

Texas Southern University

Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University

Dissertations (2016-Present)

Dissertations

12-2022

Low-Income Housing Tax Credit and The Role of Public Participation

Juan Antonio Sorto

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/dissertations>

Recommended Citation

Sorto, Juan Antonio, "Low-Income Housing Tax Credit and The Role of Public Participation" (2022).
Dissertations (2016-Present). 53.
<https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/dissertations/53>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Dissertations at Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations (2016-Present) by an authorized administrator of Digital Scholarship @ Texas Southern University. For more information, please contact haiying.li@tsu.edu.

LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT
AND THE ROLE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in the Graduate School
of Texas Southern University

By

Juan Antonio Sorto, B.S., M.P.A.

Texas Southern University

2022

Approved By

Sheri L. Smith, Ph.D.
Chairperson, Dissertation Committee

Gregory H. Maddox, Ph.D.
Dean, The Graduate School

Approved By

<u>Sheri L. Smith, Ph.D.</u>	<u>09/08/2022</u>
Chairperson, Dissertation Committee	Date

<u>Glenn S. Johnson, Ph.D.</u>	<u>09/08/2022</u>
Committee Member	Date

<u>Carroll Robison, Esquire</u>	<u>09/08/2022</u>
Committee Member	Date

<u>Erma Dianne Mosley, Ph.D.</u>	<u>09/08/2022</u>
Committee Member	Date

© Copyright Juan Antonio Sorto 2022

All Rights Reserved

LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT
AND THE ROLE OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

By

Juan Antonio Sorto, Ph.D.

Texas Southern University, 2022

Sheri L. Smith, Advisor

This dissertation analyzes the role of public participation and the implementation of Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) funded developments in higher socio-economic communities. Using archival research, participant observation, and in-depth interviews, the dissertation examines the placement of North Court Villas, Frisco, Texas and 2640 Fountain View, Houston, Texas.

The literature shows that the placement of LIHTC-funded developments continues to be distributed in low-income communities. Housing policies have not been able to resolve these imbalances, which has resulted in multiple court interventions. However, court rulings have not sufficiently addressed the aspects of public participation of these developments. Research shows that these developments are normally met in higher socio-economic communities with the same level of public resistance as any development associated with Not In My

Back Yard (NIMBY). Little is known about how local institutional actions on public participation have positively skewed the supply of LIHTC-funded developments in communities with higher economic opportunities.

This dissertation uses archival research as an initial assessment to pinpoint the stakeholders who were actively engaged within the studied areas. Individual contact with stakeholders for an interview was initiated via e-mail, telephone, and various social media platforms. Following each interview, a snowball sampling took place where each participant was encouraged to refer other members within their community for an interview. 25 community stakeholders agreed to an in-person or virtual meeting. In addition, public hearings were used to corroborate and enhance the data was the collected from the interviews.

The usage of three data collection methods resulted in the discovery of three themes: communication, space (location) and time. The data shows that the three themes serve as a crucial component to the way local stakeholders effectively utilize public participation to implement LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities. Lastly, the themes show that greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF CHARTS	v
LIST OF EXAMPLES.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF TABLES	x
VITA	xi
DEDICATION	xii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	xiii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	12
3. METHODOLOGY.....	26
4. RESULTS.....	41
5. RESULTS THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHY	50
6. DISCUSSION	122
APPENDIX	
A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	138
B. TITLE.....	140
C. OTHER TYPES OF SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIP.....	141

D. CUMULATIVE CHARTS SHOWING COMMUNICATION, SPACE AND TIME	145
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	151

LIST OF CHARTS

	Page
Chart 01: Communication-Sign.....	60
Chart 1.2: Sign-Interpretation, Information	61
Chart 02: Communication: Telephone Call, Personal Meeting, Court Victory, Funding.....	63
Chart 03: Communication: Fear, Threat, Connection, Public Meeting, Internet..	65
Chart 04: Communication: Newspapers	67
Chart 05: Communication: Newspapers, Personal Relationships, Crisis.....	68
Chart 06: Communication: City General Staff, Board Members, Mayor, City Council.....	71
Chart 07: Communication: Opinion Leaders, Public Meetings	73
Chart 08: Communication: Letter of Support, Public Speaking.....	74
Chart 08.1: Letter of Support	76
Chart 09: Communication: Group Dialogue, Individual Dialogue.....	77
Chart 10: Communication: Organizational Structure	78
Chart 11: Communication: Department Roles	79
Chart 12: Communication: Political Capital	81
Chart 13: Communication: Single Projects	82
Chart 14: Communication: One-on-one Contact.....	83
Chart 15: Communication: Direct Engagement	84

Chart 16: Communication: Residency	85
Chart 17: Communication: Postcards, Announcement Dashboard.....	87
Chart 18: Communication Overview	88
Chart 18.1: Communication Overview Continue.....	88
Chart 18.2: Communication Overview Continue.....	89
Chart 18.3: Communication Overview Continue.....	89
Chart 19: Main Street-Elementary, Middle, and High School, Police Store Front, Commercial Development	90
Chart 20: Negotiate-Court Ruling	91
Chart 22: Public Space-Opposition.....	94
Chart 23: Public Space-Communication, Up to Date.....	96
Chart 24: Public Space-Education, Entertainment, Political	97
Chart 25: Public Space: Specific Interest Location.....	99
Chart 26: Public Space: City Hall General Interest Location	100
Chart 27: Public Space: City Hall.....	102
Chart 28: Public Space: City Hall Meetings	104
Chart 29: Public Space Overview	105
Chart 29.1: Public Space Overview Continue.....	106
Chart 29.2: Public Space Overview Continue.....	107
Chart 30: Time: Charts, Data, Legal, Negotiation, Stakeholders	110
Chart 31: Time: Personal Relationships, Input, Feedback.....	111
Chart 32: Time: Consistency	112
Chart 33: Time: Deliverable Outcomes, Limitations.....	114

Chart 34.1: Time Overview	115
Chart 34.2: Time Overview Continue.....	115
Chart 34.3: Time Overview Continue.....	116

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Page

Example 1.1: Ideal Type of Community Approving Construction of LIHTC-
development..... 38

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1.1: Public Participation Triangulated Study	30
Figure 1.2 Data Analysis Overview.....	51
Figure 1.3: Ideal-Typical Model of Public Participation for the Implementation of LIHTC-funded Developments in Higher Socio-economic Communities Overview.....	52
Figure 1.4: Ideal-Typical Model of Public Participation for the Implementation of LIHTC-funded Developments in Higher Socio-economic Communities Overview.....	121

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1.1: North Court Villa Compare to 2640 Fountain View	29
Table 1.2: Domain Analysis Diagram Strict Inclusion (Nouns)	34
Table 1.3: Domain Analysis Diagram Means-end (Verbs).....	35
Table 1.4: Number of Interviews.....	47
Table 1.5: Residents of the Community.....	118

VITA

2007B.S., University of Houston-Downtown

2012M.P.A., Texas Southern University

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my grandmother Laura Martinez-Amaya, my mother Maria Conception Fuentes-Martinez “Conchis,” sister Jessica Marie Fuentes, my childhood home of La Linia, San Miguel, El Salvador and to the communities of Northeast Houston, Texas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to my dissertation committee: Dr. Sheri Smith, Dr. Glenn Johnson, Carroll Robinson, Esquire, and Dr. Erma Mosley.

Special thank you to my outside editor and chief Doctora Erika Janeth Cantu.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Question

The United States does not guarantee citizens and residents a right to housing. History shows that the *right to housing movement* has been associated with local initiatives that have failed to translate into the implementation of sound national policies. For example, McClure (2006) argues that local housing policies have contributed to the expansion of income inequality because of their inability to properly address supply and demand. This dissertation will demonstrate how communication, space and time play a role in addressing the inequalities that exist through the proper placement of housing in the United States. In addition, research shows that a tumultuous relationship between the government, private market, and housing advocates, each with its own set of goals and agenda, have made it difficult to reach a consensus in establishing a national policy for housing as a right (Rothstein 2017; Loh 2012; De Neufville and Barton 1987). For example, the government is viewed as an impartial body that oversees the creation and enforcement of policies that will benefit all people (Weber 2011).

As this dissertation will highlight, the government often turns to the private market to assist with the distribution of these policies, which often leads to a conflict in philosophy between the two parties. While the government attempts to address policies from an equitable holistic approach, the private market primarily

views these issues from a matter of efficiency, providing a product using the least amount of time and resources (Williamson 2011). These differences in philosophies have led housing advocates to conclude that the proper distribution of housing is often one sided, where efficiency supersedes equity, a phenomenon that they view as an issue throughout the United States (Dawkins 2018).

In contrast, the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Human Rights (1948a, 1948b, 1965, 1966, 1979, 1989), with a high degree of continuity, has clearly defined housing as an individual's ability to hold and maintain a standard way of living that is critical for adequate health and well-being regardless of background. The inconsistencies of the United States federal government to create sound policies that define the right to housing often causes planners to struggle to develop the necessary tools to solve the issues impacting their local communities. This can, in turn, negatively skew the placement of affordable housing to areas with fewer economic and employment opportunities, inadequate education, transportation, infrastructure, and higher crime rates.

Public to Private Partnership

In the 1980s, the Reagan Administration and the Republican-controlled Congress exacerbated the affordable housing debate by allowing the government to rely heavily on the private market to define affordable housing to offset supply and demand. The reliance on the private market is associated with the criticism that the federal government received from the grassroots for their failure to appropriately address housing in urban communities during the

Johnson Administration's Model Cities Program. Hartman (1975) argues that the Model Cities Program under its bureaucratic structure did not adequately allow the federal government to track and successfully apply funding once it reached the local level. The lack of funding oversight by the federal government resulted in policymakers and researchers losing faith in the way the federal government chose to address affordable housing. Dreier (2006) shows that this criticism led Congress to pass the Tax Reform Act of 1986, which created the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC), designed to address housing demand by providing builders of low-income housing a 15-year tax credit.

The LIHTC program, which will be discussed in detail in the following section, was implemented with the notion that the private market is best suited to address the need for affordable housing. This is attributed to the market's ability to independently raise capital and create suitable structures (Immergluck 2008). Therefore, the private market can directly address the need for LIHTC development because it is able to bypass bureaucratic approval. However, research shows that when LIHTC-funded developments are introduced into higher socio-economic communities, they are normally met with the same level of public resistance as any development associated with Not In My Back Yard (NIMBY) (Goetz 2013; Goetz and Sidney 1994).

NIMBYism is public opposition to certain developments, primarily led by homeowners who feel that their community's land-use is threatened and will depreciate property value (Craw 2017; Nguyen 2005; Galster, Tatian, Pettit 2004; Pendall 1999). According to research, public sentiment of NIMBYism transcends

into land-use threats such as school overcrowding, public safety, and other local services and amenities (Palm & Niemeier 2016; Scally and Tighe 2015).

NIMBYism shows that the private market is not immune from public perception and bureaucratic criticism. While there has been an attempt to change public perception towards LIHTC-funded development, primarily by affordable housing advocates and federal court order mandates, little is known about how local institutional actions on public participation have positively skewed the supply of LIHTC-funded developments in communities with higher economic opportunities (Ellen & Horn 2018; Palm & Niemeier 2017; Sarmiento & Sims 2015; Scally 2012; Machell, Reinhalter, & Chapple 2009).

While the field of Urban Planning has plenty of literature in public participation, it often focuses on issues that deal with systemic problems inside low-income communities instead of the actions that are taken by local institutions that would lead to Yes in My Back Yard (YIMBYism) of LIHTC-funded developments in communities with higher economic opportunities (Forester 2013; Fainstein 2012; Immergluck 2008, Young 2000). Research shows that NIMBYism is effective because homeowners, who tend to be financially stable, are more likely to have flexible working schedules, access to transportation, and alternative representation at public hearings than those of low-income communities (McClure 2017; Putnam 2000). Hence, public participation for low-income communities is often reduced by the voices of higher socio-economic status, which yield one-sided outcomes (Forester 2013).

This research argues that literature in public participation tends to focus on collective actions while reducing, and oftentimes overlooking, the importance of individual stakeholders (Rocha 1997; Arnstein 1969). Urban Planning often turns to Sherry R. Arnstein's 1969 publication *A Ladder of Citizen Participation* as a tool of achieving collective public participation (Rocha 1997). Arnstein (1969) highlights that meaningful public participation is achievable when the community as a whole and policymakers work collectively to address an issue. While Arnstein spends most of the literature outlining various types of public participation through her Eight Rungs on the Ladder of Citizen Participation, she acknowledges in her conclusion that setbacks do exist, often associated with policies and the lived experience, that can prevent a collaborative effort (Arnstein 1969).

Urban Planner Elizabeth M. Rocha's 1997 *A Ladder of Empowerment* publication expands on Arnstein's work by focusing on individual stakeholders and the roadblocks that can prevent them from being engaged. Rocha's suggests that Urban Planners should pay attention to the lived environment and individual experience to achieve collective public participation. According to Rocha, public participation for Urban Planners should be to "understand how what goes on inside one's head interacts with what goes on in one's environment or inhibit one's mastery and control over the factors that affect one's life" page 35. Therefore, this research shows how the lived environment through the individual experiences inside higher socio-economic communities influence collective participation towards the placement of LIHTC-funded development.

This dissertation will address the following research question by using two-case studies and constructing an ideal-typical model: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation? The question is dissected into three separate questions that address how communication, space and time play a role on the creation of the overall research question.*

First, how does communication influence stakeholders' perception about the placement of LIHTC-funded development? As stated earlier, a difference in philosophy exists between the government and private market. Generally, the government tries to communicate as much information about LIHTC-funded development to the public while the private-market is more focused on efficiency. This difference between the amount of information each party is willing convey to the public has an impact over the way stakeholders view LIHTC-funded developments.

Second, how is public space utilized by stakeholders to advance their own LIHTC-funded development agendas? As stated earlier, the government, private market, and housing advocates have their own sets goals and agenda over the placement of LIHTC-funded developments. Therefore, the usage of public space is critical towards the advancement of LIHTC-funded developments.

Third, how does time, specifically the usage of process versus outcomes, influence stakeholder's desires towards the acceptance of LIHTC-funded developments? As stated earlier, the government is mostly focus on equity,

which is primarily driven by the process of decision-making, while the private-market views outcomes as essential towards their existence. Understanding the different types of decision-making will ultimately lead stakeholders to influence the supply chain of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation.

This dissertation tests the following hypothesis: *Greater public participation of residents in North Court Villas, Frisco, Texas in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal, such as in 2640 Fountain View, Houston, Texas.* What the research question seeks to answer through a qualitative analysis and the construction of an ideal-typical model is *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?*

Background to the Problem

Prior to the 1980s, affordable housing was primarily overseen and managed by the federal government (Goetz 2013). This understanding between the general public and the federal government was a result of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, when thousands, led by Martin Luther King, Jr., demanded that government take an active role on social rights issues, including affordable housing (Fisher 1994). According to Mapuva (2015), public participation became a major accountability factor towards the proper implementation of sound policies, such as the 1968 Fair Housing Act. According to Meehan (1985), the 1968 Fair Housing Act enhanced the administrative and

regulatory powers of United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which was created in 1965 by the Johnson Administration. The Act not only addressed housing discrimination practices, but it complimented the Model Cities Program, which provided funding directly to local urban low-income municipalities to address housing needs (Rothstein 2017; Schwartz 2010). However, Schwartz (2010) criticizes the 1968 Fair Housing Act and the Model Cities Program for the way it chose to let local municipalities use discretion over how they engaged the public to determine the proper distribution of the funds that were made available. Some cities were criticized for taking a top-down approach to public participation, such as the creation of boards and commissions, which had their own sets of goals and agendas that may not have been a representation of the issues impacting their surrounding communities (Arnstein 1969). Some argued that a consensus model to public participation, where ideas, conflict and resolutions are unilaterally addressed among stakeholders, could have subdued the criticism that the government and the Johnson Administration received (Rocha 1997). Instead, the lack of oversight by the federal government would later be used as an argument for the need to privatize affordable housing (Bratt and Keating 1993). In theory, the 1968 Fair Housing Act and the Model Cities Program were designed to allow the federal government to work closely with state and local municipalities to improve the welfare of the underprivileged. However, succeeding administrations, primarily Republican controlled, would later criticize the distribution of funds to local municipalities to justify the importance of relinquishing power to the private

market when addressing housing needs (Erickson 2006). According to Goetz (2013), the failure of the 1968 Fair Housing Act and Model Cities Program to properly define the right to housing exacerbated the gap that is seen today between low-income and high opportunity areas over the placement of LIHTC-funded development.

In the 1970s, as public support for government-sponsored housing diminished, the federal government opted to take an enforcement approach to private market driven housing (Mitchell 1985). For example, the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) of 1977 was created to help eliminate bank loan discrimination and provide low-income families and people of color with opportunities to purchase a house without fear of redlining. However, Denton (2006) illustrates information about such programs, like CRA, is often not shared with the intended target audience, which further creates a gap between low-income and high opportunity neighborhoods. Denton (2006) suggests that allowing the government to use qualitative analysis to collect data in the manner in which low-income communities obtain information can eliminate this disparity. For example, a qualitative analysis provides researchers, policymakers, and homeowners with an inside view of the daily challenges facing low-income residents in their surroundings (Desmond 2016; Corburn 2003; Du Bois 1978; Liebow 1967). The same method can be applied towards studying stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities over their acceptance or denial of LIHTC-funded development entering their communities.

In the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan with a Republican-controlled Congress implemented the Tax Reform Act of 1986. The Tax Reform Act created LIHTC for builders of affordable housing. The purpose of the Tax Reform Act is to allow private markets to share most of the responsibility for the creation and implementation of affordable housing. However, studies show that between the 1980s and 2000s the majority of LIHTC-funded development throughout the United States has been placed in areas where economic opportunities are low (McClure 2017; Schwartz, McClure and Taghavi 2016). The research shows that this disparity is partially attributed to the private market's and local municipalities' inability to make inroads in communities with higher economic opportunities-who are often opposed to these developments (McClure 2006; Rohe and Freeman 2001). This opposition is a form of NIMBYism, which tends to exclude people of color who would benefit from such developments, from participating in the decision-making process (Tighe 2012; Putnman 2000). Research shows that "while public housing is deeply intertwined with the history of segregation, less is known about contemporary housing policies, such as LIHTC, that shape segregation in American cities" (DeLuca, Garboden and Rosenblatt 2013, 273).

In 2015, the United States Supreme Court in *Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. The Inclusive Community Project, Inc.* (TDHCA vs. ICP) ruled that the state's general practice of granting LIHTC funding violated Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 because it created a disparate impact of a single group, primarily people of color. According to the Supreme Court's ruling, a disparate impact occurs when a government entity

uses a policy to create a hardship towards members of a protected class, even if the action was unintentional (Dawkins 2018; Oyez.org 2015). In this case, the court ruled that the placement of LIHTC funded development in primarily low-income communities creates a disparate impact. Faced with further legal action, municipalities are now mandated to find a solution that will satisfy the needs of housing advocates and their low-income clients, and higher socio-economic stakeholders, who often oppose these developments entering their communities. Therefore, the research shows that a tumultuous relationship between the government, private market, and housing advocates, each with its own set of goals and agenda, has made it difficult to reach a consensus over the proper placement of LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities (Innes 2016; Innes and Booher 2016; Bohman, Chambers, Christiano, Fung, Thompson and Warren 2013; Forester 2013; Arnstein 1969).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation? The literature will show that the question depends on how the private and public sectors view and utilize public participation. First, the literature will show, through the Theory of Property Contradiction, how the private market utilizes public participation to address efficiency. Second, the literature, through the Communicative Action Model, will show how the public sector utilizes public participation to address equity. Third, the literature will show arguments against taking a holistic approach to the Communication Action Model. Instead, the literature advocates for an applied stance towards public participation, which takes into an account theory and practice. Lastly, the literature will show the influences that the theory and practice of public participation has on policy formulation of affordable housing.

Participation Under the Private Market: Theory of Property Contradiction

There are many economic theories that explore the way efficiency has influenced the private market to satisfy the needs of labor production (Harvey 2001). Some theories address how the private market uses globalization and technology to erode public participation in its quest to address efficiency, which

scholars argue has also created a wedge between economic classes (Smith 2011; Castells 1977). For the purposes of this research, the presentation of the literature explores how the private market influences city planning.

Folgeson (1986) coined The Theory of Property Contradiction to show how the private market utilizes public participation through efficiency and the built environment, such as housing. According to Folgeson (1986), the theory is meant to explain the differences between planning as a state intervention and policy formation. Currently, federal statute mandates that recipients of federal funds comply with certain guidelines, such as encouraging public participation by community stakeholders (Ellen, Horn, Kuai, Pazumiak and Williams 2015; Handley and Howell-Moroney 2010; Field 1997). However, the private market does not follow the same guidelines as the federal government and uses discretion as to when it chooses to engage the public (Linovaski 2016; Clift and Woll 2012). For example, the market encourages public participation, normally through a simple majority voting system, when it wants to utilize the state to build bridges, streets, and sewage systems to maintain capital production (Linovaski 2016; Shah 2013; Austin 2002; Neuman 2000; Verba and Nie 1972). However, the market stops short of demanding the same level of public input on matters dealing with affordable housing due to the high volume of concession it will have to give, which will slow down production (Foucault and Lotringer 2007; Folgeson 1986). Folgeson (1986) argues that the market does not favor consensus building because it slows down productivity, and therefore efficiency. Sarmiento and Sims (2015) add that even when the market attempts to establish

consensus, it often leads to the displacement and gentrification of neighborhoods because it views housing as a singular issue instead of a complex issue that requires a holistic approach. Therefore, the market is most likely to align with solutions that offer efficiency over equity (Sarmiento and Sims 2015).

Castells (1977) argues that urban planning and state intervention are critically important for a sustainable market, which should strive to include public input in all areas of the built environment. Poulantzas (1973) argues that the market is unable to regulate and reproduce without policies being in place, thus eventually requiring some form of state intervention. Therefore, Castells (1977) argues that it serves the private market's best interest to use equity as a tool for planning and development since state intervention has the potential to slow and stop productivity; therefore, affecting efficiency. Chang (2011) adds that as the "ultimate guarantor of property and other rights in society" the state will always find itself in the middle of conflict driven resolution that deals with proper placement of market driven development. Therefore, the Theory of Property Contradiction explains how the private market views the relationship between public participation and development practices as a matter of efficiency over equity (Scally and Tighe 2015, Chang 2011, Harvey 1976).

Participation Under the Public Sector: Communicative Action Model

One of the most challenging aspects within the field of planning is the ability to provide community stakeholders with the necessary tools to allow them to achieve consensus on how to properly address communities' concerns, equity (Innes 2004). While there are many theories on how to achieve a consensus of

urban planning scholars often use the German Philosopher Jurgen Habermas' Communicative Action Model as a source of agreement, debate and advancement of his philosophy (Lindblom 2012; Fainstein 2012; Young 2000; Healy 1992). The Communicative Action Model is based on the philosophy that since human beings are capable of rationalizing, then this also allows us to collectively make sound decisions instead of depending on someone with authoritarian powers to make those decisions for us (Healey 2003; Forester 1999; Habermas 1989 and 1984). Once ideas are pooled, an individual's interests can be persuaded to fit the interest of an entire community (Carp 2004; Buchanan and Tullock 1962). Scholars believe that through consensus, government entities can be created to effectively and efficiently create policies that will benefit the greater good (Forester 2006; Burby 2003; Chess 2000). Once actions are taken, citizens become more vigilant, which allows them to continue the practice of techniques that they have acquired within their communities (Foucault and Lotringer, 2007). The Communicative Action Model's purpose is to always allow for an even distribution of power among all stakeholders, which in turn creates equitable policies designed for the betterment of the community (Bovaird 2007; Booher and Innes 2002; Healey 2012a; Habermas 1984). For example, Susskind and Podziba (1999) show how in 1988 the State of Connecticut used the Communicative Action Model for the creation of an equitable regional housing plan. Municipal, regional, state, and private interests were given the flexibility through a mediator to work together in establishing a consensus for a regional housing plan, the first in Connecticut history (Susskind and Podziba 1999).

Participation Using the Public Sphere

Under the Communicative Action Model, Habermas (1989) adds that, since our behavior allows us to rationally reach a consensus, the public sphere becomes essential to the entire decision-making process. While Habermas stops short of specifically identifying the public sphere, or a public space where people can gather and be part of the decision-making process, some proponents of his work have highlighted the success that it brings when addressing land disputes. As an example, Forester (2013) highlights the success of Albuquerque's North Fourth Street Corridor project that started with a series of personal interviews followed by large meetings at various locations, public sphere, throughout the community. It was during the personal interviews that the city and stakeholders rationally exchanged ideas about the project. However, the larger scale meetings were used to achieve consensus as a collective member of the community. Young (2000) adds that the public sphere is a designated space that is equitable for everyone to access, regardless of one's personal background, for open discussions. It is within the public sphere that a consensus can be reached, and policies may be created to benefit, or not, the community (Forester 2006). There are proponents of the Communicative Action Model that see potential setbacks with using the public sphere as a source for achieving consensus (Kaza 2006; Neuman 2000). They point to the history of public participation, which shows how the public sphere has often failed to fully represent the community's interests, equity, since it has been traditionally inviting to wealthier classes (Quick and Feldman 2011). However, Habermas evokes his country's history during the 13th century when the monarch's

power was reduced to a parliament after citizens came together to oppose it in a public sphere. It was through “reason and the forms of the law” that the citizens came together in a public sphere to bring the necessary changes into their society (Habermas, 1989, volume 1, page 28). Habermas (1989) outlines that while the public sphere is meant to bring all the stakeholders together to participate in the decision-making process, the meetings themselves require a form of conditions, or laws, to achieve a consensus. Forester (2013) advocates for the need to have a mediator on issues dealing with land disputes, such as housing. Mediators are seen as impartial and can assist with defusing arguments when conflict arises between different stakeholders on the public sphere (Forester 2006).

The usage of the public sphere and people’s ability to use reasoning in the decision-making process allows Habermas to justify the cause and effect of beliefs and actions (Habermas 1989). Worldviews should no longer be applicable to every aspect of human life; instead, they should focus on the environment in which a community resides (Habermas 1989; Habermas, volumes 1 and 2, 1984).

Quick and Feldman (2011) make the distinction between participation and inclusion when it comes to understanding the equitable nature of the environment within the community. While the goal of participation is to receive input for a specific project, inclusion determines the types of people providing input (Quick and Feldman 2011). For the Connecticut regional housing plan, the state specifically identified municipal, regional, state, and private interest stakeholders that they felt would understand the environment surrounding affordable housing (Susskind and Podziba 1999). This also adds to Innes’ (2004) notion that Habermas would agree

that perception equals reality in major planning issues like affordable housing, where solutions have often been one-sided. Therefore, understanding and gathering stakeholders from within the environment of a specific issue to participate in the decision-making process is essential to the field of planning because it will attract an equitable and diverse set of participants (Healy 2015; Fainstein 2012; Burby 2003). Habermas (2001) adds that the evolution of civilization, which continues to acquire knowledge through the advancement of technology and our lived experience, is another reason to use the public sphere to achieve equitable solutions. Therefore, understanding the importance of the public sphere allows for planners to address the public needs in land-use disputes, such as affordable housing (Thomas 2014; Susskind and Podziba 1999; Sharp 2009).

Advocacy and Mediation Through Planning

The following section will show how planning encourages the usage of the Communicative Action Model and the public sphere as a means of advocacy and mediation. Clavel (2007) argues that planners should use the public sphere to take an advocacy approach that will allow them to become independent and encourage open dialogue among all stakeholders, academics, and policymakers. This equitable approach to public participation is in contrast to the isolationist form that urban planning had during the 1970s, when decision-making was generated from the design of the comprehensive plans that were created by local planning commissions (Laurian and Shaw 2008). The isolationist approach often left planners neglecting the needs of a community and answering to a single entity, such as the mayor of a city or another elected official, which was often

criticized by scholars (Fainstein 2010; Swartz 2010; Arnstein 1969). Paul Davidoff (2012) adds that isolationist planning, in which a single entity is responsible for the decision-making process, discourages participation of all stakeholders within a community. Research shows that people are more inclined to be involved in the decision-making process if they feel that their concerns are being considered (Sharp 2009). Therefore, scholars argue that planning needs to be more open and inviting to the public for proper deliberation of issues to take place (Healey 2012b; Forester 1989).

Planning theorist John Forester (2012) suggests that one way to demonstrate advocacy is by encouraging planners to use mediation in the public sphere to deviate from traditional theoretical scientific approaches that limit dialogue, debate, and negotiation between stakeholders and the community. Forester (2012) encourages mediation in matters dealing with land-use disputes, such as housing, as a means of allowing the community to achieve power in the decision-making process when planners and stakeholders are not making progress. Urban planner Patsy Healey (1992) adds that by nature, planners are best equipped to be mediators since their field is process oriented, which requires impartial interaction and interpretation of social issues. Allowing planners to focus on the decision-making process and giving them flexibility to establish consensus provides members of a community with a sense of empowerment, which helps them to create and implement sound policies that will impact their surroundings (Irving and Stansbury 2004; Forester 1999). However, the next section will highlight limitations that opponents of the Communicative Action Model, with its

emphasis on the usage of the public sphere and advocacy, believe hinders progress toward addressing social issues, such as affordable housing.

Communicative Action Model Under Debate

While scholars recognize the significant contribution the Communicative Action Model has made within the field of planning, some highlight its limitations toward the advancement of the decision-making process. For example, Fainstein (2012) argues that while a significant portion of literature in public participation within Urban Planning is dedicated towards the advancement of the Communicative Action Model, it often fails to create solutions that explicitly address social justice within an urban context. The argument is in part associated with Urban Planning functioning as hybrid of practice and theory, which the Communicative Action Model does not address due to its sole reliance on theory (Neuman 2000). Therefore, some scholars call for the unifications of the theoretical and practical approach to differentiate between public perception, often associated with theory, and public interest, often associated with practice (Stein and Harper 2011; Kaza 2006). Lindblom (2012) adds that being able to take a theoretical and deliberative, practical, approach toward public participation also gives the field the ability to differentiate between process (equity) versus outcomes (efficiency) of decision-making, which will be highlighted in the following section

Process Versus Outcomes

The section will address how some scholars believe the usage theory and practice will yield the best possible outcomes in the decision-making process. For

example, Irving and Stansbury (2004) state that historically the field of planning has used public participation as a source of outcome indicators to guide policymakers instead of focusing on the process that guided the community stakeholders to reach a consensus. Goetz (2013) uses the HOPE IV program, created in the 1990s, to address social and economic conditions through affordable housing, an example of how focusing on the outcomes of a policy can lead to the displacement of communities. Some planners make the argument that the usage of theoretical and practical approach to public participation should correlate with how policies are created to address specific issues within a community, even though those policies sometimes do not produce the results that they were intended to make (Loh 2012; Sharp 2009; Umemoto and Igarshi 2009; Filner 2006; Tewdwr-Jones and Allemendiger 1998; Rubin 1993). Innes (1996) makes the argument that public participation for property rights, land-use control, and quality of life issues, such as housing, tends to concentrate its effort on outcomes because of the amount of time and energy it requires to achieve a consensus.

Forester (2013) highlights how cities are often at conflict with community stakeholders when it comes to land-use development, which often requires mediators. Some scholars add that since most government-sponsored programs, such as those involving affordable housing, are performance-based initiatives, then planning should focus on the outcomes that result from public input (Handley and Howell-Moroney 2010; Huxley 2000). The argument that scholars make on encouraging Planning to use theory and practice to focus on the

outcomes of the decision-making process appears to align with the private market-driven approach of efficiency over equity (Folgeson 1986).

Time Consuming

The following section makes the argument for the need for planners to use theory and practice to focus on the outcomes of the decision-making process to address the issue of time. Klosterman (2013) argues that the inability for planners to maintain long-term commitment to a project is the result of the pragmatism ingrained in a community to expect immediate results. In Chapter 1, the argument was made that a tumultuous relationship between the government, private market, and housing advocates, each with its own set of goals and agenda, has made it difficult to reach a consensus in establishing a national policy for housing as a right (Rothstein 2017; Loh 2012; De Neufville and Barton 1987). The literature has demonstrated that the government and private-market view public participation as a means to an end while housing advocates are primarily focused on the process (Goetz 2013; Susskind and Podziba 1999; Folgeson 1986). Therefore, some scholars advocate for planners to use creativity to efficiently address those competing agendas and limit the number of stakeholders participating in the decision-making process (Sharp 2009). For example, Klosterman (2013) seems to advocate for the use of the “iron triangle” to identify the most active members of a community. According to Putnam (2000), the iron triangle is composed of special interest groups, public officials, and homeowners, who are the most active members within a community. Although this targeted group would bring planners closer to achieving an

outcome in a timely manner, it substitutes equity over efficiency. Even though efficiency is the most popular form of public participation, the literature shows that this model tends to favor communities with higher socio-economic than low-income opportunities due to ability of having flexible working schedule, access to transportation, and alternative representation at public hearings (Putnam 2000). Hence, public participation for low-income communities is often reduced by the voices of higher socio-economic status, which leads to one-sided outcomes (Forester 2013).

Views Towards Planning

Kaza (2006) insists that, by nature, the field of planning has traditionally address actions that will impact future generations, limiting the type of power they will possess when current events arise. For example, Forester (2013) makes the case that government entities view land-use development as an issue of current events, such as the need to address a shortage of housing supply. This often leads to community disagreement, and the need for planning to serve as a mediator, as opposed to being part of the decision-making process from the start (Forester 2013). Booher and Innes (2002) add that planning should be at the forefront of the decision-making process and used as a tool to generate power as a way for control to be granted to stakeholders within a community, something the Communicative Action Model does not address. Brooks (1996) believes that because power can be unstable, planning theory should serve as a guide to practitioners who may require fresh ideas on how to address social justice, and in return theory should be developed based on situations that practitioners most

often encounter. Some scholars advocate that focusing on issues through a simple majority allows stakeholders to address policies in a timely and efficient manner and gives power to those in need (Kaza 2006; Huxley 2000; Barber 1984).

General Consensus, Private Market Influences, and Policy Formulation

Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation? The literature shows that the root cause of the problem is associated with how the private and public sectors view and utilize public participation. Some scholars dispute Habermas' theory that rational behavior leads to a consensus among all stakeholders because it assumes that human beings do not need rules and laws to conduct daily activities (Tewdwr-Jones and Allemendiger 1998). Loh (2012) adds that when it comes to land-use outcomes, the community already has a familiarity with their surroundings that it is often difficult to break away and establish a consensus. For example, scholar Seymour J. Mandelbaum (1996) argues that persuasion is only possible in communities whose stakeholders are disciplined to listen and understand one's experiences, fears, and aspirations. However, some scholars argue that our most popular system of public participation, a simple majority vote, in the United States makes it difficult for most issues of social justice to be equitably addressed without some type of setback from outside influences (Thomas 2014; Forester 2013; Putman 2000; Abram 2000; Glass 1979). For example, most opponents of affordable housing are primarily homeowners, who believe that these developments not

only reduce their property value, but also invite criminal activity into their communities (Tighe 2012). This often leads opponents and proponents to turn to the voting booth to settle their disagreements, which is a common occurrence in societies that have an electoral system (Barber 1984). The literature shows that our society operates in a system of a simple majority, making it impossible to enact equitable policies (Shah 2013). However, the literature shows that planning has the capability to provide an opportunity where equity, through public participation, can be used to settle land-use disputes that deal with the placement of affordable housing (Forester 2013; Loh 2012; Susskind and Podziba 1999).

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The methodology and the construction of the ideal-typical model presented is based on the following research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* The literature presented in this paper shows that implementation of low-income housing tax credit (LIHTC) units throughout the United States is primarily driven by quantitative analysis. This researcher argues that this approach is one of the factors that has led to an uneven distribution of units, especially in areas with higher economic opportunities, where opposition is most prevalent. The sole reliance on quantitative analysis combined with a need to understand the motives that lead residents to deny or approve a low-income housing tax credit development prompted this researcher to raise the above mentioned research question that will be addressed in a qualitative manner. Therefore, the following hypothesis will be tested: *Greater public participation of residents in North Court Villas, Frisco, Texas in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal, such as in 2640 Fountain View, Houston, Texas.*

Triangulated Ethnographic Study

An ethnographic study was chosen for this research since the method allows for flexibility in way data is collected from a cultural group within their natural setting through interviews and personal observation for an extensive amount of time (Yin 2014; Creswell 2009; Spradley 1979). Hence, the information that is gathered from an ethnographic study focuses on the lived environment of a cultural group, which provides the researcher with a holistic opportunity to contextualize the data (Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Spradley 1980). This researcher focuses on a triangulated ethnographic study of one successful and one unsuccessful LIHTC-funded development in a higher socio-economic community in Texas within the last ten years, starting from 2009. Higher socio-economic is defined according to any threshold above the medium household income of each city (please see table 1.1). Utilizing the literature review on the history of housing in the United States, a Google search was conducted using the housing authorities' websites of Albuquerque, Austin, Chicago, Dallas, El Paso, Houston, Los Angeles, New York City, San Antonio, and San Francisco. The Google search determined that most of the LIHTC-funded developments in these cities were built between the 1980s and 1990s and are situated in low-income, industrial, or areas experiencing gentrification (Albuquerque Housing Authority 2021; Chicago Housing Authority 2022; Dallas Housing Authority 2022; Housing Authority of the City of Austin 2021; Housing Authority of the City of El Paso 2022; Housing Authority City of Los Angeles 2022; Houston Housing Authority 2022; New York City Housing Authority 2022; San Antonio Housing

Authority 2022; San Francisco Housing Authority 2022). This means that the initial Google search also supports the discrepancies outlined throughout the literature over the proper placement of LIHTC-funded development (List under consideration in Appendix II).

The Google search of the listed housing authorities above revealed that North Court Villas, which is located 28 miles north of Dallas, is the only LIHTC-funded development that was built within the last ten year, 2012, in an established higher socio-economic community (Dallas Housing Authority 2022; Kofler, 2014). 2540 Fountain View was chosen since it was a development that was unsuccessfully implemented within the last ten years in a higher socio-economic community (Ortiz 2017; Houston Chronicle 2016). In 2016, Houston abandoned the project after public opposition and minimal support from policymakers, which led the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), under the Obama Administration, to conclude that the city had violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act (Julian, Lott, and McCain, 2017). Therefore, both case studies can answer the following research question and constructing an ideal-typical model: Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?

North Court Villas, located in Frisco, Texas was built in 2012 in a residential community where the median household income is \$116,962. The proposed development at 2640 Fountain View, located in Houston, Texas, where median household income is \$57,093, was denied implementation by the city

after community pushback in 2016. According to 2010 Census data, both communities have a population that is primarily white with at least a high school diploma. However, Frisco has a higher concentration of homeowners that are married with children (United States Census Bureau 2018). (Please see table 1.1)

Table 1.1

North Court Villa Compare to 2640 Fountain View

Geography	Population	Median Household Income	Race (White)	High School Education and more	Renters	Married with children
North Court Villa	72,723	\$128,761	75%	97%	25%	48%
Frisco	188,387	\$116,962	61%	96%	30%	25%
2640 Fountain View	39,208	\$57,093	68%	85%	66%	20%
Houston	2.3 million	\$53,600	51%	79%	57%	22%

Source: *United States Census Bureau American Fact Finder, 2018*

The variables in the above table produce a possible explanation as to why the development in Houston was rejected. The residents in Houston are more diverse, have lower income, less schooling, are more likely to be renters and less

likely to be married with children than residents in Frisco. The factors influencing these variables must be addressed.

Research Procedures

Archival Research, Participant Observation and In-depth Interviews were used to conduct the ethnographic study and construct an ideal-typical model to answer the following research question: Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation? (Figure 1.1 provides an overview of the steps).

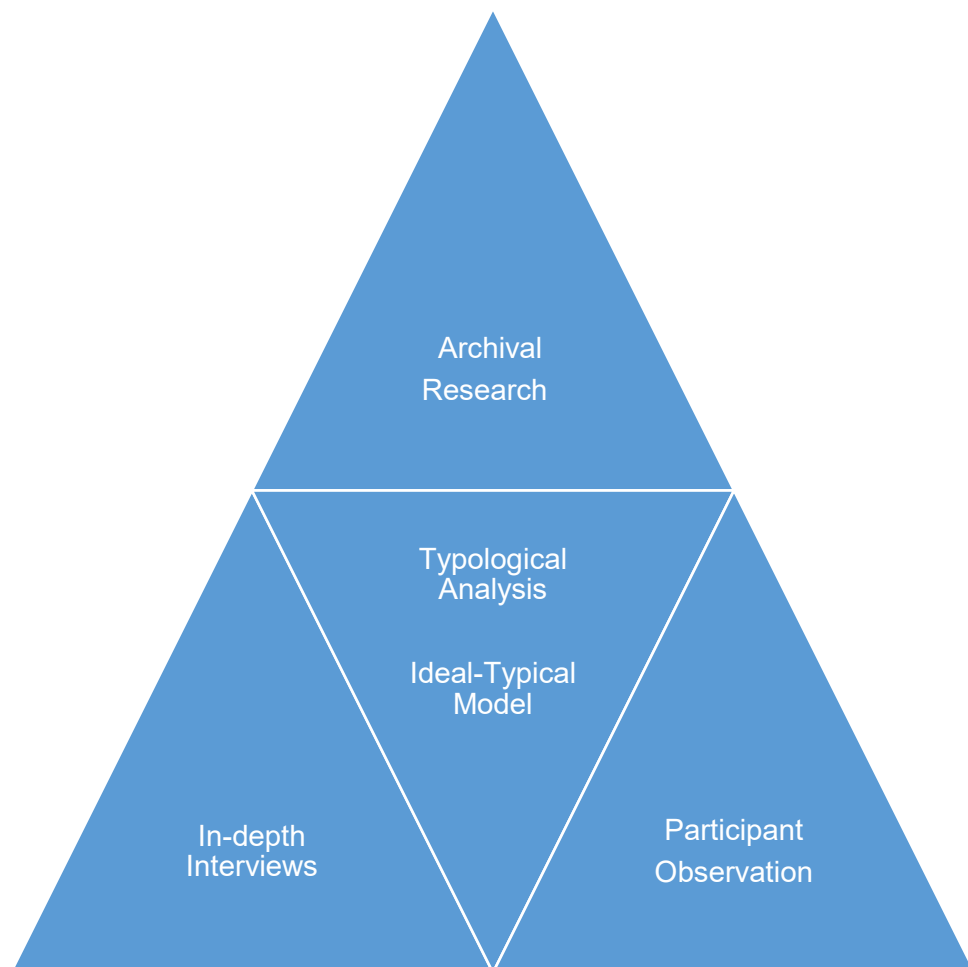


Figure 1.1 Public Participation Triangulated Study

The first step in the ethnographic study is to define the *stakeholders* as a means of answering the following research question: Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation? According to the literature review, stakeholders are classified based on the "iron triangle," a policy-making model that is composed of public officials, homeowners and special interest groups (Klosterman 2013). According to Putman (2000), public officials, homeowners and special interest groups are the most active members within communities. However, given the nature of conducting an ethnographic study, I anticipate the definition of stakeholders to expand as I proceed to the second step towards answering the research question.

The second step in the ethnographic study is to identify the stakeholders of each community that will allow the answering of the research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* A starting point towards identifying the stakeholders is using archives collected via newspaper articles, audio and visual recordings, social media, government websites and internet search engines. According to Yin (2014), documents are useful to "corroborate and augment evidence from other sources (page 107). Hamera (2011) argues that archives extend into performance ethnography, including acts that display memories in the shape of gestures, dance, singing, poetry, and traveling. Therefore, performance ethnography allows stakeholders to imagine how space is utilized within a

community (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). The archives were used as an initial assessment to pinpoint the stakeholders who are actively engaged within the community. This researcher also anticipated that once contact had been initiated with the stakeholders that they would be inclined to refer other members to interview within the community. This technique is referred to a snowball sampling (Yin 2014)

The third step in the ethnographic study involves making an initial contact with the stakeholders of each community via e mail, telephone and in person interviews. According to experts of qualitative research methods, the selection of a sample size is based on the nature of the research question, and what one believes is a suitable number necessary for data saturation and replication (Saladaña and Omasta 2018; Silverman and Patterson 2015; Yin 2014). Using the policy-making model of the “iron triangle” as a starting point of contact, fifteen participants from each community were selected using the archival assessment and third-party suggestions via the snowball sampling technique.

The fourth step in the ethnographic study involves the creation of the interview questions that will lead towards answering the research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* Due to the nature of the ethnographic study, a series of questions were created and divided between comprehensive and focused observations (Spradley 1980). According to Spradley (1980), comprehensive observations are the researcher's personal notes and take-aways about the interviewees and their

lived environment, which are equally as important as the direct questions assigned to the participants of the study. Focused observations are the direct questions that this researcher asked the interviewee. The questions were developed according to the nine features that are commonly found within the lived environment of most cultural groups according to Sociologist James P. Spradley's 1980 book *Descriptive Observations*. The nine features are: *space, actor, activity, object, act, event, time, goal, and feeling*. (Please view Appendix I).

The fifth step towards in the ethnographic study is to conduct a domain analysis of the features, which will lead to answering the research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* Spradley (1980) recommends that each feature be given a cultural domain, categories of meaning that will be gathered from interviews. In addition, the domain analysis should produce a typology that will be included in the findings of this research section. Each domain will include a cover term, semantic relationship and included terms defined below.

1. A cover term is a word that gives meaning to each feature.
2. The semantic relationship links together two categories. The research will use two types of semantic relationship, strict inclusion (X is a kind of Y), and means-end (X is a way of Y). Strict inclusion focuses on nouns and means-end focuses on verbs. (View Table 1.2 and Table 1.3 for example)

3. Included terms are words that give additional meaning to the cover term. (View Table 1.2 and Table 1.3 for example).

Table 1.2
Domain Analysis Diagram
Strict Inclusion (Nouns)

DOMAIN	
Map	Cover Term
(is a kind of)	Semantic Relationship
Book, Guide, Geography	Included Terms

Source: James P. Spradley Participation Observation, 1980

Table 1.3
Domain Analysis Diagram
Means-end (Verbs)

DOMAIN	
Exercise	Cover Term
(is a way of)	Semantic Relationship
Swim, Bike, Run	Included Terms

Source: James P. Spradley Participation Observation, 1980

According to Spradley (1980), "cover terms, included terms, and semantic relationships are all words and phrases that define and give meaning to objects, events, and activities" (page 89). Using domain analysis will lead to the construction of an ideal-typical model and answering the research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?*

The sixth step in the ethnographic study is to create a typological analysis of the data. The typological analysis will follow the course-of-action type model introduced by Sociologist Alfred Schutz. According to Schutz (1970), action is a conduct that is planned regardless if it is delivered or just a thought. Using steps one through five, each participant will be separated into the following categories:

(Type I) High level of public participation, (Type II) Moderate level of public participation, and (Type III) Low level of public participation. In addition, each participant will be placed according to the following criteria:

Type I

1. Number of years residing in the community? (10 plus years)
2. Homeownership
3. Mean-end (Verbs). Is the stakeholder civically engaged? Do they write letters, make phone calls, and attend meetings?

Type II

1. Number of years residing in the community? (5-10 years)
2. Homeownership, rental, business, and political figures.
3. Mean-end (Verbs). Is the stakeholder civically engaged? Do they write letters, make phone calls, and attend meetings?

Type III

1. Number of years residing in the community? (less than 5 years)
2. Homeowner, rental, business, and political figures
3. Strict Inclusion (Nouns). Stakeholder knows and understands the situation but is not civically engaged. They do not write letters, make phone calls and attend meetings.

Those respondents who do not qualify for Categories Type I and Type II will be categorized as Type III.

The seventh step is to create an ideal-typical model to answer the following research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic*

communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation? According to Weber (1949), who introduced the model, an ideal-typical model strives to give a clear meaning of expression to an abstract reality. Weber argues that because our societies operate under neoliberalism, perception of reality, also known as lifeworld, is often skewed with opinions. Therefore, the creation of the ideal-typical model will be treated as a means and not an end of answering the research question.

According to Weber (1949), people's actions are influenced by the knowledge they receive from each other, which form the bases of human rational. Therefore, the first elements that will be used to create the ideal typical model to answer the research question will be archival research, participant observation, and in-depth interviews. Weber (1949) also argues that value-rational, which are actions taken by individuals regardless of their personal values, also play a role in human behavior. The second element that will be used to construct the ideal typical model will be the means-end data from the domain analysis. Is the stakeholder civically engaged? Do they write letters, make phone calls, and attend meetings?

The third element that will be used to create the ideal type model will be derived from Sociologist Jurgen Habermas' Communicative Action Model. According to Habermas (1984), the Communicative Action, takes place when stakeholders gather in a public space to reach a consensus. The researcher will analyze data that shows public officials, homeowners and special interest groups coming together and approving the implementation of LIHTC-fund developments in their communities. (Please view Example 1.1)

Example 1.1

Ideal Type of Community Approving Construction of LIHTC-development

1. Characteristics identified through archival research, participant observation and in-depth interviews
2. Characteristics identified through Means-end Domain Analysis
3. Characteristics of consensus building by public officials, homeowners and special interest groups

Limitations

It is important to highlight limitations that are presented by the research question. While the methods that have been chosen are designed to yield the best possible finding towards answering the research question, the issues of race, expectations, and sample size should be taken into consideration. This researcher believes his race could lead participants to consciously and unconsciously answer certain questions to fit the researcher's characteristics. In addition, participants' expectations could make it difficult for them to focus on the topic. For example, participants may be trained to think based on a certain pre-exposed definition of public participation and affordable housing. Therefore, their responses to the research questions may not reflect the actions by the rest of the stakeholders. Lastly, it should be noted that the findings from the sample size are not meant to give an absolute conclusion, but rather provide a glimpse of a bigger equation. Additional researcher activity should be anticipated at the conclusion of this study.

Prospective Contributions to Planning Academia, Practice, and Policymaking

The literature shows that a tumultuous relationship between the government and policymakers, private market, and housing advocates, each with its own set of goals and agenda, has made it difficult to reach a consensus over the proper placement of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities (Innes 2016; Innes and Booher 2016; Bohman, Chambers, Christiano, Fung, Thompson and Warren 2013; Forester 2013; Arnstein 1969). This tumultuous relationship shows that when LIHTC-funded developments are introduced into higher socio-economic communities, they are normally met with the same level of public resistance as any development associated with Not In My Back Yard (NIMBY). Policymakers will benefit from understanding why a particular method of public participation works best in the successful implementation of LIHTC-funded developments, allowing them to construct policies that are designed to properly engage stakeholders and comply with federal guidelines. In addition, this research presents an opportunity for planning scholars to advance the field while providing practitioners the necessary tools to address conflict that is generated by stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities who often oppose low-income housing tax credit unit entering their communities. Some academics advocate for a theoretical scientific approach based on public perception, while others call for a more applied stance to consensus decision-making. This research aims to bridge the level knowledge that currently exists between academia, field practitioners, and policymaking

towards the way low-income housing tax credit developments are introduced and implemented in areas with a high level of economic opportunity. Current research shows that public participation for these developments tend to follow a top-down approach, where a development is introduced “as is” into communities rather than consensus building among stakeholders.

The literature also shows that implementation of LIHTC development throughout the United States is primarily driven by quantitative analysis (McClure 2006). This researcher argues that this approach is one of the factors that have led to an uneven distribution of units, especially in areas with higher economic opportunities where opposition is most prevalent. Instead of using quotas that show the amount of units that are available within a particular community, this research aims to focus on a qualitative analysis and add to the literature that will allow researchers and practitioners to gain a better understanding on the mechanisms that lead homeowners to approve or deny a development.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Introduction

The results that are presented in this dissertation are part of a triangulated ethnographic study that was conducted between June 2020 and December 2020. The purpose of the research is to answer the following question through the construction of an ideal-typical model: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* The results analyze the internal and external factors that led to the successful implementation of the North Court Villas in Frisco, Texas and the denial of 2640 Fountain View in Houston, Texas by community stakeholders. The results have been used to test the following hypothesis: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal.* The primary data consists of 25 total interviews (15 from Frisco and 10 from Houston) with homeowners, developers, current and former mayors, councilmembers, city department staff, directors and board members, housing advocates and opposition leaders. An archival analysis of each development through newspaper articles, audio and visual recordings, social media, government websites, and search engines allowed for the

enrichment of the interviews. In addition, social observations of previously recorded public meetings and in-person site visits of the studied areas were conducted to reinforce the entire data.

The multiple layers of data presented in this dissertation provide an in-depth overview of the hypothesis and research question. The archival research was used to identify community stakeholders, verify pre-existing claims and follow-up on suggestions that were made during interviews. The interviews offer a first-hand account of what leads community stakeholders to accept or deny the placement of LIHTC-funded developments in their community. The social observation of previously recorded public meetings and in-person site visits of the studied areas were conducted to determine if any of the possible variables such as income, race, education level, homeownership, and family size influence the decision-making process. This was determined by a two-step process. First, speakers who attended public meetings were asked to provide their names and address. During the process of their comments, some speakers disclosed their education level, resident status, and family size. Second, a Google search of each speaker's name produced public information records, such as social media accounts, property tax and voter registration, which verified some of the listed variables. By including a wide range of data, the research can provide a robust alternative to using quantitative analysis as the sole means of testing the hypothesis and answering the research question.

Archival Analysis

Due to restrictions caused by the COVID19 pandemic, the internet search engine Google and the Houston Public Library Julia Idison Building was primarily used to retrieve relevant information of both developments. In addition, a conscious decision was made to initiate the data collection with North Court Villas based on the distance between the researcher and the community, and the concerns for future travel restrictions. The Google search of North Court Villas produced four news articles that highlighted the grand opening and four names of community stakeholders and organizations responsible for the implementation of the development. The researcher used the names listed on the articles to make initial contact. In addition, the researcher turned to the developer's website, which had additional two articles that were not available during the initial Google search. Newspaper articles also allowed this researcher to overcome any initial bias since the names of the participants had previously appeared in other publications. The research then proceeded to the City of Frisco government website for additional information. The government website includes a February 16, 2010 visual and audio recording that details when the community and public officials vetted the development. The audio and visual recording were used as a social observation to search for all the possible variables, such as income, race, education level, homeownership, and family size influence that may have contributed towards the implementation of North Court Villas.

The research then proceeded towards gathering data from the 2640 Fountain View proposed development. The same methods and procedures that

were used to collect documents and establish contact in North Court Villas was used with 2640 Fountain View. The initial Google search produced one website, Stopfountainviewproject.org, which has since been deleted. The website was created by community stakeholders opposing the development. The website included a rich collection of newspaper articles (five), letters from government officials (four) and contact information to community stakeholders (five) opposing the development. In addition, the research proceeded to use LinkedIn.com to contact several community stakeholders that could not be located using email and telephone numbers. The researcher turned to the Houston Public Library Julia Ideson Building (HPLJIB) to acquire audio and visual recordings about the development to no avail. However, under the guidance of Houston Public Library Julia Ideson staff, the researcher was able to make a request under the Texas Public Information Act to the City of Houston for documents relevant to the 2640 Fountain View LIHTC-funded development. The request produced the minutes from the January 19, 2016 and March 09, 2016 public hearings recorded by the Houston Housing Authority about the development, which were reviewed and included as part of the data collection. HPLJIB, which has access to multiple government, scholarly and independent media outlets, was also instrumental in verifying that the information that was being collected throughout the triangulated ethnographic study was from one successful and one unsuccessful LIHTC-funded development in a higher socio-economic community in Texas within the last ten years (January 2010-December 2020).

The documents that the research produced from North Court Villas and 2640 Fountain View were printed and are available under Appendix II for further review.

In-Depth Interviews

From the archival research, N=30 stakeholders (15 from North Court Villas and 15 from 2640 Fountain View) were selected using the methods described on the next sentence for an in-depth interview. The participants were initially contacted via email, phone and LinkedIn.com. The initial responses for a request to an interview varied by study area. In Frisco, for example, the responses were prompt and direct, typically within one week and with a reply of yes or no to consideration for an interview. Most Frisco stakeholders agreed to be interviewed when contact was initially made compared to Houston stakeholders. In Houston, most of the selected participants who agreed to participate in the research replied within two weeks and after multiple attempts through email, phone contact and LinkedIn. Others did not reply to the request using the same methods of initiating contact while another set of stakeholders expressed no interest for an interview.

Using snowball sampling, 25 community stakeholders (15 from Frisco and 10 from Houston) agreed to an in-person, Skype, Microsoft Teams, or Zoom interview out of 30 that were initially set out to study. It should be noted that the majority agreed to use an online video chat application feature as a means of practicing social distancing due to the COVID19 pandemic. The community stakeholders that agreed to an interview ranged from homeowners, developers,

current and former mayors, councilmembers, city department staff, directors, board members, and housing advocates and opposition leaders. The sample of participants is presented in Table 1.4. While the goal of 30 participants was not met, the sampling captures a diverse set of community stakeholders and provides the researcher with the ability to focus on internal and external factors, which will be discussed in details in the subsequent sections, in order to test the hypothesis and answer the research question through the construction of an ideal-typical model. *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* The interviews reinforced the triangulation of the data by allowing community stakeholders to share and verify information that was not readily available through an internet search engine and third party references. The questions that were developed for the interview were created using Sociologist James P. Spradley's 1979 book *The Ethnographic Interview*, which provides suggestions on how to ask questions without the subject matter feeling constrained and make additional contribution to the research. For example, the format of the questions provided the interviewees with the opportunity to suggest additional participants that they felt could contribute to the research, creating a snowball sampling.

Table 1.4
Number of Interviews

Geography	North Court Villas	2640 Fountain View
Homeowners	2	2
Mayor (Current)	1 (Former Councilmember now Mayor of Frisco. Counted as one)	0
Mayor (Former)	1	0
Councilmember (Current)	0	1
Councilmember (Former)	1 (Former Councilmember current Mayor of Frisco. Counted as one)	0
Board Member	2	1
Director	4	2
Staff	1	2
Housing Advocates	3	2
Developer	1	0
Total Interviews Per Study Area	15	10
Total Number of Interviews	25	

The community stakeholders who agreed to the interview by signing the research consent form did not request their names to remain anonymous. However, this research made a conscious decision to protect the names of department staff due to the nature of their positions. One interviewee, City of Houston Councilmember District G, agreed to the interview, but did not agree to sign the research consent form. The researcher agreed to move forward with the interview since the councilmember represents the geopolitical district of 2640 Fountain View, and is considered a political figure. Using selective observation (Spradley 1980), the research focused on the questions that provided details

about when, where and how information was shared between the councilmember, homeowners, developers, city officials and housing advocates. By focusing on those areas, the research was able to collect information that addressed differences and similarities between the councilmembers that represented North Court Villas and 2640 Fountain View. No interviewees received compensation, monetary or otherwise, for their participation in this research.

Social Observation

The COVID19 pandemic presented a unique set of challenges and opportunities to the way this researcher conducted observations. Except for one in-person interview, most of the community stakeholders agreed to use an audio and visual application feature as a means of communication, limiting the extent of using comprehensive observation. Instead, the research turned to archives for available audio and visual recordings of North Court Villas and 2640 Fountain View. The research produced a seven-hour February 16, 2010 City of Frisco Council meeting that detailed when the community and public officials vetted the development. Specifically, the audio and visual recording allowed the researcher to verify claims that several participants, who were present and spoke at the meeting, made during the in-depth interviews. The audio and visual recording were used as part of a social observation to search for all the possible variables that may have contributed towards the successful implementation of North Court Villas such as income, race, education level, homeownership, and family size. First, speakers who attended public meetings were asked to provide their names

and address. During the process of providing their comments, some speakers disclosed their education level, resident status, and family size. Second, a Google search of each speaker's name produced public information records, such as social media accounts, property tax and voter registration, which verified some of the listed variables. The research could not produce any substantial amount of audio and visual recordings for 2640 Fountain View. The research did review minutes from January 19, 2016 and March 09, 2016 public hearings recorded by the Houston Housing Authority about the development, but were not included as part of this section.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHY

Definition of Communication, Space, and Time

It should be noted that the execution of this research was conducted using qualitative methods from the fields of Urban Planning and Sociology. Therefore, it is important to clear a few terminologies as they relate to the themes and definitions of this data analysis. Communication is defined as any type of audio, verbal and non-verbal, performance, visual, and written technique used to deliver a message. Space and physical location are interchangeable terms. Time is intended to differentiate between process and outcomes. Process is meant to highlight how stakeholders collectively worked together towards achieving a goal. Outcomes will highlight individual and collective group efforts towards achieving a goal. Figure 1.2 has been created to provide an overview of the themes, terminology, and their relationships to the data analysis. In addition, the figure 1.2 suggests that the themes do not follow a particular order in the creation of the data analysis but should be applied collectively.

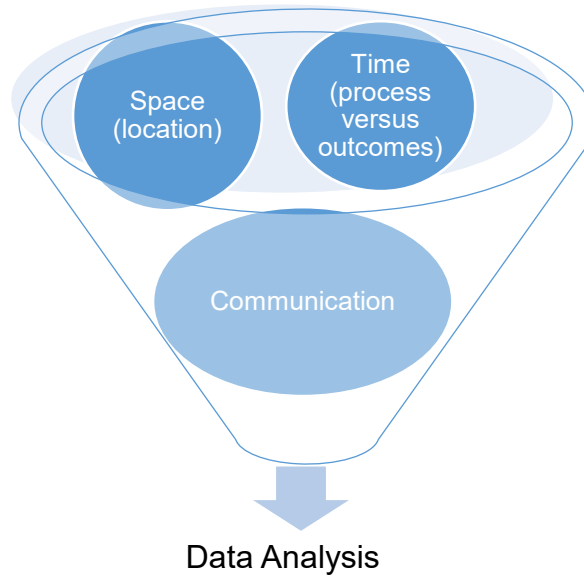
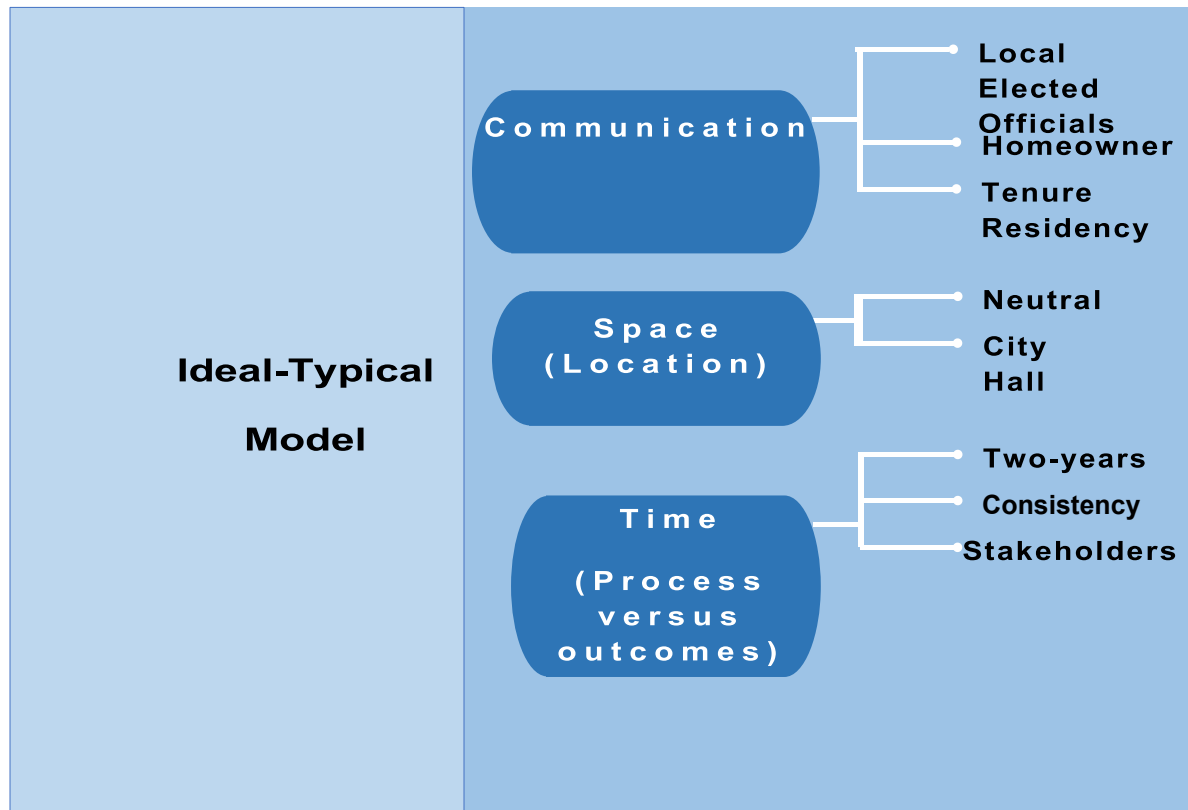


Figure 1.2 Data Analysis Overview

Figure 1.2 provides a contextual overview of the ideal-typical model that is outlined in detail throughout the presentation of the data analysis. The figure will also be reintroduced as Figure 1.4, not 1.3, at the end of this chapter to culminate the findings. Figure 1.3 provides an overview of the three themes that were discovered during the research and factors that are necessary for successful implementation.

Figure 1.3 Ideal-Typical Model of Public Participation for the Implementation of LIHTC-funded Developments in Higher Socio-economic Communities Overview



Ethnographic Re-Imagining Writing Process

The results are written using an ethnographic re-imagining process of stakeholders and events from the data collected from 2640 Fountain View and North Court Villas. The re-imagining led to the creation of a typological analysis to test the following hypothesis: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal.* The results from the

typological analysis, archival research, and participant observation led to the creation of an ideal-typical model as a means of answering the following research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* For this research, pseudonyms and some titles have been changed, which serves two purposes. First, it protects the identity of the stakeholders from possible community, employment, and political repercussions. This decision will be further explored at the conclusion of the research. Second, the creation of pseudonyms and changes to some titles allowed this researcher the opportunity to discover the types of stakeholders who are most likely be involved in the decision-making process and themes that they share. Based on this discovery, the data will be distributed into the following theme: communication, space (location), and time. Each theme will have an organizational chart, which will show the trajectory of the data analysis.

Definition of a Community, Neighborhood, and City

The following definition was created based on the data that was collected. A community is a set of people, who use a neighborhood for geopolitical lines, housing, parks, schools, entertainment, and business. A city is comprised by multiple neighborhoods, and serves as an administrator of local ordinances, and as an agent of state and federal laws.

Stakeholders Legend

James Walker: 10 plus years of residence near Fountain View

Kitty Spence: 10 plus years of residence near Fountain View

Robert Costley: 10 plus years of residence near North Court Villas

Daniel Crane: Five years of residence. City Council Member of Fountain View

Paul Plainview: 10 plus years of residence, Mayor of Frisco

Elliot Sunday: 10 plus years of residence, Frisco City Director of Policy

Other Names

Sheryl Weaver: North Texas Housing Advocate for North Court Villas

Cody Blue: Developer for North Court Villas

Dillion Frasier: City of Houston Staff

Kim: South Texas Housing Advocate for Fountain View

Nadia Smith: City Board Member for Frisco

Brian O'Connor: Assistant Frisco Director of Policy

Ashley Jones: City of Houston Housing Department Executive Director

Introduction of Stakeholders

Kitty, who is White, is a retired nurse, and works part-time for a nonprofit. Her children and grandchildren attended and graduated from the neighborhood public school system, which is ranked among the highest in Houston. Kitty considers herself lucky to have given her children and grandchildren the opportunity to reside in a high opportunity neighborhood. "I have never made as much as most of my neighbors. I have always considered myself middle class. There were times that I worked multiple jobs to pay my mortgage. I think I have worked twice as much as some of my neighbors that live here," said Kitty. She is civically engaged. She is a member of a group of volunteers that lead a city-wide charter civic association composed of homeowners, renters, homeowner's

associations, faith-based, private, and public organizations. The group meets monthly at a local police storefront. According to Kitty, the group works closely with the Mayor, Councilmembers, and city staff to address different issues impacting their neighborhood. "Lately, we have been dealing with a lot of illegal street racing so our group has been working with the city and the police to see what can be done" according to Kitty. Given her flexible work schedule, Kitty considers herself very civically engaged, attending, and participating in every community meeting within her neighborhood. However, COVID19 has taken a mental toll on her willingness to continue. "I typically attended 90% of our community meetings. However, I don't like online meetings. I miss the physical contact of knowing other people" according to Kitty. When asked to explain what would lead her to not to attend a meeting, she stated family responsibilities. "Sometimes I have family that comes and visit from out of town, so I like to give them my attention. Sometimes I go out of town to visit them" stated Kitty.

James, who is White, is a corporate lawyer. His children attend a private school across Houston. James serves on the board of his homeowner's association (HOA). James stated that his HOA is the only active HOA within the neighborhood because they collect dues and have a committed board. "Collecting HOA fees have allowed us to repair streets and put-up speedbumps. Sometimes we have used our funds to help other HOAs address infrastructure projects that would directly impact us" according to James. James admits that given his full-time responsibilities to his career and as husband and father, he is not as civically engaged as he would like to be. "I try my best to attend at least

40% of our in-person meetings each year, but I find it hard to be consistent especially as my children grow older and participate in sports and other afterschool activities. I also have an unpredictable job schedule, because of the types of clients that I deal with” stated James.

Robert, who emigrated from Argentina, retired from the United States Armed Forces. Robert’s children have long moved out of the house that he purchased in Frisco 20 years ago. “Even though I migrated from another country, I have never felt out of place in [Frisco],” stated Robert. He continues that when he and his wife, who is originally from the Philippines, moved into the city there were mostly empty fields and lacked cultural diversity. According to the local newspaper, “Frisco is a city that stagger on, zombielike, as bills pile up for aging roads, malls, and even housing because of bad design and even worse financial planning” (Grigsby 2019). Robert acknowledges that the increase in foot and car traffic is partially associated with the diversity of cultures, which he welcomes. “For a while, the city had a lot of White people, but since then we have elected a mayor with a Middle-Eastern background, highlighting our progressive ways,” according to Robert. Robert, whose neighborhood does not have an HOA, calls himself a community leader and is 100% civically engaged. According to Robert, “each time there is an issue within the community, my neighbors turn to me to call city hall because of my connections. When we want things done, all I have to do is pick up the phone and call the Mayor, councilmembers, or someone else at city hall. I have a good relationship with everyone.” When asked what types of

issues would lead him and his neighbors to call city hall, he stated quality of life issues such as crime, education and traffic.

Daniel, is who White, is a corporate lawyer who has over ten years of living in Houston. He ran for and successfully won a seat at city council. Prior to being elected Councilmember, he served on the board of his HOA for two years. Daniel disclosed little about his personal life during his interview. A few articles revealed that he previously served in the United States Armed Forces and on boards of several political and nonprofit organizations. He has a fiancé and does not have any children.

Elliott, who is a White, moved into Frisco during the 1980s when he was hired as the city's first and only City Manager. Since being hired, the city has named the City Hall Annex building after him. In addition, a local elementary school is named in his honor. During an interview with a local newspaper, Elliott stated that his success in the community is due to understanding the resident's concerns. "Prior to my arrival, residents had already decided they wanted to be a complete city, not just a bedroom community. People were hungry for growth. However, the city could have made better decision with infrastructure and best zoning practices" added Elliott. He is married with children, who attended and graduated from the local public school system.

Paul, whose ethnic background is Middle Eastern, is a corporate lawyer and has over 20 years of living within the community. Paul ran and was successfully elected Mayor of Frisco during his first attempt. Prior to being elected Mayor, he was a councilmember and was appointed Deputy Mayor and

Mayor Pro Temp by his peers. He also served on several boards and commissions for various private and nonprofit organizations that have ties to the city. Paul is married with no children.

Other Names

Ashley: City of Houston Housing Department Executive Director

Brian: Assistant Frisco Director of Policy

Cody: Developer for North Court Villas

Dillion: City of Houston Staff

Kim: South Texas Housing Advocate for Fountain View

Nadia: Frisco Board Member

Sheryl: North Texas Housing Advocate for North Court Villas

The Role of Communication

This section looks at how communication influence stakeholders' perception about the placement of LIHTC-funded development and role it plays on the creation of the overall research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* Kitty, who lives near 2640 Fountain View, uses Laura Street for her daily activities. It is the street she uses to drive to work, attend community meetings, grocery shop and participate in leisure activities. Laura Street happens to be the main road that connects the elementary, middle, and high schools, police store front, and multiple businesses within the neighborhood. The street has six lanes that are divided by a grass median and sidewalks that are shaded by trees. During several visits to the

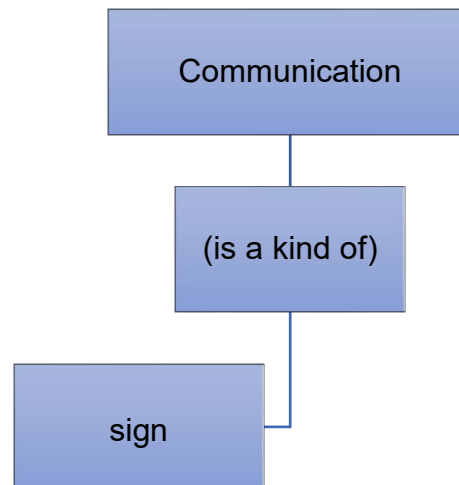
neighborhood, this researcher observed that the one and a half mile stretch of Laura Street is also connected by several dozen single and multi-use developments. The developments are a mix of contemporary and classic architecture. The single use developments are protected by a five-foot-tall brick wall while the multi-use is surrounded by black steel fence. The visits also revealed a high level of both car and foot traffic. Laura Street is used for exercising, such as cycling and running, and leisure activities, such as strolling between adults and children and their pets.

In the middle of the car and foot traffic combined with commercial and several single and multi-use developments located in Laura Street sits the City of Houston Housing Authority Department (HA) building. The three-story tall brick building is surrounded by large trees and a flower garden with a parking lot for approximately 20 vehicles. At the entrance of the parking lot sits a seven by four foot white and blue metal sign with the address of the housing authority inscribed in yellow at the top, and a capital H, the housing authority's logo, inscribed in blue in the middle. Adjacent to the HA sign is a five-by-five-foot sign that sits on top of two wooden poles. A quarter of the sign has the following statement capitalized in black "SITE OF PROPOSED HOUSING PROJECT." The other half of the sign has a rendering of the new site. It is modern style five story development, which resembles many of the multi-use developments already established on Laura Street. The sign lists the address of the housing authority and a telephone number. It also lists the Washington D.C address of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, addresses for the Texas

General Land Office, Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs (TDHCA), and the city's address for the Housing and Community Development Department (HCDD), a separate department from the HA. (Please note that the following charts are cumulative. See Appendix IV for cumulative layout of communication, space, and time)

The construction for this domain analysis starts by showing that a sign (is a kind) of communication.

Chart 01: Communication: Sign

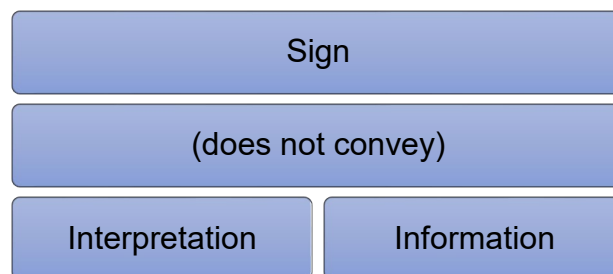


According to Kitty, she noticed the sign posted for a while, but never took the time to analyze the content and meaning. "I remember seeing the sign every time I drove to the grocery store and when I was on my way to a community meeting at the police store front" stated Kitty. When this researcher asked Kitty if a while meant days, weeks, or months, she replied a few months, but could not give an exact timeline. Subsequent interviews and archival research do not show how long the sign had been posted. However, the planning for development had

been well underway for several years before Kitty and the rest of her community realized the meaning of the sign through a local newspaper publication (Houston Chronicle 2016). Archival analysis show that the project was first introduced to the public during a HA board meeting two years prior as part of Board's Real Estate, Investment and Development report (Housingforhouston.com. 2014). Archival analysis shows that there was no opposition to the development during this meeting.

The data shows a semantic restrictive contrast for the city choosing to use a sign as a form of communication. The data shows that a sign does not lead to the interpretation and meaning of information (communication).

Chart 1.2: Sign: Interpretation, Information



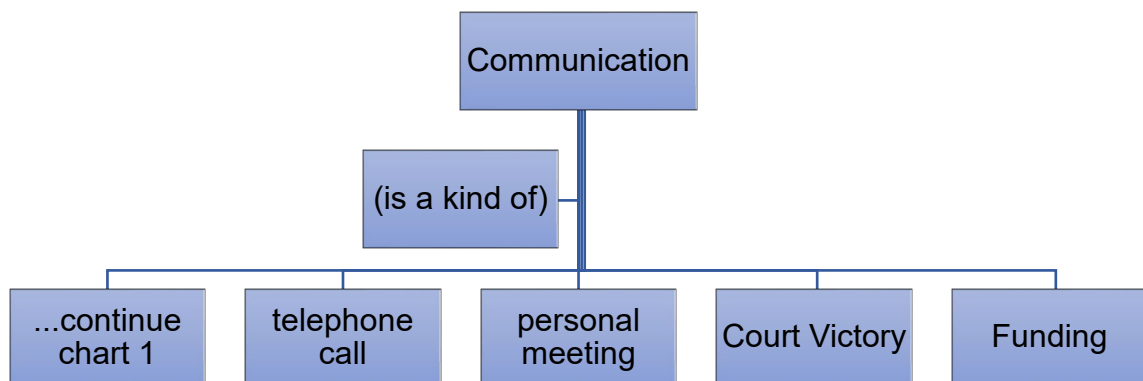
Similarly, four years prior to the construction of North Court Villas in Frisco, Sheryl, a housing advocate, received a call from city officials to build a LIHTC-funded development within city limits. Elliott, City Manager, and Paul, Mayor, presented another version on the initiation of this event. They stated that it was Sheryl and her team inside the Inclusive Communities Project (ICP) who approached the city via a telephone call requesting an in-person meeting, which they granted. Whenever it was possible, this researcher used archival analysis to

verify contradictory claims. The researcher discovered, as it will be outlined throughout the findings, that there were certain topics in which each stakeholder claimed collective victory while others dispute its content, events, and origins. Newspaper clips from the Dallas Morning News confirm that it was Sheryl and her team who first approached the city for an affordable housing development (The Dallas Morning News 2013). However, Elliott, Paul and Sheryl acknowledged that the start of the dialogue between both parties took place after Sheryl's team won a United States Supreme Court ruling over the way in which cities were violating Title IX of the Civil Right Act. "The Supreme Court ruling clearly stated that cities could no longer use federal dollars to discriminate against people who lived in affordable housing. Cities were found culprits of primarily placing housing in areas with low opportunities. The ruling forces the cities to find a way that put these developments where opportunity will be available to the residents" stated Sheryl. She also acknowledged how the financial compensation she received from the lawsuit helped her organization grow. Sheryl stated that housing advocates will always be at a disadvantage when it comes to advocating for those in need because the ability to hire staff and communicate directly with the community where these developments will be placed are limited by the funding that is available. "We can't ask someone who needs affordable housing to take the day off from work to advocate at city council. We also cannot afford to pay for the time they will miss from work. We also are limited on how we deliver the message. Ideally, we would like to go to the community and talk to them, but we don't have the funding to pay extra staff

and create campaign flyers.” The Supreme Court ruling awarded Sheryl’s organization \$10 million according to interviews and archival analysis, which also allowed them more access to communicate with the city the terms of the affordable housing development (Houston Chronicle 2016; The Dallas Morning News 2013).

The construction of the domain analysis further shows that a telephone call, personal meeting, court victory, and funding (is a kind) of communication.

Chart 02: Communication: Telephone Call, Personal Meeting, Court Victory



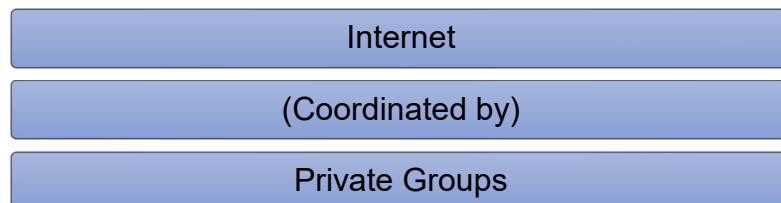
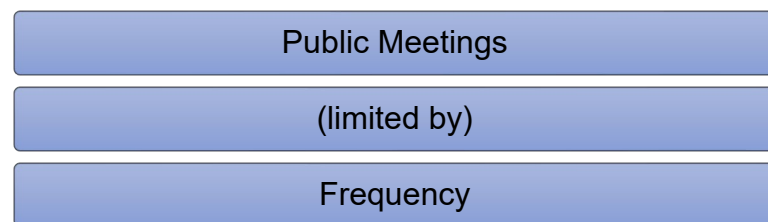
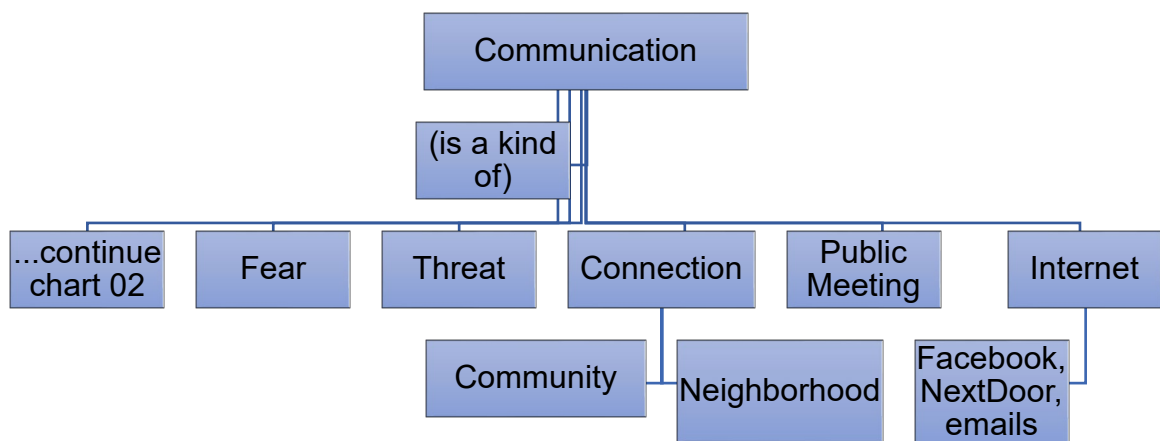
The City of Frisco recognized that they had an affordable housing shortage. According to archival analyzes, the city is one of the wealthiest in Texas, but had zero affordable multi-family units within its jurisdiction (The Dallas Morning News 2013). Sheryl believes that the threat of a lawsuit played a key role in forcing the city to take on the issue. “I believe the city was trying to preserve their image and did not want negative attention from a potential lawsuit. They had no choice, but to start talking with us” stated Sheryl. Daniel classified the need to address affordable housing as a matter of opinions between “insiders and outsiders”. “I recognize the need for [Houston] to have affordable housing,

but not when others who don't live in [Fountain View] are trying to force it down the [community's] throats" stated Daniel. The immediate connection to the community and neighborhood plays a role in how these developments are received. Interviews and archival analysis show that recurring community meetings, which tend to take place during a specific calendar day and time of the month, serve primarily to maintain accountability of the organizations and members who host them (BCIA Board Minutes, 2016). However, they do not necessarily serve to communicate new information. Sheryl believes that community meetings hinder progress of these developments. "People have a preconceived negative notion about these developments. They attend these meetings with their minds made up that they don't want them in their neighborhoods" stated Sheryl. Daniel, who is the district councilmember where the 2640 Fountain View development would have been implemented, agrees with Sheryl assessments and believes that this is attributed to housing advocates being outsiders. "Most of the communication and involvement by the residents take place in the worldwide web. Most people use social media like Facebook, NextDoor, personal webpages, and emails to express their views. Outsiders are not part of the conversation because these groups are sometimes secretive and selective" according to Daniel. It is after these exchanges take place between residents on the internet that they exchange ideas out in the public.

The domain analysis shows that fear, threat, connection to the community and neighborhoods, public meetings, private worldwide web networks, Facebook, NextDoor, emails (is a kind of) communication. However, there are some

semantic contrasts. Public meetings are limited by the frequency that they are held, which limits the way communication is delivered. World wide web and social media accounts are created and run by private groups.

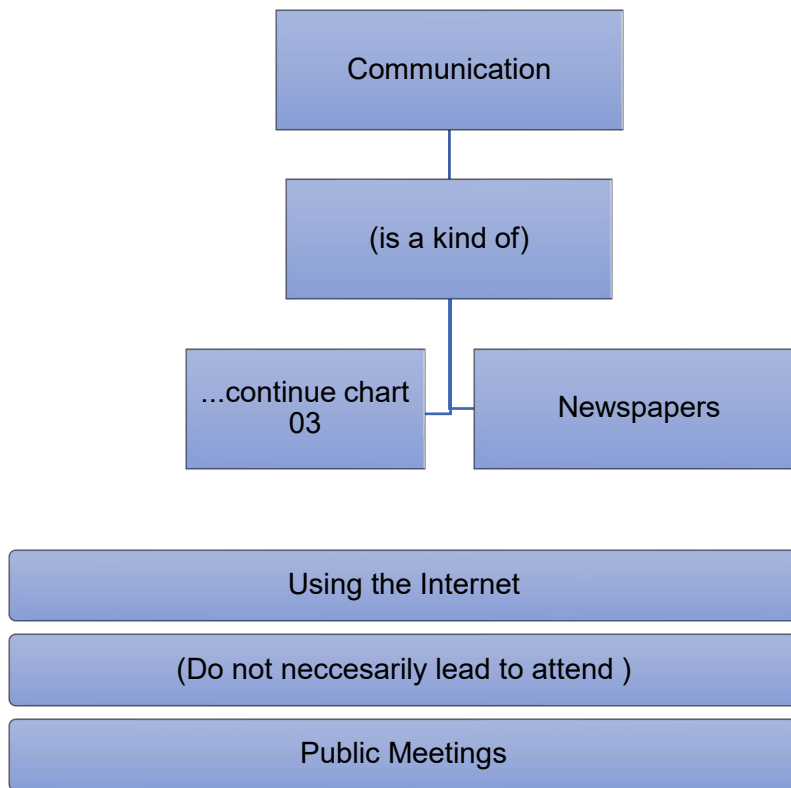
Chart 03: Communication: Fear, Threat, Connection, Public Meeting, Internet



James, who lives near the 2640 Fountain View proposed development, acknowledged that his HOA membership talks regularly before their public meeting. “Even though I attended 40% of the meetings in person, I was given the task by my HOA to monitor the status of the housing development once we learned about it through the local newspaper and social media. We were not going to wait until our monthly meeting to talk about the status. I was constantly keeping them in the loop via emails and group messages” stated James. He added that prior to learning of the development in Laura Street no one from the city and housing advocates approached the community. “I received an email from my HOA that the city was going to build public housing within my community. People were against it from the start” added James.

The domain analysis shows that local newspapers and social media accounts (is a kind of) communication. However, the semantic contrast shows that the people who use this source as their form of communication do not necessarily attended public meetings.

Chart 04: Communication: Newspapers

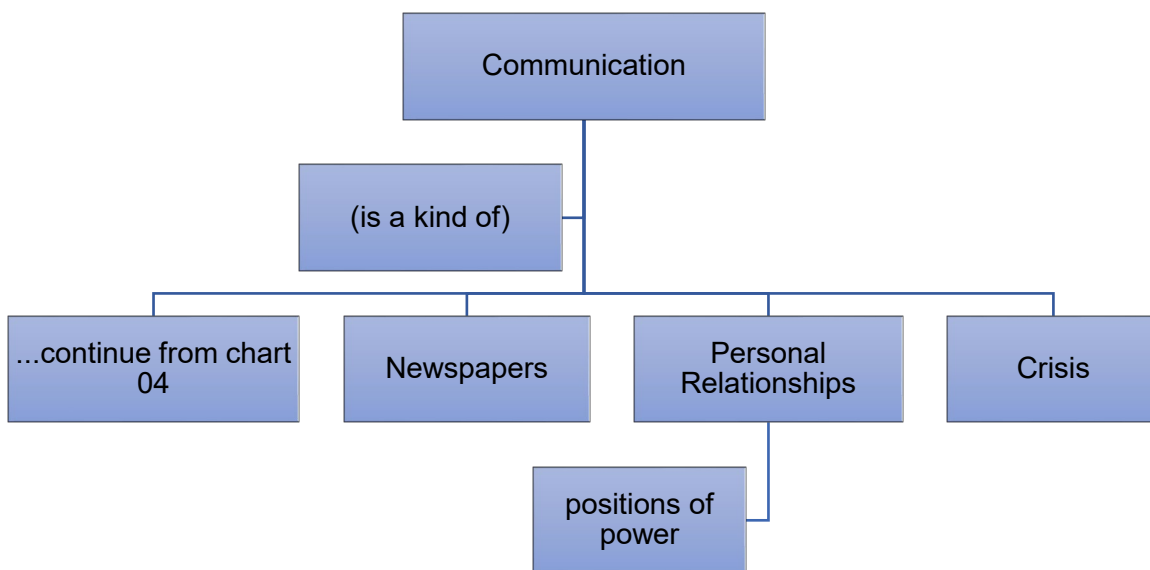


Dillon, who works for the City of Houston, recognizes that the city sometimes has a difficult time communicating with the community and the organizations that serve them. “We tend to have a general idea who serves these communities and the leaderships that they have. However, they sometimes form special groups and networks that are not open to the public. That would include us” stated Dillon. The data shows that these special groups and networks tend to communicate with the city during times of crisis. “I only contact the city when my neighbors can’t get something fixed or have a policy related issue. For example, drainage and zoning” stated Robert, who lives near North Court Villas. He also acknowledged that he prefers to interact with the mayor, city councilmembers or

someone with policy related roles. “I have a good relationship with the Mayor, city councilmembers and people with authority” added Robert. When asked to clarify authority, Robert stated “someone who has the power to create policy or was voted by the people. They are not employees of those with power, but employees of the people.”

The domain analysis shows that a crisis and personal relationships (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 05: Communication: Newspapers, Personal Relationships, Crisis

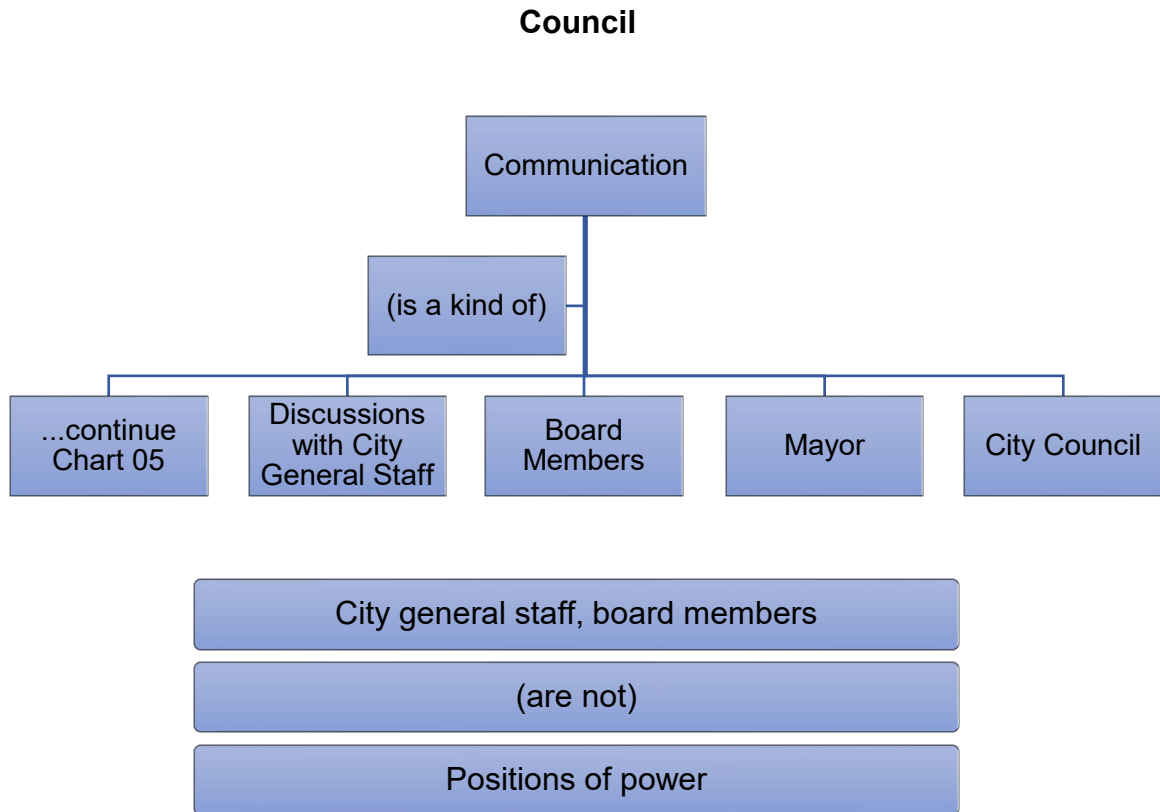


Data shows that Board members and city general staff are seen as service providers and not policymakers. When Kim, a South Texas housing advocate for the development of Fountain View, first attempted to discuss the need for affordable housing under the previous mayoral administration, she was referred to the HA board members. She recalled the experience as not

reassuring. The dialogue was often one sided. “We never met with any elected officials. HA told us that the mayor was supportive of the project, but we were never given a personal meeting with him” stated Kim. Nadia, who sits on the HA board, acknowledges that the previous mayor at first left the responsibilities to her department. “Our department does not create policy for the city. We simply follow the rules that have been set by the city, state, and federal government. We are developers and housing advocates” stated Nadia. Ashley echoed the sentiment. “It is difficult to communicate this information to the community because they see housing as a negative issue and us as the bad guys. We are simply following the law. We try to hire outside for LIHTC-developments so we can focus on the public engagement.” Further research of archival analysis shows that public engagement for HA was associated with quantitative rather than qualitative variables. Houston and Frisco follow state guidelines that are based on a number metric system to value public participation as part of their process for approving a LIHTCH development. The metric system is based on points that range from one to 24 and varies in the scope of the development. For example, two points are given to a development that is located within city limits and have access to public transportation. One point is given if the development has received support from within the community. According to archival analysis, the support is defined through a “demonstration that the applicant has sought, received, and implemented views and recommendations from members of the community regarding the proposed development (City of Houston, 2018). For example, a letter from an organization or entity representing the community

would meet this requirement according to Elliott. “This system gives [Frisco] and developers little incentives to communicate directly with the community, because they are only required to meet a total of six points to receive a Resolution of Support from the Mayor and City Council” added Elliott. Brian address this discrepancy when he was hired as Frisco assistant director of policy. “When the new mayor and city council was elected, they decided to directly engage with the housing advocates. Leaving the HA to an administrative role during the negotiation process for this development. They felt it was important to be involved because they serve as an extension of the community, who can better communicate the message back to them” stated Brian.

The domain analysis shows that a city general staff, board member, Mayor, and city councilmember (is a kind of) communication. However, semantic contrast shows that a city general staff and board member are not seen as a form of authority by community stakeholder and are not a good source for communication.

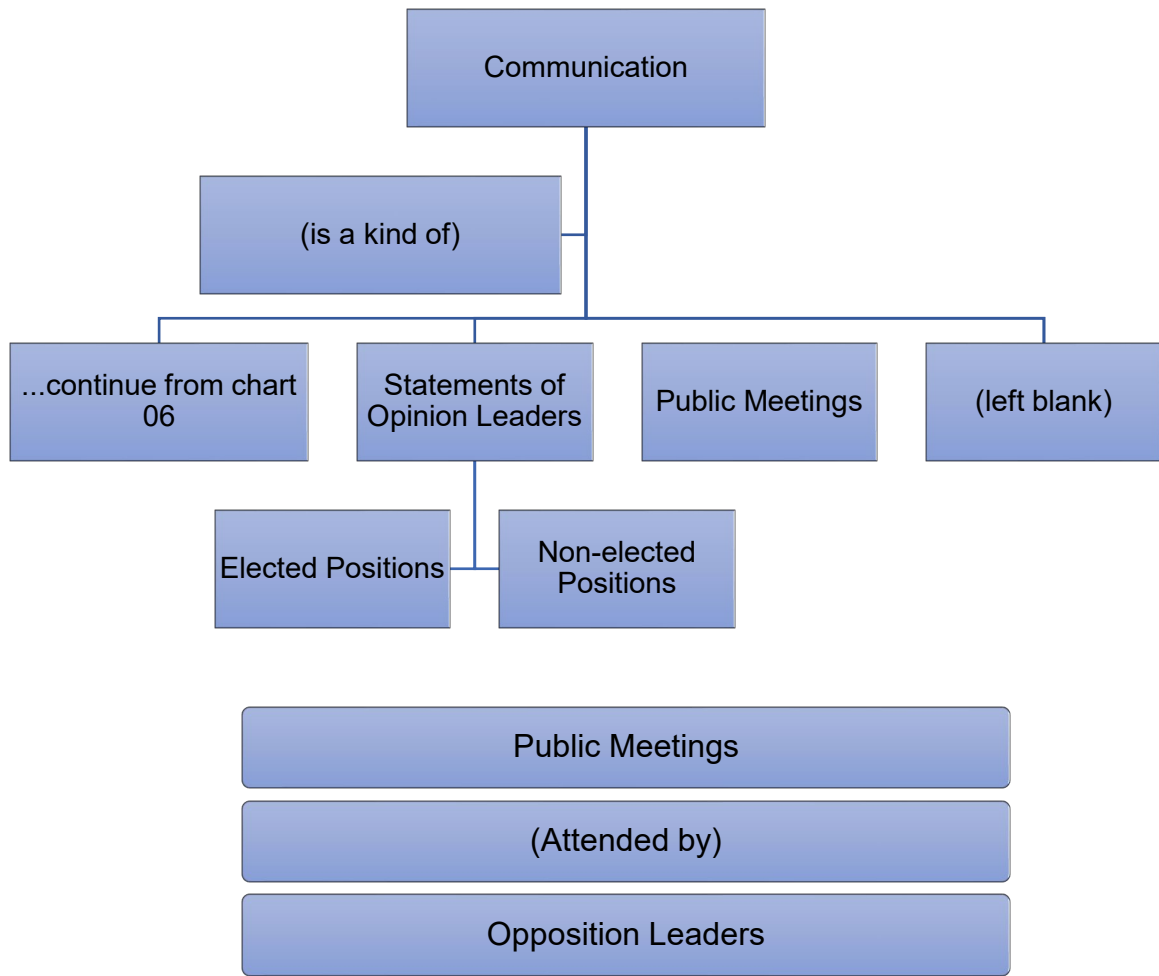
Chart 06: Communication: City General Staff, Board Members, Mayor, City

Paul, who is the former Mayor of Frisco, stated that the reason why his administration decided to directly engage with housing advocates was because they were elected to represent the interest of the community. During an archival analysis, several councilmembers and the mayor pushed back on threats of being ousted by residents should the city proceed to approval the affordable housing development. During a public session, the mayor stated “I was elected to serve the will of the people. We are doing what is best for the city. This is what we were elected to do even if you don’t see it fit.” Daniel, who represents Fountain View at city council, stated that the community’s hard stance on these developments is often associated with Opinion Leaders, who can either be

associated with elected or non-elected positions who live within the community. “Opinion Leaders must live in the community to make a difference. The community will listen to the opinions of councilmembers instead of someone like a celebrity, as an example, because we are a local voice to the community” stated Daniel. He added that he believes that most people who oppose or are in favor of an issue have already made up their minds and simply need someone loud enough to express their views to others. Archival research shows that during public meetings some people views had been influenced based on the opinions of a previous speakers. “I had not though about this until I heard what the other speakers had to say about the construction of this project” stated an audience member during a public session. Kitty acknowledged during the interview that, at first she had no major concerns about the development until she attended a public hearing. “When I heard from a councilmember how much it would cost to build the development, I became outraged. I remember he stated that it would cost several millions to be built. I would not be able to build a house for myself for that type of money” stated Kitty

The domain analysis shows that public meetings and opinion leaders (is a kind of) communication. However, semantic contrast shows that public meetings serve to influence an opposing view.

Chart 07: Communication: Opinion Leaders, Public Meetings

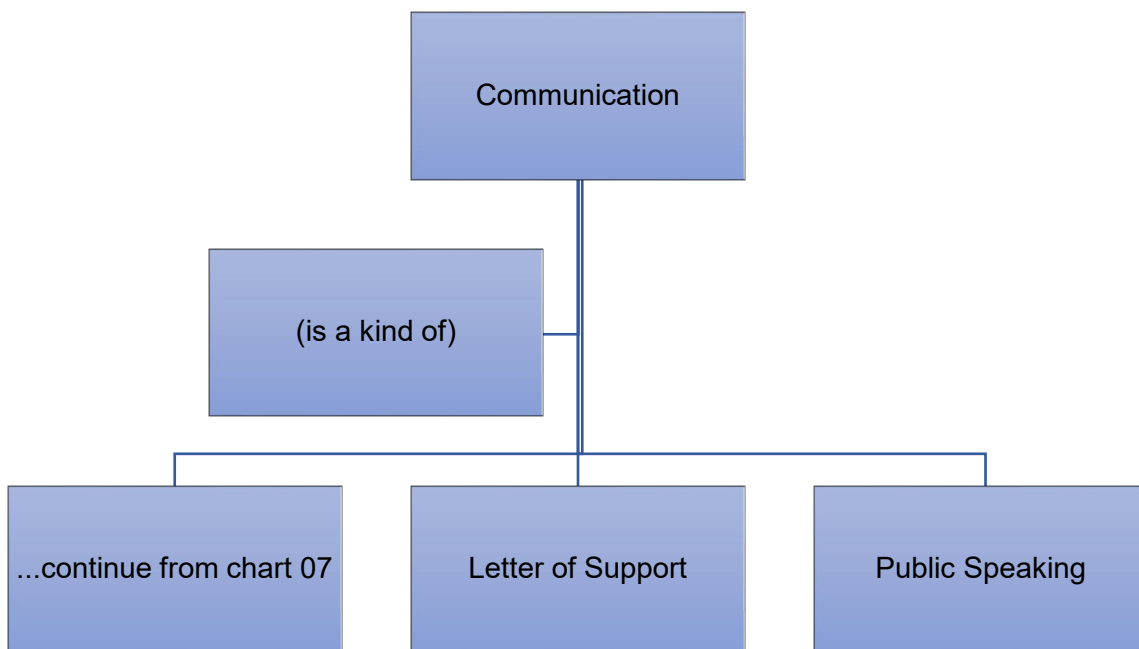


While the City of Frisco and housing advocates were negotiating the terms of the LIHTC-funded development, developers were scouting sites for its future use. According to archival analysis, the day the city voted to send a letter of support to TDHCA as part of the agency's LIHTC-funded development application process, two developers publicly spoke that they had met the necessary requirements to be considered for the funding (Frisco City Council, February 16, 2010). Cody, whose development company owns three LIHTC-funded properties in Houston, was awarded the funding and approval to build the

first multi-family unit in Frisco's history (The Dallas Morning News 2013; Kofler 2014; Wadsworth 2013).

The domain analysis shows that a letter of support and speaking publicly at a community meeting (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 08: Communication: Letter of Support, Public Speaking

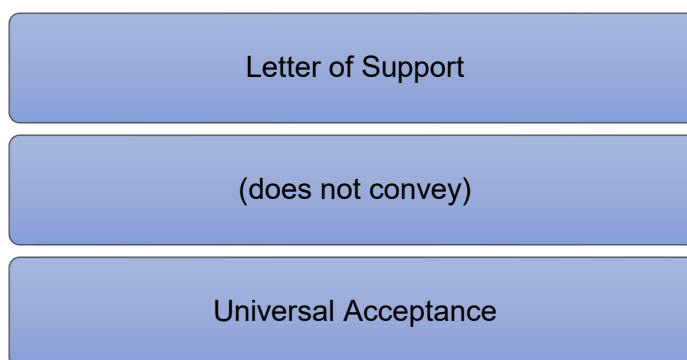


Cody reported that what took place in Frisco was different from all the other developments he has been associated with during his three decades in the industry. “I have never heard and seen another situation like North Court Villas in any other city where everyone worked together to develop an affordable housing development, like North Court Villas. I doubt that I will see it again” stated Cody. Research shows that little is known about how local institutional actions on public participation has positively skewed the supply of LIHTCH-funded developments in communities with higher economic opportunities (Ellen & Horn 2018; Palm &

Niemeier 2017; Sarmiento & Sims 2015; Scally 2012; Machell, Reinhalter, & Chapple 2009). Additional archival analysis was not able to locate other developments that have been successfully implemented with the same characteristics as North Court Villas. Cody attributed part of the success on land that he acquired from a Chinese developer who did not impose restrictions on its future use. “Typically, when a landowner sells to a developer, they place restrictions on what they can and cannot build on the property. Sometimes they will not sell the land if they know the developer builds affordable housing. Now just imagine how difficult it is to buy land in a wealthy neighborhood that is already established and then use it to build multi-family units?” stated Cody. In Frisco, Cody did not experience the typical setbacks that developers encounter during the initial stages of implementing a LIHTC-funded development and considers himself “lucky”. In addition, the land is zoned in an area of Frisco where multi-family units are allowed per city ordinance. According to archival analysis, some councilmembers used the location of the property and city ordinance to push back against community opposition toward the implementation of the development (Frisco City Council, February 16, 2010). “The City can’t force or block a property owner from building something that will depreciate their [monetary] investment, especially if they are within the rule of the law. The government stepping in would be socialism” stated one councilmember during the public hearing on the approval letter.

The domain analysis shows that letter of support (is a kind of) communication. However, semantic contrast shows that the letter of support does not communicate a universal acceptance.

Chart 08.1: Letter of Support

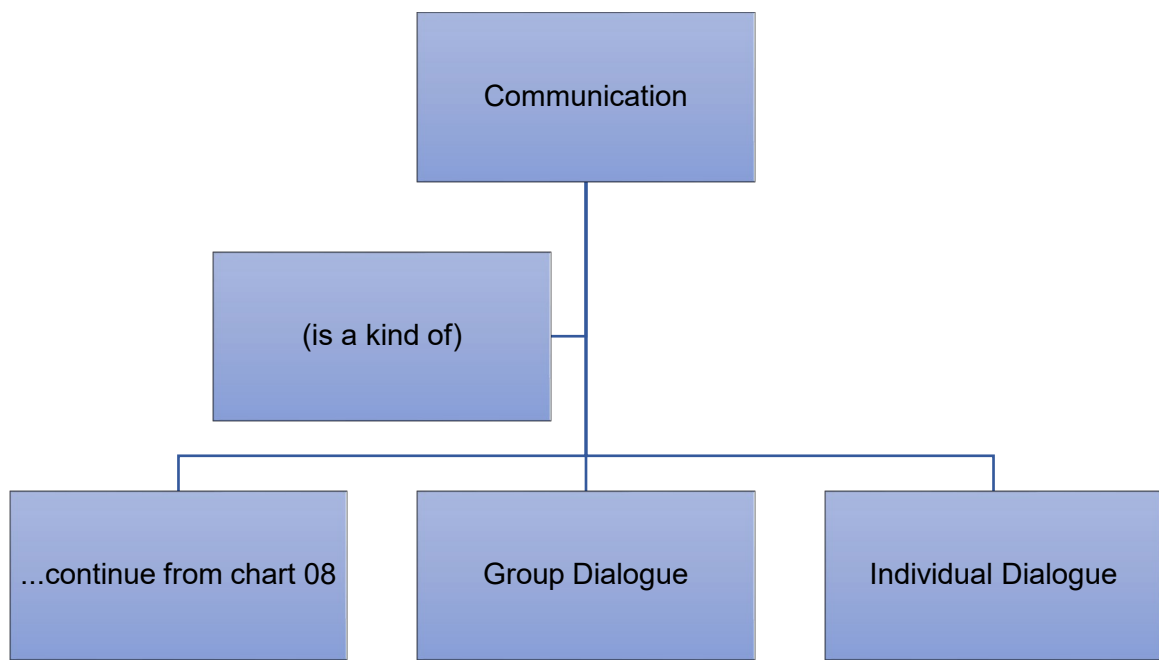


Cody reported that as a developer of LIHTC-funded developments, it is important to engage the community at every stage of the application and implementation process. “There is a lot of misunderstanding that people have about affordable housing that developers must address. It is important for developers to build trust with the community for the developments to be accepted by them. This means that developers must attend every community meeting and be ready to meet with each individual according to their schedule if they have additional questions” stated Cody. In contrast, according to archival analysis, HHA directed one of their staff to conduct community outreach for the LIHTC-funded development in Fountain View (Housingforhouston.com. 2014). Records show that the staff did not have prior experience with grassroots community engagement. During the interview, the former staff stated that he “analyzed data for existing HHA owned multifamily assets and assisted in project management

for new development project.” The staff added that his role was entirely analytical and that the description that was provided on his biography on the website about his role with Fountain View as being the “boots on the ground” never took place.

The domain analysis shows that group and individual dialogue (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 09: Communication: Group Dialogue, Individual Dialogue

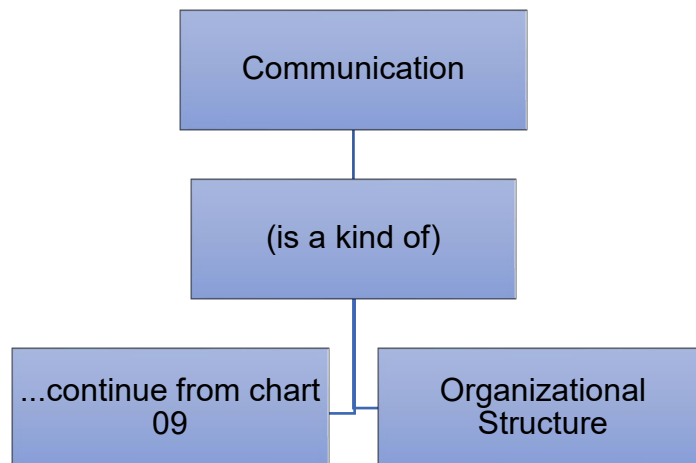


The research shows while there is longevity among city employees their roles and assignments frequently change depending on the Mayoral administration. Dillion, who has been employed by the City of Houston for 20 years, stated he has lost track on the amount of duties he has undertaken during his tenure with the City. “I worked for Mayors who let their Chief of Staff run all the departments according to their will. I also worked with Mayors who are very hands on and directly engage with each department. The current Mayor holds

monthly meetings with all the department directors. The problem is that these directors are not communicating with one another. My department often learns what another department is doing through their social media accounts” stated Dillion.

The domain analysis shows that organizational structure (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 10: Communication: Organizational Structure

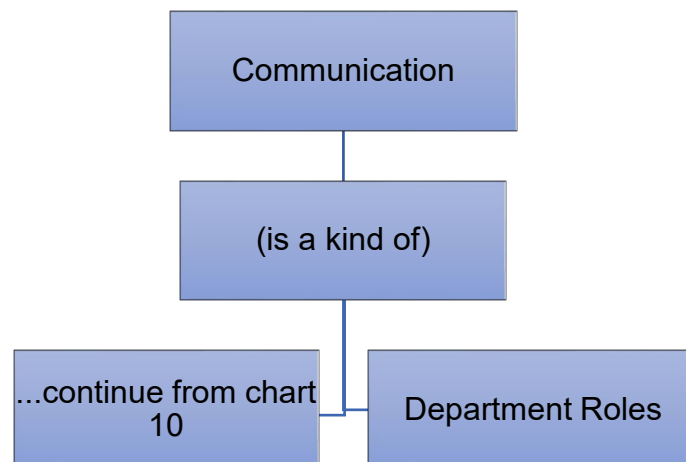


Interviews with current and former City of Houston staff and directors shows a breakdown in communication and responsibilities between departments in the Fountain View development. According to archival analysis, HHA and HCDD are vital to the initiation and implementation processes of LIHTC-funded applications (Housingforhouston.org 2020, houstontx.gov 2020). HHA often serves as a developer and advocates for affordable housing, while HCDD process the LIHTC-funded applications and serve as housing advocates and policy advisors to the Mayor and City Council. According to multiple interviews the departments failed to take advantage of their internal resources for housing

advocacy. “One reason why the City had placed most of their LIHTC-funded units in low-income neighborhoods was because HHA and HCDD were not communicating effectively. HHA was taking on the bulk of the community outreach between residents and elected officials for these developments. HCDD was left to process the applications that HHA was submitting and not realizing that the majority were being approved in low-income communities. When HHA attempted to place an affordable housing in a wealthy community, the agency automatically received pushback from the community and policymakers. The community outreach should have been divided between HHA and HCDD, who interact with the Mayor and Councilmember directly about housing policy” stated a staff member during the interview. It should be noted that in Frisco, the housing authority oversees leasing and the tenants that occupy the units.

The domain analysis shows that departments roles (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 11: Communication: Department Roles

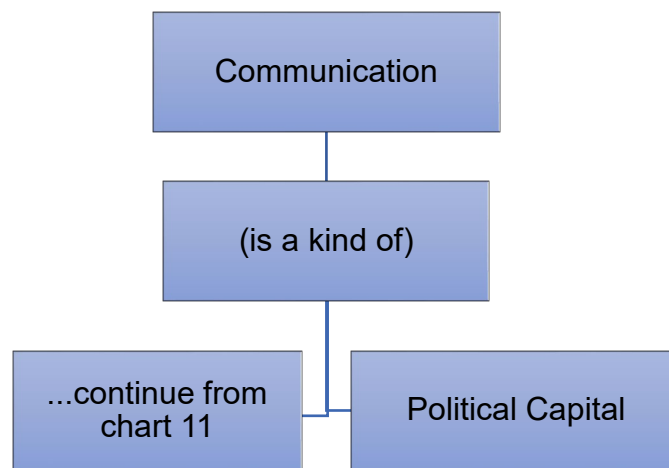


The lack of communication between City of Houston departments combined with short-term assignments for City staff often leaves communities and housing advocates frustrated and in search for alternatives. Kim, an advocate for the Fountain View LIHTC-funded development, agrees that not being able to communicate with the appropriate person at City Hall presents an automatic challenge towards the construction of LIHTC-funded development. “By the time I build a rapport with the designated person at City Hall, they already have another designated title and duty” stated Kim. Kitty, who lives near Fountain View, echoes that sentiment and therefore prefers to engage directly with her City Councilmember’s Office. “I find the relationship with the Councilmembers Office more engaging because I know each staff on a first name basis. After a while they also know my name. I can’t say the same for the rest of the City, since I am often finding myself being transferred from one department to another without really knowing who I am speaking with” stated Kitty. The opposition group, Stopfountainview.org, tapped into this alternative and was able to recruit policymakers to join their cause. According to archival analysis, the area Councilmember, Houston Independent School District Trustee, State Representative and United States Congressman representing Fountain View acknowledge being contacted by the group and being frustrated with HHA over the lack of communication about the development (Stopfountainview.org). “I am opposed because [HHA] made no attempts to reach out to any of the community leaders. I will tell you, for a whole year I was running a campaign. Had I known about this, it would have been part of my campaign. Had my opponent known

about it, it would have been a part of her campaign. Nobody reached out to anybody on this, and that's something that should have been done" stated an elected official during the March 9, 2016 HHA Public Meeting.

The domain analysis shows that political capital (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 12: Communication: Political Capital

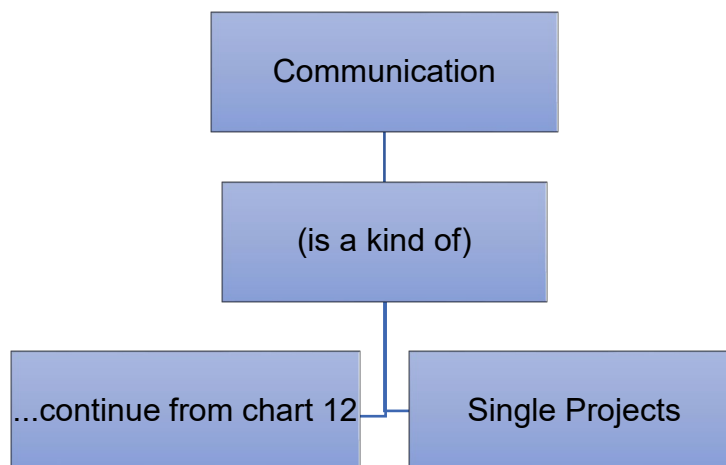


Cody, developer of North Court Villas, believes that the acceptance of the LIHTC-funded development by the community is associated with how much they trust the local government. "I have been at community meetings where everyone is angry at the City, but when I speak the tone changes to something more positive. I suspect that is because of all them have access to us while they see the city employee as a stranger" stated Cody. Brian, Assistant Frisco Director of Policy, echoes Cody's statement and see it as a funding issue. "Developers are focused on a single project. They can dedicate all the time and resources towards getting the project approved and funded. The City has a limited budget and resources. We must choose between what areas and issues to address.

Sometimes we may not be able to communicate with everyone our goals and agenda” stated Brian.

The domain analysis shows that single projects (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 13: Communication: Single Projects

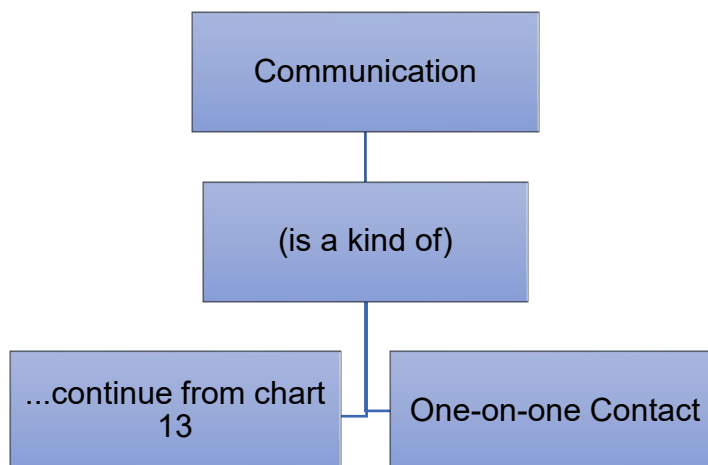


Archival analysis shows that in the Fountain View community, members used a lack of transparency by HHA as one of the factors to oppose the development (HHA Board of Commissioners Meeting, January 19, 2016). “I am dismayed by the lack of transparency that is associated with this issue. People are not going to the website to figure out what the HHA is doing” stated one community member at an HHA Board of Commissioners Meeting. Understanding these misconceptions, Paul and his Administration decided to engage directly with housing advocates and the developer. The day the City decided to approve the letter of recommendation, Paul is quoted as saying “I have been very transparent with all of you since the start of this project. In fact, today I arrived at my office early just to hear from all of you individually. I want to make sure that all

of you know that my office is always open” (Frisco City Council, February 16, 2010).

The domain analysis shows that firsthand contact (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 14: Communication: One-on-one Contact

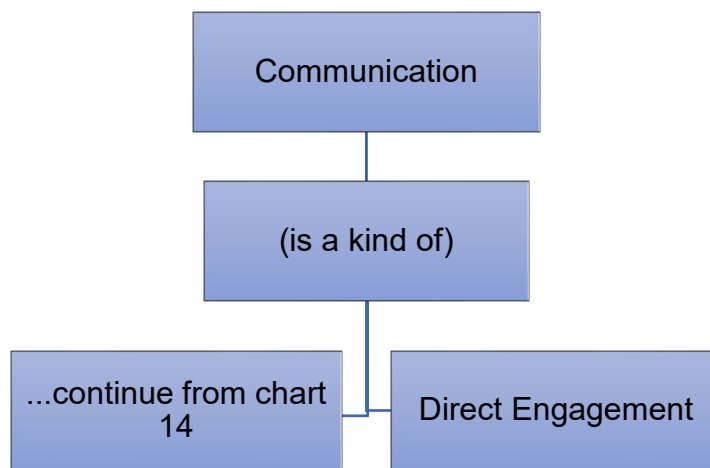


Paul and Frisco City Council understood the power of direct engagement with the community, developers, and housing advocates for North Court Villas to be successfully implemented. According to Paul, Frisco elected officials serve on a volunteer capacity, which automatically creates a communal culture. “The community sees our positions as an extension of themselves, whether they agree or disagree with our decisions, because we are not getting paid to perform these services. Frisco prides itself of being a volunteer driven city where everyone is expected to do their part to improve our community” stated Paul. Robert adds that he likes the at-large positions that shape Frisco’s City Government, which enhance the communal identity of Frisco. “I believe at-large positions reduce the risk of corruption. Single member districts tend to be fueled

with kickbacks, since they are catered to specific projects in a specific location of a town or city. I am glad that all of our City Councilmembers are for at-large positions because it creates accountability” stated Robert.

The domain analysis shows that Direct Engagement (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 15: Communication: Direct Engagement

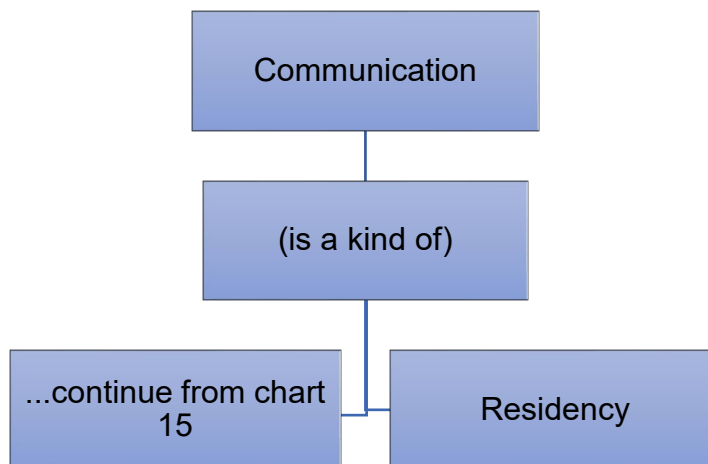


Archival analysis shows that the Mayor and Councilmembers used communal language to state their reasons to vote for and against North Court Villas (Frisco City Council, February 16, 2010). “We need affordable housing to sustain the economy of our City. We can’t continue to grow unless we provide affordable housing for teachers, firefighters, and police officers” stated one council member who voted in favor of the development. Councilmember who voted against the development praised his colleagues’ commitment even though he did not agree with their views. “The vote that will be cast today by my fellow councilmembers will be made with the intentions of improving our city. We don’t know the long-term effects of this decision, but I know that it is made in good

faith” stated the one Councilmember that voted against the development. Several community members, including the one Councilmember who spoke in opposition asked the developer to implement a “Frisco First” policy for tenants, which Cody granted. “All of our tenants go through a vigorous criminal background check. In addition, we will give priority to the people who work in the City” stated Cody during the public hearing and confirmed during the interview. Cody stated that it would not be financially feasible to rent to tenants who do not work near the developments. “LIHTC-funded developments are for people who have low salaries. It would not make sense to rent to someone who must drive across town every day to go to work. Think about how much gas or time they will spend inside a bus to be able to pay the rent each month? We want to make sure that these tenants have access to the jobs that are near the developments” stated Cody.

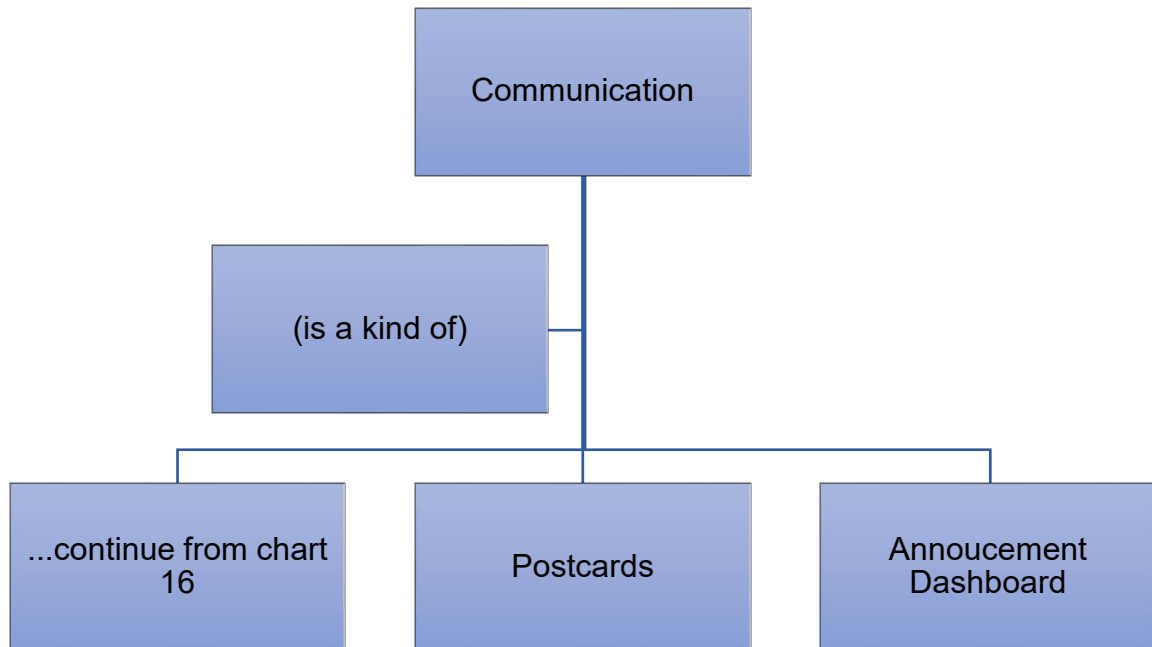
The domain analysis shows that residency (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 16: Communication: Residency



Prior to Frisco's February 16, 2010 meeting, staff stated that they sent emails, newsletters, postcards, contacted every community leader and organization, and posted the announcement outside the City Hall public announcement dashboards. However, Elliott, stated that having the Mayor and City Council involved in the negotiation of North Court Villas from the start made the implementation easier. "There will almost always be an opposition to every project City government undertakes. Some projects are more controversial than others, like affordable housing and zoning. The message that the Mayor and City Council sent to the community about North Court Villas was unity. The information at each stage of the projects was distributed equally, at the same time and place, between the Mayor and Councilmembers so when they walked out of the meetings with the housing advocates and developer, there were no multiple conclusions" stated Elliott.

The domain analysis shows that postcards and announcements on dashboard (is a kind of) communication.

Chart 17: Communication: Postcards, Announcement Dashboard

The research shows that communication is vital towards testing the hypothesis and the construction of the ideal typical model as a means of answering the research question. For example, a letter of support communicates that some type of participation took place. However, it does not convey universal acceptance and who was involved in the decision-making process. In addition, how information is delivered to the stakeholders plays a key role in the acceptance of the developments. Policymakers and their policy advisors are perceived by community stakeholders as positions of power than regular city employees and appointed board positions. Information that is delivered by positions of power carry more weight than announcements that are distributed by government agencies using billboards, website, and newsletters.

Chart 18: Communication Overview

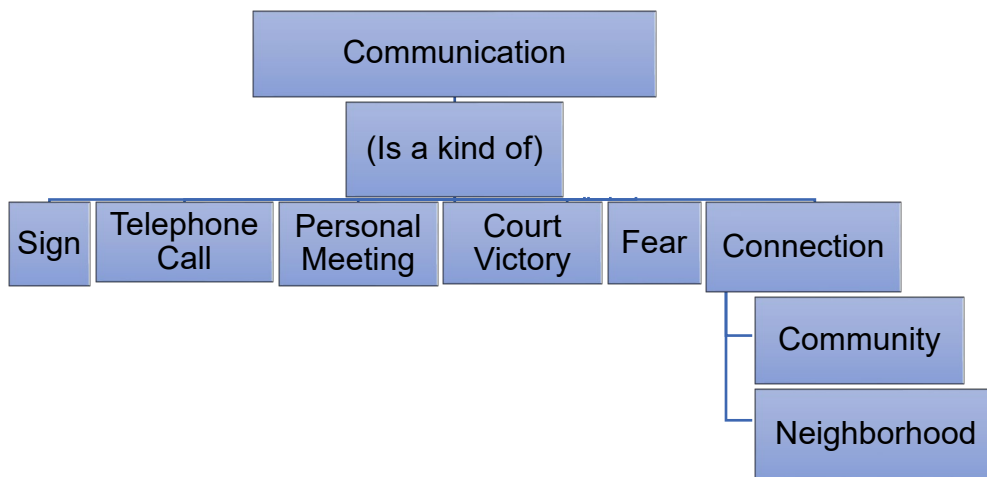


Chart 18.1: Communication Overview Continue

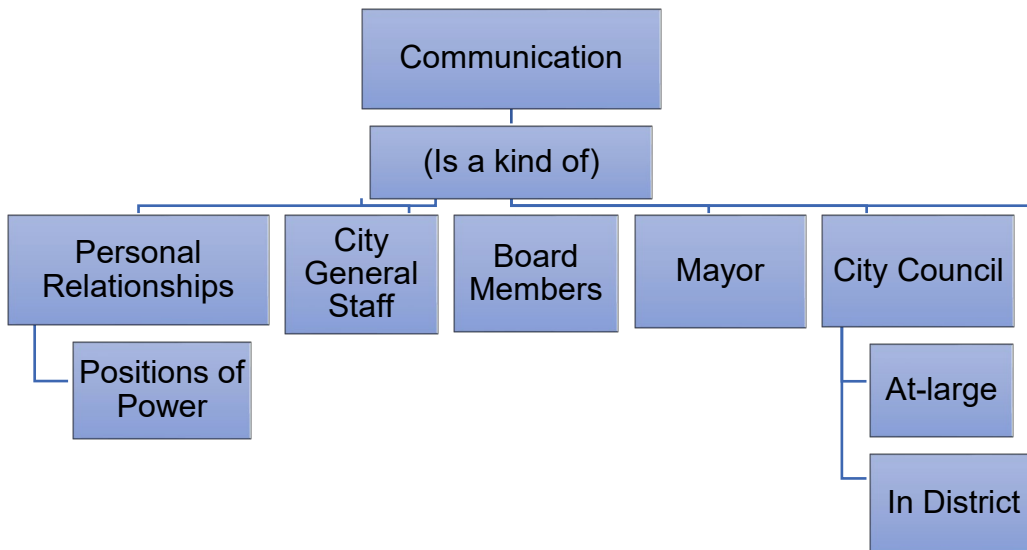


Chart 18.2: Communication Overview Continue

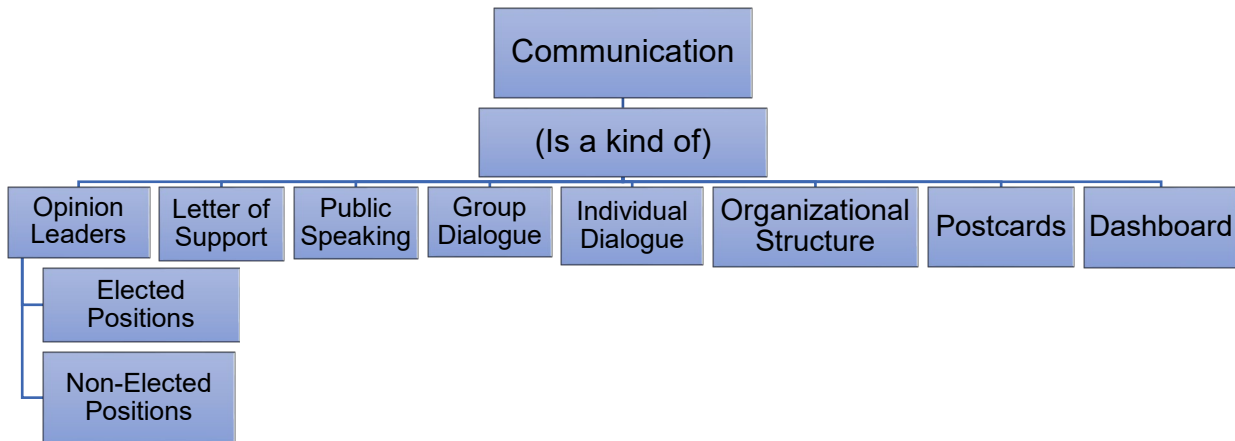
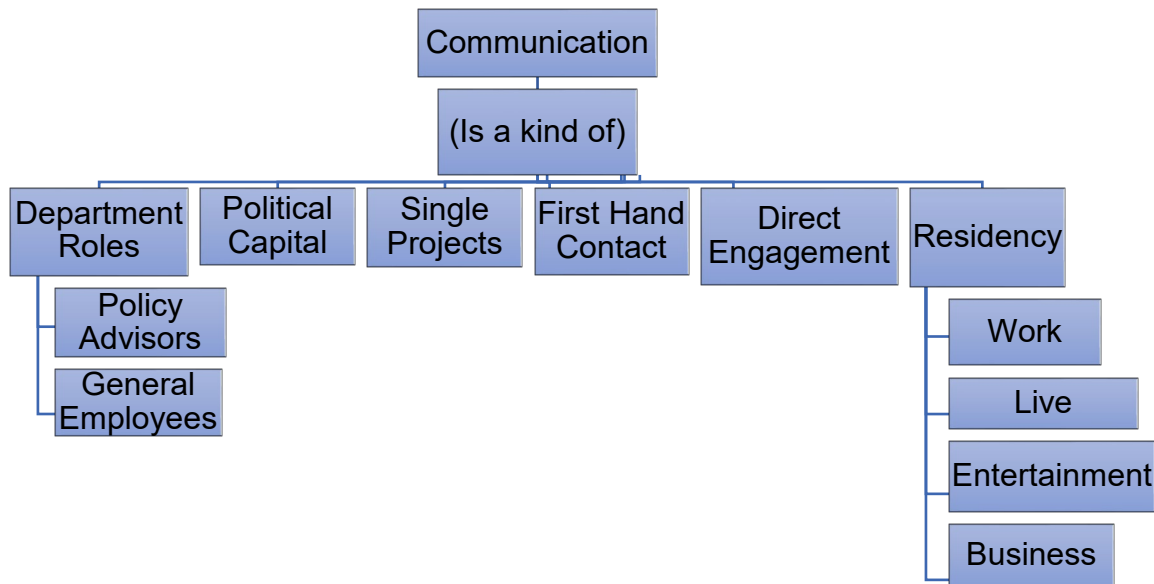


Chart 18.3: Communication Overview

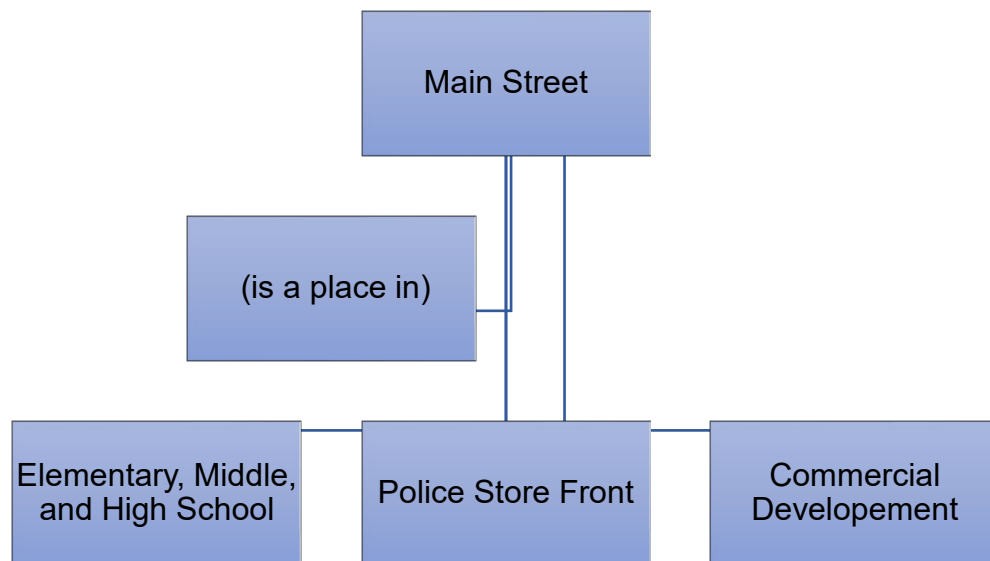


The data shows other types of semantic relationships, such spatial and rationale that could influence the communication and the success of LIHTC-fund

developments in higher socio-economic communities. A type of spatial semantic relationship (X is a place in Y) shows that the elementary, middle, and high schools, police store front, and multiple businesses are places located within a main thoroughfare of the neighborhood. The data does not show how invested the community is with these establishments, and how their associations could influence the line of communication over the acceptance of LIHTC-funded development. For example, Kitty’s children and grandchildren attended and graduated from the Fountain View’s public school system, but James’s children attend a private school across town. Kitty attended the community meeting that was sponsored by HHA at the elementary school while James stated that he “heard about it from his neighbors.”

The domain analysis shows that the elementary, middle, high school, police store front and commercial business (is a place in) the main thoroughfare.

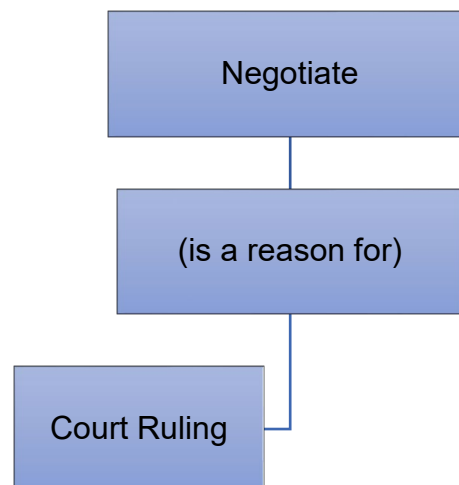
Chart 19: Main Street: Elementary, Middle, and High School, Police Store Front, Commercial Development



A rationale semantic relationship (X is a reason for doing Y) could also influence communication and the success of the developments. For example, the City of Frisco and housing advocates started negotiating the terms of North Court Villas after a Supreme Court ruling. However, both parties present a different version of events that led to the start of the negotiations. Sheryl believes it was the city's desire to avoid civil litigation that led to the negotiations, while the city contends that it needed affordable housing to sustain its economy-paving the way for the construction of North Court Villas. In contrast, archival analysis show that in Fountain View, the city and housing advocates acknowledged the lack of LIHTC-funded development in high opportunity neighborhoods and the threat of a possible civil litigation as a starting point towards negotiation (HHA 2016; Elliott, 2016).

The domain analysis shows that a court ruling (is a reason for) to negotiate.

Chart 20: Negotiate: Court Ruling



It is unclear to what degree this form of spatial, and rationale semantic relationships would influence the line of communication and the hypothesis: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal.* Therefore, a cautious decision was made not to highlight other types of semantic relationships during the analysis with limited data. Any semantic relationships where data is limited have been placed in the Appendix III section for acknowledgements and possible future research. The next section will show the importance that communication has in a public space and how it is vital towards testing the hypothesis and the construction of the ideal typical model as a means of answering the research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?*

The Role of Public Space (Location)

This section looks at how is public space utilized by stakeholders to advance their own LIHTC-funded development agendas and role it plays on the creation of the overall research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* This section will also show how the value in public space (location) serves as a vital component when testing the hypothesis and the ongoing construction of the ideal typical model as a means of answering the research question. The hypothesis states: *Greater*

public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal. The data will follow the different ways the semantic relationship mean-end (X is a way to do Y) contributes to community stakeholders use of public space. As previously stated, space and physical location are interchangeable terms. Therefore, it should be noted that the data is limited on identifying a sufficient number of physical locations that would be beneficial towards using the semantic relationship location-for-action (X is a place for doing Y). Instead, the data suggest that public space is used a means of accomplishing a goal by community stakeholders.

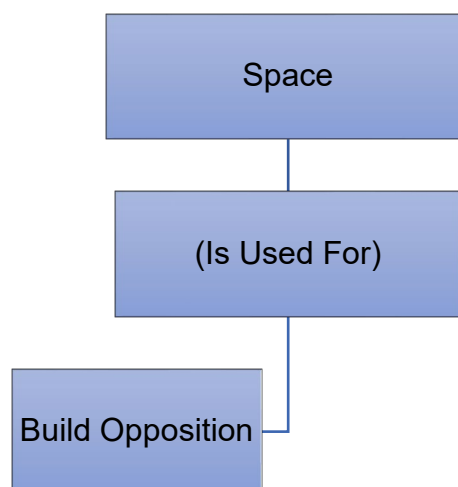
A very potent and slow moving upper level low along with plentiful moisture and a strong low level jet not only produced strong to severe thunderstorms, but also heavy rainfall and flooding over portions of South Texas during the late evening and early morning hours of March 8th and 9th, 2016. (National Weather Service-South Texas Heavy Rain and Severe Weather Event, March 09, 2016)

The severe storm that passed through Houston on March 09, 2016 was not enough to keep stakeholders from Fountain View from attending an HHA community sponsored meeting about the development. Archival analysis shows that the two- and half-hour meeting, which was held inside the cafeteria at a local elementary to standing room only, was largely attended by stakeholders who opposed the development. "I am here to oppose this project. As you can tell I

didn't bring an umbrella, and I am drenched" stated one community member. Another stated that they arrived late to the meeting due to the traffic and overflow in vehicles at the elementary school. Kim, who was one of two speakers who spoke in favor of the development, remembers the hostile environment of the meeting. "I have over two decades of experience advocating for affordable housing at public meetings, but never have I had to be escorted to my car by a police officer for safety concerns-until that day. People were visibly angry and there was no amount of rain that was going to keep people away from expressing themselves" stated Kim. She adds that there were several stakeholders that were in favor of the development that had signed up to speak but waived their time due to the hostile environment of the meeting. "I remember many of them telling me that I was brave for speaking out, but that they were very afraid for our safety. They chose to remain silent because the crowd seemed seconds away from turning violent" stated Kim.

The domain analysis shows public space (is a way to) build opposition.

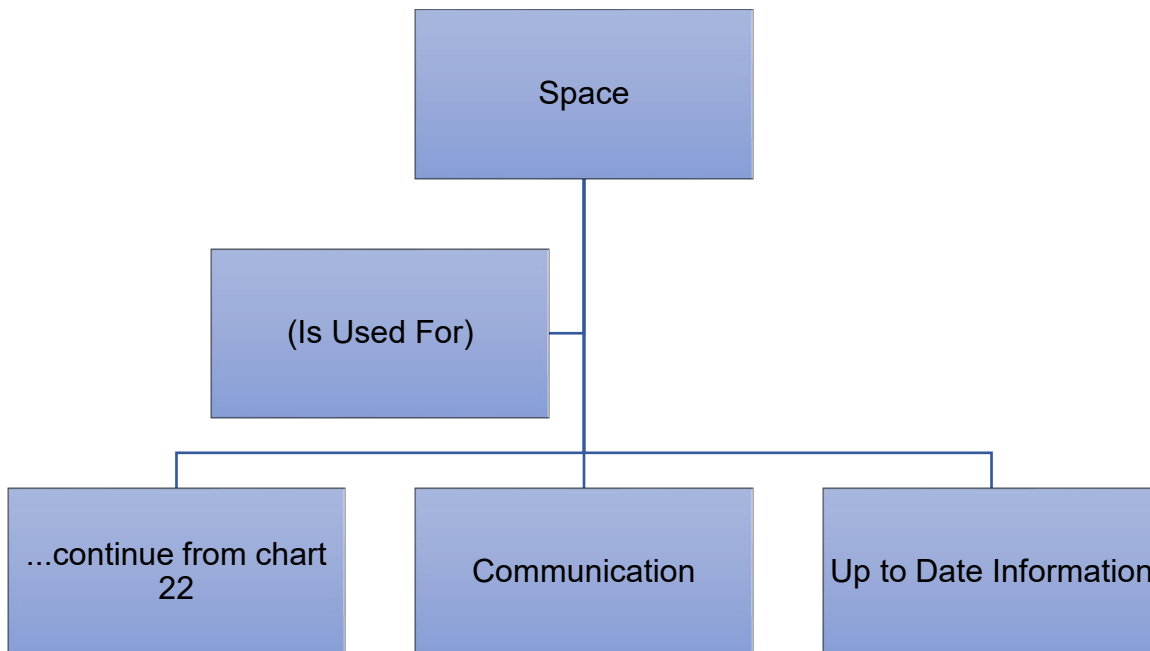
Chart 22: Public Space: Opposition



Archival analysis shows that when the second speaker talked in favor of the Fountain View Development, he was interrupted six times by community members (HHA.gov, March 9, 2016). “Where you live should not be determined by the color of your skin” stated the speaker, before he was interrupted by a community member who yelled “I thought race wasn’t an issue!” After his speech, records show that audience members continued to shout aggressively. Several community members who spoke in opposition questioned the frequency of the meetings. “Why are we just now hearing about this project?” questioned one community member. HHA staff replied that the meetings had been ongoing. “Our Board meetings are open to the public and we have discussed this project for years. I welcome all of you to visit our website so you can see a timeline of our public meetings” stated an HHA staff. Kitty was asked during the interview if she remembered hearing about the HHA Board meetings that took place prior March 09, 2016. “It is not a city department that I would have been on top of since they did not impact me directly until the Fountain View project. Infrastructure and safety are the two issues we are constantly addressing in our community meetings. So, for us to know that HHA was deliberating Fountain View inside their facility would have gone largely unnoticed by the community” stated Kitty.

The domain analysis shows public space (is a way to) communicate information and bring stakeholders up to date on agenda items.

Chart 23: Public Space: Communication, Up to Date

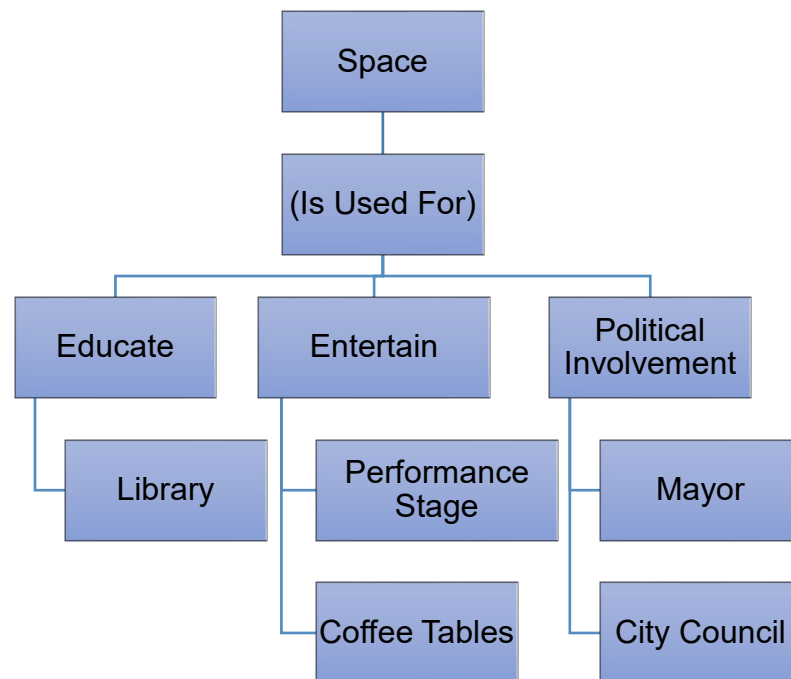


Prior to the February 16, 2010 vote on North Court Villas, the Mayor and City Council agreed that the negotiation and community meetings would be held at City Hall. According to Elliott, City Hall was chosen as a space for deliberation because it neutralizes disagreements. “The community sees our building as a place where policies are deliberated and made with the objective of fairness. It was only natural that this project conveys the message that it was for the best interest of our city” stated Elliott. During multiple self-guided tours of Frisco City Hall, this researcher observed that the three-story modern style building has multiple functions: business district, community center and library. The usage in space gives way for commercial, educational, government and social interactions. This researcher also observed coffee tables and chairs placed throughout the exterior of the building and a performance stage, all which serve

to enhance the communal experience. In contrast, the Houston City Hall building's sole purpose is government interaction. Additional usages are based on programming designed for the sole purpose of government interaction. For example, the City's Annual Health and Wellness Initiative is held at City Hall as it is led by the mayor.

The domain analysis shows that public space (is a way to) educate, entertain, and serve as a political center.

Chart 24: Public Space: Education, Entertainment, Political

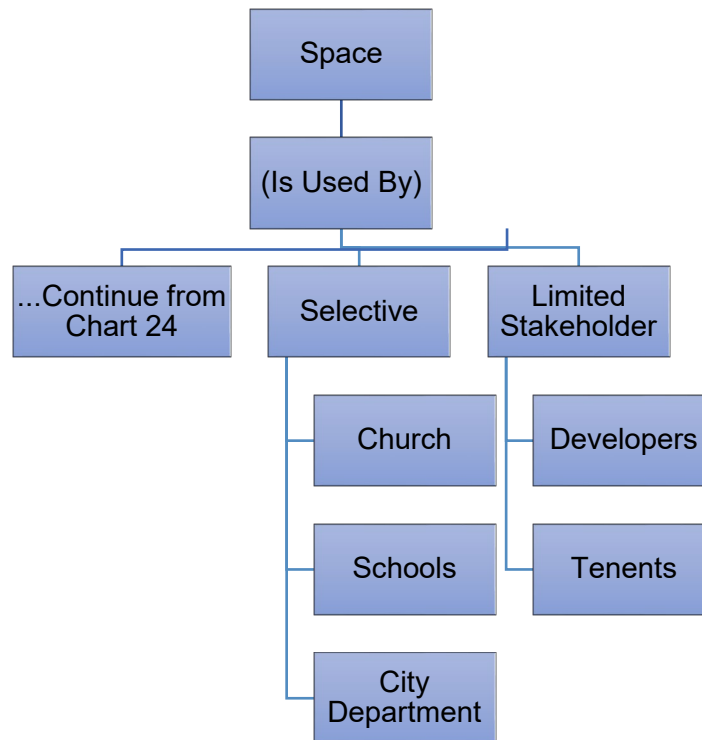


Elliott stated that whenever the city has attempted to host meetings at other locations, such as schools and local churches, the turnout is often reduced to selective individuals with special interests and views that are often one-sided. “Several of our City departments have moved their monthly public hearing to City Hall because the turnout is diverse and greater than having them at other

locations. Unless they have a direct connection to the school and church, most people will skip those other meetings.” Archival analysis shows that HHA first publicly deliberated the Fountain View Development during their March 11, 2014 Board of Commissioners Meeting at their headquarters, two years prior to the public meeting at the elementary school (Housingforhouston.com, 2014). During this and subsequent meetings, there was no public opposition to the development. The speakers who were present were tenants from other established LIHTC-funded developments requesting additional amenities and a private developer inquiring about contracts. It would not be until the January 19, 2016 HHA Board of Commissioners Meeting that public opposition to Fountain View was recorded in the minutes.

The domain analysis shows public space (is a way to) be selective and attract limited stakeholders

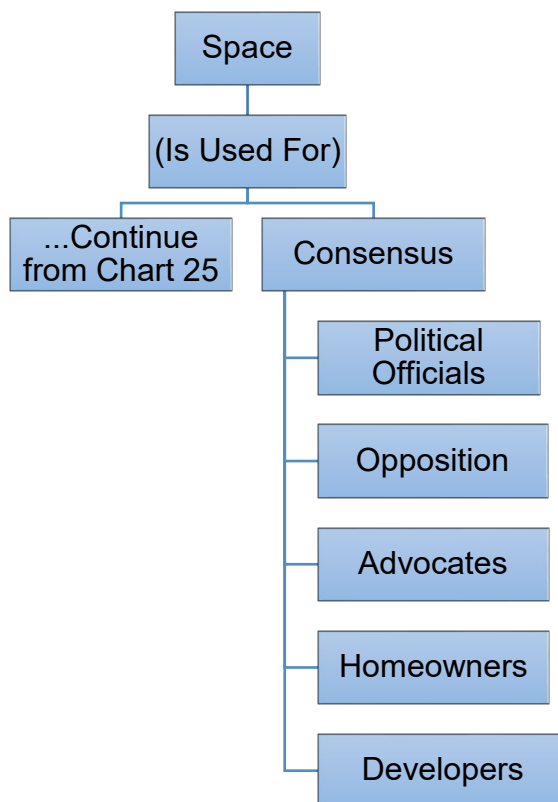
Chart 25: Public Space: Specific Interest Location



According to the literature, the Communicative Action Model takes place when stakeholders gather in a public space to reach a consensus (Habermas, 1984). The research shows that in Frisco, City Hall was used to gather public officials, homeowners, and special interest groups in approving the implementation of North Court Villas. While unanimous consensus was not reached, City Hall served as a place where everyone was given the opportunity to express their views without any barriers. Sheryl and Cody stated that during the process of negotiation with the city, they never experienced the type of hostility that Kim felt in Fountain View. “People had disagreements but having the meetings at City Hall allowed for those disagreements to be subdued” stated Sheryl.

The domain analysis shows public space (is a way to) establish consensus.

Chart 26: Public Space: City Hall General Interest Location



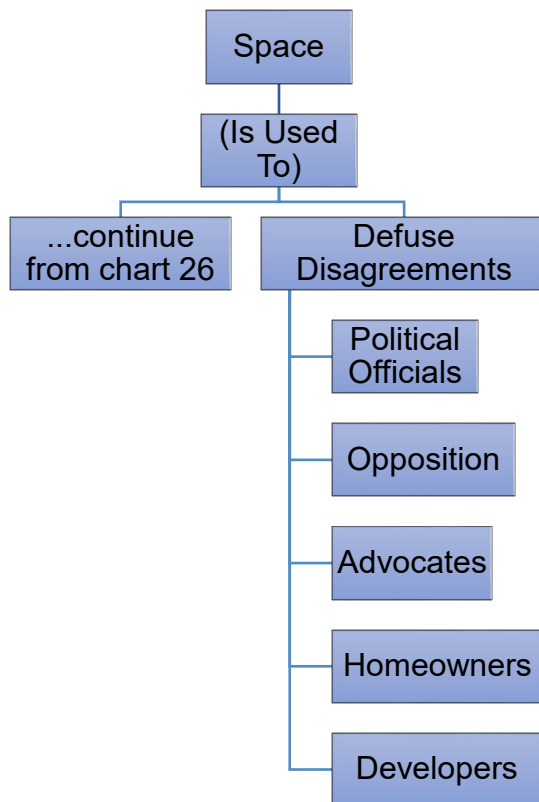
Archival analysis shows that during the February 16, 2010 vote on North Court Villas, the Mayor and City Councilmembers intervened when audience members began to heckle a community member and councilmember who spoke in favor of the development. “People please, let him finish. I want to remind everyone of the ground rules that we established at the start of this meeting. This [City Hall] is a place where we welcome all opinions in a respectful manner” stated Paul after a community member started being heckled for supporting the development. In another incident, a councilmember paused his speech after an

audience member yelled and started laughing at his remarks. Then Paul once again intervenes to remind the audience on the procedure of the meeting.

“People please. You were given the opportunity to express your opinion earlier in the evening. We know that many of you disagree with the project, but we must conduct this meeting in an orderly fashion. This body and this place are an opportunity to express your thoughts, but we must follow some ground rules. We gave all of you plenty of time to speak and we continued to listen. We just can’t be shouting over each other” stated Paul before the councilmember concluded his speech. Archival analysis shows that there was a total of two interruptions from audience members for North Court Villas compared to over two dozen for Fountain View community meeting. Cody stated that his experience with North Court Villas public engagement was cordial. “People asked questions and even disagreed with the project, but nothing to the point that I felt threatened or harassed” stated Cody. Paul stated that it was important to hold the meeting at City Hall because it is a place that conveys “accessibility to the public.” “City Hall is seen as a place where people can openly express their views. As Mayor, I just needed to make sure that people conducted themselves in an orderly manner” stated Paul.

The domain analysis shows space (is a way to) defuse disagreements.

Chart 27: Public Space: City Hall Meetings

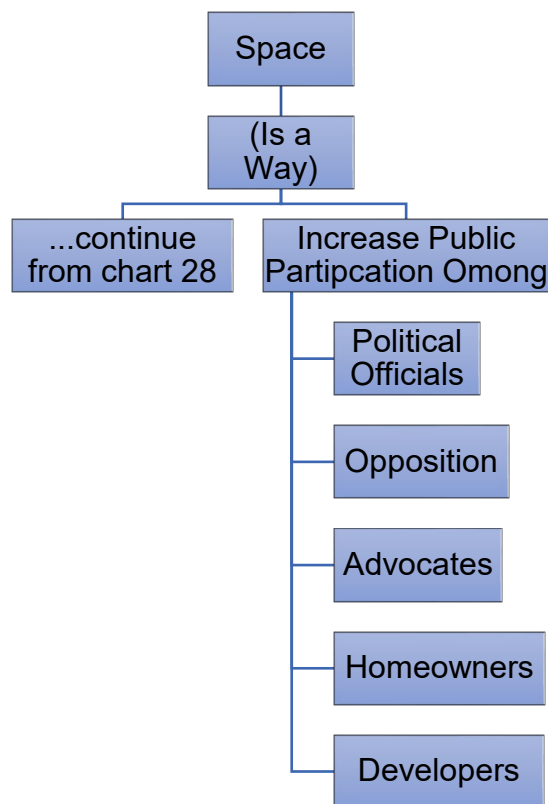


James, Kitty and Robert were asked their views regarding space and City Hall. James, who did not attend the Fountain View community meeting at the elementary school, stated that he had other responsibilities to attend to. When James was asked how likely he would have attended the meeting if his children had been enrolled at the elementary school he stated, “very likely.” He also stated that he would have attended the meeting had it been held at City Hall. “It is a place where decisions are made. The city already knew that the community was against this project. I am not sure what else was going to be accomplished that night at the elementary school” added James.

Kitty stated that she attended the meeting because of her direct connection to the elementary school. However, she understood that the elementary school was not a place for policymaking. “I don’t know how much of an impact the meeting had towards the denial of this project. Neither the mayor or anyone from his administration was there” stated Kitty. Archival analysis show that one councilmember, one school trustee, one Texas and one United States Representative did attend the meeting. It is unclear if their attendance had an influence on the overall turnout. Archival analysis does show their presence had an impact on the tone of the meeting. “I will introduce legislation that will stop these types of projects from taking place without public input” stated the United State Congressman in attendance, who received loud cheers and applause from the audience. However, Robert states that he is more likely to attend meetings that involve local issues if he knows the mayor and his policymaker will be present. “There is a higher turnout to community meetings that involve the city councilmember, mayor, and his staff. I am more likely to attend their meetings, and especially if they are at City Hall because I know that is the place where they have the power to create policies” stated Robert.

The domain analysis shows space (is a way to) to increase public engagement.

Chart 28: Public Space: City Hall Meetings



Cody, James, Kim, Kitty, Paul, and Robert show how space serves as a vital component when testing the hypothesis and the ongoing construction of the ideal typical model as a means of answering the research question. For example, the Fountain View public engagement process shows that the planning of the meetings at the elementary school were accessible to stakeholders with special interest. Stakeholders who had a direct connection to HHA and the location of the meetings were more likely to participate in the decision-making process. In contrast, North Court Villas data shows that the public engagement at city hall meeting was accessible to every stakeholder, regardless of their direct

connection to space. The data shows that people are more likely to participate in the decision-making process if the meetings are held at City Hall.

Chart 29: Public Space Overview

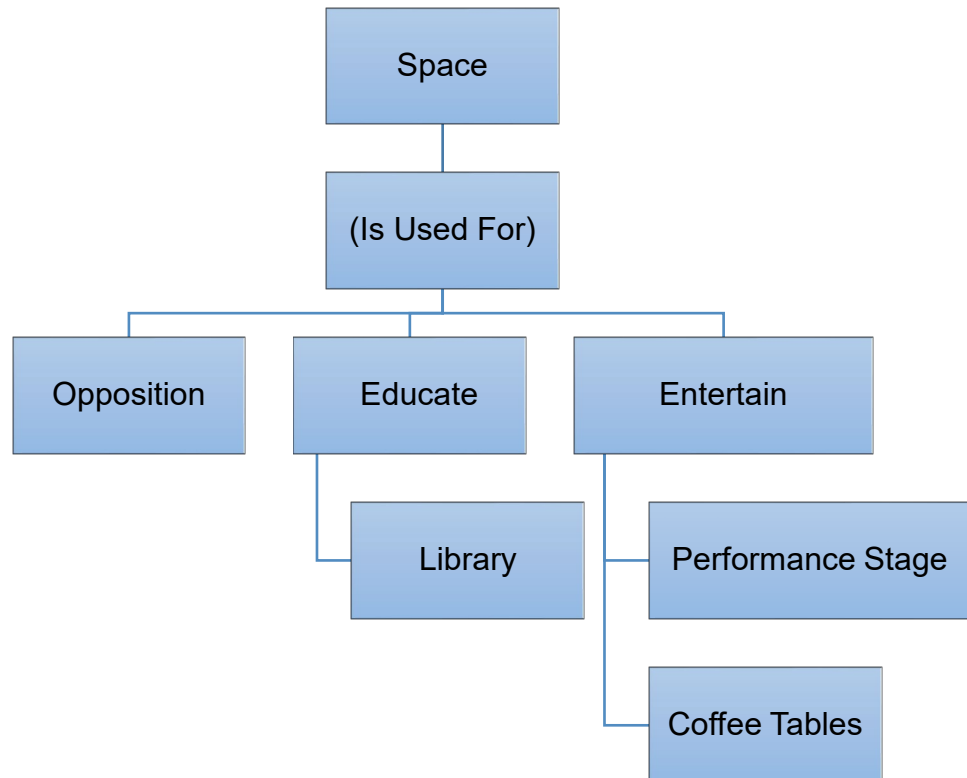


Chart 29.1: Public Space Overview Continue

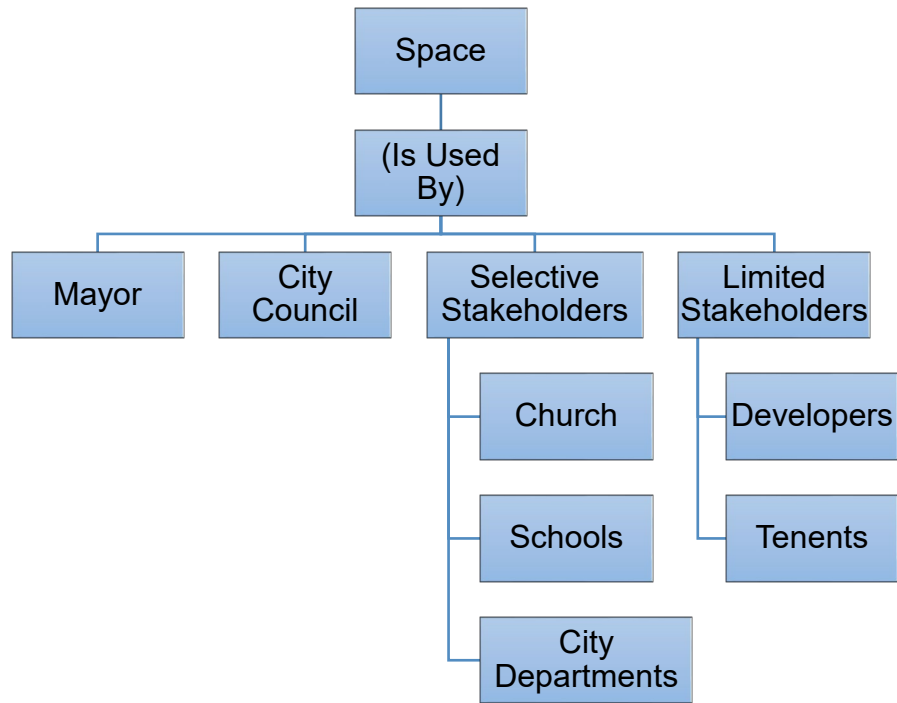
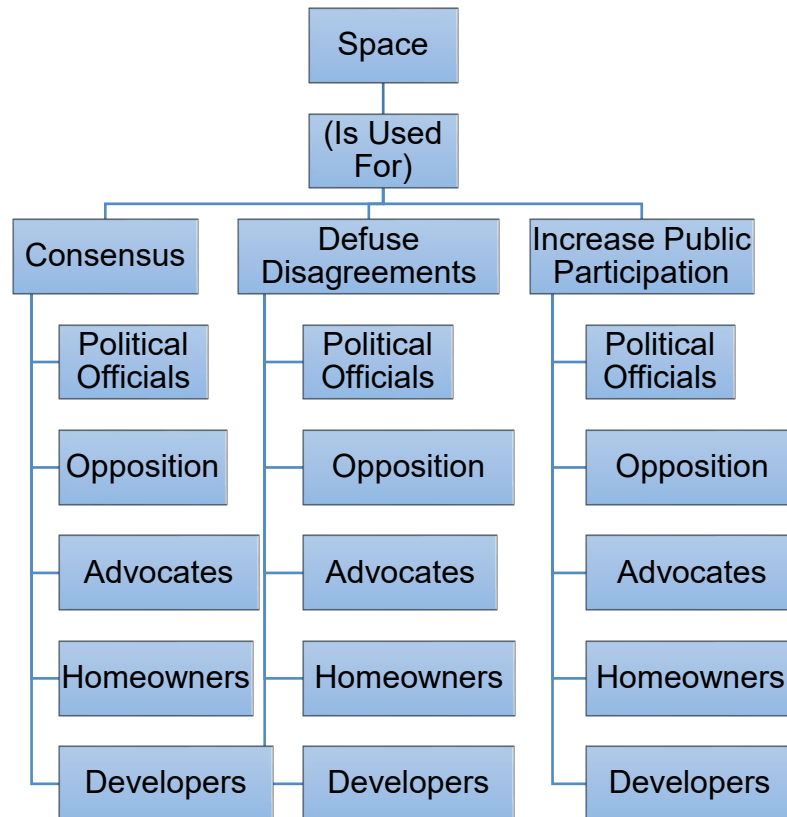


Chart 29.2: Public Space Overview Continue



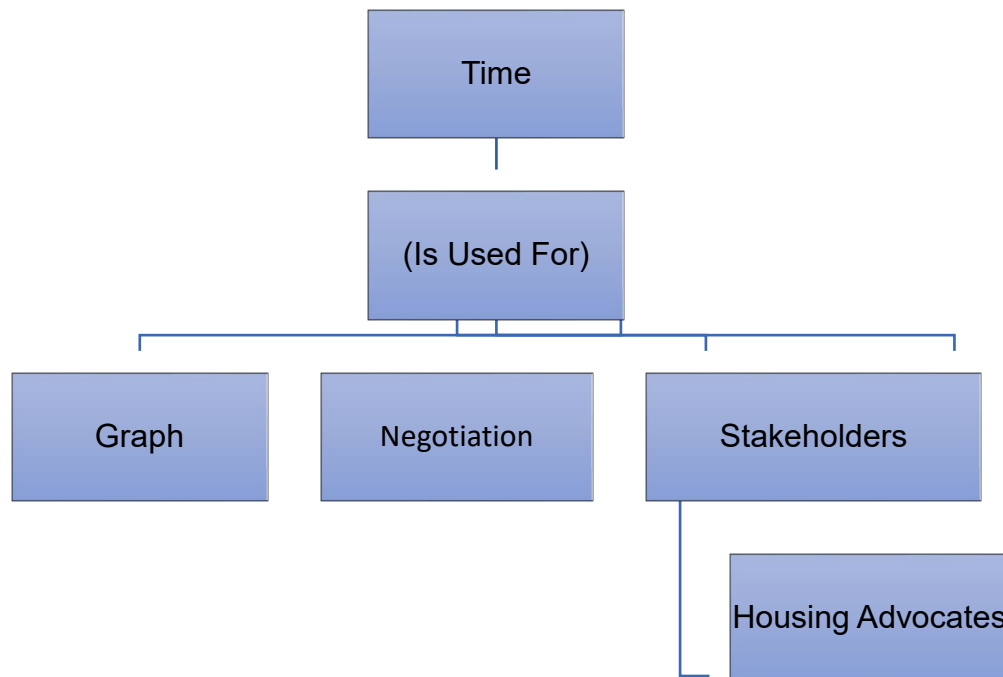
The next section will show how time serves as a vital component to the distribution of communication and space as it relates to testing the hypothesis and the construction of the ideal typical model. The hypothesis states: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal.* The creation of an ideal-typical model will serve to answer the research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?*

The Role of Time

This section looks at how time, specifically the usage of process versus outcomes, influence stakeholders desires towards the acceptance of LIHTC-funded developments and role it plays on the creation of the overall research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* This section will also show how time serves as a vital component when testing the hypothesis and the ongoing construction of the ideal typical model as a means of answering the research question. The hypothesis states: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal.* The data will follow the different ways the semantic relationship rationale (X is a reason for Y) contributes to community stakeholders use of time.

This letter reports the findings of the investigation conducted by [HUD] under Title VI of the Civil Right Act of 1964 concerning the City of Houston's actions with respect to the housing development proposed for 2640 Fountain View. The Department finds that the City's failure to issue a Resolution for Fountain View was based in part on racially motivated local opposition. (HUD Letter Finding Noncompliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Case Number 06-16-R001-6, February 24, 2017)

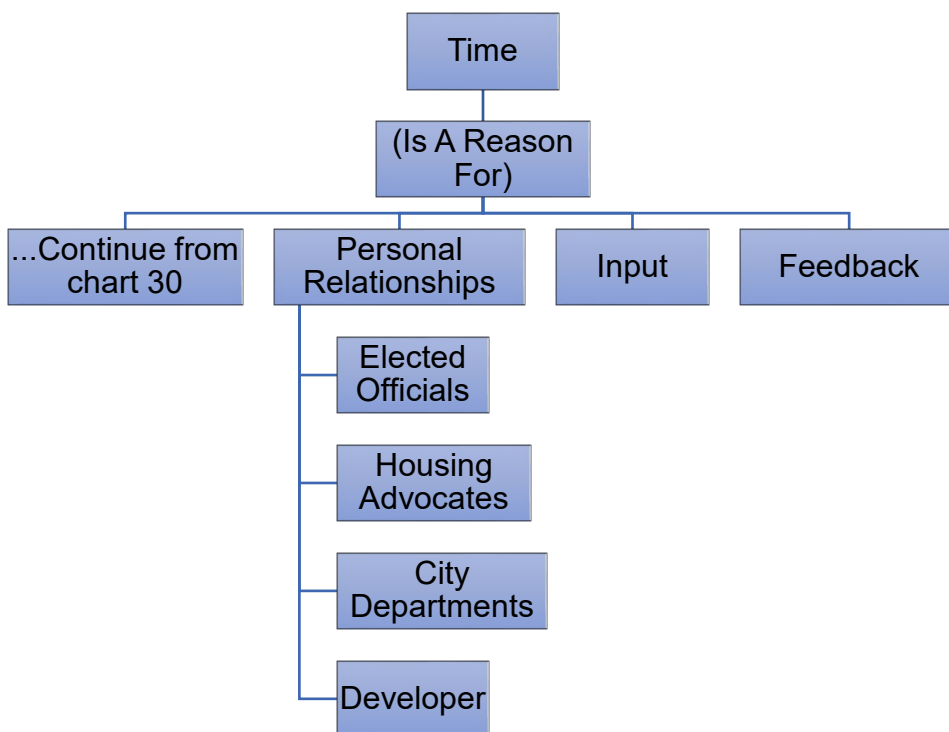
Archival analysis shows that housing advocates and the HHA had been negotiating for two years the terms of the Fountain View development prior to HUD finding the City of Houston in Violation of Title VI of the Civil Right Act of 1964. According to housing advocates, HHA was first made aware of the housing disparity after the Supreme Court victory by ICP. “We walked into our first meeting with [HHA] with graphs, charts and data showing the lack of projects in wealthy communities. They understood the disparity and the legal threat. We negotiated the terms of the agreement for over two years,” stated Kim. Former HHA staff stated during the interview that they were concerned with the legal ramification should they fail to engage with the housing advocates. “We understand what took place between the City of Dallas and [ICP] and we were trying to avoid a similar situation. The prior mayor also understood the consequences should the city not proceed with the negotiations” stated a staff member. Kitty, who was not part of the Fountain View negotiation, understood the legal ramification, but laments the lack of involvement by her elected official. “I understand that there are certain things that are not open to the public, but not including the elected officials on the meetings between department and [housing advocates] was a bad idea. Our councilmember is supposed to be an extension of the community. So, it was hard for me to get behind [Fountain View] when my elected official told me that they were not included in the talks” stated Kitty.

Chart 30: Time: Charts, Data, Legal, Negotiation, Stakeholders

Similarly, Frisco agreed to set aside a two-year time frame with housing advocates for the implementation of North Court Villas. According to housing advocates, the time allowed everyone to establish personal relationships, provide meaningful input and feedback on the design and implementation of North Court Villas. “We were able to know the scope of everyone’s job. Things that each person could offer and any limitation that would prevent them from delivering on the goal. Understanding the scope of our roles was critical to the way we were able to negotiate the development of North Court Villas” stated Sheryl. While Robert was not part of the North Court Villas negotiation process, he also understood the legal ramification should North Court Villas have failed to be implemented. “I did not agree with the project, but I also understood why our elected officials needed to approve it. Meeting with the Mayor and City

Councilmembers before they voted to approve [North Court Villas] helped me understand all the work they had put into making sure the project benefited our community” stated Robert.

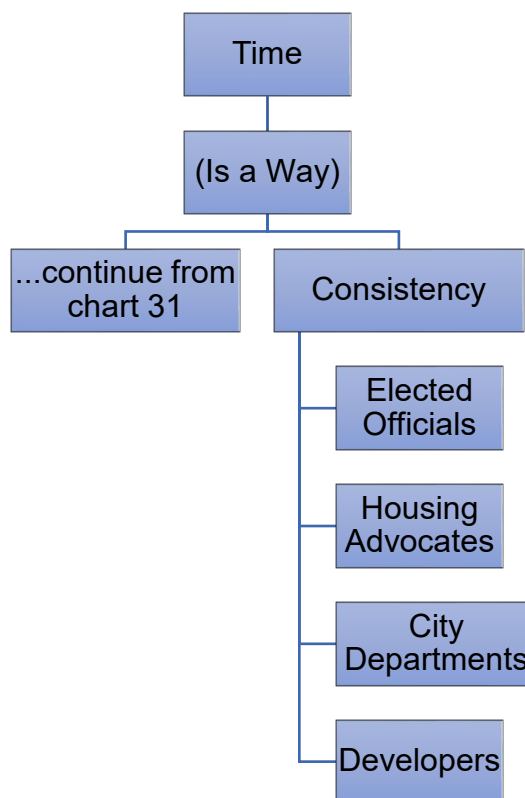
Chart 31: Time: Personal Relationships, Input, Feedback



Frisco also settled in a two-year time frame to allow the same policy makers to remain in place through the entire process and implementation of the development. “It was all about familiarity. Currently, our elected officials are elected to a three-year term with a cap of nine years-should they be elected consecutively. This form of government gives the mayor and city council an opportunity to work together for a long time on a project” stated Elliott. Prior to 2015, the City of Houston Mayor and City Council were elected using the same term-limit system as Frisco. According to city staff this format made working with

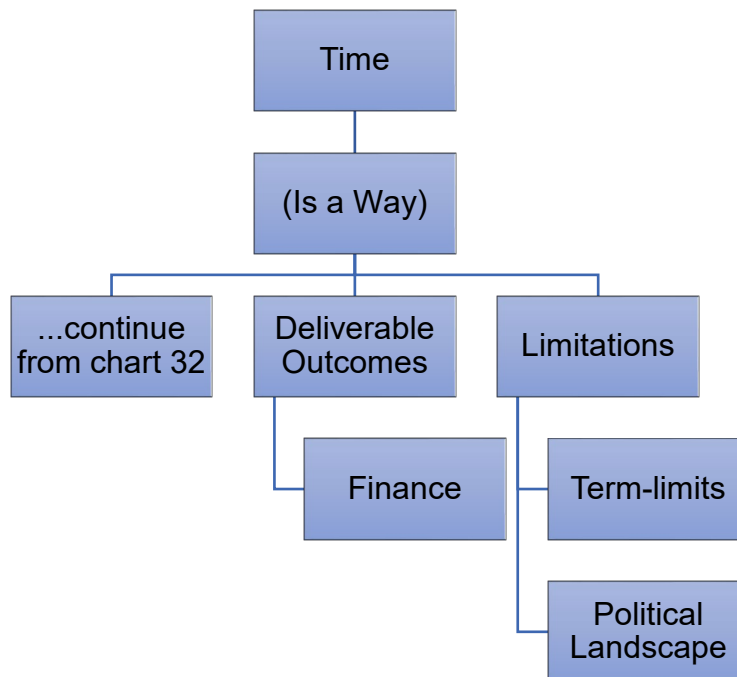
the mayor and city councilmembers very difficult. “The old format forced our elected officials to constantly campaign and not focus on long-term projects” stated a staff member during the interview. “I experienced a lot of campaign fatigue before that ordinance was changed. I felt that I barely got to know my councilmember before it was time for [him/her] to run for the position again” stated Kitty. James agrees and likes the four-year term format better, which voter approved in 2015 (Martin 2015). “I have noticed how much more responsive councilmembers are to the community’s needs. I don’t feel that when they attend a community meeting and meet with me in person, they are campaigning, but instead are trying to address our issues and concerns” stated James.

Chart 32: Time: Consistency



The ability to maintain a long-term relationship was crucial for the outcome of Fountain View and North Court Villas. The research shows that both developments used a two-year time frame to negotiate the terms of each proposed development. This meant a period of knowing each parties' needs and limitations as to deliverables of the development, such as finance and resources.

“Financing North Court Villas required multiple donors. The City of Frisco agreed to finance the landscape. ICP financed a portion of the project. We also had to go find additional donors, including the developer” stated Sheryl. Archival analysis shows that the two-year negotiation between HHA and housing advocates revolved around the issue of finance. “If I had to do this again, I would have considered that the mayor and the [in-district] councilmember were term-limited. We put all our time and effort into financing the project that we never considered that a new mayor and councilmember would have their own agenda. This is what ultimately killed the project” stated an HHA staff member during the interview. In contrast, North Court Villas took into consideration that the mayor and city councilmember were not term limited. “In my opinion, having the same mayor and councilmember in place for two-years led to the successful development of this project” stated Elliott. Elliott’s statement supports what led to the possible failure of the proposed 2640 Fountain View Development, when a new mayor and city councilmember, who were opposed to the development, were elected in the middle of a two-year negotiation agreement. (Houston Chronicle 2016).

Chart 33: Time: Deliverable Outcomes, Limitations

The research shows a sharp contrast between the way the City of Houston and Frisco used time management to implement their proposed LIHTC-funded developments. For example, Houston was more focused on avoiding a potential lawsuit that it failed to incorporate the elected officials in the decision-making progress. James, Kitty and Robert agree that their elected officials are an extension of the community. The lack of incorporating elected officials in the decision-making process was one key factor that failed to produce the Fountain View development. Meanwhile, Frisco's elected officials were part of the decision-making process from the start of the negotiations to the completion of North Court Villas. For Frisco, the two-year time frame served as means for each party to establish consensus on design and finance of the development. However, their biggest accomplishment was in the form of familiarity, where each

party maintain their presence throughout the decision-making process and implementation of North Court Villas.

Chart 34.1: Time Overview

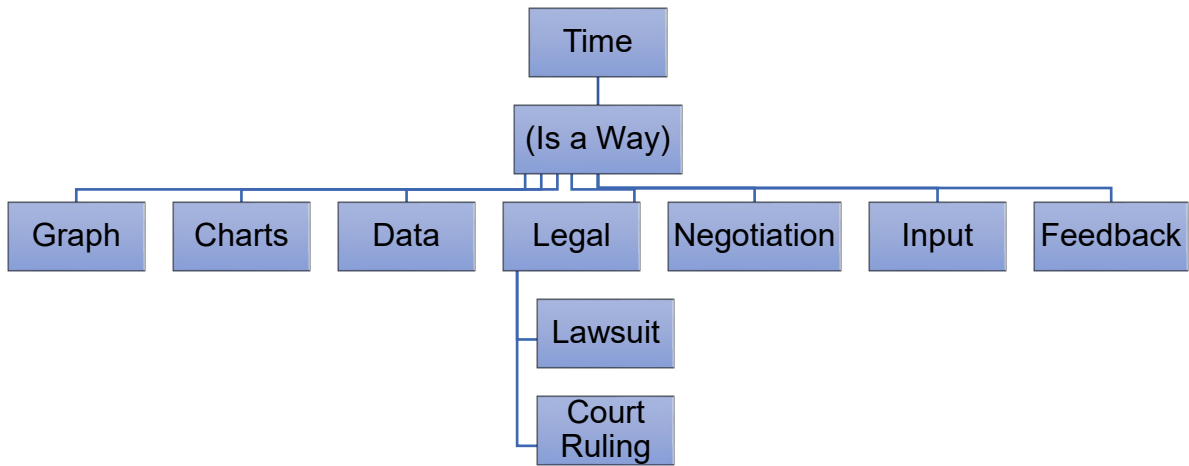


Chart 34.2: Time Overview Continue

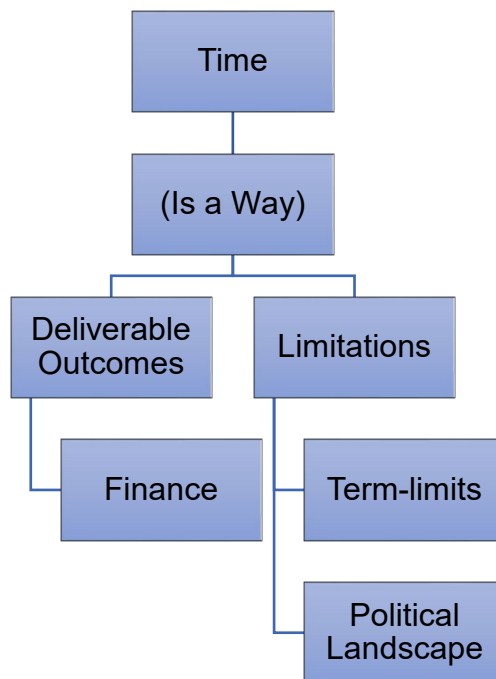
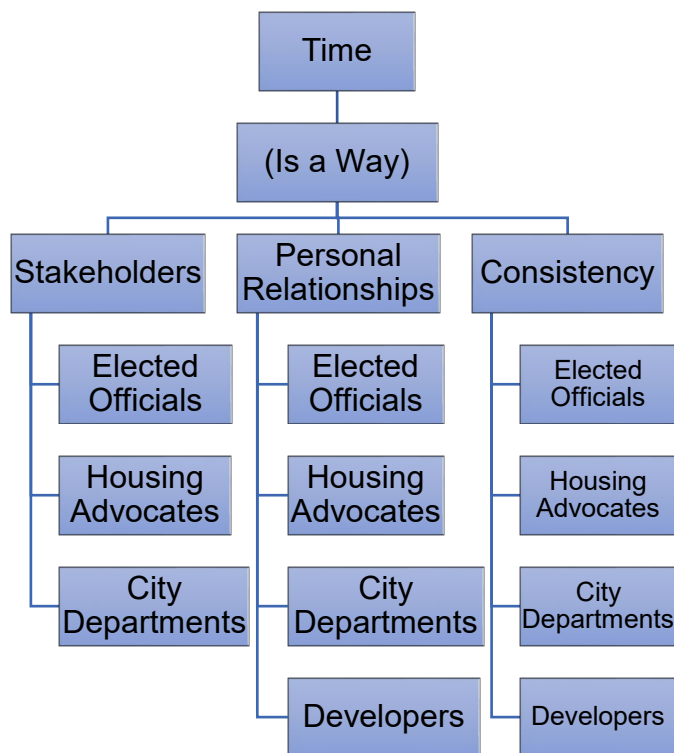


Chart 34.3: Time Overview Continue



The next section will summarize how communication, space and time served as a vital component to testing the hypothesis and construction of the ideal typical model as a means of answering the research question. The hypothesis states: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal.* The creation of an ideal-typical model will serve to answer the research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?*

The Ideal Typical Model

The research shows how communication, space and time served as a vital component to testing the hypothesis and construction of the ideal typical model as a means of answering the research question. The research shows: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal.* The result suggests that communication, space, and time are essential components to the increase of public participation and successful implementation of LIHTC-funded development. For example, the data shows that neither the mayor nor councilmembers, which are considered residents of the community, were involved in the two-year discussion of Fountain View. The data shows that in both communities stakeholders view their elected officials as an extension of themselves and residents of the community. Table 1.5 outlines which stakeholders are considered to be residents and active stakeholders of the community based on the interviews that were conducted. Therefore, the involvement of elected officials in the decision-making process is crucial to the successful implementation of LIHTC-funded development.

Table 1.5**Residents of the Community**

Geography	North Court Villas	2640 Fountain View
Homeowners	2	2
Mayor (Current)	1 (Former Councilmember now Mayor of Frisco. Counted as one)	0
Mayor (Former)	1	0
Councilmember (Current)	0	1
Councilmember (Former)	1 (Former Councilmember current Mayor of Frisco. Counted as one)	0
Board Member	2	1
Director	4	2
Staff	1	2
Housing Advocates	0	0
Developer	1	0
Total Interviews Per Study Area	13	10
Total Number of Interviews	25	

In Frisco, the Mayor and City Council worked collectively with housing advocates and developers on the successful implementation of North Court Villas-despite some community opposition. In addition to communication and time, the data shows that space has the potential to influence the success of these developments. In Frisco, City Hall was used to neutralize disagreements and negotiations. In contrast, Houston’s inability to neutralize disagreements using public space contributed to the increase in public opposition-leaving little room for a robust public participation. For example, housing advocates who

attended the March 09, 2016 HHA meeting at a local elementary school stated that they were harassed and threatened by an opponent, whose children attended the school. Based on the research, the following are essential features for an ideal type that suggest how *do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation.*

Ideal Type of Public Participation for the Implementation of LIHTC-Funded Developments In Higher Socio-Economic Communities

1) Communication

- a.** The data suggest that stakeholders view their local elected officials, such as the mayor and city council as an extension of themselves. Local elected officials should be included at the start of the proposed development and throughout the decision-making process.
- b.** Homeowners who are involved with local civic associations should be made aware of the developments. They provide guidance towards connecting with other groups that may not be readily available through community meetings and the internet search engine.
- c.** Homeowners with 10 plus years residing in the community are more likely to be connected to their government, neighbors, and amenities. This connection represents a self-awareness of the political landscape and historical background of the community.

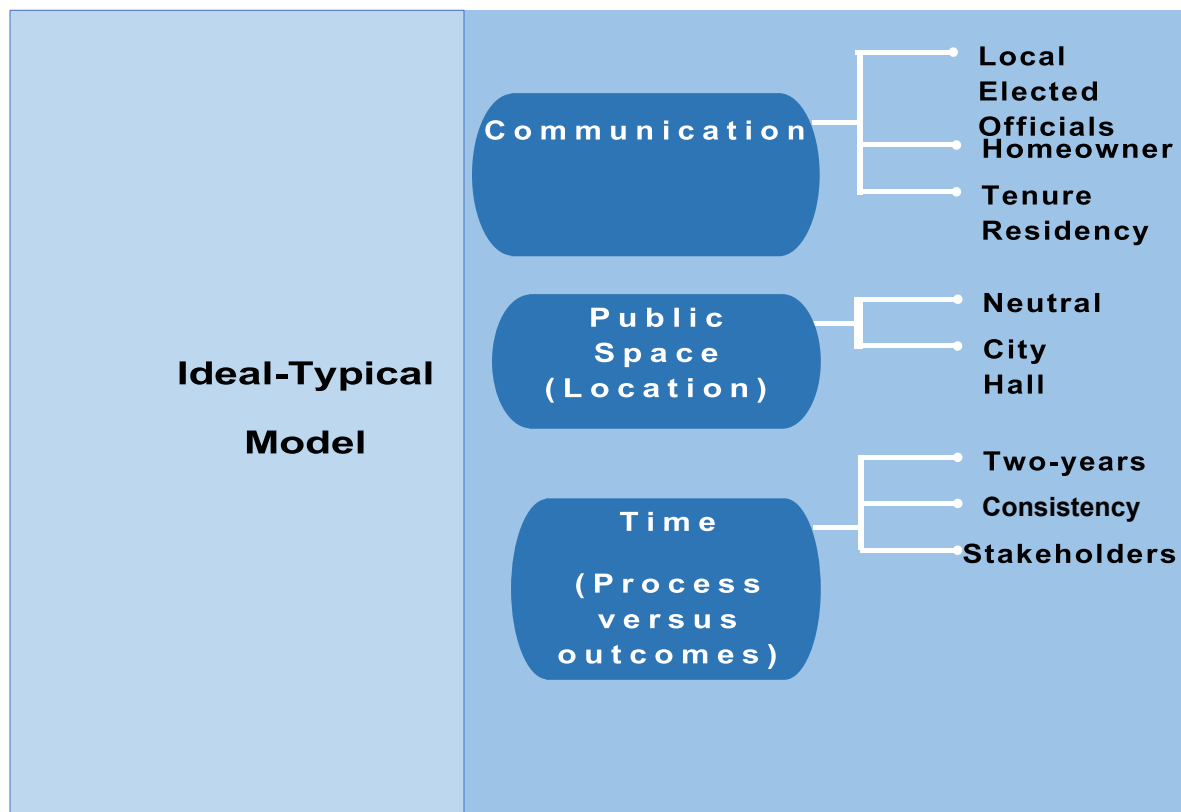
2) Space (location)

- a.** Neutral setting is vital. Entities, such as specific government agencies, that are utilized by a fraction of community on an ongoing basis, do not lead to an increase in public participation.
- b.** City Hall serves as an ideal place for neutral and robust public participation.

3) Time

- a.** Research suggests that all parties should take a minimum of two-years to deliberate and negotiate, since most of the elected positions are guaranteed to serve between two to four years in office.
- b.** The deliberation and negotiation should start and conclude with the same stakeholders. Special attention should be given to term-limits. It is suggested that deliberation should start at the conclusion of a political election cycle-making room for reelected and newly elected officials to be involved in the decision-making process and implementation of the development.
- c.** Stakeholder who participates in the decision-making process are equally as important as the time commitment that it takes to successfully negotiate the construction of the developments. This includes having the same housing advocates, developers and any stakeholder remain involved during the duration of the decision-making process.

Figure 1.4 Ideal-Typical Model of Public Participation for the Implementation of LIHTC-funded Developments in Higher Socio-economic Communities Overview



CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative dissertation is to answer the following research question using an ideal-typical model: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* This chapter will discuss the findings according to the literature on public participation and the placement of LIHTC-funded development, and the potential impact this research has for practitioners and scholars of Urban Planning, policymakers, and housing advocates. The chapter will also provide an in-depth overview of the research as it relates to several theories about the way the private and public sectors view and utilize public participation. Lastly, the chapter proceeds with a detailed statement on the limitations and recommendations for future research.

The research question using an ideal-typical model: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* and the accompanied hypothesis: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal* was answered and tested based on the

discovery of the following three themes: communication, space (location) and time. The research suggests that each theme is independent while simultaneously connected. All these factors contribute towards the stakeholders utilizing public participation to implement LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities.

Discussion of the Findings

The events that transpired in North Court Villas and 2640 Fountain View serve as a catalyst to understand the way public participation leads to the successful implementation of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities. The data suggests that communication, space, and time all contribute to the acceptance of these developments. Each theme is independent but should not be disconnected from one another. This phenomenon will be further discussed in the following section.

Communication

This research agrees with the literature that communication is an essential element to public participation (Ellen, Horn, Kuai, Pazumiak and Williams 2015, Lindblom 2012; Fainstein 2012, Healey 2003; Forester 1999; Habermas 1989 and 1984; Buchanan and Tullock 1962). The literature, which is supported by this research, outlines several communication tools that suggest will create greater public participation and lead to the successful implementation of LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities. Voting, mediation, and the usage of the public space are communication tools that the literature states, and this research supports, contribute to the successful implementation of these

developments (Healy 2015; Fainstein 2012; Forester 2013; Habermas 1986). For example, the data implies that public participation by stakeholders is greater when the mayor and city councilmembers, who are democratically voted into office by the community, are part of the decision-making process. In addition, the literature states that mediation is a good tool that communicates consensus, flexibility, and freedom of expression (Laurian and Shaw 2008; Irving and Stansbury 2004). The data suggests that Frisco and Houston used mediation as part of the decision-making process. In Frisco, the city agreed to provide the infrastructure, while ICP provided the funding towards the successful implementation of North Court Villas. In Houston, HHA initially agreed to place a LIHTC-funded development in a higher socio-economic community, while housing advocates agreed not to sue. The research implies that these agreements were the result of mediation.

Space (Location)

The data suggests that the usage of space (location), which is commonly referred to in literature as the public sphere, communicates the desire to include all the stakeholders in the decision-making process. The literature shows that the public sphere is a designated space that is accessible to everyone, regardless of one's personal background, for open discussions (Forester 2013; Young 2000). The research implies that using City Hall as a signed location is one way that leads to greater public participation and the successful implementation LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities. The literature supports this research that implies space has the potential to communicate a

message to stakeholders of bias and/or inclusivity (Paul Davidoff 2012; Laurian and Shaw 2008). Therefore, space can serve to either encourage or discourage greater public participation between stakeholders and impact the successful implementation of LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities.

The research agrees with the literature that the public sphere is an essential element to public participation (Thomas 2014; Sharp 2009). However, the literature and this research also agree that usage of the public sphere could lead to selective participation (Quick and Feldman 2011; Kaza 2006; Putnam 2000; Neuman 2000). For example, HHA held several 2640 Fountain View community meetings in areas where the participants had a vested interest in the location, such as the HHA Administrative Building and a local elementary school. Participants who attended the HHA meetings were both tenants of HHA properties and their children went to the local elementary school. In contrast, the City of Frisco used City Hall as their primary sources for public participation. The decision by Frisco to use City Hall allowed advocates and opponents of affordable housing a neutral space to debate. The research supports the literature that states the public sphere should be welcoming and inviting for all members to participate (Habermas 2001; Mandelbaum 1996).

Time

The literature agrees with the research that time is an essential element of public participation (Klosterman 2013; Stein and Harper 2011; Sharp 2009). Frisco and HHA set aside two years to negotiate for their perspective

developments. The literature does not advocate for a specific time frame to engage with the community, but rather leaves the discussion open between process and outcomes (Loh 2012; Sharp 2009; Umemoto and Igarshi 2009; Filner 2006). For example, Frisco chose two-years to ensure the same stakeholders were involved in the decision-making process. Frisco stakeholders felt that it was important that the same mayor, councilmembers, and housing advocates be part of the negotiation and implementation process. This decision by Frisco to focus on the process contributed to the successful implementation of North Court Villas.

In contrast, the data implies that HHA, who also agreed to a two year negotiation period, was more concerned about avoiding a lawsuit, an outcome, by housing advocates for violating Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Therefore, by focusing on the outcomes, HHA failed to engage the mayor and city councilmembers during the decision-making process with housing advocates. The literature shows disagreements over what approach, process versus outcomes, is useful when it comes to public participation (Lindblom 2012; Filner 2006; Tewdwr-Jones and Allemendiger 1998; Innes 1996; Rubin 1993). The data suggests that the process of public participation yields significant value in the successful implementation of LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities.

Theoretical Approach to Public Participation

The literature review in chapter two included several theoretical approaches to answering the research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher*

socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation? The literature shows that the question depended on how the private and public sectors view and utilize public participation (Linovaski 2016; Ellen, Horn, Kuai, Pazumiak and Williams 2015; Shah 2013; Innes 2004; Young 2000; Healy 1992; Castells 1977). The literature, through the Theory of Property Contradiction, showed that the private market utilizes public participation only to satisfy the needs of labor production (Folgeson 1986). On the other hand, the literature, through the Communicative Action Model, shows that the public sector makes every attempt to satisfy the needs of all parties (Innes and Booher 2016; Goetz 2013; Immergluck 2008; Habermas 1984). The next section will show how this research connects to the theories outlined in the literature review.

Theory of Property Contradiction

Folgeson's (1986) Theory of Property Contradiction argues that the private market utilizes public participation only to satisfy the needs of labor production. This research suggests that certain elements of this theory have the potential to contribute to stakeholders effectively utilizing public participation to implement LIHTC-fund developments in higher socio-economic communities. Prior to the construction of North Court Villas, Frisco had zero multi-family LIHTC-funded developments within its jurisdiction. Elected officials who voted in favor on the implementation of North Court Villas cited "high cost in property value" and the need to maintain a "balanced workforce" that would sustain the city's economy.

In contrast, this research shows that when supporters of 2640 Fountain View used the same argument as supporters of North Court Villas, they were met with a high degree of resistance associated with Not In My Back Yard (NIMBYism). Previous research describes NIMBYism as public opposition to certain developments, primarily led by homeowners who feel that their community's land-use is threatened and will depreciate property value (Craw 2017; Nguyen 2005; Galster, Tatian, Pettit 2004). Opponents of 2640 Fountain View cited school overcrowding, crime and high price value associated with the construction of the development. Opponents also suggested HHA build in other parts of the city, "where these developments were already established." This research suggests that the labor production appeared to be stable within the community. Therefore, capital had no special interest to satisfy the social needs of land-use through the creation of housing that it deemed crucial for the reproduction of labor (Folgeson 1986).

Communicative Action Model

Habermas' (1989 and 1984) The Communicative Action Model argues that human beings can achieve consensus as the only species capable of rationalizing. Therefore, this allows collectively made sound decisions instead of depending on someone with authoritarian powers to make those decisions (Healey 2003; Forester 1999). This research supports the theory on the grounds of distinguishing between the decision-making process versus outcomes. Community stakeholders view their local elected officials as an extension of the community, which this research implies ultimately contributed towards the

successful implementation of North Court Villas. Community stakeholders from 2640 Fountain View often cited how their local elected officials were left out of the decision-making process. “I am opposed because [HHA] made no attempts to reach out to any of the community leaders. I will tell you, for a whole year I was running a campaign. Had I known about this, it would have been part of my campaign. Had my opponent known about it, it would have been a part of her campaign” stated one local elected official.

In contrast, Frisco included their elected officials, developers, and housing advocates in the decision-making process. This research supports the literature that advocates for the use of the “iron triangle” to identify the most active members of a community and therefore leads to a consensus (Klosterman 2013). According to Putnam (2000), the iron triangle is composed of special interest groups, public officials, and homeowners, who are the most active members within a community. This research suggests that elected officials are an extension of the community, and therefore are classified as homeowners. The research and the literature agree that the Communicative Action Model leads to the successful implementation of LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities.

Implications for Practice

The literature presented in chapter two shows that implementation of low-income housing tax credit (LIHTC) units throughout the United States is primarily driven by quantitative analysis (McClure 2017; DeLuca, Garboden and Rosenblatt 2013; Handley and Howell-Moroney 2010; Huxley 2000). The data that was

presented in chapter three implies that this approach is one of the factors that has led to an uneven distribution of LIHTC-funded developments, especially in areas with higher economic opportunities, where opposition is most prevalent. The sole reliance on quantitative analysis combined with a need to understand the motives that lead residents to deny or approve a low-income housing tax credit development prompted this researcher to craft the following qualitative research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* In addition, the following hypothesis was tested: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal* using the themes that resulted from the data analysis: communication, space and time.

This data collected from this research contributes to the field of Urban Planning, for practitioners and scholars, in several ways. First, the data moves the field further away from the isolationist history that some practitioners and scholars would like to amend. The literature shows that prior to the 1970s, urban planning contributed to Urban Renewal, when decision-making was generated from the design of the comprehensive plans that were created by local planning commissions (Laurian and Shaw 2008). Forester (2012) and Clavel (2007) argue that the field of Urban Planning uses creativity to encourage open dialogue among all stakeholders. The data presented implies that a qualitative approach

to answering the research question is a form of creativity that encourages public participation and leads stakeholders to utilize public participation to effectively implement LIHTC-fund developments in higher socio-economic communities.

Second, policymakers will benefit from the finding of this research because it provides an alternative to the standard quantitative and top-down approach of policymaking, which focuses primarily on outcomes (Mapuva 2015; Goetz 2013; Meehan 1985; Arnstein 1969). The research suggests that doing a qualitative study on the way local stakeholders effectively utilize public participation to implement LIHTC-fund developments in higher socio-economic communities has the potential to reduce conflict among stakeholders. Research shows these conflicts have the potential to escalate to litigation, where local municipalities have been found guilty by the federal courts of contributing towards the disparate impact of a single group through the placement of LIHTC-funded developments (Dawkins 2018; Oyez.org 2015). This is a practice that is grounded on the sole reliance of quantitative variables as a means of addressing the placement of LIHTC-funded development throughout the United States (Schwartz, McClure and Taghavi 2016; Schwartz 2010; Denton 2006). This research provides policymakers with three themes: communication, space (location) and time that they can use as a way to reduce conflict and effectively utilize public participation to implement LIHTC-fund developments in higher socio-economic communities.

Lastly, housing advocates will benefit from the findings of this research because it provides tools that can reduce tension between members of the

community, who often view other's actions as a threat to their well-being (Palm & Niemeier 2016; Pendall 1999; Goetz and Sidney 1994). The research suggests that community stakeholders often view housing advocates as outsiders, who do not understand the makeup of the community. The research further implies that this notion can be reduced through communication, space (location) and time. This research provides housing advocates tools that can assist them with reducing conflict and effectively utilizing public participation to implement LIHTC-fund developments in higher socio-economic communities.

Limitations and Recommendations

Qualitative research was ideal for this dissertation even though certain limitations did apply. First, the research implies that stakeholder utilization of public participation and acceptance of LIHTC-funded developments depends on three themes: communication, space, and time. However, the research does not imply stakeholders' attachments to these themes. For example, the level of attachment of stakeholders to space (location), such as their community schools and streets, and the way they may have the potential to influence public participation should be further researched. This research hints that a level of attachment to public space may yield a higher degree of public participation and the acceptance of the LIHTC-funded developments. In chapter three, Fountain View stakeholders expressed their views over their willingness to participate in certain meetings, such as those held at a school where their own children were enrolled. In another example, a billboard was placed in a high-level traffic intersection of the community next to the property of the Housing Authority

announcing the future development of a Fountain View. The research hints that the community failed to analyze the content of the sign due to their lack of knowledge about the role of the Housing Authority Department.

Another example shows that the community appears to have a higher connection to their local newspapers, which sparked the public opposition over Fountain View. Frisco residents also expressed a connection to their local print media outlets. Therefore, this data leaves room for future research to explore the theme of attachment associated with communication, space (location) and time and the connection to public participation and the acceptance of LIHTC-funded development. Future questions should explore why communication, space (location) and time, in the context that was presented in chapter two, are important to stakeholders' willingness for public participation and the acceptance of the LIHTC-funded developments.

Second, the data was limited by the number of stakeholders who agreed to participate in the research. Politics was often used as the number one reason for stakeholders' unwillingness to participate in this research. One potential candidate who did not agree to participate stated that they have higher aspirations to run for a political office and that they are currently working for another political candidate. Some stated that they did not want to jeopardize their current employment. For example, some participants work for other government agencies that have direct connection to the studied city governments. Others work in fields that prohibited them from being politically involved, while some participants felt that the nature of this research had political relevance.

Stakeholders who were not running for office and not politically engaged or risked jeopardizing their employment felt that the experience associated with these developments was "best to be left behind" because of the mental toll the debates took on the community. Future research should explore how debates over these developments have shaped the relationships between community stakeholders.

This research received a high degree of response from stakeholders in Frisco, who either agree or did not agree, to participate in the research. On average, this researcher was given a response within a week after initial contact was made. In contrast, some stakeholders in Fountain View did not immediately respond to a request for an interview, even after multiple attempts were made. It is unclear if this was for political reasons. The research implies that Frisco community stakeholders were eager to highlight how their individual strengths as community leaders, developers and elected public officials led to the implementation of North Court Villas. Fountain View stakeholders, including opponents, sounded less enthusiastic to claim individual victories. Instead, some stakeholders made a lot of effort during the interviews to highlight their relationship to the community and how that played a role on their decision to advocate and oppose the Fountain View Development. Therefore, future research should explore how debates over these developments has shaped the relationships between community stakeholders.

Third, the COVID19 pandemic placed limitations on the way this study was conducted. Interviews were conducted via Zoom, MicroSoft Teams, and

telephone, with the exception of one in-person. It is unclear how different the responses would have been if the interviews had been conducted in-person. Given the popularity of video conference interviews that resulted from the COVID19 pandemic, it is recommended that the themes that were implied during this research be compared between in-person and video conference interviews.

Fourth, a lack of diversity in stakeholder participation for the interviews was apparent, especially from the Fountain View Development. Frisco stakeholders varied in regard to gender, nationality, and race. In contrast, the stakeholders that were willing to be interviewed for the Fountain View Development were majority white males. According to Census data, the community that surrounds North Court Villas is 75% white compared to 68% white of Fountain View residents (United States Census Bureau 2018). It is unclear if the lack of diversity of participants in the study was associated with the pandemic of COVID19 or other variables. One stakeholder stated that their level of emotional participation about community matters was at a low since the start of the pandemic. Future studies should focus on trying to obtain a pool of diverse stakeholders and use a variety of communication tools that participants are comfortable using.

Lastly, it is unclear if the time lapse between the developments, which were debated in 2010 (North Court Villas) and 2015 (Fountain View), and the date of this research in 2020 contributed to the limitations of this study.

Participants who agreed to the study appeared confident about answering the

questions pertaining to their memories with the developments. Future research should explore the potential impact time has in conducting these interviews.

Conclusion

The research question: *Do local stakeholders in higher socio-economic communities in Houston and Frisco, Texas influence the supply of LIHTC-funded developments through public participation?* and the accompanying hypothesis: *Greater public participation of residents in the decision-making process will lead to a greater probability of acceptance of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities than in similar communities where public participation is minimal* was answered and tested based on the discovery of the following three themes: communication, space (location) and time. Given the history, and popularity, of quantitative methods that have been used by practitioners and scholars of Urban Planning, policymaker and housing advocates, a qualitative research was essential towards finding alternatives that can lead to the acceptance of LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities. The methods and the findings that are part of this research allow for creativity in public participation that is often advocated for within the field of planning (Forester 2013; Stein and Harper 2011). The triangulated method and snowball sampling that were used allowed this researcher to deviate from numerical applications and focus on the human element of public participation, which this researcher argues contributes toward the acceptance and denial of LIHTC-funded development in higher socio-economic communities. The participants that this researcher interviewed had a

story that is often overlooked with numerical data, even if viewed through income. Some of the residents who agreed to the interviews, and opposed the developments, held multiple blue-collar employment, even though the median household income within these communities is considered above the city's average.

The level of interaction between this researcher and the stakeholders who agreed to participate in this study gives a perspective of what it means to live in a higher socio-economic community. Policymakers and housing advocates have set numerical standards of what it means to have amenities available to maintain well-being. This research shows that some community stakeholders who reside in these higher socio-economic communities struggle to maintain this way of living. The interviews show that it is not simply about whether local stakeholders effectively utilize public participation to implement LIHTC-funded developments in higher socio-economic communities, but how they balance communication, space (location) and time with personal and financial responsibilities. This research shows that applying a qualitative approach to public participation and the funding of LIHTC-funded developments will yield information that has the potential to increase public participation, avoid litigation, and lead to the acceptance of these developments in higher socio-economic communities.

APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

City:

Interviewee:

Homeowner, renter, public official, business owner, other _____:

Position: (Ask only if it is a public official and business owner)

How long have you lived or been a member of this community?

How long have you been actively participating in the community? (Example: attending meetings, sending e mails to community members and elected officials)

Demographic:

Marital status (with or without children):

1. Can you describe where public participation takes place in the community? (Example: church, school, community center, etc)
2. Can you describe the people who tend to be civically engaged in the community? (Example: homeowners, business groups, renter, political figures, political representative)
3. Can you describe how people tend to organize in the community?
4. Can you tell me what people use to organize? (Example: social media, mail, telephone, etc.) Can you tell me what people use to establish an

agreement? (Example: social media, in person meetings, voting booth, etc.)

5. Can you describe what types of actions are normally taken after an agreement has been reached?
6. How does the community execute these actions?
7. Is there a timeline that the community follows to execute these actions? If so how is the timelines determined?
8. What are the top three goals that the community is currently trying to accomplish? (Example: affordable housing, safety, school, etc.)
9. How are the goals expressed? (Example: writing letters, public gathering, internet, etc.)

Researcher Personal Comprehensive Observation Questions

1. Where does participation take place?
2. Who are the people involved?
3. How do they organize?
4. What do they use to organize and establish a consensus?
5. What actions are taken after a decision has been established?
6. How do they execute the action?
7. What time frame do they have to execute the action?
8. What goals are they trying to accomplish?
9. How are the goals expressed?

APPENDIX B

TITLE

Albuquerque Housing Authority

Chicago Housing Authority

Dallas Housing Authority

Frisco Housing Authority

Housing Authority of the City of Austin

Housing Authority of the City of El Paso

Housing Authority City of Los Angeles

Houston Housing Authority

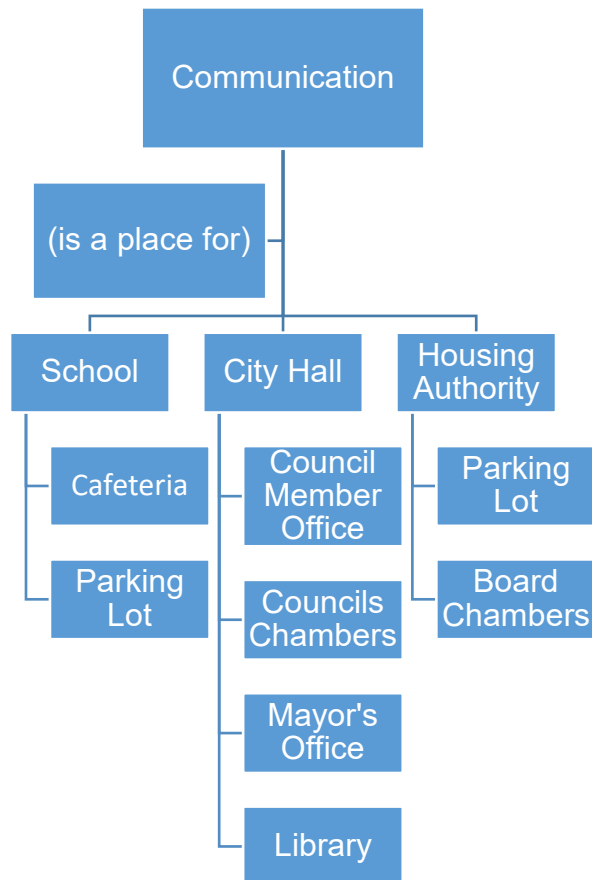
New York City Housing Authority

San Antonio Housing Authority

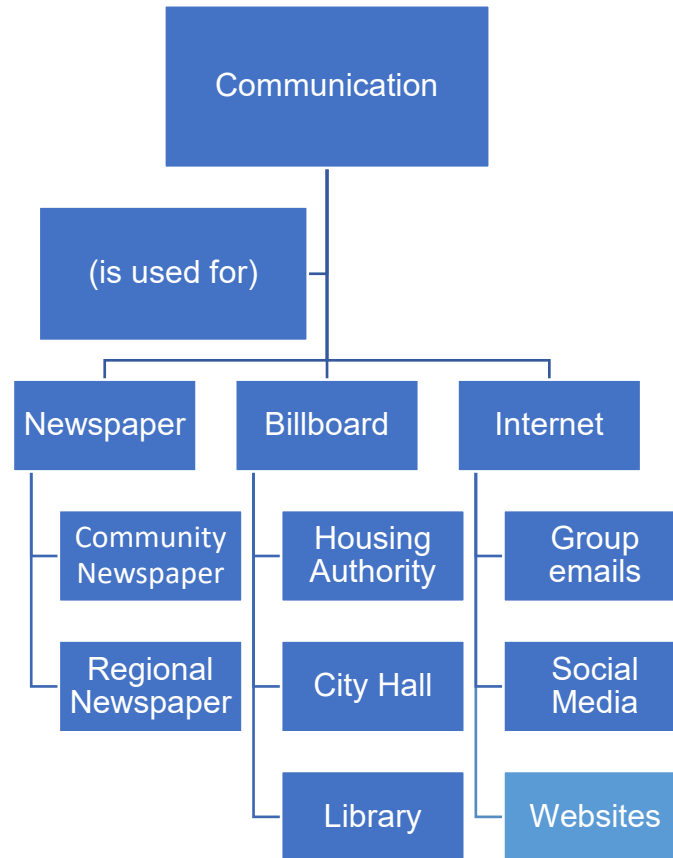
San Francisco Housing Authority

APPENDIX C

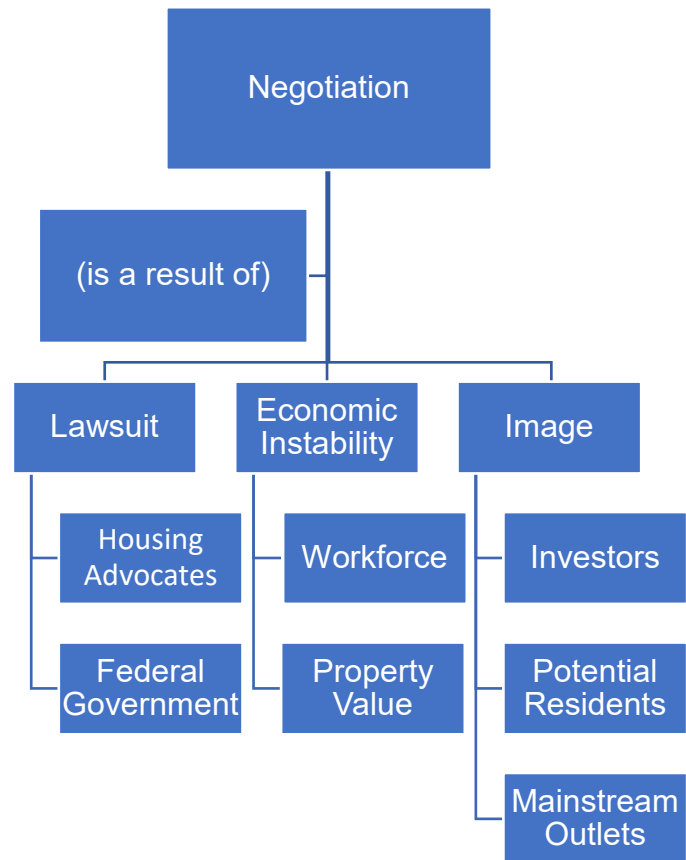
OTHER TYPES OF SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIP



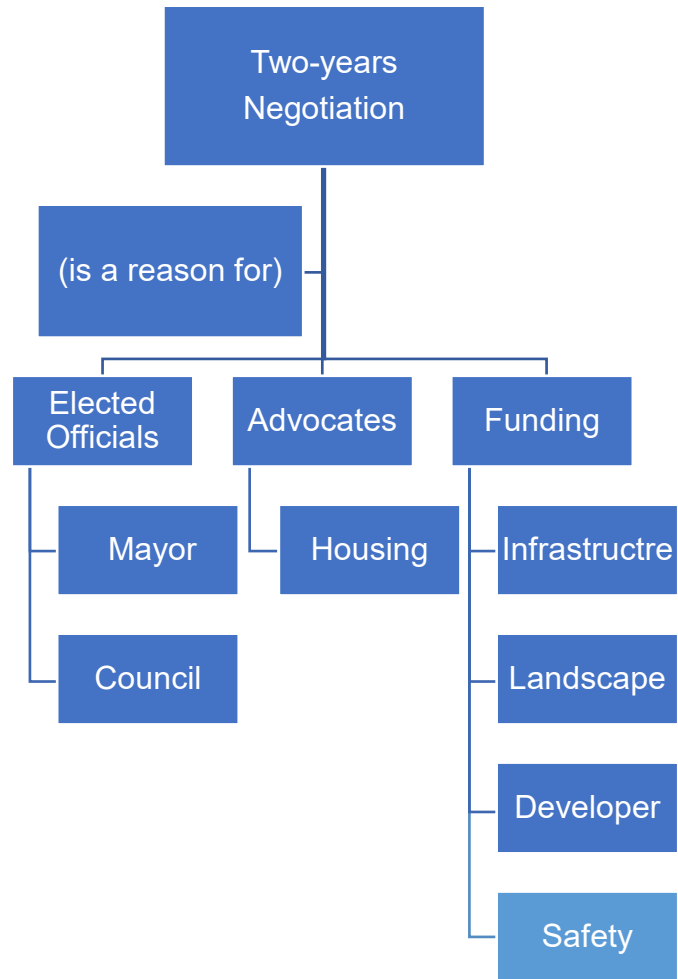
Communication: Location-for-action (X is a place for doing Y)



Communication: Function (X is used for Y)



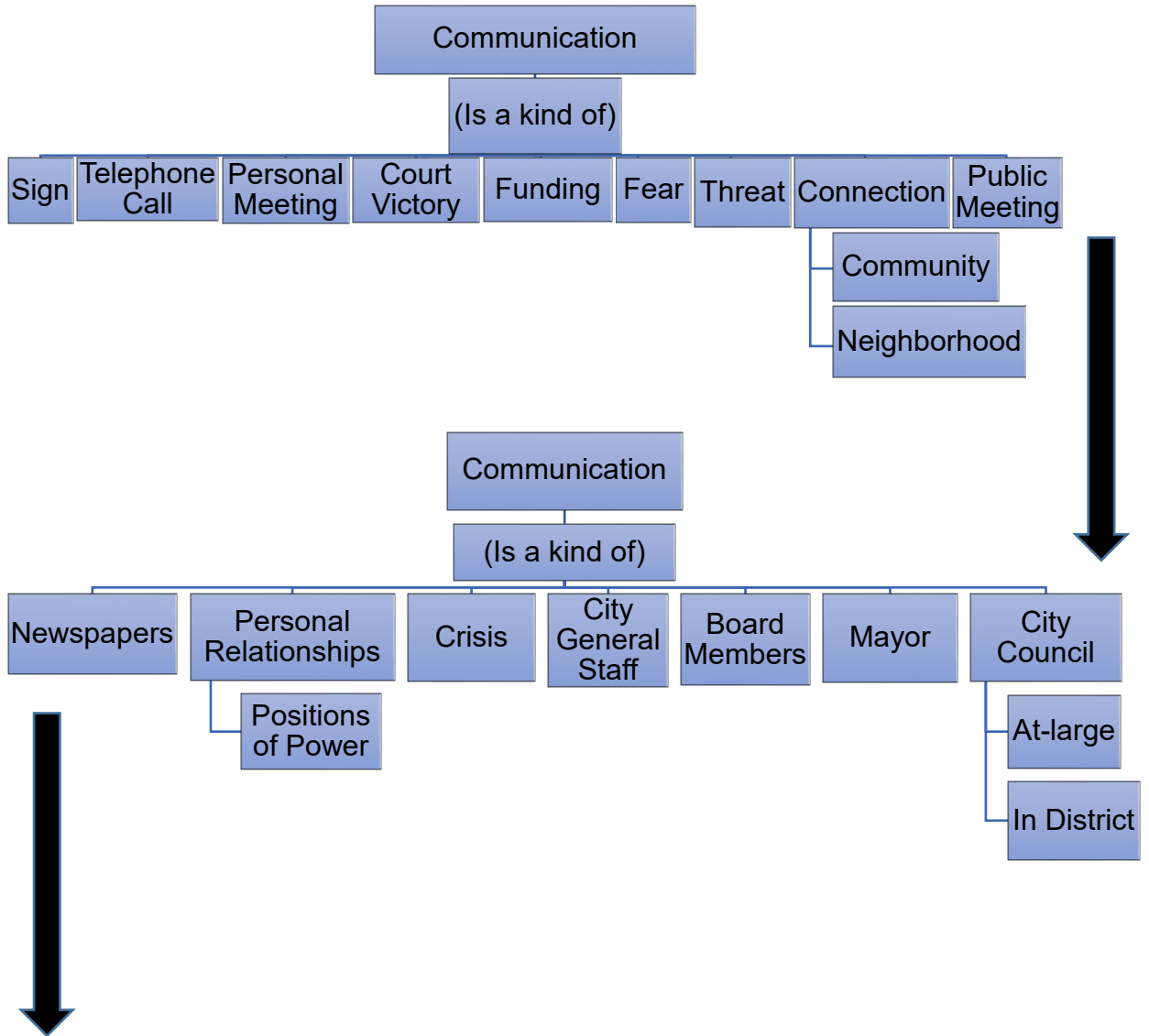
Negotiation: Cause-effect (X is a result of Y)

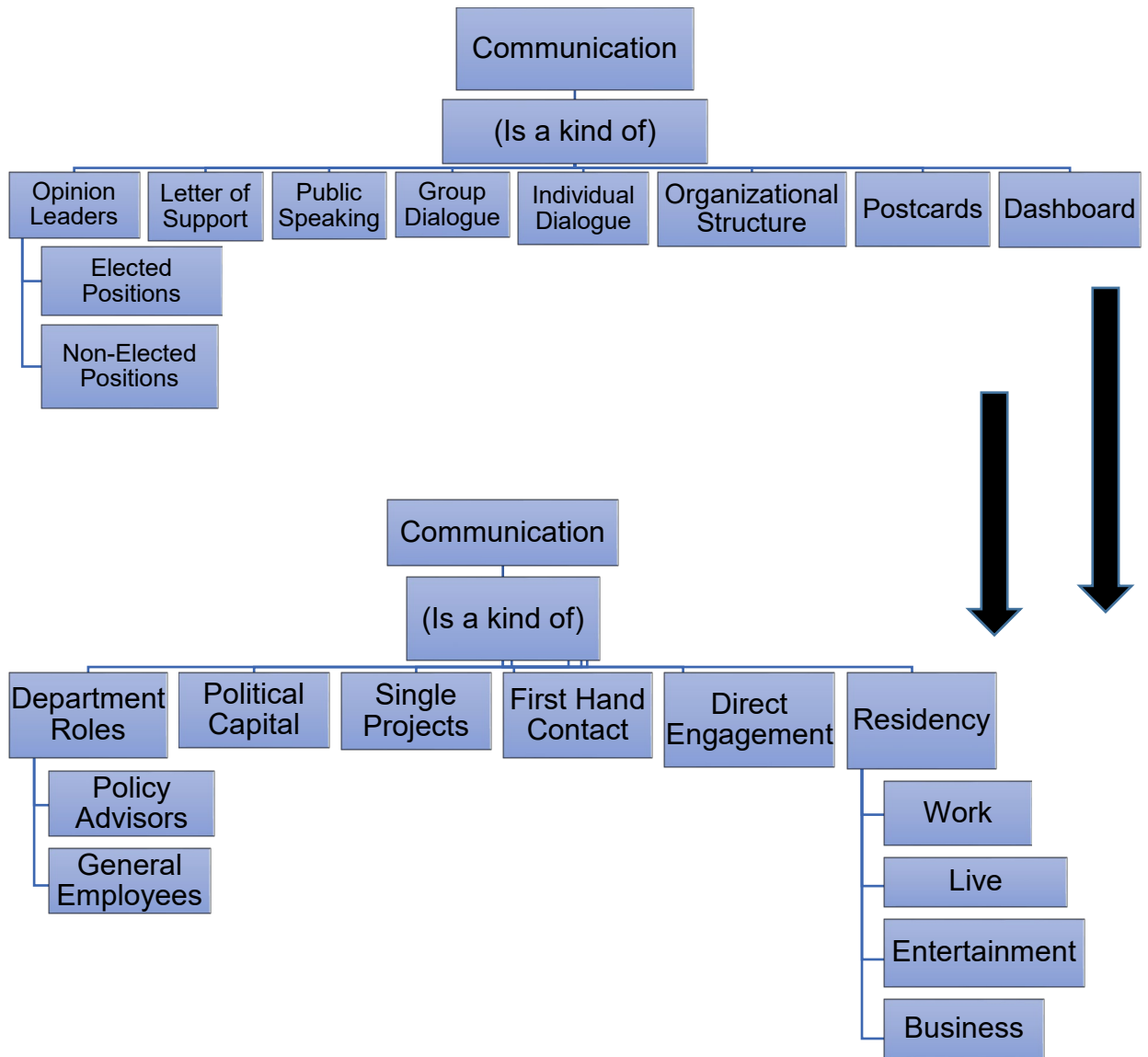


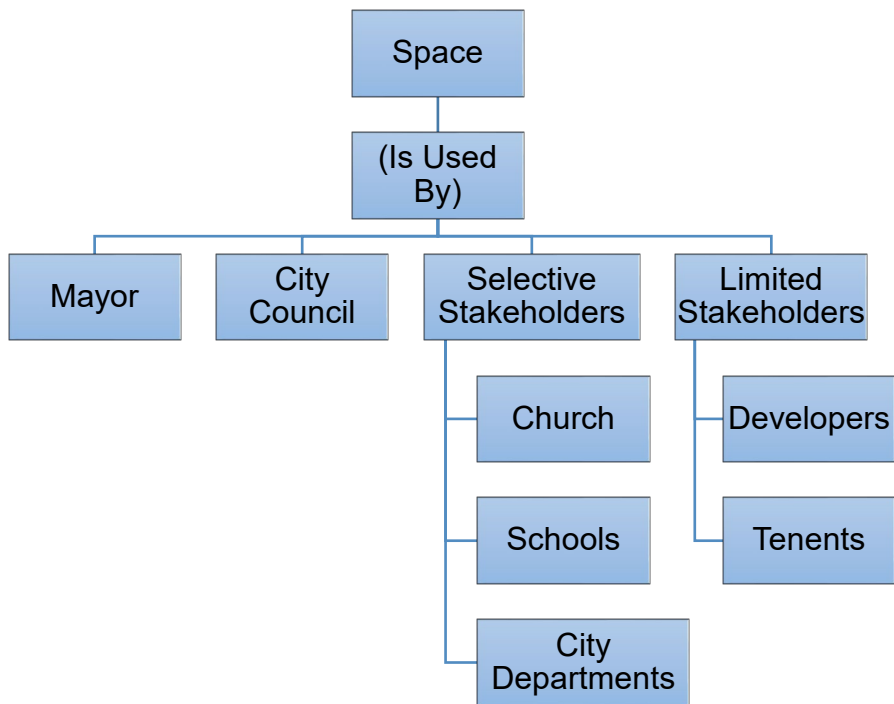
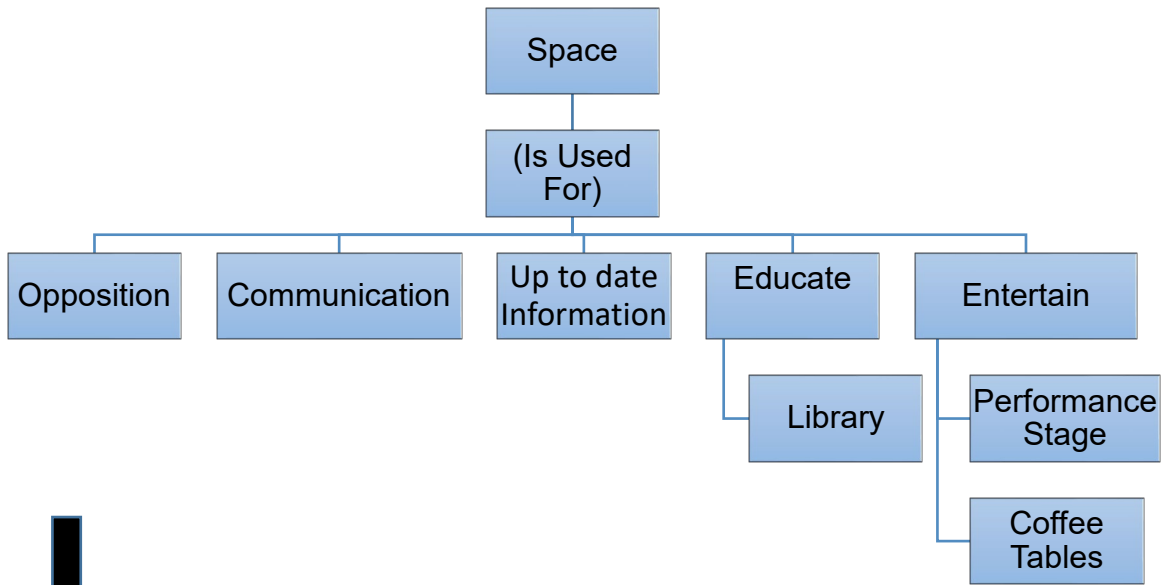
Two-years Negotiation: Rational (X is a reason for doing Y)

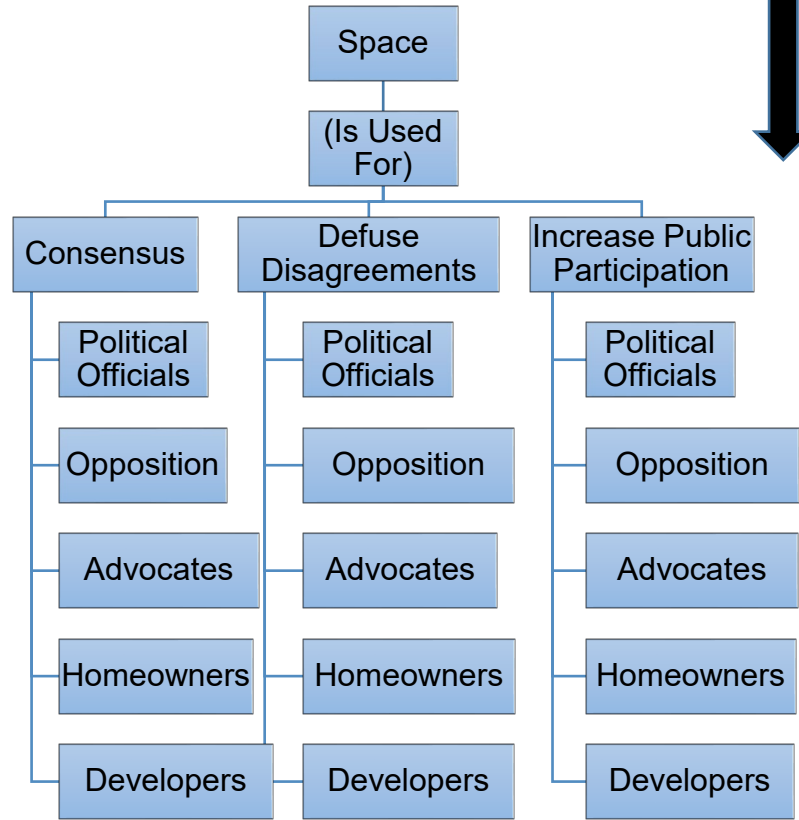
APPENDIX D

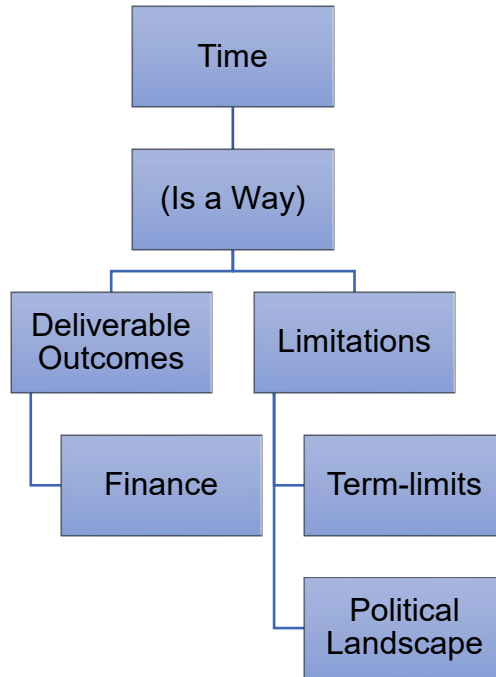
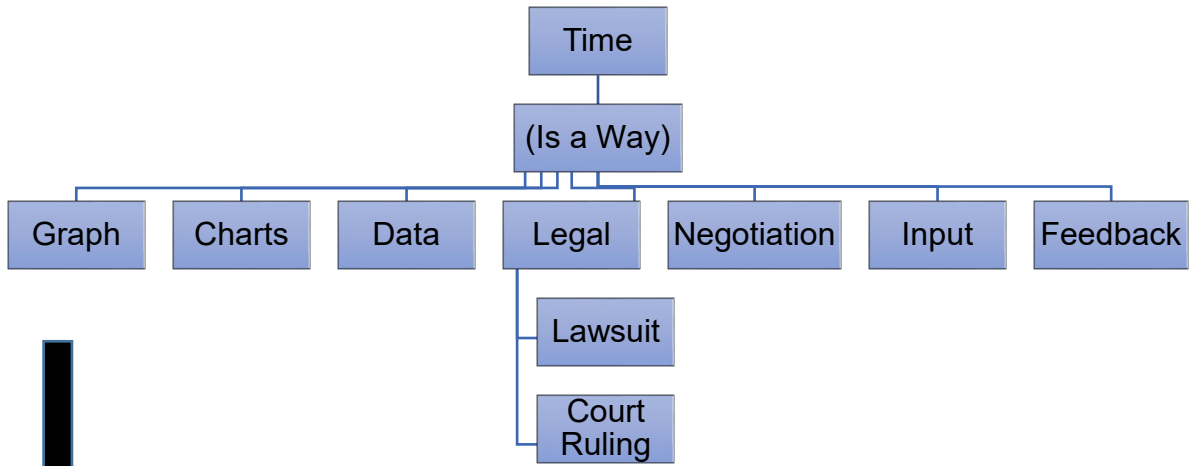
CUMULATIVE CHARTS SHOWING COMMUNICATION, SPACE AND TIME

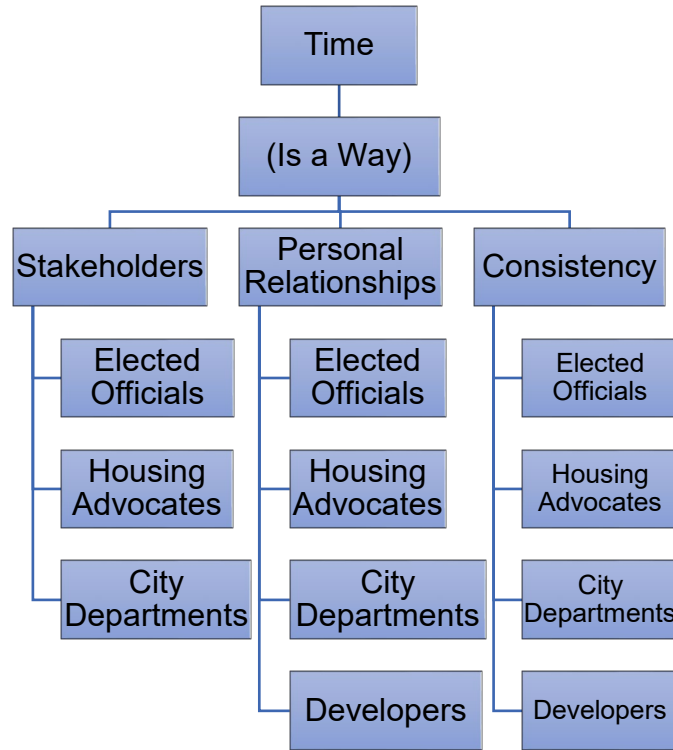












BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abram, Simone A. 2000. "Planning the Public: Some Comments on Empirical Problems for Planning Theory." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 19, no. 4: 351-57.
- Albuquerque Housing Authority. 2021. *Public Housing*. May 19. Accessed May 19, 2021. <https://abqha.org/public-housing/>.
- Arnstein, Sherry R. 1969. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35, no. 4: 216-24.
- Austin, Rory Allan. 2002. "Seats That May Not Matter: Testing for Racial Polarization in U.S. City Councils." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 3: 481-508.
- Barber, Benjamin R. 1984. *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Bohman, James, Simone Chambers, Thomas Christiano, Archon Fung, Dennis F. Thompson, and Mark E. Warren. 2013. "A systemic approach to deliberative democracy." In *Deliberative systems: deliberative democracy at the large scale*, by John Parkinson and Jane J. Mansbridge, 1-26. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Booher, D. E., and J. E. Innes. 2002. "Network Power In Collaborative Planning." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21, no. 3 (2002): 221-36.
- Bovaird, Tony. 2007. "Beyond Engagement And Participation: User And Community Coproduction Of Public Services." *Public Administration Review* 67, no. 5: 846-60.
- Bratt, Rachel G. 2006. Michael E. Stone, and Chester Hartman. *A Right to Housing: Foundation for a New Social Agenda*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Bratt, Rachel. G., and W. D. Keating. 1993. "Federal Housing Policy and Hud: Past Problems and Future Prospects of a Beleaguered Bureaucracy." *Urban Affairs Review* 29, no. 1: 3-27.
- Briarbend Community Improvement Association (BCIA). 2016. "Minutes February 9, 2016." *Briarbend.org*. February 2016. <http://briarbend.org/files/16-02-09%20BCIA%20Board%20Minutes.pdf>.
- Brooks, Michael P. 1996. "Planning and Political Power: Towards a Strategy for Coping." In *Exploration in Planning Theory*, by Seymour J Mandelbaum, Luigi Mazza, & Robert W. Burchell, 430-447. New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research.
- Buchanan, James M., and Gordon Tullock. 1962. *The Calculus of Consent, Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Burby, Raymond J. 2003. "Making Plans That Matter: Citizen Involvement and

- Government Action." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 69, no. 1: 33-49.
- Carp, Jana. 2004. "Wit, Style, and Substance: How Planners Shape Public Participation." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 3, no. 23: 242-54.
- Castells, Manuel. 1977. *The Urban Question*. Cambridge, Mass., Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Chang, Ha-Joon. 2011. "The Economic Theory of the Development State." In *Readings in Urban Theory*, 424-439. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Chess, Caron. 2000. "Evaluating Environmental Public Participation: Methodological Questions." *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 43, no. 6 : 769-84.
- Chicago Housing Authority. 2022. *Public Housing*. May 18. Accessed May 19, 2022.
<https://www.thecha.org/residents/public-housing>.
- Houston Chronicle. 2016. *Mayor comes out against housing project near Galleria*. August 01.
Accessed May 23, 2022. <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/business/real-estate/article/Mayor-comes-out-against-housing-project-near-9020777.php>.
- City of Houston . 2018. *Multifamily Development Manual* . Retrieved from HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT:
<https://houstontx.gov/housing/multifamily.html>.
- Clift, Ben, and Cornelia Woll. 2012. "Economic patriotism: reventing control over open markets." *Journal of European Public Policy* 307-323.
- Clavel, Pierre. 2007. "The Evolution Of Advocacy Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60, no. 2. 146-49.
- Craw, Michael. 2017. "Exit, Voice, and Neighborhood Change: Evaluating the Effect of Sub-local Governance in Little Rock." *Urban Affairs Review* 55 (2): 501-529.
- Creswell, John W. 2009. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Third. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Corburn, Jason. 2003. Bringing Local Knowledge into Environmental Decision Making: Improving Urban Planning for Communities at Risk. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 22(4): 420-433.
- Dallas Housing Authority. 2022. *Search Properties*. May 18. Accessed May 2022, 2022.
<https://dhantx.com/applicants-residents/residential-communities/search-properties/>.
- Davidoff, Paul. 2012. "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning." In *Readings in Planning Theory*, 191-205. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Dawkins, Casey. 2018. "Toward Common Ground In The U.S Fair Housing Debate." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 40, no 4: 745-493.
- DeLuca, Stefanie, Philip M. E., and Peter Rosenblatt. 2013. "Segregating Shelter: How Housing Policies Shape the Residential Locations of Low-Income Minority Families." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of*

- Political and Social Science* 647, no. 1: 268–99.
- De Neufville, Judith I., and Stephen E. Barton. 1987. "Myths and the definition of policy problems: An exploration of home ownership and public-private partnerships." *Policy Sciences* 20 (3): 181-206.
- Denton, Nancy. 2006. "Segregation and Discrimination in Housing." In *A Right to Housing: Foundation for a New Social Agenda*, edited by Rachel G. Bratt, Michael Stone, and Chester Hartman, 61-81. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Desmond, Matthew. 2016. *Evicted*. New York: Broadway Books.
- Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 2011. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Dreier, Peter. 2006. "Federal Housing Subsidies: Who Benefits and Why?." In *A Right to Housing: Foundation for a New Social Agenda*, edited by Rachel G. Bratt, Michael Stone, and Chester Hartman, 105-138. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1978. *On Sociology And The Black Community*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Ellen, Ingrid G, and Keren M Horn. 2018. "Points for Place: Can State Government Shape Siting Patterns of Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Developments?" *Housing Policy Debate* 1-19.
- Ellen, Ingrid E, Keren Horn, Yiwen Kuai, Roman Pazuniak, and Michael Williams. 2015. *Effects of QAP Incentives on the Location of LIHTC Properties*. Multi-Disciplinary Research Team Report, Falls Church : U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of Policy Development and Research.
- Elliott, Rebecca. 2016. *Federal housing agency launches civil rights investigation of city's housing practices*. September 09. Accessed May 23, 2022. <https://www.chron.com/politics/houston/article/Federal-housing-agency-launches-investigation-of-9213463.php>.
- Erickson, David J. 2006. "Community Capitalism: How Housing Advocates, the Private Sector, and Government." *Journal of Policy History* 18 (2): 167-204.
- Fainstein, Susan 2012. "Planning Theory and the City." In *Readings in Planning Theory*, 159-175. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Fainstein, Susan S. 2010. *The Just City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Field, Charles G. 1997. "Building Consensus for Affordable Housing." *Housing Policy Debate* 8 (4): 801-832.
- Filner, M. F. 2006. "The Limits of Participatory Empowerment: Assessing the Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program." *State and Local Government Review* 38, no. 2: 67-77.
- Fisher, Roger. 1994. "Deter, Compel, or Negotiate?" *Negotiation Journal*, 10, no. 1: 17-32.
- Fogleson, Richard E. 1986. *Planning the Capitalist City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Forester, John. 2012. "Challenges of Deliberation and Participation." In

- Readings in Planning Theory*, 206-209. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Forester, John. 2013 *Planning in the Face of Conflict: The Surprising Possibilities of Facilitative Leadership*. Chicago, Illinois: American Planning Association Planners Press.
- Forester, John. 2006. "Making Participation Work When Interests Conflict: Moving From Facilitating Dialogue And Moderating Debate To Mediating Negotiations." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 72, no. 4: 447-56.
- Forester, John. 1999. *The Deliberative Practitioner Encouraging Participatory Planning Processes*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Forester, John. 1989 *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 2007. *The Politics of Truth*. Los Angeles, California: Semiotext(e).
- Freeman, Lance. 2002. "Subsidized Housing and Neighborhood Impacts: A Theoretical Discussion and Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Planning Literature* 16 (3): 359-378.
- Frisco City Council. 2010. *Feb 16, 2010 Frisco - City Council*. February 16. <https://friscotx.new.swagit.com/videos/17629?ts=8646>.
- Galster, George. 2011. "The Mechanism(s) of Neighbourhood Effects: Theory, Evidence, and Policy Implications." In *Neighbourhood Effects Research: New Perspectives*, by Maarten van Ham, David Manley, Nick Bailey, Ludi Simpson and Maclennan Duncan, 23-56. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Galster, George, Peter Tatian, and Pettit. 2004. "Supportive Housing and Neighborhood Property Value Externalities." *Land Economics* 80 (1): 33-54.
- Glass, James J. 1979. "Citizen Participation in Planning: The Relationship Between Objectives and Techniques." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 2: 180-89.
- Goetz, Edward G. 2013. *New Deal Ruins Race, Economic Justice, and Public Housing Policy*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Goetz, Edward G., and Mara Sidney. 1994. "Revenge Of The Property Owners: Community Development and the Politics of Property." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 16, no. 4: 319-34.
- Grigsby, Sharon. 2019. "Frisco is booming, but here's what keeps its city manager up at night." *The Dallas Morning News*. May 22. <https://www.dallasnews.com/opinion/commentary/2019/05/22/frisco-is-booming-but-heres-what-keeps-its-city-manager-up-at-night/>.
- Groover, Heidi. 2016. "The First-Ever YIMBY Conference Is Happening Right Now." *theStranger.com*. June 17. Accessed July 01, 2019. <https://www.thestranger.com/slog/2016/06/17/24227713/the-first-ever-yimby-conference-is-happening-right-now>.
- Habermas, Jurgen. 2001. *On the Pragmatics of Social Interaction: Preliminary Studies in the Theory of Communicative Action*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

- Habermas, Jurgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Mass., Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Habermas, Jurgen. 1984. *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Vol. 1 & 2. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press.
- Hamera, Judith. 2011. "Performance Ethnography." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 120-140. Los Angeles: SAGE Publishing.
- Handley, Donna Milam, and Michael Howell-Moroney. 2010. "Ordering Stakeholder Relationships and Citizen Participation: Evidence from the Community Development Block Grant Program." *Public Administration Review* 70, no. 4: 601-09.
- Hartman, Chester. 1975. *Housing and Social Policy*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Harvey, David. 2001. *Spaces of Capital*. New York: Routledge.
- Harvey, David. 1976. "Labor, Capital, and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies." *Politics & Society* 6, no. 3: 265-95.
- Healey, Patsy. 2012a. "Traditions of Planning Thought." In *Readings in Planning Theory*, 214-233. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Healey, Patsey. 2012b. Communicative Planning: Practices, Concepts, and Rhetorics. In B. Sanyal, L. Vale, & C. Rosan (Eds.), *Planning Ideas that Matter* (pp. 333-358). Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Healey, Patsy. 2003. "Collaborative Planning in Perspective." *Planning Theory* 2, no. 2: 101-23. Accessed March 19, 2015. <http://plt.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/2/2/101>.
- Healey, Patsy. 1992. "Planning through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory." *Town Planning Review* 63, no. 2: 143-62.
- Housing Authority City of Los Angeles. 2022. *Property Listing*. May 18. Accessed May 18, 2022. <https://www.hacla.org/en/about-section-8/property-listings>.
- Housing Authority of the City of Austin. 2021. *Public & Subsidized Housing*. May 19. Accessed May 19, 2022. <https://www.hacanet.org/residents/public-housing/>.
- Housing Authority of the City of El Paso. 2022. *Programs*. May 18. Accessed May 2022, 2022. <https://www.ehome.org/housing/index.php>.
- Houston Housing Authority. 2022. *Mixed Income*. May 18. Accessed May 18, 2022. <https://housingforhouston.com/housing-communities/mixed-income/>.
- Housingforhouston.com. 2020. *Mixed Income Housing*. August 01. <https://housingforhouston.com/housing-communities/mixed-income/>.
- Housingforhouston.com. 2014. *Houston Housing Authority Board of Commissioner Meeting March 11, 2014 2100 Memorial, Houston, Tx 77007*. Retrieved from Houston Housing Authority: <https://housingforhouston.com/leadership/board-meeting-schedule/>
- Houstontx.gov. 2020. *Housing and Community Development Department*. August 3. <https://houstontx.gov/housing/index.html>.

- Huxley, Margo. 2000. "The Limits to Communicative Planning." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 19, no. 4: 369-77.
- Immergluck, Dan. 2008. "Out Of The Goodness Of Their Hearts? Regulatory And Regional Impacts On Bank Investment In Housing And Community Development In The United States." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 30, no. 1: 1-20.
- Innes, Judith E. 2016. "Viewpoint Collaborative Rationality for Planning Practice." *Town Planning Review* 87, no. 1: 1-4.
- Innes, Judith E. 2004. "Consensus Building: Clarification for the Critics." *Planning Theory* 3 (1): 5-20.
- Innes, Judith E., and David E. Booher. 2006. "Collaborative Rationality As A Strategy for Working With Wicked Problems." *Landscape and Urban Planning* 154 (October 2016): 8-10.
- Innes, Judith J. 1996. "Group Process and the Social Construction of Growth Management: Florida, Vermont, and New Jersey." In *Exploration in Planning Theory*, by Seymour J Mandelbaum, Luigi Mazza, & Robert W. Burchell, 164-187. New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research.
- Irvin, Renee A., and John Stansbury. 2004 "Citizen Participation In Decision Making: Is It Worth The Effort?" *Public Administration Review* 64, no. 1: 55-65.
- Julian, Elizabeth K, Ann Lott, and Demetria McCain. 2017. "The Houston Chronicle." *Why Houston Remains Segregated* . February 16. <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/local/gray-matters/article/Why-Houston-remains-segregated-10935311.php>.
- Kaza, Nikhil. 2006. "Tyranny of the Median and Costly Consent: A Reflection on the Justification for Participatory Urban Planning Processes." *Planning Theory* 5, no. 3: 255-70.
- Klosterman, Richard. 2013. "Lessons Learned About Planning: Forecasting, Participation, and Technology." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 79, no. 2.
- Kofler, Shelly. 2014. "Low-Income Housing In High-Income Frisco Is Breaking Stereotypes." *KERA NEWS*. February 19. <https://www.keranews.org/texas-news/2014-02-19/low-income-housing-in-high-income-frisco-is-breaking-stereotypes>.
- Lake, Robert W. 2007. "Planners' Alchemy Transforming NIMBY to YIMBY: Rethinking NIMBY." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 87-93.
- Laurian, L., and M. M. Shaw. 2008. "Evaluation of Public Participation: The Practices of Certified Planners." *Journal of Planning Education and Research*: 293-309.
- Liebow, Elliot. 1967. *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company .
- Lindblom, Charles. 2012. "The Science of "Muddling Through"" In *Readings in Planning Theory*, 176-190. 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Linovaski, Orly. 2016. "Politics of Expertise: Constructing Professional Design Knowledge in the Public and Private Sectors." *Journal of Planning*

- Education and Research* 36 (4): 451-464.
- Loh, Carolyn G. 2012. "Four Potential Disconnects in the Community Planning Process." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 32, no. 1: 33-47
- Machell, Erin, Troy Reinhalter, and Karen Chapple. 2009. *Building Support for Transit-Oriented Development: Do Community-Engagement Toolkits Work?* Government, Berkeley: UC Berkeley: University of California Transportation Center.
- Mandelbaum, Seymour J. 1996. "Ethical Mandates and the Virtue of Prudence ." In *Exploration in Planning Theory*, by Seymour J Mandelbaum, Luigi Mazza, & Robert W. Burchell, 430-447. New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research.
- Mandelbaum, Seymour J. 1996. "Open Moral Communities." In *Explorations in Planning Theory*, by Seymour J Mandelbaum, Luigi Mazza, & Robert W. Burchell, 83-104. New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research.
- Mapuva, Jephias. 2015. "Citizen Participation, Mobilisation and Contested Participatory Spaces." *International Journal of Political Science and Development* 3, no. 10: 405-415.
- Martin, Florian. 2015. *City Of Houston Sued Over Ballot Language For Term Limit Change*. Retrieved from Houston Public Media: <https://www.houstonpublicmedia.org/articles/news/2015/11/19/128113/city-of-houston-sued-over-ballot-language-for-term-limit-change/>
- McClure, Kirk. 2017. "The Future of Housing Policy: Fungibility of Rental Housing Programs to Better Fit With Market Need." *Housing Policy Debate* (Routledge Taylor and Francis Group) 27, no. 3: 486-489.
- McClure, Kirk. 2006. "The low-income housing tax credit program goes mainstream and moves to the suburbs." *Housing Policy Debate* 17 (3): 419-446.
- Meehan, Eugene. 1985. "The Evolution of Public Housing Policy." In *Federal Housing Policy and Programs: Past and Present*, edited by J. Paul Mitchell. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1985.
- Mitchell, J. Paul. 1985. "Historic Overview of Direct Federal Housing Assistance." In *Federal Housing Policy and Programs: Past and Present*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Center for Urban Policy Research.
- Motley, Carol M., and Vanessa Gail Perry. 2013. "Living on the Other Side of the Tracks: An Investigation of Public Housing Stereotypes." *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 48-58.
- National Weather Service. 2016. *South Texas Heavy Rain and Severe Weather Event - March 9th, 2016*. March 9. https://www.weather.gov/crp/severe_flood_160309.
- Neuman, Michael. 2000. "Communicate This! Does Consensus Lead to Advocacy and Pluralism?" *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 19, no. 4: 343-50.
- New York City Housing Authority. 2022. *Need Housing*. May 18. Accessed May 18, 2022. <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nycha/eligibility/eligibility.page>.

- Nguyen, Mai Thi. 2005. "Does Affordable Housing Detrimentially Affect Property Values? A Review of the Literature." *Journal of Planning Literature* 20 (1): 15-26.
- Ortiz, Alvaro. 2017. *Fate Of Controversial Mixed Income Apartment Complex Near The Galleria Is Still Up In The Air*. January 18. Accessed May 22, 2022. <https://www.houstonpublicmedia.org/articles/news/2017/01/18/184061/fate-of-controversial-mixed-income-apartment-complex-near-the-galleria-is-still-up-in-the-air/>.
- Oyez.org. 2015. *Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v Inclusive Communities Project, Inc.* June 25. Accessed November 1, 2018. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2014/13-1371>.
- Palm, Matthew, and Deb Niemeier. 2017. "Achieving Regional Housing Planning Objectives: Directing Affordable Housing to Jobs-Rich Neighborhoods in the San Francisco Bay Area." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 377-388.
- Palm, Matthew, and Debbie Niemeier. 2016. *The Effect that State and Federal Housing Policies Have on Vehicle Miles of Travel*. Government , Davis: UC Davis: National Center for Sustainable Transportation.
- Pendall, Rolf. 1999. "Opposition to Housing: NIMBY and Beyond." *Urban Affairs Review* 35 (1): 112-36.
- Poulantzas, Nicos. 1973. *Political Power and Social Classes*. London: New Left Books and Sheed and Ward.
- Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York City, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Quick, K. S., and M. S. Feldman. 2011. "Distinguishing Participation And Inclusion." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 3: 272-90.
- Rocha, Elizabeth. 1997. "A Ladder of Empowerment." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 17 (1): 31-44.
- Rohe, William M., and Lance Freeman. 2001. "Assisted housing and residential segregation: The role of race and ethnicity in the siting of assisted housing developments." *The Journal of American Planning Association* 67 (3): 279-292.
- Rothstein, Richard. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York, New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation.
- Rubin, Herbert. 1993 "Public Understanding the Ethos of Community-Based Development: Ethnographic Description for Public Administrators." *Public Administration Review* 53, no. 3: 428-37.
- Saldaña, Johnny, and Matt Omasta. 2018. *Qualitative Research: Analyzing Life*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- San Antonio Housing Authority. 2022. *Public Housing*. May 19. Accessed May 19, 2022. <https://saha.org/housing/find-a-home/public-housing/>.
- San Francisco Housing Authority. 2022. *Public Housing*. May 19. Accessed May 19, 2022. <https://sfha.org/housing-programs/public-housing>.
- Sarmiento, Carolina S, and J. Revel Sims. 2015. "Façades of Equitable

- Development: Santa Ana and the Affordable Housing Complex." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 323-336.
- Scally, Corianne. 2012. "The Nuances of NIMBY: Context and Perceptions of Affordable Rental Housing Development." *Urban Affairs Review* 49 (5): 718-747.
- Scally, Corianne, and Rosie Tighe. 2015. "Democracy in Action? NIMBY as Impediment to Equitable Affordable Housing Siting." *Housing Studies* 30 (5): 749-769.
- Schutz, Alfred. 1970. *On Phenomenology and Social Relations*. Edited by Helmut R. Wagner. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Schwartz, Alex, Kirk McClure, and Lydia B. Taghavi. 2016. "Vouchers and Neighborhood Distress: The Unrealized Potential for Families With Housing Choice Vouchers To Reside in Neighborhoods With Low Levels of Distress." *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research* (U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development) 18, no. 3. 207-226.
- Schwartz, Alex F. 2010. *Housing Policy in the United States*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Shah, Paru. 2013. "It Takes a Black Candidate: A Supply-Side Theory of Minority Representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 67, no. 2: 266-79.
- Sharp, E. B. 2009. "Local Government, Social Programs, and Political Participation: A Test of Policy-Centered Theory." *State and Local Government Review* 41, no. 3: 182-92.
- Silverman, Robert Mark, and Kelly L. Patterson. 2015. *Qualitative Research Methods for Community Development*. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, Michael Peter. 2011. "Transnationalism and Citizenship." In *Readings in Urban Theory*, by Susan S. Fainstein and Scott Campbell, 377-394. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Spradley, James P. 1980. *Participant Observation*. Belmont: Wadsworth Thompson Learning.
- Spradley, James P. 1979. *The Ethnographic Interview*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Stein, Stanley M., and Thomas. L. Harper. 2011 "Creativity and Innovation: Divergence and Convergence in Pragmatic Dialogical Planning." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 32, no. 1: 5-17.
- Stopfountainview.org. 2018. *Stopfountainview.org*. Stopfountainview.org.
- Susskind, Lawrence, and Susan L. Podziba. 1999. "Affordable Housing Mediation: Building Consensus for Regional Agreement in the Hartford Area." In *The Consensus Building Handbook: A Comprehensive Guide To Reaching Agreement*, edited by Lawrence Susskind, Sarah McKernan and Jennifer Thomas-Larmer, 773-799. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Thomas, Nancy. 2014. "Democracy by Design." *Journal of Public Deliberation* 10, no. 1: 1-6.
- Tighe, J. Rosie. 2010. "Public Opinion and Affordable Housing: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of Planning Literature* 25 (1): 3-17

- Tighe, J. Rosie. 2012. "How Race and Class Stereotyping Shapes Attitudes Towards Affordable Housing." *Housing Studies* 27 (7): 962-983.
- Tewdwr-Jones, Mark, and Philip Allmendinger. 1998. "Deconstructing Communicative Rationality: A Critique of Habermasian Collaborative Planning." *Environment. Planning. Environment and Planning A* 30, no. 11: 1975-989.
- The Dallas Morning News. 2013. "Grand opening held for affordable housing complex in Frisco." *The Dallas Morning News*. November 15. <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/2013/11/16/grand-opening-held-for-affordable-housing-complex-in-frisco/>.
- Umemoto, Karen, and Hiroki Igarashi. 2009. "Deliberative Planning in a Multicultural Milieu." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 29, no. 1: 39-53.
- United Nations Higher Commissioner for Human Rights. 1948a. *American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man*. Resolution, Bogota: United Nations.
- United Nations Higher Commissioner for Human Rights. 1948b. *American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man*. Resolution, Bogota: United Nations.
- United Nations Higher Commissioner for Human Rights. 1989. *Convention of the Rights of the Child*. Resolution, Geneva: United Nations .
- United Nations Higher Commissioner for Human Rights. 1979. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*. Resolution, Geneva: United Nations .
- United Nations Higher Commissioner for Human Rights. 1966. *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. Resolution, Geneva: United Nations.
- United Nations Higher Commissioner for Human Rights. 1965. *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*. Resolutions, Geneva: United Nations.
- United States Census Bureau. *American Fact Finder: zip code 77057*. 2010-2018. https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml# (accessed November 20, 2019).
- . *American Fact Finder: zip code 75034*. 2010-2018. https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml# (accessed November 20, 2019).
- Verba, Sidney, and Norman H. Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York, New York: Harper & Row.
- Wadsworth, Krista. 2013. "Frisco low-income housing at capacity." *The Community Impact Newspaper*. December 03. <https://communityimpact.com/austin/news/2013/12/03/frisco-low-income-housing-at-capacity>.
- Weber, Max. 2011. "Bureacracy." In *Classics of Organization Theory*, by Jay M. Shafritz, J. Steven Ott and Yong Suk Jang, 77-82. Boston: Wadsworth.

- Weber, Max. 1949. *The Methodology Of The Social Sciences*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
- Williamson, Oliver E. 2011. "The Economics of Organization: The Transaction Cost Approach." In *Classics of Organization Theory*, by Jay M. Shafritz, J. Steven Ott and Yong Suk Jang, 255-262. Boston, MA: Wadsworth.
- Yin, Robert K. 2014. *Case Study Research 5th edition: Design and Methods*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Young, Iris Marion. 2000. *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.