Planning for Trust: A Relationship-Centered Approach to Community Engagement in City Planning Practice

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A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Urban Planning

University of Washington
2019

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Program Authorized to Offer
Degree: Urban Design and Planning

University of Washington

Abstract

Planning for Trust: A Relationship-Centered Approach

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This thesis outlines Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE) as a new approach to conducting community engagement in city planning practice. The vision of RCCE is to shift from a transactional approach based on soliciting public input, to a relational approach based on building trust with the public. The central argument guiding RCCE and this study is that by centering trust, community engagement can be redesigned to build relationships with, rather than over community. Trust is especially important for people of color and other marginalized communities that have been and still are disproportionately undervalued in land-use decisions impacting their immediate surroundings as a result of historic and continued inequities within participation processes. Based on research about city planning and engagement processes, RCCE seeks to challenge and supplement existing planning processes used for land-use decisions. In so doing, the development of RCCE represents an effort to not only redesign engagement processes to focus on relationships and trust, but also to make up for unequal access to participation in land-use.

"Trust is the glue of life. It's the most essential ingredient in effective communication. It's the foundational principle that holds all relationships."

- Stephen R. Covey

"Trusting relationships are one of the desirable means and ends of managing diversity, conflict, and power dynamics successfully."

- John M. Bryson

"Trust among people is a significant matter in life, and essential to the work of planners."

- Annti Talvitie

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion and submission of this thesis represent the culmination of my graduate study. When I moved to Seattle to start graduate school, I had no expectations about the experiences I would have or the people I would meet. Four years later I can confidently say that my experiences, and to a greater extent the people have exceeded my expectations. This thesis would not be possible without all the people I have met along the way. That said, there are more than a handful of people that I owe a thank you to.

First, I want to thank the thesis committee chairs: Christopher D. Campbell, and Joaquin Herranz.

Chris Campbell, for asking me questions that are confusing at first and then end up being helpful, as well as being patient in his role as my thesis chair and for supporting my thinking from the very beginning.

Joaquin Herranz, for being a part of my journey as a concurrent student, for always lending a helping hand, and for your endless thoughtfulness.

I then want to thank Grant Blume, for agreeing to work with me on my thesis in as a thinking partner and being willing to provide insights, as well as read drafts of my work when time permitted.

My partner, Ilena and her loving family for traveling with me in the up and down journey of completing a thesis paper, for showing up to support me, and for being the "fun-bunch".

My friends in Seattle, most especially James Hiner and Connie Combs. My friends have become my family and have kept me sane and balanced in the transition to Seattle and over the past four years. I draw so much strength from your love, generosity, and friendships.

Lastly, I want to thank my dutiful and loving parents. My parents never let me quit anything growing up, and this has prepared me to get this far in the race and to cross the finish line.

Thank you all.

Much Love,

Kizz

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A Note on Positionality

I want to explicitly state that this work is written from the viewpoint of a planning student. The intended audience is city planners and the planning profession. Formal land-use planning begins with the belief that the use of land requires the coming together of a complex set of social, economic, and physical forces, joined together by a vision (sometimes inchoate) of the desired outcome.[1] Throughout this study, I argue that land-use decision-making processes reinforce institutional racism that negatively affects people of color and low-income communities because of a reliance on transactional approaches to community engagement.

This work focuses on planning for trust through the creation of a relationship-centered approach to community engagement. Within a relationship-centered approach, there is room to focus on relationships with communities of color, as well as low-income and immigrant and refugee communities, within land-use decision making. These are groups that have been acknowledged as being marginalized or disenfranchised in the existing systems of the United States (U.S.) These communities have experienced power inequities within city planning processes including community engagement.

One point that I highlight here, and again in the limitations of this study, is research design. The design of this study is qualitative; however, it does not include the actual lived experience of communities of color and low-income people. I do not use interviews or surveys. I do not have first-hand accounts from people of color and low-income communities, and I do not have data about their past, and current efforts in land-use decision making. This means that there are assumptions in my paper about how the community thinks, feels, and makes sense of community engagement and city planning. Moreover, these assumptions are based on my position in the world, and the research I have done. That said, as a person of color, and as someone who views the world through a social justice lens, I believe my work adequately reflects some of the realities experienced by these communities.

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1 Mandelker, Daniel R. et al. Planning and Control of Land Development: Cases and Materials, 9th Ed. 1.

Given the above assumptions and limitations, this work can be best described as constructivist.[2] Social constructivism is essentially the idea that meaning is socially constructed, and so is knowledge. Throughout this study, I apply my worldview in arguments about what community engagement as a tool for equitable participation is and can be. At the same time, I discuss the ways the collective construction and maintenance of ideas about what communities are and are not either help or hinder the efforts to build truly inclusive practices for participation and engagement.

2 Mandelker, Daniel R. et al. Planning and Control of Land Development: Cases and Materials, 9th Ed. 1.

Terms

Community Engagement	An iterative process through by which city planners enact inclusive public participation processes with the purpose of creating, building, and maintaining relationships with people of color and low-income communities that position those communities to make changes they want to see and value.
Exclusion	A concept that focuses on multilevel processes in which groups are stopped from participating in a full and equitable way in city or decision-making processes.
Equality	A concept that focuses on equal outcomes without the consideration of unequal starting places or previous instances of injustice.
Equity	A concept that acknowledges the different starting places of various groups (racial, ability, income, etc.) and attempts to create fairness of results or outcomes. This includes eliminating barriers established by policies and practices.
Inclusion	A concept that involves providing access to information and resources necessary for civic processes and promoting the engagement of community members in those processes.
Institutional racism	A concept that focuses on how the patterns of behavior and policies of one institution reinforce different outcomes along with the racial difference.
Positionality	Refers to the recognition and acknowledgment of an individual's position in society and relation to others. The position is relative to socioeconomic status, culture, race and other dimensions of diversity.
Structural racism	A concept that focuses on how patterns of behavior and policies that are society-wide reinforce different outcomes along with the racial difference.

Executive Summary

Within the U.S. context of city planning, community engagement is used to achieve the diverse goals of public participation. Public participation is based on the belief that those who are affected by a decision have a right to be involved in the decision-making process.[3] While public participation has become a high priority for funding institutions, government agencies, politicians, and city planners in recent years, this has not prevented power inequities in participation itself.[4] In particular, people of color and low-income communities have experienced a disproportionate amount of power inequities in attempts to participate in public decisions regarding land-use. I argue throughout this paper that power inequities persist because of the approach used to conduct community engagement in city planning.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this research study is to envision a new approach to community engagement in city planning. The research questions that this study attempts to answer is: What would a relational approach to community engagement in city planning include? To answer this question, this thesis uses interdisciplinary research over several incremental steps that build upon each other. This research begins with an assessment of existing debates in city planning to discern current approaches to community engagement in city planning. This is followed by a review of frameworks outside of the field of city planning that current incorporate a relational approach and focus on building trust with communities. This research is followed by a synthesis of ideas into a new model of community engagement, which I call Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE).

Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE)

How we plan and approach community engagement processes plays a consequential role in addressing and creating equity. In this study, I introduce Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE) as a model for a

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3 International Association for Public Participation. (2007).
4 Vajjhala, Shalini P. "Ground Truthing Policy" Using Participatory Map-Making to Connect Citizens and Decision Makers. 2006.

relational approach to community engagement. RCCE is the result of an effort to redesign community engagement to follow a relational approach and focus on building trust. In RCCE trust is planned for from the outset and is perceived as both a process and outcome. RCCE is a systems model that features three levels of engagement: organizational transformation, process structure, and community outcomes.

Implications

RCCE is meant to be a new orientation to conducting community engagement in city planning. As such, there are many potential implications for community engagement in city planning. The implications of RCCE for city planning practice can best be understood in terms of new thinking, operational capacity, and changes to power relations. Using RCCE may result in a combination of changes to norms and practices of city planners and city planning practice. A clear implication for planners is that their responsibilities would change given a new goal to build relationships. RCCE may also present process challenges to existing frameworks city planning relies on to conduct community engagement.

Introduction

1.1 Trust Matters

In early 2017, the City of Seattle announced plans for a new Navigation Center—designed for 24-hour homeless support services—to be built in Seattle's Little Saigon neighborhood.[5] For the growing homeless population in Seattle and advocates alike the center was viewed as a necessary investment, and as an opportunity for new services and shelter. Additionally, the public benefits associated with the project were clear and tangible, yet the Navigation Center was not unanimously supported. In response to news of the Navigation Center a contingent of organizers, members of Friends of Little Saigon, and long-time residents of Little Saigon organized together to stand against the project.

The announcement of the Navigation Center sparked opposition from residents of Little Saigon for several reasons. The clear reasons for opposition were early perceptions that the new center would be a threat to public safety, health, and economic activity for small businesses in the neighborhood. Among the deeper aspects fueling the opposition were issues with the process and lack of relationships. In terms of process challenges, there was a lack of consultation and dialogue between the City of Seattle and residents of Little Saigon.[6] In terms of relationship challenges, any existing relationships were exacerbated as the news of the Navigation Center came as a surprise to the community. In the context of this thesis, opposition to a project that was a surprise to the residents affected by that project is an early signal of mistrust.

In February 2017, members of Friends of Little Saigon sent a letter to City of Seattle Elected Officials and Directors requesting a pause on the location of the new Navigation Center.[7] In the letter (see Appendix A: Letter to Pause on Navigation Center) Friends of Little Saigon expressed concerns with the pace of development of the Navigation Center and the lack of inclusive community engagement. Also stated in the letter by Friends of Little Saigon was the criticism that the lack of engagement was disrespectful and short-sighted.[8] The timing of the Navigation Center coupled with subsequent lack of engagement with community members about the project fed into

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5 Knauf, Ana. "Proposed Low-Barrier Homeless Shelter Riles Little Saigon Residents." The Stranger, May 2017.
6 Ibid.
7 Friends of Little Saigon. https://flsseattle.org/advocacy/navigation-center/
8 Ibid.

quick growing sentiments that there was a lack of transparency in the planning process itself.[9] In the context of this thesis, the sentiments expressed in the attached letter, and the quick growing opposition to the project are both signals of mistrust.

As development for the Navigation Center began, Little Saigon residents continued to not feel seen, valued, and heard by the City of Seattle. In response, after the letter to City officials to pause the Navigation Center, residents and members of the Friends of Little Saigon held a March 6 protest. The letter to City officials combined with the March 6 protest resulted in the City of Seattle Mayor agreeing to continue development of the center while placing a "pause" on the operational aspects such as staffing the Navigation Center. In conjunction with the pause on the Navigation Center operation, the Friends of Little Saigon formed their own Community Taskforce with the purpose to advocate for the needs of the CID neighborhood and other communities of color facing displacement.[10]

For residents of Little Saigon, this marked the beginning of any direct involvement and engagement with the project. In the context of this thesis, having such a delayed engagement process is another and final signal of mistrust. The example of the Navigation Center in Little Saigon exhibits a tension I discuss throughout this paper. Namely, I posit that there is a tension between the city planners and communities over the power of city planners to developing projects while not ensuring the involvement of communities that will be affected by the projects. This tension regarding power engenders a sense of mistrust as community members begin to feel excluded from the project being developed. Second, the example of the Navigation Center shows the importance of having an inclusive engagement plan from the outset. As evidenced by the Navigation Center, when any type of process is not seen as transparent citizens are likely to oppose a project, regardless of its actual costs or benefits.[11] A project that lacks transparency and inclusive engagement processes will fail to achieve what I consider to be the foundational aspect of all land use projects: building trust.

Trust matters for city planning and community engagement for several reasons. Trust matters because it directly influences the success of city planning projects and the overall effectiveness and legitimacy of government. Public trust in legislative and administrative organizations, membership in identification with political parties, and rates of voting and conventional political participation have

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9 Knauf, Ana. "Proposed Low-Barrier Homeless Shelter Riles Little Saigon Residents." The Stranger, May 2017.
10 Friends of Little Saigon. https://flsseattle.org/advocacy/navigation-center/
11 Knauf, Ana. "Proposed Low-Barrier Homeless Shelter Riles Little Saigon Residents." The Stranger, May 2017.

declined in many mature democracies.[12]As such, building trust matters to the people and communities affected by land-use decisions as much as it does for project success.

In this thesis paper, I define trust as being both a process and an outcome. As an outcome, trust must constantly be achieved through continuous learning and self-reflection, sharing stories and histories, and being aware of power relationships. As a process, trust is an ever-unfolding series of actions and made over a long period of time with the commitment to collaborate. I focus on both the process and outcomes of engagement throughout this paper. This lens helps to uncover some of the issues in implementing engagement, including the capacity of the community to participate; equity considerations; and the scale; policy setting; and institutional context of participation.[13] When trust is being achieved:

- The narratives, experiences, and lived histories of marginalized people and their communities that form shared meaning are not dismissed;
- Processes that do not permit equitable participation of all communities impacted by potential land-use decisions are not maintained and continued;
- The mistrust between city planners representing public agencies and citizens become less frequent as common ground is established.

The argument of this thesis is that by following a relationship-centered approach in community engagement city planners can plan for trust. By planning for trust, city planners can work to build relationships with community members. In this paper, I also work to relate trust to people of color, low-income, and marginalized communities. I believe that planning for trust can allow city planners to address power inequities in city planning processes that are experienced by marginalized communities. However, trust must be considered from the beginning.

1.2 Power in Engagement

The example of the Navigation Center in Little Saigon discussed in the previous section is representative of a larger pattern in city planning practice. Specifically, the burgeoning lack of trust and conflict that surrounds and influences land use decisions. This is a pattern that is influenced by two key factors. The two key factors driving the cycle of mistrust and conflict are the positionality of planners in pushing forward grand visions of the future, and decades of strict land-use regulation, both of which have played an essential role in encouraging a sense of fear and mistrust between

12 Fung, Archon. Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future. Public Administration Review, Vol. 75, Iss. 4, pp. 513–522.
13 Cowick, Morgan and Marcus Chaffee et al. Unpacking Community Engagement. Dec 8th, 2017. 12.

planners and the public.[14] To be clear, the city planning profession has changed significantly since city planning became a professional practice. Within the U.S. context, there is an American Planning Association (APA). The APA provides leadership in the development of vital communities for all, and the mission of the APA is to create great communities for all. While city planners may follow the charge to create great communities for all, the fact remains that the positionality of city planners creates inherent power imbalances with the communities they seek to serve.

At a basic and perhaps even instinctual level, people seek control over their immediate surroundings.[15] Within the U.S. context of city planning, city planners generally maintain control over land use and neighborhood surroundings, not the community members living there. Acknowledging this distinction, most city planning projects feature a community engagement process to include the community. Community engagement can successfully be used to supplement the lack of direct decision making for community members and communities. However, many of these processes come still reinforce exclusion instead of inclusion. For example, public meetings which are designed for the purpose of meeting community often tend to be dry and boring, with meaningful discussion often limited and with the audience seldom provided with opportunities to share information and stories, let alone to make choices or take action.[16]

Nevertheless, having a community engagement process and outcomes may not be enough. The is potential for the goals of community engagement to be undermined by the continued unequal access to decision making and the disproportionate division of labor.[17] The unequal access to decision making can be especially exacerbated for communities of color, as well as low-income and immigrant and refugee communities. These communities have experienced exclusionary processes that have prevented their full and equitable participation in decision-making. The disproportionate division of labor refers to who manages community engagement and whom the engagement processes are designed for.

A central argument in this thesis is that power imbalances can be interrupted by planning for trust. At the end of the previous section, I mentioned that trust is both a process and an outcome. In addition to these two aspects of trust, another aspect that must be included is clear goals. The three

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14 Maitland, Austin. "The Public Hates Planners But it doesn't have to be that Way." Strong Towns, (2017).
15 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 156.
16 Ibid.
17 Dempsey, Sarah E. "Critiquing Community Engagement." Management Communication Quarterly, Vol 24, Issue 3, pp. 359-390. (2009).

aspects of goals, processes, and outcomes form the foundation of the analysis this paper will use. From this point on I will assess community engagement in terms of goals, processes, and outcomes.

1.3 Towards a New Vision of Engagement

There are multiple lenses and approaches by which to implement and define community engagement. In the simplest description, community engagement is one of many processes designed to involve those who are affected by a decision. This is because community engagement builds upon principles of public participation that assume that those who are affected by a decision have a right to be involved in the decision-making process.[18] The goals, processes, and outcomes of community engagement all depend on design because any system will produce what it is designed to produce.[19] If community engagement was designed to produce inequity, or without much intention then it will produce power inequities. Likewise, if community engagement is designed to produce trust then it will produce trust.

In this thesis, I present a new model of community engagement called Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE). RCCE is a framework designed to implement a relationship-centered approach to community engagement and to produce trust. In developing RCCE, I focused on goals, processes, and outcomes. Ultimately, the goal of RCCE is to define and lay the foundation for an alternative approach to community engagement in city planning practice. The processes of RCCE are each embedded with a focus on producing trust, and the outcomes of RCCE are each intended to be community-based.

RCCE is introduced in this thesis as a new contribution to existing community engagement approaches. My hope in developing RCCE is that the framework will enable a shift in city planning from a transactional approach to a relational approach. In RCCE, community engagement is used to build relationships, not just prepare for projects. RCCE was designed to move away from conventional forms of community engagement that are transactional, to establish a new process that focuses on a relational approach. For the purpose of this thesis, I define community engagement as an iterative process by which city planners enact inclusive public participation processes with the purpose of creating, building, and maintaining relationships with people of color and low-income communities that position those communities to make changes they want to see and value.

1.4 Audience and Purposes of Work

This thesis is written for planners. As such it is critical that the analysis in this work is practical and that any recommendations made are relevant to the profession. In effect, this project

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18 International Association for Public Participation. (2007).
19 Creative Reaction Lab. "Equity-Centered Community Design." (2018).

attempts to balance lofty and aspirational goals for community engagement while also establishing realistic practices that may be beneficial to the field of planning. The result is a project that exists in the space between theory and practice, and it is written for planners designing community engagement processes.

Conducting thesis research and writing about community engagement is an academic exercise that requires using interdisciplinary thinking. The nature of this thinking lends itself to the creation of a body of knowledge on community engagement that may be useful in a professional context. Finally, this work has been designed to be exploratory in nature. To that end, it is my hope this thesis will support planners and other practitioners in thinking differently about the role of trust in the design of planning work.

1.5 What this Study is not

While there are numerous subtopics that could be addressed through a study of community engagement such as social capital, democracy, and the role of governance, the scope of this thesis cannot adequately address them all. The intent of this study is to question, challenge, and rethink current community engagement processes in city planning. In that way, this thesis is not a program evaluation of engagement programs, nor a critique of the effectiveness of existing processes. It is also not intended to be a toolkit. It also does not attempt to speak on behalf of any community. The sole purpose of this thesis is to outline Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE) as a new inclusive approach to remedy the lack of trust that has persisted in community engagement processes in land use.

1.6 Structure of Paper

This thesis is arranged into three key chapters that build upon one another. The introduction begins with a short vignette that highlights the historical and modern problem of the lack of trust in city planning. The introduction also introduces RCCE as the proposed solution to the lack of trust in existing community engagement processes. The next two chapters build on this foundation by assessing the planning context through the form of a literature review. In the second chapter, I discuss Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation, contemporary planning theory, and practice, and provide a summary of the characteristics of a transactional approach.

In the third chapter, I introduce three different community engagement frameworks. These frameworks include community-oriented policing from the field of policing, community-based participatory research (CBPR) from the field of public health, and communication infrastructure theory (CIT) form the field of communications. In addition to a review of each of these frameworks, I synthesize the best practice of each that are most applicable to city planning practice. Finally, I offer a summary of characteristics that I believe would comprise a relational approach to city planning.

In the fourth chapter, I introduce RCCE for the first time. I explain how to navigate the framework, the different levels of interaction, and compare the characteristics of a transactional and relational approach to community engagement. Additionally, in the fourth chapter, I offer a summary of RCCE. In the fifth chapter, I offer a discussion about RCCE and the study. I also explain the limitations of the study and areas that the research could be improved. In conclusion, I briefly provide a summary of the thesis paper and reflect on the content shared. I also discuss implications for city planning from changes to thinking, to operational changes for planners, and relationships to power.

Existing Conditions

This chapter contains the necessary background I used to develop RCCE. In this chapter, I provide a literature review of the history of participation in city planning practice, trace the theories of participation over time, and describe the ways city planners implement community engagement. In the last section of this chapter, I offer a summary of some general characteristics of a transactional approach to community engagement.

Literature Review

Since the late 1950s, the role of participation in urban planning practices has become larger and expanding; and after the communicative turn in urban planning theory, it is now one of the influential topics of the planning agenda.[20] Planning needs participation to be a legitimate function of democratic governance. A fundamental premise of representative democracy is that laws and policies are rendered legitimate because citizens have had opportunities to influence the politicians and parties that make those policies and because subsequent elections will confer opportunities to judge the effects of those policies.[21] Therefore, as city planning continues to evolve there must be a recognition of the tension between city planners and citizens, and to an equal extent between government and citizens.

Relevant literature about public participation in city planning is extensive and features debates that fall on either side of planning theory or professional practice. Generally, the discourse revolves around how participation functions at different levels, building arguments in support of a wider critique or establishing best practices. For the purpose of this thesis, I focus on literature written about formal city planning as practiced in the United States (U.S.) and post WW2 context. By situating the review in this context, I hope to frame the entire paper in the theoretical assumptions and main processes used to carry out public participation in U.S. city planning.

The practice of city planning has a deep democratic tradition of communities making decisions about themselves and the places they live. Early iterations of planning featured more of a rational planning model to make decisions. However, decisions were made collectively based on the issue at hand and who was being impacted.

Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE) was developed as a framework for engagement following an assessment of city planning practice. In part, the inspiration behind RCCE is to address any gaps that may exist within city planning related to engagement processes. In so doing, the intent

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20 Kamaci, Ebru. A Novel Discussion on Urban Planning Practice: Citizen Participation. 4.
21 Fung, Archon. Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future. Public Administration Review, Vol. 75, Iss. 4, pp. 513–522.

of RCCE is to establish an inclusive approach that will center people of color and low-income communities in city planning practice. To make this approach reality and address gaps, this study relies on a literature review of existing conditions in the field of city planning.

This chapter has three main sections: concepts of participation, planning theory and practice, and making community engagement work. Each of these sections is written to address a different thread from the literature. In the last section of this chapter, I provide a summary of some general characteristics that would comprise a transactional approach to community engagement.

2.1. Revisiting the Ladder: Power, and Participation

In discussing citizen participation, Sherry Arnstein (1969) defined the concept in relation to power and political processes. Specifically, Arnstein (1969) wrote that "It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic process, to be deliberately included in the future".[22] I believe that this initial description of citizen participation signals two important points to discuss in relation to city planning. The first point I discuss here is the fact that there are citizens who are excluded from political and economic processes.

Exclusion from political and economic processes is not a new development. In the U.S. context, exclusion has historically been an aspect of political, economic, social, cultural, and democratic processes. Exclusion in city planning follows a slightly different trend. As planning developed a top-down model of thinking and planning continued to grow and eventually became the dominant model well into the twentieth century. A key characteristic of the top-down model of planning is the role of city planners in relation to the public. In the top-down model, decisions about land use and design were determined by city planners.

The top-down planning model continued up until the 1960s. In relation to power, city planning as a government practice is essentially an exercise of government authority and power over physical space through land use. City planners were essentially government officials that guided the direction of development. After the 1960s, city planners and non-planners alike began to think about and question more the impact of public participation and the ways in which citizens could be involved. This leads to the second point about the redistribution of power.

Following the top-down planning model during the twentieth century meant that there was no distribution of power. However, the development of citizen participation offered an opportunity to redistribute power. Returning to Arnstein (1969), she argues that citizen participation "is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out".[23] Arnstein mentions information, the setting of goals and policies, taxes, program management, and contracts all as examples of processes that "have-not" citizens could participate in. In support of the argument about citizen participation being a strategy, Arnstein developed a ladder of citizen participation.

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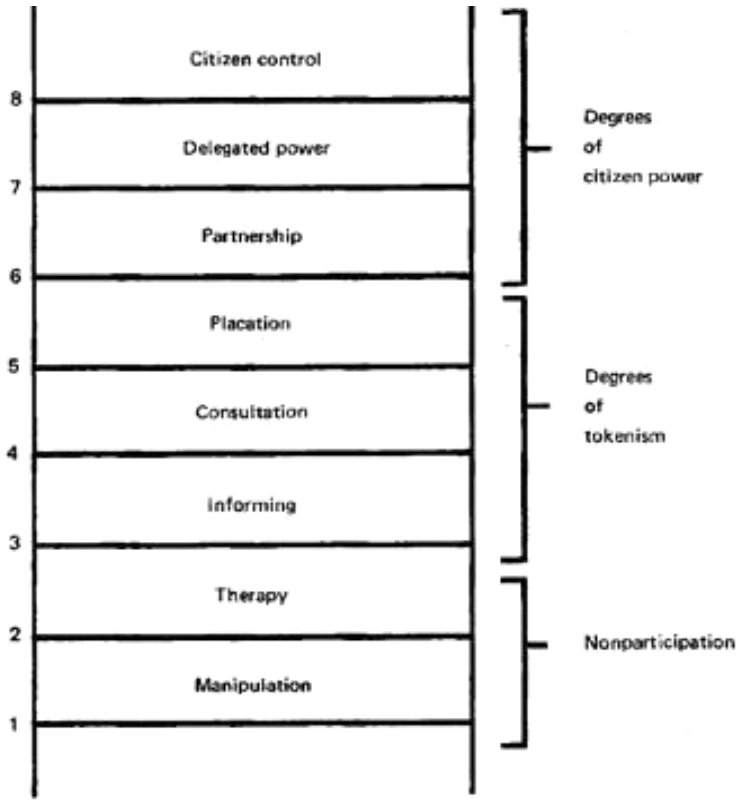
22 Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', Journal of the American Planning Association, 35: 4, 216.
23 Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', Journal of the American Planning Association, 35: 4, 218.

Below is Figure 1. *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*. In total, the figurative ladder is made up of eight separate rungs. Each rung of the ladder is designed to present a different level of citizen participation, citizen power, and influence. The eight rungs include manipulation; therapy; informing; consultation; placation; partnership; delegated power; and citizen control.[24] Additionally, the larger categorical groupings of these rungs are nonparticipation, degrees of tokenism, and degrees of citizen power.

FIGURE 1. A LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION. ARNSTEIN, (1969).



I reference the ladder of citizen participation because citizen participation is the foundation for community engagement in city planning practice. The ladder of citizen participation offers a typology of different types of participation that are still relevant today. For example, citizen power remains a topic of discussion in modern planning practice. The tension between city planners and

24 Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', Journal of the American Planning Association, 35: 4, 216.

communities over involvement in land use decisions revolves around citizen power and the extent to which it should be exercised.

In the ladder of participation, the lower rungs are manipulation and therapy which Arnstein considers to be nonparticipation. In manipulation and therapy, citizens are not fully able to participate in city planning. In manipulation and therapy, the real objective is to enable powerholders to "educate" or "cure" the participants.[25] The next three rungs are informing, consultation, and placation and offer more of a chance for participation in planning, however, at the risk of tokenism. The problem with these levels of the ladder is that when participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow through and no "muscle,".[26]This means that there are no clear indications that the participation from the community will be used and is meaningful. The last three rungs of the ladder are partnership, delegated power, and citizen control. These rungs are considered levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout.[27]

The ladder of citizen participation serves as a measurement scale for how much power a citizen or community group has in the planning process, or the decision of a new policy. The ladder of citizen participation is a useful typology for understanding participation in city planning. However, there are limitations to the ladder. What Arnstein (1969) does not do, however, is explicitly explain who the "have-not" citizens are. Instead, citizens and communities are discussed broadly throughout the remainder of her model. For the purpose of this thesis, I argue that the "have-not" citizens used to be all citizens and potentially all communities. Considering the history of the U.S. and structure of city planning I argue that the "have-not" citizens have become people of color and low-income communities. The roadblocks, barriers, and burdens to participation in city planning are experienced by people of color and low-income communities.

2.2 Contemporary Planning Theory and Practice

Theory:

In support of the argument above concerning "have-not" citizens, I briefly turn to Feinstein (2000) who writes about three directions of planning theory: the communicative model, the new urbanism, and the just city.[28] Each of these three approaches in planning orients planners, the field of planning, and the role of citizens in different ways. The first type emphasizes the planner's role in

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25 Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', Journal of the American Planning Association, 35: 4, 216.
26 Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969) 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', Journal of the American Planning Association, 35: 4, 216.
27 Ibid.
28 Feinstein, Susan. "New Directions in Planning Theory." Urban Affairs Review 35, no. 4 (2000): 453.

mediating among "stakeholders" within the planning situation; the second paints a physical picture of a desirable city to be obtained through planning, and the third is more abstract than the new urbanism and presents a model of spatial relations based on equity.[29] Together, the three approaches represent planning theory and planning activity in the decades since the 1960s.

The communicative model was developed in response to the rational model of planning previously mentioned. Rather than a top-down form of technocratic leadership, the communicative model holds planners as experiential learners, at most providing information to participants, but primarily being sensitive to points of convergence.[30] This is a stark shift from the rational model, and the exercise of power planners hold in that model. There is an explicit relationship between planners and participants, and even a role for participants to hold.

This is important for the democratic aspects of planning as well as participation itself. Democracy and civic engagement are both beneficial outcomes of good participation and engagement. Moreover, the growing body of studies on participatory urban planning reveals that when varied groups of the community started to play an active role in the preparation and/or implementation phases of urban planning: the stakeholders' needs and expectations are more likely to be shown in the plans.[31] Another aspect of the communicative model or theory is the planner's function to listen to people's stories and assist in forging a consensus among differing viewpoints.[32] Again, this thinking and theory posit a relationship between planners and non-planners, and a focus on building consensus.

However, consensus building is one aspect that has been a key driver of criticism for the communicative model. In a theoretical argument, Innes (2004) writes about the criticisms the communicative model has faced. In regards to consensus building, Innes (2004) states "communicative planning theory—the theory and practice of consensus building—which has been a lightning rod for much criticism leveled at communication theory, is not primarily an epistemological view or ideal type process, but a practical view of what it takes to make robust choices about the future in a real-world situation, taking into account diverse views and multiple knowledge's and understandings."[33]

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29 Feinstein, Susan. "New Directions in Planning Theory." Urban Affairs Review 35, no. 4 (2000): 453.
30 Ibid.
31 Kamaci, Ebru. A Novel Discussion on Urban Planning Practice: Citizen Participation. 2.
32 Feinstein, Susan. "New Directions in Planning Theory." Urban Affairs Review 35, no. 4 (2000): 453.
33 Innes, Judith. Consensus Building: Clarifications for the Critics. Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi. Vol 3(1): 5.

Considering this description from Innes, I believe that consensus building may be an early example of building trust within planning practice. Basically, consensus building is a form of dialogue that exists between city planners, non-planners, and community members. The only issues I perceive is the intention behind consensus building. The intention of driving consensus building would have to include trust from the outset.

With the communicative model, the potential conflict is over the changing nature of work city planners are expected to do. In the communicative model, city planners would be responsible for telling stories. Some opponents argue that the result of implementing a communicative model would be that both the context in which planners work and the outcomes of city planning may fade away.[34] Contrary to this argument, this thesis posits that adding the responsibility of storytelling to the work city planners telling stories does not detract from the work of planners or outcomes of planning in any way. It is the combination of exclusion from power in planning decisions and the use of participatory processes that maintain these power dynamics that detracts from planning.

The new urbanism and the just city vary from the communicative model. First, new urbanists call for a focus on design as an answer to issues of social inequality, income inequality, and housing segregation. New Urbanism ranks urban form, public space, and the mixing of work and living spaces as the priorities of planning.[35] In new urbanism, the planner is an advocate, but only to achieve these aspects of urban design. Ultimately, planning is perceived as the most important objective.

The just city model of city planning offers another different yet important argument about the role of planners. In the just city model of city planning, there is more support for participation in planning. It is important to note, this is the first of the three approaches that acknowledge that there are powerless groups, like the "have-not" citizens that were originally mentioned by Arnstein (1969). To continue with the just city model, participation is the vehicle through which that power asserts itself.[36]

In modern U.S. city planning, many processes remain structured around one or a combination of these theories. The communicative model is in effect when consensus building is used for projects and by obtaining public input. The new urbanism, although newly developed springs up in calls for urban design that includes a variety of building types, mixed uses, the intermingling of housing for different income groups, and a strong privileging of the "public realm"

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34 Feinstein, Susan. "New Directions in Planning Theory." Urban Affairs Review 35, no. 4 (2000): 451-78.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.

as being important.[37] Lastly, the just city is in alignment with the desire to embed equity into planning. However, traditional avenues for participation often limit the participation of people from disadvantaged communities who may experience barriers related to English language, proficiency, knowledge of planning procedures and familiarity with participatory democracy.[38] To explore these practices further, I shift to planning practice.

PRACTICE:

Urban planning often straddles the line between theory and practice. On one hand, there are individuals in academic settings writing research being conducted in planning and developing trends in the field. On the other hand, there are practitioners writing in the form of long-range plans and comprehensive plans, updating zoning codes. In the discipline of planning, practice comes to be from theories and conversations about the planning process, the development of projects, and the need for, or lack thereof, community outreach.

As discussed above, the dialogue in the 1960s was marked by the shift from technocratic top-down models of small town planning to models in which planners and planning both had to respond to community's requests for expanded decision-making.[39] Accordingly, in response to this shift different participatory processes were developed to meet new models of planning. Incorporating citizens and communities as participants in planning decisions, processes, and practices required public processes.

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37 Feinstein, Susan. "New Directions in Planning Theory." Urban Affairs Review 35, no. 4 (2000): 451-78.
38 Oshun, Molly et al. Use of the Planning Outreach Liaison Model in the Neighborhood Planning Process: A Case Study in Seattle's Rainier Valley Neighborhood. 1.
39 Feinstein, Susan. "New Directions in Planning Theory." Urban Affairs Review 35, no. 4 (2000): 451-78.

TABLE 1. A TYPOLOGY OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROCESSES

Participation Type	Description	Critique
Citizen Advisory Committee (CAC)	Citizen Advisory Committees and Steering Committees are used to convene individuals around one issue. Several functions of an advisory committee, include information gathering, public relations, and building support.[40]	Citizens committees can offer the most engagement for citizens to be involved with decision-making, however, the decisions the committee makes may not matter if the committee is only advisory.
Design Charrettes	Charrettes and placemaking workshops focus on a relatively limited geographic space--a public square, a park, or a housing development-and encourage creative thinking.[41]	For members of the public, design charrettes are very engaged processes. However, they occur over a short period of time are designed to focus on a specific geographic space or design problem.
Attitude Surveys, Neighborhood Meetings, and Public Hearings	Surveys, neighborhood meetings, and public hearings are used as ways to engage with larger numbers of the public at once. The common format features a developer or planner giving a presentation and then taking questions and comments, which are usually given in short increments at an open microphone.[42]	These methods are derived from Arnstein's ladder and most resemble informing therapy, and manipulation. These methods rely on formal rules of order and occur later after a project has been chosen and development as begun.
Public Meetings	Like neighborhood meetings and public hearings, these meetings are held to engage with a wider audience in discussion.	Public meetings offer participants a chance to engage in the form of public comment.
Information Sharing	This is not a formal process and is more focused on getting information from the City out to citizens and/or community.	Information sharing offers the lowest form of engagement with citizens because there is a one-way flow of information.

40 Nabatchi, Tina and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 157.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.

Citizen participation literature shows that a high level of citizen participation is critical to achieving better public involvement in decisions for the planning process.[43] Several forms of participation in modern U.S. city planning include citizen advisory committees (CAC); information sharing; attitude surveys, neighborhood meetings, and public hearings; design charrettes, and public meetings. Table 1 *A Typology of Public Participation Processes* presents a typology of each of these citizen participation activities. In table 1 each type of participation process is explained, including the purpose of the type, how the activity is used, and when the activity is used.

Each of these participation activities is commonly used by planners to engender and encourage public participation in planning. That said, there are shortcomings in each activity. A critique of community advisory committees is that participants can be placed on rubber stamp advisory committees, and/or advisory boards for the express purpose of "educating" them or engineering their support for broader issues.[44] In that sense, a CAC becomes an act of manipulation or placation per Arnstein's (1969) ladder.

The sharing of information seems innocuous on the surface. However, too frequently the emphasis is placed on a one-way flow of information--from officials to citizens--with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation.[45] Attitude surveys, neighborhood meetings, and public hearings are also flawed in their own ways. Primarily, the issue is how participation is measured. Participation is measured by how many come to meetings, take brochures home, or answer a questionnaire.[46] Focusing solely on the numbers leaves out any opportunity to obtain quantitative information from citizens regarding the quality of participation. Then there are design charrettes. Design charrettes tend to be time-consuming workshops that do offer more participation opportunities. The only drawback of a charrette is that the input is focused on one spatial and or geographic issue in a community, rather than participation.

Lastly, there are public meetings. Public participation most often takes the form of conventional public hearings and meeting, and because the meeting is open to the public, the participants are self-selected.[47] Poor results of community engagement include meetings that have low attendance or only feature a segment of the community. Poor results may also include meetings that have high attendance and lots of heated dialogue and backlash from the community, or simply no

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43 Kamaci, Ebru. A Novel Discussion on Urban Planning Practice: Citizen Participation. 2.
44 Arnstein, Sherry R. (1969). "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Planning Association, 35: 4, 218.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Fung, Archon. Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future. Public Administration Review, Vol. 75, Iss. 4, pp. 514.

involvement, outreach, or dialogue whatsoever. Public meetings can be messy and can often become the arenas where people confront each other on issues that they would rather avoid, they can be time-consuming to organize and boring and tedious to attend, taking precious time away from other matters.[48]

The first and most significant step in strengthening participation in planning and land use is to begin thinking of these opportunities as a system and to develop a plan for improving it.[49] As part of any future planning, there must be clarity around who is being invited to participate in planning and land use. Not only are conventional formats poor environments for helping people understand the issues or sort out their interests, but they are also poor formats for exchanging power between planners and "have-not" or powerless citizens.[50] The next section offers some context about different settings for participation in city planning.

2.3 Settings for Participation in City Planning

Participation in planning and land use is a contemporary component of modern planning practice. There is broad support for the idea of involving residents in land use decisions, but some express doubts about the practicalities of making participation work.[51] Partly because people often associate "participation" with the conventional processes of public hearings and planning commissions, both have been discussed in this chapter.[52] A larger issue with "participation" for the purpose of this thesis is that to a certain extent, planning theory and practice continues to struggle with identifying who citizens are and what level of participation they should have.

To answer the "who" should be engaged with I refer to the official settings for participation in planning. There are several official settings for participation in planning at the community and neighborhood levels, such as zoning commissions, development authorities, and neighborhood associations.[53] Notably, there are two primary official settings in which participation occurs, at the community level and at the neighborhood level. These differences between these two settings are exhibited in Table 2 *Comparison of Official Settings for Participation in Planning* below.

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48 Cogan, Elaine. Successful Public Meetings, a Practical Guide for Managers in Government.
49 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 173.
50 Ibid.
51 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 157.
52 Ibid.
53 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 166.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF OFFICIAL SETTINGS FOR PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING.

Community Level	Neighborhood Level
At this level, there are planning, land use, and zoning commissions that work within the institution of the City to make and/or review decisions on issues, projects, and proposals.	There are three main kinds of organizations at this level: neighborhood associations, homeowner associations, and neighborhood councils.[54]

The community level and the neighborhood levels offer two different contexts to consider in designing participation within city planning practice. In the community level, planning decisions are made through commissions. Referring to the ladder of citizen participation, a commission could be a degree of tokenism or a degree of citizen power. Planning commissions are made up of selected citizens who work within an institutional context. The distinction depends on the nature of the commission, and the decision-making authority the commission has.

In the neighborhood level, planning decisions are made by organizations made up of community members. Neighborhood associations, homeowner associations, and neighborhood councils are each organization led by the community. Referring to the ladder of citizen participation, engaging at the neighborhood level could fall on any rung of the ladder. In order to engage citizens, practitioners should be clear about the intention for convening citizens and design engagement in a way that envisions a clear path leading from engagement to the satisfaction of that intention.[55] Both the community level and the neighborhood level require clarity about the role of power. Without redistribution of power, participation is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless.[56]

2.4 SUMMARY: A TRANSACTIONAL APPROACH

In the literature review above I discussed both planning theory and planning practice. Also discussed was a brief history of the role of citizen participation in city planning practice, and the conflict over power between citizens and city planners. Participation has shifted from citizen participation to public participation, to the modern community engagement. There may be holdovers from earlier practices inform what I refer to as a transactional approach toward community

54 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 157.
55 Fung, Archon. Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future. Public Administration Review, Vol. 75, Iss. 4, pp. 513.
56 Ibid.

engagement. Prior to moving onto the next chapter, I want to synthesize what I believe to be characteristics of a transactional approach.

Within the literature, there is evidence that community engagement, or any form of citizen participation, has raised and continues to raise questions about the intended goals, process, and outcomes. In community engagement, there has been more of an effort to incorporate citizens and community members into processes. Additionally, the goals of engagement have changed to having the desired outcomes. Thick and thin forms of participation have been designed to bring people together to make zoning and/or community design decisions.[57] In city planning, there is often a conflict between the goals of engagement, the engagement process, and then the outcomes of engagement. Presented below in Table 3. *Characteristics of a Transactional Approach* which is a composition of my thinking about what constitutes a transactional approach.

TABLE 3. CHARACTERISTICS OF A TRANSACTIONAL APPROACH

	Transactional-Approach
Goals	Results-oriented: The focus is on measuring participation in engagement events and an emphasis on the results of the events.
	Planning Staff Role: Staff has limited engagement, typically only at scheduled events. The planner is a technical expert.
	Planning-Led Design: There is a lack of clarity about who engagement is being designed for and why engagement is occurring.
Process	Project-oriented planning: Planning is oriented around projects and land use decisions.
	Time: Community engagement is limited to the lifespan of a project and typically has a preset timeframe.
	Context: Community engagement adheres to existing contexts and settings of participation such as commissions and neighborhood groups.
Outcomes	Decision-making: Decision-making is centralized and follows a top-down planning model.
	Power: There is a lack of awareness about the positionality of the city planner and the positionality of community members.
	Information: Information is shared in a one-way steam form city planner to community members.

57 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy.

In Table 3 above I have identified nine characteristics that I argue comprise a transactional approach to community engagement. These characteristics are a results orientation, staff role, clarity, project orientation, time, context, decision-making, power, and information. Each of these characteristics can be considered aspects of community engagement within city planning practice. Additionally, each of these characteristics influences the design combine to form an approach to community engagement.

In table 3, each of these characteristics has been grouped into three themes: goals, process, and outcomes. For community engagement the alignment of goals, process, and outcomes matters. I define goals as the reason for engagement, process as the series of actions to achieve those goals and outcomes as the resulting impact of the process. Based on the theoretical model in use, planners may be focused on top-down approaches or more communicative approaches. City planning practice may follow the thinking that the only purpose of planning is to achieve urban design. Additionally, there are many attempts being made in modern city planning to create equity through planning. Regardless of the approach or outlook, in the realm of urban planning getting citizens involved is critical in order to develop representative decision-making in urban planning.[58]

Picking one characteristic from goals, process, and outcomes can provide an example of how this transactional approach could function. For example, picking the planning-led design characteristic. If there the design of engagement follows planning needs only, this may lead to limited clarity regarding "who" community engagement is for. Solving complex planning problems requires matching the purpose of the engagement to the appropriate context. As a result, without the correct context, the process will not be informed by or designed for the appropriate audience. Finally, without an informed process, the community engagement effort leads to ineffective outcomes that maintain power dynamics between city planners and community members. Of course, this quick example is based on my generalization of a transactional approach to city planning. However, in this example, it is evident that there must be an alignment between goals, processes, and outcomes.

A clear takeaway from the literature review of participation in city planning is that community engagement is limited by the alignment between goals, processes, and outcomes. By focusing on goals, processes, and outcomes community engagement can be improved. Moreover, community engagement can be designed to center people of color and low-income communities. If done intentionally, culturally appropriate engagement of diverse audiences can encourage ongoing

58 Kamaci, Ebru. A Novel Discussion on Urban Planning Practice: Citizen Participation. 2.

participation in the implementation of development plans and improve communications between experts and community members.[59]

59 Oshun, Molly et al. Use of the Planning Outreach Liaison Model in the Neighborhood Planning Process: A Case Study in Seattle's Rainier Valley Neighborhood. 1.

Applied Frameworks

In this chapter, I explore three community engagement frameworks that feature a relational approach to community engagement. Each framework presents methods of community engagement. However, each of the three frameworks features the common thread of focusing on building relationships with the community to develop trust. At the end of each subsection, I discuss how the framework relates to city planning and how the framework acknowledges power. Ultimately, addressing the tension of power between city planners and communities will always be part of participation in planning and land use. Rather than embrace this reality as unchangeable, I believe power ought to be addressed more directly. In the last section of this chapter, I offer a summary of some general characteristics of a relational approach to community engagement

Trust: A Human Constant

The previous chapter discussed how community engagement often operates in city planning practice. The purpose was to review participation tools used in city planning. I started by tracing the dialogue from theory to practice of public participation in city planning and revisited Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation. The ladder provides a foundation to consider the tension of power between city planners and communities. The literature review ended with a summary of the characteristics of a transactional process.

The one constant that I found missing in community engagement was trust. Trust is rooted in experiences, personal and phylogenetic, and rationalized in philosophical, psychoanalytic, psychological, sociological, and economic terms and writings.[60] Of course, trust is an intangible concept that is difficult to measure, and especially difficult to quantify in city planning practice. That said, in this thesis, I define trust as a lived experience that is ongoing and relative. I also define trust as an ability that takes time to cultivate, trust as the significant component that allows different groups to function and rely on one another, and trust as the essential requirement for dialogue and relationships. Trust is the foundation upon which any relationship can and should be built, and without trust, there are no relationships.

This chapter has four sections. In this chapter, I describe my research motivations and curiosity behind the power of relationships. In the same section I also briefly define power for the purpose of the thesis and to further acknowledge the tension over power between city planners and community members. It is important for planners to incorporate an analysis of the interests and power relationships when developing citizen participation strategies.[61]

The second section of this chapter is devoted to an overview of three community engagement frameworks outside of city planning. Each of these community engagement frameworks embodies a relational approach.

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60 Talvitie, Antti. "The Problem of Trust in Planning. Planning Theory, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2012). pp. 260.
61 Oshun, Molly et al. Use of the Planning Outreach Liaison Model in the Neighborhood Planning Process: A Case Study in Seattle's Rainier Valley Neighborhood. 11.

In the third section, I discuss some of the tradeoffs between all three of the community engagement frameworks. I also argue that there are best practices that can be learned from each framework and applied to improve community engagement in city planning. Each framework review presents a summary of the guiding principles, strategies, and approaches of the respective framework. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I provide a summary of some general characteristics that would comprise a relational approach to community engagement.

3.1 Research Motivations

The research to support this thesis paper has been shaped by my curiosity about community engagement. Specifically, I became curious about the power of relationships to change the collective understanding of what community engagement is and what community engagement can be, especially for people of color, low-income people, and other marginalized identities. In addition to my curiosity, my research was guided by the motivation to improve community engagement in city planning practice. I perceived to be ineffective community engagement in city planning practice to be ineffective because of a transactional approach to community engagement. What resulted was a study in which I sought to question, challenge, and rethink current practices of community engagement within city planning practice.

My research began with an understanding that community engagement is both a theory and a practice. This starting point led to research articles about community engagement plans, programs, and evaluations and at the same time, found numerous articles about community engagement approaches, and theoretical frameworks. Community engagement draws on knowledge from sociology, political science, cultural anthropology, organizational development, psychology, social work, and other disciplines, and is combined with organizing concepts that are drawn from the literature on community participation, community mobilization, constituency building community psychology, and cultural influences.[62] Like most research efforts, my study started with an awareness that there were many questions I could ask and many ways to examine community engagement.

Focusing on relationships in community engagement within the context of city planning turned into discovering practical ways to center trust within city planning practice. There is no doubt that trust is a key factor in planning and policy, and the development of trust between city planners and citizens is one of the first tasks of the planning team.[63] I argue that trust in planning and policy should also focus on trust between city planners and communities of color. can be the principal step required to adequately embed equity and connect people of color, low-income, and marginalized people to planning practices.

Creating trust requires cohesive groups and that there is permanence in the external object: a leader or an idea.[64] `I believe that the solution to fraught relationships in city planning is trust. I

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62 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. (2011).
63 Talvitie, Antti. "The Problem of Trust in Planning. Planning Theory, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2012). pp. 269.
64 Talvitie, Antti. "The Problem of Trust in Planning. Planning Theory, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2012). pp. 262.

believe that centering trust would allow community engagement practices to shift from transactional approaches and move towards relational approaches. Shifting community engagement to a relational approach could engender the building of more relationships and trust.

In the introduction, I provided a vignette about the Little Saigon neighborhood to illustrate how a lack of trust can impact relationships with a community of color. The vignette of Little Saigon also showed how a lack of trust can be disruptive to planning projects. The story of Little Saigon also illustrated the contestation of power between city planners and community members. Before moving forward in this thesis, I want to define power in my own terms.

Power, as defined for this thesis, is the ability to voice opinions and have those opinions be validated through a direct inclusion in land use decisions. My definition of power combines several elements into one. First, there is the ability to have a voice and share opinions. For this paper, having a voice is more than an expression. Having a voice literally means being able to influence decisions, being in the room when decisions are being made, and knowing that any opinions shared will have an impact on the design of a solution or the final decision.

The second element of my definition of power is concerned with direct inclusion. From the previous chapter, there was a discussion about "have-not" citizens. The "have-not" citizens have historically not been able to participate in the same way or have even been excluded from being involved in the same capacity. I consider modern "have-not" citizens to be people of color, low-income, and other marginalized communities. These are communities that do not have been excluded from the political and economic process. For some of those seeking to participate in city planning, they are seldom provided with opportunities to share information and stories, let alone to make choices or take action.[65]

The third element of my definition of power is concerned with land use decisions. I acknowledge that there are other types of decisions to be made and that there are other types of decisions that people of color, low-income, and marginalized communities have been excluded from. That said, this definition of power pertains to land use decisions because city planning is concerned with land use decisions. In the discourse around participation in planning, there is evidence that there are members of society that traditionally have a voice and are included in land use decisions. The

65 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 180.

result of having the same communities engage with processes is that those communities are often the ones who end up highly interested in future topics being addressed.[66]

In the chapter that immediately precedes this one thesis, I provided an extensive review of the literature of community engagement in city planning practice. I discussed current community engagement practices in city planning with a focus on the lack of trust. What follows in this chapter is an exploration of community engagement processes, activities, and events (case study, grounded theory) that exist outside of the field of planning.[67] I found and investigated three frameworks that follow a relational approach and engender trust with the community. The frameworks are community-oriented policing (COP) from policing, Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) which is a framework within Community Engaged Research (CEnR), and communication infrastructure theory (CIT). Each of these frameworks was chosen because they provide practical applications of building trust within community engagement.

3.2 Review of Community Engagement Frameworks

In this section, I provide an overview of three community engagement frameworks: community-oriented policing (COP), Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) which is a framework within Community Engaged Research (CEnR), and communication infrastructure theory (CIT). There are additional frameworks that provide structure and understanding about community engagement that could have been used. However, I chose to review COP, CBPR, and CIT because each of these frameworks is concerned with the relationships within and between communities, and a recognition of power certain decision makers hold to influence communities.

Underlying the content of this section an understanding that community engagement is a dimension of public participation.[68] Community engagement frameworks are essentially structuring of knowledge about how citizen participation ought to work. I start with this understanding because prior scholarly research recognizes that successful citizen participation depends on the appropriate crafting of citizen participation strategies.[69] I interpret this to mean, that community engagement can be crafted to better fit the needs of individuals and communities. In this section, I explore how

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66 Fung, Archon. Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future. Public Administration Review, Vol. 75, Iss. 4, pp. 515.
67 Creswell, John W. Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2014. Print. 212.
68 Jones L, Wells K. Strategies for academic and clinician engagement in community-participatory partnered research. JAMA 2007;297:407–410. p. 408.
69 Aydelotte, James, and Lawrence C. Walters. Putting More Public in Policy Analysis. 351.

community engagement is designed, thought about, and practiced in different disciplines. I begin with a review of COP, followed by a review of CBPR, and ending with the CIT framework.

Each framework review presents a summary of the guiding principles, strategies, and approaches of the respective framework. For example, COP has a strong focus on partnership and organizational change, whereas CBPR offers an orientation towards centering people and community, and CIT is concerned with the connection between storytelling and communicative rationality. In addition to introducing each framework, I also introduce the context it operates in and what problem that framework was intended to be a solution for. Each framework review ends with an explanation of how the framework recognizes power. Lastly, I end the chapter with a small section about tradeoffs between the three frameworks and distill each of the ideas into a table of relational approaches.

Community-Oriented Policing:

One may be skeptical about police practice realistically relating to community engagement in city planning practice. On the surface, the two fields do not immediately signal any similarity to one another. The goals, processes, and intended outcomes for public accountability within police practice vary greatly from city planning practice. Through this section, I explain the ways in which city planning practice relates to and can learn from police practice through the shared function of community engagement.

The community engagement framework I review from police practice is community-oriented policing (COP). Before delving deeper into COP, it is important to explain the context the framework operates in and the solutions COP offers. Part of the context of COP is an understanding of policing in the U.S. To understand policing in the U.S. context requires recognition of historic and modern conflictual relationships between the policy and people of color, low-income, and other marginalized communities. The conflictual relationship exists between these communities and the police for several reasons. To name a few, there is the history of dominance, control over space, state-sanctioned violence against people of color, and the continued inequitable enforcement of criminal justice policies.

The full history of relations between the police and communities of color, unfortunately, falls outside of the scope of this research. The reality is, there are some people of color and low-income communities in which an attitude of "us versus them" prevails between the police and community members.[70] In response to this "us versus them" development COP was developed. In police

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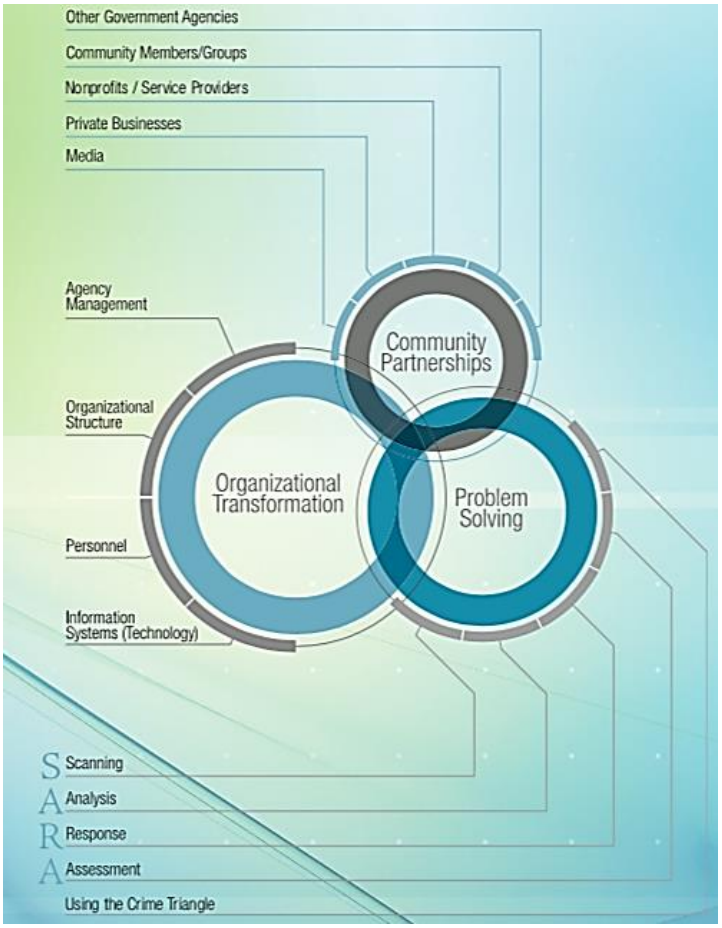
70 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 4.

practice, COP is a community engagement framework that focuses on using partnerships to break down the old concepts of professional versus civilian, expert versus novice, and authority figure versus subordinate.[71]

Since the twentieth century, many police departments in the U.S. have operated under what is referred to as a "professional" model of policing. Local police departments were structured around strict hierarchical lines, using standard operational protocols, and emphasizing responding to serious crimes when they occurred.[72] However, this began to change as relationships between police and communities worsened.

FIGURE 2. COMMUNITY POLICING FRAMEWORK. U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. (2012).



71 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 4.
72 McCarthy, Bobby, and Sarah Lawrence. What Works in Community Policing? The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy. 5.

In Figure 2 *Community Policing Framework* there are three overlapping circles representing each component of the COP framework. To be effective, the COP framework requires each component to function and be in place. The first component of organizational transformation is required to change the culture of an organization from the executive level, down to police officers. The second component is community partnerships. Community partnerships are concerned with other government agencies, non-profits, and the community itself. The third component is problem-solving, which is about solving crime and violence together.

The COP framework is rooted in the history of policing and police research during the last quarter of a century, in the changing nature of communities, and in the shifting characteristics of crime and violence that affect these communities.[73] A figure representing common elements of the community policing framework is shown above in Figure 2. The COP framework was developed as both a concept and approach to policing that is taking effect in both national and local governments and in communities across the nation.[74] Today the COP framework continues to grow and is now structured around the three core components of organizational transformation, community partnerships, and problem-solving.

When communities are based on relationships that feature diverse wants and needs, yet community engagement processes are based on public input then there is a mismatch. City planners must consider the context of the communities they work in. Community engagement can be used to understand that context and in turn foster trusting partnerships with communities. Before the trust and the partnership, there must first be a relationship.

COP is a framework represents a wholesale transformation of the function, resources, and purpose of policing. Additionally, as a perspective, community policing challenges traditional service delivery models, assumptions, and police practices leading to the second component of community partnership. Every relationship will vary by the community being served, by purpose and intended outcome, and by institutions enacting engagement. As a framework and practice, community-oriented policing (COP) seems to accomplish and offer a relational approach to working with and engaging the community.

Organizational Transformation

Transformation can involve, policies, organizational structure, personnel practices, and information technology systems, and other aspects of how a department is structured and operates.[75]

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73 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. vii.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.

Organizational management or transformation may also include changes in leadership, the climate, and culture of an organization, how and when a decision is made, and any changes to policy or personnel. Organizational transformation can impact and influence every single aspect of an organization. Therefore, organizational transformation is the primary starting place in the COP framework and should be the primary starting place for a relational approach to community engagement in city planning practice.

Organizational transformation is central to the creation of trust between police and citizens. For the COP framework to function properly it must be supported both internally as well as externally. The purpose of organizational transformation then is to change the operation and function of an institution from the inside out. By changing the operation and function of an organization, this enables capacity to be set aside for the purpose of developing community partnerships and problem-solving with the community.

Any organizational transformation must occur at all levels of a department. This means from the executive level, down to deputies, to administrators and project managers, and finally front-line workers. Decentralization is a key element of this transformation. This means, a reduction in reliance on top-down policy directives from department leadership, devolution in decision-making, and a reporting structure that is also less hierarchical.[76]

The idea of changing the structure and culture of organizations lends itself to changing the implicit and explicit roles that allow current community engagement practices to remain in place. For example, in city planning, the role of the technical expert is explicit and is often in conflict with community members. Community policing can work because by design it challenges and changes some of the traditional implicit and explicit roles between policy and community. A core concept understood as part of COP is that without trust between police and citizens, effective policing is impossible.[77]

Community Partnerships

Developing partnerships requires police departments and officers to have positive relationships with the community, involve the community in the quest for better crime control and prevention, and pool their resources with those of the community to address the most urgent

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76 McCarthy, Bobby, and Sarah Lawrence. What Works in Community Policing? The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy. 6.
77 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. vii.

concerns of community members.[78] These requirements offer four key principles to consider for forming community partnerships. The requirement is 1) a focus on relationships, 2) a role for community members that allows direct involvement with problem-solving, 3) sharing of resources between police and communities and 4) addressing the concerns of community members. Structuring partnerships in this way allows the partnerships to be inclusive of the diverse wants and needs of people of color and low-income communities.

The second principle of community partnerships is about connecting communities to the process of problem-solving. The active participation of community members in the process of problem-solving creates a different model for community engagement. Essentially, the police become part of community culture and community assists in defining future priorities.[79] This model is vastly different than what has been traditionally done in police practice, as well as what has been done in city planning practice. The value here is being able to not only acknowledge difference but be able to communicate across difference to build trust.

The third principle of community partnerships is concerned with the sharing of resources. Resources can be staffing, information, technology, capacity, and contacts. Within the COP framework, there is a recognition that different partners will hold different resources. Rather than compete over resources, in the COP framework partnerships are based on what would be best for a community and solving problems that community faces. Below is a case study example from the City of Mankato, Minnesota. In the City of Mankato, the use of the COP framework has led to great results. One result has been fewer community resources needed to respond to service calls, such as kitchen fires or damaged apartments.[80]

The fourth principle of the community partnership component is community-defined needs and problems. In the COP framework, community engagement begins with community needs and community-defined problems. In reference to the City of Mankato example, for each community no matter its dynamics has its own issues and needs, so the Tapestry Project cannot be replicated with the exact same curriculum.[81] Within the COP framework, this is an example of equity. Rather than create one-size fits all approach to partnerships the City of Mankato uses the COP framework to implement community engagement that matches the needs of the community members they are

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78 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 13.
79 Community Policing Defined. Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice. 12.
80 The "Tapestry Project" - https://transformgov.org/articles/"tapestry-project"-building-strong-community-one-thread-time-mankato-mn
81 The "Tapestry Project" - https://transformgov.org/articles/"tapestry-project"-building-strong-community-one-thread-time-mankato-mn

attempting to engage. I would argue that this, is a relational approach to community engagement because it begins with an orientation towards the person and not towards a project.

In the City of Mankato, Minnesota Community-Oriented Policing, or (COP) has been practiced by the Department of Public Safety since the early 2000s. Following an analysis of City services, the "Tapestry Project" launched resulting in the creation of a multi-sector partnership involving health care, public safety, community-based organizations (CBOs), and Mankato residents. The result has been a series of events that police officers can participate in with community members. The most successful activity is known as talking sessions that provide an opportunity for police to share their experiences and stories with members of the community.

Problem Solving

The last component of community policing is problem-solving. Problem-solving is made possible because community partnership differs from traditional policing in how the community is perceived and how the community is included in expanding policing goals.[82] However, in community policing, there are partnerships with the community to improve relationships and to use the communities' knowledge to solve problems. Moreover, community policing stresses more direct officer involvement with local citizens less hierarchy and protocol and tries to address the root causes of crime.[83]

The idea of using cooperation in problem-solving to determine the underlying causes of crime, the other benefit of approaching problem solving this way is that it reinforces trust and requires the exchange of information. This is especially useful in identifying community needs and priorities in relation to the needs and priorities of city planners. Community policing in effect allows community members to bring problems of great concern to them to the attention of the police.[84] However, beyond informing the police, there must be a mechanism that exists to ensure that the information will be addressed and solved. Under community policing, the command is no longer centralized, and many decisions now come from the bottom up instead of from the top down. Rather

82 McCarthy, Bobby and Sarah Lawrence. What Works in Community Policing? The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy. 5.
83 Ibid.
84 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 20.

than responding to crime only after it occurs, community policing encourages agencies to proactively develop solutions to the immediate underlying conditions contributing to public safety problems.[85]

Recognition of Power and Relation to City Planning

Above I have reviewed the COP framework within police practice. This review includes a visual model of the COP framework, an explanation of the core components, and a case study example of the framework. As part of this review, it is also important to note how the COP framework recognizes the power and how the framework relates to city planning practice.

I argue that within the COP framework there is a recognition of position as power. Here, I am referring to one's positionality and how their positionality relates to others. Clearly, police practice has different goals, is more high-stakes, and operates at a different scale than city planning practice. However, the argument can be made that police practice and city planning practice both create power through positionality. As an oversimplified comparison, one could argue that police control space manages crime and violence and enforce laws and that city planners control space, manage development, and enforce land use regulations.

Moreover, police practice relates to city planning practice because both police and city planners do their work and operate within a context in which there are conflictual relationships with citizens. The attitude of "us versus them" that is present in police practice can be argued is also present in city planning practice. Most notably, public participation has the potential to create an "us versus them" mentality amongst community members involved in land use decisions. Public participation in land-use, more than any other issue is driven by a conflict between citizens and government.[86]

An argument for the COP framework would propose that police practice requires relationships and trust with communities to work effectively. I also argue that city planning practice requires relationships and trust with communities in order to work effectively. The focus on trust is especially important for people of color and low-income communities. Indeed, it is the way that we construct and maintain ideas about people of color and low-income communities, as well as the engagement itself that maintains the status quo.

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85 Community Policing Defined. Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice. 12.
86 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 180.

Establishing and maintaining mutual trust is the goal of the COP framework.[87] Within the COP framework trust is made possible by a focus on relationships, the first principle of community partnerships. Moreover, potential partners can include community members and community groups, nonprofits and service providers, schools, other government and public agencies, and media as well as ethnic media.

87 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 15.

Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR):

In order to explain what Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) is, I begin with the context the framework operates in and the solution that the framework offers. First, to understand CBPR one must understand that CBPR is a framework within Community Engaged Research, also known as (CEnR). Community Engaged Research (CEnR) is based in the field of public health and is implemented by public health researchers and practitioners.

Within public health, CEnR combines scientific study with practical guidance about engaging partners in projects. A key value that translates from CEnR into CBPR is the idea of the meaning-centered approach.[88] This is an approach that focuses on the meanings that individuals may share and on the explanatory models they use to discuss their health problems, rather than focusing on widely accepted cultural norms about what a community may be. Within the CBPR framework, the meaning-centered approach enables researchers to focus on how individuals and communities make sense of and explain the health problems they may be facing rather than rely on heuristics.

The CBPR framework is the most well-known framework used within Community Engaged Research (CEnR).[89] As a conceptual framework, the CBPR approach to community engagement is unique because it purposefully centers communities within the research. By following the CBPR approach researchers and practitioners can alter existing relationships and create new relationships between themselves and research participants. This approach also has a significant impact on reducing bias and the overreliance on data, as researchers are in direct and meaningful contact with participants.

The CBPR framework offers a multifaced solution to community engagement. An argument can be made the CBPR framework is an example of a relationship-centered approach. In part, relationships in the CBPR framework are considered through several factors. These factors include a focus on time in partnership, cultural humility, personal beliefs, dialogue, and even self-reflection. In addition to a focus on relationships, the CBPR framework places an emphasis on an asset-based model rather than a deficit-model. This means that CBPR believes communities have assets that already exist, and CBPR seeks to build upon those assets rather than their needs. To discuss the CBPR framework model further, I have included a visual model of CBPR is below in figure 3.

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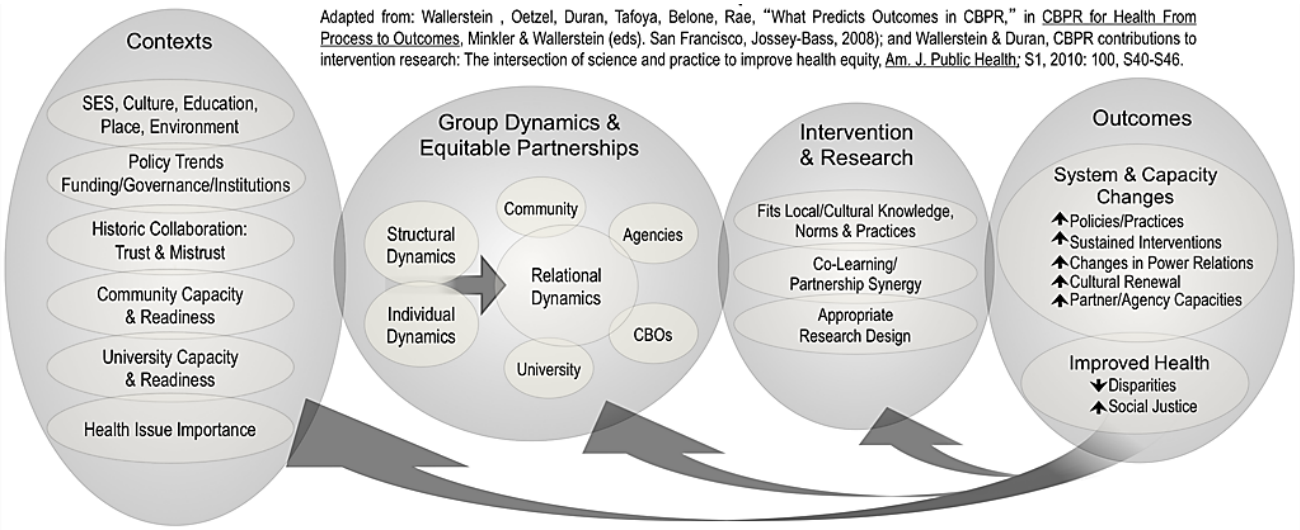
88 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 11.
89 Ibid.

FIGURE 3. COMMUNITY BASED PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH (CBPR). POLICYLINK. (2012).



Contexts	Group Dynamics		Intervention & Research	Outcomes
• Social-Economic Status, Culture, Spirituality, Place, Education, History, Environment • Policy Trends: National/Local Governance & Funding/Political Climate • Role of Institutions, i.e., Education; Research (positive/negative) • Historic Degree of Collaboration & Trust between Community/Academic • Community: Capacity, Readiness & Experience • University: Capacity, Readiness & Experience • Perceived Severity of Health Issues	*Structural Dynamics* • Diversity • Complexity • Formal Agreements • Sharing Power/Resource • CBPR Principles Alignment • Time in partnership *Individual Dynamics* • Core vValues • Participation Motivation • Personal Relationships • Cultural Identities/Humility • Bridge People • Personal Belief/Spirituality • PI Community Reputation	*Relational Dynamics* • Safety: Community Voice/ Community Language • Trust • Dialogue, Listening & Mutual Learning; Flexibility • Leadership/Influence • Power Dynamics/ Stewardship • Self & Collective Reflection • Participatory Decision-making & Negotiation • Local knowledge Integration; Group Process • Task Roles & Communication	• Intervention is Culturally Created & Centered • Intervention Informed by Local Settings & Organizations • Partner Shared Synergy & Trust • Community Language vs. Expert Language • Research & Evaluation Design Reflects Partnership Input • Bidirectional Translation, Implementation & Dissemination	*CBPR System & Capacity Changes* • Changes in Policies /Practices -In Universities & Communities • Sustainable/Cultural-Centered interventions/Broader Reach • Changed Power Relations & Empowerment -Community Voices Heard • Develops Skills to Benefit Individuals & Partner Agencies • Productivity Measures, i.e. Papers, Grant Applications, Grant Awards • Cultural Revitalization & Renewal *Health Outcomes* • Transformed Social& Economic Conditions • Reduced Health Disparities

In the conceptual model of CBPR, there are four levels of interaction: context, group dynamics, and equitable partnerships, intervention, and research, and outcomes.[90] Additionally, in this conceptual model, each element is designed to stand alone as well as interact with the other elements to create a process that is iterative. Many of the elements that comprise the COP framework are also repeated in and central to the CBPR model of engagement. Several of the similar elements include building trust, sharing decision making, and acknowledging the expertise of all partners.[91] These key

90 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 11.
91 Ibid.

elements are made possible because the CBPR process is designed for the involvement of community members in all aspects of research. In effect, in the CBPR framework community members are invited to participate fully in all aspects of the research, research design, and engagement process.[92]

Below I unpack each of the four levels of interaction in CBPR. The model of CBPR relies on each level of interaction in order to function properly and to situate community members at the center of the research. Adapting thinking from CBPR can help inform the design of participation processes in planning that center people of color and low-income communities. The first two levels of interaction in CBPR have titled context and group dynamics and lay the groundwork for the entire approach. The next two levels are titled intervention and research, and outcomes. In these two levels, the structure and foundation of partnerships are explained. Together, each level of interaction in CBPR can combine knowledge and action for social change to improve community health and eliminate health disparities.[93]

Context

The first level of interaction is displayed in the CBPR model is context. In Figure 3 above context is the first circle in a series of connected circles, and there are arrows pointing towards context from outcomes. The arrows reinforce that the CBPR approach begins with context. Beginning with context makes sense because centering participants of people of color and low-income communities within research interventions does not happen organically. Including community within research, intervention requires an intentional effort and thoughtfulness about the various factors affecting the community and the capacity of the community to participate.

In the context level of interaction all the different factors that may influence the socioeconomic conditions being experienced by a community are considered. This means that before the engagement begins before intervention and research begin, practitioners of CBPR are considering the communities' needs first. A core understanding of CBPR is that imposing one's own notions of health concerns over the community's risks several disabling effects, including being irrelevant to the community, creating feelings of powerlessness in the community, complicating individuals' lives, and channeling local activism away from important challenges toward less important ones.[94]Also considered in context are the policy trends, a historic collaboration including trust and mistrust, the

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92 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 11.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.

community capacity, and the importance of the health issue itself. Adequately understanding the context informs the next level of interaction, group dynamics, and equitable partnerships.

Group Dynamics and Equitable Partnerships

The second level of interaction displayed in Figure 3 above is group dynamics and equitable partnerships. Group dynamics and equitable partnerships as shown in the model are arranged into three sublevels: structural, relational and individual. By focusing on structural, relational, and individual group dynamics the CBPR framework can achieve more influence over group dynamics and engender stronger partnerships.

The CBPR approach does exist within the field of public health and within CEnR. As such, another core understanding embedded in CBPR from public health regards cultural competency. The solution to bridging cultural boundaries is often presented as acquiring "cultural competency.[95] Only having knowledge of a group's cultural differences and typical behaviors or beliefs is inadequate.[96] To overcome the focus on cultural competency CBPR includes different aspects of a group's dynamics into the process.

In Figure 3 above there are twenty-two different aspects of group dynamics to consider, arranged by structural, relational, and individual dynamics. Each of the aspects displayed in Figure 3 is important to practitioners and researchers of CBPR. Unfortunately, the visual model does not clearly indicate an order or sequencing that these aspects should be focused on. I argue that the structural aspects are the most important because they provide an outline of for how the group dynamics will function. Followed by structural dynamics would be individual dynamics. Individual dynamics are important because it requires awareness of the individual within the process before engagement can occur. Lastly, relational dynamics are important to outline how researchers and practitioners will interact with and relate to community members and research participants.

Intervention and Research

The third level of interaction is intervention and research. Within the CBPR approach intervention and research is informed by the context and by group dynamics. In West Oakland, there is a small community of African American and Latino residents who live in geographic proximity to exposure to diesel exhaust and traffic-related pollutants.[97] Community-Based Participatory Research

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95 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 11.
96 Ibid.
97 Community-Based Participatory Research: A Strategy for Building Healthy Communities and Promoting Health through Policy Change. Policy Link. 2012.

(CBPR) is used in many health-related engagement initiatives. One such example took place in West Oakland, California in 2002 when low-income African American and Latino residents took part in a study to assess air pollutants in their community from nearby diesel trucks. The CBPR model was used to study the health issue in West Oakland, and featured the training of residents, residents conducted self-guided research and the presentation of final research findings.[98] Long-term outcomes associated with this process included relationship building, community cohesion, and the formation of new partnerships

In order to address exposure to diesel exhaust, traffic-related pollutants, as well as community concerns, the West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project (WO EIP) was established in 2000.[99] The WO EIP is a living example of the CBPR approach to community engagement in practice. Through the duration of the WO EIP project, the residents themselves determined the indicators be studied and helped collect, analyze, and use the data to effect change.[100] As evidenced by the West Oakland example, the impact of CBPR is that interventions and research are designed directly by or with the community.

Using CBPR enables practitioners and researches to find the appropriate solution to a health issue, and to do it in a way that fits the local and cultural context. This approach to engagement engenders design intervention that is equitable. Additionally, in CBPR, all collaborators respect the strengths that each brings to the partnership, and the community participates fully in all aspects of the research process.[101]

Outcomes

The last level of intervention in CBPR is outcomes. The outcomes of CBPR can be near, mid, or long-term and vary by design intervention and community needs. CBPR is a collaborative process that intends to equitably involve all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each brings.[102] As a result, the CBPR approach to engagement creates a lot of equitable outcomes.

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98 Community-Based Participatory Research: A Strategy for Building Healthy Communities and Promoting Health through Policy Change. Policy Link. 2012.
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid.
101 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 11.
102 Community-Based Participatory Research: A Strategy for Building Healthy Communities and Promoting Health through Policy Change. Policy Link. 2012.

In discussing potential outcomes of CBPR I want to refer to the West Oakland. There were multiple outcomes from the WO EIP project. The research results of the WO EIP project informed a new policy ordinance based on recommendations from the project. Additionally, the data and research were produced through a new partnership with the community, and their work led to real tangible change. In that way, CBPR positions all collaborators as partners, and the desired outcomes are more akin to social justice and equity.[103]

Recognition of Power and Relation to City Planning

Above I have reviewed the CBPR framework within public health. This review includes a visual model of the CBPR framework, an explanation of the levels of interactions, and a case study example from West Oakland. As part of this review, it is also important to note how the CBPR framework recognizes the power and how the framework relates to city planning practice.

I argue that within the CBPR framework there is a recognition of knowledge as power. Here, I am referring to knowledge and the construction of knowledge broadly. A central principle of the CBPR is that there are different types of knowledge and that there are different ways of knowing. Within the CBPR framework, there is an emphasis on paying attention to and understanding local knowledge. In the CBPR framework, there is clear thinking about the impact of knowledge on research, research design, and involvement with the community.

The argument can be made that public health and city planning practice both create power through knowledge. Indeed, the privileging of expert knowledge over "local" knowledge acts as another source of power disparity in community engagement processes.[104] Knowledge can be a source of power disparity in community engagement processes that do not account for different types of knowledge. Additionally, knowledge plays a role in questions that arise in the design of community engagement processes including who is being engaged, for how long, for what purpose, when, and why. Using knowledge as power incorrectly can undermine a community engagement process, alienate community members, and reinforce existing exclusion.

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103 Community-Based Participatory Research: A Strategy for Building Healthy Communities and Promoting Health through Policy Change. Policy Link. 2012.
104 Bryson, John M., et al. "Designing Public Participation Processes." Public Administration Review, vol. 73, no. 1, 2012, pp. 23.

Communication Infrastructure Theory (CIT):

Communication Infrastructure Theory (CIT) originates from the field of communications. Communication Infrastructure Theory (CIT) is a useful model to understand community engagement because of the structure. The CIT framework has been designed in a way that seeks to integrate communications into community engagement practices. This means that the concepts, assumptions, and overall approach to community engagement are interwoven with communications. The CIT approach to community engagement is unique because it is intended to position communication structures and processes at the center of inquiry into civic engagement.

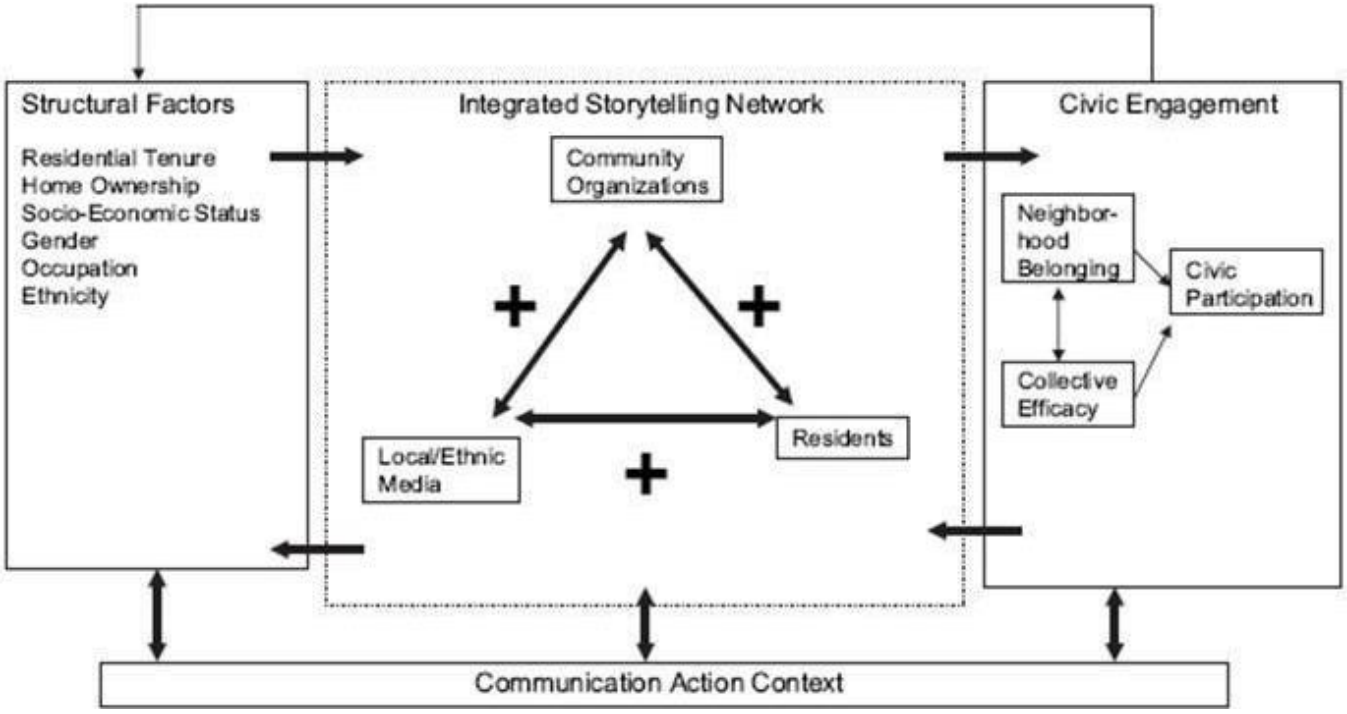
The CIT framework is arranged into three components structural factors, integrated storytelling network, and civic engagement. These components all exist within and comprise a Communication Action Context (CAC). The CIT framework exists within the context of communications. The solution that the CIT framework provides is improving communications between a network of actors. In the CIT framework actors can be policymakers, members of the community, city planners, and even individuals with the capacity to tell stories.

Below is Figure 4. *Communication Infrastructure Theory Model of Civic Engagement*. In the model exhibited in figure 4 below, you can see directional arrows that point away from and towards each of the three components except for civic engagement. This is done intentionally to indicate that the different components of the model can be conducted in any order, with civic engagement being able to feed directly into structural factors. The overarching theme of the model is that the three components exist in relation to each other.

In relation to community engagement, CIT offers a unique perspective to analyze the context and substance of civic discourse.[105] Below I explain each of the three components of the CIT framework. I begin by discussing the Communication Action Context (CAC).

[105] Cowick, Morgan and Marcus Chaffee et al. Unpacking Community Engagement. Dec 8th, 2017. 12.

Figure 4. Communication Infrastructure Theory Model of Civic Engagement. Kim, Yong-Chan and Sandra Jubal-Rokeach. (2006).



Communication Action Context

All storytelling happens within a specific communication action context (CAC). A CAC is different from NSN in that a CAC is focused on the ways in which residents meet each other, and how those interactions, in turn, can create neighborhood-level storytelling. A CAC is composed of three different parts: the structural factors or context, the Neighborhood Storytelling Network (NSN) and civic engagement. In the CAC model, these three different pieces work together in a loop that enables the other parts. The CAC is the environment in which the narrative takes place, and elements of the environment influence the ability for storytelling to occur.[106]

Structural Factors

Structural factors include home ownership, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and other key demographic features that may exist within one spatial context. The structural factors influence and are influenced by the storytelling network and civic engagement. The role of the storytelling network is the integral component of CIT. The storytelling network focuses on what resources a community

106 Cowick, Morgan and Marcus Chaffee et al. Unpacking Community Engagement. Dec 8th, 2017. 12.

must communicate, how those resources can be improved, and how those resources influence future forms of engagement.

Communication Infrastructure Theory (CIT) is used most often when there is a clear communication lag between two or more groups over one issue. So was the case with the Women's Health Project (WHP) supported by the National Institute on Minority Health Disparities. The intention was to use CIT to improve inequities within public health provision for African American women living in urban communities. The result was that CIT informed the design intervention, stories were used to connect multiple actors, and new types of participatory events were developed.[107]

The Women's Health Project (WHP) is an example in which the CIT framework was used to improve reproductive health-care services for African American women. In the case study example, the CIT framework was applied to a public health context to improve communication between community-based organizations (CBOs) and African American women. The use of the CIT framework was made possible because of structural factors.

In implementing the CIT framework, practitioners began by paying attention to existing structural factors. CIT provides a theoretical framework and a methodological tool to explore how diverse communities can leverage their infrastructure[108] By leveraging their infrastructure, communities can identify and strengthen community building and/or development.[109] The CIT process of engagement followed a relational approach which led to the community informed research, holistic data analysis and data-collection process, and improved communications.

Neighborhood Storytelling Network

The purpose of the NSN is about telling stories. The NSN is about different aspects of social, institutional, and personal life, and how people are able to express values and reasons, and subsequently make decisions about action.[110] However, the capacity to construct stories about the

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107 Golden, G. Annis, Matsaganis, Matthew, and Muriel Scott. Communication Infrastructure Theory and Reproductive Health Disparities: Enhancing Storytelling Network Integration by Developing Interstitial Actors. International Journal of Communication 8 (2014), 1495–1515.
108 Kim, Yong-Chan, and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach. "Civic Engagement from a Communication Infrastructure Perspective." Communication Theory, vol. 16, no. 2, 2006, pp. 173–197., doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00267. 181.
109 Ibid.
110 Kim, Yong-Chan, and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach. "Civic Engagement from a Communication Infrastructure Perspective." Communication Theory, vol. 16, no. 2, 2006, pp. 173–197., doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00267. 181.

local community and build the community from that process is limited by the resources a community may have. This is where the concept of a neighborhood storytelling network (NSN) comes in.

A neighborhood storytelling network is based on the fundamental principle that there is power in storytelling. In CIT neighborhood storytelling is defined as any type of communicative action that addresses residents, their local communities, and their lives in those communities.[111] This is an important premise of the overall CIT framework. For people of color and low-income communities, this has the potential to change how they are socially constructed. By telling stories about themselves and their experience in the community, local communities can draw on collective strength. Currently, in city planning, there is no process for communities to tell, share, create, or disseminate stories about themselves.

Through storytelling members of a community as well as the community itself can gain and develop the capacity to act in social structures and other contexts. When communities are denied the ability to tell their own story, they are also denied the capacity to participate. Storytelling does not have to be a onetime thing, and narratives change over time. It would be a mistake to tell one story and either not pass it on or assume that that is the only story. Additionally, stories may contain social constructions, which are essentially ways we have created meaning around situations. One important criterion used to measure the quality of an NSN is the level of integration of the communicative actions of the three community storytellers-local media, community organizations, and residents.[112] The CIT focus on neighborhood storytelling includes the media, community organizations, and residents themselves.

Civic Engagement

Within a CAC there are three specific aspects of civic engagement. The aspects of civic engagement are neighborhood belonging, perceived collective efficacy, and the scope of civic participation. Within a CAC each of these three aspects of civic engagement is a function of integrated connections to a storytelling network.[113] Participation in CIT happens when there is a communication network that allows residents to talk about the neighborhood, and when agents who tell stories are embedded in the environment and able to take on an active role.

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111 Kim, Yong-Chan, and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach. "Civic Engagement from a Communication Infrastructure Perspective." Communication Theory, vol. 16, no. 2, 2006, pp. 173–197., doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00267. 181.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid.

TABLE 4. ASPECTS OF ENGAGEMENT. KIM, YONG-CHAN AND SANDRA J. BALL-ROKEACH. (2006).

Aspect	Meaning
Neighborhood belonging	How close neighbors are and how neighbors can work together to achieve results.
Collective Efficacy	Trust in community capacity to solve problems.
Civic participation	Individual temporal and monetary investment in the neighborhood problem-solving process.

Outlined above in Table 4. *Aspects of Engagement* are the three aspects of civic engagement. In addition to identifying the aspect, table 4 also includes the meaning behind each aspect. What is missing from the table, that is shown in figure 4 above is the relationship between the three aspects of civic engagement. Regarding the relationship between the three aspects, cultivating neighborhood belonging through everyday exchanges with neighbors is the most essential part of civic engagement.[114] Neighborhood belonging helps to create the belief among neighbors that together that can act. Collective efficacy follows neighborhood belonging and informs civic participation.

RECOGNITION OF POWER AND RELATION TO CITY PLANNING

Above I have reviewed the CIT within the communications field. This review includes a visual model of the CIT framework, an explanation of the Communication Action Context (CAC) and Neighborhood Storytelling Network (NSN). This review also included a briefcase study example of the framework. As part of this review, it is also important to note how the CIT framework recognizes the power and how the framework relates to city planning practice.

I argue that within the CIT framework there is a recognition of communication as power. It is the arrangement of communications with storytelling that can create power. Additionally, supportive communication infrastructure between partners and actors can result in communication being power. Lastly, the value drawn from CIT is the power of storytelling and controlling the narrative. A primary assumption in city planning about communities is that they lack resources, materials, or other information necessary to fully participate in land-use related issues. By using CIT,

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[114] Kim, Yong-Chan, and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach. "Civic Engagement from a Communication Infrastructure Perspective." Communication Theory, vol. 16, no. 2, 2006, pp. 173–197., doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00267. 181.

we can begin to view communities from an asset-based model and assume that they have resources, as well as autonomy to deal with issues affecting them.

3.3 Framework Tradeoffs

In this section, I discuss several of the potential tradeoffs and limitations that each framework may have. Considering the tradeoffs and limitations of each framework helps to discern which concepts to incorporate into city planning practice, and which concepts to leave. To arrange my thinking about the tradeoffs, I have focused on assessing the principles, practices, strengths, weaknesses, and costs related to each framework.

Principles:

Featured below in Table 5. *Key Principles of Community Engagement* to be Applied in City Planning Practice is a summary of guiding principles from each of the three frameworks. In total, table 5 presents four guiding principles for participation in planning and future community engagement processes.

Table 5. Key Principles of Community Engagement to be Applied to City Planning Practice.

Principles	Description
Relationships	Participation in planning and land-use should strengthen the relationship between people and place and change the way citizens affect-and are affected by their physical surroundings.[115]
Context	Understanding privilege, racism, and inequalities in power should be central to the process of community engagement.[116]
Community Design	Center people of color and low-income communities in our work while remembering that the community's time is valuable and limited.[117]
Social Justice	Ground community engagement in the principles of community organization: fairness, justice, empowerment, participation, and self-determination.[118]

115 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 173.
116 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 11.
117 Ibid.
118 Ibid.

The common threads weaving across each of the frameworks at their most fundamental level were about how the engagement is conducted, how all the types of communities are involved, and how the work is then presented and used.[119] Understanding the theoretical assumptions underlying each of these fields provides essential support to the research. There are numerous principles in the COP, CBPR, and CIT frameworks that could have been referenced in table 4 above. The principles presented in table 5 above pertain most to community engagement in city planning practice.

Trust is the central value that underlies community policing and links the three components of organizational transformation, community partnership, and problem-solving together.[120] However, trust is only made possible by a focus on relationships between community members, agency partners, and the police themselves. Relationships are a key principle in all three frameworks as is context. For the CBPR and CIT frameworks to function properly there must be an understanding of the community context.

The remaining principles in table 5 are community design and social justice. Community design is prominently featured in CBPR as practitioners and researchers work to move beyond traditional approaches to research and intervention, to work directly with research participants. That said, community design is also a principle that guides the COP and CIT frameworks. In COP, communities are involved with problem-solving. The CIT framework is concerned with the capacity of a community to communicate and tell its own stories.

The last principle is social justice. Social justice is not explicitly mentioned in the COP framework or the CIT framework. That said, social justice is more of an outcome of implementing a relational approach to community engagement. In the COP approach to community engagement, partnering with different communities can lead to reduced tensions and conflict, and improve social justice.

PRACTICES:

CBPR is organized around its own set of nine guiding principles developed in 1998. Since then two have guiding principles have been added bringing the total to eleven.[121] Some practices used in CBPR are already being implemented by city planners in practice. Some examples include: conducting walkability assessments, using GIS (Geographic Information Systems), and using

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119 Community-Based Participatory Research: A Strategy for Building Healthy Communities and Promoting Health through Policy Change. Policy Link. 2012. 9.
120 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 9.
121 Ibid. 11.

mapping.[122] Yet as policymakers frequently remind us, to help move policy they need the numbers but also people's stories captured in more qualitative data collection methods.[123] This point actually directly relates to connecting to people and managing the process itself. The takeaway is that effective community engagement requires storytelling and the capturing of stories.

Grounded in an ecological approach, engagement processes in public health are designed with the understanding that any health inequalities actually have their roots in larger more complex conditions.[124] This understanding could be applied to city planning, and understanding that any inequities within a neighborhood actually have their roots in larger economic conditions affected the city at any given time. This approach is also useful because it creates an opportunity for engagement to happen beyond the original issue and project that engagement was intended for. In effect, while engagement may be achieved during a time-limited project, it frequently involves—and often evolves into—long-term partnerships that move from the traditional focus on a single health issue to address a range of social, economic, political, and environmental factors that affect health. In city planning, public meetings and other engagement efforts are mostly designed to address a singular goal of input for a singular project or issue.

The implications of CIT are twofold; beginning with the approach to community and continuing by relating community to action. Immediately this framework changes how we think of communities by considering their resources, and ability to communicate. This approach rivals many practices in city planning which have positioned communities as vulnerable and in need of the expertise of city planners.

STRENGTHS:

Authentic public participation, that is, participation that works for all parties and stimulates interest and investment in both administrators and citizens, requires rethinking the underlying roles of, and relationships between, administrators and citizens.[125] The basic strength of each framework is that they contribute to rethinking the roles of practitioners and participants in community engagement. Each model is inherently different than models that are used for participation in city planning.

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122 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 11.
123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
125 Feltey, Kathryn M. and Cheryl Simrell King. The Question of Participation: Toward Authentic Public Participation in Public Administration. 317.

Another strength of each conceptual framework the valuing of time. A relational approach to community engagement requires more time on the front end to build trust and relationships, and on the back end to maintain that trust and relationships for a long period of time. The importance of time as evidenced in the CBPR approach to community engagement. By taking the time to establish trust and rapport and meeting community residents where they are, on their terms, and in places and times they select, partnerships in CBPR are more likely to achieve success.[126]

In addition to rethinking traditional roles and focusing on time, another strength of each framework is that the frameworks can address more problematic social conditions. In addition to addressing the crime issue at hand or the health intervention, each framework can be used to consider and improve social conditions. CBPR is a particularly promising vehicle in bridging research and policy since evidence and data alone are insufficient to gain political momentum to address more deeply rooted and problematic social conditions.[127]

WEAKNESSES:

Naturally, each of the three frameworks has weaknesses in addition to strengths. Weaknesses are essential aspects of the frameworks that are limitations and areas of improvement. The key weakness of the COP approach to community engagement is community partnerships. One could argue that just talking to the community and informing them of new developments in crime is not a true partnership. Unlike the CIT and CBPR approaches to community engagement, COP does not prioritize the community in the process in the same way.

The key weakness of the CBPR approach to community engagement is that there is no clear focus on the structure and culture of the organization leading the research. This means, that unlike the COP approach to community engagement it is unclear if full organizational support is necessary to implement CBPR effectively. The key weakness of the CIT framework is that the framework does not consider the history and context of a community as much as CBPR does. In the CIT framework, there is a focus on structural factors, however, those factors are in relation to communications. I argue that the CBPR approach to context is much more robust than the CIT counterpart.

COSTS:

Costs refer to the transaction costs associated with each framework. Clearly, each conceptual framework has a high transaction cost. Each framework requires more time for planning, staffing,

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126 Community-Based Participatory Research: A Strategy for Building Healthy Communities and Promoting Health through Policy Change. Policy Link. 2012.
127 Community-Based Participatory Research: A Strategy for Building Healthy Communities and Promoting Health through Policy Change. Policy Link. 2012.

and the design and operation of community engagement. In most cases, each framework requires that time be set aside to connect with communities before the engagement even begins. I argue that these costs are reasonable. It is ironic that public participation in planning is sometimes dismissed as too expensive since land use is an issue where the lack of effective engagement often leads to cost overruns, construction delays, and lost investments by governments and developers.[128]

3.4 Moving Towards A Relational Approach

Prior to moving onto the next chapter, I want to synthesize what I believe to be characteristics of a relational approach. Amongst the three different community engagement frameworks, there were several principles that stood out as relevant to city planning practice. In order to capture these principles, I compiled them into table 5 above. What I did not discuss in table 5 above is how the principles could be applied to city planning. City planners ought to consider how the three aspects of goals, processes, and outcomes apply to community engagement.

Table 6. Characteristics of A Relational Approach

	Relational-Approach
Goals	Relationship-oriented: This means that engagement is ongoing and conducted for the purpose of building a relationship with and between communities.
	Planning Staff Role: Staff can be embedded in the field, meeting with community members and neighborhood groups frequently.
	Community-Based Design: This means engagement is designed to meet community interest and needs.
Process	Neighborhood-oriented planning: This means that city planning is responsive to and based on the needs of neighborhoods and communities.
	Time: Community engagement in a relational approach is ongoing and sustained over time with or without a project.
	Partnerships: Form partnerships with the community and additional partners from the outset of the project.
Outcomes	Decision-making: Decisions, as well as resources, are shared. Decisions are made as a result of collaboration.
	Power: Power is distributed, as are resources, information, and time.
	Storytelling: A key outcome of community engagement becomes storytelling and the communication of stories.

128 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 156.

Presented above in Table 6. *Characteristics of a Relational Approach*. The purpose of this table is to arrange my thinking about what generally constitutes a relational approach. In Table 6 above I have identified nine characteristics that I argue comprise a relational approach to community engagement. These characteristics are a relationship orientation, staff role, community-based design, neighborhood orientation, time, partnerships, decision-making, power, and storytelling. Each of these characteristics is derived from aspects of community engagement from the COP, CBPR, or CIT framework. Additionally, each of these characteristics influences the design combine to form an approach to community engagement.

In table 6, each of these characteristics has been grouped into three themes: goals, process, and outcomes just like the table for characteristics of a transactional approach. Again, for community engagement to be effective there must be an alignment between the goals, process, and outcomes. Picking one characteristic from goals, process, and outcomes can provide an example of how this relational approach could function.

For example, picking the community-based design characteristic means that all engagement processes would first begin with goals that are defined by and for the community. Rather than city planners bringing in ideas about community needs the design of engagement would begin with community needs. If this goal is met, then the process characteristic of time could be used differently. City planners would be able to keep track of a community identified need over time and work with the community to improve that need over time. If time is the process characteristic, then this allows for a different type of storytelling. There could be a clear storytelling outcome included as part of the engagement, along with communication about the project results and how the community's input was used.

Of course, this quick example is based on my oversimplifications of a relational approach to city planning. However, this example allows for the sharing of power and increases public accountability. Finally, this example shows the importance of alignment between goals, processes, and outcomes.

Relationship-Centered Community Engagement

This chapter provides a synthesis of information from the previous chapters into a new model of engagement called Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE). In this chapter, I compare the characteristics of a transactional approach and a relational approach to community engagement. The results of this comparison are distilled into the final visual model of RCCE. In the last section of this chapter, I offer a summary of RCCE and some potential implications of the approach.

A Human Experience of Community Engagement

Throughout this thesis paper, I have returned to the central idea that trust is a necessary piece missing from modern community engagement practices. In this effort, I have stressed the importance of trust and relationship building within city planning practice. Additionally, through the previous three chapters, I have introduced and articulated the idea that the design of community engagement in city planning practice is ineffective because of a lack of trust and relationship building. In this chapter, I introduce RCCE as a model of community engagement that follows a relational approach.

Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE) as an inclusive model for a relational approach to community engagement. RCCE begins and ends with the central belief that community engagement is about the trust that is made possible through relationships. This belief engenders a model in which engagement is used to build and sustain relationships between communities and city planners. In effect, the ethos of RCCE is that trust is built on relationships, and relationships are sustained over time.

The truth is, there is no area of contemporary life where design—the plan, project, or working hypothesis which constitutes the "intention" in intentional operations—is not a significant factor in shaping human experience.[129] In the perspective of this thesis, community engagement can be cured by design that meets the needs of the human experience. Specifically, I believe that engagement that treats citizens like adults can overcome divisions between planners, public officials, and residents, but unless the participation is sustained, relationships and trust will often erode quickly.[130]

The community engagement I envision moving forward allows for community members to be seen, heard, and valued. Additionally, a relational approach means that there are mutual interest and benefit, understanding the

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129 Buchanan, Richard. "Wicked Problems in Design Thinking." Design: Critical and Primary Sources. (1992).
130 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 156.

person is as important as the process, and evaluation is concerned with power relations and relational dynamics as key outcomes.

In the model of RCCE community engagement is simplified into three nested levels that are intended to build upon each other. The three levels of the model are organizational transformation, process structure, and community partnerships. The elements that comprise each level are highlighted below:

- Organizational Transformation: structural context, supportive culture, trained personnel and capacity, and information systems;
- Process Structure: group norms, shared decision-making, clearly articulated goals, and clearly defined roles; and
- Community Partnerships: collaboration, storytelling and history, personal relationships, and co-creation of knowledge.

The previous three chapters have intended to lay the groundwork for RCCE. The next four sections outline how to navigate the model of RCCE, the factors, and elements of RCCE, how the model could help city planners, and a summary of RCCE.

4.1 Navigating the Model

To communicate the ideas that comprise RCCE a conceptual model was designed and created. This section describes how to navigate RCCE. The model is a visual representation of my thinking about community engagement, city planning, and ways to build trust through relationships. The model of RCCE helps support trust by outlining what structure is needed to create relationships, identifying which factors contribute to relationships, and when to get involved to create relationships.

In this section, I also focus on explaining the concept and development of the model. Before explaining the operation of RCCE I think it is important to explain the concept and development of the model. In this section, I focus on explaining why organizational transformation, community partnerships, and group process were chosen as the three factors, and what it means for a relationship to be built.

I have designed RCCE to exist within the context of city planning practice. RCCE offers a solution to improve relationships and build trust between city planners and the very communities that they serve. I believe a relational approach means the orientation of community engagement that allows for an improved understanding about the functioning of the community, understanding or tolerance of views of others in the community and, importantly, the skills the planners and the affected interested have gained to cope better with often unpredictable future problems.[131]

Concept and Development:

Community engagement can be used to enact public participation through creating, building, and maintaining relationships. As discussed in chapter 2 current community engagement processes operate with a transactional approach that reinforces conflictual relationships between city planners and communities.

In developing RCCE I began with several concepts and ideas about how community engagement could function with a relational approach. Initially, concepts of civic participation, public outreach, and the role of social capital were considered. These concepts can also be found as parts of larger themes and fields of study such as community engagement, communications, planning theory, racial and social equity, and participatory democracy. A key question to answer in the development of RCCE is how the conceptual frameworks inform the model. Another question is concerned with the differences between transactional and relational approaches. To help answer both questions, Table 7. *Community Engagement Approach Comparison* is included below.

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131 Talvitie, Antti. "The Problem of Trust in Planning. Planning Theory, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2012). pp. 274.

TABLE 7. COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT APPROACH COMPARISON

	Transactional-Approach	Relational-Approach
Organizational Transformation	Results-oriented: The focus is on measuring participation in engagement events and an emphasis on the results of the events.	Relationship-oriented: This means that engagement is ongoing and conducted for the purpose of building a relationship with communities.
	Planning Staff Role: Staff has limited involvement with the community outside of scheduled events and meetings. The planner is a technical expert.	Planning Staff Role: Staff is embedded in the field, meeting with community members and neighborhood groups frequently.
	Planning-Led Design: Engagement is designed to meet the interest and needs of city planning.	Community-Led Design: This means engagement is designed to meet community interest and needs.
Process Structure	Project-oriented planning: Planning is oriented around projects and land use decisions.	Neighborhood-oriented planning: This means that city planning is responsive to and based on the needs of neighborhoods and communities.
	Time: Community engagement is limited to the lifespan of a project and typically has a preset timeframe.	Time: Community engagement in a relational approach is ongoing and sustained over time.
	Context: Community engagement adheres to existing contexts and settings of participation such as commissions and neighborhood groups.	Collaboration: Collaborate with the community from the outset of the process.
Community Outcomes	Decision-making: Decision-making is centralized and follows a top-down planning model.	Decision-making: Decisions are co-created and brought about through collaboration.
	Power: There is a lack of awareness about the positionality of the city planner and the positionality of community members.	Power: Power is distributed, as are resources, information, and time.
	Information: Information is shared in a one-way steam form city planner to community members.	Storytelling: A key outcome of community engagement becomes storytelling and the communication of stories.

Displayed in Table 7 *Community Engagement Approach Comparison* is a side by side comparison of what I consider to be key characteristics of relational approaches and transactional approaches to community engagement. As a disclaimer, the comparisons in table 7 are based on oversimplifications of each approach to community engagement. Presented above in table 7 are eighteen characteristics, nine for each approach to community engagement. The table is also arranged by the levels of RCCE. It is important to note that the levels of RCCE are organizational transformation, process structure, and community outcomes.

In the conceptual model of RCCE organizational transformation, process structure, and community partnerships replace goals, process, and outcomes. The original theme of goals becomes organizational transformation because goals can be incorporated into and drive any organizational-wide change. The original theme of the process was changed to process structure to specify that there is a distinct structure and purpose to guide the process. The original theme of outcomes was changed to community outcomes to account for the role of the community in developing outcomes. Lastly, the rationale behind this framing is to explicitly connect the frameworks reviewed in the previous chapter to RCCE.

Within the organizational transformation level of engagement, I compare relationship-orientation to results orientation, staff roles, and community-led design with planning-led design. In a transactional approach, engagement is focused on results, the engagement is designed to further planning goals, and staff has limited involvement with communities outside of preplanned events. In the relational approach, engagement is focused on relationships and occurs over a sustained period. Additionally, any engagement effort is designed based on community needs, and the planning staff is embedded with the community.

Within process structure levels of engagement, I compare neighborhood-oriented and project-oriented planning, time, and collaboration and context. In a transactional approach, engagement is project-oriented and occurs only when there is a project being developed. The length of engagement is limited to the scope of the project, and community engagement adheres to existing contexts such as neighborhood groups and planning commissions. In the relational approach, engagement is responsive to the needs of a community and continues with or without a project. Regarding time, engagement never ends, it is ongoing. Finally, instead of relying on existing context, engagement makes use of collaboration to determine who should be involved with the engagement effort and when.

Within the community outcomes level of engagement, I compare decision-making, power, and storytelling and information. In a transactional approach, decision-making flows from city planners, and elected officials making decisions that affect communities. Power is not distributed evenly, and information is often maintained by city planners and shared with communities in specific

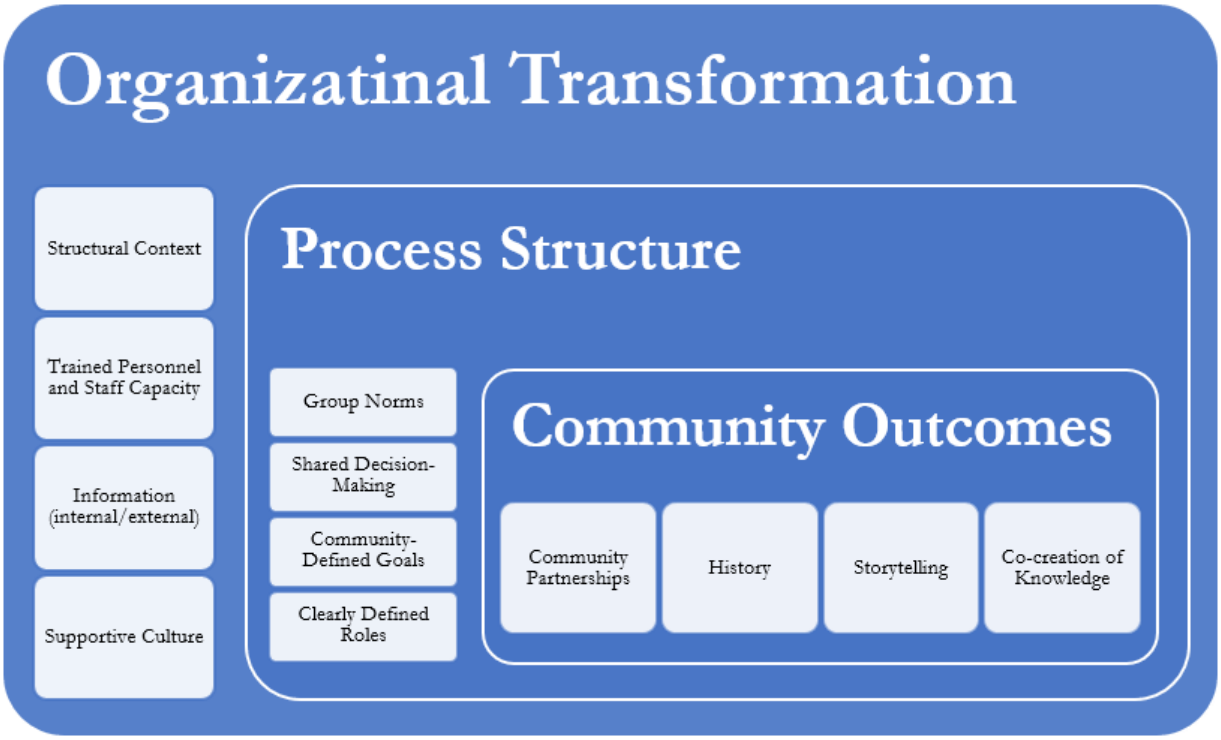
contexts. In a relational approach, decision-making is the result of co-created knowledge. Power is shared between city planners and communities, and there is a focus on storytelling rather than information.

4.2 A Model of Relationship-Centered Community Engagement

I use the term Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE) to designate an iterative process for community engagement. Unlike other processes which may begin with an issue or a problem to solve, RCCE begins and ends with the community. The full conceptual model of RCCE is featured below in Figure 5 *Model of RCCE*. Displayed in the model below are the three levels of engagement. The levels of engagement are nested within the preceding level intentionally because each of the levels relies on the previous one to be made possible.

To explain the model RCCE I break down each of the levels of the model one by one. I give careful consideration to each element as it relates to each respective factor. Within RCCE three levels of engagement contribute to effective trust building: organizational transformation, process structure, and community outcomes. These concepts were informed by the review of the engagement frameworks in Chapter 3 and incorporated into the final design of the framework. The first level of engagement to be explained is organizational transformation.

Figure 5. A Model of Relationship-Centered Community Engagement



Organizational Transformation

Organizational transformation refers to the alignment of organizational management, structure, personnel, and information systems to support community partnerships and proactive problem-solving.[132] The primary factor of RCCE is organizational transformation. In RCCE, organizational transformation is intentionally included and based on the component of the same name in the community-oriented policing (COP) framework, organizational transformation. The primary elements of organizational transformation in RCCE are structural context, trained personnel and staff capacity, information systems, and supportive culture.

Structural Context

Suggesting RCCE as a solution to the lack of trust in city planning and community engagement processes raises several questions. The nature of these questions derives from genuine concerns about the work product of city planners, as well as planning projects and development. This is where the structural context comes in to play. In the model of RCCE, there is a recognition that city planners and community engagement exist within a structural context. Often, this context includes the city planning department as a government institution with its own cultural norms, vision, mission, and values, and practices.

A common example of community engagement within the structural context of city planning is the public meeting. Public meetings are transparent and designed for members of the community to provide feedback and input on projects, for city planners to share information, and to generate approval. The failure of a public meeting is that they are limited by time and by project, and do not allow for sustained engagement over time.

RCCE was developed with the basic assumption that the current structural context in city planning practice does not allow for a relational approach to community engagement. In some situations, this could mean that city planning practices do not align with community practices such as when and where meetings are held. Another situational example could be the format of presentations. In some instances, a formal presentation at a meeting may not be accessible to all community members at the meeting. The purpose of including structural context is so city planners

132 Community Policing Defined. Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice. 4.

can think about how work is conducted, the role of city planning departments as an institution, and what can realistically shift.[133]

In a relational approach, the structural context is more apparent from the beginning. City planners have more awareness of their roles, and community members have more awareness and knowledge about the nature of city planning. Additionally, because engagement is sustained with communities and community members there is more time to understand the structural context. With more time, city planners can learn about members of the community and how they believe decisions will affect them.

Trained Personnel and Capacity

The idea to include trained personnel and capacity in RCCE came from COP as well. In the COP framework, police staff is assigned to community-oriented positions. Prior to holding this position, a department must have the staff capacity to fill the role and be able to provide training that is necessary for the officer to serve in the position. For RCCE to be effective, there must be staff capacity and training for city planners. City planners can position themselves in an increasingly participatory practice of community engagement by reflecting on their relationship with knowledge.[134]

In a relational approach trained personnel and capacity are paramount. Interacting with members of the public frequently and meetings their needs requires active listening, facilitation, and the ability to sustain dialogue over the difference. Training and staff development are necessary to achieve these skills.

Information

There are a lot of nuances to contend in the process of building any relationship. The level of nuance and ambiguity increases when attempting to build relationships between city planning departments, other city departments, community-based organizations (CBOs), and communities. However, the value of having established relationships comes in the form of information. The knowing of the interests and the positions of the community, without a project, is valuable and needs to be tracked. This is where information systems come into place.

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133 Herranz, Jr. Joaquín, Kylie Grader, and Ali Records. 2016. Design Thinking: Towards a Bottom Line for Social Innovation and Creativity. QBL Research Project Working Paper #3. 1.

134 Cowick, Morgan and Marcus Chaffee et al. Unpacking Community Engagement. Dec 8th, 2017. 6.

To be fully effective decision-makers must appropriately tie the selected strategies to both the purpose of participation and the nature of the issue being considered.[135] The result would be more refined projects, that are informed by the local knowledge of people who live in the community and much better planning outcomes because trust is the groundwork for projects.

In a relational approach, information can refer to internal and external information. Additionally, the purpose of including information as a part of RCCE is to account for the time and effort necessary to collect, store, maintain, and distribute information. In a relational approach, there are more attempts and more systems that allow for the open sharing of information with community members. There is increased transparency in engagement because the information is routinely shared.

Supportive Culture

In the COP framework, the foundation for organizational transformation is a supportive culture. Police departments and the communities must both believe that it is a better way to police, and there needs to be an evaluation process/system that makes reality out of conjecture.[136] Culture is visible and invisible. Culture is a combination of subtle things such as email signatures, business cards, and dress codes, and at the same time, culture is a combination of explicit things such as values, beliefs, and who is hired. In developing RCCE I identified the necessity of addressing culture and making it a strength in the model.

For RCCE, city planning departments need to begin by developing a supportive organizational culture. Characteristics of this culture include values and beliefs that are consistent with a relational approach to community engagement. In COP, there is a recognition that building trust will not happen overnight; it will require ongoing effort, that must be achieved before police can assess the needs of the community.[137] The same is true for building trust through relationships in city planning. Building trust will not just happen on its own, especially with a focus on people of color, low-income, and other marginalized communities.

In a relational approach, a supportive culture includes all members of an organization. There must be support in the form of resources and staff time in order to continue engaging with the community.

Process Structure

135 Aydelotte, James, and Lawrence C. Walters. Putting More Public in Policy Analysis. 351.
136 Quire. Community Policing. 13.
137 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 16.

Community engagement is a catchall term with practices and meanings that are both open to interpretation. Depending on whom you speak to the look, feel, and delivery of community engagement will always differ. For city planners, the language we use around community engagement and the practices designed for implementation often result in ambiguity. In order to overcome some of the trappings caused by the vagueness of community engagement, it is important to have an arranged process structure. The primary elements of process structure in RCCE are group norms, shared decision-making, clear goals, and clearly defined roles. Each of these four elements is discussed further below.

Group Norms

City planning practice has a distinct history and narrative. Moreover, city planners are a part of that history and have narratives that are based on the geographic area where planning is taking place. From the history and narratives come groups norms that explain the work of planners. In order to engage with the community in meaningful relationships, city planners must first reflect on their own unique group norms. Again, RCCE is focused on the ways in which processes and people can be combined to build relationships. For city planners, this requires changes in orientation, organization, and operations to benefit the people of color and low-income communities being served.[138]

In a relational approach focusing on group, norms and allow them to be leveraged to improve the entire community engagement effort. A focus on unspoken and unwritten rules that govern behavior is just as important as a focus on the spoken and written rules. A city planner has discretion over the built environment and often will serve the role of a technical expert. In this role, the city planner can set the agenda, manage data and evaluation, and use technical expertise to influence local problems and land-use decisions. Changing groups norms such as listening, openness, and accountability can help guide engagement over a sustained period.

Shared Decision-Making

To recall, part of the central argument guiding RCCE and this study is that people of color and other marginalized communities are disproportionately undervalued in land-use decision making processes thus limiting their impact on their immediate surroundings. Moreover, Community

138 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 1.

engagement remains one of the best ways that community residents can connect to and shape local and regional decision-making processes.[139] However, decision-making is not always equitable.

In RCCE, decision-making is considered outside of the normal structural context of planning. Instead of decision-making referring exclusively to a process, decision-making also refers to what is the problem, what information needs to be shared, who should be engaged with. This element of RCCE essentially attempts to address the what, when, where, why, and how. In a relational approach, shared decision-making can help build trust because groups are working together to make decisions. This is based on the assumption that individuals and communities do not favor decisions that affect them and are made without them. When it comes to land-use decisions specifically, people can see the impact, or lack of impact of their participation, raising the stakes considerably.[140] When decisions are made openly and the process of decision making is clear, that can increase trust.

Community-Defined Goals

Community-defined goals are based on the CBPR approach to community engagement. In CBPR the community defines the public health issue, offers local knowledge, collects data, and designs engagement. Often, community engagement efforts come about after a solution is developed and the problem is defined. In RCCE, there is an opportunity for the community to define problems with city planners, and to seek solutions together.

In a relational approach, having community-defined goals can enable the community to set the agenda. The result is that communities are empowered, and engagement efforts are better tailored to the actual needs a community may have. A situational example of this may be an effort to prevent gentrification in a neighborhood. Form the planning perspective, the issue may be housing affordability and rent. However, the issue from the community perspective may be safety in the community and the quality of schools.

Clearly Defined Roles

Defining a community can mean and lead to a false sense of identity, harmony, cooperation, and inclusiveness.[141] When being defined a communities' sense of identity and belonging, cultural norms, and even geography can all be misrepresented. The issue then becomes, how to accurately

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139 Rose, Kalima and Danielle Bergstrom et al. "Community Engagement Guide for Sustainable Communities. PolicyLink, (2012).
140 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy.
141 Head, Brian W. Community Engagement: Participation on Whose Terms? (2008).

capture the context of each community in a way that does not undermine the community, but also the engagement effort itself. This is where clearly defined roles come into play.

In RCCE, clearly defined roles are important because relationships between government and communities are fraught. In some cases, relationships are nonexistent because individuals are newly arrived in a city or to a community, in other cases relationships are strained because of historic and current power dynamics, and in other cases, relationships are strong but exist only for a select majority. Having clearly defined roles within engagement helps to assuage some of the relationship challenges because with roles come responsibilities and expectations.

Community Outcomes

Considering the literature review, a prominent challenge to community engagement in city planning is a lack of clarity of who engagement is for. RCCE seeks to build relationships with and between communities through community partnerships. The community outcomes level of RCCE is focused on building outcomes with communities. Community outcomes in RCCE are based on the assumption that local knowledge should be privileged as much as the knowledge of planning experts. As a result, local expertise can be perceived and used as another resource that exists within all communities.[142] The primary elements of community outcomes in RCCE are community partnerships, storytelling, history, and the co-creation of knowledge.

Community Partnerships

Community partnerships can be used to accomplish the two interrelated goals of developing solutions to problems through collaborative problem solving and improving public trust.[143] Problem-solving is the process of engaging in a proactive and systematic examination of identified problems to develop and evaluate effective processes.[144] This is an effort that communities should be included in.

In a relational approach, community partnership is essential to continuing the relationship. A community partnership could enable a process that may include working collaboratively with and through groups of people affiliated by geographic proximity, special interest, or similar situations to address issues affecting the well-being of those people.[145] Community partnerships also allow for the development of the power with communities, rather than power over communities.

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142 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. vii.
143 Ibid.
144 Community Policing Defined. Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice. 4.
145 Ibid.

History

There is no one single community that exists within one geographic location. Instead, there are multiple communities that exist within and through "community" requiring accurate representation to be worked with. In effect, each respective community has its own history. To understand a community, we must begin by understanding the history of that community. This means knowing the narratives of a community, and who contributes to local knowledge, understanding the influence of power on a community, and knowing the recent history that has led to the current orientation of the community.

The intent is to understand each community's social, political, economic, and even historical makeup. These are differences that may contain aspects of identity, cultural norms that allow for inclusion and exclusion, as well as explain why community engagement may not have been successful before. Communicating with a broad audience requires an acknowledgment of their diverse frames of reference in order to make new development decisions locally relevant, understood, and accepted.[146]

In a relational approach, history can inform all elements of the relationship and support building trust. There may be a history of mistrust or a history of trust between the city planners and communities. Addressing that history early and honestly will help build trust and maintain the relationship over time.

Storytelling

The idea of incorporating storytelling into RCCE came from the communication infrastructure theory (CIT). In CIT a heavy emphasis is placed on the value of communication, and the ability of communities to communicate for themselves. The CIT framework posits that communication is one of the many assets that a community has. I included storytelling in RCCE because of the tremendous power behind being able to construct a story and/or narrative around a community. Storytelling in RCCE is about engaging the community by focusing on the stories they choose to tell and that matter to them.

From CIT we learned that there are specific "actors" within a communication action context (CAC). In the context of this thesis, actors can include city planners and members of the community. The nature of storytelling is powerful and useful to explore the relationship between city planners and

146 Vajjhala, Shalini P. "Ground Truthing Policy" Using Participatory Map-Making to Connect Citizens and Decision Makers. 2006.

members of the community. Storytelling is powerful because of the ability to build bridges, maintain compelling narratives, and position characters within various arcs that allow them to grow.

In RCCE, the community is an arc as is the city planning office. The characters are city planners and community members and they all interact to create a compelling narrative, or plan for the community. Like any good story, the plan and the characters can change at any time. Considering that planning is generally concerned with a vision of the future, a focus on storytelling is helpful to approach dynamic relationships. In a relational approach, storytelling helps change power dynamics. Rather than rely on old narratives about who and what communities are, communities can tell their own stories. Additionally, storytelling supports other aspects of RCCE.

Co-Creation of Knowledge

By using RCCE, my intention is that engagement can and will be used to link communities and planners through partnerships, to share ideas through co-creation of knowledge, and to form stronger associations to place through collaborative project design. Additionally, by collectively participating in civic issues, individuals can enhance their social networks and social support, easing access to material, emotional, and decisional support from other individuals or organizations.[147]

In a relational approach, all knowledge matters and is supported. The knowledge of community members is equally important as the knowledge of technical experts. In a relational approach, knowledge is developed from multiple perspectives and multiple sources.

4.3 The Goals of RCCE

There are three strategic goals of RCCE. The goals of RCCE include: 1) offering a relational approach to community engagement that could be used in city planning practice, 2) building relationships with and between people of color, low-income, and other marginalized communities, to increase trust and 3) undoing institutional racism within city planning by creating equitable processes and outcomes. A claim of this thesis is that each of these goals is achievable.

The first goal of offering a relational approach is achieved through the completion of this research. RCCE has been developed as an approach to community engagement that begins and ends with relationships. Trust is the second goal of the RCCE framework. The model of RCCE represents a philosophical shift in the approach to community engagement in city planning towards the direction of relationship building. Relationships cannot be built without trust and they cannot be sustained without trust. Beyond connecting to decision-making processes this thesis argues that

147 Cowick, Morgan and Marcus Chaffee et al. Unpacking Community Engagement. Dec 8th, 2017. 12.

community residents should be directly connected to city planners. Building more trust and connection is possible through relationships, partnerships, and shared decision-making to name a few mechanisms.

The last goal of RCCE is undoing institutionalized racism within city planning practice. This is an aspirational goal that may take years to achieve. However, I argue that trust, built through relationships will lead to the long-term goal of dismantling institutional racism in city planning. The design of public participation processes in city planning practice can be augmented to support the intended outcomes of inclusion and engagement.

4.4 Summary: Recognition of Power and Relation to City Planning

RCCE exists in the space between theory and practice. As a conceptual framework RCCE based on theory but is designed to be used for planners designing community engagement processes. For city planners, my hope is that this thesis will support their work in thinking differently about how they design and in turn do engagement. While this thesis is intended to serve academic, professional, and personal purposes it is ultimately written for one primary audience: city planners.

I believe, trust is built on relationships and not through the delivery of projects. This belief conflicts with traditional community engagement processes that focus on obtaining public input for projects. One way to think of community is through relational concepts like identity and inclusiveness. Framing community through relational concepts is helpful to understand the type and frequency of interactions between individuals and groups. Depending on the level and quality of interactions, one could potentially determine the character of social connections in a community as well as how individuals choose to participate in activities beyond their own families.

Centering people of color and low-income communities do not just happen on its own. This is a shift that requires intentional effort and thoughtfulness about which practices and ideas would support things changing. In order to make this shift in operating mode, I rely on the relationship scale and the project scale of RCCE. In effect, while engagement may be achieved during a time-limited project, it frequently involves—and often evolves into—long-term partnerships that move from the traditional focus on a single health issue to address a range of social, economic, political, and environmental factors that affect health. In city planning, public meetings and other engagement efforts are mostly designed to address a singular goal of input for a singular project or issue.

Reflections and Next Steps

In this chapter, I briefly reflect on this research. I offer final reflections about community engagement and RCCE. I also provide a review of some limitations of this study and discuss some potential next steps for those who are interested in exploring RCCE further.

5.1 Discussion

Community engagement should be used to build trusted relationships with communities. While the purpose of these relationships will always vary by the community being served, there is an opportunity to use participation and community engagement to build relationships.

A community can be defined through relational concepts like identity and inclusiveness. At the same time, there are multiple communities that exist within cities and urban areas, with common factors of location, history, interests and more. The issue then becomes, accurately capturing the context of each community and how to engage with them. What helps us to do this is a definition of engagement. Community engagement can be defined as:

> …the process of working collaboratively with and through groups of people affiliated by geographic proximity, special interest, or similar situations to address issues affecting the well-being of those people. It is a powerful vehicle for bringing about environmental and behavioral changes that will improve the health of the community and its members. It often involves partnerships and coalitions that help mobilize resources and influence systems, changes relationships among partners, and serve as catalysts for changing policies, programs, and practices.[148]

This description offers many insights into what engagement could be. In addition to being clear, engagement is defined as being 1) a collaborative process, that can 2) be used to address issues and bring about change for communities, and 3) relies on both partnerships and relationships within groups to create that change. The purpose of including this definition of community engagement here is to support RCCE as a conceptual framework. I believe, that RCCE meets the definition of community engagement outlined above. RCCE is a collaborative process, that can be used to address issues, and relies on partnerships to create that change.

In the end, I offer RCCE yet another approach to conducting community engagement. This is possible because there are endless ways to define and implement community engagement. In the end, community engagement is a form of art, drawing on skill and sensitivity used to apply and adapt science in ways that fit the community of interest and the purposes of specific engagement efforts.[149]

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148 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 11.
149 Ibid.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

As this research developed, consideration was continually given to potential results and implications for the field of city planning. In the end, the thesis was developed to support planners and other practitioners in thinking differently about how they design, and in turn, do their work. Not only is changing how we do community engagement important for equity, but it is also timely. As land-use development unfolds at unprecedented rates-driven by either market forces, or by interests of city government-it is people of color and low-income communities that remain the most vulnerable to experiencing the negative impacts of these transformations. The following list presents a summation of limitations of this study that could be improved in a future study.

Data and Methods

- This study did not use any first-hand accounts as data. There were no interviews with planners, and more importantly no interviews with a community.
- A mixed-methods approach that uses both qualitative and quantitative data methods (survey data, statistical data, ethnography, etc.) could improve the data used in this study.
- The number of frameworks. More frameworks could have been used in this study to inform the development of the RCCE framework.

Measurement

- Concepts such as equity, marginalization, and power are difficult to measure with using qualitative or quantitative methods.
- We need to define, measure and assess the quality of performance. Additionally, performance evaluation can be a valuable management tool for facilitating change and can help communicate agency priorities to employees.[150] Through evaluation, we are able to learn what we are doing and whether those activities are helping to meet our goals. Aspects of performance include:
    - Measuring the number and types of partnerships that are formed.
    - Maintaining relationships beyond the life of projects.
    - Monitoring not only the co-creation of knowledge and new ideas but also how those ideas are implemented and used.
    - Measuring the number and types of problems addressed.
    - Finding a way to evaluate trust.

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150 Bureau of Justice Assistance, Understanding Community Policing. A Framework for Action. 37.

Context

- Context is integral to the design of engagement and the ability to work with the community. Regarding context, this thesis is not place-based and instead presents a broad framework that may not apply to every situation.

- The frameworks reviewed for this study were from fields outside of city planning. The concepts, values, and methodologies of each may not be applicable to the context of city planning. It would be inaccurate to assume that any of the ideas from the frameworks could simply be borrowed and applied.

5.3 Potential Next Steps

In this study I discussed a lot of information about community engagement and presented some new thinking about the topic of community engagement. As a reminder, the purpose of this study was to envision a new approach to community engagement in city planning. Moreover, the research questions that this study attempted to answer is: What would a relational approach to community engagement in city planning include? I believe that this research does answer that sole question. However, it is important to clarify that this research answers a "what" question and now any "how" questions. What I mean is that this thesis does not explain how to implement a relational approach to community engagement. Additionally, this thesis does not offer tangible examples of how to implement RCCE.

A natural next step for someone interested in this work would be to explore how to implement RCCE. This research could include explicit methods for implementing a relational approach and working with city planners to do so. Indeed, there is much room left to explore how to work with city planners to implement RCCE and still meet the goals of city planning. Additionally, another next step would be to explore how to use community engagement to explicitly build relationships with people of color, low-income communities, and other marginalized communities.

Using RCCE to connect with people of color, low-income communities, and other marginalized communities was a secondary goal of RCCE. This research offers more of a universal approach to community engagement, rather than an approach specifically tailored to these communities.

Returning momentarily to the example of Little Saigon, the Community Taskforce outlined its purpose and goals in a press release authored by the Friends of Little Saigon. In the press release (see Appendix B: Press Release) Friends of Little Saigon identified the two main concerns of the Taskforce as 1) the lack of authentic engagement with communities of color and 2) the negative

safety, public health, economic, and cultural impacts on Little Saigon and CID communities.[151] The first concern of the Taskforce was authentic engagement with communities of color. I reference this example here, because RRCE is also concerned with the authentic engagement of communities of color. I developed RCCE to help support good planning practice. In my opinion, an aspect that should be inherent to good planning practice is addressing power inequities experienced by people of color, low-income, and other marginalized communities. In addition to figuring out how to implement RCCE, someone interested in this research could work to further orient RCCE around the authentic engagement of communities of color.

151 Friends of Little Saigon. https://flsseattle.org/advocacy/navigation-center/

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provide a summary of the work and several implications for city planning. I discuss themes that arose in the development and completion of this research and provide some concluding thoughts about how the ideas and arguments presented in this paper connect to one another.

6.1 Summary of Work

This section brings the thesis to a close by presenting the key takeaways from the research and some closing thoughts. In this study, I have explored concepts of community and community engagement, assessed participation in city planning, and drew upon the best thinking from the fields of policing, public health, and communications. The result of this study has been the synthesis of thinking, literature, and best practices into a framework called Relationship-Centered Community Engagement (RCCE). Again, the purpose of developing RCCE is to rethink participation and engagement in city planning practice.

Several themes arose in the development of this study. These themes may be useful for the guidance of future studies looking into community engagement and public participation in city planning practice. The themes include:

- *Existing studies:* This is not the first or last study that will be done related to community engagement in city planning practice or generally. In city planning specifically, participation in land-use participation and community engagement have been written about to a great extent. In fact, much of the literature discusses ways to encourage participation and to engage with diverse communities. Absent from this discourse is a focus on having relationships with diverse communities and building trust with them beyond the scope of a project.
- *Conflict over power:* As discussed in the abstract, introduction, and literature review there is a conflict over power directly tied to decision making processes for land-use. Faced with the reality of mistrust and lacking participation our challenge becomes clear: we must find ways to redesign and rethink the processes we use to engage with citizens, and especially people of color and low-income communities.
- *Organizational Management:* Managing different aspects of an organization can be done with a focus on people, process, and performance. This means that at the executive level, down to the project manager, and further down the line to the front-line worker there is congruent action oriented around the vision and mission.

By knowing these themes other researchers can ask better questions and create a streamlined focus on centering people of color and marginalized low-income communities. I see these themes being employed in the following few ways. First, the knowledge of existing studies helps to situate research on participation and community engagement in the context of land-use decision making. This is a unique context due to the complexity of planning projects. Acknowledging power dynamics helps address questions about how to center people of color and low-income communities. Indeed, it is through leadership development and training that people come to understand what power is, who

has it, how to build it, how to use it, and how to talk about it.[152] Lastly, adding organizational management to the conversation allows for an emphasis on operational and capacity issues. Capacity building is effective for the management of participation in planning because when carried out with context in mind, capacity building is an integral part of community engagement efforts, necessary for challenging power imbalances and effectively addressing problems.[153]

I believe, trust is built on relationships and not through the delivery of projects. This belief conflicts with traditional community engagement processes that focus on obtaining public input for projects. One way to think of community is through relational concepts like identity and inclusiveness. Framing community through relational concepts is helpful to understand the type and frequency of interactions between individuals and groups. Depending on the level and quality of interactions, one could potentially determine the character of social connections in a community as well as how individuals choose to participate in activities beyond their own families.

6.2 Implications for City Planning

The implications of RCCE for city planning practice can best be understood in terms of new thinking, operations, and potential changes to legal frameworks. RCCE is intended to be a way of thinking and the starting point of a conversation about engagement in city planning practice. At the same time, the practical elements of RCCE introduce ideas that may change the norms and practices of city planners if implemented. Lastly, there is a legal framework that underpins city planning practice and enables planning as a legal authority over land use. Using RCCE may present legal challenges to these existing frameworks as planners mesh their responsibilities with new ambitions to build relationships. However, one of the core arguments of RCCE is that engagement without relationships is ineffective. Therefore, centering relationships, and people of color and low-income communities would complement city planning practice.

Changes in Thinking:

Fundamentally, RCCE is not a new framework. RCCE builds upon previous fields of study, concepts of participation, and thinking about community. In so doing, RCCE attempts to reassert the purpose of community engagement. In RCCE, the motivation for which engagement is conducted simply to conduct engagement on an ongoing basis. How we connect with people, the ways we manage community engagement processes, and how we then evaluate the performance matter. At the

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152 Getsos, Paul and Minieri, John. Tools for Radical Democracy: How to Organize for Power in your Community. 27.

153 Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. NIH Publication No. 11-7782. June 2011. 9.

same time making the changes necessary will require new thinking. RCCE is intended to be a conversation and the starting point for that thinking.

RCCE is a starting point for deeper conversations to be had within city departments, amongst planners, and hopefully with people of color and low-income communities. It offers a way of thinking about community engagement as well as participation in city planning.

Operational Changes for Planners:

Regardless of the intractability of the issue, it is the capacity or lack thereof to participate, define, and make decisions that must be solved to truly engage with citizens. For city planning, it is planning and zoning decisions that often produce the most spectacular instances of bad participation, featuring screaming residents and glowering public officials.[154]Conversely, the most successful examples of participation in community development planning demonstrate the elements of an adult-adult relationship between residents and decision-makers, where citizens are presented with information, choices, and a range of ways to take action.[155] This is where planners need to work and shift. Adult-adult relationships between resident's impacts by decisions, and the decision-makers. When the public is a partner, they can help defuse potential opposition, acquire allies in unlikely places, and unite a community and its leaders around a common purpose. It also builds trust.[156]

Relationship to Power

Fundamentally, city planning is concerned with both the small and the big in the built environment and has nearly ubiquitous impacts on the spaces we use to live, work, and play. I argue that inequities persist in community engagement processes in part because of the established role city planners hold in relation to community members is one of power. I also argue in this paper that a relational approach to community engagement is the solution to the tension of power between city planners and communities.

Closing Thoughts

The goals of this research were to study, unpack, and understand community engagement on a deeper level. These goals were the result of a lot of imagination and curiosity about city planning practice and community engagement. Additionally, the motivation for this research came from my own lived experience of implementing community engagement with communities and feeling

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154 Nabatchi, Tine and Matt Leighninger. Public Participation for 21st Century Democracy. 156.

155 Ibid.

156 Cogan, Elaine. Successful Public Meetings, a Practical Guide for Managers in Government. (1992)

unsatisfied. At the end of meetings, after comments were collected, and everyone left I always felt as if the work was not done. I always felt as though the work was not fully complete.

In the process of thinking about community engagement, I had the opportunity to critically assess city planning practice, and to expand my knowledge of community engagement frameworks. In this paper I only referenced three existing community engagement frameworks, however, I found and read about at least six of them. I now know more processes, practices, and approaches to engagement than I did before. Finally, there is trust.

I began this paper with a vignette about Little Saigon because it was a relevant and recent example of how mistrust functions in city planning practice. In many ways, the legacies of poor relationships and conflict in city planning, along with hostilities faced by newly formed immigrant communities, have left a sense of mistrust of government-led initiatives.[157] I truly believe that trust is the new direction city planning practice needs to head.

157 Rose, Kalima and Danielle Bergstrom et al. "Community Engagement Guide for Sustainable Communities. PolicyLink, (2012).

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Appendix A: Letter to Pause on Navigation Center

Pause on Navigation Center to Engage Community

February, 20, 2017

Dear City of Seattle Elected Officials & Directors,

We request a pause on the location of the new Navigation Center.

Since the news of the Navigation Center was disclosed, to our complete surprise, there has been an overwhelming outcry from the businesses and community members who work, shop, and visit Little Saigon. For many, this is the final straw. We are being neglected, ignored, and treated as second-class to every City sanctioned project and policy that reaches into the Little Saigon neighborhood. In recent years, examples have included:

- Livable South Downtown Rezoning - Increased building heights in and around Little Saigon causing increased property values, rental rates, and spurred displacement pressures in the neighborhood.
- First Hill Streetcar Construction - Closures during highest retail times (weekends and Lunar New Year) causing over 50% loss in revenue for small businesses as compared to the previous year.
- Denny Substation Transmission Line - CID is identified as one of the top three neighborhoods where the transmission line will be constructed. Impact of construction still unknown.
- Nickelsville on Dearborn - Lack of prior engagement about Nickelville being located in the neighborhood. Although community worked with Nickelsville on safety and sanitation work, communication was not transparent or consistent.
- Seattle Womxn's March - No prior engagement with neighborhood on designated route. Street closure occurred during Lunar New Year with impacts lasting longer and expanded further than what was expected.

Unanimously, our community of businesses, residents, organizers, and supporters agree that the decision to locate the Navigation Center in our neighborhood without any prior engagement is disrespectful, short-sighted, and antithetical to the values of racial equity that we expect from a "Sanctuary City."

Over the last five years, Friends of Little Saigon and our community partners have worked in good faith with the City of Seattle to address gentrification and displacement of refugee and immigrant communities in the neighborhood. Some of these efforts have included:

- Little Saigon Landmark: a project that will anchor the community and strengthen economic opportunity in Little Saigon.
- Mayor's Emergency Task Force on Unsheltered Homelessness: tasked with making recommendations to help people who are living on the streets find shelter.
- Chinatown/International District Public Safety Task Force: response to safety and community concerns in light of Donnie Chin's murder.
- Seattle's Comprehensive Plan 2035: provided feedback and advocacy on elements of the comprehensive plan including economic opportunity, community engagement, and neighborhood investments.
- Equitable Development Initiative: address equity in our underserved communities and displacement as Seattle grows and develops.

With limited resources, we have worked to build a vibrant and diverse commercial district for Seattle residents, those visiting from the surrounding cities, and tourists. We continue to fight to preserve the integrity of Little Saigon's cultural identity, to mitigate the negative consequences of the creeping gentrification, and to maintain economic viability for some of the most vulnerable immigrants and refugees that have come to call the Chinatown International District home.

However, time and time again our community is threatened by culturally in-sensitive policy-making and thoughtless community engagement. To put it bluntly, the City of Seattle officials and employees have not been following the Race and Social Justice Toolkit in their policy making, program planning, or community outreach and engagement with the Little Saigon community. Our concerns and requests have not been addressed or taken into consideration. As a result, we feel that our participation is merely a show, for our voices are not heard.

There is no doubt that there is a strong need to address homelessness throughout the City with so many vulnerable people living on the streets and who lack the appropriate resources. This is a very complex and resource intensive issue. We admire the City for taking on innovative strategies to address homelessness. But with that said, these strategies should take into consideration not only the community you want to serve, but the community that currently exists. After hearing from our community members, Friends of Little Saigon does not support the Navigation Center being located in Little Saigon due to:

- the lack of involvement and transparency in community outreach and engagement with the Little Saigon community.
- the City's lack of concern for economic, safety, and displacement impacts on the neighborhood.
- the unaware and culturally insensitive approach to addressing issues among those most marginalized, including immigrant and refugees.

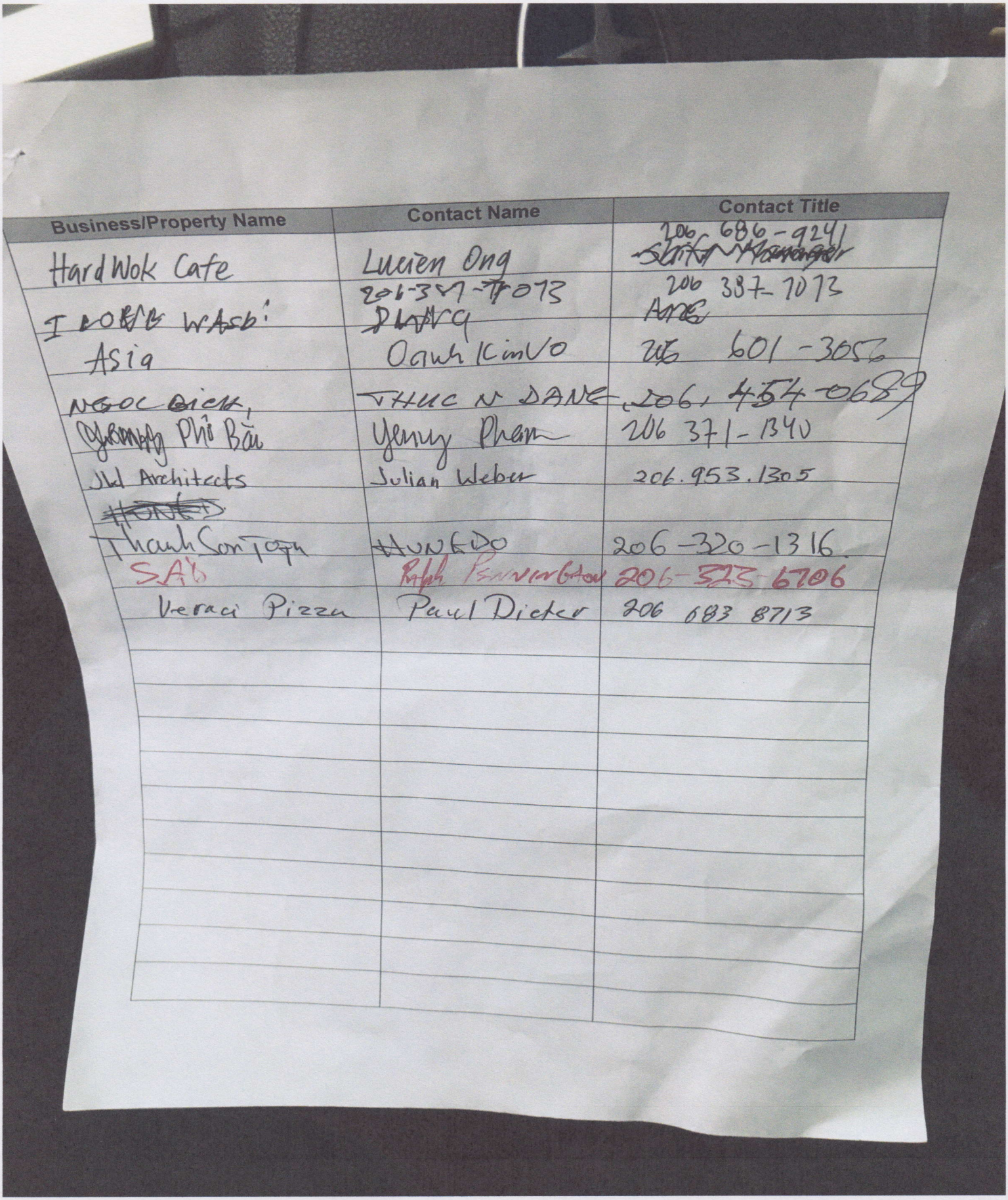
As a community advocate group for refugee and immigrant businesses and social service organizations in Little Saigon, Friends of Little Saigon is standing behind the community and supporting their effort to voice their collective concerns. At this point, we request a pause to the ongoing work on the Navigation Center until the City of Seattle 1) have an inclusive community engagement plan with the Little Saigon community, 2) have heard from the community regarding their concerns and needs, and 3) have allocated the required resources to mitigate safety, health and financial impacts from the Navigation Center.

We want to be engaged and work with the City of Seattle so we look for your prompt response.

Sincerely,
Friends of Little Saigon - Quynh Pham, Theresa Reyna, Tam Nguyen, Tam Dinh, Sue Taoka, Tyler DuLam, Yenvy Pham, Jordan Yu, David Tran, Yen Lam Steward
Helping Link - Minh Duc Nguyen
Vietnamese American Community of Seattle & Sno-King County - Tung Tran
Tet In Seattle - Jefferey Vu, Steven Nguyen, Johnson Nguyen, Billy Nguyen
Summit Sierra Public School - Malia Burns
Viet Wah Supermarket - Leeching Tran
Asian Plaza Redevelopment - Brian Chinn

[Attached: business and property owner sign-on]

Business/Property Name	Contact Name	Contact Title
Saigon Deli	MAI · VO	OWNER
LAMI NAIL SUPPLY	KIM M NGUYEN	OWNER
NGOC VIET	HENRY DANG	OWNER 206 617-7579
NGUYÊN VŨ JEWELRY	MONICA LE	OWNER-206.329.1124
SPRINGROLL HOUSE	RAYMENT WONG	OWNER-206 726 1629
NGUYEN Pharmacy	THANH NGUYEN	manager 206-323-6003
Dang Dang	Thuy Dang	owner 206-328-3264
TAN DINH Deli	THUY DUONG	owner 206-726-9990
JoJo Salon	Diệp Pham	206 325 2313
ANH MINH	ANH MINH	FOR OWNER (206)322-3220
Wong Tung Seafood	Jenny Zheng	Owner. 206-323-9222
Sài gòn Việt Nam Deli	Nguyen Jen Lam	owner (206) 328-2357
Tonh Cao	King's O.F	Owen (206) 328-2972
Mai Tan	Duu Suu	206-329-1688
Lucky An Dong	Mai Luc	OWNER(206) 323-2528
Hau Hau market	Minh Nhi Lam	(206) 329-1688
Canton Noodle house	Daniel Ng	(206) 329-5650
Bubble-tea	Quyen Huynh.	206 612 4068.
Thanh Vi	Kim TRan	2063290208
OCEAN pacific TRADE	SANH TON	206-324-6530 OWNER



Business/Property Name	Contact Name	Contact Title
Hard Wok Cafe	Lucien Ong	206 686-9241 ~~Store Manager~~
~~I LOVE~~ Wasabi Asia	206-387-7073 ~~Darcy~~ Oanh Kim Vo	206 387-7073 ~~Asst~~ 206 601-3056
~~Ngoc Dich~~ ~~Quang~~ Phở Bắc	THUC N DANG Yenny Pham	206. 454-0689 206 371-1340
JLA Architects	Julian Weber	206.953.1305
~~Hoang~~ Thanh Son Tofu SAS	~~Hung Do~~ Ralph Pennington	206-320-1316. 206-325-6706
Veraci Pizza	Paul Dicker	206 683 8713

APPENDIX B: PRESS RELEASE

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Contact: Quynh Pham, Friends of Little Saigon
friendsoflittlesaigon@gmail.com

Mayor Pauses Navigation Center for Community Engagement

SEATTLE (April, 23, 2017) – There have been many questions about the effectiveness and logistics of the Navigation Center and how it furthers the City's long plan to address homelessness, specifically from community stakeholders in Little Saigon and the Chinatown International District (CID).

As a community of refugees and immigrants, this community has first-hand experience with poverty, displacement, and unsheltered living. Friends of Little Saigon, partners, and allies empathize with those in unstable housing and support sustainable and equitable efforts to address homelessness in our region. We have convened a Community Taskforce to advocate for the needs of the CID neighborhood and other communities of color facing displacement.

After the protest at City Hall on March 6 and a meeting with the Mayor and his top advisors on March 10, the Mayor has agreed to "pause" the Navigation Center operation until a detailed plan is vetted and approved by the community. The "pause" means that although construction to upgrade the center is going on, the service provider, DESC, will not occupy the building and start their programming until the plan is approved by the community.

The Taskforce's main concerns are 1) the lack of authentic engagement with communities of color and 2) the negative safety, public health, economic, and cultural impacts on Little Saigon and CID communities. Specifically, the Taskforce is concerned with how the public safety, health, and sanitation issues impact the health and lifestyle of our residents, the operations of our business owners and service providers, and the experience of our visitors. Ultimately, this will negatively impact the economic and cultural vitality of the CID.

Goals of the Community Taskforce include:

1. Offering space for concerned community members to bring questions and feedback;
2. Serving as a community body to advocate for the concerns and needs of the community;
3. Working on a plan to address community engagement, public safety, health, sanitation, economic and cultural impacts on the CID and other communities of color.

Although the Community Taskforce is proactively addressing the public safety, public health, economic, and cultural impacts and concerns, this effort does not suggest the community's support for the operation of the Navigation Center in the CID neighborhood.

The Community Taskforce meets bi-weekly and will be seeking input on the community plan. To stay updated on this process and provide input, a meeting schedule and minutes are posted on the Friends of Little Saigon website under Navigation Center Community Taskforce, http://bit.ly/2on8Fgi.

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