountability. At the urban

and neighborhood scale, the inclusion of community, civic, and private actors into planning and

policy-making is often supported while the defunding of urban programs, privatization of service-

provision, and lack of accountability in public/private projects are criticized (Keil 2005).

1

Although there is a tendency to ascribe many of these changes to broader global and/or economic shifts, or to dichotomize local needs from global processes, there is a conviction that other contexts matter significantly when examining local processes and programs, especially at the urban and community scales (Smith 2001).Research has re-emphasized the critical role of nation-states in mediating global trends and either empowering or neglecting their city's ability to promote issues of equity and sustainability (Sellers 2002, Savitch and Kantor 2002). Regime theory was one of the first approaches to challenge elitist and economic-centered theories that neglected the political context of urban development (Stone 1989). Newer approaches have also examined local actors and structures that greatly affect neighborhood development processes and outcomes (Wier 1999; Ferman 1996, Chaskin 1997).

Neighborhood planning programs and processes are situated within these complex webs of relations, from federal programs down to local community-based actors, neighborhood associations, public officials, and private developers. How these actors and interests are brought together and what interests are prominent are often highly shaped by local frameworks and institutional contexts. This paper focuses on the study of these institutional frameworks within neighborhood planning programs and how they structure and shape the roles and relationships of the neighborhood planner, the community-based organization, and elected officials. Municipally supported neighborhood planning programs have already been shown to be highly diverse based on local context and need (Rohe 1985, 70-101). But while there has been a rich discussion on governance processes at the urban and neighborhood levels, and an expansion of the governance discourse into the planning literature (Nuissl and Heinrichs 2011), research can contribute to a greater understanding of contemporary trends in neighborhood planning programs, ways of thinking about neighborhood planning, guiding structures, and how these frameworks structure roles and relationships within these programs.

This study seeks to address this gap in governance and neighborhood planning processes by comparing two prominent neighborhood planning programs in the Dallas/Fort Worth (DFW) Region in terms of their guiding institutional frameworks, and resulting differences and similarities in terms of actors included, their roles, as well as the kinds of relationships neighborhood planners are most involved with.

1.2 Relevance of Study

This study has potential contributions to both practitioner and theorist. As one of the findings of the study indicates, there is much discretion within the role of senior staff and planner in developing and guiding the course of these initiatives. The comparison of two fairly distinct approaches to neighborhood planning can hopefully contribute to a dialogue on ways planners and municipalities negotiate growing community need in the context of fiscal pressure and political cultures and agendas. Although this is a study on governance approaches, basic questions in the field still come up as prominent throughout interviews, specifically what is the proper role of the planner and his/her expertise? How is the input and leadership of community residents and organizations to be incorporated? What is the most effective way to distribute federal grant dollars? This study also speaks to the growing literature on governance and institutional approaches to understanding planning trends, practices, ways of thinking specifically in the field of neighborhood and community planning.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

<u>2.1 Theory of Planning and Governance</u>

This section discusses the use of governance as an analytical lens to explore and compare planning frameworks, approaches, how they both shape relationships and outcomes and are shaped by the institutional, political context in which they are developed and operated.

Studies that integrate governance-based perspectives into planning situations have made valuable contributions to the understanding of the profession through a variety of sub-fields as well as innovative analytical lenses. Particular fields such as environmental planning (Barbour), cultural planning (Grodach 2011), and economic development planning (Indergaard 2009) have benefited from studies that emphasize (albeit in very different ways) how broader theories, normative claims, and planning ethics are filtered and largely manifested through local conditions and factors that can be understood broadly as governance relations. Researchers have also attempted to bridge other sociological concepts in the analysis of governance-based planning topics and situations such as Bourdieuian 'field,' 'habitus,' (Painter 1997, and Indergaard 2009) or Gidden's 'structuration' (Keil 2005). More prominently however, for purposes of this study, institutionalist and urban governance approaches have tackled these issues. This section offers a brief overview of the use of the governance concept for planning, drawing heavily from Nuisl and Heinrich's work, and outlines and justifies a particular approach that can offer clarity to neighborhood planning processes.

Nuisl and Heinrichs outline three forms in which the governance concept has traditionally been used in discourse and compares them based on their value to planning studies. The first approach outlined is governance as the opposite of government; the main

4

example of this usage of the term is outlined by Healey where different Governance Modes apply to different time periods: provider welfare state (1950s to 1970s), negotiative state, techno-corporatist state (since 1980s), and the collaborative state (since 1990s) (Healey 1996). The second approach discusses governance as a normative set of rules. Governance discussions have often praised the shift from a top-down, welfare-provider state to a more negotiative, collaborative state because of the inclusion of more actors in the process. More recent approaches to governance however have re-emphasized the role of the public sector in regulating and directing public needs and goals.

Governance has also been used as a comprehensive category pertaining to the regulation of publicly relevant affairs at the interface of state, market, and civil society. In this approach, governance is no longer thought of as only a counter notion to government, but includes government as well as other individual and collective actors, putting their role in the regulation of public affairs at the center of research and analysis. Nuissl notes that "the institutional framework in which interaction takes place, and which has considerable influence on its course and results, becomes a relevant subject of scholarly attention for public decision-making" (Nuissl and Heinrichs 2011, 48-50). Of these three, Nuissl discusses governance as a normative concept and as a comprehensive analytical approach in terms of its potential contribution to planning theory.

As a normative concept, Nuisl ascribes less value of the governance literature to planning theory from the fact that both literatures have arrived at similar conclusions. Nuisl argues that both literatures have largely claimed:(1) a transfer of societal decision competence away from the state to private and civil society can violate democratic principals;(2) civil sector unequally represents some interests over others, and; (3) negotiation and participation do not automatically lead to more efficient or equitable modes of decision-making. The normative approach to governance then, according to Nuissl, has little to offer to planning by virtue of both

literatures largely speaking to the same concerns (Nuissl and Heinrichs 2011, 51-52).

Where governance has the most analytical value for planning, according to Nuisl, is in the ability to systematically "uncover and understand how actors, their relationships, and their guiding formal and informal norms shape real planning situations and outcomes" (Nuissl and Heinrichs 2011, 50). The application of this approach allows for the avoidance of the narrow analytical focus bound to any particular mode of thinking in planning theory (Lauria and Wagner 2006.) This approach as used by Nuissl and Heinrichs emphasizes the identification of (1) actors in a planning situation, (2) the relationships and (3) institutional frameworks involved, and (4) the decision-making process.

Nuissl and Heinrich's framework is similar to an earlier approach used by Motte which emphasizes (1) agents organized within systems that can be considered in terms of the nature of their (2) relationships, and the "designation of the agents within one system and their relationships are the result of principals or (3) "referents" (Motte 1996). Referents are described here as "ways of thinking, or social constructs, that are mobilized within planning practices." While Motte uses this framework to compare broad planning systems over time and space within Europe, this project uses a similar comparative method to examine neighborhood planning programs housed in two major cities in the DFW region. Elements from both Nuissl and Motte's frameworks are utilized to suit the needs of this particular project.

These points are integrated together into a coherent framework for examining neighborhood planning programs in at the end of this section. Part of the value of an analytical approach of governance in understanding these programs lies in both its structured and unstructured aspects. There is a particular logic between institutional frameworks and the kinds of relationships and actors embedded in a particular context. On the other hand, the analytical approach to governance is also inductive enough to gather guiding premises as understood by active planners as well as comparing them back to planning theory or institutional trends in

6

neighborhood planning and development. More importantly, different contexts and programs can be compared based on this structured, yet flexible, framework. This case utilizes a comparative case study approach to compare two neighborhood planning programs, taking advantage of the rich data gathering potential of the case study method to identify both explicit and implicit ways of thinking in regards to neighborhood planning, as well as other issues important to a governance-based study.

2.2 Governance at the Neighborhood Scale

The study of neighborhood planning programs from a governance perspective is rooted in a conviction in urban governance and institutionalist literatures that the roles and relationships of neighborhood and community-level actors and institutional contexts need to be taken more seriously, not only in the sense that neighborhood and community development need to balance out large-scale downtown commercial, real-estate, cultural redevelopment projects, but that community-based organizations do influence issues such as public policy, governance structures, and resource distribution. There is need to examine the ways in which these Community Based Organizations (CBOs) are involved in governance processes and the implications of particular forms of involvement for neighborhood representation.

The value of a governance-based approach to neighborhood planning used here is in its ability to "uncover and understand how actors, their relationships, and their guiding formal and informal norms shape real planning situations and outcomes" (Nuissl and Heinrichs, 2011, 52). Questions of who should be involved, the variety of programmatic issues that should be addressed, and the integration of neighborhood plans with other city services and plans can be examined with governance-based studies that focus on particular contexts in which neighborhood planners and programs operate.

Institutional theory makes explicit some of the more innovative components of

7

governance studies. The emphasis on the actual practices, frameworks, actors, and social settings embedded in a particular situation allow for research to capture and compare practitioner understandings of a particular subject matter, in this case neighborhood planning, and the kinds of changes and transformations that have occurred in the field, while still studying formal mechanisms that guide these initiatives (Coaffee and Healey 2009).

Chaskin and others offer a discussion of these contexts that speak to how neighborhood planning processes unfold; specifically that neighborhoods are not politically or administratively autonomous and are vulnerable to the interests of other urban and non-local actors (Chaskin and Garg 1997 and Peterman 2000); that the framework used in a particular neighborhood planning process matters greatly in whether or not certain goals of neighborhood planning are met; and that there is significant variation in neighborhood planning programs, their structure, and context (Peterman 2000; Rohe and Gates 1985).

In light of the fact that local frameworks, actors, and contexts matter so greatly to neighborhood-based initiatives, there is a need to examine neighborhood planning programs with an emphasis on this governance variation. More can be done to examine how normative claims and broadly supported frameworks for neighborhood planning programs become actualized and enacted, what specific frameworks neighborhood planners use, how these frameworks structure the process, and who is included in the process.

2.3 Neighborhood Planning Programs and Governance

This section defines and discusses municipally supported neighborhood planning programs (NPPs), their basis in planning theory as well as distinction from other forms of participatory and place-based approaches that incorporate elements of neighborhood planning. One main point is that neighborhood planning programs are highly variable based on local

8

contexts and priorities. Contextualizing these programs within planning theory and offering a basic definition points to the need for a governance framework which analyzes important context and variation in shaping these programs and their ability and difficulties in enacting normative claims of the planning field.

In the late 1960's, early 70's, municipally supported neighborhood planning programs were developed in reaction to broad criticisms of traditional planning approaches in municipal planning departments. At the time, the rational comprehensive approach was guiding municipal planning departments which were criticized for focusing exclusively on city-wide land-use and physical planning (Taylor 1998). The comprehensive planning approach was generally faulted for ignoring neighborhood issues, their social diversity, and neglecting to encourage meaningful participation, favoring city-wide interests (usually commercial in nature). A variety of critics, including advocacy planning, argued in response that planners should specifically work with neighborhoods and advocate on their behalf in the planning process for social and political development (Rohe 2009, Davidoff, Peterman 2000).

Municipally supported neighborhood planning programs arose then as a specific approach planners have used to facilitate a neighborhood-led planning process focused on individual neighborhoods, addressing physical, social, and even political development. Rohe discusses how these programs encourage neighborhood-based organizations to:

(1) review and comment on publicly or privately developed plans before they come up for city council approval

(2) develop their own neighborhood plans; and/or

(3) engage in self-help activities, such as neighborhood cleanup or community crime prevention programs (Rohe 2009, 222).

Moreover, these programs had distinct advantages over other more traditional forms of

9

citizen participation, such as city-wide advisory groups or public meetings and hearings. Neighborhood planning programs provide a forum for residents to address issues in their actual neighborhoods, they encourage continuous citizen involvement and thus can increase the sophistication of participating citizens and groups, and finally these programs let neighborhood groups set their own agendas rather than simply responding to those of municipal planners or private developers (Rohe & Gates 1985).

These programs have also benefited the planning profession because they offer a mechanism to focus on the issues of older neighborhoods, allowing planners to address the needs and concerns of residents in a full range of resident types (Rohe 2009, 224).

2.3.1. Defining Neighborhood Planning Programs

Part of the purpose behind defining the scope and variation of NPPs is to speak to the fact that these programs are highly rooted in local contexts. Local factors that speak to variation in neighborhood-based initiatives includes municipal structures, patterns of community organization and activity, political trends, and local need. This governance-based study is designed to explore some of these points of variation through a comparative case study and to examine how they relate to local actors, frameworks, and institutional contexts. Neighborhood planning programs, then, can be understood as a specific kind of planning initiative, but containing variation that speaks directly to questions of governance and institutional relations.

Municipally supported Neighborhood Planning Programs (NPPs) are defined here as (1) municipally supported and created, (2) a neighborhood planning program: emphasizing comprehensive planning[1] and development (physical as well as social and political) at the

---

[1] Comprehensive planning here refers to a programmatic approach to development emphasizing more than physical development, including social and/or political issues, not referring specifically to the rational comprehensive approach that implies a certain kind of planning process.

neighborhood level, (3) with a strong emphasis on community involvement and leadership

(Rohe 2009). Each of these points requires some discussion of specific actors and

programmatic activity both to clarify the scope of NPPs as well as to understand the possible

variation between them. Table 1.1 summarizes these points.

Table 1.1**:** Scope of Neighborhood Planning Programs

	Nation-wide Survey of NPPs variation
(1) Municipal-Led	Possible Administrating Agencies: Planning, community development, housing, or independent departments; or city manager or mayor/council/borough president
(2) Comprehensive	Physical conditions, housing, social and political development
(3) Community Involvement	Can be accomplished through organizing new groups by community leaders or planners, or through the involvement of existing organizations, or through combination of these approaches

Survey from Rohe & Gates 1985

Table 1.1 offers a list of agencies that were noted as having administered neighborhood

planning programs in a national survey (Rohe & Gates 1985, 78). The agency that administered

the program tended to have an effect on the focus of the program: planning departments were

the highest count for these programs (26%), and tended to focus on developing neighborhood

plans; second, community development (13%) tended to have a strong focus on project

development and implementation owing to their access to federal funding for neighborhood

improvement; city managers office (5%) tended to focus on improving city services; the rest

were below 5%.

The second feature of NPPs in Table 1.1, comprehensiveness, speaks to the

programmatic content of these programs. The neighborhood planning and development

literature discusses this trend away from the focus exclusively on physical development and

more towards developing the social and political capacity of neighborhood residents and

organizations. Physical development however has still remained an important part of these programs, and often include housing, streets, curbs, sidewalks, recreation facilities, neighborhood cleanliness, street lights, traffic signals (Rohe & Gates 1985, 104). Social and political development in these programs include efforts to improve community awareness and competence, influence on city officials, participation in planning, improved communication between neighborhoods and city officials (Rohe & Gates 1985, 103).

In terms of the Scope and Variation of Community Involvement in NPPs depicted in Table 1, Rohe and Gate's survey revealed that neighborhood groups can be organized through community leaders, by utilizing existing community organizations, through the work of planning staff to bring residents and groups together for the planning process, or through a combination of these (Rohe & Gates 1985, 74).

2.3.2. Variation in Neighborhood Planning Programs

Another main point in defining and discussing these programs is the wide-ranging variation between programs and cities. These programs vary based on a number of factors including:

(1) how they are formally sanctioned (city charter, amendment, council resolution, informal agreement)

(2) how neighborhoods are represented (some programs involve existing neighborhood groups, others create new councils or planning units to represent neighborhood interests)

(3) how they receive municipal support (planners can offer technical assistance, some provide financial support for staff, space, and other needs)

(4) how boundaries are defined in the program (Rohe & Gates 1985, 73-89).

In many ways then, neighborhood planning programs are defined and differentiated

from other tools based on their variability on certain issues, such as funding and method of citizen engagement. I've discussed some of the differences between neighborhood planning programs and other participatory approaches, but they can also be differentiated from other place-based tools such as economic development incentives and community-based organization approaches to neighborhood revitalization.

While neighborhood planning programs differ in the kinds of support they offer to neighborhoods (and therefore differ on funding sources), many economic development tools such as TIF zones, enterprise/empowerment zones, and other incentive-based approaches have specific or relatively well-defined funding sources (Weber 2003, Peters and Fisher 2003, Stocker and Rich 2006 respectively).

Neighborhood planning programs can engage residents through direct participation, through councils, or through neighborhood-based organizations, but are ultimately a municipal and planner facilitated initiative. Community and economic development-based approaches often emphasize the value and efficiency in devolving municipal functions to community-based non-profits (Rohe 2009, Vidal 1995). Community-based organizations and advocates have also pushed for community benefits agreements (CBAs) which are designed to share the benefits of redevelopment with low-income residents in terms of housing, job opportunities, and other issues. While CBAs emphasize similar constituency as neighborhood planning programs, they can target development outside of these neighborhood boundaries from which to extract benefits for low-income communities (Wolf-Powers 2010).

These are just a few examples of other forms of place-based, community-centered approaches used by planners and how they compare to neighborhood planning programs. Although most, if not all, goals and philosophies of neighborhood planning programs can be seen individually in other kinds of approaches, such as calls for place-based incentives to be utilized in the context of a comprehensive planning process (Grodach 2011, Stocker and Rich

13

2006), or the supposed inclusive and neighborhood-based focus of community economic development initiatives (Stoecker 1997), it is the integrated nature of all of the elements that distinguish municipally supported neighborhood planning programs.

Although I have offered a definition of neighborhood planning programs and attempted to differentiate them from other kinds of participatory approaches and place-based approaches, the purpose of this study is not to offer a refined definition of these programs or comparative typology of place-based planning tools. The definitions and clarifications offered here are used to distinguish these programs enough to identify and compare them based on specific governance properties.

Neighborhood planning programs here are understood as a particular programmatic manifestation of the broader values of neighborhood-based inclusionary planning. As such, these programs are an excellent opportunity to study planning and governance processes. In such a study, additional questions arise, for example: how are these broader values of inclusion, comprehensiveness, neighborhood-focus embedded in actual programs? What sorts of frameworks do planners and residents actually use, and how do they structure these programs and their priorities?

2.4 Research Questions

This project utilizes a comparative case study approach involving two prominent neighborhood planning programs in the DFW Region: Dallas's Neighborhood Investment Program (NIP) and Fort Worth's Model Blocks Program as a means to compare and analyze both program's institutional framework and approach for neighborhood planning and how these frameworks structure governance roles and relationships. A governance lens focusing on both programs' institutional frameworks, actors, and relationships is used to guide the data collection

14

and analysis process.

(1) <u>Institutional Frameworks</u>: For the purposes of this study, I focus both on the neighborhood planning frameworks and formal institutional structure that shape the neighborhood planning programs. In terms of planning frameworks I examine underlying premises that guide and shape these neighborhood planning programs as a governance process. In terms of what these concepts or premises might look like, the approach will be both inductive, relying heavily on interview conversations to determine guiding concepts in both programs, and shaped by important constructs in the literature.

In terms of formal institutions, a combination of educated assumptions based off of the literature combined with an inductive approach explain important institutional structures that shape both programs. Interview questions were focused on departmental structure, funding, and formal sanctioning, but the analysis is based on the categories hat appear most pressing on these programs' operations and highlight comparative similarities/differences between them.

Although Nuissl and Heinrichs approach decision-making as a separate element, here these processes are analyzed alongside formal institutions. Ferman's study focuses specifically on regime theory and neighborhood mobilization and incorporates decision-making as part of the institutional framework. According to both Nuisl and Ferman, decision-making processes are important as mechanisms of social interaction that can largely determine how resources are distributed (Ferman 1996). The focus here is on discovering important decision-making points, who is included, and if possible what process is used. Examining decision-making then can speak to multiple pieces of the governance framework, specifically what kinds of funds are up for distribution, how are neighborhood groups included in the program, and even how important is the planning process to key decisions.

In sum, the overall institutional framework, including both guiding premises and formal

institutions should influence and structure the other categories in the research framework (who is involved, the nature of the relationships.

(2) <u>Actors</u>: Who is involved, what are their roles in the project? Differences in neighborhood representation for instance neighborhood associations verses nonprofit developers such as CDCs may prove to be important. What role do elected officials play? Are staff other than planners part of the planning process? Exploring and analyzing different patterns of actors can both enhance and speak to an analysis of planning frameworks and institutional contexts.

(3) <u>Relationships:</u> What kinds of relationships exist between the planners and other actors? Are planners playing an advocacy role with neighborhood groups, a facilitator of the process, are they functioning in a more contractual role, administering the distribution of public funds? Relationships between city departments could also prove to be significant in planning or implementation phases (Nuissl and Heinrichs 2011, 54).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

<u>3.1 Case Study Approach</u>

This study uses a comparative case study approach to investigate planning frameworks and governance relationships and processes in Dallas and Fort Worth's neighborhood planning programs. According to Yin, a case study is an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2009, 18). Furthermore, a case study inquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence, where data converges in a triangulation fashion. Case studies also benefit from "the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis" (Yin 2009, 18). This study specifically utilizes a multiple, comparative case study approach. Multiple case study approaches are often considered more compelling and robust, and have been pointed out to be particularly useful for urban and political issues of interest (Denters and Mossberger 2006).

The comparative case study approach is particularly suited for a governance study of NPPs. Specifically, the contemporary nature of neighborhood planning programs in both cities under study comes to bear on the analysis as well as the need to gather multiple sources of evidence. The development of this case study has also heavily relied on the prior development of theoretical propositions, specifically in developing the governance framework which has guided question development and will guide data analysis.

More important however, is the use of a comparative case study to examine two divergent case studies of neighborhood planning programs based on the governance theoretical framework provided. The comparative approach used here specifically applies the governance

17

framework to both the Dallas and Fort Worth program and allows for a more robust analysis of how planning frameworks impact and structure the roles and relationships within these programs than a single case study would provide.

<p style="text-align:center">3.2 Data Collection</p>

Interviews from planners allowed for the basic collection of information regarding program histories, planning frameworks used in the programs and other formal institutions, the actors involved, roles of the planner in relationship to the other actors, and an idea of the decision-making processes used. Project documents were used as a triangulating point alongside interview information to offer a more formalized, codified set of statements to inform interview questions and tell the story of both cases studies in the case study write up.

The data collection process involved the following steps:

(1) selecting planners with significant involvement in both programs. In Dallas all three planners in their program were interviewed. In Fort Worth an initial referral and introduction was made by a Dallas planner to a staff member in the Fort Worth planning department, subsequently leading to an additional referral to a staff member in the housing department who had been apart of the program for several years;

(2) conducting interviews to gain insight into the proposed research topics as well as to gain a broad overview of the programs, solicit referrals from the planner on other planners best suited to speak to regarding the respective programs. Interview questions are included in Appendix A;

(3) gathered case study documents that discuss the program's goals, process, roles of actors, and anything else deemed relevant to the framework. A list of case study documents are included in Appendix B;

(4) follow-up interviews, and additional document collection as deemed necessary.

This process proceeded a bit differently in each city. The original proposal called for data collection on both a broad overview of each program as well as two specific neighborhood

projects in each. Time and resource constraints by both researcher and city staff in Fort Worth led to the abandonment of the two individual neighborhood projects for the Fort Worth Model Blocks program. It was decided that a detailed overview of the program and multiple interviews and documents in each program however offered sufficient data to analyze and speak to the research questions. The two neighborhood project data collection proceeded in the Dallas program however, because NIP is a much less structured project and required research into specific projects to gain clarity for a sufficient understanding of the underlying governance relations. In total, 5 interviews were conducted: 3 in Dallas and 2 in Fort Worth.

3.3 Issues of Validity/Reliability

Case study methodology has its own approaches for dealing with issues of validity and reliability. In terms of constructing validity, this project focuses on the use of multiple sources of evidence. As described above, multiple interviews and the use of case study documents are used to verify and compare accounts when possible. Yin points out that internal validity may be considered less important in exploratory multiple case study approaches, such as this project, but external validity can be addressed by focusing on analytical generalization: making sure to use theory in the research design in developing questions, and making sure findings speak to these relevant categories.[2] This project focuses on relating data and analysis back to the original questions developed from the neighborhood planning and governance literatures.

Issues of reliability and replicability can be effectively dealt with by adequately cataloguing the case study database of collected data (Yin 2009, 40-45). To insure replicability of the project, a case study database is organized and catalogued for easy reference to claims made in the final

---

[2] In terms of generalizability of findings, Yin points out that case studies should not be thought of as "samples" in statistical terms generalizable to populations or universes, or involved in enumerating frequencies (statistical generalization), but rather generalizable to theoretical propositions with the goal of expanding and generalizing theories through analytic generalization (Yin 2009, 15).

report referencing such sources. This catalogue is included in Appendix B.

<u>3.4 Analytical Approach</u>

The primary strategy in data analysis is to follow the theoretical propositions that led to the case study (Yin 2009, 130). For this project, the four categories: actors, relationships, institutional frameworks, and decision-making processes have provided a path for research design as well as for data analysis. These categories and the related theoretical orientations will inform the case study analysis, focusing attention on certain data while ignoring other data. In operationalizing this approach, a cross-case synthesis are used to compare findings from both case studies. Charts and text are developed that display the data from individual cases according to the uniform framework developed in the research design. This way, comparisons of differences and cross-case conclusions are developed (Yin 2009, 156).The theoretical propositions and categories of focus are used to develop and display comparisons of the two overall programs.

The analysis proceeds as follows:

(1) Laying out the institutional frameworks guiding both programs separately and comparatively, focusing on the intersection of the guiding planning principals, ways of thinking about neighborhood planning, and formal structures that shape the programs such as departmental structure and funding source restrictions.

(2) Repeating this process with the other categories in the governance lens: actors and relationships. Each of these components will speak back to both programs' respective neighborhood planning approach and serve to enrich the comparative analysis on neighborhood planning governance.

<u>3.5 Methodological Limitations</u>

In speaking to institutional frameworks and contexts of each program, a few points should be made regarding potential limitations to what the methodology and analysis can speak to. The review of certain institutional factors, specifically the use of federal funds and both city's approach to their regulatory requirements, is relatively limited to what was covered in the specific program's under study. Certain departmental relations and decision-making structures that are discussed, while potentially offering insight into these cities institutional frameworks and governance cultures more broadly, can only be confidently assessed and explained in terms of their relationship to these specific neighborhood planning initiatives. Other potential limitations have to do with the emphasis on interviews with planning staff. The lack of community organization's and leader's perspectives on these programs means that the study can speak to resident participation and the openness of decision-making and planning processes in terms of how planners themselves have understood and explained these issues to the researcher.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF DALLAS AND FORT WORTH CASE STUDIES AND

INTRODUCTION TO ANALYSIS

<u>4.1 General Overview of Case Studies</u>

This section offers a brief overview of the Dallas and Forth Worth Case studies

including summaries taken from interviews and program websites and general background

information that shaped the development of each initiative. As these summaries suggest, each

program was developed by senior staff as ways to deal with perceived trends and political

pressures of the time. The overview here first summarizes these programs as understood

through official channels (interviews, program websites and documentation) and secondly offers

an introduction to the analysis that follows introduces this study's comparative approach

according to the governance framework outlined in the methodology chapter.

4.1.1 Dallas's Neighborhood Investment Program

Dallas's Neighborhood Investment Program (NIP) functions as the city's current

targeted neighborhood investment program bringing together federal and city funds to be

directed into designated low-income neighborhoods in concert with other major investments by

other public, private, and nonprofit agencies and organizations. Interviews with the program's

director offer some context as to why the NIP was developed and the kinds of internal and

external criticisms it has attempted to respond to.

The NIP many ways was developed in response to a previous targeted neighborhood

investment program called the Neighborhood Renaissance Program (NRP). The NRP was a

highly structured, "process-driven" program. It allocated funds to Community Planning Advisory Committees (CPACS) made up of resident stakeholders in target areas who had the authority to develop a budget and select projects.

The current head of the NIP discussed a number of issues with the NRP approach that led to the current program however. Among them included:

(1) an inefficient process: developing plans and making modifications required significant effort to negotiate neighborhood politics and resident empowerment through the CPAC process, as well as elected officials' interests, and significant reporting with multiple departments whose funding was funneled through the program;

(2) large Areas: the areas were discussed as being too large to achieve "sustainable or visible type of visible impact" coupled with the fact that public investment was occurring without significant focus on coordinating with other agencies or developers working in these neighborhoods, and;

(3) criticism of planner involvement: as the head of the program discusses "…what happened was we were accused of not property guiding them because they said, well guys…if you know what we wanted at the end of the day to achieve x,y, and…why wouldn't you guide us and advise us instead of putting all our eggs here maybe we should do combination of this that and the other…"

In response to these issues the NIP was authorized by the city council in February 2003 "as a strategic approach to target and leverage public resources to achieve sustainable and visible community redevelopment" (Department of Housing 2008). The program focuses a number of approaches including a housing/land bank program, public infrastructure improvements, code enforcement, economic development, and other city resources in designated CDBG neighborhoods.

The program describes three main goals: (1) Leveraging private development and other

community investments, (2) Facilitating sustainable neighborhood redevelopment through community partnerships and stakeholders, and (3) Targeting city, stakeholder and other public/private resources (Department of Housing/Community Services). Five neighborhoods have been selected as NIP neighborhoods.[3] Each neighborhood is given a different strategic approach for development.[4]

According to the manager of the program then, the NIP then was developed to correct perceived problems and inefficiencies with the more "process-driven" NRP. Designated neighborhood spaces are made smaller so as to more effectively target resources, strategies focus on leveraging dollars with existing projects rather than "going at it alone" and, perhaps just as importantly, planners are given more control over the development of strategies and budget-decisions.

4.1.2 Fort Worth Model Blocks Program

The Fort Worth Model Blocks (MB) program was the city's targeted neighborhood investment program from 1994-2006 with explicit emphasis on empowering neighborhood residents. The MB program was a heavily process-driven program focused on the distribution of 1.2 million dollar grants comprised of Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) and HOME Investment Partnership Program (HOME) funds. According to the city of Fort Worth's Website: **"**The Planning Department and the Housing Department plan for neighborhoods through the Model Blocks Program. Each year, up to three neighborhoods are selected to prepare neighborhood plans for their area with technical assistance from the City. One is selected as a

---

[3] The five neighborhoods include: (1) South Dallas-Ideal and Rochester Park neighborhoods, (2) South Dallas – Jubilee, Owenwood, Dolphin Heights & Frazier Courts neighborhoods, (3) West Dallas, (4) N. Oak Cliff / Marsalis, and (5) Lancaster Corridor / Cigarette Hill.

[4] For instance, a comprehensive redevelopment strategic approach is used in the South Dallas-Ideal and Rochester Park neighborhoods; catalyst projects in South Dallas- Jubilee, Owendoowd, etc.; and land Banking, infill development, and a block-by-block approach are used in West Dallas. (City of Dallas 2012).

Model Block neighborhood, and is awarded $1.2 million to implement its plan. The one or two

neighborhood finalists that do not receive the award are assisted in identifying ways to

implement their plans through other funding sources… " A map of MB neighborhoods selected

through the MB program is provided in Appendix D.

      A housing staff member mentioned that a couple of factors in particular led to the

program's development: the first being that an organization called the League of Neighborhoods

(LONs) was becoming more politically influential over the city council, pushing for greater

community control over development programs. Secondly, a couple of key senior staff members

who also valued community responsiveness were discussed as developing the vision for the

program. In addition to the emphasis on neighborhood control over the 1.2 million dollar grant,

Gerome Walker, one of the originators of the program, hoped these MB awards would lead to

the development of new Community Development Corporations (CDCs). Community

empowerment then, according to the MB program was defined as a focus on resident control of

federal grant dollars through a specified process, and the development of CDC capacity to

engage in housing and economic development in low-income neighborhoods of the city.

4.2 Introduction to Analysis of Case Studies

      The analysis of both Dallas and Fort Worth neighborhood planning programs proceeds

according to the analytical framework laid out in the literature review and methodology sections.

Institutional frameworks, actors, and relationships are explored in both programs separately and

comparatively. What we see is a story of two very different approaches who, though they share

some formal institutional similarities such as being administered by the housing department and

funding from CDBG dollars, none-the-less represent two almost competing understandings of

the neighborhood planning process. The governance-based approach highlights how these

programs call upon different kinds of departmental coordination, roles of the neighborhood

planner, and integrate two very different approaches to community outreach and inclusion into the program.

Each governance element is structured by presenting the findings of each program separately followed by a comparative discussion. Institutional frameworks, both underlying premises guiding each program and the formal institutional context they call upon reveal different planning philosophies and structures that impact the course of each program. The section on actors reveals very different roles for planners, elected officials, and community/neighborhood participants based off of these institutional frameworks. Finally, relationships and forums for interaction between planner and community are presented and compared revealing different levels of formality and structure in the planning and implementation processes based in part on who the program calls upon to represent community interests and what they seek to accomplish.

In attempting to make sense of a rich set of interview and document data, this analysis describes two program frameworks that speak to how planners and others in the public sector attempt to utilize limited resources to tackle great need in some of their neighborhoods. Planners with great visions and ideals developed these programs out of necessity, political pressure, to improve upon earlier perceived failures and are ultimately left in a position of managing expectations and demands of both neighborhood residents and organizations as well as elected officials from above. This analysis, and the findings offered after, work to capture these stories and present and compare them to speak to some of the most basic questions of practitioners in the field and academicians who realize that hard truths are as hard to come by as steady funding, and political support at all levels, when working in the most impoverished, neglected spaces of our cities.

CHAPTER 5

OVERVIEW OF INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

Institutional Frameworks according to Nuisl and Heinrichs generally refers to the rules

of conduct, institutions that prevail in the respective societal and political contexts. These rules

can affect and in some cases determine actor's decisions and courses of action. Drawing on

institutionalist theory, their approach focuses on formal and informal institutions. Formal

institutions refer to codified and embrace laws, regulations, ordinances, plans, and other

constitutional mechanisms of public control while on the other hand, informal institutions refer to

commonly understood rules, norms, values that shape the kinds of cognitive references that

guide and shape actors and relationships.

In order to examine and compare these NPPs, the concept of institutional frameworks

has a specific application in this study, emphasizing two elements: 1: guiding premises, i.e.

ways of thinking about the neighborhood planning process and 2: formal institutional contexts

that shape and constrain these programs' operations. Both elements are presented here and

were developed from a combination of theoretical premise and constructs gathered inductively

that proved to be essential in shaping these programs. For instance, although the kinds of

premises presented speak to theoretical concerns of governance relations, the specific number,

structure, and relationship between these premises was developed in reflection of interviews

and project documents.

Table 5.1 lays out the categories of focus that comprise a model for institutional frameworks

designed to explain and compare both programs, as well as lay the foundation for how to

examine actor's roles and relationships between planner and neighborhood. There is no specific

relationship between columns, guiding premises are designed to be related together as a whole, similarly to the elements of the formal institutional contexts.

Table 5.1 Overview of Institutional Frameworks Approach

Guiding Premise	Formal Institutional Context
What is our approach to neighborhood investment?	Administering agency
How do we understand the nature of the interaction between planner and resident?	Funding sources/constraints
What is being developed, what is the end-result product?	Decision-making structure

The formal institutional context follows a similar path; data collection proceeded with some educated notions of what kinds of structures would be important for program variation, but the contexts offered here rely heavily on how planners perceive their programs' own most pressing constraints and support structures.

As this section intends to demonstrate, there is much overlap between these guiding premises, between the different formal institutional elements, and between both categories. The premise in Fort Worth, for instance, of "targeted investment" is a strategy for investing resources that combines (1) program guidelines specifying a number of blocks and households to be classified as a neighborhood with (2) a funding constraint associated with CDBG funds. This premise also interacts with the premise (3) "neighborhood empowerment" in that the focus of this targeted investment and the designated neighborhood is determined in large part by the focus of the program on working with neighborhood associations who determine the project boundaries.

These elements are combined to explain the institutional and conceptual contexts of these programs and establish an effective means of comparison. This section first explores guiding premises in both programs, followed by the formal institutional contexts, and ends with comments comparing both programs.

28

<u>5.1 Neighborhood Planning Premises</u>

This section discusses the two different sets of guiding premises that shaped the approaches, interactions, and focuses of each program. The terms used here are context-specific, meaning that they have specific implications based on how they are embedded and realized in each program. Table 4.2 displays a summary of both program's guiding premises.

Table 5.2 Overview of Neighborhood Planning Premises

Planning Premise	Fort Worth MB Program	Dallas NIP
Overall Approach to Redevelopment	Targeted Investment	Leveraging Funds
Approach to planner/resident roles and relationships	Resident Empowerment	Planner as Expert
Product produced	Implementable Budget	Catalyst Projects

Overall, Fort Worth's program was developed as a way to empower neighborhood associations to have a strong role in the way federal funds are spent. Its overall approach then is targeted investment in a specified number of blocks determined by NAs. It focuses on giving budget development power to NAs while planners focused on technical assistance in this process of "empowerment." The product of the MB program was ultimately to develop a budget for these funds, one that would fully meet federal eligibility requirements.

The Dallas NIP initiative focuses on using federal funds to support development already taking place in NIP neighborhoods, hence the concept of leveraging funds. It emphasized taking advantage of the expertise of the planner to develop coherent, effective strategies in using these funds, while residents offer input largely on a neighborhood and project specific scale. Lastly, the NIP focused on developing visible "catalyst projects" with their infrastructure assistance that would lead to further investment by other private and nonprofit developers.

5.1.1. Fort Worth MB Premises

<u>Targeted Investment</u>

Both citys' programs in fact are guided in large part behind the notion of targeted investment to create visual impact. But the ways in which the programs incorporate and enact this ideal speak to important variations in terms of which neighborhood boundaries are defined and what sorts of projects/issues are pursued. According to one staff member in Fort Worth:

"The goal was to try to have a visual impact, so you didn't have an area that's too large, it could only be so many blocks and hence the name Model Blocks."

The MB application (Appendix C) indicates that a range of 150-300 housing units are preferred while the program website mentions a submission of a 10-20 block radius for the MB program. The proposed blocks must also be a eligible for CDBG funds. As this section will discuss, the notion of "targeted investment" is more than a guiding premise, it is embedded in eligibility requirements of these federal funds, both in spatial terms as well as the kinds of projects that can be pursued. The kinds of investment would vary from neighborhood to neighborhood and would generally be determined by a combination of both issues deemed important by residents who participate in the planning process and what is determined to be eligible under the funding requirements. Targeted investment then, for the Fort Worth program, is shaped by the other two guiding notions described here: resident empowerment and the budget-development.

A brochure for the MB program states:

"The MB program fosters strong neighborhood organizations. Residents actively participate in developing the neighborhood plan and implementing projects. Of the fourteen MBs selected since 1993, ten have formed non-profit community development corporations and are currently undertaking development and providing social services."

Interviews indicate that term empowerment in the Fort Worth program has specific connotations that are rooted in core features of the program that shape the role of both the resident and the planner. Specifically, resident empowerment occurred through the active role of the neighborhood associations in determining how to spend the resources provided through the city, as one staff member said:

"The idea about the MB program was that it would be targeted investment and it was about empowering neighborhood residents to identify what their key issues were and empowering them to say "I want this money to be spent here."

The phrase "empowering neighborhood residents to identify what their key issues were" refers specifically to NAs, their ability to organize residents, and their active role in a planning process designed to produce a budget for spending CDBG and HOME funds. This notion of empowerment placed quite a bit of responsibility on the part of the NA in terms of ensuring adequate geographic representation of their neighborhood, keeping the community informed of the MB process, ensuring that the neighborhood interests were being pursued in the planning process, and presenting their plan to a selection committee in competition with two other neighborhoods.

Another interesting piece of the MB story is the role of CDCs in the empowerment process. It was part of the original vision to use the MB program to create many neighborhood-

based housing non-profits. While many nonprofits were in fact founded as a result of this program, their role ended up focusing on implementing these plans with assistance from the housing staff, generally struggling to find funding afterwards and essentially becoming inactive. The vision of CDCs, their roles, and implementation issues are discussed more in the actors section.

The planner in this process of empowerment offers technical assistance to the NA in developing their plan/budget including a variety of data collection and interaction-based activities discussed in more detail in the relationships section. As this study will discuss, empowerment in the MB program is a highly structured process shaped by the interests of NAs, their leadership, but also by the structure of the program itself and limits and constraints associated with its funding sources.

Budget-development

The principle of budget-development is a loaded term probably not to be found in official accounts of the program. It is a guiding premise developed here to explain much of the focus of the program, its strong relationship to federal funding sources, the emphasis on developing a budget in the planning process, and the compliance roles of the housing staff focused on evaluating this budget according to federal guidelines. In speaking about the final product of the "planning" process, one staff member commented:

"…You wouldn't write some massive gorgeous plan. You'd have your…a plan to me, and again I'm not this master comprehensive planner kind of person…I'm more of a practical kind of hands on…but to me a plan is a budget, this was about spending the 1.2 million dollars. So the plan was: a neighborhood wants these things, this is how we justify them, and this is how we're going to spend the money."

32

That the focus of the program should be on developing an implementable budget is probably a result of several MB projects that had yet to fully spent their designated funds. Drawn out implementation processes developed where compliance issues resulted from proposed budgets that contained ineligible activities, exacerbated by problems coordinating with declining leadership with some of the NAs in selecting new options. Originally, the goal was to create new non-profits with each MB program. Many NAs did in fact develop one to take over the implementation process. Conceptually, developing greater neighborhood capacity for community development supports the focus of empowerment, however it was brought up that there weren't enough public dollars to further support and develop these organizations.

5.1.2 Dallas NIP Premises

Leverage Funds/Leveraging Investment

"…We know for a fact that there is no way that neighborhoods can be transformed on the backs of city hall alone, it's all about leveraging our funding, collaborations, partnerships, in many of our NIP areas now we're working on our areas where there's already a 20 to 50 million dollar investment by the DHA or someone else you know, committed to coming to the area, and that way you can leverage the funding…you're working on collaboration, it's just a much smarter, it's the only way…"

The concept of leveraging funds in many ways sums up the entire conceptual framework of the NIP. As discussed by the head of the program above, the idea is to target housing department dollars and focus other departmental activities in targeted distressed communities where investment and activity is already taking place. The scope of this leveraging is quite diverse, working with other public investments such as the Dallas Housing Authority projects and new DART rail stations, as well as nonprofit and for profit developments such as housing, retail, and other forms of community services.

33

Another way of phrasing it, it's about "leveraging investment," thinking of the city's resources in terms of "maximizing investment," as the program director discusses:

"It's just like any other investment that you make, you wanna invest in something that's going to yield you the highest return possible"

This focus on maximizing investment is in direct contrast to the previous program, the NRP, which was criticized as scattering funds over large areas with little visible improvement to show to residents and officials. The investment-centered language also speaks to the focus on physical development projects, such as the Bexar. St. Corridor and Spring Ave., which are NIP collaborations with public, nonprofit, and for-profit developers.

What comes up through the study however, is that the concept of leveraging funds and investment is highly variable and flexible based on the particular project and neighborhood. There doesn't seem to be an established process for determining projects and neighborhood strategies. There are pieces of a process such as conceptual plans for different projects, and needs assessments done to select distressed neighborhoods. The program is flexible however in the sense that planners are periodically going back to the housing committee and city council to add neighborhoods and projects, and oversight from elected officials and appointees can redirect funds from one neighborhood to another.

Planner as Expert

As the Dallas Neighborhood Development Manager and head of the NIP discusses:

"…It was a huge learning lesson for me (NRP program) and one now that I will always remember and that is that residents' community involvement engagement is critical to any planning process, but at the end of the day they're not planners right…and if we know what, if

34

we have a vision as to where we're going to go, and its encumbered on us as professionals to advise them and put them on the track and process that'll get them to where they wanna be, by perhaps giving them a limited number of strategies or choices that we think will get them there, you know, or redirecting maybe some of their decisions if we don't think that you know, it's really going to achieve what we know they want to see."

"Planner as expert" is the guiding concept developed here to explain the role of the planner, the neighborhood, and their relationship. Although the decision-making process is not entirely understood, interviews seem to indicate that there is much discretion on the part of the planner in the NIP in terms of designating neighborhoods, projects, and structuring the ways in which resident input is incorporated into these processes. This varies greatly from the previous program in place, the NRP, where residents determined budgets and priorities. Related to the concept of leveraging development, the planner expert in this case develops an overall strategy based on what is determined to have the greatest return on investment of public resources. Resident input seems to be neighborhood and project specific, but the more important source of neighborhood influence seems to be through private and for profit developers, who in both projects studied here may have lobbied for their entity to be apart of a NIP project area.

Catalyst Projects

"We really kind of see our role as catalysts, we're there to catalyze reinvestment in these neighborhoods so what does the city do? We're responsible for the public infrastructure within the city, so the extent that we can strengthen the…alot of times there has been disinvestment by the private sector because the public infrastructure has gone to crap, I mean so if we can do our part at least upgrading the infrastructure then that goes a long way toward trying to entice redevelopment to come back to the area."

35

"Our plans for, more looking at catalyst aspects of you know, what can, what type of infrastructure can be put in and what can build off that…"

This last guiding premise of the NIP is designed to explain what the planners understand as the product of their work. As quoted from two staff members in the NIP, catalyst projects here are understood as the NIP emphasis on infrastructure project in targeted areas designed to entice redevelopment in distressed areas. The two projects that were studied emphasized the support of physical projects such as housing and retail developments through infrastructure and other development assistance.

Another aspect of these catalyst projects and their role in the redevelopment effort is their emphasis on developing a "sustainable model." For the NIP, sustainability is understood as the ability of their development leveraging process to create catalyst projects that can then be taken over and policed by residents after they have moved on to other projects. This implies for instance that new infrastructure and projects can be maintained and kept safe through community nonprofit and organizations.

5.2 Formal Institutional Contexts

Rohe and Gate's research on NPPs indicates that the agency in which the program is housed can be strongly influential in terms of its overall purpose and focus (Rohe and Gates 1985). NPPs in planning departments for instance are focused on developing neighborhood plans that often are incorporated into city's comprehensive plan. NPPs administered by housing agencies are generally focused on distributing federal funds. As tabl 5.3 shows, both Fort Worth and Dallas programs are administered by their housing departments, and both programs in fact are generally focused on distributing federal funds, this dynamic then seems to reinforce Rohe and Gate's data on these kinds of programs. What these two case studies capture however is that significant variation can exist on approaches for utilizing the housing department to expend

36

these funds through a neighborhood planning program. The kinds of relationships housing staff are involved in both with residents and other departments and staff are quite different between both programs under study based on the structure and priority of the NPP.

Table 5.3 Overview of Formal Institutional Contexts

Institutional Structure	Fort Worth MB Program	Dallas NIP
Administering Agency	Housing Department	Housing Department
Funding Sources	CDBG, HOME	CDBG, Bonds
Decision-making Process	Highly structured, Balanced Relatively detailed criteria	Inconsistent, Closed, political Unclear criteria

The specific funding sources and their constraints also reflect key similarities and differences between both programs. CDBG funds carry restrictions all over the country, specifying where and how funds can be spent, yet these resources and restrictions none-the-less reflect and clarify the two different models for neighborhood investment. CDBG funds were also combined with another funding source in each city: in Fort Worth HOME dollars are prominent, reflecting an emphasis on housing repairs and interests of neighborhood associations, while in Dallas; Bond funds reflect a differing emphasis on infrastructure improvements associated with physical developments.

Lastly, both programs contain decidedly different decision-making structures and processes. Each program section attempts to address three issues in relation to decision-making: (1) what are the key decision-making points, (2) who is involved, what is the balance between these actors, and (3) what process is used to reach decisions. The ability to fully answer, or only partially or fail to answer, each of these points speaks to the level of consistency, structure, and possibly transparency of each program overall. Decision-making structures also reflect the distribution of roles and power in determining how neighborhoods are

37

selected for participation in the program and for grant money allocation and how resources are spent between elected official, planner, and neighborhood organization.

5.2.1 Fort Worth MB Formal Institutional Context

Administering Agency:

In the Fort Worth program, The housing department was the administering agency, but planners in the planning department also played a strong role in the program. The section on actors will delineate these roles with more detail, for here it is important to emphasize that the program is shaped strongly by housing department funds and by housing department staff who participated in the planning process and guided the implementation, contract administration, and compliance processes. Senior staff in this department also participated on the selection committee (discussed below under decision-making) and possibly made the final determination to place the MB program on hold indefinitely. The main scope of the program then lies under the oversight of the housing department, some from the planning department, but there was mention of coordination with other departments on an informal basis based on each project.

Funding Constraints

Interviews with both planning and housing staff indicated how the funding sources and requirements played a significant role in the MB program, the planning process, and what was able to be accomplished. The two main funding sources included Community Development Block Grant funds (CDBG) and the HOME investment partnership program (HOME) funds. These particular funding sources shaped and constrained the program in a number of ways. This section discusses both funds, their general purpose, and how they shaped the MB program through neighborhood selection, planning and budget development, and ultimately

implementation.

CDBG

CDBG: Block grant funds are designed for low income neighborhoods based on census data such as poverty and unemployment statistics. The funds could serve two purposes: (1) direct area benefit, namely activities that can benefit a whole neighborhood for instance such as parks, streets, sidewalk, or related improvements; and (2) direct benefit, focusing on a specific household. Though there was flexibility on what types of projects that can be pursued, there is also very detailed lists regarding eligibility, lists that ultimately require interpretation and expertise on the part of the housing staff to fully ascertain what the funds could be spent on.

HOME

HOME: This HUD program is specifically designed for home repairs. According to the HUD website: "HOME provides formula grants to States and localities that communities use-often in partnership with local nonprofit groups-to fund a wide range of activities that build, buy, and/or rehabilitate affordable housing for rent or homeownership or provide direct rental assistance to low-income people" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development).

The HUD website details eligibility based on the city as a grantee, the residents as customers, and the kinds of activities that can be pursued with the funds. The funds can be distributed to customers based off of medium income requirements and other criteria, a list of eligible activities allow the city to: "provide home purchase or rehabilitation financing assistance to eligible homeowners and new homebuyers; build or rehabilitate housing for rent or ownership; or for "other reasonable and necessary expenses related to the development of non-luxury housing," including site acquisition or improvement, demolition of dilapidated housing to make way for HOME-assisted development, and payment of relocation expenses."

39

Neighborhood Selection

These funding sources interacted with the program structure in specific ways. Geographically, MB neighborhoods had to be within CDBG eligible areas. The MB brochure shows a map of Fort Worth incorporating CDBG eligible areas overlaid with MB neighborhoods designated throughout the program's history (Appendix D). Although this is a fairly straight forward institutional constraint on the program, what proved to be strongly influential on the program and its outcomes in some cases is the interaction between the MB neighborhood selection process which allows NAs to designate which blocks are focused on for the MB planning process and the requirements and limitations associated with the funding. A staff member gave an example of how this interaction caused friction in a particular neighborhood:

"…if you had a neighborhood, for instance one of the MB neighborhoods was Historic Carver Heights, it was a neighborhood that had a strong neighborhood association, strong neighborhood spirit. They qualified because they were part of the census tract that was predominantly low and moderately income, and every neighborhood that received this funding had to be predominantly 51 percent low and moderate income. However when it got right down to it, the homeowners in the particular neighborhood that applied and had been assigned to where they established the boundary those homeowners tended to not meet the income criteria. So when you have the point where you want to do direct benefit, usually housing rehabilitation activities, most of them couldn't qualify. So it really restricted what we could do in that neighborhood."

Neighborhood selection then, was influenced by these funding sources both a relatively straight-forward census-based criteria planners and residents followed when designating project areas, and ultimately structured the ways in which these boundaries interacted with income and eligibility of the residents living within these boundaries for project selection.

40

Planning Process/Project Selection

The previous example given of Historic Carver Heights also highlights the influences of these funding requirements on the planning process and the kinds of projects that could be included in the final budget. The planners in these processes had a working knowledge of what was eligible according to HUD criteria. Although planners worked hard at making sure proposed projects were HUD eligible during the planning process itself, it was ultimately up to the housing staff in the implementation phase to determine what could or couldn't be done.

In terms of the kinds of projects generally pursued and developed in these processes, there is quite a wide variety. Several documents (listed in Appendix B) provided from city staff show a collection of reports and budgets designed to represent how funds are being used in terms of programmatic focus, by neighborhood, and by funding source. A review of these documents reveals that the balance between CDBG and HOME funds fluctuated from year to year, ranging from at times significantly more CDBG funds to at times up to a few hundred thousand dollars more in HOME funds. HOME funds were exclusively focused on home improvement loans while CDBG funds were distributed amongst a variety of housing, economic development, public facilities, public services, infrastructure, and operating support. It seems as though years where HOME funds were less, more of the CDBG funds were devoted to home repairs than normal. Table 5.4 lists some of the many projects listed in these budgets by category.

Table 5.4 MB Budgeted Projects

Programmatic Focus	Specific Activities
Housing	Home improvement loans, purchase/rehab/resale, site Acquisition, housing development, minor home repair program
Economic Development	ED consultant: market feasibility study, nonprofit office center, telecommuting center, Job resource center, site acquisition
Public Facilities	Community park, historic renovation, Crime Prevention program, community garden and tool lending library, park, street reconstruction, security lights, historic signage
Public Services	Health related skills training, marketing
Infrastructure	Sidewalks, street sign toppers, entrance signage
Operating Support	Program expenses for housing and economic development, marketing/administration, CDC operating support

This table is designed to give a general idea as to the kinds of categories and variation of activities pursued by residents and possible within the funding constraints. Although the table does not represent a ranking or ordering of items by priority or amount of funding allocated, a review of the budgets and other charts referenced in Appendix B seem to indicate that home improvement loans are the predominant, budgeted items (varying by a few hundred thousand dollars per project.)

Funding sources in the Model Blocks program impacted project selection beyond the planning phase however, as the discussion in the chapter on relationships indicates. The implementation phase becomes quite burdened by these projects having to be modified or replaced all together based on a more thorough examination of eligibility by the housing staff.

<u>Decision-Making:</u>

Figure 5.5 lays out the decision-making points in the Fort Worth program. Each of these decision-making points are elaborated below followed by a discussion of some of general characteristics of the MB decision-making structure.

1. Planning staff selects three neighborhoods from pool of applicants
-Objective criteria

2. Residents and Planners develop budget
-Consensus-building

3. Selection Committee selects the grantee.
-Loosely-defined criteria

Figure 5.5 Fort Worth Decision-making Points

1. Ranking all incoming applications, selecting 3 for next phase: The planning department was selected for its presumed neutral, "objective" nature when evaluating MB applications (discussed in more detail in the actors section. Decision-making occurred using a set, numerical criteria included in Appendix C. Criteria was designed to select for neighborhoods that were well organized and could demonstrate that they could stay involved to meet the requirements throughout the MB planning process. Criteria included basic neighborhood information (such as need, assets, and level of home ownership) but emphasized a well structured organization (bi-

laws, minutes, block captains) that could present three successful neighborhood projects.

2. Deciding on budget for 1.2 million: This process was described by both housing and planning staff as somewhat variable from year to year but generally operated as a sort of formalization of the planning process that had already occurred. According to one planning staff member:

"We were at the meetings, and usually those discussions occurred at the MB neighborhoods. I think once you started looking at the cost, once they identified prioritized their issues, came up with how they could address those issues, we worked with other departments to get realistic cost, once all that was presented it was kind of easy to make decisions. Some times it, you would hear people were, the wanted to go a certain way, but once they realized we have to complete the plan in so much time, you only have maybe a week left to make a decision, if you need to group, regroup amongst yourself, discuss this, but by the next meeting we have to have the decision, usually things would move along. Nobody wanted to keep, you know, dragging the process out to the point that they wouldn't have their plan done and they would be able to make a presentation to the selection committee."

There is no evidence that the term "consensus building" implies any particular structured process that was applied consistently throughout the program. With a limited amount of time to develop a plan or budget, the process was probably shaped by the amount of people present at these meetings (ranging from just a few up to 40 or more according to one interview), and the information that came out of the SWOT analysis and other parts of the process.

3. Selection of grant recipient from 3 finalists**:** Staff described this process as potentially political in some ways, but their goal was generally focused on selecting the neighborhood that seemed most likely to achieve their objectives. One staff member described the committee as usually comprised of someone from code, the former housing director, planning director, and

other departments that had programs in the city. All committee members were generally city staff usually at the assistant director and director level.

Although staff mentioned that there probably was a criteria for this decision-making process, it was described as rather informal and focused on which plan was more "viable." One planning staff member commended:

"… I think a large part of the selection of the neighborhood is, can this neighborhood implement what they want to do? You know, if you're going to designate an area and allocate 1.2 million dollars and you want that 1.2 million dollars spent on these activities that have been approved, do thy have the capacity to do that?"

Another important dimension to this decision-making point indicated by both staff interviews was the informal influence of city council. One of the project staff discussed this aspect:

"I think they probably played some behind the scenes work with that committee. I don't know that. The year I worked on it the city council people showed up for those presentations, and so if you worked for city council and they're sitting right there you know…they played that, it think they played an informal role…in….I think its harder for a senior staff person to reject a presentation or application if the councilperson is sitting right there. And if the councilperson is you know, I want this in my district, I want this in my district. But it was very informal and indirect, it was not a direct 'we decide' kind of thing. "

General Characteristics of DM process:

A couple of general characteristics can be drawn from this decision-making structure and compared to the Dallas program.

(1) <u>Balanced</u>: The decision-making structure can be considered to be balanced in the sense that all major parties involved had a role to play in shaping the course of the program and its outcomes. Staff had influence in selecting three applicants from many, residents ultimately chose what kinds of projects they would like to pursue (with assistance from staff), senior staff made the final recommendation to city council, elected officials played an informal but present role towards the end of this selection process.

(2) <u>Relatively formalized/structured</u>: The decision-making (DM) points are fairly clear in the MB program. Although there are a couple of other points that could be considered DM points, such as the formal endorsement of the city council of the SC's recommendation, or the implementation process which could change some of the decisions made in the planning process, the highly structured nature of the MB program had clearly defined roles and processes in place that were repeated year after year.

5.2.2 Dallas NIP Formal Institutional Context

<u>Administering Agency</u>

Examining the departmental structure of the NIP is important for understanding the roles of the planner, the kinds of relationships that exist with community organizations, but is also essential for designating the scope of this study's data, analysis, and conclusions as they speak to the initiative. The NIP is defined by a conceptual focus on leveraging development, and on geographic spaces that are designed for the program, as well as a multi-departmental initiative to focus resources and activities. As Table 4.6 shows, in the most broad of senses, NIP

has been designated a priority for all departments working in these areas, from code, to police, to public works, and others. Although the neighborhood planning staff have engaged in direct coordination with many of these departments, it appears as if other departments also operate independently in these designated spaces.
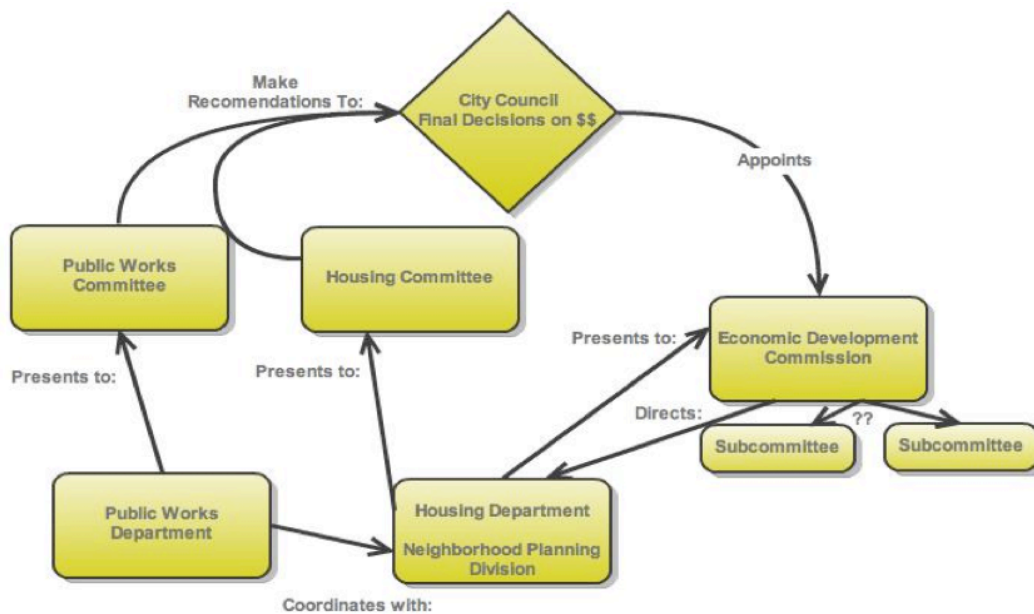
Figure 5.6 Dallas NIP Decision-making Structure

For the purposes of this project, NIP is understood as primarily an initiative of the housing department in which multiple divisions are involved in supporting redevelopment activities in NIP areas, and is primarily coordinated and facilitated by the planners in the neighborhood planning division. Table 4.6 shows some of these divisions involved. Apart from these housing divisions, there is also heavy coordination with the public works department (PW), who ultimately is involved with the bidding and construction processes. This departmental structure and division of roles of public sector staff speaks heavily to the roles and relationships of the planner in the

NIP.

Funding:

Interviews and documents show that CDBG and bond funds comprise the primary funding sources going through the neighborhood planning division. Two main points are made here regarding the funding sources in the NIP. The first is that the bringing together of CDBG and bond funds re-emphasizes the point that physical development and catalyst projects are the prime focus of the NIP as it is directed by the neighborhood planning division. The second is that these funds are used differently based off of the NIP area and project they are used for, speaking to the overall flexible approach of the program.

Similarly to the department structure, this study primarily focuses on the neighborhood planning division and the funds they are involved with. There are other funds budgeted as NIP funds associated with other department's initiatives, there are also funds used for land acquisition and land bank program coordinating with the Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO) division within the housing department (these are touched on briefly, but not within the main focus of the study).

CDBG funds are discussed in the Fort Worth section in more depth, but for the NIP these funds come from a yearly allocation for public improvements. They have restrictions on the kinds of census tracts that can be focused on as well as a list of eligible activities. For the purposes of the NIP, they appear to be used for such purposes as: infrastructure improvements, public improvements, street reconstruction, planning, development assistance, and landscaping.

Bond funds: The other main source of funding that goes through the neighborhood planning division are bond funds which are used primarily for infrastructure, primarily street improvements, and development assistance.

48

<u>Decision-Making:</u>

Because the NIP operates differently in each neighborhood and project, the decision-making process itself is fairly difficult to discern. There doesn't seem to be a coherent strategy plan for the whole NIP or how the distributions of resources between neighborhoods or projects is decided. The flexible nature of the program seems to create much back and fourth at multiple levels from the planner up to the city council. In general it appears as if decision-making processes and criteria are flexible, vague, and/or potentially highly political. Another defining feature here seems to be that elected officials have multiple points in which to influence the process, on the most basic of project details. Table 4.6 offers an attempt to visualize how the DM structure might look based on interview discussions.

1. Decision-making points:

Selecting NIP areas/projects: This process was discussed as based on an objective criteria at one point, a needs-based assessment working from CDBG eligible tract areas as well as other statistics such as crime, street conditions, and housing stock. It is not clear based on the data whether or not this assessment has been updated throughout the history of the program and how particular neighborhoods have come in and out of the program since.

Project-level decisions: A couple of the high-profile projects have conceptual plans that were developed with planners, residents, non-profits, and other participants. Both Spring Ave. and Bexar street had conceptual plans developed, but more detailed decisions throughout the project seemed to have involved alot of back and fourth between a number of parties, with the neighborhood planners coordinating between actors.

2. Decision-making actors/processes

49

Table 5.6 offers an attempt to visualize a decision-making hierarchy for the NIP. In general, decisions such as adding/expanding a NIP area and other project-level decisions start from either the NIP staff or the PW department. NIP staff gathers buy-in from the ED commission,[5] which is the entity responsible for administering CDBG funds and appointed by city council. The NIP staff then present to the housing committee who then make recommendations to the city council. Council approval is required for all contracts over $25,000. It was discussed that council only approves these funding decisions and doesn't examine broader plans for these areas. PW department handles the construction bidding process, and ultimately takes these bids to their own city council committee who then makes recommendations to the city council.

5.2.3 Comparison of Institutional Frameworks

This chapter has discussed Fort Worth and Dallas's NPPs in relation to their conceptual and institutional frameworks. Both programs, administered by their housing departments and utilizing mostly federal funds, are attempting to effectively target their resources. Represented in table 5.7, the ways in which these cities have structured their programs however reflect two different sets of understandings regarding the most effective way to do so, which in turn creates different roles for the neighborhood planner, and different avenues of participation by neighborhood groups.

---

[5] It is not clear what kinds of criteria or processes are used in the ED commission. It was also mentioned that there are multiple sub-committees within this commission, their role and composition is also unclear.

Table 5.7 Summary of Programs' Institutional Frameworks

	Fort Worth MB Program	Dallas NIP
Planning Premises	Targeting federal dollars through residential empowerment giving NAs control over budget, making sure budget meets federal compliance standards.	Belief in maximizing public investment by leveraging funds through partnerships, emphasizing physical catalyst projects, with less direct resident input.
Formal Institutions	Housing department program emphasizing the use of federal grant dollars on home repairs and other physical and economic development projects in residential neighborhoods, expended through a highly structured decision-making process.	Housing Department Program focusing on CDBG and bond dollars emphasizing infrastructure improvements to existing or proposed development projects, expended through a more flexible, project-by-project basis.

Fort Worth's program emphasizes empowerment of residents through neighborhood associations. A highly structured process reflects the desire to most effectively utilize staff expertise in ensuring that implementable projects and budgets are developed from well-organized neighborhood associations. CDBG and HOME funds then tend to reflect the interests of NAs who participate in the process. Dallas's NIP however emphasizes leveraging public resources in designated neighborhoods with other kinds of public, private, and nonprofit investment. CDBG and bond dollars are used to support housing, retail, and other kinds of investment in NIP neighborhoods.

These differences are further embedded into contrasting decision-making structures. Fort Worth developed a highly structured, linear decision-making process which, at least compared to Dallas's program, contained clearly defined roles, processes, and criteria. The process also reflects significant effort placed on developing a fair, competitive process that encourages NAs who can demonstrate a high level of organization and leadership. Dallas's decision-making structure however emphasizes a more flexible approach that seems to place more emphasis on staff, departmental, and political discretion regarding resource distribution

and program priorities.

While these institutional frameworks tell us much about these programs' structure and priorities, it also lays the foundation for a more detailed analysis of roles and relationships between planner and staff, neighborhood groups, and elected officials. The next two sections elaborate on the institutional frameworks established here by demonstrating how they impact actual practices and interactions of the planner and neighborhood group. Basic questions arise such as who exactly is a neighborhood planner, what does he/she do, and what role does the neighborhood planning process actually play in shaping program outcomes? How important is resident input into such processes and how is the neighborhood best represented? The next two sections focusing on actors and relationships add depth to the institutional frameworks established here by demonstrating how such divergent approaches become operationalized for the planner and neighborhood organization.

CHAPTER 6

ACTORS

Examining the category of actors focuses on crucial questions of who is involved, individual or collective agents, and what are their key roles in the planning process under consideration (Nuissl and Heinrichs 2011). In Motte's study of the institutional relations of plan-making, the actors, or agents, are in many ways designated based off of the dominate referents, or premises that shape what constellation of actors from what sectors are considered legitimate for representing the public interest (Motte 1996, 235-236). Planning systems that are guided by the notion of planning as matters of technical expertise might emphasize the role of public sector staff in making decisions while a conception of planning as a political process might emphasize more of a balance between planners and private, civic sector representatives.

Using this understanding of actors, this project focuses on how different governance models for neighborhood planning in these NPPs work with different sets of actors and call upon different roles for the planner. Rohe and Gates' study of NPPs across the US emphasizes a high degree of variability of the kinds of actors included in these initiatives both on the public side as well in neighborhood representation. As was discussed in the previous section, the type of administering agency overseeing the program can have a significant impacts on the structure and goals of the program (Rohe and Gates 1985, 78). NPPs administered by housing departments as is the case with both programs under study here, tend to focus on distributing federal grant funds. Within each program however, we see variation on which staff are called upon to take lead roles in each program and different kinds of coordination between departments. Rohe and Gates also point out that there are different ways these programs

53

engage with neighborhood groups. Some work through community leaders, some use planners to organize residents directly, while others work with existing community organizations (Rohe and Gates 1985, 74). Both Fort Worth and Dallas programs work through existing neighborhood organizations but emphasize different kinds of organizations based on the goals and structure of each program.

This section, working with the selected governance perspective, attempts to ascertain the ways in which different institutional frameworks have shaped different constellations of actors in these neighborhood planning programs. Questions are raised of how the role of the neighborhood planner is defined, who represents the neighborhood interests and how, and what role does formal politics play in the course of each program.

Table 6.1 offers an overview of who are considered to be planners, neighborhood representatives, and their more prominent roles, as well as the ways in which elected officials have influenced each program. As one might expect, the decidedly different approaches to neighborhood planning have led to different kinds of public staff involvement as well as different kinds of neighborhood organizations who are involved. Fort Worth's program emphasizes staff roles that support a process designed to facilitate NA leadership in developing a budget while Dallas's emphasizes coordination of public resources to support existing development projects with neighborhood developers. In the next sections, each programs' actors and their roles are examined in detail separately and then compared in relation to the institutional frameworks established in the previous chapter.

Table 6.1 Overview of Actors and Their Roles in Both Programs

Actor	Fort Worth	Dallas
Planner/Staff	Planning and Housing staff -Neighborhood selection -Facilitating planning process with NAs -Implementation of budget	Primarily housing department staff -coordinating housing and other departments resources -coordinating with neighborhood developers and organizations -developing initial conceptual plans
Neighborhood	**Primarily Neighborhood Associations** -Organize community -Take lead role in developing budget	**Primarily nonprofit/for profit developers, some NAs** -Engage in development projects -coordinate with city staff on leveraging investment
Elected Official	**Minimal informal role**, but still present in final applicant selection, implementation process.	**Direct role** in neighborhood selection, project selection, allocation of funds

6.1 *Fort Worth MB Actors*

Overall in the Fort Worth program we see a highly structured process focused around selecting well organized NAs to participate in and lead efforts to develop MB plans and budgets, and ultimately coordinate with staff to implement this budget. Planning and housing staff were called upon to facilitate this process each year, ranking applications, engaging in the planning process, and making sure federal compliance issues were observed. Senior staff were involved in the final decision-making process of project selection from three NAs that worked with staff to develop a MB plan. Elected officials were described as having an informal role in the final project selection as well as the implementation process.

6.1.1 Neighborhood Planners

The role of the neighborhood planner in the MB program essentially divided up into both the planning and housing departments as demonstrated in Table 5.2. The collective "neighborhood planner" in the MB program wears multiple planning "hats" so to speak, including informing neighborhoods of the MB program, administering the competitive process, offering a technical and facilitator role in the planning process (but ultimately a supportive role to the

neighborhood leadership), as well as a contract administration, compliance role.

Table 6.2 Delineation of Roles Between Departments in MB Program

Planning Staff	Both	Housing Staff
Ranking of applications	Announcement of MB program, flyers, Star Telegram, letters and applications to all NAs*	**Implementation process: contract administration, compliance with federal guidelines**
	Assist NAs in filling out applications	Announce grant receiver
	Application orientation Workshop	
	Technical assistance: planning process	
	Technical assistance: presentation to selection committee	

Drawing from interviews from both departments, and a 2001 schedule (Appendix E**)** that offers a clear delineation of tasks between them, this section attempts to present a fairly accurate look at how both department's staff contributed to the program, together and separately. While the case study data clearly delineates prominent roles between departments, some of the minor tasks may have shifted from year to year between departments, probably explaining minor discrepancy between interviews and the document. This section intends ultimately to show how the role of the *neighborhood planner* is understood within the Model Block framework and within its specific institutional, departmental context.

Planning Staff

Although much of the work between planning and housing staff was done in collaboration, one fairly important role was delegated to the planning staff: receiving the applications from the NAs and ranking them according to a described "objective" and "neutral" criteria.

The ranking of the applications is probably the most direct way the planning staff exclusively influenced the process. After notices of the MB program were sent out to the neighborhoods, it was the responsibility of the NA to fill out these applications. As an interview with one of the planning staff indicated, the planners would receive these applications[6] and then rank these applications based on what was described as a "quantitative," and "neutral" criteria. From this process 3 applications were selected to move on to the next phase. This process was understood as neutral for at least two reasons: the first being a quantitative ranking system and secondly the notion that the planning department had less potential bias than the housing department.

This neutral criteria is laid out in Appendix C, an application document that lays out categories and a point system for ranking the applications. This criteria will be discussed in the decision-making section in more depth, but here it is worth noting that staff described how it is generally designed to select for NAs that are well organized, active in their communities, and most likely to be able to remain organized and committed throughout the MB process.

The second claim to neutrality of this selection process is described by the planning staff member:

"*When I got involved, some people felt the planning staff should be solely involved in reviewing the applications and ranking the applications in order to be objective, but then the housing staff felt they were in the community a little bit more than the planning staff and they may not be able to be objective. But that was not the reality…planning staff, we were in the community as well.*"

Speaking to the fluidic nature of the delineation of these roles, both planning and

---

[6] The interview with the planning staff member indicates that the number of applications received varied from year to year, but that generally the program started out with many applications and towards the end ended up with fewer.

housing staff indicated that at one point the housing staff had been involved in this process, but became an exclusive planning role as the MB program progressed. Although the planning staff member discussed how the housing department felt the planning department would be more objective, this assumption was questioned both on grounds that planning was also involved in neighborhood activities and therefore just as potentially "bias," and also that the criteria was a relatively straight forward point-based system that had little opportunity for said bias.

Housing Staff

The MB program was formally administered by the housing department, who was responsible for administering federal funds such as CDBG and HOME grants. The housing staff's most exclusively influential role in the process was in this role of contract administration and federal fund compliance. It is primarily in the implementation process that the housing staff played this role, although they also were heavily involved in the planning phase of the project as well. This bridging of planner/contract administrator roles brings up some interesting questions as to what a neighborhood planner is and does, especially because the housing staff shifted their title from "planner" to "project administrator" at one point in the process.

The contract administration and compliance role primarily deals with making sure that the budget that the neighborhood developed, with assistance from city staff, meets federal requirements for CDBG and HOME funds. While housing staff attempted to confirm the eligibility of desired projects during the planning process itself, an interview with a prominent housing staff member revealed that the limited time allotted for these planning processes often led to the need for adjustments during the implementation phase due to closer scrutiny of CDBG and HOME eligibility requirements. These kinds of adjustments and other compliance issues are discussed further in the relationships chapter.

<u>Collaboration of Planning and Housing Staff</u>

The planning and housing staff came together both during the pre-application phase as well as the planning phase of the MB process. An interview with a housing staff member indicated that both staff were involved in the initial marketing process: announcing the MB program through flyers, posting a notice in the Fort Worth Star Telegram, sending a letter to each NA, and sending a notification to the League of Neighborhoods. Both staff would also assist residents in filling out their applications if assistance was needed, including helping the NA define their boundaries, providing census data, and other data for the application.[7] Appendix E also references an application workshop offered by both staff, but this was not discussed in the interviews specifically.

The planning process represented the more significant collaborative piece between the planning and housing staff. Interviews indicate that 2 planners were assigned to each of the 3 neighborhood groups who were selected from the first phase, specifically 1 planning staff and 1 housing staff. In the planning phase of the MB program, both staff are referred to as "planners" in the interviews and project documents.[8]

Although sources seem to indicate that there may not have been much specific separation of work between the housing and planning staff in this phase, an interview with a housing staff member suggests that work may have at times been divided up based on relevant skills. An example is given in one instance of the planner having handled the demographic work

---

[7] This is one situation where the interviews seem to contradict the 2001 document delineating roles by department in Appendix E (which assigns these pre-application tasks exclusively to the housing department.) Because some of these roles shifted from year to year, I relied on staff interviews in placing this in the collaboration column.

[8] Sometimes staffing constraints would reduce the number of neighborhoods that could be worked with in the planning phase. Rather than 3 neighborhoods times 2 staff members, sometimes there might be 2 neighborhoods times 2 staff members.

and mapping while the housing staff examined eligibility of proposed budget items.

Generally interviews revealed however that both staff were involved in sharing the main planning tasks, such as the "SWOT" analysis and the write-up of the plan document based off community meetings and decisions. Appendix F lays out a highly detailed calendar of activities in the planning process and delineates roles by neighborhood, planner, and both. In this document "planner" does not differentiate between housing or planning staff. This document is relied on next in discussing the role of the neighborhood association and later on in explaining the planning process in the relationships section.

Lastly, the two department's staff shared the role of offering assistance in setting up the powerpoint presentation and offering suggestions on what to emphasize to the selection committee. Ultimately the NA made the decisions on what they wanted the selection committee to hear, but they did have the resources of the city to develop a PowerPoint if needed, and were also offered suggestions by staff regarding what to highlight to the selection committee.

6.1.2 Neighborhood Groups

<u>Neighborhood Associations</u>

"….we took the position that they were the expert on their neighborhood, and they knew how to turn people out and they knew how to serve their neighborhood."

The NA had the responsibility of organizing the neighborhood, ensuring geographic representation of the neighborhood, keeping the community informed, participating regularly and quite intensively in the planning process, and presenting their plan to the Selection committee. In sum, the NA was tasked with fairly representing the neighborhood's interests and taking charge in making sure these interests are pursued throughout the process. In describing the role of the neighborhood associations, and the residents participating in them, we see the

60

effects of a highly structured process with roles delineated and documented in great detail as

demonstrated in Table 6.3. This table was developed from Appendix F and E as well as the

interviews with staff, and is designed to present a basic description of expected roles of the NA

as well as collaborative roles shared with city staff.

Table 6.3 Overview of NA roles in MB Program

	Neighborhood Association Roles	Collaboration with Planners
Pre-application Phase	**"Getting Organized"** -Establishing Steering Committee, membership/leadership -Inform, include, update community of process, establish process for regular outreach. -Determine dates for community meetings and planning meetings.	
Phase I- Application	**Fill out application:** -Collect community data, organizational accomplishments	-Data collection, map creation, taking pictures.
Phase II- Plan Development	**Strategic Planning:** -Develop vision statement -Identify/prioritize needs/issues -Set up committees -Seek partnerships, letters of support and commitment from outside businesses and organizations	-SWOT analysis -Develop short/long term goals -Identify strategies -Create realistic budget -Draft/finalize plan
Phase III- presentation	**Present to Steering Committee**	-Technical assistance provided if needed

Although project documents present fairly lofty goals of what the NA are to accomplish,

interviews paint a picture of potentially great variation from year to year based on levels of

participation and expertise on the part of the neighborhood residents. Of particular interest to

this study is how this variation affected the processes of community outreach and on the

balance of leadership between staff and residents. These issues will be discussed in the

relationships chapter in more detail where ultimately questions of self selection of neighborhood

leadership and differing levels of NA capacity on multiple points seem to undermine some of the goals of the program.

<u>Other Community Nonprofit/Advocacy Groups</u>

Other actors representing various community and resident interests had influence at various points in the MB program:

(1) CDCs/CHDOs: The story of the Community Development Corporation/ Community Housing Development Organization (CDC/CHDO) involvement (and ultimately the decline of these organizations) speaks to two critical themes in the governance of the MB program: a vision of community empowerment, and of institutional and compliance issues. The original plan when the MB framework was established, according to a housing staff-member, was to use the MB process to create neighborhood non-profits. This goal was part of the original vision of Gerome Walker, one of the founders and champions of the MB program. Staff encouraged NA's to establish non-profits for the implementation phase of the process, and the housing staff-member mentioned that in fact many NAs had developed these non-profits and hired a staff person to implement the plan with the assistance of the MB grant and housing department. Their roles included paying the hired staff person, take applications for home repair, make sure these applications were eligible, pay for the repairs themselves and receive payment from the city afterwards.

Although a few of these non-profits would go on to contract with other entities and receive minor amounts of funding from other sources, most if not nearly all struggled because of difficulty in finding private or foundational funding. The staff-member commented that this aspect of the program proved to be unsustainable, creating many small nonprofit without the ability to continue supporting them after the program. There also tended to be more compliance

problems associated with the projects where a non-profit was created to handle the implementation process.

(2) Other nonprofits: The MB program did encourage the building of partnerships with other community organizations (Appendix F), but interviews with staff indicate that generally this was limited to letters of support in the application or planning process.

(3) League of Neighborhoods (LONs): One interview with staff indicated that the LONs, an advocacy, umbrella organization of NAs that is still active today, played a fairly influential role in the development of the MB program, specifically that they had gained increasing political influence over the city council and "cared more and more about neighborhoods, development, and the neighborhood control of what the city did."

6.1.3 Senior Staff/ Elected Officials

<u>Senior Staff</u>

Senior staff, distinguished here from the planning and housing staff involved in the planning process, had significant influence in the process in at least two ways: (1) in the establishment as well as ending of the program[9] and (2) through their involvement on the Selection Committee which made the final recommendation to the city council regarding which neighborhood to award the 1.2 million dollar grant. These roles represent a fairly profound intermediary influence between staff and elected officials, requiring the need to be sensitive to the concerns and interests of elected officials, staff, and community leadership.

One housing staff interview discusses the role of two senior staff in particular in pushing for and supporting the MB program from the onset. Bea Cura was a former assistant director of the housing department and was very strong on neighborhood planning. Together with Gerome

---

[9] Interviews seem to be unclear as to the ultimate status of the MB program. It has been described as both "on hold" and as almost certainly terminated.

Walker, who's orientation was "very much (about) responsiveness to the community, to what neighborhoods wanted, and to service to lower income populations," they developed the MB program and vision to create non-profits through the process. In terms of the program's being put on hold or terminated, a staff interview indicates that unspecified senior management, probably at the director level in the housing department probably made this decision. Interviews indicate that there were multiple compliance issues combined with political shifts and other factors in the city that ultimately led to this decision.

The Selection Committee made a final recommendation to the city council after viewing the three NAs presentations. This step is also referenced in the decision-making section. Staff described this process as potentially political in some ways, but their goal was generally focused on selecting the neighborhood that seemed most likely to achieve their objectives. One staff member described the committee as usually comprised of someone from code, the former housing director, planning director, and other departments that had programs in the city. All committee members were generally city staff usually at the assistant director and director level.

Elected Officials

The role of elected officials was described by both department's staff as generally informal. In addition to formally sanctioning the MB program in 1993, council members might also offer informal pressure by showing up to these Selection Committee presentations. Council was also responsible for the final say of the grant award, although both staff mentioned that they would always approve the recommendation offered by the selection committee. In some occasions two communities might be selected if "politics got involved" and slowed down the

decision-making process.[10] Lastly, council-members might also have an informal influence in the implementation process, one staff member discussed how:

> *"It was just a lot of money…and there were particular city council-people who were very, very interested in it…and they would call Gerome regularly…Mr. Walker…and I don't know for a fact that they called Gerome prior to decision-making, but I know they would regularly call Mr. Walker during the implementation phase…the neighborhood people would talk to their council city person, and the city council person would call Gerome."*

The same staff member was careful to mention though that no council person had any interest in getting the city in trouble, especially where compliance issues are concerned.

6.2 *Dallas NIP Actors*

The NIP in its most broad conception as a city-wide, multi-departmental coordination strategy includes a whole host of departmental, nonprofit, private, and other public actors. This project focuses more specifically on those primarily involved in the projects coordinated by the neighborhood planning division housed within the housing department. The list of actors in the NIP initiative highlights the priorities of an initiative focused on supporting the development of catalyst projects. The process of leveraging funds in this sense appears to also have a political component in so far as city council seems to have a very direct role in the decision-making structure.

---

[10] A list of neighborhoods who were awarded the MB grant by year shows that in fact this multiple awarding outcome occurred 3 times: 1995, 1997, and 2005 (Appendix G).

6.2.1 Neighborhood Planners

<u>Planners</u>

The neighborhood planner in the NIP is housed within the neighborhood planning division within the housing department. The kinds of roles played by this division appear to be variable and flexible based on the specific project and neighborhood. The neighborhood planning division's strategy appears to be focused on planning for infrastructure development to support existing development projects taking place in NIP target areas. In general however, it appears as if these planners play a coordination role between departments, divisions, and neighborhood groups. Planners work to facilitate development of conceptual plans for specific projects, and as one interview claims "doing whatever it takes to make that plan happen." They are involved with identifying and coordinating other department resources, engaging in outreach with community groups and residents, developing recommendations for NIP neighborhoods and projects, and presenting these recommendations to both the Economic Development Commission and to the Housing committee.

<u>Other Staff</u>

Housing Staff: Interviews indicate that other staff were regularly involved in NIP projects. Within the housing department other divisions such as a CHDO division worked with CHDO organizations in land acquisition, other housing staff focused on underwriting, on monitoring contracts, and on compliance, related to the loaning of money to developers. This collection of roles and divisions indicates a strong emphasis on the finance of construction and infrastructure projects.

Planning Staff**:** Planning and development has created a special Planned Development (PD) in certain areas which require constant modification, so housing staff defers to them for

judgment on issues such as development envelopes.

Public works: has a strong role in the project. Although neighborhood planning staff develop plans for infrastructure development, the public works department does the actual construction, bidding processes, and recommendations to the committee of the city council for approval of these steps.

6.2.2 Neighborhood Groups

Developers: Developers in NIP include nonprofit and for-profit. In many ways the roles of developers is outside of the scope of NIP planning, as developers are focused on gathering their own funding, doing the actual building of developments. In some cases, based on the project, they coordinate with the public sector for gap financing, or land acquisition. Both for-profit and nonprofit developers are engaged in residential, retail, and mixed use developments, but the nonprofit developers might have a bit more emphasis on community services and according to interviews have more of a vested interest in community issues and concerns.

Other nonprofits: There are a variety of other nonprofits active in NIP target areas and coordinating with neighborhood planning staff. Some of the nonprofit discussed in interviews include environmental groups, people who do planting and landscaping, one that does job training, and some assisting in maintenance of public spaces.

Neighborhood associations/Churches: Neighborhood associations and churches are integrated on a project and neighborhood basis through outreach processes based on who is more prominent in a particular neighborhood.

Contractors: Contractors were discussed as being hired to assist with some of the initial conceptual plans developer for Bexar St. and Spring Ave. Redevelopment projects.

6.2.3 Elected Officials

As discussed in the section on decision-making, city-council appears to be involved in the process it its decision-making capacity. Both main oversight bodies for the NIP include the housing committee and the economic development commission. The economic development commission oversees CHBG funds and has direct oversight over NIP funding according to one interview, planners give presentations to them, and receive their buy-in before presenting to the housing committee which makes final recommendations to the city council for approval. Interviews discuss how council might regularly make changes to contracts and are constantly updated about projects. Ultimately, council doesn't approve formal plans, but rather "tid-bits" coming from an overall plan, any contract over $25,000.

Without further information on the inner-workings of these decision-making processes, it is hard to clarify the degree to which politics plays in shaping the course of these projects. The balance between recommendations made by planners and the influence/agendas of council-members is not clear through interviews or project documents. What this research can say is that there seems to be potential for political influence by council-members, their constituency in the neighborhoods, in shaping the kinds of projects NIP focuses on, which developers receive assistance, and what neighborhoods are targeted.

6.3 Comparative Discussion

As discussed previously, the collection of actors in both programs reflects the broader institutional frameworks of each initiative. As summarized in table 6.4, this section revisits the initial questions posed for analysis, namely who are the main actors in either program as it speaks to the planner, neighborhood representation, and elected officials and what are their roles in these programs?

Table 6.4 Summary of Programs' Actors and Roles

Actor	Fort Worth	Dallas
Neighborhood Planner	General facilitation of MB process, selecting applications for planning phase, assist residents in developing budgets, ensuring compliance of neighborhood budgets.	Master planning of target areas, conceptual plans for specific projects, general coordination between city departments/divisions and neighborhood developers/stakeholders, some neighborhood outreach.
Neighborhood Representation	Primarily neighborhood associations who organize the community and take a lead role in developing budget.	Primarily nonprofit/for profit developers, some NAs who engage in development projects and coordinate with city staff on leveraging investment.
Elected Official	Minimal informal role, but still present in final applicant selection, implementation process.	Direct role in neighborhood selection, project selection, allocation of funds

Neighborhood Planner

What is a neighborhood planner then, according to these programs, and what do they do? Neighborhood planners in both programs are engaged to some degree in the development of plans at the neighborhood scale, coordinating with neighborhood groups and residents in some way. Different departmental arrangements and goals of the programs appear to take the roles of the planner in divergent directions. Fort Worth planners are focused on facilitating a highly structured process, processing applications by many different NAs, working with NAs to develop plans and budgets, and making sure the budgets developed by NAs meet federal eligibility requirements. Dallas planners seem to coordinate with other divisions and departments more regularly and strategically to connect efforts with neighborhood developers and stakeholders. Formal planning processes seem to be much less emphasized but neighborhood planers do develop and implement conceptual plans on the project level, some on the NIP target neighborhood level. Planners also engage in regular neighborhood outreach, it is less clear however how this outreach process affects the development of these plans and

69

strategies.

<u>Neighborhood Representation</u>

Who represents the neighborhood interests? The main difference is in the kind of neighborhood organization that is incorporated into the programs. In Fort Worth, NAs are the main target of neighborhood representation. The assumption is made that they are the experts on their neighborhood and will be able to effectively organize their community and keep them informed of the planning process. Nonprofits were established in many MB neighborhoods, but their role was primarily focused on implementation of budgets developed in the planning process. In Dallas, nonprofit and for-profit developers are the main target of fund leveraging. Neighborhood developers who have already invested in NIP areas are supported, so as to create a better "return on investment," as one planner put it. NAs and churches are kept informed about the status of projects in their neighborhoods, it is unclear what role these forums play in the development of projects, interviews indicate they play a role in shaping overall "visions," but without a clear program framework or documentation (as in the Fort Worth case) that outlines their role conceptually, or practically, it is hard to tell how critical these outreach efforts are.

<u>Elected Official</u>

What role does formal politics potentially play in either program? The framework used for this project does not allow for a detailed examination of the role of politics in shaping the programs, especially because of the emphasis on interviews with planners, but a few comments can be made on the potential role of elected officials and politics in shaping each program.

The Fort Worth program, because it lays out a structured program with strong roles on the part of NA and planner to develop budgets, and in selecting 3 applicants from a neutral criteria, seems to leave a fairly minimal role for elected official. The only official part they in fact play is in the final approval of the recommendation made by senior staff on the selection committee. Interviews indicated that an informal role may have been exercised in this selection committee process, as well as in the implementation process when eligibility requirements led to the changing of budget items.

The Dallas program seems to potentially demonstrate a much more direct role on the part of politics in altering the course at the project level. Because the Housing committee and economic development commission are guided/appointed by council-members, and because these commissions have the potential to alter any recommendations made by the planning staff, this opens up the door for regular influence in this program whose very logic is that of "flexibility." The program's lack of structure on how neighborhoods are to be represented, the role they play in project/plan development, and the inconsistent way by which funds are allocated between neighborhoods seems to leave the door open for senior staff and political coordination on an informal as well as formal level.

CHAPTER 7

RELATIONSHIPS

Whereas the previous chapter on actors focuses on *who* was involved and *what* their roles, this chapter, which examines relationships, looks at *how* these actors interacted. Because so much focus in the neighborhood planning and governance discussion emphasizes the ways in which neighborhood input is structured in the planning processes, the analysis on relationships here intends to show how different institutional frameworks structure the interactions between planners and neighborhood organizations in both programs. This section explores the following questions: what are the primary relationships these neighborhood planners are engaged in? What kinds of planning/outreach and implementation processes are involved, who is included, and what gets accomplished?

This chapter outlines two sets of relationships: one set in the Fort Worth program represents relationships with clearly defined goals that attempt to maximize neighborhood involvement and leadership in the planning process, but also are forced to deal with the tensions of federal grant dollar restrictions as they clash with resident visions and expectations.

The second set of relationships in the Dallas NIP initiative reveals a much more complex set of interactions involving a myriad of public, private, nonprofit, and resident actors in highly variable projects where the planner serves as a coordinator, and master planner of small-scale development projects.

72

7.1.1 Planner/NA Planning Process

      Figure 7.1 summarizes the main relationships in Fort Worth involving neighborhood planners. In the MB program, three NAs are selected from the pool of applicants to proceed to a planning phase whereby a budget is developed for the 1.2 million dollar grant. This planning phase represents a fairly structured, proscribed relationship based on the goals of the MB program. Depending on the level of organization of the NA, planners would assist and/or facilitate as needed in developing a plan for each NA. This section briefly examines this process, who was included, some of its basic steps, and what was accomplished.
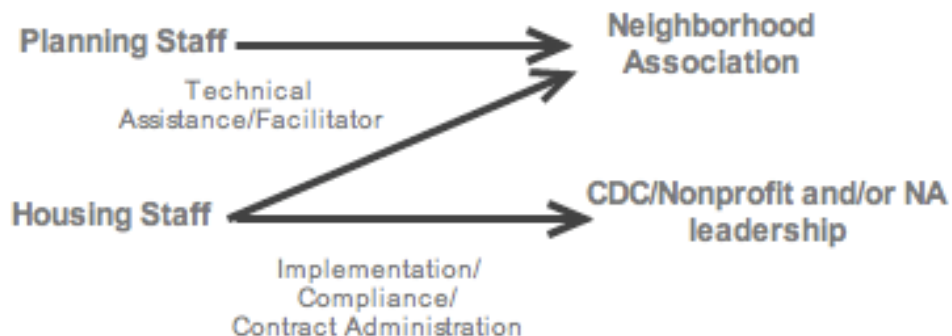
Figure 7.1 MB Relationships Involving Neighborhood Planners

      The planning phase involves two "planners" one planning staff and one housing staff. It also involves neighborhood residents interested in participating in the process. Prior to the planning phase, Appendix F shows how the NA was responsible for setting up a leadership committee as well as informing neighborhood residents about the process. Interviews indicate that neighborhood participation varied from neighborhood to neighborhood, some would have only a few participants, while others might involve 40 or 50 residents.

73

The planning process itself had several proscribed steps, as shown in Appendix F. Planners primarily offered technical assistance, communicated with other departments when needed, and assisted the residents in communicating their budget. The level of facilitation by the planner depended on how well organized the NA was, which varied from project to project. If the NA had a well organized steering committee, planners would play a more strictly technical assistance role. The planner would assist in data collection included demographics, home ownership, zoning and other elements. Both parties would work together to gather pictures and other neighborhood history information.

As one staff interview indicated, after data was collected the process relied heavily on a "SWOT" analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats). The staff member describes this process:

"For instance an opportunity could be a growing economy, and a threat would be a declining economy, and a strength would be you have a strong leadership group in your neighborhood association, a weakness would be you have low homeownership rate, different things that are internal and external. People wouldn't always uniquely slot them, but that was part of the couple of planning meetings that we had with…they were so much fun. With South Hemphill Heights we got as many people in the room as we could and we had flow charts and you did brainstorming and you would write down what they liked what they didn't like about their neighborhood and you'd categorize it into those and then the whole group would do that folding thing where they get 5 stickers and they put the ones they thought were important, so there'd be a ranking process. And we tried to be as inclusive as possible, it was, yeah that was the cool part about the neighborhood planning part, that was fun, that's the fun part. "

Because this was a resident-driven process, the participating individuals would then develop a vision statement, needs/issues, priorities. Planners worked with residents to translate these elements into short/long term goals and help identify strategies and actions. From this, a

74

realistic budget and implementation strategies were made explicit, staff worked with other departments if needed to gather cost estimates for particular projects, and a plan/budget was drafted. Staff then worked with residents to communicate their budget to the steering committee, helping them put together a PowerPoint if needed and helping to emphasize certain issues based on what would increase their chances of being selected.

In terms of what was accomplished from this process, the fairly significant step of developing a budget in a primarily resident-led process comes up as the most significant outcome. Even though neighborhoods were selected by planners based on a criteria, and the final award was decided by a selection committee of senior staff, it is a noteworthy accomplishment that the MB program produced so many opportunities for residents to come together in a structured/open planning environment, receive staff assistance, develop common goals and issues, and decide together how to spend 1.2 million dollars.

7.1.2 Housing Staff/ NA Implementation

Another critical relationship in the MB program between the planner and neighborhood involves the implementation process. Here, the budget that was developed in the planning process has to be implemented in coordination between housing staff and either a CDC, if one was established, or NA leadership, or a combination of the two. Here we see a very different kind of relationship between staff and NA, one focused fairly narrowly on meeting federal eligibility requirements. It is in this relationship that much of the tension in the program existed, where plans had to be changed, high expectations became unmet in some cases, and where ultimately a burdening process contributed to the ending of the program.

This relationship specifically involved housing staff because the federal HOME and CDBG funds were ultimately administered through this department. It was their job to ensure compliance with federal funds, but also to coordinate with neighborhood leadership in different

ways based on the project. NA representation could be composed of two groups, leadership of the NA who were involved in the planning process, or a CDC/nonprofit that was set up to implement the budget.

In terms of what the implementation process involved, it is a much less proscribed process than the planning phase, and varied considerably between projects based on the issues and levels of NA leadership. The main tasks of implementation identified here involve: (1) coordinating with Transportation and Public Works (TPW) department for infrastructure projects, (2) ensuring compliance of MB budgets, and (3) taking special effort to monitor and assist nonprofits if they were involved in implementation.

The housing staff would often have to take the lead on coordinating with the TPW department for infrastructure projects and the bidding processes. They would also have to take the lead on HUD compliance issues, examining all of the budget items and making sure they were eligible. These HUD requirements turned out to be considerably more complicated than the initial planning processes were often able to prepare for. One staff member offers a particularly extensive discussion about how these requirements interacted with the budgets and neighborhood visions:

"..the problem in this is where the problem gets with use of CDBG funds…and with people understanding federal regulations, and I'm gonna… this is my pet peeve…but I've been doing these federal, this money for 20 years… in the regulations there is a list that says "eligible activities" so someone who is new to the regulation looks at that and says "that's eligible!, it's right here!" Well…with any of these federal funds from HUD, it has to speak to who, what, and how…it has to benefit a low income person in some way, shape, or form… it has to be on the list of eligible activities, and how is the key thing…you have to document it right. The costs have to be reasonable, you have to procure it right in terms of bidding and open bidding and what not. You have to in some cases like for housing if it's in a flood plain you have to be sure it's

76

federally funded. If its historic you have to get permission form the State historic Commission, and for certain historic things and you have to spend extra money doing it the way they tell you have to do it , for instance you can't, with wooden windows on a historic house, put in aluminum or vinyl windows.

So the how is very very important, and initial planning process this was all something that had to be done in 6 weeks…so the time constraints were such that you're not thinking out every little detail of how we're going to implement it. Somebody tells you I want a monument sign at the entrance to our neighborhood and you tell them oh you can do a monument sign there. You don't know that a monument sign is a brass train that's gonna cost 140,000 dollars and…so the planner, I'm not saying it was 140 that's just a number off the top...I think actually it was 45, I don't remember…What would happen is, and this is just my experience because I came in in 2004, because I'd worked with this funding before, people would come to me and they'd say hey can we do this? And I'd say…yeah, you can technically, but they wouldn't say…can I spend 45,000 doing this...Or maybe they'd go to the code compliance person at the time, I wasn't the code compliance person then, and hey they'd want to do this…he'd say yeah, 'cause technically it was on the list. It's HOW you do it, and so you get down to what the neighborhood really wanted, or the neighborhoods' vision would change slightly…and it just wasn't feasible.

Comparing budgeted items to what was "technically" eligible then, turned out to be complicated by the fact that there were many other kinds of restrictions that required a detailed understanding of these regulations. The staff person emphasizes "how" these funds are spent, not just on what projects are chosen, that needed to be taken into consideration, focusing on documentation, open-bidding, reasonable costs among other issues. Checking compliance of the MB plans/budgets was one of the main tasks of implementation, another related aspect of this relationship involved working with the nonprofit organizations that were designed to take over the implementation process.

Coordinating with non-profits in the implementation process was discussed as one of the more taxing aspects for the housing staff of the MB program, and ultimately caused some dissatisfaction among neighborhood groups:

"Our director, Gerome Walker, eventually came to the conclusion that the planners had to be as, act in a way like, a shadow executive director for these nonprofits. And…because the city had so much at risk, because of the federal funds, and because of the nature of the low-income capacity issues, which weren't true in every case…"

"There was a lot of technical assistance (by the housing staff) and our role was to run interference for them and help them plan the HUD compliance issues, what ended up happening when you had volunteers, because some of them had CDCs that had a paid staff person, more of them had like volunteers and so you ended up doing a lot of the implementations yourself."

"…I think most of the organizations were very, very, very frustrated with the city. Because of the expectations. Very, very high expectations and couldn't be managed within the constraints of our staffing level and within the constraints of the federal funds, and within the HUD compliance issues."

In terms of the kinds of accomplishments or outcomes of this relationship, a quote is offered here that sums up much of the tension between the MB program, its planning process and the kinds of strains it was causing on department staff and the patience of neighborhood residents:

One of the things that happened in stop 6 is they wanted to do single family development, I believe…they wanted to buy a bunch of lots and build houses on them, but if the housing market is awful, then as a non profit have no capacity to do housing capacity, no construction experience, no nothing… It's on the list of eligible activities, but is it something that they can really do? And they can sell the house? And whose money is at risk? That's the city's

money…so those kinds of things would happen, so you start off with these big visions and with the BEST intentions in the world…there was a lot of expectations that did not get met because people thought they could do this, and they either ran against the federal regulations, they ran up against you know, variations of the city bureaucracy, you know it takes a long time to do stuff…and if we had a staff of 5 and all at once we had a staff of 3, cause turnover happens and people leave, then you're doing things slower and you're pushing paper through the process slower and…it's just the reality..

What would often happen then, as a result of these implementation processes, is a backlog of several MB projects that have yet to be implemented (at the time of this report) resulting from a combination of compliance issues, staff constraints that would lead to a backlog of projects, a disconnect between the NA representation and income eligibility requirements for receiving funds from these federal programs among other issues.

<u>7.2 Dallas NIP Relationships</u>

7.2.1 Planner/Resident Outreach

The structure and consistency of resident inclusion in the NIP can only partially be pieced together based on the data collected. Because of the flexible nature of the NIP, no project or neighborhood is exactly the same, so the ways in which residents are included seems to occur differently based on the situation. Ultimately though it is designed to be less "restrictive" than their previous targeted investment program. As one staff member discusses:

"…we have an outreach process and community participation program, so yeah we're out there…quarterly at a minimum trying to let folks know what we're doing, updating them, and we'd like to bring other city departments there too so that again it's providing resources for

these communities. There's community fairs, we're doing that and we're also doing a lot of 1-1 dog and pony shows, the churches or you know smaller groups, whomever…it's about trying to bring resources and interests to these communities and also to engage the residents and make them feel empowered with knowledge and understanding of what's available to them and the opportunity of what can be…and how they fit into that whole paradigm…"

In general, interviews indicate that they are holding meetings at NAs and churches, depending on the neighborhood and who is active. These meetings appear to be more one-directional, unstructured whereby the staff inform the residents about the kinds of projects and time-tables that are going on with their local NIP area. A survey is also administered once a year:

"We do an annual survey every year, we ask the same questions, one of which is how are we doing, do you think things are changing, do you notice improvements…so that's a way of us being, kind of place ourselves in determining whether or not we're doing what we need to do."

It is not entirely clear how these surveys or community meetings ultimately impact neighborhood investment or planning. Interviews seem to indicate that they give the planners a general sense of the "pulse" of the community and how they feel about issues in their neighborhood and what they would like to see done as described by one planner:

"We don't want to dictate, we don't live in the area, we don't want to dictate what they need or what they want, we want to approach the communities and ask them what they want, what it is they think they need, what the key locations, what spots people feel most dangerous, etc. etc, so then its hard to find that overall opinion without, its best to go to these neighborhood churches or associations to gage the pulse of the community."

In terms of resident involvement in the planning processes, interviews reveal that a

variety of approaches were used to manage community input. In the Spring Ave. project, an interview reveals that the planners engaged a group called BC Workshop to focus on community planning input in design. Inner-city Community Development Corporation (ICDC), a local CHDO, was also involved in hosting multiple community meetings to inform them of timelines, schedules, projects. For Bexar St., other approaches are discussed:

"We've had a lot of meetings at the church, at the local school, so yeah we're constantly… one thing we did was a newsletter that we also did, but yeah we're hosting community dinners, as we develop the master plan. We were constantly hosting neighborhood meetings and asking folks which design do you like better, this one or this one, this one or this one. So yeah there's been a strong community development process. "

In general then, the relationship between planner and the community focuses on NAs, churches, and other forms of community input, and seems to indicate that effort is taken in multiple areas to gauge community opinion of their neighborhoods and of the projects the NIP focuses on. These relationships however are relatively unstructured and don't seem to influence the broader processes of neighborhood selection or project development as much as the other actors involved in the program, such as developers or elected officials. More information and interviews from the residents perspective might yield greater insight into how these planning processes were conducted, how input was utilized, and how receptive planners and city staff seem to be to such input.

7.2.2 Planner/Developer Planning and Implementation

The relationship between the planners and developers differs from that of the resident or NA in that planners are focused more specifically on planning and implementing physical development, housing, retail, and infrastructure projects. As such, these interactions are focused on bringing together various actors on the public side with whoever the project calls

upon on the community side, whether it be nonprofit or for-profit developers, in coordinating and implementing these plans.

Figure 7.2 demonstrates some of the different actors that the planners bring together in some of these development projects. In Bexar St., the planners took more of a lead role in developing the master plan for the whole area, coordinating with property owners, offering construction assistance, gap financing, and marketing the development project to new developers and CHDOs. The Bexar St. Project is described as more comprehensive than most NIP projects because it is able to integrate housing and retail development with infrastructure enhancements as well as focus on neighborhood improvements. Because so much activity is going on in this project, the planners are involved in planning and coordinating, and bringing together various housing staff do to underwriting, contract monitoring, and compliance issues.
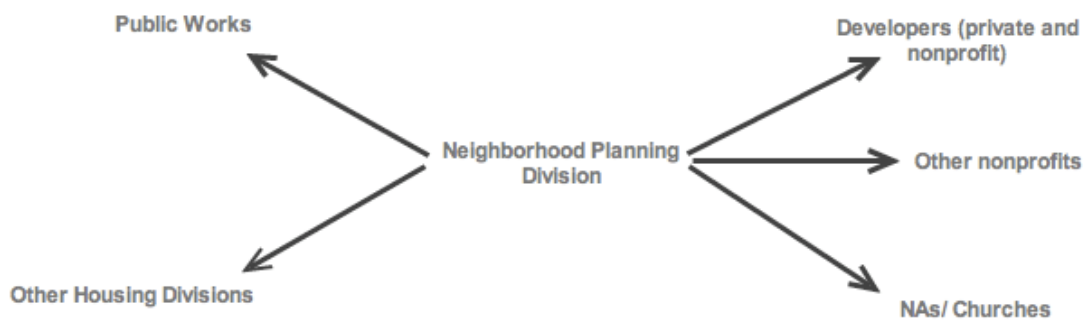
Figure 7.2 NIP Relationships Involving Neighborhood Planners

The Spring Ave. project involves more of a direct partnership with ICDC, a prominent CHDO in the neighborhood. ICDC is more directly involved in land acquisition and is already involved in producing low-income housing in the area as well as a new mixed-use retail center.

This relationship involves assisting ICDC in their vision of the neighborhood, coordinating between ICDC and other housing staff on land acquisition, and working with the PW department as they engage in the construction, bidding process of supporting infrastructure. Case study documents detail both projects, offer conceptual plans, list community partners, and point out where city investment is going in each project.

Interview and document data doesn't specifically reveal what kinds of formalized forums these planning and implementation processes call upon. One might infer that the conversations and details between planner, staff, and developers are not entirely open to community input, as they are engaged more in producing development and infrastructure improvements. One thing is fairly certain though: the planner is enmeshed in a complex web of actors, and is involved in planning and bringing together the efforts of developers, public dollars and regulatory requirements, community concerns in a complex, flexible, difficult to map approach.

7.3 Summary of Relationships

Table 7.3 summarizes this chapter's presentation of contrasting sets of relationships between both programs. The Fort Worth program emphasizes more of a facilitator and technical role in assisting NA's development of a budget for the 1.2 million dollar grant. Significant staff time is devoted to developing three realistic budgets for consideration of the selection committee. Significant interactions and staff time are also expended between the housing staff and NA leadership and CDCs on implementing these budgets, ensuring compliance with federal regulations, and making modifications if necessary. Fort Worth relationships then emphasize open, structured forums and planning processes in the development of budgets and the application of federal guidelines to these budgets.

The Dallas program, by contrast, does not combine the development and presentation all of its funds and strategies into open, structured planning processes. Outreach with NAs and

residents is discussed as occurring fairly regularly, but it is less clear how these outreach processes affect funding allocation. Ascertaining forums and interactions between planner and nonprofit and for-profit developers is hard to do given the current limitations of the study. It appears as if these interactions vary widely based on the NIP target area and which development projects were selected for participation. Planners focus on development assistance and project-level planning, coordinating efforts of the housing department such as land banking and construction assistance funds and TPW department infrastructure bidding and construction projects with the efforts of housing/retail developers.

Table 7.3 Summary of Programs' Primary Planning Relationships

Fort Worth MB Relationships

Planning/Housing Staff and NA	Outreach/Planning: Informing NAs of program, regular meetings and planning sessions to present data, assess needs, develop recommendations and budget.
Housing Staff and NA leadership/CDC	Implementation: Compliance, contract administration roles focusing on implementing the budget developed in the planning phase. Making changes as necessary if budgeted projects do not meet CDBG or HOME regulations.

Dallas NIP Relationships

Planners and NAs/Residents	Outreach: Semi-structured meetings held at NA meetings, churches at least on quarterly basis to inform residents of projects, gather resident perceptions.
Planners and Developers	Some planning/Implementation: Some conceptual planning involving neighborhood stakeholders, coordination with other housing divisions, PW department to support developments through infrastructure, land acquisition.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS

This study's purpose is to utilize an analytical approach towards understanding the

governance context and relations of neighborhood planning programs. Specifically, two NPPs

are compared and contrasted to examine the institutional frameworks, ways of thinking about

neighborhood planning, formal institutional contexts, and the kinds of actors and planning

interactions each program calls upon. As the analysis section has outlined in detail, the Dallas

and Fort Worth programs represent two highly contrasting models of neighborhood planning. In

them we see different assumptions, structures, and procedures for how to best target resources

and encourage neighborhood revitalization. This chapter summarizes and reviews some of the

important findings from the research into Dallas and Fort Worth's NPPS, and evaluates these

points based on the initial concerns of the neighborhood planning and governance discussion.

8.1 Summary of Case Study Findings

In some ways, both programs share similar institutional frameworks. As represented in

figure 8.1, both utilize a targeted neighborhood investment strategy and use federal CDBG

funds administered by the housing department. Because the goal of these programs is to spend

federal funds in ways that produce visible improvement in low-income neighborhoods, they are

generally less focused on developing comprehensive neighborhood plans, or integrating

neighborhood input into broader city planning processes. The common use of CDBG funds

between both programs also meant that they both focus their efforts exclusively in census tracts

with low-income requirements. Despite these similarities, these programs developed very

different approaches to neighborhood planning and resident involvement as showin in figure

8.1, packaged different kinds of funding sources and city initiatives in shaping and administering their programs, and ultimately created very different roles and interactions for the neighborhood planner.

Both Programs

Housing Department-Sponsored
Targeted Neighborhood
Investment Program
expending CDBG funds.

Fort Worth MB Program

Empowerment-centered,
Process Driven,
CDBG/ HOME grants,
Emphasizing NA control and
development of budget,
with goals of developing community
capacity, ensuring budgets meet
federal grant requirements

Dallas NIP

Planning expertise-centered,
Flexible,
CDBG, Bond funds,
Emphasizing leveraging funds
with private and nonprofit
developers, other stakeholders,
in the creation of catalyst projects

Figure 8.1 Cast Study Findings Summary, Similarities and Differences

In the Fort Worth program, resident empowerment as a guiding premise shaped a relationship that placed much emphasis on neighborhood organization and budget making. Empowerment in the MB program emphasizes community control over how federal dollars are spent in their neighborhood, specifically NA empowerment. CDBG and HOME funds comprised the main funding sources, the emphasis on HOME funds reinforced the importance of home improvements in the program. Additionally, the original founders of the program hoped the

program would be a tool to generate new neighborhood housing non-profits. Planners assisted in bringing neighborhood data and information into a structured planning process that allowed residents to identify their neighborhood issues, strengths, and goals for the program. Empowerment however involved significant effort on the part of the staff in terms of managing and facilitating the Model Blocks competitive process, processing all of the applications, developing plans with three neighborhoods, and worked to implement the plan selected and approved by senior staff and council.

The implementation process in fact, where housing staff worked with NAs and their non-profits to spend the award dollars, proved to be the most burdensome phases of the MB projects. Here federal grant requirements of CDBG and HOME funds complicated the budgets developed during the planning process, leading to frustration on the part of residents, and ultimately created a backlog of unfinished projects. One of the staff indicated that projects involving non-profits tended to have compliance issues, speaking to a broader lack of capacity in these nonprofit organizations. In some ways then, the guiding premise of empowerment probably drove the program initially, but as the program progressed the notion of "budget development" discussed earlier came to dominate the goals of these projects. Producing a workable budget that met federal requirements proved to be difficult and time consuming with the inclusion of significant neighborhood planning and implementation pieces, especially given a lack of staff to effectively manage each of these projects from year to year.

The Dallas NIP program contrasts with the Fort Worth program on multiple levels, in ways that come to bear on attempts to understand the kinds of relationships the planners are involved with. The governance lens focusing on institutional frameworks was able to identify roles and interactions more clearly in Fort Worth because of the high level of structure and consistency regarding how planning processes were conducted, what resources were at stake, and how decisions were made. The fact that the program had also been inactive for a few years

probably contributed to the frank discussions offered by staff. What we're left with in the Dallas program are attempts on the part of the researcher to make sense of how projects were developed, how the different neighborhood actors were included, and the important interactions were for the neighborhood planners.

The notion of "planner as expert" as discussed in the institutional frameworks section has shaped a program that was designed to take budgeting power on a micro-level away from neighborhood residents. The role of neighborhood outreach and input appears to be more informal, offering the planners a broad sense of what issues are important to residents. The other goals for the Dallas NIP, leveraging funds and creation of catalyst projects, emphasize that planners are primarily concerned with supporting existing investment in NIP areas and the creation of physical development projects. Planners here spent much of their efforts coordinating public resources with nonprofit and for-profit developers in designated neighborhoods, offering assistance to developers through various means such as land acquisition, construction assistance, and infrastructure improvements. The use of bond funds as the significant counterpart to CDBG funds also emphasizes the emphasis placed on infrastructure improvements in the program.

The NIP however utilizes very different strategies between the current 5 NIP target areas. While the two projects explored in more depth as part of this project had conceptual plans, there do not appear to be elaborate planning documents for other investment targets in these target areas, or with other NIP neighborhoods. Interviews indicate that non-profits in both Bexar St and Spring Ave neighborhoods initiated their projects by lobbying to be apart of the program, census tracts were also added to the designated NIP areas to fit the needs of these projects. We're left with the notion then that neighborhood organization politics may play a role in project selection. Combined with the unclear, flexible nature of the decision-making processes discussed before, in some ways we're left with more questions than answers

regarding how strategies are produced, who decides them, what processes are used. It is not clear whether the   program was designed to create more flexibility for the planners, or for elected officials and their neighborhood constituents, or some combination of both.

8.2 Governance and Neighborhood Planning Programs

In addition to the importance of planning frameworks for how neighborhood planning became operationalized, the comparative analysis highlights the ways in which formal institutional contexts had a significant impact in the direction and structure of the resources and forums available to residents. In many ways, this speaks to the debate over strong ties and weak ties within the institutionalist literature and urban governance. Specifically, questions of formal verse informal institutions, or strong verses week ties speak to the urban context that neighborhood planning must operate in.

Davies discusses some of the shifts that have occurred in between the "old institutionalism" and the "new institutionalism," specifically in their differing understandings of the 'nature of constraint.' New institutionalism emphasizes the strength of 'weak ties' and tacit understandings between groups that structure action as representing a new era of partnership, as opposed to old institutionalism emphasizing formal rules and organizations. In many ways this lines up with certain shifts in the planning and governance literatures that emphasize cooperative and collaborative action on the part of planners and public agencies.

When introducing the concept of path dependent and path shaping processes however, Davies offers a poignant critique of New Institutionalism and other theories which praise the shifts towards a collaborative governance built off of weak ties and tacit understanding. According to New Institutionalism, path dependency is created through the internalization of rules and values that arise through these weak ties. The other side of path dependency is path shaping however, and represents the moment "when institutionalization is contested and

89

subject to structuring forces which may or may not be path dependent themselves" (Davies 2004). Davies own work however contests the New Institutionalist claims of weak ties being path dependent, claiming rather that they are "path shaping arenas in which different values and governance mechanisms compete." He points out that partnerships are constructed more on hierarchical relations than on strong-weak ties between actors (Davies 2004, 582-583).

Speaking to the findings of this study, although neighborhood governance processes are touted for their collaborative nature, the case studies presented here would suggest that formal institutions and hierarchical relations such as funding requirements, program limitations, and the broader political climate have much to do with neighborhood-level partnerships and planning initiatives.

An important point is that planners in both programs seem to at least partially eschew the concept of neighborhood planning as the guiding purpose of their program. In Dallas, the program is more focused on creating physical catalyst projects, not comprehensive or long term neighborhood plans. In Fort Worth, one of the lead staff that was involved in the program emphasizes that although there was a planning process, there wasn't an elaborate, 'fancy' plan developed from it. The purpose is to create and justify a budget for spending the grant money if selected. In both programs then, the plans that have been developed are project specific and/or specific to a dedicated funding source. These views seem to reflect the fact that the programs are more accurately referred to as targeted investment programs, housing in their housing departments, designed to utilize federal grant dollars.

The funding sources packaged together to enact each program also shaped the kinds of activities these programs pursued. In Dallas, the emphasis on infrastructure support for development projects reflects a combination of CDBG and bond dollars, and the interests of private, nonprofit developers and other public agencies, while in Fort Worth the bringing together of CDBG and HOME funds reflects an emphasis on home improvements, and the

90

interests of the neighborhood associations.

Lastly, decision-making processes seem to reflect and reinforce certain goals and interests in each program. In Dallas, greater emphasis is placed on flexibility and discretion of the planner, senior staff, and others on the public side leading up to city council in order to effectively leverage funds in creating visible change through catalyst projects. In Fort Worth, a highly structured process shows a desire for fairness and consistency in distributing grant dollars to different neighborhoods across the city who can show the ability to implement their project.

Neighborhood planning programs then, according to these findings, although developed as innovative approaches for integrating neighborhood concerns into the broader urban planning process and to offer a voice and forum to poorer neighborhoods of the city, in many ways created programs with very narrow mandates, limited funding, and irregular opportunities for most neighborhoods in these cities to participate. A central tension both cities had to face was that structured planning process allowing for more citizen input and control placed significant burdens on staff's ability to effectively implement projects and use their own expertise to develop effective strategies. We're left with an interesting contradiction then: a greater degree of "partnership" and strong weak ties requires greater formalized structure to the process, which in turn requires more resources and staff commitment to effectively implement.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has contributed to an understanding of NPPs and institutional frameworks that guide them in two contrasting settings. The findings reveal that the ways planners and cities understand neighborhood planning and targeted neighborhood investment matter a great deal in terms of who is included, what kinds of priorities dominate, and what kinds of forums communities have to become involved. These differences also include very different definitions of what a neighborhood planner is, what he/she does, and what kinds of relationships they become involved with in these neighborhood planning processes. This study can hopefully contribute to our understandings of both the potential and limitations planners face when attempting to enact the broader values of the field while dealing with constraints and pressures from communities, elected officials, other departments, and broader fiscal and political constraints.

9.1 Decline of Empowerment Centered Approaches

The ways in which residents were included vary considerably between programs, Dallas emphasizes the role of CDCs and other nonprofit developers in representing community interests while Dallas assumes NAs represent community interests. Although empowerment was only explicitly the goal of the Fort Worth program, we have still seen considerably different program goals and outcomes based on who was considered to be representatives of the community interest. Despite these differences, there seems to be a general trend occurring in both cities however.

92

Although Dallas and Fort Worth do not represent a statistically significant sample, we see a trend in terms of the declining emphasis on resident empowerment, specifically in control over the budget of these targeted neighborhood investment programs, having been replaced by other programs in the early-mid 2000s. Both cities decided that managing and integrating citizen input at a high level of detail became cumbersome on implementation processes as well as staffing and financial constraints.

The Fort Worth Model Blocks program was placed on hold in 2006 for multiple reasons. Interviews indicate that the backlog of projects to be implemented, the constraints this placed on staff, shifts in HUD priorities, as well as broader political shifts in the city were discussed as reasons for the program's decline. Senior staff in the housing department were mentioned as making the final decision. The Dallas program began in 2003 as a modified version of the previous program, the Neighborhood Renaissance Program (NRP) which was cancelled in 2001. The director of the Neighborhood Planning Division discussed how the previous program, similarly to the Fort Worth program, had placed budget control into the hands of residents, in this case citizen councils. He discussed how it was very "process-driven" and required constant back and fourth modifications between these citizen councils and elected officials on the city council. The NRP also focused on neighborhoods whose boundaries were much broader than the NIP areas developed in the current program, leading to a scattering of funds and projects in ways that made the program's impact hard to discern to residents and officials.

This trend potentially points to the broader financial constraints in both cities, the tension between claims of neighborhood empowerment and inclusion and the financial and staffing limits and turnover being felt in planning and housing departments. One staff member in Fort Worth notes:

"…if you're going to do, in my opinion, my professional opinion, if you're going to do

93

neighborhood-based planning that has an implementation aspect…you better have enough

people to do it…and if you have regular staff turnover, you cannot provide the degree of

customer service that those neighborhood entities want, and have been given to believe that

they will receive, because all these programs start off just…oh we're gonna do this for the

neighborhood, we're gonna do that…"

In the Dallas program, the pressure to produce visible results led to the development of a program less "constrained" by public input and more focused on using dollars to best coordinate with and support existing developments, producing visible catalyst projects. Given limited funds in both cities, there seems to be a pressure to develop programs that can distribute these funds efficiently, with visible results.

In both cities then we see a decline of empowerment-based programs, understood here as the giving of direct budget-making power to neighborhood groups and organizations, in favor of approaches that produce what are considered to be more visible or measurable outcomes with federal and local funds.

9.2 Recommendations for Further Research

Although this study was designed to compare two prominent, but in some ways highly contrasting, NPPs in the Dallas-Fort Worth region, further comparative research could examine their diversity on a larger scale, national or international. Rohe and Gate's survey took place in 1985, (Rohe and Gates 1985), and if the Dallas and Fort Worth program's are any indication, there has probably been significant changes in many of these programs since. One of the more prominent focuses in the institutionalist literature has been on the examining of changes in urban governance, how institutional patterns change over time, by whom. This study touched on some of the changes that have taken place in both programs, specifically in the shift away from

94

empowerment-focused programs, but this was not the central point of the analysis. Further studies could also attempt to examine the field of neighborhood planning, these programs, and how they have shifted since their origins, what kinds of changes are occurring in these cities that may be de-emphasizing resident empowerment, such as federal funding cuts, changes in local regime composition, etc.

Another potential direction with this research that aligns with the institutionalist literature, in some ways linked to the previous, could be examining these same programs at a higher levels of abstraction. Healey discusses three levels through which governance activity is performed. According to Healey "Governance processes appear to be performed through routinized practices embedded in powerful social relations and cultural assumptions that seem to hold them in place despite energetic efforts to change them." (Healey 2007, pg 21). These levels include specific episodes focusing on actors and institutional sites, which more or less represents the level at which this study has attempted to examine two NPPs; governance processes, the kinds of networks, coalitions, discourses, and practices in which these episodes are embedded; and lastly governance cultures, which focuses on cultural assumptions which those involved in 'doing governance,' their rhetorics and practices, find legitimacy.

In regards to this third approach, Healey's understanding of the different layers of governance research helps highlight what this study is ultimately able to speak to in terms of broader institutional patterns in each city as well as to the potential for future research. In each program we can examine the inclusion and role of specific actors, in terms of who represents the community, who is considered a neighborhood planner, and the role of elected officials but this doesn't necessarily speak to these factors in other programs and plans within each city. The institutional framework developed to explain both programs highlights ways of thinking about planning and certain formal institutional structures that were used to structure and shape the direction of each program. Funding sources specifically are shared between these programs

95

and other initiatives in each respective city, for instance a comprehensive look at each city's CDBG approach and citizen input is outside the scope of this study.

On the data collected in this study hints at broader levels of governance activity, such as the potential for coalitions, networks, broader discourses and cultural assumptions in either city. Comparing the programs under study here with other kinds of neighborhood/community development initiatives for instance could reveal broader trends and institutional structures that explain more comprehensively how strategies are developed, resources distributed, or other effects of these governance cultures.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Guide for Neighborhood Planners

Background

-Tell me about the original development of the neighborhood planning program, what were the issues that led to its development, who pushed for it?

Institutional Frameworks/ general program info

-How do you understand neighborhood planning as it relates to your specific program, what is the program's 'framework' for neighborhood planning?

- What sorts of institutional ties guide and shape the neighborhood planning program? How was the program initially sanctioned? How is the program structured by its funding, its relation to other plans, departmentally.

-Does this program attempt to link together different city and public services and programs into the targeted neighborhoods?

Actors

-Who is involved in your program, who are the different players? What are their roles, what are their interests in participating in the program?

(Follow-up: confirm that at least community organizations, private developers, neighborhood associations, residents, advocacy groups, planners, and politicians are included, even if one or more groups did not have a significant role).

Relationships

-Based on your discussion of the role of planners and neighborhood organizations, what is the relationship like between the planners and community organization participants in the various projects? Specifically, do you find yourself primarily as project managers, or as educators, facilitators, technical support?

-What kinds of activities do you personally find yourself most engaged in for this program?

Decision-making

-In regards to decision-making, how have major decisions been made in the program, specifically which projects to pursue, how to distribute funding, adopting a neighborhood plan? (How did the process look?)

-Was it an internal department process, were elected officials involved?

-How were residents, community organizations involved?

-How has information about the project been shared with project participants, what kinds of forums?

How might groups or residents not directly involved gathered information about the program? Were there any other outreach processes to educate, inform the neighborhood?(This speaks to the outreach process).

Wrap-up

-Discussion of project selection and contacts, offer follow-up email

-Are there other sources other than ___you can provide to me that would guide me in understanding the program?

APPENDIX B

CATALOGUE OF CASE STUDY DATABASE

Fort Worth

Interviews
1.Patrina Newton: Planning Department, MB Program, role of planners, other topics
2.Barbara Asbury: Housing Department, MB Program, role of housing staff, other topics

Documents
1.MB Program Phase1 Application
2.Model Blocks Plan Development-Recommended Task List
3.Proposed 2000-2001 MB Selection Process Calendar
4.Letter of Agreement Between MB Steering Committee and City of Fort Worth
5.MB Program Powerpoint Presentation
6.Stop Six MB Presentation
7.Carver Heights MB Plan
8.Greenway Plan
8a.Powerpoint version
9.Ryan Place Neighborhood Presentation 2001
9a.Powerpoint Document
10.Worth Heights MB Plan 2001
11.Appendix A: Existing Plans & Studies, lists MB neighborhoods and their year, page A-3
12. Collection of MB Progress reports, budgets, balances
13. Model Block Brochure

Dallas

Interviews
1.Cobbie Ransom: NIP
2.Esmeralda De La Cruz & Aldo Fritz: NIP
3.Cobbie Ransom & Esmeralda De La Cruz: NIP, Spring Ave. Project
4.Cobbie Ransom: NIP, Bexar St. Project

Documents
1.NIP South Dallas: Ideal/Rochester Park: Community Development Commission Neighborhood Tour (Bexar Street Corridor) Powerpoint
2.NIP South Dallas: Greater Fair Park: Community Development Commission Neighborhood Tour, Powerpoint
3. Spring Ave, Master Plan
4. Bexar St. Master plan phase 1 & 2
5. Bexar Phase I Redevelopment efforts, color key and project list
6.Walker Consent Decree
7.Briefing to the Housing Committee

APPENDIX C

MODEL BLOCKS APPLICATION

2000-2001 Model Blocks Program
Phase I - Application

Criteria	Maximum Possible Points	Neigh. 1	Neigh. 2	Neigh. 3	Neigh. 4	Neigh. 5
Neighborhood Description	**25**					
Size of proposed area (a range of 150-300 housing units preferred)	5					
Neighborhood needs (income, pop below poverty, etc. calculated by Planning Department)	5					
Home ownership (percentage of home ownership calculated by Planning Department)	10					
Neighborhood assets	5					
Neighborhood Organization	**30**					
By-laws	7.5					
Minutes and agendas	7.5					
Members names and addresses	7.5					
Block Captains names and addresses	7.5					
Neighborhood Projects	**45**					
Project 1	15					
Project 2	15					
Project 3	15					
Total Points	**100**					

APPENDIX D

MAP OF MODEL BLOCKS NEIGHBORHOODS
AND CDBG ELIGIBLE CENSUS TRACTS

APPENDIX E

PROPOSED 2000-2001 MODEL BLOCKS SELECTION PROCESS CALLENDAR

PROPOSED 2000-2001 Model Blocks Selection Process Calendar

Process	Proposed Completion Date	Activities	Lead Planner
Pre-application Stage	June 2000	Announcement (City Page article, flyers to neighborhoods, …)	Housing
Phase I - Application	July 2000	Applications sent to neighborhoods	Housing
	July/August 2000	Application Orientation/Workshop	Housing/Planning
	October/November 2000	Application Deadline	Neighborhood
	November 2000	Selection of three finalists for Phase II	Planning
Phase II - Plan Development	November 2000-March 2001	Creation of a revitalization plan	Neighborhood
	November 2000-March 2001	Technical assistance provided from the City staff	Housing/Planning
	February/March 2001	Plan deadline	Neighborhood
Phase III - Presentation	March/April 2001	Presentation to a panel of judges	Neighborhood
	March/April 2001	Technical assistance provided from the City staff	Housing/Planning
	April/May 2001	Name of the grant receiver announced	Housing

APPENDIX F

PROPOSED 2000-2001 MODEL BLOCKS PLAN DEVELOPMENT

MODEL BLOCKS PLAN DEVELOPMENT - RECOMMENDED TASK LIST

Task (Completion Date)	Responsible Party	Week 1 11/10	Week 2 11/17	Week 3 11/24	Week 4 12/1	Week 5 12/8	Week 6 12/15	Week 7 12/22	Week 8 12/29	Week 9 1/5	Week 10 1/12	Week 11 1/19	Week 12 1/26	Week 13 2/2	Week 14 2/9
GETTING ORGANIZED (November 24)															
Establish and record Steering Committee (SC) membership.	Neighborhood	▓													
Elect Executive Committee from SC membership.	Neighborhood	▓													
Ensure geographic representation through designation of Block Captains for each block within the Model Block area. Block Captains are not necessarily members of the SC.	Neighborhood	▓													
Complete Letter of Agreement.	Neighborhood	▓													
Assign Tasks.	Neighborhood	▓	▓												
Determine dates for regular SC meetings.	Neighborhood	▓													
Determine a date for a community meeting to conduct SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) Analysis.	Neighborhood	▓	▓												
Produce and distribute flyers to invite residents to Model Blocks meetings.	Neighborhood	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓				
Determine dates for periodic community meetings to inform all the residents of the progress of the plan.	Neighborhood	▓													
DATA COLLECTION/ANALYSIS (January 5)															
Collect data and create maps (demographic, home ownership, historic, City-owned properties, zoning, topography…).	Planner		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓					
Conduct surveys and create maps (land use, housing condition and age, infrastructure, vacant lots, vacant buildings, environmental concerns…).	Planner		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓					
Take pictures for the plan.	Neighborhood/Planner		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓					
Collect data (history, community assets, accomplishments...).	Neighborhood		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓					
Provide pictures of celebrations, events, clean ups and other past and present neighborhood activities.	Neighborhood		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓					
STRATEGIC PLANNING (January 12)															
Conduct a SWOT analysis.	Neighborhood/Planner				▓	▓									
Develop a vision statement.	Neighborhood				▓	▓									
Identify needs/issues.	Neighborhood				▓	▓									
Prioritize needs/issues.	Neighborhood						▓								
Set up subcommittees.	Neighborhood				▓	▓									
Develop long-term goals.	Neighborhood/Planner								▓	▓					
Develop short-term goals.	Neighborhood/Planner								▓	▓					
Identify strategies/actions.	Neighborhood/Planner									▓	▓				
DEVELOPING IMPLEMENTATION STEPS (February 3)															
Create a realistic budget.	Neighborhood/Planner											▓	▓		
Develop implementation strategies (including timeline, responsibility…).	Neighborhood/Planner											▓	▓		
BUILDING PARTNERSHIPS (January 26)															
Seek partnerships.	Neighborhood		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Seek letters of support and commitment from area and outside businesses and organizations.	Neighborhood	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Invite pertinent City staff to community meetings and obtain cost estimates.	Planner						▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
FINALIZING THE PLAN (February 10)															
Draft a plan.	Neighborhood/Planner				▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	
Produce the final draft.	Neighborhood/Planner												▓	▓	
Turn in the Final Plan to Purchasing Department no later than 5 pm on February 10, 2003.	Neighborhood														▓

References:

Amaerican Planning Association. 1998. "Policy Guide on Neighborhood Collaborative Planning" [Retrieved January, 2012]. Available from http://www.planning.org/policy/guides/adopted/neighborhoodcollaborative.htm.

City of Fort Worth. Neighborhood Capacity Building [Retrieved February, 2012]. Available from http://fortworthtexas.gov/uploadedFiles/Planning/Comprehensive_Planning/09Neighborhoodcapacity_06.pdf.

Denters, Bas and Mossberger, Karen. 2006. Building Blocks for a Methodology for Comparative Urban Political Research. *Urban Affairs Review* 41 (4):550-571.

Department, Housing. 2008. A briefing to the housing committee. Available from http://www.dallascityhall.com/committee_briefings/briefings_0408/HSG_NeighborhoodInvestmentProgram_040708.pdf.

Department, Housing/Community Services. Neighborhood Stabalization Program [Retrieved January, 2012]. Available from http://www.dallascityhall.com/housing/nsp.html.

Ferman, Barbara. 1996. *Challenging the Growth Machine: Neighborhood Politics of Chicago and Pittsburgh*: University Press of Kansas.

Healey, Patsy. 2007. *Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Keil, Andreas. 2005. New Urban Governance Processes on the Level of Neighbourhoods. *European Planning Studies* 14 (3).

Nuissl, Henning; Heinrichs, Dirk. 2011. "Fresh Wind or Hot Air- Does the Governance Discourse Have Something to Offer to Spatial Planning?". *Journal of Planning and Education Research* 31 (47).

P., Healey. "The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory and it's Implications for Spatial Strategy Formation," ch. 13 in Campbell and Fainstein.237-255.

Peterman, William. 2000. *Neighborhood Planning and Community-Based Development*. London: SAGE Publications.

Robert J. Chaskin, Sunil Garg. 1997. "The Issue of Governance in Neighborhood-Based Initiatives". *Urban Affairs Review* 32:631.

Rohe, William M. 2009. From Local to Global: One Hundred Years of Neighborhood Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75 (2):209-230.

Rohe, William M., Gates, Lauren B. 1985. *Planning with Neighbourhoods* Edited by M. A. Stegman, *Urban and Regional Policy and Development Studies*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.

Savitch, H.V. and Kantor, Paul 2002. *Cities in the International Marketplace: The Political Economy of Urban Development In North America and Western Europe*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Sellers, Jeffrey. 2002. "The Nation State and Urban Governance: Toward a Multilevel Analysis". Available from http://www.usc.edu/dept/polsci/sellers/Publications/Assets/Nation-state%20and%20urban%20governance.pdf.

Smith, Michael Peter. 2001. *Transnatioanl Urbanism: Locating Globaization*. Malded, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Stone, Clarence N. 1989. *Regime politics: Governing Atlanta 1946-1988*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. HOME Investment Partnership Program [Retrieved June, 2012]. Available from http://www.hud.gov/offices/cpd/affordablehousing/programs/home/.

Wier, Margaret. 1999. Power, Money, and Politics. In *Urban Problems and Community Development*, edited by R. F. Ferguson, Dickens, William T. Editors. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Yin, Robert K. 2009. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Edited by L. a. R. Bickman, Debra J. Vol. 5, *Applied Social Research Methods Series*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publicationns, Inc.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Brian Price received his bachelor's degree at the University of North Texas in Anthropology focusing on cultural Anthropology, urban studies, and urban anthropology. He took courses at the University of California at Davis in Community Development before finishing his masters in Urban Planning at the University of Texas at Arlington in Summer of 2012. Brian has interned with multiple organizations on different projects including the City of Denton's Economic Development Department developing a plan for local food initiatives and a farmers market, Alchemist Community Development Corporation in Sacramento, CA managing a farm stand in low-income communities, as well as a general internship at the Inner-city Community Development Corporation in South Dallas. He has also held a research assistant position in the School of Urban and Public Affairs assisting in a grant from the US Department of Transportation focusing in research on collaboration between public health and transportation agencies. His research interests are focused in the areas of urban governance, urban politics, comparative urban research, social and environmental justice, and neighborhood/community planning.