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REFORM WHERE IS THY VICTORY?:
A STUDY OF THE REFORM EFFORTS IN SUMMIT, ALLEGHENY AND
CUYAHOGA COUNTIES

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ABSTRACT

Reform is a concept that public administration has struggled to define since its inception. The corruption crisis in Cuyahoga County led the region to vote to implement a home-rule government, and replace the three commissioner system with a single county executive and an eleven-member county council under the guise of reform. In addition, Allegheny and Summit Counties each previously implemented similar executive-council elected reform governments for reasons akin to Cuyahoga. Reform efforts are often the product of crises in the government process, and open doors for researching the process of how power works, is implemented, co-opted and consolidated. These events afforded researchers opportunities for studying if merely structural reform took place or if a deeper reform occurred, and what were the elements that determined if structural or a deeper reform occurred.

This Dissertation used Clarence Stone's Urban Regime Theory and Jon Pierre's Urban Governance Theory as frameworks in order to study how some elite actors viewed their reform efforts. The questions explored were the following: Was their region's reform was a change in structure only, as there were more unelected row positions and new positions but the operations, governance and leadership operated as in the past? Was their regions reform effort a deeper government reform, where there was more accountability, transparency, efficiency, sustainability, inclusion, checks-and balances and ethical behavior? Public Administration still struggles with defining reform, and this qualitative study looks at the perceptions held by those elite actors as to their views pertaining to what transpired in their region.

The study looked at the perceptions of reform held by those who were interviewed through an interpretative lens. As this was an interpretive study, research questions were

generated and analyzed with the understanding that there are limitations on drawing inference from the collected data. However, one can ascertain that there are factors that impact on reform. One can also assert that Urban Regime Theory gives researchers a process for studying if structural or a deeper reform occurred. Interviews conducted with those elite person who were directly involved, or knowledgably about their reform efforts indicated that maintaining, consolidating or co-opting power were of significant importance. However, the information collected must be understood within the context of the limitations of an interpretive perspective

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“When we understand power, we see that we cannot rely solely on democracy based on rationality to solve our problems (Bent Flybjerg 1998, 234; Susan S. Fainstein 2101, 34)”

I-A STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study presents an opportunity to interpret the process of structural reform versus deep reform change as defined within the contexts of Cuyahoga, Summit and Allegheny counties during crucial junctures in their shifts to their respective more regional governmental structures. In addition, their governance processes were significantly influenced by their movements toward regional paradigms. Public perceptions, not necessarily in tune with the actual workings of these processes, tended to view these changes as paradigm shifts that would result in local government being more efficient, responsive to public needs while integrating processes and procedure that would make the system operate at a more ethical level. Furthermore, the view of the public, media and electorate are that the processes of governance would work to incorporate aspects of responsiveness, efficiency, morality, representativeness and self-policing as significant components in the operation of the new regimes.

Real reform efforts suggest that there is a real change in the manner in which there are changes in the leadership, governance processes, charter and statutes, and this is reflected in a changing of those who were the old guard (or connected to the old Guard) to new leaders and leadership. In addition, the governance processes and the agenda of the governance processes operate distinctively different than the processes of the previous regime indicating that there is more than a structural reform. The question that will be explored by this dissertation will be do those persons interviewed perceive that real reform took place in their region, or was it merely a structural reform change in name only, as the same influential people from the old regime (both elected and not elected) are still influencing the agenda, and are still operating with similar governance policies and procedures, or was this a deeper change? In essence, was this change a deep reform effort in terms of new governance procedures, stability, agenda and new leadership, or was it a shifting of the old regime and governance procedures and processes to a new structure while still operating in the same manner?

Reform efforts tend to show the workings of public administration processes in ways that are not often seen. The conversations on reform often tackle the complexities of transparency, accountability, and efficiency within its discourse. In addition, such movements stress the need to create ethical, professional and level playing field environments. Governance processes tend to stress good governance values and agendas, as discussions often center on the importance of incorporating democratic principles, inclusion, economic opportunity, educational improvement, the environment, and other social, economic and humanistic agendas. Pundits would suggest that a crisis in government also affords citizens opportunities for change. These events also allow

opportunities for public administration, and social science, researchers to look at how these efforts are produced and implemented. Reform efforts speak to the core values of public administration, as it is a field that was spawned from the progressive era's reform efforts in numerous urban environments.

Public administration in America developed from the overwhelming need to create order, efficiency and equity from the tumultuous environment of urban bossism, red-light districts, cronyism, economic exploitation, riotous actions, unresponsive agencies and unethical practices in local government operations. Some suggest the key component of these attempts to revitalize local government and governance processes was the reform effort. The charges to reform local government in these early struggles often arose from the efforts of a newly emerging educated middle-class that attempted to combine a vision of efficiency, effectiveness, inclusiveness with ethics, morality and Judeo-Christian principles. In essence, public administration initially developed as a vehicle to inspire government to serve people, communities and democracy. Mayor Thomas Loftin Johnson in Cleveland and others attempted to implement local government reform systems that would respond to the needs of people and the community (Finegold, 1995).

Reformists had to constantly navigate the tensions between those who sought office for self-serving reasons, and viewed their offices as conduits for enriching themselves and those who loyally supported their agendas. Power was to be held, maintained and used to destroy those who were not a part of the established machine. Urban elections became physical battlefields, which often happened in New York, Chicago, Boston and other American cities (Beatty, 2000). When reform efforts

succeeded, they were often short-lived, as those who were in power would work to reposition their people in these new key offices, or work to co-opt the new government in other manners. Thus, reform efforts often become little more than change in name only due to an inability to put in place the necessary components for real reform; such as efficient, effective, inclusive and honest governance practices.

Yet public administration has struggled, and still struggles, with clearly defining reform. Reform is usually defined within its contextual environments, and its meaning is usually defined within the parameters of the study, usually a case-study approach. American public administration was founded on principles that were viewed as foundational for reform, such as civil service initiatives, business principles, public accountability, fiscal responsibility, ethical leadership and efficiency. These principles also required new forms of governance and new forms of management, and helped to usher in the city management movement. Still, reform efforts seemed to be in constant conflict with the interests and agenda of the previous regimes. These tensions have made it difficult to soundly conceptualize what is reform. Each regime has an investment in power and how it should be used, developed, interpreted and sustained. However, there are differences in how power is used within the context of reform efforts and how power is used to subvert reform efforts. This issue speaks to the governance processes that operate within each of these settings.

These factors have added some complications for those who wish to better understand the workings, operation and definition of reform efforts within various local, state and national government settings. These difficulties are also complicated by the point where reform efforts are analyzed, as the historical, economic, cultural, statutory,

demographic and political environments greatly impact on reform efforts. Change can be seen as an environment where non-reform change may be defined as not changing who has, or holds, power and the way it is implemented, but just changing who the actors are. Change may also be a change in titles, but with the same factors (be they individuals or coalitions) influencing decision-making processes and results. True deep reform-change is a change in the leadership, how power is used, interpreted and structured. Reform also requires the implementation and development of new governance processes that are able to function appropriately in order to implement the new issues and agendas that will emerge.

At the national level real reform efforts were created by implementing a civil service system, and monitoring processes in order to ensure that the standards were being followed. At the local government level reform efforts focused on creating new governance processes that would operate more efficiently, create a more responsive government, and reallocate goods and services in a humanitarian manner. Actual reform is a verifiable change as to how public authority, systems of governance local political power, and power in general, operate. These components of reform can be better observed in local settings, as the tension between reform efforts and the established regime each impact on how power is used, formed and manipulated when challenged by reform agendas. If the established regime is able to manipulate the reform process, it becomes little more than a change in name and structure while operating with the same actors occupying the newly established offices. Any newly created reform effort affords one the chance to understand how influential persons involved in this effort comprehend the workings of “reform” versus “change” within the local regime. In addition, this

allows for developing a better understanding of the influence of “reform” or “change” efforts on local governance processes impacting on public administration.

There has been a constant tension in local urban governments between those who wish to maintain their power base in spite of the realities of the cumbersome, fragmented, unresponsive and corrupt practices of some regimes and those who call for a new governance system that is responsive to the social economic and political realities of the Twenty-First Century. Frequently this language is couched in the lexicon of reform. In essence, this discourse incorporates the vocabulary of reform, progress, ethics, responsiveness and political inclusion (Benjamin & Nathan 2001). This discourse often attempts to create a view of progress as “reform” and not just “change.” This becomes extremely important, as a number of attempted reform efforts have been perceived as little more than a changing of those in power or structure without any true deep change in the operation of government or the governance processes¹. A significant number of these issues surfaced during the contentious processes of Cuyahoga County’s reform movement in 2009-2010. Further, a number of the same, and a few different issues, were involved in the development of the county reform movements in Summit County (Akron, Ohio) and Allegheny County (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). This study will use urban regime theory as a framework for examining the process of reform that took place in Cuyahoga, Summit and Allegheny Counties. Specific attention will be given to exploring if what occurred was real reform or just change as viewed by their key participants. The utilization of the three case studies will allow for a better illustration as to how actors perceived the nature of reform. In addition, this interpretive approach may shed light on the nature of reform and examination of the Urban Regime Theory

paradigm in order to better understand its usefulness when analyzing governance in Public Administration.

Each of these governments in some fashion involved a movement to a more regional perspective. In each case numerous policy reports, elected officials and key decision makers commented on the need to develop regional government and governance systems in order to create a structure that can better respond to the reality of operating in the Twenty-First Century (Drexler, et. al. 2004; Orfield 2002; Bullard 2007 & Sharpe 2012). In Ohio and Pennsylvania policy and other decision makers referenced that county governments were often operating within structures initially created in a Nineteenth Century environment, and were unable to respond to the needs of public and private interests in an effective manner. These factors were present in Allegheny, Summit and Cuyahoga counties. Each locality had some sort of crisis that compelled it to embrace reform efforts. In addition, each region found the need to embrace private and public coalitions in order to create their reform system. While each region is not necessarily a true metropolitan government, as this requires the city or region involved to transfer municipal authority (e.g., Indianapolis, Indiana or Louisville, Kentucky), each region has viewed its efforts to move toward regionalism² as important for their attempts to create a government model that responds to the needs of the Twenty-First Century.

The impetus that brought reform efforts to the forefront were different in each region, but emerged from coalitions heavily influenced by private and public sector actors. Summit County's reform efforts emerged from the loss of BF Goodrich, Goodyear, Firestone and General Tire's manufacture markets in the 1970s coupled with major political scandals. Allegheny County experienced the loss of 134,000 jobs, many

connected to their steel industry between 1978 and 1998. Cuyahoga County's reform discourse began on July 28, 2008 when numerous federal and local law enforcement agents raided homes, businesses and county offices that later led to numerous public officials and private citizens being indicted and a public outcry that the County's government was corrupt, unresponsive and in crisis.

These regions offer an opportunity to observe one of the major leitmotifs of public administration. Specifically, how is "reform" versus "change" viewed within the context of these regions? Public administration as interpreted within America's milieu was birthed from the progressive era's reform movements. Yet reform efforts constantly navigate the tensions created by those who had significant investment in maintaining the status quo of Bossism, single-party domination, private business interests and power. Reform efforts are often the product of searching for the ideal system, one that will not be tainted by the detritus of antiquated, unethical and unresponsive local regimes (Waldo 1984; Hofstadter 1986), while still navigating within a significantly tainted political milieu. Public administration since its modern inception has struggled with creating a system that is efficient, often driven by concepts of scientific management, private business efficiency, ethical considerations and inclusiveness. Yet, there seems to be inherent tensions that are vested in maintaining the operations and power of the old regimes even when confronted with its defects. In essence, it is difficult to remove regimes where their power is entrenched, and power is usually the most important consideration when viewing the operation of any system. In essence, effective reform efforts require a transformation in power, who exercises it, and how it is utilized.

Public administration from its nascent beginnings has been concerned with responding to different masters as it attempted to create a culture of authentic municipal reform. These tensions can be seen in its quest to create a system that is responsive to those who are seen as outside of the traditional arc of its public responses while also attempting to create reform measures that stress organizational, efficient and effective systems. The research done by Stivers indicated that the early progressive era “spawned two impulses, one in the direction of social justice and improving the lives of the unfortunate, and the other toward rationalizing and regulating organizational, institutional and societal processes (Stivers 2005,5).” These tensions created an environment where their coexistence became problematic, as reform efforts tended to be co-opted by efficiencies, procedures and outcomes. “In municipal reform discourse, a gradual but inexorable shift in focus occurred, from meaningful outcome to correct procedure (Stivers 2005, 5)”. Reform efforts in this era were often built on foundations of objective metrics, management principles that were developed through business models, often evoking the lexicon of scientific management. These issues are still creating tensions in reform efforts in the present era. There is a constant tension between the moral claims of public administration and the efficient, procedural claims of the field. It is further complicated by the investment in maintaining the status quo that is often seen in the workings of the past regime actors attempts to maintain the old order, or circumvent reform efforts by attempting to place key decision-makers in the “new regime” leadership positions. At its core, these issues are often heavily involved in the development of reform efforts. Each of the counties that will be viewed incorporated many of these principles in their reform lexicons. Additionally, those who oppose reform

change often work to circumvent these principles in order to keep power in the hands of the past regime's power brokers and decision makers.

Many of these issues have surfaced during past and recent reform efforts throughout this Nation's history. Often questions arise as to what is real reform, and real change, and what is a change in name only when the leader and the processes for operating government seem to be the same as the prior regime. These questions also lead into questions of governance, as a real change effort should result in a different governance process, while a change in name (or structure) only occurs when the old regime's actors still hold power and maintain basically the same operating processes. Discussions pertaining to government reform also need to be sensitive to how the restructuring efforts take place, as most government movements tend to be significantly influenced by business and other private concerns.

A significant number of these elements can be seen in the operation of the regime changes that took place in Cuyahoga County, and in various other degrees in Summit and Allegheny Counties. Additionally, Public Administration has struggled with its attempts to define reform efforts for these various reasons. Attempts to professionalize the field through credentialing efforts, such as civil service testing, degree requirements and state examinations, have often been frustrated by the granting of provisional status to those who are not qualified, placing key persons at crucial decision-making positions, making decisions in forums other than meeting halls or other public venues, hiring practices based on loyalty rather than competency and covert or overt intimidation methods. Each of these practices, be they actual reform of the local government or change in name or structure only under the guise of reform, operates in an environment of power, and the

potential abuse of power. At the primary level of each of these factors is power. How power is used, maintained, utilized and its results are greatly important in understanding if a reform is a change in structure (e.g., a changing of the name and position titles with the same regime still in operation) or true deep reform change (e.g., a changing of the significant actors, new effective policies, innovative ways of operating with real accountability, ethical, real checks and balances, sustainable with new governance processes). By interpreting how Allegheny, Summit and Cuyahoga Counties developed their responses to reform, this will allow for an investigation of how local political power was used. In essence, viewing how each county developed their new regional county government structure allows one to understand if each effort was merely structural reform change, deep reform change, or some hybrid of each as defined by those actors intimately involved in the change processes.

1-B THE CRISIS IN COUNTY GOVERNMENT

In each County specific crises precipitated their reform efforts that culminated in their bringing a reform charter to the electorate. In some cases newly emerging coalitions had to compete with more established coalitions in pushing for an agenda of reform. Clarence Stone's paradigm is able to address how to interpret how power works in the creation and shifting of coalitions. For example, one of the major components of regime theory is how business interests often come to the forefront. In each of the three counties reform efforts incorporated the language of the business community in their discourse on reform. The concerns of the business community in each region are clearly incorporated in their charters.

Each of these regions affords one an opportunity to uncover how power amongst the actors was allocated. If there was real change that took place, and how that change was perceived by those who were involved, or close, to the situations? Did the administration of the region change? Was there a difference in the governance processes? Were there significant changes, events or actions that confirmed if real change actually took place, or were there no real changes that took place? In each region there were also overt and covert events and processes in operation that helped to define if reform or only change had taken place.

1-C THE LIVING EXPERIMENT: COUNTY CHARTER REFORM

These crises created opportunities to study the development of reform movements through the paradigm of regime change. In essence, these regions become living experiments in the discourse on metropolitan government, regime change, public responsiveness, political power reallocation, sustainability and public accountability. This affords one an opportunity to study factors of change versus factors of reform within the context of each local government as interpreted by those directly or tangentially involved in these processes. Further, Cuyahoga County's movement toward what some see as a metropolitan government allows for comparisons to Summit County and Allegheny County. Each of these counties developed their reform movements due to significant crises that occurred. Each of the three regions experienced significant changes in their regimes and the process of governance, and this affords an opportunity to analyze whether these were processes of reform change or only processes of change. Each approach required certain political, social, economic and environmental factors to

be in place before they could affect the needed changes. Each region articulated the need for these changes in a manner that would resonate with their citizens.

Each of these government reform efforts replaced a county commissioner brand of government with an elected county executive form of government. Each region also integrated the language of economic progress within the vocabulary of reform in order to persuade the public that their efforts encompassed change, reform, accountability, response to economic concerns and a government recreated on a foundation of ethics. Reformists couched the terminology of ethics in concepts such as accountability, transparency and answerability. Significantly, Cuyahoga County looked toward Summit and Allegheny for answers in designing their reform efforts. Allegheny was selected, as they were often referenced as a county that did it right. Summit County was selected, as they were the first and only county to implement a county executive system in Ohio before Cuyahoga County implemented its system. The coalition for reform in Cuyahoga County even hired the person who was involved in drafting Summit County's charter to write their charter.

All three of these reform efforts were implemented by charter. Within the Pennsylvania and Ohio political environments this required each state to draft legislation that allowed the regions to create their respective metropolitan governments. In Ohio the "Home Rule Amendment" allowing a county to change has been in existence since 1933.³ The first enactment occurred in Summit County as a political response to some extensive corruption scandals in and around Akron, Ohio.⁴ Cuyahoga County's attempt to establish their Charter government has a long history, with the first unsuccessful effort occurring between 1934 and 1936 when a charter commission was elected, but was

unable to create charter government. There were other attempts to establish a “home rule” form of government that were defeated in 1949, 1959, and 1980 in Cuyahoga County. In addition, Ohio’s legislature unsuccessfully attempted to impose an executive form of government on “all counties with a population over 200,000 in 1977 (Citizens Guide Cuyahoga, 8-10)”. Further, a charter government tends to place administrative power in the hands of the county executive, while council is charged with legislative functions. Other critical duties of government may be carried out by either appointed or elected officials, with the parameters of these duties described within the body of the charter. Allegheny’s charter government, established in January of 2000, was created as a response to their shifting demographics, economic decline and the need to put in place a structure that could politically respond to the realities of the Twenty-First Century’s economic, political and social environments.⁵ This shift to a regional government in the Pittsburgh area was a response to the loss of their steel and aluminum industries, an eroding tax base and local government fragmentation. The Allegheny region had over two-hundred different local governments, and a significant number with overlapping functions.

Political pundits and media commentary in each region also identified the lack of accountability, secrecy of its operations, an inherent systemic corruption and an inadequate governance structure in Cuyahoga County’s local government as major problems. Often this discourse took the following forms: citizen removal from the government and governance processes, an unresponsive government process, disregarding and intimidating those who they were charged to serve, and an inability to carry out tasks due to little understanding of who has primary responsibility for certain

designated duties. Attempts to hold on to power at any cost, coupled with the lack of a checks and balances system, have been identified in the literature of local government studies as important components for some elected officials distancing themselves from their constituents, unresponsiveness and lack of ethics in local governments. In the discourse on reform, and change, unchecked power is often one of the first discussion points. Specifically, the abuse of power is a path that allows for corruption to spread, as there is no effective system of accountability or proper checks and balances. Yet many attempts to implement reform governments tend to suggest that from the ashes of corruption and inefficiency the Phoenix of reform can be birthed through little more than legislative enactments. This study will address the processes of reform that occurred within each metropolitan area as viewed through the interpretations of elite actors such as; elected officials, significant administrators, drafters of the charters, reporters, religious leaders, business leaders and other significant persons.

There is often an inherent tension in any attempt to change from an established regime to a new structure of government. These tensions tend to revolve around the shifting of power, changing of the old order for a new order, attempts to remove those who hold power, and implementations of new governance procedures and policies that challenge the old guard (Swanstrom & Judd 1994). Further complicating the interpretation of these tensions is a perception that private entities, nonelected power brokers and other actors may have an investment in maintaining their power even when there might be a changing of the political milieu and a renaming of the new system as “reform”. Reform may be subverted by processes that may work to put persons in place in the new governmental structure who are part of the old guard, by having the agenda of

reform driven by those powerful significant actors who are always able to bring existing interests to decision makers, and organized business interests who control economic resources (Stone 1989).

Actual, reform, innovation and advancement are challenging to achieve. Machiavelli documented this difficulty in “The Prince”, as he stated

“Nothing is more difficult to handle, more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to manage, than to put oneself at the head of introducing new orders. For the introducer has all those who benefit from the old order as enemies, and he has lukewarm defenders in all those who might benefit from the new orders. This lukewarmness arises partly from fear of adversaries who have the laws on their side and partly from incredulity of men, who do not truly believe in new things unless they come to have a firm experience with them (Machiavelli 1532; Orr & Johnson 2008)”.

This quote, written in the early Sixteenth Century, captures the dilemma that reformist still confront. In essence, those who hold power have an investment in maintaining their power. The attempts at true reform are often subverted by those who are invested in maintaining power. Thus, the perception of maintaining power may be viewed as more important than the issue (or issues) that were perceived as the catalyst for reform. These countervailing interests may act to create an environment where the actors may be operating under different interpretative perspectives pertaining to the same issue.

For the sake of this dissertation, urban “regime reform” and “regime change” will be viewed through the paradigm developed through the research done by Clarence Stone and his adherents. While the definitions of reform and change will be more fully developed in the literature review section, each will be defined here in terms of their more salient component factors as they relate to this dissertation. Clarence Stone in his seminal study of political regime changes in Atlanta, Georgia looked at who held power,

how it was used and how were alliances formed and reformed in order to maintain power (Stone 1989). A part of the working definition of actual reform will be that there was a shift from those who were in power before the reform efforts to a new slate of persons who are involved in the efforts to reform the System. In addition, the platform of reform has been implemented in a manner that achieved its stated goals as defined under the new charter. The governance processes are also consistent with the stated goals of reform, and the checks and balances that are in place function in a manner consistent with their stated goals and objectives as interpreted by those persons who are key actors and knowledgeable persons. In addition, the operation of the new regime is based on efficiency, effectiveness, ethics and inclusiveness with power being used to move the reform agenda forward in a manner consistent with the charter. In essence, real reform must go beyond mere structural change to a deeper change. This requires more than just an organizational chart. It involves a sustained change in how public business, governance and the agenda of government are carried out.

Structural regime change shall be viewed as merely substituting a new name and new structure, but the power, control, agenda and decision-makers operate in a manner somewhat similar to the old regime. Specifically, are those who hold power in the new regime the same persons in the public and private sectors who were previously in control? In addition, is the agenda of the reform government similar to the agenda of the old regime, and is it being advanced by the same persons or entities as the previous regime as stated by those persons who will be interviewed? In essence, change is little more than a changing of the name of the local government system while operating in the same manner. Deep reform change is a new paradigm that is seen to operate within the

strictures of its defined purpose and with power being held by new players adhering to its mandates to create a more ethical, efficient system of government and governance. Real reform change must go beyond the surface, or structure of reform, to a deeper level.

Regime reform and regime change are both interlinked and separated by how power is used, manipulated and interpreted within each paradigm (Stone 1989). A key to understanding their differences can be seen in the manner in which the regime utilizes power. Regime change is viewed as changing the name of the political structure, but clearly maintaining power in the hands of the same old guard. In addition, their methods for utilizing power, and the purposes for using power do not change. Regimes that are invested in maintaining their power also tend to use power to stop real change from occurring (Ricci 1971, 175; Bachrach & Bratz 1963). These efforts designed to thwart, frustrate, obscure and intimidate utilize power in order to maintain the old regime. This ability to use local government power to stop actions from occurring is significantly important in describing how power operates. Sometimes these may be the product of physical actions, such as voter intimidation, to more subtle actions, such as proposing similar legislation, veiled promises or threats or the use of well financed partisan media campaigns.

Real regime reform efforts change the manner and purpose for which power is used, the methods in which it is used, and the significant actors who are involved in the exercising of its processes. Real regime change results in actual changes in how power and the processes of governance are used in order to achieve system objectives. Usually, these efforts tend to be more inclusive of the region's population, and embrace a more progressive agenda. In addition, real regime change also results in new governance

processes, more connectedness to the public and more responsiveness to the core issues of change (Stone 1989, 200-205; Orr & Johnson 2008). Additionally, recent regime change also tends to incorporate the languages of sustainability, ethics and efficiency as foundation principles in its paradigm. One of the collateral consequences of modern local government reform efforts is that in their attempt to be inclusive in their embracing the public, the issues of community development, impoverished populations and youth are often lost in their discussions.

Clarence Stone's definition of urban regime theory is as follows: "A regime thus involves not just any informal group that comes together to make a decision but an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions (Stone 1989, 5)". Stone sees these informal aggregations as being important in developing civic cooperation, which he defines as an "informal modes of coordinating efforts across institutional boundaries (Stone 1989, 5)". As Mossberger and Stoker see it, Urban Regimes have the following fundamental principles: "(1) partners drawn from government and nongovernment sources; (2) collaborations based on social production; (3) identifiable policy agendas that can be related to the composition of the participants in the coalition; and (4) a longstanding pattern of cooperation rather than a temporary coalition (Mossberg & Stoker 2001). Urban Regime Theory's questions emerged from the flaws uncovered when elitism and pluralism were used to study urban environments. Urban Regime Theory, although it has its flaws, has been shown to be a better paradigm for understanding the workings of power in some urban settings.

1-D HOME RULE CHARTERS

Each of these counties affords researchers an opportunity to view how each approaches the processes of governance, their interpretation of governance, reform policy development, the interpretation of their key governing components, election and appointment of key offices and citizen engagement. Inherent in each of these variables is an explanation of how power is established, utilized and interpreted within the context of each home rule county government. Public administration is still in its nascent stages of developing models and methodologies for interpreting the working and conceptualization of power within its various fields of study (Imbroscio 2010). Viewing the interpretation of the processes of governance inherent in the home rule charters of Allegheny, Summit and Cuyahoga counties affords one the opportunity to study how persons interpret the workings of power through their respective governance processes. In addition, it allows for those who are interviewed to interpret if they perceive the workings of the governance processes to be supportive of it being real reform change or merely a change effort, where the name of the system may state that it is a reform effort but the operation of the governance processes and the significant actors in the system are more holdovers from the previous regime.

Urban regime theory can function as a framework through which to view the functioning of governance processes in each region through observing how each charter, and those charged with its operation, carry out their duties. This framework, developed through case study method approaches in Atlanta, Georgia, Baltimore, Maryland, Charlotte, North Carolina and other regions (Stone 1987& 2008; Orr 1999; Smith 2004), provides a methodology for interpreting how power is sustained and used in order to

maintain coalitions. While its antecedent roots originated in the disciplines of sociology and political science⁶, this middle-range theory⁷ has been incorporated in a number of disciplines. This perspective allows a person to study a phenomenon, system or event and develop a theoretical interpretation by culling out those essential elements uncovered from the empirical portion of the study.

Clarence Stone's Urban Regime Theory is a framework that allows for a methodological approach for distinguishing change from reform change. This is of paramount consideration, as it is necessary to distinguish change from reform in order to understand if true reform or merely change has transpired. It is apparent that the field of Public Administration needs a conceptual framework for interpreting power within the context of the field. This interpretation must include definitions of what power is and what power is not. Governance is often the seed that must bloom in order to reveal the workings of power within the charter reform system. The manner in which it grows and shapes the new government environment is a message as to if there is a real reform effort taking place or if the same seeds of the past are reemerging from the political soil of the local government under study. In essence, if one wants to distinguish change from reform one needs an appropriate framework and an appropriate venue for studying this process. The framework is Urban Regime Theory as interpreted through its governance processes⁸. The venues are the home-rule counties of Allegheny (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's metropolitan area), Summit (Akron, Ohio's metropolitan area) and Cuyahoga (Cleveland, Ohio's metropolitan area).

The use of the three case studies allows for a way to view how county reform efforts are interpreted within each region by a number of the significant actors in each

area. In the process a more robust interpretation of reform and change may be developed by viewing how their charters read and how significant actors in each region view, interpret and define if they see their region involved in reform or merely structural change. Crucial to this study will be how structural change and reform are distinguished in the interpretations and how governance is viewed by these significant actors.

1-E. Home Rule Charters: Summit, Allegheny and Cuyahoga Counties

By definition home rule can be viewed as the power of a local city or county to set up its own system of governing and local ordinances without receiving a charter from the state which comes with certain requirements and limitations (Free Legal Dictionary: Home-Rule). Each of the home-rule charters in Summit, Allegheny and Cuyahoga counties emerged from distinctly different events and processes. Each also was an attempt to incorporate elements viewed as crucial to embracing components that would allow them to be competitive in the political and economic climates of the twenty-first century. Each was significantly influenced by the business community, and each reflected the need on paper to be able to respond quickly and decisively to the business communities. In addition, each document found it of paramount importance to place clear checks and balances in its language. Inherent in each document is a strong constitutional focus, and attempts to be as inclusive to the public as possible without necessarily giving power over to those aggregations. Each document also attempts to clearly delineate the power of each office and the parameters of that power, as each previous regime tended to operate with leadership (e.g. commissioner form of governing) that has both legislative and executive responsibilities.

Each charter is a method through which to view how governance, power, leadership and economic development are interpreted within these regimes. Each one has established an executive position with the power to make decisions, and oversee a number of offices. In addition, each charter establishes county councils that are responsible for legislative functions. Two of the charters establish a few council positions that are elected at large, although Cuyahoga County's Charter elects their eleven (11) representatives by district. Implicit in each document is their definition of the view of their governance processes and parameters of their interpretations of power.

It must be stated that each charter is a definition of how their creators perceive the workings of power, leadership, governance and citizen engagement. All three charters are the product of an amalgamation of interests, interactions and influences. Each charter is a venue that exposes the workings of their governance processes, interpretations of political power. Each document is a product of the history of their region's reform efforts. Additionally, each is also by extension an interpretation of the State of Ohio or the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's grant of power to their respective local jurisdictions. Studying these charters also allows one to interpret how the framers of the charters view their various interpretations of the workings of public administration in reform environments within their jurisdictions.

Public administration has not conceptualized "reform" well. Reform is usually defined in terms of its structure, and not its deeper elements. Public Administration also has a tendency to stress the concept of "power", but other key components are only tangentially considered in the process. For example, the work done by Paul Peterson (1981) on the economic forces influencing local governmental development and by

David Imbroscio (2010) on the limits of urban theory construction each extends the discourse on what are the definitions of power in local governments. In addition, public administration tends to give gravity to the interpretation of power that emerged from sociologists and political scientists (Lukes 2005) without necessarily shaping this concept within the parameters of public administration's interpretations.

There is a significant need for Public Administration to research and conceptualize "reform" within the context of the field. It is imperative that the field of public administration give attention to reform in a conceptual context, and an analysis of these home-rule charters can be viewed as a starting point in this discourse. For example, on the surface each of these charters may be viewed as reform efforts, but under the surface they may not be real reform. Robert K Merton posited that there can be significant differences between what was viewed when looking at the surface structure and the deep structure of a studied event or phenomenon. By stating that a charter is creating reform, is not in and of itself proof that reform change actually is taking place. This becomes of paramount importance when viewing how the governance processes actually work during the operation of each charter.

It is important to state that a reform effort involves change, and must be defined as change. Reform looks to restructure the old regime in a manner that is reflective of the desired new goals and wishes of the architects of the regime. Inherent in any regime are the seeds of its own contradictions, as the structure is often placed over the past political system. This suggests that reform governments speak with modern, progressive motifs, but may respond in the same manner as the past regimes in terms of practices. In addition, they may encounter problems navigating between county concerns, and

overlapping municipal concerns. Reform efforts need to be sensitive to understanding both how the processes of the old regime operated as well as the operation of the processes within the new regime. In addition, new regimes need to understand that regime efforts operate in a state of flux, and this has the potential for allowing elements of the past regime to resurface.

It is also imperative that one understands the voice of the reform movement at both its more overt and covert meanings. This requires at least five levels of understanding, and urban regime theory allows one to capture these levels of meaning. First, it is important to understand how the conversation for reform emerges, and in what venues did it first emerge. Second it is important to understand who the leaders of the effort are, and who is given the directives to push for these change efforts. Third, it imperative that one understands the voice (or voices) of those in opposition of the reform effort, and how their counter arguments challenge the reform effort. Fourth, it is important to understand how the coalitions involved in the process were formed (Stone 1989, 5), operate in terms of pushing the agenda, and which one has sustaining power. Fifth, there is a need to understand which voices are omitted from the conversation and the process.

Each of these points requires an understanding of how power operates within the process, and the limitations of such power. This requires an understanding of the governance processes and well as the workings of important coalitions in shaping the direction of the change effort. How these processes interplay becomes significant in understanding if the efforts rise to the level of deep reform, structural reform or some sort of hybrid change effort. It is possible to have what some might define as change, but it

looks like the same system that existed previously, as the governance processes tend to operate like in the past. It is also possible to have local government change that is not reform (Peterson 1981; Imbroscio 2010), and these efforts have the potential to block real reform movements. One may also implement change that functions as a real reform movement. Urban regime theory offers a method for understanding if such change takes place, and if it might rise to the level of real reform change.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

COUNTY REFORM OR DÉJÀ VU ALL OVER AGAIN

“It is interesting to note that the principle concern of the great band of original civil service reformers was not greater administrative efficiency but purified elections and a more wholesome democracy (White 1984, 38)”.

2-A LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of government reform efforts is the study of power and the quest for power. Attempts to gain, maintain, circumvent or overthrow those in power often offer the language of reform as the justification for such actions. Much of human mythology, both ancient and modern, is a product of contextual interpretations of power. The literature in regime theory constantly operates between interpretations of how those in power create venues to maintain their power base versus those who have an investment in creating political systems and governance methods that are more responsive to the needs of modernity, inclusiveness, globalism, emerging economic markets and efficient

processes (Orr & Johnson 2008; Imbroscio 1997). In addition, regime theory creates a framework that may illuminate in fragmented political environments where power is held in different degrees by key stakeholders, coalitions, partnerships, interest groups and organizations.

The review of the literature on the development of theories of urban power highlights these tensions on who holds, maintains and attempts to obtain power. In addition, the literature on urban governments and governmental structures is replete with studies that document the problems of fragmentation, antiquated political structures, ineffective governance systems and a plethora of other issues that beg for structural, procedural and professional local government reform. Stone's theoretical paradigm of urban regime theory, while not applicable to all urban settings, does allow for understanding interpretations within the proper contexts.

Key to studying power and its operation in urban government settings, or any setting, is an understanding of who holds power and how it is used to influence others. Elitism and pluralism may allow for an understanding of who may hold titles or make decisions, but neither framework goes far enough in explaining how coalitions are built, sustained and reshaped in order to influence local government agendas. Neither paradigm captures the currents of power's movement that occurs in order for coalitions to maintain their existence and influence. Pluralism and elitism are also limited in their abilities to explain the workings of citizens groups, issue driven coalitions and shifting leadership dynamics. Regime theory allows for a more robust understanding of the workings of local government, governance processes (Stone 1989) and how change occurs. Regime theory's questions are also empirical. This paradigm allows for a method

through which to view specific agendas through the workings of local government pertaining to the workings of both salient and subtle issues. The regime paradigm permits one to develop a clearer understanding of the operations of power within both formal and informal settings “with an identifiable agenda around which resources can be mobilized (Stone 2001)”.

Still, social scientists and urban theorists had to answer major questions on the operation and use of power before arriving at answers that would adequately define the workings of public-private, formal-informal and sustaining-changing coalitions. The questions explored by Clarence Stone, Elkins and others created the foundation for developing Regime Theory. As the summary of research on county government will show, the emergence of new questions on power and its operation led into the development of the regime paradigm. This opened the door for a method through which to understand how reform or change can be viewed through the interpretations of those who are involved in the processes of community power in a local government setting.

2-B EARLY RESEARCH ON COUNTY GOVERNMENT

Dwight Waldo wrote, “even those of the administration fraternity who desire increasing control of business in the name of greater general welfare are generally disposed to accept the mechanisms and methods ‘and more of the spirit than they imagine’ of the business community in which they are immersed (Waldo 1984, 28)”. His analysis of reform during the progressive era indicated that reformers attempted “first to reorganize municipalities (Waldo 1984, 32)”, often along the lines of business principles. The goal of these reformers was to create a system that could protect the public from the avarice, ineptitude and incompetence of the previous regime. Governmental reform also

required a leadership structure that could address the reform agenda. In essence, the rhetoric of the business community articulated the fact that the city should be viewed more like a private sector corporation. This structure needed a chief executive with the power and the necessary tools to effect the needed change. The executive needed to be given “the necessary tools for economic and efficient management (Waldo 1984, 32)”. In essence, there was a perceived need to integrate sound business principles into the workings of city government.

In addition, reform movements regularly find themselves caught in the tensions between political power and the agenda of business as the panacea for curtailing corruption. Ironically, what was perceived as the political cure often became the problem. For example, there have been reform movements that have been at odds with the business community in Cleveland, as Swanstrom (1985) documents in his study of Dennis Kucinich’s reform administration. Furthermore, there have been reform efforts that were later determined to be self-serving, patronage-based and machine boss driven regimes, such as William M. Tweed’s Tammany Hall (Wikipedia: Tammany Hall), and Richard J. Daley and Richard M. Daley’s almost autocratic control of Chicago politics⁹. Much of the literature on reform is an attempt to deal with the tensions of politics and power versus efficiency, privatization and establishing economic agendas around business practices and principles. Recent reform efforts in the counties of Cuyahoga, Summit and Allegheny still reflect these tensions. Each identified county is in constant tension in relation to the political, economic and public interpretations pertaining to whether their new systems reflect actual reform or just structural reform. This literature review will reference those sources that have looked at the processes of reform

and change in relation to local governments with special attention given to counties and municipalities that have transitioned to metropolitan governments.

The literature on county governments often begins in description, as early Nineteenth and Twentieth Century county governments had minimal power and responsibility, often acting as little more than centers for paying property taxes.¹⁰ For the most part, today's county governments are perceived as not responding to the needs of changing transportation, communication, demographic, social, economic, political and global issues (Hamilton 1999; Ross & Wilkerson 2000). In addition, the emergence of metropolitan governments tends to extend the boundaries of local governments beyond traditional county and state lines. These governmental structures require new forms of government and governance that is responsive to the regional needs in the Twenty-First Century. Globalism, shifting economic patterns, business demands, social service needs and increased levels of accountability require a public administration process that can respond to these changes. This requires that County governments develop new charters, governance processes and personnel that can bring about the necessary changes.

Counties are often overlooked in the literature on local governments. Early studies viewed the county as little more than an administrative extension of the State (Gilbertson 1917). Counties have operated as the invisible government entity, regularly ignored in theoretical and social scientific discussions pertaining to governmental process (Wagner 1950; Bollens et. al. 1969; Coppa 1996). Counties are perceived as administrative agents, and find their meaning in democratic interpretations that tend to see them as almost invisible in the American government experience. The county was seen as an extension of the state, and perceived as somewhat removed from the general

public. Early definitions stated that counties perform those activities that “the state requires of them and those which it permits but does not require them to perform (Wagner 1950)”. Counties may also become involved in iatrogenic influences that create an environment that allows for corruption, patronage, bribery and fraud as accepted processes. However, no known government model is immune to these problems. At some levels such systems, as were the cases in Cuyahoga and Summit counties, function under norms of corruption.¹¹ In each case reformers targeted the commissioner form of government as helping to create a corrupt environment due to its distance from the public, lack of accountability and control over both legislative and administrative functions.

Researchers have identified two generic forms of home rule, with each impacting differently on the structure of local governments and their governance processes. Those counties with the most extensive form of home rule are termed “charter counties (Benton 2002, 25). These types of counties, such as present-day Cuyahoga, Summit and Allegheny, are allowed a wide discretionary net, and may “alter their organizational structure...without obtaining supplemental grants of authority from legislatures (Benton 2002, 25)”. The other form of home rule is termed “optional, and has a narrower net than the charter model (Benton 2002, 25; Coopa 1996)”. Each model operated under different assumptions of power, accountability and governance. The Charter form grants more autonomy, more accountability and more answerability.

Research being done on comparative case studies of emerging metropolitan regions has been carried out by Leland, Thurman and others (2004 & 2010) utilizing a model developed by Rosenbaum and Kramer (1974) that measures the impact of

economic growth, efficiency and promise delivery on the newly created metropolitan region. Carr and Feiock (2004, 27-32) studied the development of metropolitan government as a product of efficiency, reining in fragmentation, and creating a more representative system with better resource allocation for the public. Sometimes this perspective is interpreted as being developed by champions for the public good.¹² In essence is this a deep reform initiative or is it only a change in structure? Others focused on better understanding fragmentation within the context of a metropolitan government (Strieb et. al. 2007; Menzel 1992) , or the mosaic that emerges within the various local governments as they respond to the emerging structure of the metropolitan government (Stephens & Wikstrom 2000; Drier, Mollenkopf & Swanstrom 2004). However, this study will utilize the work done on regime theory in analyzing the processes that led to the development of the reform efforts in the Cleveland, Akron and Pittsburgh regions. In addition this study will employ definitions of reform, change and power within the context of social scientific literature with special attention given to the perspective of regime theory as detailed by Clarence Stone (Stone 1989; Orr & Johnson 2008; Davies & Imbroscio 2008).

2-C DEFINITION OF REFORM AND CHANGE

Reform as a noun is referenced as meaning “a change for the better as a result of correcting abuse (Definitions.net/reform)”. In addition, a reform movement may be defined in the following manner: “a kind of social movement that aims to make a change in certain aspects of the society rather than fundamental changes (wodiq.com/reform movements)”. In public administration and political science reform is frequently interlinked with efficiency, effectiveness, businesslike methods, privatization,

transparency, ethics and accountability (Stone 1989; Svara & Hoene 2008). For the purposes of this paper structural reform, or a change in the organizational chart, row positions and such with little else, will be viewed as only partial reform. Real reform needs to go deeper, and involves a change in governance, the operations of a local government's public business, sustainability, real checks and balances, and a change in the decision-making and political processes. Political scientists and public administrators frequently view change as the removal, replacement or elimination of the previous persons, governmental structure or regime in power without any real reform. In addition, public administration has often defined reform in terms of structural reform without penetrating deeper into its core. In essence, is this merely changing those who were in power (or the institutions of power) without changing the structure or system in any meaningful manner (Koppell 2006)? From a theoretical perspective reform efforts tend to navigate a vocabulary that references that if power is turned over to a new regime that regime will use its power and resources for the community's interests. Ironically, those who are interested in maintaining their power bases can also incorporate the language of reform while maintaining their power base. Some of these elements were captured in the studies done in Atlanta, the epicenter of regime theory, by Hunter (1953), Elkins (1987) and Stone (1989). In addition, there is little agreed or clarity as to what is in the community's interests, as the agenda may be set by various participants to the inclusion or exclusion of various coalitions.

The major principles and precepts of reform theory continually cycle back to the work done by Clarence Stone, as he developed his foundation as an alternative to the elite and pluralism theories of power that emerged from the work done by C. Wright Mills

(1956) and Robert Dahl (1961). Clarence Stone's perspective on reform views it as a fluid process that emerges from coalitions created by persons from the public and private domains who come together. These coalitions may form around specific interests (e.g. land use), multiple interests (e.g., the operations of various municipal government offices, or conflicting interests (e.g., desegregating schools, Urban renewal or funding public works projects), but each is intricately intertwined with maintaining or seeking power in his paradigm. In essence, "reform is a process of coalition creation and maintenance. Reform can be implemented and institutionalized only if a long-term coalition is built (Sonenshein 2004)". In addition, "an urban regime ... is a set of arrangements or relationships (informal as well as formal) by which a community is governed (Stone 2006)".

Those social scientists and public administrative researchers who study systems, agencies, networks and government forms in operation, consistently stress the importance of understanding how such systems operate contextually, historically and normatively. Not only is it imperative that such processes be understood within their present context, but they must be understood within the various networks they engage with, and the issues that create the environment for change and sustainability. This approach requires a case study methodology. An example of this approach is the work done by Herbert Kaufman (1981), as he researched some significant administrations within the Federal Government. His work gave insight into how such environments develop, sustain themselves and create their operating norms.

Kaufman's work highlighted the processes and actions that took place in order to get things done. His work opened up doors as to how one could study decision making,

information flow and department interpretations and implementations of directives. In addition, he was able to study decision-making processes within their working environment, and differing contexts of operation. His work was foundationally important in developing an approach for studying power and its operation within some important federal agencies. Such case studies helped to shape the discourse that emerged as to how power operates within local government settings (Kaufman 1981).

As Clarence Stone's research developed a different model for understanding the workings of leadership, power and decision-making from a political science perspective, Herbert Kaufman's work highlighted how leadership functioned, information flowed and the methods through which policy was implemented in an administrative environment. One of the insights his work has for studying government is showing how difficult it is to change organizations and organizational culture. His work shows how discretionary power may be used to influence how policies are implemented, postponed or thwarted. In some ways his perspective tends to reinforce the difficulty one might confront when attempting to change an organization's direction or milieu.

Stone views the paradigm of urban regime theory as occurring as a typology with four noteworthy components. One is Maintenance, two is Developmental, three is Middle-Class Progressive, and four is Lower-Class Opportunity Expansion. While implicit in this paradigm is a ranking, each tends to operate with significantly different purposes and goals. A maintenance regime is one founded on producing no real change. This model is perhaps paramount in utilizing power to maintain the status quo at the expense of all other objectives. The Developmental regime model is one that "involves change and disruption (Orr & Johnson 2008, 96)," and is usually the creation of business

coalitions linking with government around projects that are often disruptive. This approach is noticeable in the urban renewal projects that disrupted established communities in many major American cities in the 1960s and 1970s. Quite often the influences of private interests are coercive or intimidating.

The other two types of urban regimes tend to use power for different purposes. In addition, each is founded on principles that attempt to use power to create more inclusive democratic processes. The middle-class “progressive regime (Orr & Johnson 2008, 96)” has as its core values supporting more liberal “social programs (Orr & Johnson 2008, 97)” and agendas. The incorporation of business and other significant private interests tend to develop their interests due to the appeal of the region as being friendly to private interests, having the social resources needed to attract industry and creating environments that are more nurturing to the interests of a middle-class. In some ways this is mirrored in the work done by Richard Florida (2005 & 2003) in Pittsburgh and Toronto on how cities create environments that are attractive to the creative class. This paradigm requires an engaged, educated and community involved population. The “Lower-class opportunity expansion (Orr & Johnson 2008, 99)” regime focuses on improving those services, institutions and resources that would significantly improve the lot of urban poor, disenfranchised populations and lower working class persons. Stone refers to this paradigm as an ideal type, but one that could significantly improve democracy and local communities. In essence, such a model would work to expand opportunities, but would also result in expanding power relationships within these communities as well. Each model has significant consequences for how coalitions are built, maintained, as well as how power is distributed and interpreted. Public administration in each model has to be

interpreted in terms of the goals, values and assumptions each typology makes on how power is distributed and how it is used to achieve the desired objectives. To Stone, An urban regime is defined as the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out government decisions (Stone 1989, 6)". Urban regimes due to their fragmented political structures must create coalitions that can use their power to influence decisions. Often the more organized institutions in the community are businesses, and they are often the most resource and economically rich institutions in the region.

Continuity and maintenance are of significant importance to reform and its implementation to Stone. In addition, he views regimes as having the potential of actually operating as a succession of regimes over time. In Atlanta, Stone viewed the time period between 1946 and 1988 as a single regime for the following reason: "because the central membership of the coalition remained constant and the basic mode of promoting cooperation stayed the same (Stone 1989, 181)". The basic structure of a coalition needs to remain consistent over time in order to establish that it is a single regime. Further, he utilizes the concept of "Structuring" to define the process of reestablishing the regime's relationships. For Stone, structuring is defined as "(those) durable relationships (that) undergo a continuing process of modification Stone 1989, 181)". At many levels his analysis takes a behavioral approach in viewing the workings of the regime through the actors involved in building and sustaining relationships, and in maintaining their power relationships.

2-D DEFINITION OF POWER

Each of these approaches involves an interpretation of power. Each perspective makes certain fundamental assumptions about how power works to influence the respective paradigms. Power is defined as “the possession of control, authority or influence over others (Webster’s College Dictionary 1974)”. In essence, it is the ability to get another, or others, to do or not do something. In local governments power is regularly interpreted within the context of community power (Davies & Imbroscio 2009). This can be seen in terms of grass roots movements that might focus on a single issue, such as land use development (Orfield 2002 & 1997), or the region’s power brokers who may meet in roundtable sessions to discuss vision, interests or civic projects. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) have also interpreted power in the social sciences as a product of the paradigmatic influences of different social science disciplines. Their study indicated that power in communities is viewed quite differently when studied by sociologists or political scientists. They uncovered that “sociological oriented researchers have consistently found that power is highly centralized (elitist model), while scholars trained in political science...concluded that in their communities power is widely diffused (Pluralist Model) (Bacharach & Baratz 1962)”. In addition, they extended the discourse on power into understanding how power is employed to stop actions from taking place (Gaventa 1982; Scott 1990). They conclude that studies of local power need to incorporate a perspective on power that includes both paradigms. Stone extends this analysis on power by viewing it through its processes of coalition building and maintenance in Atlanta, Georgia.

For the purposes of this study, power will be viewed through the paradigm of regime theory as interpreted by the works of Clarence Stone. Stone's perspective on power tends to see Atlanta's business elite as paramount for establishing a "regime's durability and effectiveness (Stone 1989, 195)". Power in this model is viewed as being better organized within the private business community due to their stability, financial independence and ability to react to change without major public intervention, but still in need of working through coalitions in order to direct the coalitions. For Stone, private sector power is viewed in the following manner: (1) it is shared with coalition partners, (2) it consists of a capacity to respond to changing conditions, not to determine what will or will not change; and (3) the set of arrangements through which the governing coalition is held together has maintenance needs, which help to shape policy independent of the personal preferences of coalition members (Stone 1989, 195)". In essence, there is a symbiotic relationship between the private sector and the public sector that must find a balance in order for things to function within the regime. Stone states that this places limitations on the power of the elite as they are "constrained, not so much by the countervailing power of others outside the coalition as by the maintenance needs of the growing coalition itself (Stone 1989, 195)".

Key to understanding Stone's interpretation of power within the context of his regime paradigm is in his distinction between the "social production (and) social control model(s) of power (Stone 1989, 22-227)". Stone defines the "social control" model as one based on "dominance and assumes that politics is about legitimacy of forms of social control (Stone 1989, 222)". This form of power may be hierarchical, and may be seen as a "contest of wills, in which the one who prevails is powerful (Stone 1989 & 2008)". In

contrast to social control, Stone views “power to” as a product of persons (or groups) coming to the understanding that by themselves their power is limited. Therefore, “it is in concert with others that they enjoy a “power to” act that they would not otherwise have (Stone 1989, 227-228)”. This perspective, defined as the social production concept of power, requires that those involved work together in some collaborative manner to achieve their purpose. In addition, Stone does acknowledge that there may be competing purposes and goals within coalitions. The key “issue is how to bring about enough cooperation among disparate community elements to get things done-and to do so in the absence of an overarching command structure or a unifying system of thought (Stone 1989, 227)”.

It is imperative that one understands that these perspectives on power in Stone’s analysis are not extremes of each other, but more extensions of each other. However, viewing power through a theoretical frame of social production provides one with a better understanding of the ways that the actors interpret goals, power and the inner workings of governance processes. In some ways it allows for a method that can be used to interpret intent, shifting alliances and how those with similar needs form and/or sustain coalitions. This framework provides for a more nuanced perspective for inferring how the competing actors approach regime change, maintenance or modification. This paradigm also allows for explanations of how private interests influence or co-opt public agendas.

Stone’s approach to change incorporates several important elements. Change in his paradigm needs to be understood in terms of the interaction of public and private interests and players. It also needs to be understood within the context of the changing government-business environment, as different coalitions emerge or shift their interests

depending on their needs. In part, this approach was used to explain how Atlanta dealt with their economic crises, race relations, shifting demographics, communities, media attention and mayoral leadership changes. At its core, Stone tends to see power in local government, its business environment, and its communities, as fragmented, changing and shifting. Coalitions can shift power balances by changing their structure by incorporating or divesting different actors. Yet, this process may look like change but still allow for the same processes and power relationships to remain. Early research on local government's attempts to defining power, change and reform were limited until Elkins and Stone advanced regime theory.

At its core, the study of local government reform efforts centers on power. While earlier studies focused on the elite, or titled actors, the flaw was that they explained little as to the utilization and processes of power. The studies done by Robert Dahl, Harvey Molotch, Todd Swanstrom and Paul Peterson each focused on analyzing how power operates in local government settings. Each perspective, though, proved inadequate for explaining the workings of coalitions, changing alliances, public-private interactions and who shapes the agenda of local governments. While these questions seem best answered by regime theory, the path to this paradigm went through elitism, pluralism, economic and growth machine politics. Each of these theoretical roads led to regime theory.

Robert Dahl's study of New Haven, Connecticut in some ways spawned the development of regime theory. While regime theory tends to argue against pluralism, it starts by analyzing its assumptions. In essence, pluralism opened the conceptual door for regime theory, even if the path taken was at odds with Robert Dahl's initial assertions. Dahl viewed power in local communities as a product of formal and informal processes,

some were the product of the political structure while some were influenced by groups that were not necessarily viewed as political but were able to exert their influence on the political processes. Power is seen as being fluid, changing and shifting between the various aggregations impacting on local politics through their allocation of resources. Power is also interpreted as having the ability “to compel someone to do something”¹³. His analysis also differentiated between potential power and actual power, and formal versus informal interest groups who can influence the processes. In Dahl’s view (1961) power is fragmented and held to some degree by all, but in different measures. This perspective opens the door for viewing issues of power fragmentation, change and reallocation contextually. Dahl’s perspective was limited in its ability to explain the reformulation of alliances, the development and maintaining of coalitions, and the interpretation of power within the context of its changing dimensions.

Harvey Molotch (1976 & 1987) extended and modified the argument of Dahl’s who governs by asking the question “For What (?)”. Their work viewed power as a product of the “Growth Machine” paradigm. This model sees business and political leaders (sometimes one in the same) as heavily involved in creating city growth through economic venues. Oftentimes these projects are sold under heresthetical¹⁴ arguments, such as “growth strengthens the local tax base, creates jobs...and allows the market to serve public tastes in housing, neighborhoods and commercial development (Logan & Molotch 1987)”. Todd Swanstrom (1985) utilized this paradigm to analyze the workings of growth politics during the administration of Mayor Dennis Kucinich in Cleveland and concluded, “that while the reform movement was designed to insulate city government

from corruption, the overall effect was to undermine the autonomy of local politics and contribute to its deeper corruption (242)”.

This perspective showed that “use values of a majority are sacrificed for the exchange gains of the few (Logan & Molotch 1987, 98). In essence, city growth tends to be a product of the local conflicts within the region between those who have a significant interest in manipulating the local environment and “space for its exchange value (Logan & Molotch 1987, 54). Paul Peterson’s work extended and challenged this perspective by analyzing the impact of local policies through an economic lens. His work showed that as our urban communities lose population and businesses “they have no choice but to try to capture and retain potentially mobile businesses (Davies & Imbrrosio 2009, 34). This results in municipal regions being in a competition between serving the interests of the community and the interests of business. His study strongly suggested that the business community was almost always successful in having their agenda take precedence over community interests. Each region under study has incorporated a major business vision in their charter. This language focuses on creating economic engines at the direct expense of other needed projects. Each paradigm had limitations that regime theory addressed.

Peterson’s work (1981) raised important questions for those who study the workings of power and operation processes in local governments. This study, heavily influenced by the financial crisis that occurred in New York City in the 1970s, showed that there were limits as to what a municipality could accomplish. This was determined by the confluence of a number of factors, all heavily influenced by the economic resources of the municipality. His work also showed that decision-making and resource allocation came with costs, and those costs had real consequences for what the

municipality could accomplish. He stresses the importance of economic forces as driving the agenda in municipal environments, and these may come about due to shifts in the market, short and long term crises, available resources and distribution networks. Stone views Peterson as articulating the following: “(that) the possibility that local politics amounts to little, that the politics of cities is mainly a matter of their position in a market system (Orr & Johnson 2008, 273)”.

His research, pointed out that there are limits to what city governments are able to do, and that they are also limited in their power, operation and service delivery by economic and other outside constrictions. To Peterson, “the interests of the city are neither a summary of the individual interests nor the pursuit of optimum size. Instead, policies and programs can be said to be in the interest of the cities whenever the policies maintain or enhance the economic position, social prestige, or political power of the city, taken as a whole (Peterson 1981, 21)”. Economic factors, as Peterson’s study shows, greatly impact on the workings of municipalities. Peterson’s analysis heightens the importance of “land, labor and resources (Peterson 1981, 22-27)” as driving forces that impact, and limit, the course of a municipality’s development.

There are three major policy directions that dictate how economic influences operate within Peterson’s paradigm on city development. They are (1) developmental, (2) redistributive and (3) allocative policies. He defines them in the following manner: “Developmental policies are those local programs which enhance the economic positions of a community in its competition with others (Peterson 1981, 41)”. Redistributive policies are viewed as shifting resources “from the better off to the less well-off segments of the community (Peterson 1981, 43-44)”. Allocative services are those types of

government actions that “are neither distributive nor redistributive (Peterson 1981, 45)”. These policies can be defined as “those (actions or tasks) which provide the average taxpayer with an average ratio of benefits to taxes (Peterson 1981, 45)”. Peterson’s economic approach, while one that the field of urban regime theory still struggles with, opened a theoretical door that while challenging influenced the approach taken by those persons who approached the study of cities, municipalities, counties and other small government types through the workings of an urban regime framework (Imbroscio 2010, 35).

Reform efforts tend to incorporate aspects of each type of the policy models proposed by Peterson. The business community is often the voice that brings developmental policies to the forefront (Ross & Levine 1996, 78-81), but work done by local think tanks, universities and other agents for such agendas may add to this discourse. For the most part the issues and concerns raised through developmental policies are initiated by the business community, along with business principles they feel must be put in place for the agenda to succeed. Redistributive policies in a municipality are significantly different than a State or Nation to Peterson. He highlights the importance of cities needing to understand that redistribution policies at the local level cost cities potential economic competitiveness. In fact, such policies may be destructive to the municipality as they do not have the necessary resources needed for such policies for the most part. In essence, the city cannot do what a national or state government can do in their economic arena (Ross & Levine, 1996, 78-81). Peterson tends to define allocative policies as not business controlled, but it is clear that they can influence the agenda, and he sees such issues as not necessarily impacting on the business interests.

Still, reallocation efforts, especially where there might be a large development, may shift such business projects to undesirable locations with undesirable funding initiatives and resources for reasons that are other than just economically influenced.

Peterson's work challenged Urban Regime Theory's focus on viewing government and governance within its local confines by showing the influence of outside factors on the workings of local governments. While he focused his study on New York City during their crucial fiscal crisis, he highlighted the need to understand the external economic factors that impacted on the ability of the city to distribute desired services. It should also be stated that if Peterson researched this City at a different juncture in time the results might have been different, as there were retrenchments in their service delivery in terms of education, welfare, police, sanitation and other types of amenities that were once provided. Peterson's study challenged a number of analytical frameworks utilized for understanding the workings of local governments and their governance processes. Yet, it also extended the dialogue to some of the venues that needed exploring in order to better shape local government studies. David Imbroscio's interpretations (2010) of local government theory, while heavily influenced by the urban regime perspective, indicate that these economic considerations present a weakness in the perspective that needs to be addressed. Still, Urban Regime Theory offers perhaps the most useful devise for understanding the workings of some region's local governments.

2-E REGIME THEORY

Regime theory as developed by Clarence Stone and his adherents extended the analysis of power in the urban context in some ways that are extremely relevant for this

study of Cuyahoga, Summit and Allegheny counties. While his theory was initially developed to study Atlanta's political environment, it also provides an analysis for understanding change and power shifts, changing alliances, group power inequality, and the importance of partnerships and the business community in the urban political milieu (Stone 1989; Orr & Johnson 2008). In addition, regime theory extends the study of local power analysis beyond the scope of "elite," "Pluralist," and "economic" paradigms to one that is more inclusive and dynamic. "Regime theory asks how and under what conditions do different types of governing coalitions emerge, consolidate and become hegemonic, and how they devolve and transform (Stone 1989, 4-6)". As defined by Stone, "a regime is specifically about the informal arrangements that surround and complement the formal workings of government authority (Stone 1989, 3-6)".

His approach allows for a method for understanding the workings of power in environments that were not traditionally studied. For example, one can better study the backdoor dealings of power and influence by using Stone's approach. The influence of business in terms of the interconnectedness of their leaders and resources with local political figures can be better explained within this framework. Urban regime theory seemed to be a more robust method for explaining how each party could influence the workings of power through different coalitions, each with various resources that could be used to impact on various issues. In addition, the theory allows for an understanding of power within the context of change within the local government environment.

Stone and Floyd Hunter, considered the architects and authors of urban regime theory, were able to use their perspective to explore urban politics in a manner that was new and more inclusive of the actual operations of local government. Stoker (2001)

pointed out that this perspective allowed for exploring questions such as “how regimes come into being (and) how governing arrangements operate (?)”. This perspective expanded the method through which persons could study the workings of local governments in an empirical manner. Power could be better understood as a process that involved tradeoffs between competing persons and/or coalitions. Susan Fainstein (1999) and her researchers interpreted it as essentially “what can actors do for one another” within the development and workings of their milieu. This normative approach seemed to cull deeper than previous theoretical perspective, and allowed for an elucidation of the more subtle inner-workings, not always visible, sometimes even clandestine methods through which local governments develop and operate. The method allows for the development of methods through which to view the impact of relationships, power shifts, various influential representative influences and account for the varying degrees of influence.

This analytical tool also allows for a better understanding of governance processes. This will be explained in depth later in the study, but regime theory looks at the governance processes in operation in order to determine how power operates and how decisions are made and carried out within community and local government settings. Governance processes are often the conduits needed in order to understand how the regimes goals are developed and implemented. Studying the governance processes, which need to be viewed contextually, tend to expose the motivations, impressions and influences that impact on decision-making and goal creation within the coalitions. While the perspective asks empirical questions, the data does operate in an environment with some levels of subjectivity.

It should also be stated that the initial authors of urban regime theory tended to have an underpinning of moral and ethical perspectives that influenced their model. These subtle themes, even in the face of this framework being sometimes utilized in order to explain what is traditionally viewed as closed door politics, can be seen in the values that Stone and Elkins attribute to their ideal-typologies of the various regimes. Clarence Stone used his model to attempt to answer questions pertaining to issues of equality, especially racial and social equality issues. This is clearly evidenced in his discussion of the “Middle-Class Progressive” and “Lower Class Opportunity Expansion (Stone 1989, 181-185)” regime typologies. Some of Stone’s major empirical questions straddle the line between issues pertaining to equality and efficiency (1989, 200-201).

Some of these issues were explored by Stephen Elkins, as he also researched empirical questions that were influenced by issues pertaining to what is the purpose of government, and how should it serve citizens. He researched regime development within the Dallas, Texas region. He was deeply concerned with “elucidating the foundations for good governance in the commercial republic (Davies 2002)”. His analysis utilized regime theory to interpret how the interests of some received voice and commitments for action. His work was deeply concerned with researching if equality and efficiency could be seen as able to function in tandem rather than be perceived as in an uncomfortable tension with each other. Clarence Stone extended this analysis further in his study of Atlanta, publishing his seminal study a few years after Elkins’ tome (1987) was published.

Urban regime theory emerged from the difficulty experienced by its researchers, who found that understanding power in terms of an elite perspective was limiting. This

perspective could not delve deep enough to explain the workings of power, coalition building, goals and other responses that required an understanding of tradeoffs, networks, the influence of private influences, resources and other such issues. Still, these questions could not be articulated within the limitations of the pluralist and elitist perspectives until they were raised. Floyd Hunter raised some of these questions in his studies of the elite in Atlanta, as did Robert Dahl in New Haven, Connecticut.

Floyd Hunter's early study of Atlanta's power elite (1953), while soundly grounded in sociological methodologies that were emerging to look at those who were the power brokers and decision makers, did start some of the significant theoretical conversations as to who held power and for what purpose in Atlanta, Georgia. Hunter distinguished between the influences of power for purposes of "maintenance" and "change." He defines these in the following manner: "Maintenance of a community is assured by the continuing activity of many men (and women) at work, at play, and in politics, although an investigator may expect to find some people enjoying more power and influence than others in daily affairs...Changes in the community, however-large scale projects or innovative legislation-are the distinct province of only a few citizens (Ricci 1971)". While Hunter viewed power through a framework of elitism, as he saw change as a process that only a few were involved in, he stimulated discussion on how power was used in communities and the city. In Hunter's elitist paradigm, "power of the individual must be structured into associational, clique or institutional patterns to be effective (Ricci 1971, 88)". While developing his perspective for the foundation of elitism, Hunter did comment on the importance of the many associations and persons who could influence the elite. However, his interpretation of their influence was one of

impacting on the “understructure of power (Ricci, 1971, 92)” within Atlanta. At some levels his interpretation tended to view power in a more static manner, and misinterpreted the manner in which power could be amorphous, changing and held in varying degrees by many within the system. In addition, Hunter saw a need for more inclusion in decision-making from those who were willing to respond to “the needs of all (Ricci 1971, 94)”.

Hunter’s study of Atlanta’s elite power brokers (1953) was an important vehicle for opening discussion on both pluralism and regime theory’s salient processes and workings. Hunter’s study also reopened the discussion on local political power within the social science disciplines. Still, Hunter’s theoretical perspective received criticism for being too limited in its explanation of how power operated in Atlanta (Rocci 1971, 98) and its methodological complications when attempting to explain who holds power and how it is used. The reframing of questions pertaining to how power operates by regime theorists moved the discourse into more nuanced understandings of how power operated within local governmental environments.

Norman and Susan Fainstein (2001 & 2010) were also instrumental in reshaping the intellectual discourse on regime theory’s development. Their work helped to highlight the importance of public-private partnership on the development of local urban environments. Their studies also conceptualized that there were different types of regimes created with different foundational structures, and with different objectives. The work done by these researchers and their team viewed regimes from a historical lens, and viewed regimes in terms of a neo-Marxian perspective. Their case studies of New Haven, Detroit, New Orleans, Denver and San Francisco (Fainstein et.al. 1983) looked at

how economic factors within each region shaped the local milieu. In addition, each case study gave special attention as to how uneven economic development impacted on each local area. Stone utilized their work, and perspective of historical analysis, in his development of regime theory.

Fainstein and her team identified four types of regimes (Fainstein et.al. 1983, 257-266). They are as follows: (1) Interventionist regimes, (2) Directive regimes, (3) Concessionary Regimes, and (4) Conserving regimes. Interventionist regimes are the product of points of entry pertaining to issues, goals, policy or restructuring. Directive regimes were seen as existing prior to 1965. Fainstein says that “before 1965 urban regimes planned large-scale redevelopment, which initially was directly sponsored by the State (and) operated with little effective opposition (Fainstein et.al. 1983, 258)” were termed directive regimes. Concessionary Regimes “were forced by the uprisings of the sixties to be more responsive to lower –class interests than before or afterwards (Fainstein et.al. 1983, 259)”. Their span was between 1965 and 1975. Concessionary regimes were involved in the process of tradeoffs, and were influenced by economic, social and local influences. Conserving regimes were seen as “being physically conservative, of trying to preserve the fiscal stability of the local state given stagnation in the national economy, and of keeping political arrangements which maintained social control without costing capital very much (Fainstein et.al. 1983, 259-260)”. In each regime the interests of business greatly influence the works and operations of the regime. Fainstein viewed this model as being in existence between 1975 and 1981 within the United States.

Fainstein's work highlights the linkage of urban regime theory to rational choice theorists. She states in a later work, that "regime theory, like neo-pluralist theory, accepts individual choice as the basis for political action: 'The use of the selective incentives concepts as the core of the explanation of regime origins and reproduction means that, as an explanatory framework, regime theory is grounded in the methodology of rational choice theory (Fainstein et.al. 2001,14)". Fainstein's work shows that it is important to understand Stone's model as challenging and extending the pluralist argument, while opening new doors for understanding who holds power, who influences those in power positions, and the context of power's operations within various segments in a region. In addition, her work does show the perceived limitations of Urban Regime Theory in terms of its confinement by economic forces and some of its uniquely American characteristics (Fainstein et.al. 2001).

Stephen Elkin (1987) and Clarence Stone developed regime theory as a counter to the elitism and pluralism perspectives. Stone's paradigm allows for a more robust, nuanced analysis of the workings of the local governments than elitism and pluralism. While regime theory was initially used by Stone to analyze a city, this theoretical framework also allows for analysis of other local government systems. He defines his regime as "the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions (Stone 1986, 6)". In essence, the actual workings of local government take place at the level of urban regimes. In addition, "the study of urban regimes is thus a study of who cooperates and how their cooperation is achieved across institutional sectors of community life (Stone 1989, 9)" rather than trying to structure government correctly. This model

explains local power through a lens of social control, conflict management, managing group tensions, to account for the degree of civic cooperation and fragmentation, as well as racial and class factors. Further, the paradigm explains local power as being a product of either systematic power or preemptive power. Orr and Johnson define systematic power as “how a group’s wealth and economic power predisposes public officials to favor that group’s interests (2008,12)”, while preemptive power is interpreted as how “a group has a strategic advantage because it is able to set the policy directly of a community’s governing coalition, allowing it to protect its privileged position (2008, 12). The model allows for explaining leadership, the interaction of various coalitions within the community and ultimately a perspective from which to view power within a local context.

Stone’s theoretical construction allows for one to develop a clearer understanding of how power, decision-making and citizen engagement operate within local government structures. His depiction of “a regime as the informal arrangements that surround and complement the formal working of government authority (Portz, Stein & Jones 1999, 9),” allows for one to develop interpretations as to how different actors invoke power in order to achieve their goals. “Central to a regime is the ability to achieve shared goals. For the members of the regime, this is a model of production rather than control. For Stone, the “governing coalition...is the core group at the center of the workings of the regime (Portz, Stein & Jones 1999, 9; Stone 1989, 3)”. Stone’s body of work allows for the development of a vision that local governments are beholden to a number of influences, such as social and economic resources, government fragmentation, unions, private business interests, professional expertise, laws and globalism. Power at various levels in

local government may be held in part by a few to many, and this influences how a regime can influence local operations.

Regimes can be formed and reformed, and this impacts on how power is interpreted within the different regimes. It has been written that “informed government structures are more conducive to a regime with a strong business presence. A city manager, or strong mayor...could work more closely with business leaders than could a fragments government composed of a weak mayor and a large, district based city council (Portz, Stein & Jones 1999, 10)”. While most studies in the field identify business interests as a key component of the field, some studies done in the European environment indicate that this might not always be consistent (Davies & Imbruscio 2009). Other studies in the field state the importance of unions, foundations, resources and social capital as major influences in the establishment of regimes (Portz, Stein & Jones 1999, 9-10). In addition, some studies indicate that at different junctures in a region’s history different regimes (Weikart 2009; DeSocio 2007) may be in place, as there are also local coalitions that are in competition with each other for power, influence, resources and existence.

Stephen S. Smith, in his work using Clarence Stone’s model views Urban Regime Theory as having four major components. First, urban regime theory operates under a “social production model of power (Smith 2004)”. The key to Stone is not who wields power, but how power operates in order to achieve its purpose. Second, the theory places great emphasis on “the enormous political importance of privately controlled investment in facilitating governance (Smith 2004, 9; Stone 1993, 2)”. As stated earlier private-public partnerships dominate the new local, state and national political environments.

Third, coalition development is a defining characteristic of Stone's theory. His analysis of Atlanta's coalitions gives close scrutiny to "the formation, operation, and maintenance of coalitions (Smith 2004, 10), along with attention to their realignment and sustainability.

The fourth characteristic of urban regime theory for Clarence Stone is in understanding that "Governance is not an issue-by-issue process (Smith 2004, 11)". Governance can be viewed in his model as a way to study the various patterns, activities, arrangements and operations used in order to accomplish its goals. Stone sees this occurring within a two-fold pattern, as "one set of characteristics involves the main players in the regime...and another set of characteristics involves the issues and goals around which a governing coalition is organized (Smith 2004, 11)". Understanding the operation of governance and its currents of influence allows for an interpretation that is more robust and able to interpret the more subtle working of power within the local government environment.

Leadership, and its various guises within a local government, is an important component of regime theory. It has been written that "one of the core tenets of urban regime theory is that public officials in leadership positions in cities do not have the civic capacity to govern on their own...the theory assumes that the effectiveness of local government depends greatly on the cooperation of nongovernmental actors and on the combination of state capacity with nongovernment resources (Stone 1993, 6)". For example, local governments that operate in an environment with a high degree of fractionalization tend to have ambiguous leadership where it is difficult to trace where

decision-making occurs and how power operates. Leadership is also shaped by the processes of governance and decisions as to how best to allocate resources.

Urban regime theory studies how goals are articulated, implemented and achieved through the development of private-public partnerships through the merging of shared power. Stone references this as the development of “cross sectional coalitions” that often “contain the city’s prominent business leaders (Stone 1998, 3; Portz, Stein & Jones 1999, 11)”. Other scholars have also referenced the importance of unions, education institutions, foundations, churches and key local organizations in the influence and development of coalitions. Many, if not all, of these organizations need to work with leadership that can articulate and create a vision that has the ability to unite and sustain the coalition. Coalitions may be involved in institution building and sustaining it at some levels, and these processes need leadership.

2-F CIVIC CAPACITY AND GOVERNANCE

Civic capacity is defined by “institutions and leadership (Portz, Stein & Jones 1999, 23)”. Civic capacity requires a few crucial components. These are as follows: “articulating common goals, forming cross-section alliances, creating program and policy resources, and establishing a platform for action (Portz, Stein & Jones 1999, 21)”. In most local urban coalitions these factors often are expressed through agendas that are a product of economic-driven interests. Most successful regimes, be they in Atlanta, Georgia or Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, create their visions around economic driven goals. This adds credence to the prospect of business interests taking center-place in coalition development in these regions. This can be seen in terms of the membership of chambers

of commerce, regional economic development, local charity, college and junior college, religious organizations and other such boards.

Civic capacity involves a few important considerations. First, it is concerned with defining what power is within the context of civic capacity. A second consideration is concerned with who is involved in its definition and descriptions; such as “intergroup cooperation, governmental (and private sector) actors, and the development of durable (sustainable) political arrangements (Smith 2004, 15)”. Third, is how civic capacity is utilized in an inclusive or exclusive manner! In a study of Charlotte, North Carolina’s school desegregation processes using Stone’s model, the business community was viewed as having a limited and limiting effect on the community shaping of civic capacity. Smith defined their business community in the following manner: It “has no power of command over the community at large and can be defeated on any given issue, but it plays a unique role in local politics because the absence of its distinctive set of resources makes governance much more difficult than it would otherwise be (Smith 2004, 131)”. Fourth, is that civic capacity forms around key issues that cannot be addressed unless there is a call-to-action from community leaders in the private and public sectors to address and solve a problem.

Stone, used civic capacity as a key in order to shape his theory of regime types in terms of coalition building (governance was another important key in his explaining the workings of regime operations and coalition building). Civic capacity is viewed within this model as a mode through which a community works to form a structure through which they articulate a problem that needs attention, and then forms a coalition charged with defining and solving that problem. Stone defines “civic capacity (as having) to do

with the ability of a community to come together to address its problems (Stone et. al. 2001, 12)”. Civic capacity must take into consideration complexity, governance processes, resources, goal clarity, leadership, policy, citizen engagement and sustainability. Civic capacity can also be viewed in terms of it being of varying degrees of strength within a community or region.

Civic capacity has different variations and purposes within the different regimes that Stone defines. Civic capacity also speaks to some of the difficulties involved in the creation of true reform efforts. Creating a coalition, sustaining a coalition and clearly defining a coalition in terms of longer-term relationships are different and complex agendas. These complications tend to allow for more established coalitions to maintain functioning, and oftentimes the established regime has access to the necessary resources needed in order to maintain their influence and power. Civic capacity influences the potential of the coalition to articulate the issue and mobilize in a manner that addresses the problem. This can be seen as occurring through the addressing of an agenda.

An agenda may be seen as “the set of challenges which policy makers accord priority (Stone 2005, 329)”. For Stone there are four necessary steps that need to be implemented in terms of regime analysis pertaining to an agenda. There must be an (1) agenda, (2) a governing coalition formed around the agenda, (3) appropriate and adequate resources, and (4) a scheme of cooperation (Stone 2005). Stoker extends this definition by stating that the regime must be “able to mobilize resources commensurate with its main agenda (Stoker 1995, 61)”. Civic capacity requires that an agenda, or agendas, be set by the community in order to resolve the presenting issue through cooperative efforts. In each of the counties to be studied, there were attempts to engage

citizens from all segments of the population in order to vote in the new system of government.

Civic capacity influences civic cooperation, but Clarence Stone's studies indicate that there are varying yet "distinct patterns of civic cooperation (Ferman 1996, 42; Stone 1989 & 2001)" in different local government regimes. The manner in which civic cooperation manifests itself may greatly impact on which issues are brought to the public. Civic cooperation is heavily influenced by those "groups with the most resources (Ferman, 1996, 42)", and often becomes the determinant as to local governments focusing on downtown versus community development projects. Urban renewal projects are an example of how community development projects were shaped and influenced by the resources and agendas that were brought to the table by decision-making coalitions. It is also ironic to see that much civic cooperation initially starts from conflict.

Stone has also added more clarity to his regime types over time, although all are spawned from his four-archetypical models. He has viewed some of his regimes as being influenced by corporate interests. A few of his other regimes are involved in more caretaker, civic engagement and social cause issues. He alludes to the power of technocrats, but does not establish it as its own regime type, but his initial study was published in 1989. There has been a significant emergence of private-public partnerships now heavily influenced by technological expertise and those who control its operations. Technology and technological expertise allows the development of coalitions across distances, while operating locally. In addition, power is now coterminous with expertise within these settings.

Stone's theory, once rejected as not accurately capturing the experiences of European cities, municipalities and regions, has been extended into European, Asia, Australian and South American environments (Digaetano & Klemanski 1993; Davies 2002). Work done in the field has looked at regime theory from the perspective of fashion industry cities, Netherlands urban economic development (Ostaaijen 2013), and industrial environments on different continents. Research directions in other regions have pursued the question of how power, in terms of both business and non-business factors, has influenced power players. Each is influenced by "organization, agenda and capacity and relationships (Ostaaijen 2013, 2)" in the creation of their regimes, but the manner in which each operates speaks to the governing processes functioning within the region. The existence of a regime is predicated on the manner in which governance processes function, and the manner in which cooperation between public-and private entities interplay in order to push through agendas.

Regime theory allows for one to develop a perspective from which to explain the way in which coalitions were formed and organized in order to carry out successful reform campaigns. In addition, regime theory gives one a framework for analyzing contextually leadership, alliance building and vision. Further, regime theory permits for a better conceptualization of the "connection between social differentiation and a consequent fragmentation of power (Orr & Johnson 2008, 127)". Clarence Stone's approach to regime theory also allows for a more complex analysis of local power influences on the formal and informal processes of local government. The influences of race, class, urban development, legal enactments and leadership have all been interpreted within this paradigm. Each of these factors has also had a significant influence on the

reform movements in Allegheny, Summit and Cuyahoga counties. The fragmentation of local government units, where each of these regions has more than one-hundred local government entities, such as school districts, special districts, townships, villages and cities, also complicates the implementation of a charter government. These factors require an analytical model that can capture both the overt and subtle influences impacting on the interpretation of power in these regions.

Power and the manners in which it manifests itself is the focus of Clarence Stone's questions that were the foundation for his perspective on urban regime analysis. His work highlighted the importance of understanding power contextually. From his work emerged two distinct paths for understanding power relationships in terms of those who influenced the operations of their local governments. His terms of "power to" and "power over," described earlier in the paper, are used as the frame through which to view the workings of each system prior to and after the instillation of their reform efforts. To reiterate their definitions: power over is the classical type for authority where a person, or organization, has the ability to compel an action to take place. "Power to" suggests that there are various levels of power and influence held by different factions, and that by combining their various resources the coalition can influence decision making processes (Orr & Johnson 2008, 228). The table shown is a description of how each category may be summarized in each of the studied counties.

It has been stated that "regime theory has come to occupy a central place within the urban politics literature. By focusing on the role of political choice within the confines of larger economic and cultural constraints, regime theory offers an important antidote to both the politics only (i.e. pluralists) and the economics only (i.e.

structuralists) interpretations of urban policy (Ferman 1996, 135)”. Its strength is in allowing for an interpretation of events that is beneficial for looking beyond the traditional elitist and pluralist modes of analysis. However, its weakness is that the approach has difficulty accounting for external economic influences. These factors need to be considered when viewing their workings within a case-study analysis.

Table one: URBAN REGIME THEORY: POWER OVER-POWER TO

COUNTY	POWER TO	POWER OVER	ACTORS
CUYAHOGA/BEFORE HOME-RULE	Business, Unions, Cleveland Clinic & University Hospital, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Gund & Cleveland Foundations.	3-commissioners	Union, Local Busi-ness community, politicians, religious leaders,
CUYAHOGA/AFTER HOME RULE	Cleveland Clinic & University Hospital, Greater Cleveland Growth Association, Gund & Cleveland Foundations, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Public attitudes.	Executive & 11-member council	Business comm-unity, developers, Hospital complexes, Greater Cleveland Growth Associa-tion, Forest City Enterprises
SUMMIT/ BEFORE HOME RULE	Tire Industry: Goodyear, Firestone, Foundations & Universities (Kent & Akron)	3-commissioners	Firestone, Goodyear, Akron Beacon Journal, Academic Community, Foundations

SUMMIT/AFTER HOME RULE	Academic, Firestone, First Energy, Community, Akron Beacon Journal, Hospitals	Executive and 11-member council	Hospitals, First-Energy, Universities, Mayor, Goodyear
ALLEGHENY/BEFORE HOME RULE	Alcoa, Carnegie Heinz Foundation,	3-Commissioners	Union, Business, Academic, Foundations, Alcoa, U.S. Steel, PNC, Pittsburgh Tribune & Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Foundations
ALLEGHENY/AFTER HOME RULE	Allegheny conference human development, Two Major Newspapers Pennsylvania Economic Development, P.N.C. Banking, Hospitals & First Energy	Executive & 15-member council (county manager)	U.S. Steel, Alcoa, Westinghouse, Allegheny Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh Tribune (Conservative)& Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Liberal)

These concepts are significant to the understanding of Urban Regime Theory and its complexities. Stone suggests “that an emphasis on investments in human capital and a longer time frame would lead to policies that are both redistributive and growth producing (Fainstein, 2010, 81)”. Yet his writings can also be critical of alternative directions that can be taken, as urban regime theory does account for power shifts, resources used as leverage and agendas influencing the operation of coalitions and

networks. Susan Fainstein references that Clarence Stone does see “that neglect of such investment can ultimately prove harmful to a city’s interests by producing an unemployable and belligerent population (Fainstein 2012, 8)”. His stress on the importance of the “social production model of power” highlights the significance of an inclusiveness to the operations of power within a local government, while understanding that different factors influence how power operates. Power is context driven, and can be influenced by how different resources influence the environment (e.g., social capital, fiscal capital, land-use and agendas of different coalitions). This model places an “emphasis on the political advantages that stem from control of investment capital, attention to the operations and maintenance of political coalitions (Smith 2004, 97)”.

Joel Rast’s work tends to stress some of the collateral consequences of regime theory. He interprets “regime theorists (stressing) that political power within liberal democratic societies is divided into two spheres of influence, where democratic decision-making remains largely within the purview of private investors and control of public policy is in the hands of popularly elected officials (Rast 1999)”. However his work using this framework in Chicago revealed that “community power structures are dominated by coalitions of land-based interests that start to profit from the land in which they are based (Rast 1999)”. Urban Regime theory can be utilized to expose both overt and covert workings of the region in their decision-making processes. One issue is that governance processes can be used in different ways in order to achieve results.

Recent research in the field points out the need to understand urban regime theory and urban governance, while linked, as important different venues for exploring the workings of local urban governments. In tandem these analytical frameworks allow for

the development of a more nuanced understanding of the workings of urban regime theory. Stone's work relies heavily on an understanding of governance processes (Stone 1989) in order to describe his theory. It has been stated that "the basic point of departure in Clarence Stone's urban regime theory is the observation that the task of governing the city is too overwhelming for the local authority to handle. The institutional capacities of the local state are insufficient to address the most salient problems facing the city such as economic development, public service delivery, welfare, and infrastructural modernization (Pierre 2014)". In essence, "urban regimes evolve because it is in the interest of both the corporate and political leadership to forge a governing coalition where resources are exchanged and collective objectives are pursued (Pierre 2014, 10)". Urban regimes tend to shape and reshape themselves, and this accounts for the fact that they operate differently within the same locality at different time periods. Governance procedures and processes are the best way to understand the workings of urban regimes, and this is something Stone discussed at various points in his shaping of urban regime theory. Stone "argues that regime analysis is centrally about governance: not land-use practices (Pierre 2005, 451)". His assertion suggests that it is important to ensure that his perspective on local urban government power be understood within the context of its governance dimensions and elements.

While "governance" as a concept has found definition in numerous contexts, and has been defined through numerous iterations (DiGaetano & Klemanski 1999), it is still the most significant door through which to analyze the workings of government operations. Governance is emerging conceptually as the bridge between understanding power and its various relationships in terms of the workings of private and public

government operations, network operations, grass-root coalition development, government sustaining efforts, international and local partnership linkages, and governability in general (Osborn 2010, 9-10). The concept of “governance” has allowed for those who study the working of government, political science, public administration and the human sciences to give a more robust interpretation of power and its operations within and across various systems (DiGaetano & Klemanski 1999, 130-133). The good governance perspective incorporates a number of elements that helps to define some of the deeper issues that determine whether or not more than structural reform occurred.

Good governance can be defined in terms of its impact on the populous, but also on the environment, future, those who are on the margins of society and accountability for furthering the healthy development of humanity within its constrictions. “Good governance addresses the allocation and management of resources to respond to collective problems; it is characterized by the principles of participation, transparency, accountability, rule of law, effectiveness, equity and strategic vision (Chemma & McGuire 2005, 8)”. Jon Pierre’s work has extended the study of governance by directly linking certain types of urban governance typologies to Urban Regime Theory.

Jon Pierre posits that there are four forms of governance that have emerged as significant archetypes for study. He views these as emerging from fragmentation of local government, the private-public partnership operations of modern local governments and the needs of systems that respond to the realities of service delivery practices. Each of his governance models has significance for Clarence Stone’s regime typologies, as he developed his governance models within the context of urban regime theory. The models are as follows: (1) Managerial Governance (2) Corporatist Governance, (3) Pro-Growth

Governance, and (4) Welfare Governance (Pierre, 2011, 27-29). Pierre tends to see the discussion of governance as extending the discourse on urban government toward a more balanced understanding of the workings of the system rather than previous studies that only focused on the structure of local government rather than working to understand how they operated within the context of their economic, legal, administrative, population and spatial environments.

These four theoretical models of governance also incorporate methods for viewing the workings of the governance processes in Stone's regime models, as each governance model helps to better explain the workings of governance processes at each level. Pierre views managerial governance as a definition of how administrators, directors, high ranking bureaucrats, key officials "and other non-elected officials (Pierre 2011, 29)" manage and problem-solve within their respective domains. While Stone defines his ideal regime types in terms of their task-focus, the managerial task governance model can be used to explain the workings of governance tensions between elected officials and those persons who are career administrators and directors. Some of the key components of this governance approach are concerns with expedience, frugality, position protectiveness, and viewing expertise as held by administrators. Pierre defines this governance type as being "fiscally conservative"¹⁵ in its approach to resource allocation. The table below shows the level of interconnection of each theoretical perspective to the other.

Table Two: Urban Regime Theory & Urban Governance Theory

Clarence Stone's Regime Types	Jon Pierre's Governance Types
Maintenance Regime	Managerial & Corporatist Governance
Developmental Regime	Corporatist & Managerial Governance
Middle-Class Progressive Regime	Pro-growth Governance
Lower-Class Opportunity Expansion Regime	Welfare Governance

Pierre's Corporatist governance model is concerned with having "a significant and continuous involvement of civil society organizations in urban politics and public service delivery at the local level (Pierre 2011, 49)". This governance archetype allows for a person to view how "inclusion of civil society into the process of policy-making in a city is in itself an important objective (Pierre 2011, 57)". This model incorporates elements of Stone's middle-class and lower-class opportunity expansion values, as it looks toward incorporating a high level of citizen influence in policy design. There is also a high level of inclusion in its governance processes, and a high level of concern with defining good government in terms of a high level of inclusion for its citizen population. This model is also of a great benefit in theoretically explaining the working of private-public networks, coalitions and other forms of decision-making interactions.¹⁶

The pro-growth and welfare governance archetypes proposed by Pierre also show an influence from Clarence Stone's analytical paradigm. The pro-growth model views economic development as beneficial to all within the community. However the history of some attempts at pro-growth strategies (e.g. urban renewal) had extreme negative collateral consequences. Pro-growth strategies, and who defines them cuts across each of Stone's archetypes. Historically, this approach to governance is elite driven, as is the agenda. Welfare governance tends to be a more eclectic approach to governance, as it is reflected in the creation of safety nets and other social protections. It is defined as being of a governance process "where growth is all but non-existent and where the city has a primary role in accommodating its populace in a declining economy (Pierre 2011, 88)". Rust-belt cities, especially Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and other such cities may be viewed through the lens of a welfare governance model. The model also allows for distressed community issues to be analyzed in terms of how the region, municipality and other impacted areas develop their approach toward policy implementation and resource allocation. Each of these governance approaches capture elements that can be viewed through the various urban region typologies developed by Clarence Stone

Governance within an urban context can be used to show the manner in which power is unfolded in terms of achieving goals, or how various policies and projects may be hindered through its workings. In terms of local political environments, "governance has been defined as concerned with governing, achieving collective action in the realm of public affairs, in conditions where it is not possible to rest on the recourse to the authority of the state (Pierre 2014; Stoker 1997)". This perspective evidences a concern with

“political entrepreneurship; Power is contextualized and manifests itself in results, not formal authority (Pierre 2014, 10-11)”. This tool for understanding the operations of urban regimes requires an understanding of its operations in terms of contingencies, changing resources and influences. Both urban regime theory and urban governance need to be understood within their environments, and in terms of how they function within their various settings. Urban regime theory and its governance models are beneficial tools for utilizing a case study approach, and yet this is also a limitation as the information obtained may be context sensitive.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY

“In politics neither defeat nor victory is permanent” Richard Rich

3-A REGIME THEORY: AN ANALYSIS OF POWER AS INTERPRETED THROUGH REFORM CHANGE IN ALLEGHENY, SUMMIT AND CUYAHOGA COUNTIES

Much of the research on metropolitan government’s change tends to view reform as little more than structural change rather than real improvement, or deep change. These discussions tend to center on the need to professionalize government, specifically by using business principles. In addition, reform initiatives tend to have their own language, structure and goals, but are regularly manipulated by those who hold power and find new ways to reestablish control over the newly implemented system. In this manner deep reform change is often frustrated by political agendas, the power of past regimes and a lingering suspicion by the public that real reform is a change in the regime’s structure and name only. In essence, there seems to be a perception that there is no real shift in power, the major players or in a government that will directly benefit the public.

Using Stone's regime theory as a framework, this dissertation explored through the perceptions of key actors if they distinguish this as deep reform change, or structural change, and what they identify as the components of "reform change" or "structural change". In particular, in each of the three counties did the actors view their reform efforts as genuine improvements or did it operate like the past regime that it allegedly replaced. In addition, did the reform effort address efficiency, ethics, fragmentation, accountability and public concerns, or were its governance processes and operations similar to the past regime. Further, this dissertation will view how political power is interpreted in each metropolitan region, what its components are, how power was used in order to create the change, and whether power was used in order to stifle reform efforts (Stone 1989; Orr & Johnson 2008). Additionally, these comparative case studies will serve as an explanation of how well this paradigm developed to analyze how a city functions fits as a method for interpreting the workings of the three "home-rule" counties to be studied. Further, interviewing key persons involved in the three regions who were proponents, opponents or knowledgeable observers should allow for a mechanism to better compare the perceptions held by these elite persons on what transpired. In addition, the use of three comparative case studies should also act to decrease the interpretative bias that can occur when one is too close to the workings of a single system.

Some of the more salient elements impacting on reform efforts are civic cooperation, the operation of the governance structure, private and public partnerships. As stated earlier, Stone tends to view civic cooperation as "informal modes of coordinated efforts across institutional boundaries (Stone 1989)". Governance processes

that establish a more open, public centered environment and the ability to adapt to change may have been ushered in as part of the processes for regime reform. In addition, public and private partnerships that reflect vision, inclusiveness, openness and accountability are often part of the shift toward a reform governmental structure. Stone's perspective allows for an interpretation of the dynamics of political, business, citizen coalition building engagement that shape the processes of change and how power emerges and is used. In some sense, each of these elements has an impact on citizen engagement, or its lack, and public accountability.

The comparative case-study approach offers the best method for analyzing the reform efforts in each county (Yin 2009, 19). Due to location, demographic, historical and motivational differences in how each region approached the problem of reform, this study utilized a more nuanced approach in interpreting how each region developed their reform movements. Interviews were conducted in order to better understand how power, coalitions, opposition, fragmentation, interest-groups and other influences affected interpretations on the part of those persons involved in the creation of these county home-rule governments. In essence, this allows for those who are interviewed to give their interpretation of how power was used to progress, modify or inhibit the agenda of each effort.

The question posed in this dissertation was best answered through the use of a case study approach. In essence, was this a structural change without real reform taking place, or did their reform efforts go deeper? This study looked at actors perceptions of how and why (Yin 2009, 19) their county embraced a reform agenda that culminated in the implementation of their, respective, home rule charters. These questions were best

answered in terms of a case method, as this process allowed one to explore why each region embraced reform at the point that they did, and why such processes took hold at that time. Yin's research in the case study method indicates that this technique is extremely beneficial in answering "How and Why" (Yin 2009, 8 & 27-28) questions.

It should be acknowledged that the case study approach allows one to research a topic or event in a more eclectic manner, and shape the analysis in a manner that might be limited if one utilized another type of methodology. Robert Yin tends to see a case study as defined in a twofold manner. First, "A case study is an empirical inquiry that (a) investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin 2009, 18)".¹⁷ Such an approach lends itself to studying the manner in which reform occurred within the context of Allegheny, Summit and Cuyahoga Counties, as a confluence of factors came together in order for each region's county reform efforts to occur.

Second, "The case study inquiry (a) copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result (b) relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as a result (c) benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis (Yin 2009, 18)". The case study methodology allows one to explore different paths of analysis that would not necessarily be available with other forms of inquiry. A conversation may direct one to archival records, an article or document that may lead to an explanation that could not be captured in any other manner. The context of reform efforts in one occurrence often evidences

esoteric elements that were not in existence in the occurrence of reform efforts in another region. In addition, factors that might look similar between different regions at a deeper analysis might evidence tremendous dissimilarities.

As stated earlier, this dissertation used Clarence Stone's model of Urban Regime Theory as the framework for studying county reform efforts in Summit, Cuyahoga and Allegheny counties. The case-study method has been the methodology of choice when utilizing this perspective, as it allows for a more nuanced approach in analyzing the workings of power, governance, decision-making and achievement of goals. This approach allows a researcher to look at a specific occurrence within in the context of the different streams of actions influencing the end results. The utilization of the case study approach, or multiple case studies, allows for the development of insight into their different workings. This has the potential for developing a deeper understanding of the workings of Stone's theoretical perspective, and the potential for enhancing the understanding and further development of his approach for researching the operations of power in urban governments. Public administration tends to define reform in terms of its structure, Stone's approach allows one to better explore the deeper rooted influences that define reform efforts.

In addition, there were a few significant reasons for looking at the three regions in terms of a case study approach. First, the regions are within close proximity to each other. Second, each region had multiple attempts at reform that failed before achieving success. Third, two of the charters had the same author, and one was referenced as a successful model to emulate. Cuyahoga and Summit counties charters were authored by Attorney Eugene Kramer. Allegheny County in Pennsylvania is often referenced as

County that did their home-rule charter in the correct manner. In addition, Cuyahoga County officials and representatives have had numerous conversations with Allegheny County prior to and after the inception of their home-rule charter. While each region was studied individually, there is the potential that some of the insights might have an impact on further shaping the development of Urban Regime Theory as espoused by Clarence Stone.

Reports, newspaper articles, hearing records and other forms of social media information were used as supplement resources. However, interviews with those major persons involved in each region's reform efforts were used to determine the type and depth of their reform. This method allowed for an inquiry as to how politicians, interest groups, opponents and other key actors interpret whether these processes resulted in structural change, deep reform change or some hybrid of each. In essence, are those who had significant involvement in the process interpreting it as "structural change" or "deep reform change?" This involved asking the major participants and opponents in each area similar questions that should elicit their responses as to how they view their county's movement from a commissioner form of government to an executive run government.

Urban regime theory and urban governance are frameworks that are best studied through the use of case studies. In addition, Urban Regime Theory requires that the historical context of the case study be understood. Each reform effort was viewed through the lens of its historical course of development, as each region had numerous failed attempts at reform until they were successful in the passage of their home-rule charter. Some of these efforts required external influences as well as internal influences, as state legislatures were required to pass the necessary legislation before any local

reform effort could be approved by local constituents. Each region also required a catalyst that pushed the agenda for reform to the forefront in order to stimulate the public discourse.

Interviews were set up with a few of the local politicians involved in its implementation, the persons who directly were involved in drafting the charters, and some of the major media writers at the various newspapers involved on reporting and follow their interpretations of these unfolding events. From these sources I requested advice on others who should be contacted, and what records might be helpful in furthering my understanding of how these participants interpreted what exactly occurred. In addition, I discussed with each how they interpreted whether this was structural change or reform change and how each came to that conclusion. In many ways the use of a “snowball effect” sampling approach helped to lead me to the persons who had direct knowledge of the process, or were close enough to its workings, to give a sound summary of its processes and their interpretation of the events. These players, or “key informants,” have the ability to point one in the right direction in order to interview those who can give a clearer interpretation as to how processes occur, power is used and a clearer definition of how the events are understood.¹⁸ Those persons who were interviewed were those elite persons who were direct participants or had direct knowledge of their reform efforts.

Interviews were set up in settings that were conducive for comfort, interviewing, unobtrusive and easily assessable for all. Some of the interviews were done at the work site. Some persons were interviewed at local restaurants or offices. A few meetings were done at the home, and some meetings were conducted by telephone. Most interviews

were recorded on an I-Pad or recorder, and stored for future reference. In addition notes were taken at every interview session, and the same core questions were asked at each interview. All persons interviewed were comfortable with the meeting being recorded and notes being taken. In addition, many of the participants were extremely open for follow-up interviews.

Those persons who were interviewed in some manner or form were either involved in the processes of moving toward a home-rule charter or has some form of intimate knowledge on the development and workings of their form of government. In addition, those persons who were interviewed also gave suggestions as to what they felt were important directions to pursue and who might be useful in helping to give a clearer understanding on some of the important issues facing their county. Others were able to give some clarity to the differences between how their charter read and how policies were put into operation. These conversations helped to put a structure as to how these localities interpreted the operation of their respective systems. In a few cases some of the persons involved in the initial development of the charter were available to be interviewed. These conversations helped to bring a more robust structure to the shape and the scope of the manner in which the discourse on the development of the charter form of government was birthed.

3-B INTERPRETIVE ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE

An interpretive social scientific approach focuses on the meanings and actions that persons give to a situation. This perspective requires one to interpret the meaning of subjects' expressed views of their situations. This approach is an appropriate

methodology for one to understand situations, such as the interactions of person in a public meeting. This perspective also fits well when one has to study phenomena where there are both overt and covert responses to interactions. For example, the perception of power in a meeting will differ depending on how a person views their relationships, status, voice and understanding of the issues discussed. A case study approach allowed for interpreting the views of actors within the context of their perspectives on the issues surrounding the process of reform.

The work done by Clarence Stone and others on regime theory helps to explain the workings of power within local governments. Further, this approach allowed for interpretations on the formal and informal uses of power within each county studied as subjects understood its workings. Specifically, how power shifts, and is implemented, who holds it and for what purpose (or purposes). This study utilized an interpretive paradigm (Riccucci 2010) in order to better understand the views of actors pertaining to how power was developed, used and manipulated in order to achieve the desired goals, and how it was also used and manipulated in order to thwart efforts that were inconsistent with those who held power. This required interviewing those who were involved in the processes of developing the reform efforts and charters in Cuyahoga, Summit and Allegheny counties.

This approach allows a researcher to study the system in terms of its various components and complexities (Jordon-Bychkov & Domosh 1999). Robert Denhart's study of public organizations is an example of this nuanced approach to the study of organization and public administration theories (Denhart 2008). The County Government of Cuyahoga is an extremely complex organization that must be understood

within the context of its demographics, history, social influences, power interactions, legislative enactments, and a host of other interrelated issues. This complexity makes the study of Cuyahoga County's reform ideal for a case study approach. This approach allows for a researcher to analyze the motives, different political interactions and the underlying purposes behind each of the three reform movements in the Cleveland, Akron and Pittsburgh regions. In addition, a case study approach allowed for a more focused interpretation as to how power was utilized, manipulated and changed as each county's reform process unfolded (Stone 1989). This method also allowed for a better interpretation of the different regional approaches, as the study of these regions required a more eclectic analytical model. In each situation the reform efforts involved coalitions that utilized their power to create their desired change while in competition with establishment efforts to utilize their power in order to maintain the old regime. In some ways Stone's study of coalition building and deconstructing is also a study of power and its ability to block or create change.

Research on the various counties was conducted through interviews with the major architects of the charters; it included those who were involved in its creation, implementation and its challenges, where available. Many of those who were involved in drafting, or analyzing, the charters of Cuyahoga, Summit and Allegheny counties are still alive and available. Also a number of the major proponents and challengers are still available. Electronic journals and archives, reports, scholar online, meeting notes, charters and reports from the three counties were utilized in order to find supportive relevant information. This perspective allowed for the development of a more inclusive approach for analyzing the information pertaining to the reform processes in each county,

in order to see the similarities and differences. The Summit and Allegheny counties were included in the study due to their importance as precursors as to how Cuyahoga County developed its reform efforts. Summit County developed their charter as a direct response to a political corruption scandal and the changing economic environment. Their charter was written by the same person who wrote Cuyahoga County's Charter a few decades later. Allegheny created their system as a response to the changing industrial patterns in the region, and embraced a partnership that involved the business, academic, neighborhood and political communities. Cuyahoga County attempted to utilize what they saw as the best of both environments, while attempting to create a system that is transparent, responsive to business, the public and local governance needs. In addition, the new system needed to respond to correcting corruption problems, building public trust and making government more responsive to all citizens. The task was Herculean.

In order to reveal how key respondents viewed these changes a series of similar questions were asked of each person interviewed. These questions focused on Stone's theory of social change, along with questions germane to the actors' interpretation of these events. This helped to develop a better understanding as to how societal networks underwent change as interpreted by those involved in its process, either directly or tangentially. In addition, by interviewing persons in each of the three regions one is better able to compare what was perceived to occur in each local government? The questions are listed in appendix three of this study.

Stone views an urban regime functioning through a process whereby private and public agencies are interconnected in terms of common purposes (although there can be different interpretations in how best to approach the issue). In addition, not one group

holds complete power, resulting in a need to create coalitions. This creates a dynamic where “power to,” or an interpretation by Stone whereby the different actors have varying degrees of power, requiring them to work together in order to achieve their goal (Orr & Johnson 2008, 234-235). Key components of this paradigm are (1) who are the coalitions who hold power; as often the agenda of the well-organized business community rises to the forefront in importance. In addition, (2) the processes by which coalitions are built and established through linkages between the public and private sectors; and (3) how they respond to power shifts, changing concerns and methods for maintaining power in an environment are of paramount importance. In essence, regime theory requires an understanding of the fluid nature of coalition building and maintenance. Furthermore, there is a need to understand how power operates between private and public sector coalitions, and how these interests are sustained. Therefore, this leads to a conclusion that regime theory can be studied through the processes of how cooperating is established, who holds the necessary assets to influence decision-making, and the purpose for which coalitions are established, sustained and reorganized in order to maintain power (Stone 1989, 140-142). In addition, urban regime theory and urban governance theory are each helpful in developing an understanding of the deeper issues involved in implementing actual reform.

3-C RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

There are a few research limitations that need to be stated before the findings are discussed. First, Urban Regime Theory has some conceptual limitations that still plague its ability to thoroughly define the theoretical workings of a local urban environment. While these problems will be documented further in the conclusion, these theoretical

restrictions are still impacting its interpretive development and usage as an explanation on the workings of local urban governmental structures. These limiting factors are still being explored by researchers looking to extend urban regime theory into new arenas of inquiry and study. These limitations are as follows: (1) regime theory does not apply to all urban areas, (2) it has limitations when attempting to explain the impact of economic factors within the context of the operations of local urban governments, (3) it must be understood within the strictures of its historical foundations, (4) some of its interpretations are impressionistic, (5) it has not conceptually incorporated well how technological coalitions grow, sustain and influence local government development, and (6) there are inconsistencies in how the model has been interpreted by those using urban regime theory as their analytical foundation for research in other locations.

A number of these concerns were referenced by Paul Peterson (1981) in his study of the economic factors impacting on the operation of local urban governments, and in David Imbroscio's discussions (2010) on the limitations of Urban Regime Theory's applicability when explaining the workings of power and public-private relationships in local government settings. Urban Regime Theory also has difficulty in explaining the influences of national or global factors on the operations of local governments. In addition, there are some local governments that do not fit Clarence Stone's model, as their operations are not consistent with the types of coalitions that were uncovered by Stone's research. This was an initial criticism of those who attempted to place Stone's regime typologies in an European setting (Davies 2002). The model was seen as distinctly American and critics initially stated that his typologies did not fit the Asian or European experiences. Recent research on Urban Regime Theory has modified its

definition to include what is termed a traditional approach, or one that is consistent with Stone's initial findings, and a soft approach (Mossberger & Stoker 2001), or one that allows for modifications and interpretations in order to better fit the model to local governments outside of the United States.

Urban Regime Theory must be understood in terms of its historical context. Recent research on the interactions of local governments and the agendas that influence their workings indicate that there may be different types of regimes at different points in their history (Welkart 2009). In addition, this perspective requires studying more long-term issues. This presents difficulty in reviewing the impact of single-issue coalition formations with short durations. Urban Regime Theory states that it is important for coalitions to have long-term sustainability.

In addition, the interpretative perspective has some limitations that need to be understood by a researcher who utilizes this analytical approach. First, it requires an understanding that the information collected is subjective, and must be understood within its context. Second, an interpretative approach requires that the researcher understands that one cannot draw inferences for a composite group from the information obtained through observations or discussions with those interviewed persons. Third, it is a qualitative approach. As such, it suffers from some validity issues. Four, those interviewed are often selected do to availability, introductions from others who were interviewed and other unique features that militate against the creation of a classically designed sampling selection process. Fifth, the interpretive perspective is never value-neutral and any researcher is also placing their influences, values and life-experience references into the equation when utilizing this approach.

CHAPTER FOUR: SUMMIT COUNTY

4-A SUMMIT COUNTY'S REFORM EFFORTS

“Government is not reason; it is not eloquent; it is force. Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master (George Washington)”.

“Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The People themselves are its only safe depositories (Thomas Jefferson)”.

Ohio Canal Commissioner, General Simon Perkins and Paul Williams in 1827 (US History.com) established Akron as one of the main locations through which a canal would be built. Akron, a Greek term that means “high place (US History.com)”, was founded as a village in 1836 and chartered as a city in 1865. Ten years after Akron received its charter, Benjamin Goodyear moved his business from New York to the city.

Akron's rubber industry was later joined by the Miller Rubber Manufacturing Sherbondy Rubber, Star Rubber, Mohawk Rubber, General Tire and Rubber, Firestone and Alkaline Rubber companies. By 1920 Akron was known as the rubber capitol of the world. During their zenith, rubber companies in Akron produced more than fifty-percent (50%) of the world's tires (Ohio HistoryCentral.com). This industry became the definition of the region, and directly and indirectly provided many of the job opportunities within Summit County.

In the early 1970s Summit County attempted to establish a home-rule charter, but this was rejected by the public. It was stated earlier in the paper that the corruption crisis of the late 1970s was viewed as the most salient issue that moved Akron toward this model of governing. However, the severe economic climate, and the retrenchment of the Rubber industry over the past few decades was also of paramount importance in generating a discourse on the need for a governing system that would be appropriate for the new economic environments that were emerging. The shifting economic landscape also required a change in the resources needed in order to be competitive in this arena. Work done by Mark De Socio pointed out the need for the region to better understand what the necessary resources for their visions are in their environment. In Akron, these resource networks were viewed by the Mayor as needing to incorporate a vision that included resource restructuring. Key was to link public and private partnerships that involved "those interlocked companies based in Akron (DeSocio 2012)" in a more coherent manner. The view for restructuring required re-missioning those public, business and other-private networks already in existence in order to reengage the various

important networks. These included Summit County's "corporations, civic organizations, universities, hospitals and business policy organizations (DeSocio 2012, 41)".

Summit County, home of Akron, was established on March 3, 1840 (State of ohio.com) from parts of Medina, Portage and Stark counties. The Population of the County fluctuated between 539,000 543,000 persons in recent census counts. The County has experienced a loss of population within Akron, and an increase in unemployment and under-employment due to the loss of its rubber industry a few decades back. In addition, the County was the first to move to a home rule charter in the State of Ohio. This push was to create a workable checks-and-balances system, improve responsiveness, place decision-making in the hands of one person and make the system operate both efficiently and ethically. Summit County's transformation seemed to be driven by the vision of Mayor Donald L. Plusquellic, who worked to engage local private business leaders to work on the new political-economic vision.

This approach to regime restructuring focused on creating a civic vision that was inclusive of private partnerships. Then many private partners were invited to join a reforming coalition as a part of a vision of a greater public duty needed to turn the system in another direction. Mayor Plusquellic championed this initiative in Akron, due to the loss of those leaders in private industry who in the past headed charitable organizations, volunteer and social service drives, and began to form this coalition starting from the political environment to the private sector environment. There was also a need to redefine what the necessary resource allocations were in this new government system, as efficiency was a major discussion point in the process. Still, the wealth or paucity of

local resources dictates the scope of service delivery and ability to problem-solve within Summit County's environment.

4-B SUMMIT COUNTY'S CHARTER SUMMARY AND PRESENT ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

The preamble of Summit County stresses the importance of citizenship and control of local government by local citizens. Their preamble reads as follows: "The citizens of Summit County, Ohio, believing that they can better govern themselves on the county level, avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the Constitution of the State of Ohio to adopt this Charter" Summit County's preamble was born from the turmoil of their corruption scandals, but shaped by the forces of constitutionalism and optimism. It should be noted that Cuyahoga County's charter was drafted by the same author of Summit County's home rule charter.

With the passage of Article Five, it was established that the effective date of the charter would be January 1, 1980. The document established that Summit County would be run by a county executive, and that a county council would be responsible for legislative issues. A number of elected positions were eliminated by the Charter at its inception, with only the Clerk of Courts, County Engineer, Prosecuting Attorney and the office of the Sheriff (Summit charter) remaining as elected positions. Some were eliminated at later points, such as the Coroner's title being changed to Medical Examiner and the offices of Treasurer and Auditor being merged. Strong language was placed in the Charter in order to stop the practices of nepotism, life time sinecures, sweetheart contracts and excessive waste.

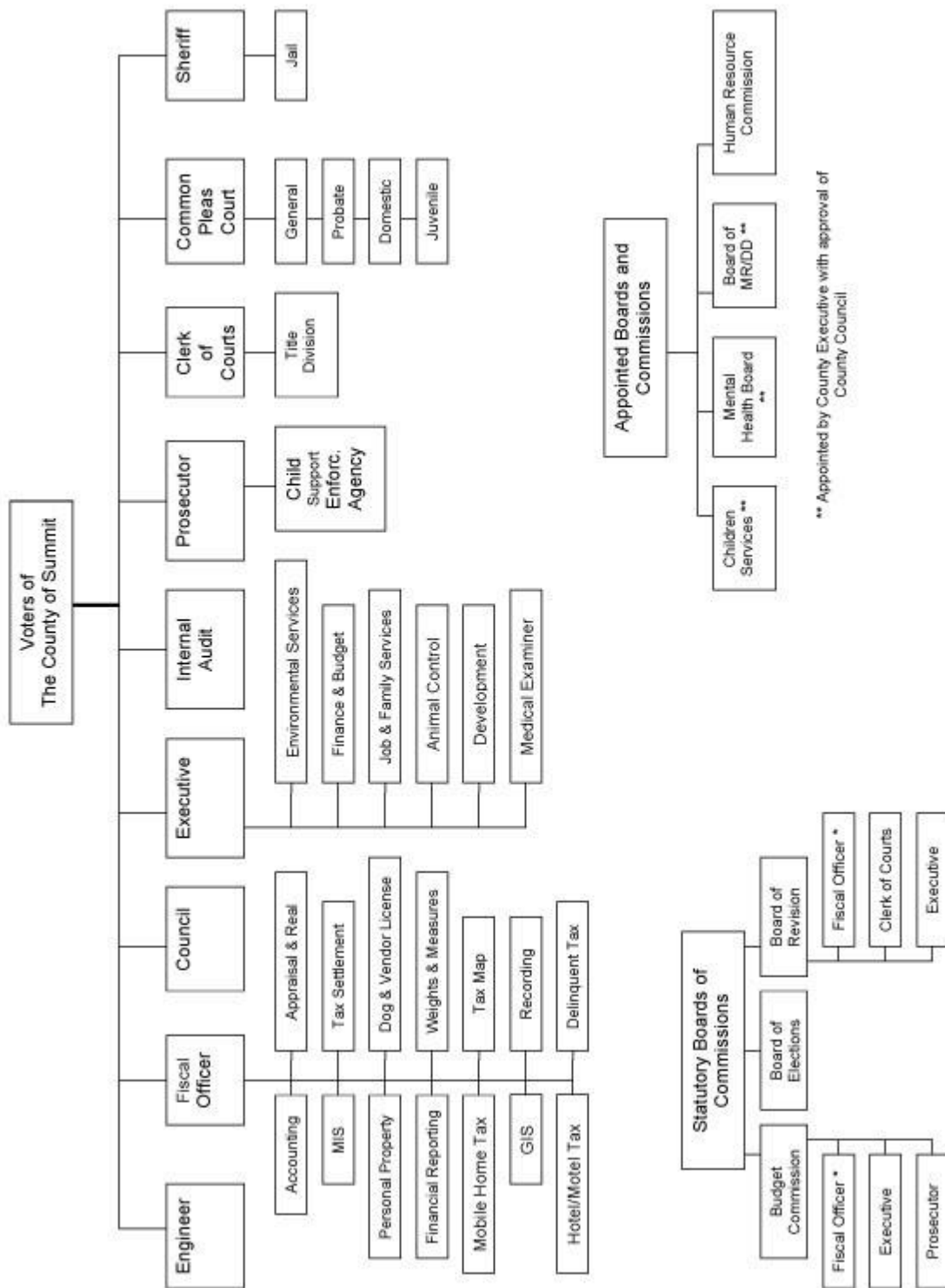
While the charter was subservient to the powers held by municipalities and townships within the county, the charter did extend power in other directions. A key component of this charter, and the charters of the other regions under study, was the creation of the office of economic development. This office was established due to the significant influence of the business community. In 1994 the office was reorganized and named “the Department of Community and Economic Development”, but was placed under the Division of Economic Development. In addition, Summit County’s Port Authority was also given a mission of working in a manner to help develop and stimulate the business environment. Part of the enactment allowed for representatives to be placed on their board if they have a business in the County, while all other members are required to be residents of the County. Their Charter, like the other Charters under study, supports a business friendly environment for the region. Summit County’s organizational chart on page 96 highlights the importance of the executive’s authority, business influences and department accountability.

Another important component of the Document was that it sets the salaries of the executive and council low in an effort to stimulate the recruitment and election of candidates who were driven by values of service rather than pursuing the position for economic gain. Council members can only be paid up to twenty-percent (20%) of the County Executive’s salary, and the president of council could receive only thirty-percent (30%) of this salary¹⁹. The Executive’s salary is set at \$40,000.00. These economic disincentives were placed in the Charter in an attempt to recruit persons who would pursue positions for more altruistic values. Still, the region has had scandals in the post

charter era. Their seal even reflects their charter status, as it reads as follows: “Ohio’s First Charter County”.²⁰

In conversations with council members their salary, which is actually referenced as a stipend, was mentioned as a disincentive that has limited representation from some critical populations. Most of those who run for office are retired, or have businesses that afford them time to serve while holding down a job. It was also referenced that at-large positions are desired, as there is not as much responsibility attached to these positions as those who service specific districts. One person I spoke with showed me a schedule of council related duties that kept her active from 8:00 A.M. in the morning to 8:00 P.M. in the evening.²¹ The voice of the minority communities, especially African-American, Latino and Asians, are limited in this political environment. It is also difficult for young adults to hold office under these restrictions, as the costs of raising a family, starting a career and going back for more education are impossibilities without adequate compensation.

The organizational chart of Summit County shows the number of positions that are now directly under the supervision of the County Executive and the few remaining elected positions. Their organizational chart clearly shows where leadership and fiscal responsibility are centered. The chart also reflects those positions that are appointed through a shared decision-making process with County Council and the sitting Executive. Their structure is designed to stress efficiency, integrity and accountability at all levels in county government.



Commission on County Government Reform: a scan of attributes of county government structure.

(2008)

Table Three: SUMMIT COUNTY INTERVIEW TABLE

INTERVIEW	REGIME TYPE	CHANGE/REFORM	POWER TO/POWER OVER	SUMMIT
COUNTY COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVE	Developmental and Middle class; there are communities that are not represented at the table	Viewed as real reform. There is clear leadership and accountability. Breaks down the political silos. Same governance processes used by Rubber industry giants is still in effect.	Power over budget & Power to :in relation to working with Health care, City regional-ism & education institutions	Summit
CHARTER'S AUTHOR	Mixture (economic stimulation- developmental & middle- class)	Real reform that allows for executive to make decisions and oversee budget. Breaking down of silos. Executive & Council independent	Power over: Executive makes real decisions. Power to: business, bank-ing, religious community	Summit
COUNTY COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVE	Blend of regimes, but more middle class expansion	Job loss & changing demographics required that they create a new leadership model. Influenced by the same outside interest (Business). Regional scope	Power to: executive control over row positions, budget, decision- making over: rubber industry education,	Summit

			hospitals Industrial drivers. First Energy, Leader-ship of Akron	
ACADEMIC	Developmental	Job Loss, regionalism, government-business partnerships, loss of industries, network linkages & checks and balances	Power to: businesses, regional network Power over: row offices, budget & Departments	Summit

Question One: Reform or Change

Attorney Kramer, who wrote both Cuyahoga County and Summit County’s charters, stated that this was²² a real reform effort. In his words many felt that Summit County was badly managed and corrupt. It was not functioning as it should be”. He felt that the push for reform emerged from the political class, or the electorate, who were tired of the political shenanigans and general disregard for the interests of the electorate. There was also great support by the local media, and proponents of good government for reform. Interestingly a number of the issues that were responsible for Summit County’s campaign for reform were also influential in Cuyahoga County (e.g. corruption, lack of transparency, poor management and inefficiency).

There were previous attempts in Summit County to get reform measures passed before they were successful. The issue was placed on the ballot in 1974 by the County,

but was defeated in a strong campaign by the local Democratic Party. While this effort failed, the coalition that pushed it was still in place and they were able to resurrect the issue when the corruption crisis occurred in the late 1970s, per Attorney Kramer. The coalition consisted of members of the business community, persons for good government and other individuals who were in favor of County reform.

Their charter put in place a new structure that placed leadership and authority in the hands of a County Executive, created a county council with a few at-large positions, and reduced the number of elected positions, and made them appointed positions under the auspices of the County Executive. The Charter was an ambitious effort to place Summit County under one authority, and make the workings more responsive for the needs of the region. Business did have a significant impact, as language was placed in the charter in order to stimulate business, but the main thrust was accountability to the public²³ in Attorney Kramer's mind.

Council Person Frank Comunale of Summit County stated that this was a significant departure from the old regime, as there is now a leader, less elected positions and more appointed positions. He is still concerned that some positions “are still elected, and some people are elected because of their name, not because they are the best person for the position”.²⁴ He referenced the importance of the Charter in terms of business issues and concerns, but referenced that the folding of businesses has changed the environment and governance over the years. In the past, the chairpersons for charity drives were the leaders of the major rubber industries. He said that the document was one of the first steps toward developing a regional agenda for services and opportunities, but this seems to have been replaced with a “cynicism” that things are not working.

Still, he referenced that the present form of government seems to be a good steward of monitoring funds, searching for regional solutions and working with the present municipalities. They have had cutbacks in government staff, but are still able to provide necessary services. They are also attempting to work with the local universities on some business initiatives in order to attract industry. He stressed that while economic factors are of great importance there is also a need to provide services to the members of the community.

Representative Tanisha Lee felt that there has been real reform, as the present system “gets away from silos”.²⁵ There is a system of checks and balances in place, and the legislature and the executive are independent. In addition, Summit County has embraced regionalism and looking for economic alternatives due to the loss of their rubber industry and its local supporting economies. Representative Lee views the influence of business as extremely important, and often able to control the agenda and who is invited to the table for discussions. In addition, leadership is focused at one source, and there is more transparency and accountability. She also feels that it is more difficult for a person to be involved in corrupt behavior in the present system, as it would come to light quicker than in the previous regime.

The work done by Mark De Socio (2007 & 2012) has shown the great influence of business on the agenda of the region, and notes that Good Year, Hospitals, The University of Akron, Akron Roundtable, Akron Community Foundation, and the Downtown Akron Partnership are among the most influential organizations in Summit County. In addition, his work on the interconnectedness of their local corporations, Civic Businesses, academic policy groups, and foundations shows the impact of the business

community on policy. He says, “these top leaders who serve as directors also typically represent a particular social class- the business class (DeSocio 2012, 37)”.

Question Two: Leaders in The New Regime

One person interviewed stated that “leaders in the system need to understand the need to balance social and economic considerations in serving the public”.²⁶ This representative noted that she does not hear the majority of the leaders in Summit County stating that they care about the people in the community. It was stated that one of the most important leadership skills is “Consensus building and working with networks” and alliances”.²⁷ It was mentioned that there is a need for leadership to get more diversity in its representation at the table. Leadership needs to understand the balance between social and economic issues, and ways in which to impact the educational system in a progressive manner. These issues were raised by both representatives.

The Hospital System, First Energy, the University of Akron, Kent State University, Akron Roundtable, Goodyear and First Merit Bank were listed as organizations that have been influential in the region. In addition, County Executive Russell Pry and Akron Mayor Donald L. Plusquellic were mentioned as important leaders and decision-makers. The Superintendent of Akron City Schools, Mr. David James, was also mentioned as an important local decision-maker.

Question Three: Issues Embraced Or Not Embraced

Representative Lee stated that the “leadership style developed by Goodyear and Firestone”²⁸ over their years of interaction with the County and local government is still active. This is the governance process she sees in place. The present system can still

control the voice of those who are at the table. There is an embracing of business issues, but even some business issues are not given the voice that the more technological business interests are receiving. Regionalism and its issues are heavily embraced by the County government.

There is a strong influence on policy by the hospitals of the region. The major universities are also active in bringing their agendas to the County Executive and council. Social safety net issues are not often discussed. There is also a need to bring the issues of the housing crisis, inadequate educational system, developing youth leadership and other issues that will make the government more effective and inclusive.

It was mentioned that there needs to be more discussion on how government is affecting the lives of its citizens. It was stated that “Akron is successful because networking is how business is done in Akron”.²⁹ However, each council person referenced the need to develop other than business model approaches for interacting with the local government. There was also a concern that the local foundations, Akron Community, Knight, Summa Hospitals, and the University of Akron, were not as active with community issues as they need to be. The foundations were seen as needing to make commitments to fund issues that are impacting on the local community. Council Person Comunale felt that there is a need for council to “have more discussions on how their local government is affecting the lives of their citizens”.³⁰

Question Four: Regime Types

The commentators viewed for the most part that there was real reform that occurred in their County. Those areas that were defined as reform were as follows;

- (1) There is an executive who is in charge, and has oversight over their budget and the appointed directorships. In addition, the present leader has been excellent at overseeing that their budget has operated in the black and has grown even in this climate of austerity.
- (2) There is a separation of power and duties between council and the executive. There is also a process of checks and balances in place.
- (3) The new system has broken down the old political silos.
- (4) There is a regional agenda.
- (5) There is a significant degree of networking and interaction between the business and government communities.

The areas that were seen as viewing the system as not a deep regime change, but as a structural system change were as follows:

- (1) Business in government still operates in the manner and governance process that were in place from the era of Goodyear and Firestone's influences.
- (2) The system still has the ability to keep agendas they disagree with from even coming to the table.
- (3) There are disparity issues that are not addressed that need to be; racial, educational, health, gender, youth, community and other such problem arenas.
- (4) There is little to no discussion of local community safety net issues.
- (5) Business issues and concerns are of paramount importance.

(6) There is a level of community cynicism regarding who benefits from this reform effort, and the perception of who is included and who is excluded pertaining to county agenda issues.

(7) People are still elected due to their name and not qualifications.

Persons in Summit County saw their regimes as falling under the definitions of Middle-Class Progressive and/or Developmental regimes. The issues that the present regime focused on were the business concerns of the hospitals, First-Energy, Good-Year and the technological projects of the local university. The issues that were brought to the county council seemed to impact the middle class, and some commented that this suggested that this represented structural regime change, but not necessarily a real reform effort.

There was also a significant concern with downtown development, and less on the issues of homeless populations, education disparity, social justice issues and retention of youths and immigrants. It was mentioned that governance processes and decision-making functioned in the same manner as the previous regime. This was reflected in the comment made that decision-making and the results were the same as when Goodyear and Firestone were in power. Power and centralizing it under the County's jurisdiction was also viewed as an important element of the move toward this reform effort.

Comments suggested that their reform effort was a hybrid of Stone's Developmental and Middle-Class Progressive regime typologies.

4-C CONCLUSION:

Those who were interviewed felt that real reform took place in Summit County. There was a perception that the new system put in place a county executive with the power to lead, manage departments and the budget. There was a feeling that there were real checks and balances put in place. Commentators also felt that there was real leadership and that Akron's Mayor and Summit County's executive have developed a good working relationship. There is a real breaking down of political silos, and a regional agenda is in place. Those interviewed saw their reform efforts as sustainable, reflecting some deeper reform elements, but with limitations.

Concerns voiced were that the present system does not allow for inclusiveness, as representation of certain populations and communities are low. There is also a concern that the social safety net issues take a back seat to business and economic concerns. There is not a county agenda for a comprehensive education plan, and there are those who are not at the table who should be. However, each saw a significant degree of networking occurring and one council person referenced that the Region has a history of successful networking.

Still there seemed to be a moderately low level of coalition building in their interpretation since the rubber industry collapsed. This impacts on their civic capacity, as the leaders of the rubber industry were also the leaders and chairs of charity initiatives and other civic events and programs. Across the Board all emphasized that business was in control of the agenda, and the charter was designed to be business friendly.

CHAPTER 5: ALLEGEHNY

“The Purpose of this country...(must) be to establish good government from reflection and choice...(or be) forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accidents and force (Katz & Bradley 2013, 171;Alexander Hamilton, Federalist Papers (Number One)”.

5-A ALLEGHENY COUNTY’S REFORM EFFORTS

Allegheny County’s industrial death knell sounded when the region’s steel industry suffered a devastating collapse in the 1980s. This was followed by a tremendous loss of their population that was compounded by the loss of many of their more educated constituents in this migration out of the region. While these decades were of major significance in stimulating Allegheny County’s need to reinvent themselves, the forces behind this decline were of an even earlier origin. In addition, business persons Andrew Carnegie and Andrew W. Mellon and key family members held sway over almost all major decision making in the region for decades. Richard King Mellon (Crowley 2005,

36) was quite active in Pittsburgh during the 1930-40s, and the city benefitted significantly from the philanthropic efforts of these families.

During the late 1930s Pittsburgh contracted with Robert Moses of New York City fame to design road transportation systems that would decrease the City's dependence on an inadequate railroad system and make roads that were appealing for automobile and trucking usage. Pittsburgh, at that time one of America's largest and more influential cities, viewed such projects as visionary and necessary in order to sustain their region's importance for the future. However, the collateral consequences of these actions created contentious environments within the uprooted areas. These projects created tensions that acted as the catalyst for creating coalitions concerned with protecting themselves from those who were attempting to uproot neighborhoods, businesses and communities under the guise of economic progress. In many of these neighborhoods there was a feeling that those who were allegedly representing their welfare had abandoned them for the sake of outside interests.

In 1996 a major report done by the "Committee to Prepare Allegheny County for the 21st Century (John E. Murray et.al. 1996)" indicated the need to restructure their local government. The report emphasized the numerous problems facing the region in terms of not being in a position to engage business opportunities, make timely decisions, and put in place leadership who has the power to make decisions. The report stressed the following: "(t)here is a compelling need for a total change in the economic development activities of Allegheny County Government. This change is necessary to compete effectively in the 21st Century. In turn, the new and aggressive approach to economic development must be complemented by improvements in the organization, function,

finance, and structural areas of government as well (Murray et.al. 1996; Nurdenberg et. al. 2008)". This and other reports were the catalysts for developing the foundation for Allegheny's new governmental structure.

Still, the 1996 report was viewed as an extremely significant document in the push to reform Allegheny County. The 2008 report build on the foundation of the earlier report. Per a conversation with one of the architects³¹ of this document, Commissioner Tom Foerster, elected seven times to the post of county commissioner, put a coalition together with the design that he would use his last elected term to put in place a reform government that would transition from the then present three-commissioner form of government to a single executive. He wanted to put this new form of government in place due to the fact that the County was in serious trouble, and without the reform it was possible that the County and region would undergo problems that might lead to the collapse of their local government. He and Commissioner Pete Flaherty initiated a study to look at creating a home-rule charter, and commissioned John E. Murray to chair the study.³²

Historically, this region has almost always voted democratic. The commissioners' races were set up so that there would always be an election of at least one Republican. Usually, one of the Democratic commissioners emerged as the leader of the commissioners and the other Democrat would be more of a figurehead. The race for Count Commissioner is almost always about who will be the second Democrat and nothing more. This time there was a rare exception. This was partially brought on by a scandal and infighting in the Democratic Party, and partially by a strong push for good government on the part of the Republican Party.

In 1996 an extremely unusual occurrence happened, and two Republicans were elected. Tom Foerster, a political giant in the region who served as a commissioner since 1968, lost the election. The coalition of Tom Foerster's fell totally apart within six-months. The representatives brought the proposal for change to the newly elected commissioners, and they rejected it. A short time later, it was obvious that the county government structure that was in effect proved too problematic. Those who were behind the reform effort again brought their proposal, and it received support from the local Republican wing, and from the more progressive reform wing of the Democratic part.

The reform effort resulted in an extremely vicious campaign. The old guard did not wish to give up power and fought the effort at every stage. The campaign rhetoric used by them was that this would significantly increase taxes for all in the region. There were also some scandals that occurred during this time, and Foerster's political party was heavily involved in these scandals. Foerster, who was elected seven times to the post of County Commissioner, lost before he could push through the reform agenda. It was mentioned by a few sources that the loss of an election by a Democrat is extremely unusual in this region.

A number of Allegheny County's reports stressed the need to create a culture where there was real, accountable leadership. These commissioned studies came back with recommendations indicating the need to appoint rather than vote in people in a number of elected offices. Here was language stressing the need to pursue "a culture of excellence," and create "fiscal oversight (Murray et. al. 1996)", and create an environment where needed decisions did not linger and cost the public future social and economic developments. Some of the innovations that the Allegheny region championed

that were credited to their reform efforts were as follows (1) Allegheny's regional asset District, (2) Home Rule, and (3) the creation of the Department of Human Services (Nordenberg et. al. 2008).

The Allegheny Regional Asset District “privatized the region’s Zoo...and introduced tax based sharing among (their) municipalities.”³³ Home rule is the foundation stone for Allegheny County’s move toward regional reform. The implementation of their new model for tax reform collection was a key component in their attempts to work on breaking down the heavy degree of fragmentation within the region. The creation of the Department of Health Services was an initiative that was cost saving while expanding services and creating more efficient methods for their citizens to receive these needed services. It took until 1998 before this Department was put in place. Many of these initiatives were chaired by members of their local academic and business communities. Policy issues and initiatives that were brought to the table in this environment were also heavily influenced by the interests of their business, labor and media (both local newspapers).

A report by the Rand Corporation referenced that the Allegheny region had the highest ratio of Government fragmentation in the United States. In fact, the report referenced “more than 900 government units in the metropolitan statistical area (Rae & Sleeper 2008)”. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania’s legislature began discussions on allowing their cities and towns to petition to be “Home Rule” entities. This final legislation was passed in 1968 and went into effect in 1972. The City of Pittsburgh adopted a home rule charter in 1974. Allegheny was the sixth county to establish Home Rule, passing this legislation by only 564 votes³⁴. The officials attempted to engage as

many different factions in the development of the plan as possible, as they reached out to the community, business, labor, elected officials, universities, training programs and as many other populations as possible. Important to their discussions for implementing a new structure were creating a responsive government, establishing an executive who would be charged with executive-administrative responsibilities, a game plan for developing new economic engines, and recruiting to keep their best and brightest citizens in the region.

One significant element of Allegheny's reform efforts was that those who were elected to council would be termed "citizen legislators (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 12-31, 2009)," and this designation was designed to focus the political discourse away from having them thought of in terms of traditional Local County or municipally held positions. In great part this terminology was designed to distance the position from what was perceived as an economic sinecure, as public attitudes often voiced a frustration with previous salary level payments for what was viewed as a part-time position. In addition, there was a real concern among the public that these offices and their duties were viewed in terms of the office being held for short-time periods and used as stepping stones to more lucrative positions.

It has been stated that "in the United States, government fragmentation seems to be the rule rather than the exception...The Pittsburgh metro area has a population of 2.3 million people but a total of 418 municipalities, nearly as many as the State of California (Pastor, Benner & Matsuoka 2009)". Allegheny and its sister counties were known to have the highest level of government fragmentation per capital in the United States. Decision-making was difficult, and there were often leadership voids when there was a

need to respond to an issue. The system operated in a manner where no decision could be made in any timely manner. In addition, it was extremely difficult to determine where true leadership and decision-making resided in government due to the heavy level of local fragmentation.

A study done on the region indicated the importance of consolidating the numerous fragmented entities into a more logical and efficient format. Their definition of good government in the region focused on consolidation of services such as the police, fire fighters, roads, schools and other service delivery department. In addition, the report focused on the need to create a more consolidated system in order to respond to the economic realities³⁵ that the region was floundering in since the collapse of their steel industry. Allegheny's reform efforts allowed for the election of an Executive responsible for decision-making (Rae & Sleeper 2008, 7). This was of significant importance, as it was difficult to navigate such a fragmented system when an issue needed a quick response and quick implementation. Their reports stressed the importance for such a structure, not only for the purpose of creating a more efficient government, but also a method through which to stimulate local economic development and attract outside businesses to the region.

Their report highlighted the need to “(1) have unity of leadership, (2) increased Planning and Development capacity, (3) simpler regulatory procedures for business, and (4) reduced intergovernmental competition (Rae & Sleeper 2008, 26)”. The perceptions and policy suggestions proffered by the report stressed the agenda of the business community. Much of this language and these concerns were also a major part of the push by Allegheny and Cuyahoga counties, and are reflected in passages of each county's

charter. A key component of their charter was to unify leadership for many of the above-stated reasons. In addition, their Charter stressed the importance of creating the potential for a competitive economic environment. This need for real leadership seemed to be a consistent theme in reports, papers, editorials and hearing through the region.

The approach to reform taken by Allegheny County, and some of the key elements of their Charter were incorporated into Cuyahoga County's document. There was also some discussion on how best to present this plan to the public, and how best to engage the public in the policy and rollout of this new government, and governance approach. Allegheny's discussions on the development of their charter indicated that it would always be a work in progress, and that it must be revisited often in order to make it most effective. There was also an attempt to move away from professional political office holders, and make the position of council attractive only to those who were serving the interests of the populous, although the definitions of these categories was not well-defined.

5-B ALLEGHENY COUNTY CHARTER-GOVERNANCE

Allegheny's past County Commissioners organizational chart reflects some of the issues raised by a person in Cuyahoga County, who referenced that their organizational chart under the past county commissioners form of government "looked like a plate of spaghetti". There were places where it was difficult to see where power was centered. Allegheny does center power in the position of the Executive. However, there are some lines of authority that are a product of party-driven forces. There are designs in the system to guarantee that each political party has some elected office, and there were clear

attempts by Allegheny to increase the number of row positions and decrease the number of elected positions in the years after their home-rule charter was passed.

The preamble of Allegheny County's home rule charter reads as follows:

“We, the people of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, Believe that: A home rule government will transfer authority over our County government from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the People of Allegheny County; A home rule government that separates the legislative and executive functions previously vested solely in the Board of County Commissioners will provide checks and balances on the powers of government and protect the rights, privileges and powers reserved or guaranteed to the people by the Constitutions of the United States of America and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania;”

Their preamble stresses the importance of ensuring that there are clear delineations of the responsibilities, duties and expectations between the different branches of government. The preamble defines the need for checks and balances between each major government entity, and states the importance of legislative and executive functions being independent. Reflective of Cuyahoga and Summit Counties preambles, Allegheny's charter states explicitly the importance of placing power in the hands of its local citizen population. In addition, their document confirms that it is an extension of Pennsylvania and the United States of America's constitutions. This clearly indicates that Allegheny's home rule charter allows for a level of independence, but that

independence cannot be inconsistent with the legal parameters of the Nation and State's Constitutions.

In addition, their Charter allows for the development of a governing process that is more harmonious to quick decision-making and responding to extraneous forces at the economic, political and community levels impacting on their region. The Charter's language is designed to engage citizens, communities, businesses and other agencies impacted by changing conditions. Their Charter also may be seen as benevolent to local business interests, as reflected in their agenda to embrace new industries, move toward a more service and technologically driven economy, while looking for ways to stimulate job growth. Downtown Development is viewed as an important venue for linking many of these initiatives into a composite format.

The positions and responses of those persons who were interviewed for this study in Allegheny are shown in the table below. Their answers of their perceptions pertaining to Stone's regime types, reform and the operation of power and governance are also recorded in this table. In addition, those persons who were interviewed are listed in the appendix-four with the specific date of their personal communication with this writer. The collected information is summarized in the table below.

Table Four: ALLEGHENY COUNTY INTERVIEW CHART

INTERVIEW	REGIME TYPE	CHANGE/ REFORM	POWER TO POWER OVER	COUNTY
COUNCIL PERSON	Middle-class progressive in issues. Business interests & Power (some developmental aspects)	Change	Power to: checks & balances. Power Over networks, relationships	ALLEGHENY
COUNCIL PERSON	Middle class- progressive on issues. Democratic control like bossism	Change No charter review & no public hearings in years. Silencing republican voice	Power over; County executive and president of council. Power to: business, unions, universities & Foundations	ALLEGHENY
PROFESSOR	Middle-class progressive Watered down reform. business economic agenda	Reform watered down. Structural reform, with more accountability & leadership	Power Over: Row office appointments, budget, economic vision	ALLEGHENY

AGENCY DIRECTOR	Hard to say. It has elements of Developmental Middle-class, and old-guard issues	Circumstance of change. Too early to tell!	Power over: executive. Power To: business, political networks, municipalities	ALLEGHENY
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Question One: REFORM OR CHANGE

Professor Miller, who was directly involved in the reform effort, voiced that the county was in peril, and if there was not some real change there was a real chance that the county government would collapse. Tom Foerster, a Democrat who wanted to reform Allegheny’s County Government during his last term put a coalition together, and pushed for studies that would present information on the best model for their local government. The report referenced earlier, “Preparing Allegheny County For The Twenty-First Century”, was commissioned. John E. Murray, President of Duquesne University and a Mayor of one of the local suburbs ³⁶championed this initiative. From this report flowed about a dozen recommendations, the first of which was economic. However, Commissioner Forester lost the election, the coalition fell apart, and those who pushed for a new government had to involve themselves in tradeoffs and negotiations in order to get reform through.

David Miller viewed it as real reform, but not as significant as it could have been. There is a real County Executive in place, and there is a county council with some monitoring and oversight ability. The Charter had language indicating the importance of

creating an economic friendly environment. However, in his words “there were the usual pushes for deal-making”. There was an old-school patronage deal for postings of positions that was supported by the Democratic regime. Each side was concerned about power, either maintaining it or co-opting it. Part of the tradeoff was in saving some elected positions and in creating a process to review the Charter periodically. He voiced disappointment in the fact that the charter has not been reviewed in the manner that was established per the terms of the charter.

Brian Jensen, the Executive Director of the Pennsylvania’s Economic League of South-Western Pennsylvania, wrote his dissertation on Allegheny County’s reform efforts. He was also a sitting member of the committee that drafted the referenced report. He stated that even though they are more than twelve years out from the start of this reform effort, it is still too new to tell if it is real reform or not. There is some “Reform, but the Jury is still out”.³⁷ He views it as “more of a circumstance of change rather than reform”.

He is concerned that home-rule municipalities supplant the power of home-rule counties in their districts. There is a lot of infighting in their region with the municipalities. He states that while there is talk of regionalism, it is not talk of creating a real regional government. The agenda of business is always at the forefront of any action, and the business community is a strong advocate for creating a real regional government. Alcoa, U.S. Steel, Westinghouse, the Foundations, Pittsburgh’s Chamber of Commerce and the major three institutions of higher education in the region stress a regional agenda at the expense of other issues.

There is also a contentious relationship between the unions and the old guard Democratic regime, as they fear losing power in any newly created government system. Power is the elephant in the room in all discussions pertaining to the present workings of their local government and any change initiative suggestion. Reform's goal is to consolidate positions, power, leadership and efficiency. The local Democratic Party has a strong investment in keeping governments fragmented, as they view this as maintaining more jobs and their present power status.

One council person, Attorney Heather Heidelbaugh, expressed that there were some aspects that were reform, but others that clearly were not. The Charter is designed to ensure that there will always be at least one At-Large position for a Republican. There is almost no discussion on issues, as there are ten Democrats and five Republicans, and decisions are made without hearing the Republican voice. The executive is also a Democrat, and there is "not much that a Republican can do" in this environment, per her conversation. The County Council is seen as being controlled by one person and this is viewed as ineffective for the democratic processes to operate, and good government issues are disregarded.

There have been requests to convene meetings pertaining to problems with their county jail, and those have been ignored. There have been no public hearings in three years. There has also been no review of the charter in twelve years. There have been attempts at intimidation, and there is no real venue for the minority party, or marginal groups to be heard. The council woman referenced an issue where the bus system is building a new route, and that it will raze an African-American community, but there have been no public hearings on the issue. There is also an extremely heavy influence

from the unions on local policy initiatives. She sees the system as a reform in name only, as the same decision-making processes and manipulations by those in power are still in operation.

Council Person Jared Barker views the system as heavily influenced by the interests of labor and the business community. An issue that complicates their reform efforts is the high degree of factionalism in their local government, and the discretion given to home-rule municipalities by Pennsylvania statute. There is one central leader, and council is independent from the executive. There were also some structural changes, as there are less elected positions. The Council person referenced that due to the complete dominance of the Democratic Party there seems to be less homework done by council members on issues. Things are done quicker, but not as well thought out. If it is an agenda item brought to council from business it is usually passed with little to no discussion.

He referenced that Council does not have a ratification process. Their major criticism seems to come from their two daily papers, the conservative Tribune Review and the more liberal Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, and the local broadcast media. All have been critical of manner in which County council operates.

Question Two: LEADERS IN THE NEW REGIME

The leaders in the new regime are the County Executive and the President of Council. Mayor William Neunar of Pittsburgh also has a high degree of influence. P.N.C. Banking is viewed as a significant force in the region. Alcoa, Westinghouse, U.S. Steel and the major foundations are also quite influential. The three core universities,

Carnegie Mellon, Duquesne University and the University of Pittsburgh, and the other core of colleges and universities are all influential in the region.

In addition, the local unions have a great influence in the region. There are major technical and robotics projects emerging from the region, and they are involved with the Tech Corridor that Ohio and Pennsylvania have been advocating for as a potential Silicon Valley initiative. While fracking was referenced as an emerging industry, most comments were that this industry has developed without a great impact on the County's agenda. There are also initiatives in place, as the region is in the process of opening \$1.2 Billion dollar state of the art steel production center.

Question Three: ISSUES

All interviewed stated that the concerns of the business community are given priority over all other concerns. Labor unions have their agenda viewed favorably, and there are strong pushes in the region to explore the creation of a metropolitan-regional government. There is also a real engagement with the academic community to look for economic vehicles that will make the region a technological center of importance in the global environment.

However the following are some significant issues that are not addressed by this new government.

- (1) There seems to be few checks and balances, as council is dominated by the agenda of the Democratic Party.

- (2) There are real tensions between the county and municipalities, and there seems to be no real discussion pertaining to shared governance issues.
- (3) There is a real concern by the Democratic Party pertaining to losing power and jobs, and this has made discussions pertaining to consolidation difficult to impossible.
- (4) The issues of government fragmentation are just not addressed within county government, and seem to be generated more in media discussions.
- (5) There have been no public hearings for at least three years, and the voice of the citizen seems to be almost invisible.
- (6) There has been no charter review for at least twelve-years, and all interviewed see this as a major flaw in their reform efforts.
- (7) Decisions on communities are made without any real dialogue with those communities. There are significant racial and community tensions that are not being addressed that directly impact on Allegheny's County Council.
- (8) There is a strong perception that the business community wants to see the county government run like a business. This would make it easier for business to function without really understanding the workings of government, as business principles would dictate how the system would operate.
- (9) The present government has not done a good job in addressing issues of diversity in hiring and inclusiveness in their decision-making processes.

(10) There was also a feeling that while there was structural change, decisions and the workings of the system were in some cases the same as before the reform effort.

(11) It was also mentioned that County Council does less research on issues than in the past, as one party is so dominant that its agenda can be pushed through at any time.

Question Four: REGIME TYPES

Three of the commentators stated the new regime tends to focus on middle-class issues; such as economic growth, clean rivers and parks, technological innovations and development. There is also a high level of interaction with the local unions. One commentator stated that it was watered down reform, due to the level of negotiations needed in order to get the agenda acceptable for the Democratic Party. Another commentator, who was a part of the initial committee that drafted the document used as a road map for the reform process, saw this more as “a circumstance of change”³⁸ rather than a real reform effort.

It was viewed as structural reform, as there were new positions added. Authority was centered at the level of the County’s executive, and there were checks-and-balances placed in the charter. There was also a reduction in the number of elected positions. Issues pertaining to middle-class values were addressed, but agendas, decisions, meetings and power were in the hands of the local Democratic Party. They were instrumental in thwarting any issues brought before them by the community, the opposing party and interests that were viewed as unfriendly to the business community.

In addition, there are significant tensions between the county and municipal governments with home rule charters. There have been no real discussions on shared governance. There have been no public hearings in years, and no review of the Charter as required for more than twelve years. This is seen as crucial, as whom the issues are addressed to seem congruent with Stone's Middle-class progressive regime while governance operates in a mode consistent with the previous regime. It is mentioned that due to the dominance of the Democratic Party there is no real system of checks and balances in Allegheny's County Government. Their major issue is in the fight for retaining power versus the attempt to consolidate power.

5-C CONCLUSION

The political environment in Allegheny County is dominated by the Democratic Party. There have been numerous attempts at reform in the County, and the initiative finally was pushed through by the thinnest of margins after a contentious election. While the process was referenced as reform, those who spoke with me saw it as a reform in structure, but business as usual in terms of its functioning.

There was a real change in the leadership, as a county executive was put in place. There was also a real change in the creation of a county council. There was no real change in those who were in power, as the Democratic Party put their people in place, had an investment in keeping government fragmented, and not implementing processes that would make their system transparent. They also used their power to marginalize opposition, and operated in a manner that suggested there was no real change in the governance processes.

One commentator could not identify a regime type, as he saw the reform agenda as “more of a circumstance of change rather than reform. The other commentators viewed it as middle-class progressive in (a) a watered down version, (b) dominated by business interests, and (c) responding like a system run by a political boss. Each voiced that power was co-opted by the system, and used to punish, push through agendas, marginalize various factions and reward those in power.

The actual agenda of the system was heavily influenced by the business community and their interests. There was also a perception that business interests, the major universities and foundations dictated the agenda. The control and purpose of the new government has been to marginalize any form of dissent, avoid public hearings and ensure that power stays in the hands of the dominant party.

These coalitions were dominated by the major owners of the steel industry, but modern coalitions are emerging from technological industries, P.N.C Banking and their Foundations. Business and their agenda were at the table at the inception of the document, and their influence and agenda are of paramount significance in the region. It seems that there are a number of elements that fit developmental regime concerns, as there is a tremendous push to be involved in Downtown development. The Mayor of Pittsburgh and the County Executive have a contentious relationship, and are competing for the same space, development and influence, although the County has no zoning power.

Their reform effort was about the reallocating of power, and pushing the agenda of economic development in a manner that was friendly to the business community.

Governance processes operated in the manner of the previous three-commissioner system, even though there were comments that they have a more transparent system with real checks and balances. Those interviewed said the County is concerned with structural issues that would seem to be consistent with Clarence Stone's Middle-class progressive regime, but the actions of those in power seemed to focus on an agenda that is more consistent with a developmental regime typology.

Allegheny County's organizational chart, while placing power and authority in the hands of the county executive, has some problems with being somewhat cumbersome. There are still some lines of authority that could be clearer. In addition, some of the departments could benefit for being combined. Still, this organizational chart outlines authority lines for their County.

CHAPTER SIX: CUYAHOGA COUNTY'S REFORM EFFORTS

“Until we get a unified regional or county government with the ability to legislate and lead all we are doing is putting Band-Aids on a body that is broken (Sam Miller CEO Forest City Enterprises 2007)”.

“For the first time in history, the basic unit of economic organization is not a subject, be it the individual (such as the entrepreneur, or the entrepreneurial family) or collective (such as the capitalist class, the corporation, the state)...the unit is the network, made up of a variety of subjects and organizations, relentlessly modified as networks adapt to supportive environments and market structures (Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*; Katz & Bradley 2013, 64)”.

6-A CUYAHOGA COUNTY REFORM EFFORTS

There have been a number of attempts to create a reform model regional government system in Cuyahoga County. Many of these efforts were attempts to correct the issues of inefficient, nonresponsive, unaccountable, patronage and fragmentation that infested government offices at both the municipal and county levels (Van Tassel & Grabowski 1996). The discourse locally was often similar to the concerns raised throughout the country pertaining to the need to create a regional governmental system that can more adequately respond to the needs of the locality while reacting quickly to industry, urban crises and shifting demographics. Often these efforts were the product of the educated middle class' attempts to create a more responsive accountable system from the perceived chaos and corruption of the urban environment (Smith 1995, 258-260). Their attempts at reform were often couched in language that endeavored to integrate morality, efficiency, inclusiveness, and accountability into the discussions on what was needed in order to create governance processes that would respond to the need of the public, electorate and the business communities.

On July 16, 1810 Cuyahoga County was given official status by the Ohio State legislature (Van Tassel & Grabowski 1996). At this time Ohio viewed its county government as an extension of the State. Cuyahoga County's governmental powers were limited by the Constitutions of Ohio and the United States. It was not until more than a Century later that Ohio passed legislation allowing a County to have "home rule" powers. It was nearly two centuries from the time that Cuyahoga was given legislative existence that Cuyahoga County became a Charter "home rule" political system. The vote that

allowed Cuyahoga to move from a “statutory” county to a “home rule” county was only the second successful such effort in the history of Ohio.

As early as 1917 there was a push by the “Citizens League of Ohio” to force the Ohio Legislature to allow for “city-county consolidations in counties with a population over 100,000 persons (Van Tassel & Grabowski 1996)”. The legislation requesting the right for a county to move toward consolidation with a large municipality was finally passed in 1933 after being brought before the legislative body in Ohio numerous times. While this legislation opened the door for later discussions on home rule charters, a right granted to cities as early as 1912, these conversations with the State’s legislature took over sixteen years before Ohio enacted home-rule legislation.

Between 1934 and 1936 Cuyahoga County’s first Charter commission submitted its proposal. The proposal was voted on and initially accepted, but was found to be “invalid by The Ohio Supreme Court (for not) meeting all four required standards (Cuyahoga League of Women Voters 2009)” needed to be a charter government. In 1949, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1980 each “Home Rule” charter attempt placed on the ballot in Cuyahoga County failed. While there were some significant studies commissioned to look into creating a “Charter Government” in the County, specifically the Citizens Committee for County Government in 1995 and Cleveland State’s study on regionalism in 2004, Cuyahoga continued to be a statutory county. During the summer of 2008 the mass arrests of public officials and their supports opened a new conversation on Northeastern Ohio’s need to reform County Government. These arrests, the media attention given to those who were involved, and the resultant trials exposed some of the

hidden workings of Cuyahoga County's activities under the County Commissioner form of Government.

The exposure of the workings of the County under James C. "Jimmy" Dimora and Frank Russo reenergized the local political conversation on the need to reform county government. This discourse was heavily pushed by citizen, business, labor, political, legal and other invested interest groups. Reformists referenced that Cuyahoga County's Government was opaque to the public, replete with inefficiency and incompetence, lacking accountability, leadership, primitive and operating without an ethical foundation at many levels. The arrests and later convictions of numerous persons involved in the "Pay to Play" environment of Commissioner James C. Dimora's regime was seen as the last act that pushed the public toward a reform agenda for Cuyahoga County.

Reform efforts often emerge as a product of crises. These crises emerged due to the loss of key industries, such as the decline of the steel industry in Pittsburgh, the deterioration of automobile production in Detroit and East Lansing Michigan, and commerce in Buffalo. They may emerge from profound demographic shifts, such as the loss of population as experienced in St. Louis, Kansas City and Dayton. Reform efforts may occur, as they did in Cleveland, Ohio and Akron, Ohio, due to the abuse of the political system. These efforts often find themselves evolving from different scandals. Oftentimes these scandals emerge from a defining incident that works to create a momentum for change based on a clarion call to recapture the government for the sake of the people. These arguments find voice in terms such as efficiency, effectiveness, objective, balanced, ethical, Good-government and responsive. In Akron, Ohio the emergent crises that occurred in the late 1970s with patronage appointments, abuses

within the auditor's office and extreme over-budget expenditures (DeSocio 2012), became the tipping point for the movement toward a charter government that would be representative of the entire region. In Cleveland, Ohio the tipping point was the initial raid of the County Commissioners' offices, but momentum continued to build due to the voice of the Plain Dealer, numerous indictments and a push by both private and public representatives in the region to create a political system that was more in tune with the needs of twenty first-century governance processes, efficient, inclusive and ethical.

While Cleveland and Akron had tipping points that were somewhat similar, the road to a charter government in each region took decades. The process that led to Cuyahoga County's reform efforts can be traced back to the creation of Ohio's home rule amendment that after a "sixteen year effort (Cuyahoga League of Women Voters 2009)" culminated in its passing during 1933. This convoluted legislation, now known as Article X in Ohio's constitution, required that four elective tests be met before such an enactment could go into effect³⁹. During 1950s the Cuyahoga County Charter Commission on two occasions⁴⁰ wrote and presented home rule amendments for the public's vote. Neither one was successful, but 1957 saw Ohio remove the four-prong process needed for a county to successfully enact a local charter government.

1980 saw Cuyahoga County reattempt to pass a home rule charter with no success. During 1994-1995, Cuyahoga County's Board of Commissioners established a commission to look into the possibility of establishing a "home rule charter" in this region. While the commission drafted a document that detailed their perceptions as to how the new government structure should be set up (Van Tassel & Grabowski 1996), and recommendations as to how best to establish and maintain a home rule system, the plan

was never acted on by the Board of County Commissioners. Between 1995 and 2008 (Barber et. al. 2008) there were also a few white papers developed that documented the need to create a political system that was more responsive to the needs of the region and more in tune with the needs of the workings of private and public partnerships, networks, citizen inclusiveness and the operation of government and governance processes in the twenty-first century. Often these studies referenced that reform and government restructuring were necessary in order to create a “Good Government” model needed to respond to the new environment, work with public-private partnerships and create a higher level of public trust. To reformists, “local government is a mechanism through which collective problems can be solved. Services provided and social change directed (Stone, Whelan & Murin 1986, 105)”. Reform efforts tend to incorporate the language of optimism, efficiency, growth and inclusiveness. This is consistent with the Charter developed by Cuyahoga County, as well as Summit and Allegheny Counties.

Perhaps one of the most influential documents written on suggesting how to reform Cuyahoga County’s government was the study of the Citizens Committee for County Government Reform authored by Kathleen Barber of John Carroll University. This study was commissioned by the county commissioners who requested a report on how best to revamp Cuyahoga County’s governmental structure. After fourteen months of study by Barber and her team, the report was submitted at a cost of \$214,196.00 to the County. The report was given directly to Commissioner Hagan, and was filed away by the commissioners without any real discussions or enactments on the recommendations. The major recommendation of the fifty-nine page document was that Cuyahoga County needed to move toward creating the position of a single elected executive. In a letter sent

to Commissioners Boyle, Hagan and Weingart on April 30, 1996, Kathleen Barber wrote the following: “We believe that the elected county executive is the key to enhanced accountability. The council elected in part from districts and in part at-large improves representation and therefore equity in county policy-making”⁴¹. Many of the recommendations that appeared in this document would be revisited during future attempts at reforming Cuyahoga County’s government and governance processes. In addition, the report strongly stated that the present county government that was in existence at the time the report was written was primitive, with aspects of its structure” predating the civil war... (with) some offices even traced to medieval England (Barber 1996)”.

It should be noted that a financial crisis in Cuyahoga was responsible for the request to establish a commission to look into reforming the local county government. There were oversight problems as to who was ultimately responsible for overseeing Cuyahoga County’s budget. A number of departments in the County were often over budget and seemed to have little investment in establishing sound fiscal monitoring procedures and protocols. This resulted in the County depilating its funds, suffering a bond rating crisis and no clear accountability as to where responsibility for this crisis should be channeled. The report that was given to the commissioners (Barber 1996),⁴² which never reached public discussion, stressed the importance of creating an executive with responsibility and the power for overseeing County operations.

In addition, the Plain Dealer periodically began to run a series of articles reporting on the “Quiet Crisis” that was greatly impacting Northeast Ohio in terms of business closings, academic retrenchment in public schools, loss of population and a government

that was nonresponsive to the complexities of the new century. This series began running articles, editorials and interviews in 2001 that discussed the brain drain, immigration, biotechnology, academic engagement, resources, neighborhood instability and potential assets⁴³ in the northern Ohio region. For example, Cleveland evidenced the loss of “more than 70,000 manufacturing jobs that existed in Cleveland in 1979 but had vanished by 1983 (Katz & Bradley 2013, 65)”. Many of the discussions focused on corrective measures for complicated issues, and the need to act in a quick, smart, inclusive and sustained manner. Much of the conversation cycled back to the need to create a new work force, and the business community often stated that there were a number of prohibitive factors that made it difficult to run effective businesses in the present environment.

The “Quiet Crisis” series opened and focused a discourse among numerous participants around attempts to solve the myriad of problems that were confronting this region. As Stone’s urban regime theory documented, coalitions are not bonded together through a strong cohesion, but rather loosely fitted aggregations with varying fluctuating degrees of power and resources. “The strongest networks are held together by a multiplicity of weak ties rather than the repetition of strong ones (Katz & Bradley 2013, 68)”. WVIZ, the local Public Broadcasting Station, took on the challenge to bring the conversation to the community through fourteen “Quiet Crisis” programs that focused on both the problems and potential solutions for improving The Northeastern Ohio region.

These public discussions spoke to the need for new leadership, new vision, new partnerships, and new approaches toward resource allocation. The conversations took place between June 15, 2001 and September 16, 2004⁴⁴. Many of those invited to partake

of these conversations were leaders in the political, academic, policy and business communities of Cuyahoga County. The programs challenged the participants to look toward best practices, innovation and expertise in order to turn the direction of the region toward a more progressive future. Constantly, these conversations discussed the need to create a government that was in tune with these goals. These conversations focused on the need to create a regional form of government, and governance processes that allowed for such a system to operate in an efficient and effective manner.

These conversations led to exchanges between the local foundations as to how they might better use their resources and influences in order to provide a stimulus for these agendas. The local foundations, inspired by the “Quiet Crisis” articles, editorials and conversations, saw “a handful of program officers from foundations in Cleveland, Akron, and elsewhere around the region start talking about how the region’s philanthropies, which give about \$300 million each year...could play a bigger role in rebuilding the Northeast Ohio economy (Katz & Bradley 2013, 68)”.

Studies indicated that the Northeastern Ohio region’s operating economy was \$79.2 Billion Dollars, and that there was no true regional economic plan. A few of the local foundations took it as their mission to help with the stimulation of an economic plan, and they have helped to link with different partnerships in order to help to stimulate the local economy. Many of these efforts were developed through various local networks, and these formal and informal networks, often reshaping the business community’s agenda, pushed for a government structure that was more harmonious with the workings of the twenty-first century’s environment. This issue was brought to the forefront by Sam Miller of Forest City Enterprises on numerous occasions.

A speech given by Sam Miller of Forest City Enterprises at Landerhaven ⁴⁵ to the business community in March of 2007 is also referenced as one of the watershed moments in Cuyahoga County's movement to a charter government. He challenged those in attendance to put in place a government that is business friendly, responsive to global matters, efficient and visionary. CEO Sam Miller stated "in no uncertain terms that if we are ever going to improve our lives, we must change county government (Harmon September 2008)"⁴⁶. After that meeting a core group of prominent persons from the business community started working on changing the local county government. They formed the "Citizens for Cuyahoga Success" coalition, and partnered with key representatives in order to formulate what persons felt was needed in order to modernize county government. In addition, this organization was involved at the inception in working to collect signatures in order to place a referendum on the ballot for reforming Cuyahoga County's government.

In July of 2008 Ohio's General Assembly "under section 793.30 of House Bill 562 created a Commission on Cuyahoga County Government Reform"⁴⁷. In addition, the nine-member committee was allocated \$200,000.00 as operating expenses for the four-month project. The stated purpose of the commission "was to develop recommendations by which Cuyahoga County may, with a vote of the people, restructure, reform, or otherwise reorganize the county government to implement a more effective, efficient, and financially and economically viable county government structure to better serve the people of Cuyahoga County (Cuyahoga League of Women Voters 2009)"⁴⁸. The establishment of this commission as required by statute became the official action that

opened the door for Cuyahoga County to pursue enacting of a home rule government, and governance form in the region.

It was not until the release of the ten-page report of the “Commission on Cuyahoga County Government Reform”⁴⁹ in November of 2008 that the conversation on reform was able to gain some momentum in revisiting these previously raised issues. This report stressed the need to create a system that was more accountable, transparent, efficient, fiscally responsible and with a single person in leadership with the needed power to carry out the work of Cuyahoga County’s government. Many of the recommendations, as is consistent with many reform movements, looked to implement business practices as models for developing efficiency. This document was a hybrid, though, that attempted to make suggestions on incorporating some new aspects to County Government while attempting to keep county commissioners in place with oversight from a President overseeing the operations of the county commissioners. Some saw this structure as a subterfuge for keeping the county commissioners while giving some changes to a slightly new model of government.

This report, which received some backlash, was seen as another method through which to give a new name to an old structure, and that has been a dilemma often faced by reform efforts. The African-American representatives⁵⁰ also raised the issue of representation and the potential for a loss of political gain due to a restructuring of government at a time when they were seeing progress at the county level. Their concern came from studies that showed a major issue with reform governments in cities, municipalities and local governments is that they often “insulate the local government “from the demands of the lower classes (Ross & Levine 1996, 186)”. The values of

professional neutrality, increased efficiency, clear accountability, problem-solving and efficiency are viewed as keys for moving toward a reform model of government and governance, but there are often collateral consequences. Critics of the report indicated that it seemed to maintain the status quo and its problems, while giving a new name to the same structure. This is a struggle that has been noted by urban researchers and theorists, and Stone's work focused on some of these dilemmas.

Clarence Stone and his staff tend to view reform efforts as embracing the principles of good government, although the definitions shift within the context of the reform efforts. Part of the problem is that reform efforts are not necessarily positive and what they replace are not necessarily corrupt, inefficient or ineffective, although sometimes they are. Reform might be more than an ideological disagreement between factions, a different vision on how government and its related processes should operate, or semantics used to hide the real intent behind the agenda to realign the workings of the present political system.

Implicit in reform efforts that are reshaping themselves under most "good government" models are the following principles: (1) an overriding public interest that is superior to the particular interests of the various segments of the urban community. (2) This general interest is more easily discovered through cooperation than through conflict and competition. (3) Technical problem solving is the central task of local government; politics is therefore minimized (Stone, Whelan & Murin 1986, 110)". These principles are often a major part of the foundation of reform charters. Some of the specific components that might be found within a home rule charter are as follows: "public interest, executive reorganization, metropolitan reorganization, at-large elections,

cooperation over conflict, experience over politics, merit based hiring and a council management structure (Stone, Whelan & Murin 1986, 110-113)”. Reform’s principles are also interrelated to scientific-efficient management models, and these principles are often articulated by those who wish to incorporate private-business principles into the charter. This is consistent with Clarence Stone’s interpretation of urban regime theory, as the business community in such regions often has the resources, energy and stability to bring such conversations to the table.

An irony pertaining to reform efforts, and this is reflected in the Charter of Cuyahoga County, as well as Summit and Allegheny, is that there is often a reallocation of funds to the business communities or for business enterprise stimulation. This is often couched under the rubric of spending to stimulate future economic growth. Alex Vitale in his critique on New York City’s attempts to rid their city of the homeless states “(that) one of the central features of urban liberalism is its commitment to entrepreneurial economic development strategies that use significant amounts of government resources to intervene in real-estate markets, reduce taxes and change government regulations (Vitale 2008, 113)”⁵¹. Stone would view these strategies as reflecting his conception of “preemptive powers (Stone 1989)”, which are utilized in order to solve issues or problems efficiently and expeditiously.

It has often been stated that “reform after reform fails because of nothing more complicated than the sheer inability of adults to cooperate with one another (Payne 2008, 6)”. Reform movements usually emerge from the concerns of the business and middle-class communities. These efforts also had to concoct a theme for the reform effort that would resonate with the public. The theme has to state why the reform was needed, and

the course that these themes took were either a theme of pointing fingers at what was problematic, or developing language that stressed the need for good government and a vision that encompassed these values.

The media is often the significant force for getting this message out to the public. “The most powerful reform weapon in shaping the preference of voters was control over the local media (Trounsteine 2008, 46)”⁵². Cuyahoga County often has the local media pushing for reform, but it did not fully resonate until the crisis of corruption was merged in editorials with the need to create a system that was efficient and responsive to the needs of the region. The Plain Dealer ran numerous stories and editorials indicating how important a charter form of Government would be for the integrity and future development of Cuyahoga County. This theme was echoed in some of the local weekly papers, and was even a topic of interest in the Monthly Cleveland Magazine.

It should be noted that the region’s weekly African-American newspaper, The Call-And-Post, was adamantly against any reform efforts. Their stance was that such a new system would be detrimental to African-American representation, and were highly critical of those few African-American voices that backed the initiative. It should also be stated that the majority owners of this paper are Don King, a well-known boxing promoter and entrepreneur and Attorney George Forbes, who served as a Cleveland Council President for a number of years. The Call-And-Post framed the issue of reform as destructive for the African-American Community. A number of African-American leaders felt that such a government would cost them representation and push some of their significant issues to the back burners of consideration.

6-B CUYAHOGA COUNTY'S HOME RULE CHARTER-GOVERNANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

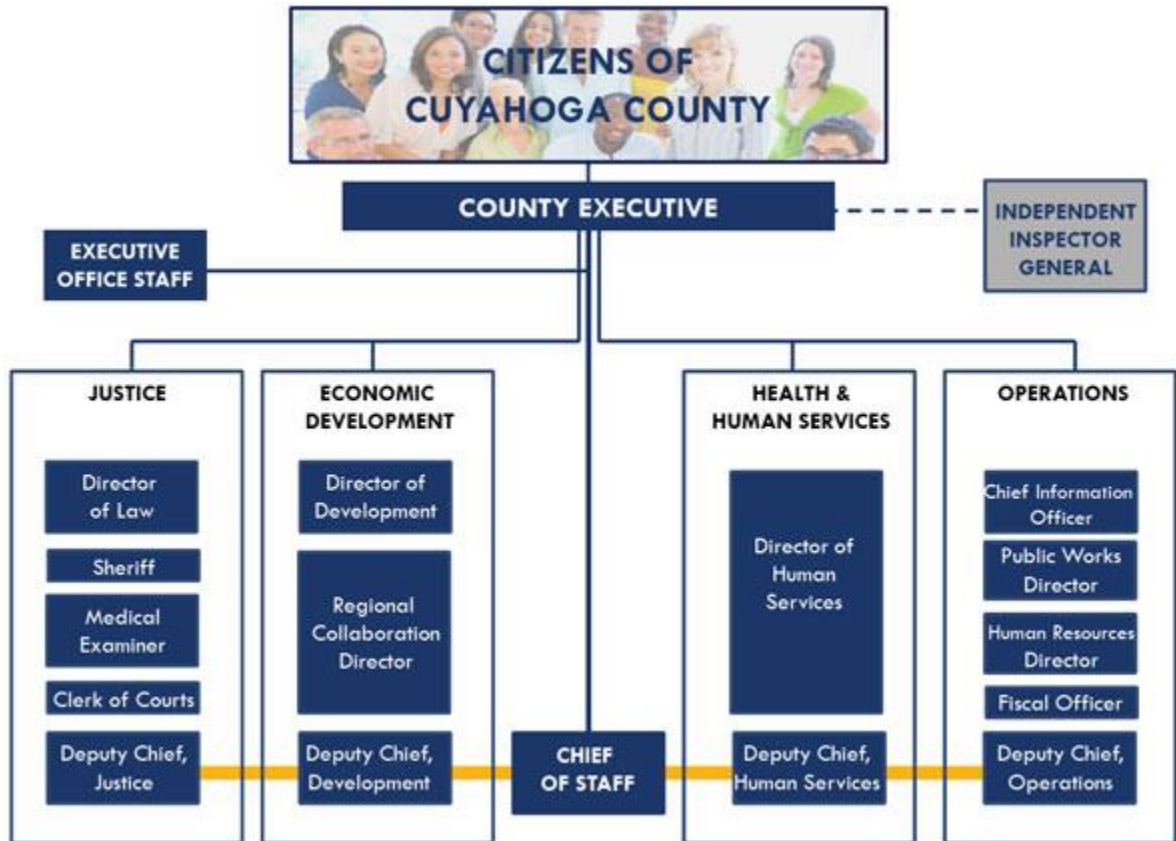
Cuyahoga County's home rule charter has as one of its key missions linking, developing and stimulating economic development within the region. Discussions within the various committees often highlighted the importance for the region to create an environment that would allow private-public partnerships to develop strong, sustaining economic industries in Cuyahoga County. Prior to the gestation of the County's home rule charter, there were discussions with Summit County (Akron, Ohio) and Allegheny County (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) on how they approached inclusion of economic development within their respective charters. In addition, Cuyahoga County reached out to the local business community for a number of their appointments to the various committees charged with developing recommendations for the transition government.

While the preamble of the charter set the temper and tone for the document as reflective of elements of good government, representative of an inclusive democratic process, citizen generated, and with proper checks and balances, its later language clearly indicates the importance of economic development as influenced by the local business community's interests. The charter begins with the following statement: "Desiring to secure for ourselves and for our successors the benefits of self-determination as to local matters that are afforded by the assumption of home rule powers for this County and the establishment of a county government that provides for the separation of administrative and legislative powers and for a more representative and accountable form of governance for this County, We, the people, adopt this Charter of Cuyahoga County".

While it must be reiterated that while county home-rule charters are beholden to the constitutions of the Nation and their state, they are still allowed a wide range of authority and power. Still, there are some foundational considerations that seem to be prevalent in the charters under study. Cuyahoga County's charter, as do the others, speaks to the importance and legitimacy of citizens to choose their destiny within the parameters of the document. Legitimacy, accountability, representation and the organizational chart each reflects the importance of the citizen at the more visible levels. This does not mean that the operations of the local government necessarily respond to these values in all decision-making processes and the utilization of their powers.

It must also be stressed that each home-rule government is an on-going experiment, and that its operations, limitations, parameters and impacts are constantly evolving. Legal enactments, changes in the environment, resource allocation, leadership, vision and other factors impact on how the system operates. In addition, the charter also spells out the parameters for amendments and change. There are often collateral consequences involved in any decision, and these influences are often unknown until they manifest themselves after policies are implemented.

CUYAHOGA COUNTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



This organizational chart was designed in 2010 to streamline local government efficiency and accountability. In addition, Cuyahoga County’s organizational chart was designed to show where leadership and responsibility are located. The new organizational structure has more unelected positions, and these departments are now under the direct supervision of the County Executive.

A person who was interviewed who had intimate knowledge of the workings of County government before the reform efforts described the organizational chart under the three commissioners as “a plate of spaghetti”.⁵³ He was a major executive, who found

the previous organizational chart to be difficult to understand where responsibility, accountability and power resided. He felt that the structure was intentionally designed to create a lack of transparency, and worked to allow for decisions to be made without any true checks and balances. In addition, there were no clearly marked lines of responsibility between the commissioners and the department heads under the old structure's organizational chart. Departments kept poor records on expenditures, and a number operated consistently in the red without any real repercussions.

The present structure places decision-making power in the hands of the County's Executive. The new organizational chart more clearly shows the delineation of responsibility between the County Executive and the department heads. The organizational plan is designed to increase transparency, and to show who should be accountable for decisions and responsibilities. In addition, the organizational chart incorporates some significant mergers of departments in order to increase efficiency. The new regime also has created more row directorships. These officials report directly to the County Executive and the Chief-of-Staff.

One commentator referenced that this new system has placed a high degree of power not only in the hands of the present county executive, but also in the hands of his Chief of Staff⁵⁴. The Chief-of-Staff holds these powers specifically, due to the fact that a number of departments report directly to the Chief-of-Staff. He also has a great degree of influence on the operations, resource allocation, staffing and ongoing operations of these various departments and agencies. This person also has the ear of the county executive, and this gives him the ability to influence decisions on both formal and informal levels.

The chart below shows the office and responses of those persons who were interviewed in Cuyahoga County.

INTERVIEW DATA

Table Five: CUYAHOGA COUNTY –INTERVIEW TABLE

INTERVIEW	REGIME TYPE	CHANGE /REFORM	POWER TO/ OVER	COUNTY
Director	Middle-class	Change	OVER: Controlled by executive	Cuyahoga
Council-County	Developmental but concerned with Middle-Class Issues	Change	OVER: Executive control/council conflicts: business	Cuyahoga
Council-city	Developmental Issues: Middle Class and Lower class	Change	BOTH: Tensions city county governance, private business	Cuyahoga
Urban researcher	County developmental	Change	TO: Agenda governance Business	Cuyahoga
Charters' author	Middle-class	Reform	TO (BOTH) Business, governance	Cuyahoga & Summit
Program Director	Developmental & Middle - Class	Change	Power-period	Cuyahoga

Foundation Director	Hybrid: middle-class and developmental. work in progress	Reform (too early to tell)	Over controlled by executive	Cuyahoga
Mayor & Chair of Reform study & Committee	Middle Class & Economic Development	Reform	Over: executive controlled TO: labor unions, Democratic Party & African-American Community	Cuyahoga
NAACP	Developmental	Change (no real change)	TO: people behind the scene have not changed	Cuyahoga
City Director	Middle-class & in conflict with Lower class expansion	No substantial policy change (Change) Structure-operations change (Reform)	Over: executive & Chief of Staff TO: Business Community, Media (PD), Cleveland Growth Association, Banks	Cuyahoga
City Mayor	Developmental	No real reform: opportunity to consolidate power	Over: Executive Elected offices converted to non-elected offices. TO: City-County tensions	Cuyahoga

Question One: REFORM OR CHANGE

Those who were interviewed had varying opinions as to whether or not what was occurring within the county was real reform or not. Those who felt that real reform occurred were often intimately involved in the reform effort prior to its inception. Most felt that what was occurring within the County was not a real reform effort, or that there were degrees of reform, but limitations due to what was perceived as the same influencers and decision makers from the old regime operating within the new home-rule system.

Three of those who were interviewed saw what was occurring in Cuyahoga County to be real reform. They were Attorney Eugene “Gene” Kramer, who drafted the Charter of Summit and Cuyahoga County, Attorney David Abbott of the Gund Foundation and Mayor Bruce Akers, who chaired the Charter review committee and has been closely involved in the reform initiative for some time. Each has been involved in several attempts at reforming our local county government, and each sees what was achieved as a vast improvement over the past regime. Each perceives both the structure and the operation of Cuyahoga County as reflecting real reform.

Mayor Akers states “what we have created is clearly reform”. Moving to a county executive and a county council system is real reform. This is a vast improvement. The old System had no real checks and balances⁵⁵. Attorney David Abbott views what transpired as real reform, as there were tremendous problems with budgets in that County, as no one was able to hold Departments and directors responsible. He saw what he termed as a “real need to concentrate budget authority in the hands of an executive.

The Executive can now set priorities, and now authority, accountability and decision-making is centered with one person in the County”.⁵⁶

He viewed this lack of control over the budget as the reason for the financial crisis that occurred in Cuyahoga County in 1996. There was no fiscal oversight, and it was impossible to get meaningful budgets passed. There was no real openness, and budget⁵⁷ and financial decisions were being made in his view “without any accountability or in public meetings”. Attorney Abbott put it best when he stated “that three Mother Theresa’s could not do this work under these restrictions”.⁵⁸ These were viewed as gigantic changes and beneficial to all persons who live, work and were serviced by Cuyahoga County. His regret was that the crisis of 1996, referred to as the “Safe Crisis”, was not the catalyst for moving the citizens to demand that our County Government be reformed.

Attorney Gene Kramer, who was the one who drafted the home-rule charters for Cuyahoga County and Summit County, stated that this was real reform. Part of the proof of this was how hard the Democrats fought to keep such legislation from passing. He referenced being involved in numerous attempts to pass such legislation, and being thwarted on numerous occasions. He referenced that such legislation was pushed by local business leaders and advocates of good government, but was fought aggressively by the commissioners and other elected county officials. They constantly had to deal with the issue raised by Democrats that by appointing a county executive the public would lose their right to vote. This was one of the reasons referenced⁵⁹ by Attorney Kramer for pushing for the executive to be elected.

In Kramer's view, the reform effort was driven by the public. He states, that "there was a need to do something, and they did it"! His view was this was a pragmatic decision. It was needed in order to create a system with real leadership. Real leadership was missing from the old system, and this reform effort created a strong leadership system. He also considered it important to not give county council too much power in order to ensure that the Executive could make quick and necessary decisions with minimal hindrance.

The other eight people viewed the reform efforts in two ways. One was that no real reform took place, and for the most part the agenda, who the shot-callers are, and the manner in which things are done is still the same. Two, there are degrees of reform, but there are also a number of things in operation that are similar to the past regime. One person stated that while they have a different structure in place, the same issues⁶⁰ that the commissioners dealt with are still being dealt with and seem to be resolved in the same manner that the three commissioners resolved issues. In a sense it is a hybrid system of reform that navigates between processes that are similar to the old regime and unique to the new regime.

Other commentators referenced that the system would have benefitted from having some at-large⁶¹ county council positions. A few others mentioned that council members are responding to issues that should be directed to their representatives in municipalities, and that they are sometimes in conflict with issues that should be addressed by their elected peers within the city or the surrounding municipalities. It was mentioned a few times by those who did not think that the effort was reform, that the public did not have an understanding of what this reform government was and the real

parameters of its operations. In addition, a council person brought up the difficulties faced by council members, who started their jobs after the executive was in place, they have few resources, no real staff, no real offices and are often inundated with e-mails⁶² that must be personally answered.

Three people, who felt that this was not a reform effort, referenced a need for more shared governance. Council Person Kevin Conwell stated “that the city and county need to be involved in more shared governance and transparency. Most people are unaware of the governance process and how the government works. Most do not understand how the government affects their lives. There is a need (by the public) to get more education about the county government”. One saw the push as heavily Republican influenced, while most saw the push as heavily business influenced. County Council-person Yvonne Conwell saw the “Republican Agenda (as) not a helping agenda, while the Democratic agenda is more about giving back”⁶³.

It was referenced by a few that one of the tenets of reform was cost savings, but that a few stated it seems like there is more spending. There was also a concern voiced that hiring is still quite political and those persons who are being hired for director and leadership positions are often lawyers, not necessarily experienced as directors. Each person who voiced that the present regime was not real reform stated they saw the charter as business friendly, and heavily tied to developing an economic stimulation plan. However, it was unclear as to how this would be done and funds would be raised⁶⁴ for the economic strategy plan.

One agency director felt that there was little real reform, and the intent of those creating the Charter was about an opportunity to restructure power balances. He views the “charter as being fundamentally against reform, and that is also the approach taken by both County Council and the Executive”⁶⁵ at the present time. He also referenced that the County Executive and his team have not always made sound fiscal decisions in how they parse agency’s staff. He referenced that Cuyahoga County’s Department of Children and Family Services were cut back by Fitzgerald and they were self-sustaining. Due to these cuts they lost \$3,000,000.00 per annum that they would automatically receive with the right staffing numbers from the State of Ohio.

In addition, he referenced that the “Democratic approach is to provide services, while the Republican approach is to reduce services”.⁶⁶ It was stressed that Mr. Fitzgerald takes a Republican approach to spending, and that is consistent with the business community’s agenda. The business community, per his comments, “placed their agenda in the charter and received funding without any disagreement by those who were at the table”.⁶⁷ He views that for “the most part those who were elected in the new system (regime) were those who held office in the old system or were heavily involved in the old system”⁶⁸. This would mitigate the present regime from being a real reform effort, but a change in structure with the same operations and influences being in place as in the past.

In a discussion with the Mayor of Cleveland he saw the new county charter government as not real reform. He viewed it in opportunistic terms. He articulated that the business community pushed for this reform. In his interpretation, this was a reaction to the corruption scandal that allowed for an opportunity to consolidate power. In his words, “it was reform on the ability to consolidate power”⁶⁹. It was mentioned that

there were conversations that should have taken place that never took place, and there were very few people involved in the initial push for reform. The document is business friendly, and he saw this as a method for moving the agenda of the County away from social service networks to economic and business considerations.

In Mayor Frank Jackson's analysis this reform effort is nothing more than "using a different process to do things in the same way".⁷⁰ It was mentioned that he and the past county commissioners were able to work together in order to create the \$111,000,000.00 Longwood project, the Euclid Corridor, and the new Convention Center projects in a harmonious manner. This relationship was developed through their working with each other on projects even before he was Mayor.

Mayor Jackson, though, stated that this reform effort is structural reform, as there is a single person who is now the leader and there is a new County Council that does have some oversight responsibilities. There is also an Inspector General in place in the new system, but it is not a permanent position presently. The Charter also moves some elected positions to appointed positions under the County Executive. However, it does not function as reform as it does not address poverty, health care, community development, under employment and other social safety net issues. In addition, Mayor Jackson does not view this as reform, as "the same social conditions and attitudes are still in place as in the past. Therefore you are going to get the same results".⁷¹ It is a new structure that works in the old way. He views this as not real reform, because it is about consolidating power in the County at the expense of the City. It does not address the conflicts, and other inherited problems. It is concerned with "economic development and delivery"⁷² and not in a manner that is beneficial to most in the County.

The Mayor referenced a significant problem with the County Government, and that is he views it as an inherent conflict to have two governments handling the same issue. Each is working on economic development issues, and they are in conflict for the same real estate. The Mayor also voiced displeasure with the fact that there were some important issues that were never discussed in the reform campaign intentionally, and they kept the focus on the corruption issue while ignoring the more substantive issues. He stated that this was not a real reform effort. It was also stated that the business community and the public did not really understand what a county government is and what a home rule municipality is, and this has created issues between the systems.

Question Two: LEADERS IN THE NEW REGIME

There are certain names and organizations that came up on a regular basis. All referenced the importance of the Cleveland Plain Dealer in keeping the discussions on the forefront of the region's agenda through their stories on corruption, the Quiet Crisis and editorials. A few in the African-American community voiced the importance of the Call-And-Post as a provider⁷³ for information, but stated that it is controlled by the dictates of George Forbes. The Call-And-Post's editorial staff was adamantly against the reform efforts. Their view was that this effort would deplete the power of the African-American community. A few persons interviewed brought up the vitriolic nature of an editorial in the Call-and-Post directed at State Senator Nina Turner, and viewed it as the old guard having problems with their loss of influence.

It was stated by one director that the Plain Dealer has its own agenda as to who they want, and seem to push a more Republican agenda. It was also referenced by that

person the importance of having a daily newspaper, as the Plain Dealer's leaving "is a threat to Democracy".⁷⁴ The local media has also been influential in helping to organize coalitions, and a few persons mentioned the importance of their "Quiet Crisis" series in generating community discussions and bringing influential people to the table to publically discuss these issues.

A few mentioned the importance and influence of the major medical facilities, especially the leaders at University Hospital and Cleveland Clinic, as greatly influencing the direction that our County is taking. The leadership at Metro Hospitals was also mentioned as being significant in bring the medical concerns of the community to the table, but not with the influence of the other institutions. One person interviewed voiced a concern that the child death rate⁷⁵ in the communities surrounding University Hospitals and Cleveland Clinic mirror third-world countries, but neither hospital has a real agenda for dealing with this crisis.

A director at Cleveland City Hall sees the Greater Cleveland Association as having significant influence with the direction of the new regime, especially in terms of the business agenda. In addition, he referenced the County's Chief of Staff, Matt Carroll,⁷⁶ as having a great influence on policy and operations in the present regime. He also referenced Mayor Jackson and the President of the local Mayors Association as each having a voice in the workings of the present regime.

Forest City Enterprises, run by Sam Miller and the Ratner Family, are names that were constantly mentioned. It was often mentioned that the leadership in the community and county is supportive of the local business agenda. The Cleveland and Gund

Foundations were also referenced as important at the inception of the reform process, but two commentators view their present agendas as more in tune with impacting on the local educational environments. Labor was also mentioned as having an influence on the workings of the local county.

It was pointed out that developers are active in the new regime, and are asserting themselves in the process. This director⁷⁷ notices that there has been a shift in the County from concerns with social services to more concerns pertaining to business, development and economic stimulation agendas. He views the county as embracing an economic conduit from their previous focus as a social service conduit.

The business community was referenced in its entirety as being important by the Mayor. He stated that our major hospital systems and downtown developers were influential in the new regime. It was mentioned that the Plain Dealer has been invested in the reform effort through their editorial board, but does not have the ability to do the investigative work they did in the past. The influence of the local media might be important, as he sees it, for bringing issues and problems to the attention of the public and for monitoring the progress of the County's reform efforts.

Question Three: ISSUES EMBRACED AND ISSUES NOT EMBRACED

Those persons who feel that this is a true reform effort and a few who see this as a hybrid effort between reform and mere structural change, voiced that there is a new structure in place in county government. In addition, there are some new people who are at the table, and some new ideas are emerging from both the Executive and the county council. However, it seems that there is a tendency to deal with the same issues that were

present in the past regime and decide them in the same ways, per some comments. A comment from one Cleveland City Hall's Directors captures this thinking in the following comment: "there has been real change as far as structure and operation, but not real policy change".⁷⁸ He views governance processes as operating in the same manner as the previous regime.

Each person commented that the agenda for business was active, and needed. There were those, though, that were concerned that the agendas of the business community were at the expense of other interests. Specifically, education, social services and safety nets for those who are at risk⁷⁹ were seen as pushed to the bottom of the agenda.

It was brought up by the local past president of the N.A.A.C.P. that the agenda for the County needs to embrace education in order to have any real impact on employment growth. He referenced the loss of our more highly educated young due to their limited job prospects in the region as an item that needs to be addressed by the County. He referenced a powerful documentary, titled "Two-Million Minutes", which follows how youths are educated for careers in China, India and the United States. The documentary states that there are two-million minutes that a student has between the 8th grade to 12th grade graduation, and how that time is used impacts on that student's economic future and the Nation's economic future.

It was stated that there needs to be a stronger focus between academia and the business community. One commentator stated that "business has complained about the lack of job ready skill sets of our local population, but they need to be more engaged with

the local educational systems in order to help develop these work skills”.⁸⁰ He referenced that the Boston, Massachusetts community formed a coalition that got together with their local schools and advises them as to what are the needed and necessary skills that one must have to work in their industries. They then helped schools to develop the curriculum and training necessary in order to prepare persons to enter these fields. Simply put, we need to know what is trending, and he views the County as doing a poor job in identifying these types of skills.

There were a number of comments indicating that there has been a good working relationship with the County Executive and the Mayor. There have also been discussions with other elected officials pertaining to shared governance issues, but this is still relatively new territory. Still, it was often voiced that the County and the largest city in the county have competing interests, and it is important to work together on projects such as economic issues, job creation, immigration expansion, educational improvement, environment concerns, safety and livability as shared not competing agendas. This requires an understanding of shared governance processes between the major players in the region.

A few expressed the concern that the Executive needs to be in the position for at least two terms, and this was needed in order to give the public a sense of stability and integrity. There was mention by a few persons that a few at-large-positions might be beneficial, but some voiced a strong disagreement for such positions. The reason is that some felt that it might distract from the authority of the Executive, as each would be elected by a county-wide vote of the people and this might give the impression that these positions had equal footing with the Executive.

Across the board persons referenced the importance of the business community and its major institutions and players influencing to even controlling the County's agenda. A few referenced that those who give money to different players influence who runs for office, the agenda that is brought to the table and the agenda that is not brought to the table. One person stated the following:⁸¹ "when you give money away you control the agenda". Some others commented that it is still difficult to stop backroom dealings, but it has helped accountability with leadership placed in the hands of one person. A few also were concerned that some in the business community were more concerned about ensuring that the agendas of the business community⁸² were at the forefront, and did not seem to be as concerned about understanding how to make the new government work for all.

A local policy researcher stated that while the structure of county government has changed it suffers from a number of hard to control factors. First is the difficulty in changing the culture. The second is that a number of politicians are not as knowledgeable about their current job duties and the workings of county government as one might envision. Third is that there are occasionally competing agendas between the County and the City and this is difficult to navigate. Fourth is what seems to be an ignoring of any attempts to have education initiatives with the county (a few saw Executive Edward Fitzgerald as viewing education initiatives as not a county responsibility).

It was also mentioned that the county and the city need to make a stronger commitment to issues involving our returning citizen population. Cuyahoga County has the largest population of persons returning from prison in the state, and one person

referenced that this population needs to be served more competently.⁸³ There is also a perception that there needs to be more opportunities created for citizen participation. In addition, strong comments were made by a few that there is a real need to put more funding and services in our community for mental health and behavioral health issues.

As stated earlier, Cleveland's Mayor sees conflict with two home-rule charters governing the same space (e.g. County and Municipal). The present county government has pushed issues of race, inadequate education, returning citizens, regional poverty, homelessness, mental health and other such issues to the background or even out of the picture. In addition, the new regime seems to operate as a conduit for the business community. Mayor Jackson has concerns, as he views "The practical model of economic as being exploitation", and that "power produces the Money".⁸⁴ He is also concerned that agendas and needs will not be addressed due to this heightened concern with power. In Mayor Jackson's view "Government will always be abusive, even with the best of intentions. Absorbing power is its (Government's) nature".⁸⁵ There is a need to make sure that the agenda of the underserved is at the table, and there is always a need to ensure that the system has effective, accountable measures put in place. The County Executive will also need to plan for the collateral consequences involved in the implementation of the charter, and there is no clear process in place for this type of monitoring.

Question Four: REGIME TYPES

One commentator stated "that there is little reforms",⁸⁶ and sees the charter as effecting little change. He views the purpose of the new government as more structural

change and maintaining control rather than reform change. He views the charter as fundamentally against reform, and sees the present council and Executive as reinforcing this approach. The agency director also referenced that while there were a number of people who served on numerous committees that made strong recommendations for change that would reform the County's government, the Executive and council approached this information as recommendations not mandates.

One policy analyst suggested that there was a need to have consistent meetings with the new government leaders and meet to discuss what real reform consists of per the charter and their vision. He suggested that there is a need for periodic retreats,⁸⁷ and further education on government, reform and how change evolves and how it can be disrupted or circumvented. He viewed it as important to see the charter as a living document that must be reviewed and revised periodically. This requires that our public officials must have a better orientation process than is presently in place. In addition, those who are elected to these positions need to better understand the workings of county governments, and their governance processes. This, in his opinion, will require becoming students of government as well as being the public's representatives.

A number of those interviewed articulated that the public spoke in the various committees as to what they felt should be included in the reform efforts, but these recommendations were basically ignored by those who were elected. Each felt that the ignoring of important issues raised by the various public committees⁸⁸ was proof that this was not real reform. A few commented that these reform efforts were ignoring the voices of the African-American, Latino and marginalized communities for the sake of other issues. These commentators often discussed what reform is not, and how important it

would be to be inclusive and transparent while also being efficient and effective. One commentator stated that he felt that the public is antigovernment.⁸⁹

Mayor Jackson states that what he has seen is not a real reform effort, and seems to be driven by business interests and developers. He sees what is transpiring as fitting most closely to Clarence Stone's Developmental regime model. Specifically, this is due to the strong push by developers and businesses to develop the City's downtown. He, and a few others who were interviewed, feel that the business community does not really understand the workings of government at the county level, and that their goal is to make government operate in the same manner as business, as that is the operating environment that business best understands.

One person commented that it is too early to determine if this is real reform,⁹⁰ but saw the present County's efforts as reflecting elements of Stone's Developmental and Middle-class regime typologies. The three persons interviewed who saw this effort as reflective of a real regime change; each viewed the present system as falling under Clarence Stone's Middle-class progressive model.⁹¹

Their reasons for viewing this as a real reform effort rather than just a change in structure and name with the same governance and underpinnings of the previous regime were as follows:

- (1) There is real leadership and accountability centered on one person. That person is the County Executive.
- (2) Decisions are made quicker, and there is more ownership as to where decision-making, accountability and power reside.

- (3) There is a County Council in place for the first time.
- (4) Legislative and Executive issues are now separated.
- (5) The new system has real checks and balances.
- (6) There is more transparency.
- (7) There was a real need to change the structure of county government, as the old structure was not working and corrupt.

Eight of those interviewed in Cuyahoga County viewed what was transpiring with the new government as not reform. For some it was business as usual in a new structure. For some it was all about the business community finding an opportunity to put in place a method to consolidate power and make the system shift the County's resources from a social service agenda to an agenda more harmonious with the interests of business. To some it was that most people had little to no real understanding of what they voted for and the future consequences of their vote on their communities, services and local municipal governments.

Most of these commentators viewed this as a change in structure, but with the old operation processes and governance methods still in place. Most viewed this regime model as falling under Clarence Stone's Developmental typology. While some stated that they saw elements of Middle Class progressivism, they saw the present regime as focusing on the issues and agendas of importance to the middle-class, but viewing the operations of the present regime as primarily focused on developmental issues that were of importance to the business community.

The reasons stated for this not being a reform effort by these commentators were as follows:

- (1) The real purpose was to consolidate power.
- (2) The Charter's structure was heavily influenced by the business community. In addition, its operations and structure is designed to work in the manner of a business rather than a government.
- (3) The process for getting things done still operates in the same manner as the past. The new regime focuses on the same issues and policies as the past regime, and they resolve them in the same way as the old regime.
- (4) There is no real concern with safety net-social issues (e.g. jobs, mental health, education disparities, unemployment and community development), and money previously allocated for such programs is either reallocated or collected in the County's funds and not disbursed.
- (5) Issues that needed to be discussed at the inception of this effort were not discussed, and some are still lingering. Persons who needed to be a part of the initial discussions were not invited to the table before the reform initiative was placed before the public.
 - a. There were no real discussions on the issue that this county reform effort was in direct conflict with the same real estate and same economic development initiatives of Cleveland.
 - b. There were also no real discussions pertaining to shared governance issues.

- (6) There seemed to be a disregard for the well thought out reform recommendations delivered to the county executive and county council. A few commentators were extremely concerned that the ignoring of these recommendations showed that there was little interest on the parts of the Executive and Council to execute a real reform initiative.
- (7) It seemed that the elected members of the new regime have little understanding of reform, and what it consists of. Their focus was on power, and how to use it more so than in implementing a real reform effort.
- (8) The business community sees the present reform initiative as little more than a quicker way to get their agenda to the forefront.
- (9) Some feel that there are not effective checks and balances, and that the public is still relatively uneducated as to how things work in this new structure.
- (10) It was also voiced that hiring practices do not seem to be merit-based, as it seems that persons with little to no real knowledge of government and its operations are being hired at the management and administrative levels.

6-C CONCLUSION:

There were varying views pertaining to if this was a real reform effort or not. Most commentators viewed that this is a reform in the structure of the government, as there are totally new positions, and a separation of the executive and legislative branches. In addition, most see that there are a number of elected offices that are now under the purview of the county executive and his chief of staff as appointed positions. Those who

viewed this as reform often commented that the three-county commissioner form of government was not working, ineffective, unaccountable and corrupt. Their comments focused on the push for reform coming from the public as well as the business community. Most did not see this reform as deep reform. They saw the same forms of governance in action, agendas that were not inclusive, decision-making similar to the past regime and distancing from the public still in operation.

Those who were critical of this being a reform change effort saw this reform effort as using the corruption crisis as a vehicle to launch an ill-thought out reform initiative. It was viewed as a subterfuge for pushing through an agenda whose purpose was about co-opting power for the purpose of private interests. Most who commented saw this as a structural change, but not real reform. They viewed that the decision-making and operations of the system remained the same. Social safety net issues were replaced by economic issues, and this local government was overlaid on municipalities who were operating with home rule systems that put each other's agendas in conflict in terms of space and resource competition.

The strongest coalitions were always identified within the private and/or business spheres of influence. This was mentioned consistently when persons commented on who influenced the writing and structure of the present charter. The fact that issues pertaining to shared governance, social safety nets, education disparity and at-risk populations discussions have taken a backseat to the economic agenda is seen by a few that this is a change in power not for the sake of reform but for the sake of the business community.

Those who did not see this as reform often stated that the same governance and decision-making processes still seem to be in operation. The new government was viewed as “focused on the same issues and policies as the past regime, and resolving them in the same way as the old regime”⁹². Others were concerned that hiring practices were not merit based, and were concerned that the charter places quite a bit of power in the hands of the executive, and that this along with the high percentage of votes council needs to override his dictates, works against any real checks and balances system.

The different coalitions put together by political groups were relatively new and weak in the view of most. For example, the County Commissioners’ attempt to form a coalition to rally around Issue Five, an attempt to postpone the implementation of this reform effort failed and fell apart. Persons for and against the agenda stated that there were concerns voiced by the leaders in the African-American community pertaining to their potential loss of elected positions and influence, and this led to much discussion as to how districting would occur under the charter.

Numerous persons made mention that even those who were elected were not sure what reform actually meant. The issue of ignoring the discussed and written suggestions that emerged from the numerous citizen groups that focused on important, social economic and governance issues was viewed by a number of those interviewed as strong proof that the county Executive and council were not concerned with creating a real reform effort. In addition, business and private interests were seen as using this new power to focus county goals on development, economic stimulation and growth of the county coffers for business directed issues and goals.

CHAPTER- SEVEN CONCLUSION

This study argues that reform must be more than a revision in the structure of the local County Government. Real reform needs to go beyond the surface structure and impact on the deeper structure of government through actual changes in how decisions are made and for what purposes. In essence, did these reform efforts actually change how governance processes were carried out, how decisions were made, and were they done for the betterment of those they served? Reform must be more than simply reorganizing offices, decreasing elected positions and creating organizational charters that look efficient on the surface. Reform must be about reform.

A driving question of this study is the following: Can we ascertain that what occurred is reform? In addition, is there a process that will allow us to determine if what occurred was reform change? The answer to each question is yes. By interviewing those persons who were both knowledgeable about their reform efforts and trustworthy one may use the interpretations of these elite persons to determine if what occurred was reform change or just structural change.

Reform must involve a sustained change in the manner that the local government conducts the business of its community. As stated earlier, the change has to be at a deeper level than structure. Reform must go to the heart of the operations of government and the governance processes.

Public administration, on the other hand, tends to view reform as a change in the government's structure. While changes in the government structure are a part of reform, real reform is more complex than a change of an organizational chart, a new charter or moving elected positions to a non-elected level. Structural change is a part of reform, but more is needed. Structural changes can be circumvented by those in power, and create a structure that looks like reform while conducting business in a manner similar to the previous regime. Structural change will not result in real reform until there is also a conversion of the political and governance processes.

This study utilized interviews of the narratives of noteworthy actors involved in each local reform effort in order to determine if their charter government reform efforts actually changed how decisions were made. In essence, did those who were interviewed perceive that there were deep reform changes in the workings of their new government,

or were these merely structural reform changes? Did these actors view their region's efforts as an improvement in how their local government operated? Was there a perception that decision-making and governance processes improved, and that real reform took place?

Urban Regime Theory and Urban Governance Theory each allows for a researcher to develop a foundation for studying reform. While there are limitations to such an approach, these frameworks can be used as a method for analyzing if real reform occurred. Urban Regime Theory creates a typology that can be used to determine what type of regime is in existence, and Urban Governance theory allows one to study the different types of processes used by those who hold or influence power. These analytical approaches help public administration to develop a more robust understanding of reform at the local government level.

Reform is a concept that has been of paramount importance to the modern field of public administration since its inception. Yet Public Administration has not conceptualized "reform" well. It has been stated that public administration needs to be viewed as a political practice, and as such needs to be better defined within the parameters of public administration. This study used Clarence Stone's urban regime theory as a typology for viewing if those significant actors interviewed stated if real deep reform change or structural reform change occurred.

Clarence Stone's Urban Regime Theory, while still a work in progress' allows for the development of a method through which to view the workings of public and private interests in developing working coalitions, opening the dialogue for reform efforts and

positioning themselves for influencing outcomes when an opportunity arises to effect change. This framework allows one a window for viewing the operations of power within local county governments, although it has its explanatory limitations which will be discussed later. When Urban Regime Theory is viewed in tandem with Urban Governance Theory it produces a method that can help answer if any reform efforts occurred, how they operated, and how the agenda was determined.

In each of these regions there were specific events that were significant in rallying the community to articulate the need to reform the antiquated system of government and replace it with a seemingly more efficient, accountable and effective government and governance process. In essence, there were signature moments that were used to validate the need for reform with the public. There were also coalitions in place, often the product of business representatives and reform minded citizens, who were able to use these signature events (some of short-term and some of long-term duration) to start the processes for change. Each one used the language of reform as their rallying cry, but there were differences in how each region interpreted reform. The definition of reform was clearly contextual but definable, and this is why a case-study approach was beneficial in interpreting what type of change took place.

In each region there was an incident that was viewed as the tipping point for bringing discussions of reform to the public's attention. Each of these involved a scandal. In addition, each region had long conversations and numerous attempts at reform prior to their successes. There were also long term crises in each region that involved population loss, industries leaving, increased unemployment and union friendly

environments. In each region the business leaders were members of the most effective coalitions behind local reform efforts.

The signature event in Cuyahoga County was viewed as the law enforcement raid that took place in the summer of 2008 that eventually led to the indictment and conviction of dozens of persons. However, the business community referenced the speech of Sam Miller in March of 2007, and the charge to build a coalition to help change our government structure to be more akin with twenty-first century needs as the start of Cuyahoga County's reform efforts. Summit County found their signature events in two parts. First, there was the great loss of their rubber industry within a decade that led to thousands of people losing jobs and closing business doors. Second, there was a major political scandal in the late nineteen-seventies that created public momentum to reform the government by creating a vehicle for economic stimulation while finding a way to curb corruption. Allegheny County found their signature event to be the total decimation of their Steel Industry and supporting businesses within the decade of the 1970s. In addition, their report "Preparing Allegheny County for the 21st Century" was used as a roadmap in all major discussions pertaining to reform in the region. Those who were instrumental in keeping this document in the public's eye were their local Republicans and reform minded Democrats. In each county these events led to conversations as to how the structure of reform should look and what needed to be included.

In each of the areas studied, power was consistently mentioned as the real purpose for their reform efforts. Those who opposed reform efforts often couched their arguments to the public in heresthetical terms, such as higher taxes. Those who supported reform efforts tended to utilize arguments of efficiency, accountability,

beneficial to all, progressive, and ethics. In each case “power” was viewed as the most important reason. Mayor Jackson of Cleveland was critical of the reform effort in Cuyahoga County, stating that “it was reform on the ability to consolidate power”⁹³. In each region the reform campaign exposed some of the workings of their system of county government. What was exposed was deemed unacceptable and those who were involved tended to deny or distance themselves from the problem. These junctures afforded opportunities for understanding how local governments worked through the views of elite persons who had direct knowledge of the workings of each county’s government.

The table below highlights some of the major elements that were seen as reflecting structural reform or deep reform. Issues pertaining to governance processes were seen as important in explaining how reform efforts were proceeding. In addition, the development and sustaining of coalitions were considered important per the literature and conversations with those who had direct knowledge pertaining to their reform efforts. One major consideration is leadership, and the importance of who controls the agenda in shaping the direction that reform will take in the region. There needs to be real civic engagement, accountability, sustainability, inclusion and checks and balances in order to see reform go beyond just structure. A significant part of the checks and balances practice is that there is a real charter review process in place. This process needs to allow for a public discourse, and it must have the power to change the course of the reform if there are problems or needs.

Table Six: REFORM VERSUS CHANGE QUADRANT

<p>Yes change & no reform</p> <p>Governance: business driven</p> <p>Coalitions: Values-elements-issues</p> <p>Change not driven by charter</p> <p>Change product of statutory or policy changes.</p> <p>Change: product of strong or weak leadership</p> <p>Possible union influences</p> <p>Possible Political influences</p>	<p>Yes change & yes Reform</p> <p>Governance: civic engagement, accountability, efficiency, ethics, economic-engine(s), inclusion</p> <p>Coalitions:</p> <p>Networks Values-elements: different actors in decision-making positions, transparency, accountability, new governance agenda & best practices Progressive agenda (usually broadly focused)</p> <p>Media influenced</p>
<p>No change & no reform</p> <p>Governance: machine no transparency,</p> <p>Coalitions: Old guard-business-elected Officials, possible union influenced</p> <p>Values-elements: power elite control the agenda usually around land development, appointment or election of like-minded persons, disconnection form public interests</p>	<p>No change & yes Reform</p> <p>Governance: business community, efficiency</p> <p>Coalitions: business-private-elected officials</p> <p>Values-Elements: heresthetical (rhetoric only), charter changes, but still the same governance processes as in the past, same persons (or representatives) from the old regime were elected to the new regime.</p> <p>Structural change (charters, statutes), but governance and operation processes stay the same. Reform not crisis-politically generated</p>

Sometimes an issue can be understood not only through what it is, but also through what it is not. Table six gives a view of some of the elements that influence both agendas for change without reforms and reform change. For example, the process of governance helps to explain the workings of power and influence within each region. Key is how those with power (perceived or real) use their power. Is it for selfless or selfish purposes? Is the agenda self-serving or serving others? The table shows that some elements reflecting no change may act to mask what is really transpiring, while elements of reform change have a high degree of accountability, inclusion and openness. Reform must be understood at a deeper level, and through those factors that indicate real reform change has taken place. Deep reform change agendas tend to stress, accountability, growth, merit, purpose-driven, sustainability and progressive agendas. The no change and yes reform quadrant is an ideal type. It might exist within a small progressive community with a highly educated, progressive citizenry that is well funded.

Power, though may be seen through the lens of those who are concerned with retaining power, consolidating power, or co-opting power for the coalition or other interests. The Charters in each region were concerned with creating a home-rule charter that was business friendly, and able to respond to these needs in a quick manner. Regime theory points out the importance of the business community in the development and sustaining of coalitions in order to place their agendas on the table. This requires the power to influence decisions and to allocate resources. Regime theory speaks to power through two models. They are “power over” and “power to”. Each one operated in specific ways within the three counties.

Clarence Stone references that there are two ways to view power within the system. One, is “power over”, which operates in the classical hierarchical manner, where one has power by position, rank or appointment to compel others to follow her dictates. “Power to” is based on networking, coalition building, and working with divergent groups, committees and persons in order to achieve goals. The initiative of Mr. Sam Miller in Cleveland helped to organize the business committee to organize a reform effort represents “power to”. Allegheny County in 1996 brought together politicians, business leaders and academics in order to develop a model for reform that included a strong economic focus. In each region coalitions were usually developed by the major business leaders, who often headed charity drives, socialized in the same venues, and participated in similar events. With an erosion of industry in each of these regions, there were retrenchments in their support and interactions. Now, “there is a need for leadership that embraces working across networks and with business, clerical, foundations, universities, Tech-researchers and other populations where there is a need to work toward the same goal in various settings. This requires leadership with the ability to work across different systems in order to achieve the goal.

Regime theory references the importance for persons to understand the degree of civic capacity within local governments. It has been stated that there is a low degree of civic capacity within each of these regions due to the loss of the foundation industries and their leadership in the past decades (DeSocio 2007 & 2012). Stone defines civic capacity in the following manner: “(as) articulating common goals, forming cross-section alliances, creating program and policy resources, and establishing a platform for action (Stone 1989)”. Civic capacity is about power and resources, and what person, group,

coalition or organization has the ability to influence the agenda. Civic capacity functions differently in each region, but the agenda is highly influenced by the business communities. In each region the manner in which these agendas unfolds is different, but business, universities, labor, clergy and elected leaders can be influential in how resources are allocated and power is used to influence a local government's agendas.

Stone references four regime government types, and some of those who were interviewed mentioned the importance of technology in influencing decisions, operations, goals and the ability to impact coalition building locally without being present in the region. While each is described earlier in this study, for reference sake these regimes are as follows: (1) Maintenance, (2) Developmental, (3) Middle-Class Progressive, (4) Lower-Class Opportunity Expansion, and (5) Technological. In each region that was looked at through the interviewing process, most commentators felt that the Maintenance and Developmental regimes evidenced no real reform change, while the middle-class expansion regime could evidence change or reform. The key was what the agendas were, and what issues and goals were viewed as important. It was mentioned by a few persons that the middle-class progressive regime approach could deal with issues that are important to the business community and most of the region, but miss critical social net issues, such as education disparities, housing crises, mental health service needs, under-serviced returning citizens and community under employment. In addition, it was mentioned that social justice issues were pushed to the back in order to focus resources and funding on business centered initiatives. Issues, agenda and goals in each location were important in understanding how each defined their reform efforts.

Those interviewed, and the literature in the field, stressed that it is difficult to understand the workings of power unless there is an understanding of the workings of the various governance processes. Each region has a different approach to governance, and in some cases competing and varying governance methods. One example is that Allegheny County is in competition with Pittsburgh for the same resources, businesses and economic engines. In addition, Pennsylvania is a state where laws and policies are friendlier to home-rule municipalities than to home-rule counties. In Cuyahoga County, the City of Cleveland and the County Government are also in competition for the same resources, real-estate, resources and development options. Both regions have not embraced a shared governance model, and each exists with competing governance approaches.

The initial goal of reform was to place power and leadership in the hands of the county executive in each region. However, each region has struggled with issues of governance. The two themes that emerged were that (1) people both in government and those working with government have little to no real understanding of what reform is and the workings of government. (2) That even though each charter references that the home rule charter states there is a real reform-change in the structure of the local county government, governance process and operations are the same as in the past regimes. The Mayor of Cleveland was earlier quoted as saying, “they are using a different process to do things in the same way”,⁹⁴ and a council person in Allegheny referred to their governance process in terms of being removed from the public and operating in an atmosphere that ostracized, intimidated and marginalized those who were of a different party.

Mayor Jackson also voiced a concern that the consolidation of power would have an adverse influence on governance processes and accountability. He remarked, “that the greater the power, the greater the isolation”.⁹⁵ Governance is about how power is used and for what purpose is it used. It is also important to look at the motivations behind the uses of power, and governance processes as that can help to make an agenda more understandable. Governance can also help to determine who has influence, how that influence is used and the purpose of that influence. Governance processes and implementation also have collateral consequences, and those collateral issues can sometimes be more determinative of the strengths and weaknesses of its workings.

Jon Pierre has developed an urban governance theoretical perspective that has factored in considerations of Stone’s urban regime typologies. While his governance perspective is focused on economic considerations as well as some social issues it speaks to the influence “of civil society organizations in urban politics and public service delivery (Pierre 2011)”. Pierre’s typology allows for a venue for exploring the processes of urban regime theory task-focused approach within variations of governance typologies. This allows for a more nuanced interpretation of how power, resources, leadership and economic influences impact on the workings of a local government. Pierre’s governance typologies are as follows: Managerial, Corporatist, Pro-Growth and Welfare Governance.

Each is concerned with how power is used, for what purposes and for what motivations. Governance in these regions was heavily influenced by economic considerations, and there was constant mention of the importance of downtown development and developing economic engines and technological industries. While there

were comments from persons on social net issues, often they were couched in language suggesting that they were of low priority or were completely ignored. In addition, there were comments pertaining to governance that suggested governance practices more consistent with managerial and corporatist governance than pro-growth and welfare governance issues in each region. As referenced earlier, there were comments by persons interviewed in each region stating that social net issues were of low priority. One person in Akron stated that she “does not hear the majority of leaders caring about the people in their comments”.⁹⁶ In addition, persons interviewed in Allegheny, Summit and Cuyahoga Counties referenced that those in power controlled who came to the table and who was kept from being at the table. While agenda items that were germane to the middle-class were discussed, to some the governance processes were designed to keep power in the hands of the party in charge, influential business leaders and away from social net issues. These narratives indicated that reform needs to be understood in more than its structural terms, and its agendas, goals and decision-making processes give a more robust picture of the workings of reform.

Question One: IS THIS STRUCTURAL REFORM OR IS IT DEEP REFORM?

Question one respondents answers resulted in the following views in Cuyahoga County: Most saw it as structural change, as leadership was now under one county Executive, there was accounting with oversight ability and less row positions. A few saw it as real (or deeper) reform, as the past regime was inefficient, non-responsive, corrupt and with no real checks-and-balances. Those who saw it as not deep reform change and just a change in structure only, referenced that the governance process and results were still the same. In addition, it was viewed as an attempt to consolidate power, create an

environment that was business friendly and ignored the issue that the new county government was in direct conflict with the city for space, resources and real-estate. Finally, there was a disregard in dealing with issues that were important to the public, such as inadequate schools, the returning citizen population, the housing crisis and medical disparities just to reference a few. Most of those who commented saw this as merely a structural change effort designed to co-opt power and centralize it for personal agendas.

The four persons interviewed in Summit County (Akron, Ohio) saw their reform effort either as a blend of Stone's Developmental regime, or a blend of regimes including his middle-class progressive and developmental regime. Most saw their regime structure as reform due to its structure, breaking down political silos, decreasing the number of elected positions and a focus on a regional agenda. Also, those interviewed stated that there was a good working relationship between the Mayor of Akron and the County's Executive. One referenced that Akron's political and business leaders were excellent in working in network environments, and that the region had a long history of working within network structures. This was viewed as important for their reform. However, there was little concern about safety net issues, and governance processes operated in a manner consistent with the agenda of the rubber industry's businesses.

Among the comments that emerged from Allegheny County were those who identified a regime type referenced it as being most consistent with Stone's middle-class progressive model, but saw the governance processes as being closer to Pierre's Managerial and Corporatist governance styles. One commentator, who was deeply involved in the development of its 21st Century plan and wrote a dissertation on

Allegheny County's reform efforts, stated that it is still too early to determine if this is real change. He referred to their reform effort as "more of a circumstance of change rather than reform".⁹⁷ This comment suggests that a researcher needs to look deeper than the structure of the reform effort in order to pinpoint what real reform consists of.

Two commentators stated that their county government was in such bad condition that there was a real chance that the county would fold without this change. There was clearly a change in structure, as there was an addition of county council, referenced as "citizen legislators", a decrease in elected positions and a charter that says there are checks and balances. However, each commentator stated that the present government is totally controlled by the Democratic Party, and they have not had public meetings on any issue in three years. Social justice and social net issues are almost never discussed, there has been no meeting to review county charter issues in the twelve years of the new government existence, and power is wielded by the few for often personal agendas. The system was also referenced as not merit-based, in a contentious relationship with the Mayor of Pittsburgh, marginalizing of the African-American community and extremely business friendly. This raises the issue that the new regime might focus on issues germane to the middle class, while ignoring other critical community issues. In addition, the governance processes might be more consistent with the works of the corporatist and managerial models.

Question Two: WHO ARE THE LEADERS AND THOSE WHO INFLUENCED THE REGION'S AGENDA?

It must be stated that in each region there are leaders who are not necessarily in agreement with each other, but in some cases develop working relationships and in some cases are in contentious relationships. An issue that was raised consistently was that there was a need to understand the workings of shared governance in each region. Within Allegheny and Cuyahoga counties each major city's leadership was in a struggle for the same space, resources and real-estate, and there were no real discussions in place pertaining to shared governance. It was stated that in each region the business community was often able to get its agenda placed in the charter with almost total acceptance and little commentary.

Cuyahoga County's architect of their charter was also the architect of Summit County's Charter, Attorney Eugene "Gene" Kramer. Some of the major leaders were The Forest Hill Corporation, through the voices of Sam Miller and the Ratner family, the Plain Dealer's leadership, University and Cleveland Clinic's leaders. In addition developers, the Greater Cleveland Association, County Executive Edward Fitzgerald, the County's Chief of Staff Matt Carroll, Labor, local Foundations and Cuyahoga County Mayors Association were seen as leaders in the area. The business community was referenced as a major player from the inception in attempts to create a reform charter. A number of persons referenced were influential leaders in the previous regime.

Summit County, which has the longest history of the three areas studied in terms of a home rule charter, found their initial push coming from their rubber industry giants,

such as Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone and their supporting local industries. However, much of their power has waned, although Goodyear in particular still has an impact. In addition Kent State and the University of Akron have been influential, along with some of the leadership from the local foundations. Mayor Donald L. Plusquellic was also referenced as a person who has been influential throughout the course of the regime. First Energy, Akron's hospitals, the Akron Roundtable, and First Merit Bank were also referenced as being quite influential. Again, the business community was seen as a major force behind their initial reform efforts and their present reform processes, but there has been a changing of the business coalitions over time.

Allegheny County's blueprint document, "the Committee to Prepare Allegheny County for the 21st Century", was heavily influenced by their local business community. The first recommendation was on how best to approach economic development in the region. In addition, a number of other recommendations were influenced by business concerns. Business leaders were also at the forefront of their reform efforts and at the table when the home-rule charter was crafted. The major players in the region were the county executive and the local mayor, who by some are seen to have a working relationship but some problematic issues pertaining to the tensions between the county and city on some economic growth and resources issues. The Unions are extremely influential, and politics is totally controlled by the Democratic Party. Their governance processes tend to be similar to the previous regime, as they have created a business friendly environment and have pushed social net issues to the back burner. One person referenced that there are some major problems with the county jail, and a decision to take

over land in an African-American community for their transportation system, and these are either ignored or are decided without any public meetings.

In addition their foundations, P.N.C Bank, U.S. Steel and Alcoa are still major leaders in the region. There is a \$1.2 billion dollar state of the art steel mill going up in the region at the present time, and Fracking has become a growth industry in the region. In addition, Carnegie Mellon, Duquesne and the University of Pittsburgh were and are still quite influential in their County reform efforts. John Murray, A President of Duquesne University, and a past Mayor of a local suburb, was seen as very influential in their initial efforts to bring good government and good governance practices to the region.

Question Three: IMPORTANT ISSUES EMBRACED AND IMPORTANT ISSUES NOT EMBRACED.

In each region there were comments of the importance in creating business friendly environments, support for developing their technological industries and funding economic engines. Each charter is business friendly. In each region it was voiced that what seemed to be missing in their conversations were concerns pertaining to social justice and social net issues.

In Cuyahoga County those interviewed said that there was more transparency in how some decisions were made. The budget process, problematic in the previous regime, seemed to more accurate, accountable and documented. There was also a growth in the money in the general funds, but some voiced that this might be at the expense of mental health, housing, job training, returning citizens and other safety net programs. These

issues were not often discussed in the new environment by the county commissioner, but were being raised within county council. Issues of shared governance, especially as it impacts Cleveland, were not being embraced in the new government. One commentator felt that a number of people holding positions of leadership did not really understand the workings of county government and governance,⁹⁸ and needed to have training on what is real reform.

In Summit County it was stated that their charter, reform efforts and county government were business friendly. Governance was seen as operating in a manner akin to the managerial and developmental typologies proposed by Pierre, as there is a strong concern for support technology, banking, hospitals and the few remaining rubber industries still in the region. It was stated that the leadership style “developed by Goodyear and Firestone”⁹⁹ is still in action in their dealings. It was brought up that Akron has a long history of networking, and that is how business is done in Akron. The business community still has sway over the resources. The present regime also has the power to determine what issues make it on the agenda and what issues do not make it to the agenda.

There is a need to have more political discussions on how government is affecting the lives of its citizens. There is little to no real dialogue on their housing crisis, inadequate educational system, developing youth leaders and ways to be more inclusive in their decision-making processes. There is not much discussion on reform in the region. Social safety net issues are not often discussed by county council.

Allegheny County is quite aggressive about keeping business and growth industry concerns on the forefront. They have viewed their charter as a conduit for economic reform and new industry stimulation. Their county government has been active in supporting the northeastern technological corridor, regionalism and the possibility of creating a real metropolitan government (a business community interest).

Some of those interviewed stated that the governance processes are still the same, as those in power have an investment in maintaining that power through intimidation, marginalizing and not allowing for any real checks and balances. Issues of government fragmentation are kept off the agenda, as the Democratic Party's perception is that fragmentation allows for them to control more jobs. The present regime has not done well when it comes to issues of diversity, merit hiring and promotion or dealing with community tensions. The present regime has kept review of the charter off their agenda, along with having public hearings. Council also seems to do less homework on issues, as the members usually vote as a political block, and the Democrats control ten of the fifteen votes held on council. As stated earlier, there are real tensions between the County and the municipalities and these have gone unaddressed for years.

Allegheny's commentators feel that while the initial reform effort seems to have some momentum, it was co-opted in a few ways. The original effort consolidated power in the county executive, and the initial person was a Republican who ran on a platform of efficiency and good government. The next election changed the leadership back to the dominate party in the home-charter system and they implemented their previous governance process that was designed to retain power and marginalize competing agendas. This harkens back to a problem identified by Stone and others, who saw that

coalitions and reform efforts could be thwarted by how one governs. Governance processes were concerned with maintaining and expanding their power.

Question four: REGIME TYPES

Those three persons who viewed this effort as real reform in Cuyahoga County saw the regime type as being middle-class progressive. Most saw it as fitting Stone's Developmental regime or a hybrid of developmental and middle class progressive. Most viewed the reform effort as structural reform, as there were new positions, less elected positions and a home-rule charter in place. Most of those who voiced that it was either a developmental or a hybrid regime under Stone's definition, focused on issues of who the major influence peddlers were and governance processes.

Many in Cuyahoga County stated that the new regime focused on the same old issues and resolved them in the same manner. In addition, there was an ignoring of major issues at the expense of the business community's interests. The most impactful coalitions were viewed as being in the business and private communities, as they had more resources and a more significant civic capacity than the present political communities. There was also a perception that the present regime was not concerned with issues pertaining to education inequality, health care disparities and other community centered safety net issues. Most saw reform in this region in terms pertaining to power, either the co-opting and consolidation of power or the loss of power and influence. In addition most saw the governance processes as being more consistent with the previous regime rather than a new governance process.

Most in Summit County identified their regime type as being middle-class progressive or developmental, but saw their reform efforts as more structural than functional. There was a new structure put in place, but governance processes were often the same as in the previous regime and designed to be business friendly and to keep competing agendas from surfacing. It is a business, economic friendly document. Social service and social justice concerns are given a backseat within this regime. Governance issues tend to be focused on business and middle-class agendas, but their processes suggest that their agenda is about retaining power and are more in harmony with the managerial and corporatist models of governance rather than a pro-growth governance perspective of Pierre.

In Allegheny County three saw the agenda of their present reform as focusing on the issues of the business community and middle-class. Three identified their regime as being most consistent with Clarence Stone's middle-class progressive approach in terms of the issues they work with, but for the most part nothing more than change rather than reform change. The reasons have to do with the governance processes, which are designed to keep competing agendas off the table, and place power in the hands of the Democratic Party. Governance processes are used to marginalize persons, keep important issues from arising, punish differences in view and party, and not address social net concerns. This issue is an important one in terms of regime theory, and that there is the potential to co-opt the process in mid-step, often without a change in the document but in a change in the governance processes.

It needs to be stated that there are a few limitations to this study that need to be defined. First, there was a small number of people interviewed, and the selection process

was of those elite actors who were directly involved or knowledgeable about their reform efforts. Second, this is an interpretative study, and this empirical approach is never value-free. In addition, one cannot use this methodology to draw inferences beyond those who are interviewed. In addition, this is a qualitative approach. There is a subjective level involved in any interpretive approach, and that directly impacts on validity. In addition, Urban Regime theory, as stated earlier, has problems explaining the influences of economic factors, globalism, legal enactments and other outside influences on the operations of local governments.

This study highlights the need for further study of reform efforts. For public administration there is a need to better define reform in terms of its operations and impact, not just its structure. This requires that researchers go deeper into the actual workings of local government reform efforts. It is suggested that this study would be more robust if there were a higher number of persons interviewed. In addition, there is a need to study reform in terms of quantifiable factors, as this would help to further develop what might be those deep level factors that help to determine if real reform took place.

It seemed that Clarence Stone's ideal typologies were of benefit in identifying regime types, but there was a need to look at the governance processes in order to understand the workings, motivations and end goals of the process. At every level power, its retention, fear of loss and its consolidation, was the most significant factor. While there was real structural reform, in each region there were real questions as to whether or not real functional reform had taken place, or not. The governance processes discussed in each region tended to fit models that were concerned with co-opting or

maintaining power. Governance factors seem to be important indicators for viewing the workings and the motivations of each reform effort.

It would seem that in each region the agenda of business was heavily involved in co-opting the agenda of sound reform change. The key issue was power, either the consolidation of power or the retention of power. There were clearly structural changes in each region, but real reform seems to be circumvented by the agenda of business, political influences, governance processes that operated like the previous regime, and keeping social service safety net issues at the lower-levels of their agendas. It would seem that real reform efforts have been circumvented, although there are clearly structural reforms that took place in each region. It seems that the attempt to achieve real reform in each region is ongoing, and no one can really declare a decisive victory.

The importance of this study is that it starts a research conversation on the need for public administration to better conceptualize reform. Presently, public administration's viewing of reform as structural change without going deeper is limiting. Reform is a major concept in the field of public administration, and the field still needs to address the definitional limitations. Structural changes are only a part of reform efforts, as these can be circumvented. Deeper reform must look at how decisions are made, and if these decisions are benefiting the community and citizens. By understanding the real workings of reform better communities can put together programs and plans that can enhance their chances to create real reform.

APPENDIX ONE

MODERN THEORIES OF URBAN POWER (ELITISM-URBAN REGIME THEORY)

THEORY	AUTHOR(S)	QUESTION	YEAR
REPUTATIONAL	Floyd Hunter	Who holds power in a community?	1953
ELITISM	C.W. Mills	Who are the power elite?	1956
PLURALISM	Robert Dahl	Who Governs?	1956
PLURALISM-REPUTATIONAL	M. Kent Jennings	Who controlled the community's economic environment?	1964
URBAN GROWTH MACHINE	Harvey Molotch	Who holds power, and for what purpose?	1976
URBAN REGIME THEORY	Clarence Stone	How are collaborations sustained, and how do they utilize power?	1976 & 1989
ECONOMIC	Paul Peterson	How a local political decisions constrained by economic factors?	1981
REGIME THEORY	Susan Fainstein	Regime theory Just City What are the constraints on private interest influences on public sector issues and projects?	1983

URBAN GROWTH MACHINE	Todd Swanstrom	How does the power of the market impact on local government?	1985
URBAN REGIME THEORY	Stephen L. Elkins	How can the city & - communities “organize to promote social intelligence?	1987
URBAN REGIME THEORY	Barbara Ferman	Why do some urban regimes accommodate neighborhood demands of inclusion, and why do others resist similar demands?	1996
URBAN REGIME THEORY	David L. Imbroscio	How can one alter (or reconstitute) the regime?	1997
URBAN REGIME THEORY	Karen Mossberger and Gary Stoker	Has recent research in Urban Regime theory diluted its meaning by over-application?	2001
URBAN REGIME THEORY	Marion Orr & Valerie C. Johnson	What can regime theory tell us about how power operated in urban environments?	2008
URBAN GOVERNANCE & URBAN REGIME THEORY	Jon Pierre	Why should we bother with urban politics? What is the contribution of institutional theory in the study of urban governance?	2010

APPENDIX TWO: CLARENCE STONE'S REGIME TYPES

URBAN REGIME	POWER	COALITIONS	CHANGE/REFORM
MAINTENANCE REGIME	SOCIAL ORDER & ECONOMIC PRACTICES	ELECTED POLITICIANS & BUSINESS LEADERS	NO REAL CHANGE
DEVELOPMENTAL REGIME	LAND USE DEVELOPMENT	BUSINESS COMMUNITY & REAL ESTATE	LITTLE CHANGE
MIDDLE-CLASS PROGRESSIVE	Invest In change, greater public opportunities, education and progressive	Business & civic organizations; environment & housing	REFORM
LOWER-CLASS OPPORTUNITY EXPANSION	Improve living conditions for marginal. public- private coordi- nation efforts	Middle-Class driven; inclusive of all	REFORM : IDEAL IN PERSPECTIVE

APPENDIX THREE-

Regime questions:

Interview date _____

Person(s) interviewed _____

1. Clarence Stone has proposed that there are four types of reform models/paradigms that can be identified using an “Urban Regime Theory” approach. Some are merely change, as the same form of governance and same persons that were active in the old system are in operation in the new system. Some types of reform are reform in the governance processes, the persons and organizations holding power and a real change in the agenda that is more inclusive. How would you define your County’s present reform efforts?

2. Who are the people who seem to be the leaders in this new system (both public and private sectors)? Are they the same persons, or different persons than those who were the leaders of the previous regime?

3. What do you believe are the most important issues that this government has embraced? What do you see as the important issues that might still need to be embraced?

4. Who are the most influential persons, organizations, businesses, educational institutions or foundations helping to develop this new regime? How do you perceive them as influencing this process?

5. The Four models proposed by Clarence Stone are as follows:

(1) Maintenance Regime: No real change occurs, as there is an investment in maintaining social order and economic practices.

(2) Developmental Regime: Little real change occurs as there is more concern with land use development as determined by those in power.

(3) Middle-Class Progressive Regime- More progressive and willing to invest in change efforts. Programs are developed to protect the environment, support affordable housing, design of healthier communities and greater opportunities for the public (Often stressing the need for better education and a better educated work force). Their policies and procedures encourage more progressive mandates-actions by those in leadership.

(4) Lower-class Opportunity Expansion-Regime: Mobilization of resources in order to improve the living conditions for those who are seen at the periphery of society. This regime paradigm requires significant change in order to accomplish these goals. Lower-Class Opportunity Expansion Regimes require major coordination efforts between public and private institutions and leaders. The management structure requires leaders who are able to work in collaborative environments.

APPENDIX FOUR-INTERVIEWS: Personal Communications (cited in end notes)

Cuyahoga County

William Denihan	July 2013
Kevin Conwell	August 2013
Yvonne Conwell	August 2013
Eugene Cramer	September 30, 2013
Bruce Acker	October 29, 2013
John James	November 20, 2013
Stanley Miller	January 14, 2104
David Abbott	March 5, 2014
Robert Jaquay	March 13, 2014
Blaine Griffin	March 18, 2014
Frank Jackson	March 26, 2014

Summit County

Eugene Cramer	September 30, 2013
Frank Comunal	January 8, 2014
Tanisha Lee	March 27, 2014
Professor Mark de Socio	March 2014

Allegheny County

Heather Heidelbaugh	January 23, 2014
Jared Barker	January 29, 2014
Professor David Miller	March 11, 2014
Brian Jensen	March 26, 2014

APPENDIX FIVE: REFORM SLOGANS

Each statement is designed to give voice to the campaign for the reform.

However, the agenda of reform is often not a part of the voice of reform. There is often an attempt to capture a message in a statement that will stay with the electorate through the course of the voting process. Some of the statements try to capture a positive vision, while others act as a reminder of the corruption and scandals that were the catalyst for the reform effort. Such statements can act to circumvent the real motives of reform, while seeming to give clarity to why reform is needed and necessary in each region. This becomes crucial, as the statement may also act as a mandate for corrective action from the public. Again, the slogan also has the ability to hide what is the real motivation for the reform effort. . The irony of the slogans from Summit and Cuyahoga counties is that they speak of extreme pessimism as a motivation, while attempting to get the public to buy into optimism for these attempts to reform government.

Regional Reform Slogans

COUNTY	REFORM SLOGAN
CUYAHOGA	“ISSUE SIX, THE RIGHT FIX” and “REFORM DONE RIGHT”
SUMMIT	“VOTE YES ON ISSUE TWO. ITS GOT TO BE BETTER”
ALLEGHENY	“ FORGING A BRIGHT FUTURE” “A GOVERNMENT FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY”

END NOTES

¹ Tammany Hall's politicians initially ran on a reform agenda.

² In Allegheny (Pittsburgh), Summit (Akron) and Cuyahoga (Cleveland), there have been constant tensions between the reform county governments and the major local city Mayors and leaders. These tensions center on the overlaying of county districts on the municipalities, and the resultant jurisdictional complications that emerged between the competing systems.

³ Ohio has allowed a county to vote to change to a charter-form of government since 1933 and for cities since 1912. Article Ten of Ohio's Constitution spells out the process for establishing a charter government, and this form of Government is often interpreted to be more responsive to the modern political, economic and social milieu of local governments. Additionally, it is viewed as more efficient.

⁴ <http://akron.com/akron-ohio-community-news.asp?aID=9254>.

⁵ "Allegheny County developed its home rule charter through special legislation, the Second Class County Charter Law (Act 12 of 1997). Allegheny County sought and was granted this option for adopting its home rule charter because a previous effort had already provided the required study of the county's government mandated by Act 62. Furthermore, because the Act 62 process is very time consuming, using it would have delayed the home rule reforms until 2004." <http://www.alleghenycounty.us/charter21/index.aspx>

⁶ Urban regime theory emerged from the seeds of Marxism, Elitism, Pluralism and the sociology of knowledge as interpreted within an American context. The work done by David Imbroscio (2010), Barbara Freeman (1996), Marion Orr (1998, 1999 & 2007) details the influence of sociology and political science's quests to interpret power and its workings within the context of local government operations. While the questions generated by urban regime theory seem to be in opposition to those asked by pluralists (R. Dahl), Elitists (C. W. Mills) and economic perspectives (P. Peterson), the same intellectual grounds spawned each perspective; specifically what is the most effective perspective for explaining power and its workings within the context of local political-urban environments.

⁷ Robert Merton developed the concept of a middle range theory as a process of theory building that emerged from studying the development of "theory" through an empirical lens. This process allows for a person to analyze the elements of the study and draw theoretical conclusions while still involved in looking at the phenomenon. The approach is often used in the fields of structure functionalism and its use of case study approaches, where a researcher will study the phenomenon and cull out what is perceived as its essential elements in order to create a theory.

⁸ Stone, Clarence N. (1989); Imbroscio, David (2010); Stone, Clarence, Robert K Whelan & William J. Murin (1986): Urban Policy and Politics in a Bureaucratic Age (2nd Ed.) Engle wood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice- Hall, Inc.

⁹ Richard J. Daley was Major of Chicago from 1955 to 1976, and his son Richard M. Daley was Mayor of Chicago from 1989 to 2011.

¹⁰ Ohio used Pennsylvania's approach for drawing county boundaries. This approach for drawing county boundaries operated on the premise that persons could travel to the county seat when any business needed to be transacted within one day by wagon.

¹¹ Two examples of this were documented in Cleveland's Plain Dealer. The first was a quote from County Commissioner Jimmy Dimora, who when confronted by reporters about his trips to Casinos, alleged free work done on his home by contractors seeking county business and other legal and ethical irregularities stated, that "I didn't do anything that others weren't doing." The second, was when the new Council was elected the Democratic representatives were called to the headquarters of Cuyahoga County's Democratic Party so that they could oversee the election of the new County council president and vice-president without the four Republican representatives present. When the Democratic council persons were initially confronted their responses were akin to this was business as usual.

¹² Carr, Jered P. & Richard C. Feiock (2004) (ed.): 14-15. Certain reform efforts were defined as "changes that result from public minded people reforming the local government (e.g. heroes or champions)." The "non-heroic view begins with the recognition that city-county consolidation is a reorganization of local government (and governance) and not necessarily reform." The debate hinges on is this a reform effort in name only (i.e., structural reform) or regime change.

¹³ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pluralism_\(political_theory\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pluralism_(political_theory)). Robert Dahl viewed power in the following manner: "(1) the concept of power as gaining one's way through changing the behavior of others, and that power should not be equated with the resources used to gain power, such as money or prestige; (2) that power should be observed through construction of case studies of political action; (3) that there are different domains of political action, and power in one is not necessarily the same as power in another; (4) that one should define power in terms of the goals of the actors themselves, not in terms of some theoretical construct not understood by the actors." <http://what-when-how.com/social-sciences/dahl-robert-alan-social-science/>. Dahl, Robert(1961) Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven, Connecticut (1961)

¹⁴ Heresthetical arguments are strategies whereby "a person or group sets or manipulates the context and structure of a decision making process or order to win or be more likely to win. They have three components "(1) agenda control, (2) strategic voting, and (3) manipulation of dimensions." www.nuff.ox.ac.uk/user/scott.moser/HerestheticalPower.itpfinal.pdf.

¹⁵ Pierre, Jon (2011): 37. This approach tends to interpret governance in terms of ongoing tensions between those who are elected, and those who non-elected persons who are responsible for implementation of the tasks, resource allocations, or other such public actions.

¹⁶ Pierre, Jon (2011):69 one of the concerns with this approach is that it can often be driven by private interest elites. When the agenda of the private elite is incorporate with the top elected officials, often their economic thrust focuses on downtown development rather that community development. This focus on resource allocation for these specific projects is often at the expense of those without a voice, and is a glaring weakness of this governance approach.

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- ¹⁷ Yin, Robert K. (2009): 18. The case study method is beneficial when looking at “how” and “why” questions that may require a deep structural analysis that might require understanding multiple contextual issues and occurrences.
- ¹⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Snowball_sampling. <http://www.experiment-resources.com/snowball-sampling.html>. This method is also referred to as “chain referral sampling.” While sometimes time consuming, it is an effective approach for a case-study paradigm. It is an inexact sampling technique, and this creates difficulty in determining if this is an accurate sample. It is also extremely beneficial when a person has a limited, or difficult to access, selection pool of subjects. This sampling model is beneficial to a case-study model, as one can focus more at the individual level in collecting information.
- ¹⁹ The salary delineations are written in to the Charter, and recently listed salaries at the \$7,000.00 level, although they are now eligible for \$8,000.00.
- ²⁰ http://urban.csuohio.edu/publicmanagement/county_government/county_gov_10_24_08.pdf the seal was made official on April 6, 1988, and was designed by Mr. George Seigman.
- ²¹ Interview with Council representative Tanisha Lee.
- ²² Interview with Attorney Eugene “Gene” Kramer on September 30, 2013.
- ²³ Interview with Attorney Eugene “Gene” Kramer on September 30, 2013.
- ²⁴ Interview with Council Person Frank Comunale on January 8, 2014.
- ²⁵ Interview with Council Representative Tanisha Lee on March 27, 2014.
- ²⁶ Interview with County Counsel Representative Tanisha Lee on March 27, 2014.
- ²⁷ Interview with County Council Representative Tanisha Lee on March 27, 2014.
- ²⁸ Interview with County Council Representative Tanisha Lee on March 27, 2014.
- ²⁹ Interviews Summit County Council representatives Tanisha Lee (3-27-2014) and Frank Comunale (1-8-2014)
- ³⁰ Interview Summit County Representative Frank Comunale on January 8, 2014.
- ³¹ David Y. Miller was intimately involved with the political processes and helping to construct this document in 1996-1997. He stated that the head of the county commission, Commissioner Tom Foerster, wanted to reform the local government. He put a coalition together, and embraced the report. Commissioner Foerster’s goal was to use his last term to put the reforms in place, and work on establishing leadership under a county executive. (interview March 11, 2014)
- ³² This information was told to me during an interview I had with David Y. Miller on March 11, 2014. It is also documented in a dissertation by Brian Jensen (2004) “Masters of Their Own Destiny: Allegheny County Government Reform Efforts 1929-1998 Carnegie Mellon University (History Department).
- ³³ www.popcitymedia.com/features/5things090909.aspx. This initiative was responsible for placing significant funds in their arts communities and helping to greatly improve regional library system.
- ³⁴ [Blog.cleveland.com/metro/2009/11/Pittsburgh_allegheny_county_o.html](http://blog.cleveland.com/metro/2009/11/Pittsburgh_allegheny_county_o.html). While this legislation was passed in 1998 it did not go into effect until 2000. The specific law that Allegheny used in order to establish their regional form of Government was the passage in 1997 of the “Second Class County Charter Act
- ³⁵ Metropolitan Organization: Comparison of the Allegheny and St. Louis Case Studies. Report generated by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental relations (October, 1993). The committee was composed of members from the U.S. Senate, U. S. House of Representatives, a few select mayors and state elected officials.
- ³⁶ Interview with Brian Jensen March 26. 2014.
- Per our interview, Jensen believes that some reform has taken place, but the jury is still out.
- ³⁸ Interview with Brian Jensen who was on the original committee that developed the report for Allegheny’s Reform effort
- ³⁹ Ohio’s initial home rule amendment required the following: “that a charter must be approved by four voter majorities—(1) in the county as a whole, (2) in the largest city, (3) outside the largest city, and (4) by a majority in the entire county’s municipalities and townships”. This was cited in numerous sources. The specific source used for this reference came from the League of Women Voters Guide to Cuyahoga County: Past Present and Future (2009). In 1957 this four-step requirement was modified by Ohio’s legislature, and this opened the door for a less convoluted process for a county to enact a Charter-form of government.
- ⁴⁰ Cuyahoga County established a charter commission that drafted a charter in 1959. This document provided for the election of a County executive and a nineteen member council. This attempt at creating a charter county government failed at the polls.
- ⁴¹ Cuyahoga County Government: A blueprint for the Future: Citizens Committee for County Government Reform (final Report April 30, 1996) p.3. the study was carried out By Kathleen Barber, who chaired the committee overseeing this study. The other members of the committee were James Aussem, Janet Bullard, David Dvorak, Lois Goodman, William Madar, Myron Robinson and Robert Jaquay.
- ⁴² The report was directly delivered to Commissioner Tim Hagan, who was alleged to have taken the report from Kathleen Barber without comment and put it on a shelf. There was no public commentary on the document after it was delivered to the county commissioners.
- ⁴³ www.cleveland.com/quietcrisis/index.sst?/more/120802.
- ⁴⁴ www.ideastream.org/index.php/gc/PO/. These programs brought in major local decision-makers and policy advocates. The programs discussed the major political, social, resource, technological and ideological barriers that were influencing the stagnation that seemed to cluster in the region. In addition, the program highlighted what they felt were the key components needed in order to improve the environment. These discussions included utilizing the lake in a more strategic manner, the creation of a convention center, education improvement, finding ways to tap into skilled and educated immigrants and stop the hemorrhaging of our local brain drain.
- ⁴⁵ Guillen, Joe. “Forest City’s Sam Miller to fund Review of Region”. In Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 28, 2007. Sam Miller challenged the business community to create a “unified Government” that would help to usher in a new vision and new leadership. CEO Sam Miller stated unequivocally that without a real, correct change that the region will continue on its destructive path. His statement about his northeastern community is that it is “confused, leaderless and apathetic”.

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- ⁴⁶ www.inside-business.com/Main/Archive/November_3_2009_The_Day_That_Will_Change_Your_life. The Article, written by Lute Harmon, appeared In Northeast Ohio's Business Enthusiast in September of 2008. The Citizens for Cuyahoga Success found in their discussions with key public and private persons that there was a consensus among the discussants that they wanted "representation, efficiency and accountability and an opt-in provision on major projects. Their conclusions were also referenced in this article
- ⁴⁷ www.uslaw.com/library/Ohio/Commision_constituted_cuyahoga_county. The nine persons named to the commission also were given a due date of November 7, 2008 to turn in their report detailing their suggested plan for Cuyahoga County's modern county government structure.
- ⁴⁸ www.uslaw.com/library/Ohio/Commision_constituted_cuyahoga_county.
- ⁴⁹ Report of the Commission on Cuyahoga County Government Reform. November 2008. Chaired by David Abbott, Vice-Chair Louis Stokes. Other members of the commission were Mayor Bruce Akers, Kathleen Barber (who chaired the 1995-1996 commission), Jerry Hruby, Sally Conway Kilbane, Stanley Miller, Judy Rawson and Ernest Wilkerson.
- ⁵⁰ This was a produce of a conversation I had with Retired Mayor Bruce Akers, who had a discussion with Louis Stokes, who raised this as a significant concern with any attempt to change County Government.
- ⁵¹ Vitale, Alex S. (2008) City of Disorder: How the Quality of Life Campaign Transformed New York Politics. New York, New York: New York University Press: 113. Vitale goes on to explain that these initiatives, dictates and policies are often the product of the need for politicians to ensure that they have the financial support of those persons who are among the economic leaders and power brokers in their respective communities. It is important to not just to observe that public-private partnerships are taking place, but to look at their motives and how they implement policy decisions. In New York, as well as Cleveland, the homeless were defined as a problem that needed to be addressed in order to make the city more attractive for business development, tourism, downtown livability and other such activities.
- ⁵² Trounsteine, Jessica (2008) Political Monopolies in American Cities: The Rise and Fall of Bosses and Reformers: Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press: 46. In some cities, such as Dallas, San Antonio and Austin Texas the local newspapers were owned and operated by those who were the driving persons behind their respective reform efforts. In some cases they purchased the paper specifically to control the discourse on their reform efforts.
- ⁵³ Interview with past County Commissioner David Abbott on March 5, 2014. Attorney Abbott stated that he would take the organizational chart to meetings, and he had difficulty explaining where accountability and power resided per the organizational chart.
- ⁵⁴ This was stated during a conversation held with Mr. Blaine Griffin of Cleveland City Hall on March 18, 2014. He is the Director of Community Relations for Cleveland, Ohio.
- ⁵⁵ Interview with Bruce Akers on October 29, 2013.
- ⁵⁶ Interview with Attorney David Abbott, Executive Director George Gund Foundation on March 5, 2014.
- ⁵⁷ Interview with Attorney David Abbott, Executive Director George Gund Foundation on March 5, 2014.
- ⁵⁸ Interview with Attorney David Abbott, Executive Director George Gund Foundation on March 5, 2014.
- ⁵⁹ Interview Gene Kramer on September 30, 2013.
- ⁶⁰ Interview Mr. Blaine Griffin director of Community Relations for Cleveland, Ohio
- ⁶¹ Interview with Stanley Miller, past president of the NAACP on January 14, 2014. He was a member of some of the major county commissions and committees.
- ⁶² Interview with Council Person Yvonne Conwell August, 2013.
- ⁶³ Interview with Council Person Yvonne Conwell August 2013.
- ⁶⁴ Interviews with Stanley Miller on January 14, 2014, Blaine Griffin on March 18, 2014 and Yvonne and Kevin Conwell in August of 2013.
- ⁶⁵ Interview with William Denham of the ADAMHS Board July 2013. He sees the present county government hoarding funds that should be released for services. In addition, much of this hoarding of funds was diverted from human service programs when they are great needs. Mr. Denihan did state that he was aware that the County has reduced staff by 30%, by letting over 1,000 people go. Only 65 of those persons were let go due to issues involving corruption.
- ⁶⁶ Interview with Mr. William "Bill" Denihan in July of 2013.
- ⁶⁷ Interview with Mr. William "Bill" Denihan in July of 2013.
- ⁶⁸ Interview with Mr. William "Bill" Denihan in July of 2013.
- ⁶⁹ Interview with Mayor Frank Jackson on March 26, 2014.
- ⁷⁰ Interview with Mayor Frank Jackson on March 26, 2014.
- ⁷¹ Interview with Mayor Frank Jackson on March 26, 2014.
- ⁷² Interview with Mayor Frank Jackson on March 26, 2014.
- ⁷³ Interview with Council persons Kevin and Yvonne Conwell, August 2013.
- ⁷⁴ Interview with William Denihan (July 2013).
- ⁷⁵ Interview with Stanley Miller on January 14, 2014.
- ⁷⁶ Interview with Mr. Blaine Griffin on March 18, 2014.
- ⁷⁷ Interview with Blaine Griffin on March 18, 2014.
- ⁷⁸ Interview with Blaine Griffin on March 18, 2104.
- ⁷⁹ These comments were raised by two directors of government agencies, the past president of the local NAACP, a policy analyst for Cleveland and council representatives.
- ⁸⁰ Interview with policy analyst John James (August 2013)
- ⁸¹ Interview with Mr. Stanley Miller on January 14, 2014.

⁸² This came up in conversations with Mr. Stanley Miller and Mayor Frank Jackson. Each voiced some concerns about Business' influence on the Charter, and how the Charter earmarked funds for business development when there are also important social agendas that need attention.

⁸³ Interview with Blaine Griffin on March 18, 2014.

⁸⁴ Interview with Mayor Frank Jackson on March 26, 2014.

⁸⁵ Interview with Mayor Frank Jackson on March 26, 2014.

⁸⁶ Interview with Mr. William Denihan in July of 2013.

⁸⁷ Interview with John James (August 2013).

⁸⁸ Interview with Luis Vasquez, Interview with Stanley Miller and Interview with William Denihan.

⁸⁹ Interview with David Abbott of the Gund Foundation.

⁹⁰ Interview with Attorney David Abbott of the Gund Foundation.

⁹¹ Interviews with Attorney Eugene "Gene" Kramer, Attorney David Abbott and Mayor Bruce Akers.

⁹² Interview with Director Blaine Griffin on March 18, 2014.

⁹³ Interview with Mayor Jackson on March 26, 2014.

⁹⁴ Interview with Mayor Frank Jackson on March 26, 2014.

⁹⁵ Interview with Mayor Frank Jackson on March 26, 2014.

⁹⁶ Interview with Tanisha Lee of Summit County on March 27, 2014.

⁹⁷ Interview with Brian Jensen on March 24, 20014.

⁹⁸ Interview with John James on November 20, 2013.

⁹⁹ Interview with Tanisha Lee of Summit County on March 27, 2014.

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