

Citizen Participation in Urban Planning

Final Report



Part 2:

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Bogotá, Columbia: Case Study

Introduction

Bogotá, the capital district of Columbia, is considered a model for innovation in urban management and mobility for large metropolitan areas. Currently, just under 8.2 million people live within the city limits of Bogotá and over 9.8 million in the metro area. Since the 1990s, Bogotá's population has almost doubled while the city's surrounding areas have grown by 2.8 times (Guzman, Oviedo, & Bocarejo, 2017).

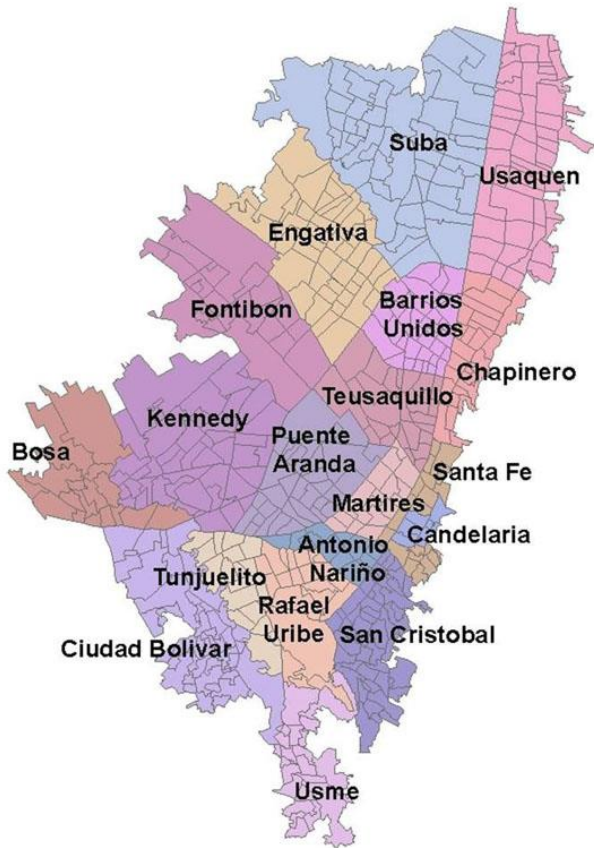
The rapid increase in population led to a pressing need for city planning to keep pace with its people. Bogotá implemented a series of urban development projects that established a culture of citizenship and increased access and use of mass transportation (Bocarejo and Tafur, 2013); however, it still faces challenges in urban planning. Like Mexico City, Bogotá experiences sporadic, unorganized development in the city borders that spills into neighboring municipalities outside of the metropolitan area. Although the mountain ranges contain some of the sprawl, difficulties remain in transportation and mobility for the city's residents. Lack of affordable housing in the city contributes to urban sprawl and obliges citizens to compromise their quality of life and settle in neighborhoods that lack access to public parks, major roadways, or mass transport.

In recent years, Bogotá worked to revive a sense of community through "citizenship" campaigns. An example of private organizations engaging citizen participation in Bogotá may be seen in the campaign, Bogotá, Te Doy Mi Palabra (Bogotá, I give you my word). The Chamber of Commerce of Bogotá leads this initiative and partners with an organization, ProBogotá Región, to increase the level of commitment from the citizens. The aim of this campaign is to foster an inclusive city by developing a sense of responsibility from citizens by small acts of change. Though it is not a direct contributor of citizen participation within the planning process, the campaign seeks to increase the commitment to citizenship and awareness of one's community (Chamber of Commerce of Bogotá, 2018).

Bogotá became a capital district administered by the central government, with a mayor appointed directly by the president and a bipartisan municipal council elected by popular vote in 1950. The city was also granted financial autonomy from the Department of Cundinamarca. Participation was strengthened in 1968 as President Lleras Restrepo established a structure that allowed the mayor and city council to be elected by popular vote, a structure that is still in use today (Skinner, 2004).

Bogotá is a special district of Colombia, and the city is organized into sub-municipal units called localidades, or localities (see Figure 1). Each locality has its own mayor and local governance. The northeastern localities, such as Usaquen and Chapinero, tend to be more affluent than those in the south, which are largely impoverished. Remaining areas fall in the middle- and low-classes with some wealthy neighborhoods nestled in Suba, Barrios Unidos, Teusaquillo (Escobar, 2012). As each locality has its own administrative system, each one also has its own concerns and challenges about planning.

Figure 1. Localities of Bogotá (Escobar, 2012)



Though there were attempts to develop regional master plans of urban development, the city ignored the need for a master plan or geographical considerations, and long-term planning decisions failed to materialize (Guzman, Oviedo, & Bocarejo, 2017). As decentralization occurred during the 1990s, the national government granted local authority to the city to provide public services. In Bogotá, Mayor Antanas Mockus focused his efforts on supporting a culture of citizenship, increasing the numbers of staff in municipal districts and instituting participatory processes in the local development process (Skinner, 2003).

To understand where citizen participation occurs in planning for Bogotá, it is important to keep in mind how the municipal and sub-municipal units of government function. The city government is divided into three branches. The Consejo Distrital (District Council) functions as the legislative section, the Tribunal Superior is the judicial section, and the executive is the Alcalde Mayor or city mayor. The District Council of Bogotá is the supreme authority of the capital district and an administrative agency. The council discusses and intervenes in all areas related to the city government. It is composed of forty-five popularly elected members of different political parties and interest groups with two primary functions: regulation and administration. Members may serve on three permanent committees: land-use development and regulation, government, and housing and public credits.

The Land-Use Development and Regulation Commission is responsible for exercising the functions of administrative and regulatory activity for the planning, environment, mobility, and habitat sectors. This commission concentrates its activities on issues such as the approval of the land use plan (POT), the regulation of traffic, transport and road safety and the regulation of land use and public space, among other aspects (Bogotá Cómo Vamos, Concejo de Bogotá, 2014).

The Alcaldía Central administers the District through fifteen sectors with linked and attached entities. The Secretaria de Planeación Distrital (SDP) is the urban planning entity of The Alcaldía's central government. The Alcaldía has also ascribed entities such as the Instituto Distrital de Participación y Acción Comunal (IDPAC) and Instituto de Desarrollo Urbano (IDU) that are often involved in planning (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá).

Under the Alcaldía Mayor, the area is divided into the twenty local districts or *localidades*. These are sub-municipal level bodies involved in urban planning as well as other areas. Each *localidad* has an alcalde or mayor of its own and a Junta Administradora Local (JAL). These JALs serve as administrative councils for the locality.

Urban Planning Policy Context

The Political Constitution of Colombia recognizes citizen participation as a fundamental right that is promoted throughout government institutions. This political dynamic plays an instrumental role in government administrations to emphasize the need for involvement. It is important to highlight that although the Planning Institute and Participation Office was not the first institution to strategize participation efforts, it is firmly rooted in Colombia's efforts to prioritize citizen participation.

In development of this right, the State is responsible for generating mechanisms and offering spaces for dialogue that guarantee citizen involvement in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of public policies and planning processes. The District System of Citizen Participation was established to provide the constitutional and legal right to citizens in the form of participating in the discussion, formulation, and evaluation of public policies of Bogotá (Decree 448, 2007). The overall goal of this system is to manage and promote a democratic culture through various means of strengthening active citizenship. Objectives focus on deepening relationships between the state and its citizens by coordinating participation and engaging citizens in policy formulation and participatory budgeting, among others.

Urban planning in Bogotá takes place through a hybrid system, with individual land use and development plans that were conceived independently and therefore face difficulties regarding execution. Bogotá's autonomy from Cundinamarca grants the municipality authority to develop the city's main urban planning instruments: Plan de Desarrollo (Development Plan), Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (land use plan) or POT, and the city budget (Salazar Ferro, 2007; Brugman 2017). The POT and Development Plan are both created by the city through the Secretariat of Planning (SDP).

Article 10 of the decree in the constitution outlines the authorities of agencies and entities responsible from the formulation to the execution of participation in institutional, communities, social organizations

in public decisions at the Capital District. These authorities include El Concejo de Bogotá (The Council of Bogotá), El Alcalde(sa) Mayor (The Mayor), El Consejo de Gobierno Distrital (The District Government Council), Secretaría de Gobierno del Distrito Capital (The Secretariat of Government of the Capital District), El Instituto Distrital de Participación y Acción Comunal (The District Institute of Participation), and other offices, entities, or organizations involved in the Capital District (Decree 448, 2007).

In hopes of alleviating poverty and informal settlements, the government recently modified programs, policies, and plans like the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT). The Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT) is the land use plan for Bogotá. The establishment of the following regulations occurred at the local level through *The Case of Bogotá, D.C., Colombia* report:

“Law 388, 1997 concerning Territorial Ordering: this puts together the principles for planning and territorial administration that must be used by local authorities, with the supposed participation of civilians and the state, in coordination with centralised entities, with the objective of improving the quality of life of the population.”

“Law 563, 2000: This law states that any citizen or organised group has the right and the obligation to participate as observers, in order to have access to all the public information in which they are interested. In this way, a participatory mechanism of social control is activated (Rueda-Garcia, 2003).”

These two laws establish the need for participation in urban planning and administration at the local level. Additionally, *Law 563* guarantees the right of citizens or groups of citizens to participate as informed observers in order ensure that these participatory processes are activated.

The urban planning rules embodied in the land use plan aim to transform Bogotá in the architectural, the urban, and the aesthetic senses based on a vision of the socioeconomic structure that supports and promotes quality of life in the city (Lo Esencial del POT, 2017). The land use plan also defines programs and projects that can stem from the policies, objectives, and strategies of the territory. Of interest are those related to the historical buildings, housing, and areas destined for urban renovation.

The land use plan spans twelve years and requires subsequent planning processes and procedures to take the land use plan into consideration to ensure the visions at a neighborhood, locality, and municipal level are all aligned with the land-use plan and each other (Brugman, 2017). The formulation of the land use plan is a process of participation and agreement between the Bogotá Mayor's office, private actors such as unions of various sectors, and the public. It is done in three stages: citizen formulation, inter-institutional concertation process, and consultation approval process (Yo Voto Yo Sumo, 2018).

Citizens' right to participate in land-use plans are also legally mandated through *Article 4* of the 1997 constitution. These include the ability to hold public hearings; exercise action on compliance; intervene in the formulation, discussion, and execution of the plans and in the processes of granting, modifying, suspending, or revoking planning licenses.

The land use plan also established Planning Zone Units, which are planning instruments that form public regulation for a set of neighborhoods that present common characteristics in their urban development, as well as in their active uses and activities. The zone units exist to specify and complement the urban policies of the city from a local scale and with the participation of citizens.

Following the formulation of the POT, the Development Plan functions as a roadmap for the city administration, defining the direction the city will take for four years that must include measurable and quantifiable proposals (Yo Voto Yo Sumo, 2017). In 2016, the Mayor Enrique Peñalosa submitted the current economic, social, environmental, and public work development plan titled “Bogotá Mejor Para Todos: 2016-2020” (translated to Bogotá Better for Everyone: 2016-2020) to the District Council (Consejo Distrital) for approval.

The Development Plan reflects proposals prepared by both government and citizen input. The current Development Plan proposed for city operations to be administered based on three main pillars: equality in the quality of life, urban democracy, and construction of citizenship (Plan de Desarrollo: Bogotá Mejor Para Todos, 2016). Upon the approval of the plan, institutions in the city government, including the Secretariat of Planning, must align their budgets and activities to reflect what is stipulated in the project (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2016).

Institutional Arrangements

The municipal government of Bogotá is decentralized and therefore urban planning processes and decisions are carried out by different agencies and actors. For example, the Secretariat of Planning is mostly responsible for the creation of the land use and development plans, while the Urban Development Institute (IDU) focuses on areas related to the development of infrastructure for mobility (IDU, 2018). In 2013, the Municipal Secretariat of Planning (SDP) became responsible for developing functions that aim to guide and lead the formulation and monitoring of policies and territorial, economic, social and environmental planning of the city. One of the principal functions of the secretariat lies in the coordination of the capital district with the local scope for the formulation of policies and joint development plans. The secretariat is also responsible for creating the land use plan (POT).

The SDP works together with other municipal sectors to guide and lead the formulation and monitoring of policies on territorial, economic, social and environmental planning of the city. One of the SDP’s main functions is ensuring district and local development plans, land use plan, and land use laws are developed in accordance with the regulations issued by the District Council and national regulations.

There are several units within the SDP that are responsible for urban planning:

- Deputy Office of Municipal Land Planning
- Deputy Office of Socioeconomic Planning
- Deputy Office of Information and Strategic Studies
- Deputy Office of Investment Planning
- Deputy Office of Legal Issues
- Deputy Office of Corporate Management

There is an office in SDP that has responsibility for participation. The Department of Participation and Communication for Planning is housed under the Deputy Office of Planning Investment, and approaches citizen participation as social responsibility and a constitutional right. Activities within the office are centered on communication and informing citizens of urban planning topics. The office implements and evaluates citizen participation strategies associated with the formulation or adjustment of planning instruments and public policy processes developed by the SDP. The department also serves as liaison between the SDP and the Consejo Territorial de Planeación Distrital (CTPD) by forming part of the selection committee and provide technical assistance.

The CTPD is a representative council of citizens involved in district planning.

In compliance with the constitutional mandate promoting citizen participation, the office proposed a participation agenda for 2018. Some of their goals include the revision of the participation strategy in the land use plan, improvements in neighborhood workshops on topics such as the urban regulations, and the appropriation of the district mobile application, "Agéndate con Bogotá" in the SDP. Likewise, this department implements and evaluates citizen participation strategies associated with the formulation or adjustment of other planning instruments and public policy processes developed by the SDP.

Participatory Budgeting

Participatory budgeting in Bogotá involves a range of methodologies and different actors. *Figure 2* depicts the decentralization of the process as various actors are involved in either influencing the participatory budgeting or those who are a part of the process. Ten percent of the city's budget is distributed among the twenty localities. The allocation between the localities is based on population and need. In the 1980s, Bogotá's first attempts to involve citizens in participatory planning was centered only on specific areas of the city. Citizens are now included on projects in all twenty localities concerning local infrastructure projects and investment plans (Brugman, 2017).

Figure 2. Actors involved in participatory budgeting



Source: Brugman, 2017

Another entity involved in citizen engagement is the District Institute of Participation and Community Action or IDPAC. While the IDPAC has its own equity and administrative autonomy, it is affiliated with the municipal government. IDPAC strives to guarantee the right to citizen participation and promote the strengthening of civil society organizations while considering the policies, plans, and programs associated with these matters (IDPAC, 2018). The institute also informs and educates the public to create social capital, a trend seen through Bogotá's municipal administrations. IDPAC is responsible for the promotion of community organization, citizen participation, and associative interest and voluntary work. The primary mission of the IDPAC is to guarantee the rights of citizen participation and strengthen social programs. Although it is a part of the government sector, IDPAC is administratively and fiscally independent (Participación Bogota, 2018).

An example of how IDPAC involves citizens can be seen in participatory budgeting. For example, participatory budgeting was utilized successfully in 2009 when a predetermined amount of money was allocated to groups under IDPAC. One priority included infrastructure projects, and others focused increasing the visibility of programs and increasing political capacity for women, youth, disabled persons,

and LGBT citizens (Brugman, 2017). Allocation of resources to these groups enabled them to spend the funds for their chosen purposes but provided a short-term impact. IDPAC's School of Participation is available online and offers courses on citizen culture, conflict resolution, and leadership. It also offers courses specific to urban planning, such as online classes on horizontal property and land use (Participación Bogotá, 2018).

Consejo Territorial de Planeación Distrital (CTPD)

The District Council for Territorial Planning serves as the representational body of civil society in the planning of the development of territorial entities and their budgets. According to the Colombian constitution, the CTPD serves as a leading figure in planning and promotes the value of participatory democracy by being the highest instance of participatory planning in Bogotá. The candidates of the CTPD are provided with a methodology and evaluation criteria by various entities. These entities include Evaluation Committees (delegates of the General Secretariat of the Mayor's Office), the District Institute of Participation and the Community Action, the District Department of Planning, the District Office of Bogotá and the District Oversight of Bogotá and are ultimately selected by the mayor (Bogotá Mejor Para Todos, 2017).

The council is autonomous yet receives logistical support to operate and is composed of 100 councilors representing twenty-two localities (this number includes two municipalities that are not officially part of Bogotá proper but are situated within the Bogotá Metropolitan Area). A permanent dialogue space exists between the SDP and CTPD. In efforts to establish equal representation the council has also established quotas for membership that include twenty-two different sectors. Indigenous, afrocolombianas, youth, women, LGBT, handicapped, civil society, environmental organizations, NGOs, and all the local urban and rural areas of the city, have seats in this council.

Neighborhood Committees

Registered Neighborhood Committees interact directly with The Department of Participation and Communication for Planning within the SDP and they provide workshops for neighborhood councils with information on how to register their committees.

Neighborhood committees are located in each locality. These committees serve as the legitimate and legal representatives of their neighborhoods who help to provide oversight to changes concerning their area. Our team interviewed a citizen of Bogotá who noted that although these neighborhood committees are given legal authority, they serve to consult and tend not to be representative of the population of their respective locality. An example of a locality which has been successful in implementing change through the neighborhood committee may be seen in Ciudad Bolívar. Although the residents in this locality are in a low socioeconomic class, the locality provides parks and other resources by managing funding opportunities outside the government like NGO services.

Methods of Engagement

The government provides opportunities for citizen participation in the urban planning process. Participation in urban planning is concentrated within planning departments and agencies at multiple levels of government. Informally, citizens can participate through initiatives led by nonprofits and civil society organizations and through private entities as well. Much of the participation in Bogotá tends to be of an informative, consultative, or deliberative nature.

Government Initiatives

Bogotá Abierta

Bogotá Abierta, a digital platform, is a government initiative for citizens to participate in the development plans. It allows people to interact and participate in the District Development Plan in different ways: they can make proposals, share proposals, and offer solutions to the challenges the city faces.

This platform corresponds to the first phase of citizen involvement in the POT by allowing citizens to participate in an online game that will guide the public and private investments of territories. In response to the question asked by the government of how they imagine Bogotá in twenty years from now, citizens create a profile in this game and provide various ideas of how to improve Bogotá. The ideas receive stars from other citizens who like the proposal, and at the end of the contest the person with the most stars will receive an award. Currently, the reward has not been announced.

There will be two types of winners: individual winners that receive the most stars and a locality winner with the highest number of stars in the collective category. This platform also allows for the government to offer ongoing opportunities for participation by providing challenges for citizens to partake in. For example, on February 1, 2018, it was Car Free Day (celebrated the first Thursday of every month), and Bogotá Abierta released an online voting poll where citizens could share what method of transportation they would be using instead of a car (Bogotá Abierta, 2018).

Local Level Participation

Interviewees from nonprofit organizations and a researcher cited the CTPD as the principal actor of citizen participation in urban planning. In order to be involved in the planning and bureaucratic aspect of planning in urban areas, CTPD researches, communicates, and provides training on issues that may influence decisions on policies, plans, or programs regarding planning in the capital (Mortati & Laguna, 2016). The CTPD is given the permanent role of evaluating and monitoring the plan at a semi-annual level. Another critical part of this group is to ensure the citizens of Bogotá are aware of the PDD and their ability to engage in the process (Brugman, 2017).

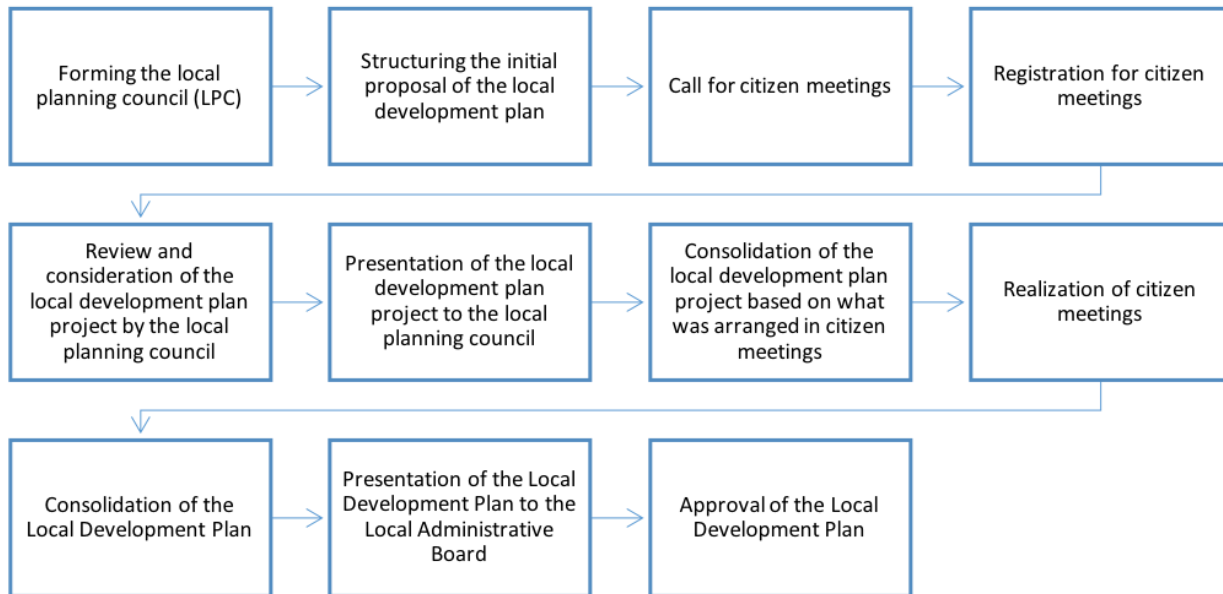
According to *Bulletin No. 29*, the CTPD recognizes the importance of citizen participation in democratic and participatory planning. They acknowledge that informal and formal methods of engagement are needed for successful participatory planning. Panels, local workshops, debate spaces, forums (on and offline) are ways that citizens are directly involved in the process. Studies show that CTPD uses a

consultative approach in their decision-making process versus allowing the citizens to partake in decisions on budget allocations or PDD (Velasquez & Gonzalez, 2011).

Development Plan & Citizens

The mayors of the localities construct Local Development Plans in collaboration with JALs and citizens. The activities designed and implemented at the level are aligned with the overall POT plan. These are planning instruments for the local administration to promote the integral development of the locality over four years. Sessions are carried out throughout the creation of the plans, and a local planning council is created to represent citizens and their interests. Figure 3 demonstrates the process required for the collaboration and approval of the local development plans including different instances for citizen input.

Figure 3. Creation of Local Development Plans



Source: YoVotoYoSumo, 2018

The current Development Plan strategy involves a participatory process that creates spaces for citizen participation through virtual and in-person mechanisms. Citizen ideas are submitted in virtual participation sessions. These are collected and paired with one of seven thematic forums that take place in-person. The ideas are then discussed in sessions among six sectors in the city. Each sector has multiple localities included during this process, and they are organized by geographic location (northern, southern, central, western, eastern, and Sumapaz).

The ideas from the in-person forums are then collected through the virtual platform *Bogotá Abierta*. In this platform, the plans are created and debated among citizens. Citizens can ask questions and provide their opinions to the panel of experts which are then systematized. Sector experts are responsible for determining the technical viability of the best ideas. Lastly, the dissemination plan involves a media campaign and a call for participation (Secretaria Distrital de Planeación, 2016).

Non-Governmental Mechanisms of Participation

Bogotá Cómo Vamos

Bogotá Cómo Vamos is a collaborative initiative composed of a nonprofit foundation, a news editorial board, a university, and the Chamber of Commerce of Bogotá that monitors the quality of life in the city by analyzing the citizen perceptions of Bogotá. The program develops and publishes technical documents such as Quality of Life Report, Citizen Perception Survey, Report on Monitoring and Evaluation of the Performance of the Bogotá Council. Methods of engagement for this program involve forums, technical work tables, and debates among citizens. This organization conducts surveys of citizen perception on an annual basis which allows citizens to evaluate government agencies. Survey results are socialized with heads of government, and some adapt their policies accordingly. The organization's website also provides valuable information on citizen's role in different urban planning processes.

ProBogotá Región

ProBogotá Región is a nonprofit foundation invested in the future and sustainable development of Bogotá. This organization provides opportunities for citizens of Bogotá to begin a dialogue among government officials by facilitating events such as open forums. This organization collaborates with the private sector to discuss public policies regarding the development of the city by involving multiple entrepreneurs to support their sustainability efforts. ProBogotá Región takes on projects examining planning and development issues annually to provide data to citizens. Examples of completed projects include assisting in the process of the Development Plan (which provided the opportunity for ProBogotá Region to become a member of the Consejos Territoriales de Planeación Distrital (CTPD)) and conducting a perception survey with the aim of understanding how the citizens think of Bogotá (1,900 men and women participated).

Implementation and Performance

Bogotá's citizens have both government and non-governmental channels available to participate in urban planning. Government channels include areas that are defined within the city's constitution or district decrees such as the consultation process required to establish the land use and development plans, while non-government channels comprise those built by private institutions or nonprofit organizations.

The implementation of urban planning policies is not without challenges. Andres Ortiz, the Secretary of Urban Planning, shared in an interview that administrative difficulties in urban planning remain despite the existence of the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT) or land use plan (Semana, 2017). The land use plan is expected to lay the foundation for the city's urban planning, but there are weaknesses in the policy.

The disconnect between the execution program, annual operations plan, and the district development plan is a major issue with the land use plan. First, the land use plan is designed to span twelve years, yet mayors are elected every four years and are less committed to carrying out the plan every time there is a change in government. Secondly, the land use plan is not aligned with a realistic budget and proposes

projects that are not financially viable. As a result, only 35% of the projects stipulated in the POT were started and often were not carried out as intended (Morales, 2017).

Although a third of the projects had begun, only 16% of all projects were completed between 2004 and 2016 (SDP, 2017). Projects stipulated by the land use plan garnered the attention of thousands of citizens who submitted ideas on improvements for the plan. However, the number of completed projects may offer insight into why citizens' voices are not heard. With few projects executed, there is little chance that citizen consultation made a meaningful impact. In these instances where participants find that their feedback or input is trivial, they may feel their demands are being ignored which could jeopardize future participation (Fung, 2015).

With regard to participatory budgeting, IDPAC received the equivalent of \$3.9 million in 2009. However, it is unclear how it disbursed this amount to each locality or that the money was spent during that year (Brugman, 2017). This budget does not account for the detailed local problems that may be unique in each locality and the process faces a greater challenge with citizen's lack of interest and lack of knowledge on the technical side of the process (Quintero, 2013). This may lead citizens to avoid participating to avoid feeling intimidated by the process.

Another possible barrier to engagement could be that over three quarters of citizens had low to very low levels of knowledge regarding the POT and how to participate during its formulation (Camara de Comercio de Bogotá, 2016). The lack of knowledge on the land use plan or planning institutes can contribute to non-participation because citizens may not involve themselves in a process they do not understand, even if they are aware of its existence. One interview respondent noted that because urban planning projects are very technical, citizens may feel ill-equipped to provide input.¹ This may be a result of a mismatch in problem definition by the citizens and the government, where technical expertise is valued over those of ordinary citizens (Turnhout, et al., 2010).

Though citizens may feel intimidated by the technical nature of urban planning projects, they are still interested in the projects. In 2005, citizens were mostly unaware of participation spaces in Bogotá. Approximately 92% of citizens were unfamiliar with planning committees in which they could participate (Hernandez, 2010). Between 2005 and 2007, the most common reason for non-participation among citizens was due to the unfamiliarity of ways to engage (Hernandez, 2010). Despite not knowing how to participate, over half of respondents to a survey on urban management were interested in the formulation of the new POT (Camara Comercio de Bogotá, 2016).

One of the biggest challenges to participation is citizen lack of interest. When citizens are consulted on projects that they do not see as relevant to themselves or their community, they may not participate until the impact of those projects or decisions is clear (Kweit & Kweit, 2007). Almost all respondents interviewed noted that there are multiple consultative councils and citizen advisory councils competing for citizen attention.² These respondents noted that citizens grow tired of the constant solicitation for

¹ Interview: Academic Professional in Bogotá, April 3, 2018.

² Interview: Citizen in Bogotá, March 26, 2018.; Interview: Participation Council Member in Bogotá, March 28, 2018.; Interview: Academia in Bogotá, April 3, 2018.

participation and apathy is becoming a challenge for the groups responsible for promoting participation, especially in urban planning. This practice may lead to exhaustion or participation burnout and result in individuals withholding their opinions or input.

Though formal evaluations on participation may not occur regularly, there are instances of participation that can be considered successful. One example is the construction of the TransMiCable in Ciudad Bolívar, a locality far from job centers. Most jobs are concentrated in the northeast and eastern parts of Bogotá so for residents in the south, access to public transportation is important.

Between 2006 and 2010, Ciudad Bolívar had one of the lowest rates of investments in transportation infrastructure (Hernandez & Davila, 2016). The idea for TransMiCable came from a successful aerial tramway project in Medellín, Colombia. The trams provide transportation for residents in hilly areas without contributing to street traffic. Local social and community leaders used community meetings where citizens could attend and offer their opinions on the project, including ticket prices and service schedules (Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá, 2018).

Construction began in late 2016 and the TransMiCable will have three stations in different neighborhoods and will reduce commute times for citizens from just under an hour to less than fifteen minutes (Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá, 2016). The government expects the TransMiCable to impact approximately 780,000 residents in the southern localities and create about 180 jobs for residents when the project is completed in August 2018 (Participacion Bogota, 2018). By allowing citizens to take part in decisions that affect their mobility and security, Bogotá delivered expanded access to transportation and jobs to communities that can be left out in planning.

Evaluation of Participation in Urban Planning

Another major challenge to fully understanding how citizen participation impacts planning decisions is the lack of reporting on outcomes. Previously, there were no requirements for annual reporting or evaluation for the land use plan (Semana, 2017). The absence of reporting requirements carried on into many of the localities at lower-level plans. At this point, published information is unavailable regarding actual performance.

The CTPD is one entity that functions to monitor some of the public works projects. Their evaluations of the participatory process do not delve into the particulars beyond the number of people participating in panels or number of forums held. CTPD recommended the optimization of community participation in accordance with the land use plan by offering to be the agency tasked with designing, planning, and leading public participation (CTPD, 2017).

Bogotá's government is proactive in bringing citizens to the table in urban planning. For example, 23,000 contributions were made through the Bogotá Abierta platform during the creation of the District Development Plan. However, when the Council of Bogotá received the final document, citizens did not know which, if any, of their proposals, were included (Yo Voto Yo Sumo, 2017). The challenge for the government is that there is confusion among citizens regarding the various channels and uncertainty surrounding which initiatives will allow them to achieve their desired outcomes in urban planning

decisions. The city laid the groundwork for citizens to participate but there is a need to guide citizens to areas in which they are interested.

Conclusion

The constitution and the POT express the importance of citizen participation in urban planning processes. Bogotá often asks its citizens for their input on planning and development projects. The city uses a combination of digital and in-person methods of engagement to create participatory spaces throughout planning. As Bogotá creates these spaces for citizens to participate through both government and non-government organizations, the opportunities for different types of participation continue to grow.

Los Angeles, California: Case Study

Introduction

Los Angeles (LA), the second most populous city in the United States, is the commercial, financial, and cultural center of Southern California. LA has more than four million residents and covers nearly 4,700 square miles. With a growth rate of 88 percent, from 1950 to 2000 it had the highest percentage of growth among the high-income countries in the world, except for Tokyo (Cox, 2011). Planning in the city is often associated with a myriad of issues such as congested traffic problems, poor air quality, income inequality, and outdated zoning regulations. Traffic congestion and public transportation are connected to the housing and employment issues. The affordable housing advocates claim that if people can afford to live near public transit, some of the inequity would be relieved (Rowshandel, 2017).

LA is on a fault line, and historically, earthquakes have created extensive damage. The absence of a building program to retrofit structures capable of standing massive earthquake is one of the major concerns for developers and citizens. Historical, vulnerable buildings have not been identified, and some researchers predict they will topple during the next massive earthquake.

General Plan

The *General Plan* is the primary city planning document, explaining the long-term objectives, policies, and programs of the future form and development of the city of LA. It is the "constitution for development" or "guiding vision" of the city comprised of citywide elements and community plans. The twelve components are Land Use, Housing, Mobility, Infrastructure System, Health, Framework, Air Quality, Noise, Safety, Circulation, Conversation, and Open Space. The 35 Community Plans establish complementary neighborhood-level policies and implementation strategies necessary to achieve the General Plan objectives (City of Los Angeles General Plan 2013).

As the city is changing at a rapid pace, the Department of City Planning (DCP) is crafting a new vision, **LA2040**. The initiative will update the General Plan policies, plans, and guidelines for the first time in a half-century. The 20-year citywide plan, to be adopted in 2020, is intended to be a new version of the plan capable of creating a more thriving, environmental and sustainable LA. Engaging citizens and adding their input is one of the four main phases of establishing this plan. The DCP is spearheading the initiative to engage citizens and ensure their voices are echoed throughout the planning stages (Our LA2040, 2017).

As figure 4 shows, obtaining inputs from the community is one of the leading four phases of timeline.

Figure 4. OurLA2040 Initiative Adoption Timeline



Zoning

LA adopted the nation's first citywide zoning code in 1908 before it had a formal process for urban planning. The zoning process was last updated in 1946. Under Government Code Section 65860 (d), zoning in LA is designed to implement the general and community plans (Lacity, 2002). It regulates the types of structures and activities allowed in various zones. LA has three significant kinds of zones including residential, commercial, and industrial uses. The current zoning code has over 2000 user applications, everything from restaurant development to animal center to hair salon (Abundant Housing LA, 2016).

In addition to the 2040Plan, Re:Code LA is a comprehensive project to upgrade the dated city's zoning code. As one of the city's most significant planning initiatives to date, it attempts to align the zoning code with the needs of a 21st century LA for all stakeholders. It is expected that the Re:Code LA project will allow developers to produce a more flexible, efficient, adaptable, and predictable LA. The Re:Code LA will serve as an easy to use document that will bring more transparency to the development process by engaging more stakeholders throughout the process (Re:code LA 2018).

Urban Planning Policy Context

The City Charter, along with federal and state level regulations, require city governments to ensure citizen participation in various aspects of the planning process. The state of California and the City of LA encourage and require citizen participation throughout the city development processes. *Government Code Section 65351* specifies that: "During the preparation or amendment of the General Plan, the planning

agency shall provide for opportunities for the involvement of citizens, public agencies, public utility companies, and civic, education, and other community groups, through public hearings and any other means the city or county deems appropriate" (Department of City Planning, 2002).

In July 1999, LA voted on a *new City-Wide City Charter*, a project in participatory democracy. The Charter aimed to “promote more citizen participation in government and make government more responsive to local needs” (Lacity 2002). The Charter created a system of advisory neighborhood councils that attempted to represent diverse stakeholders defined as those who live, work or own property in the neighborhood; however, Neighborhood Councils have no legal decision-making authority. "While other large cities, such as New York, have forms of neighborhood governance that are appointed and directed centrally, LA has attempted to engender a system that would evolve from the grassroots level" (Musso et al., 2007). The Charter was a well-intentioned City initiative to increase public participation.

In 1999, the *Department of Neighborhood Empowerment (DNE)* got created *under* section 900 of City Charter. Its mission is to promote more citizen participation in government and make government more responsive to local need. Article 910 of the City Charter describes monitoring of city services as one of the responsibilities of the DNE. It states, “neighborhood councils shall monitor the delivery of City services in their respective areas and have periodic meetings with responsible officials of City departments, subject to their reasonable availability” (Empower LA 2012).

For federally funded projects related to affordable housing and community development, the *Housing and Community Development Act of 1987* requires jurisdictions to develop and follow a written Citizen Participation Plan (CPP). In addition, federal regulations governing application for federal grants (Parts 91.100 and 91.105 of 24 Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) require a comprehensive CPP. The CPP should describe the process through which residents of LA will participate in the Housing and Community Development (CPD, 2016).

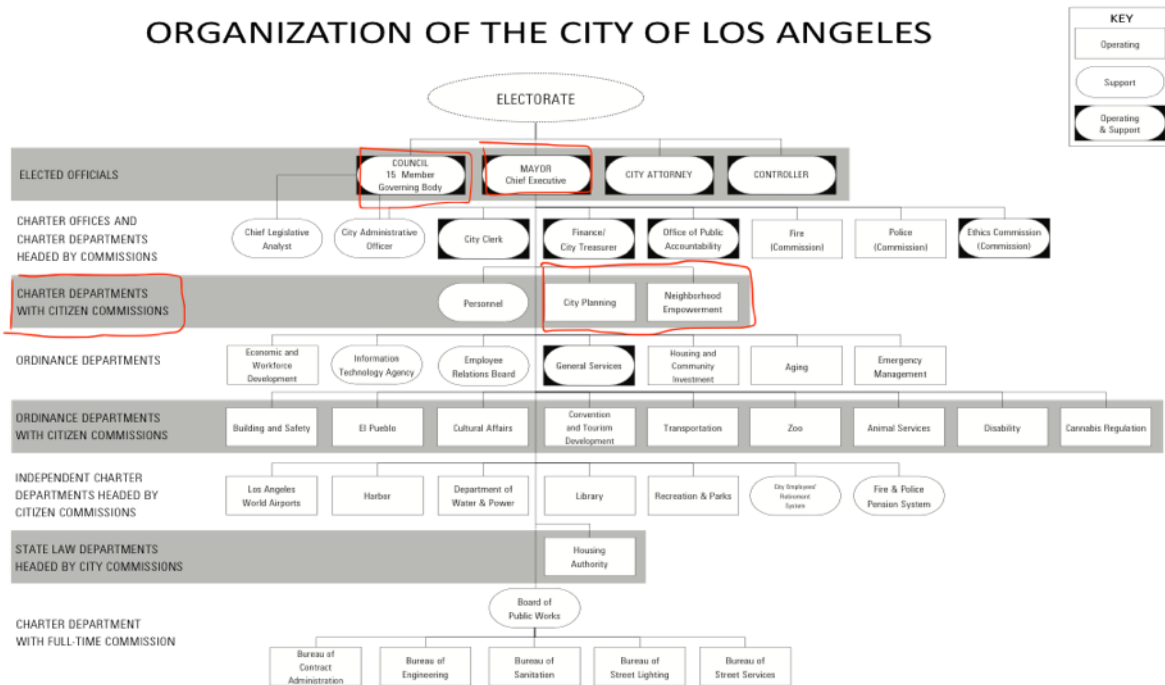
That citizen participation plan accompanies the city’s the Consolidated Plan (CP), which describes budget disbursement for community development, housing, home inspections, shelters for the homeless, and services for people living with AIDS (HCIDLA 2017). It is complemented by an annual action plan that sets forth yearly priorities, strategies, goals and project activities. Each year, the city of LA receives four federal grants to implement its community development plans and reports to HUD on the implementation of citizen participation plan.

Institutional Arrangements

The City of LA has a Mayor-Council-Commission form of government. Eric Garcetti is the 42nd Mayor of LA. Subject to the concurrence from the City Council, the mayor possesses the authority to appoint the director of planning, who heads the City Planning Department (CPD). The proposed plans designed by and CPD and adopted by the City Council becomes effective after Mayor signs it (Office of the Mayor, 2017).

As shown in figure 5, charter departments with citizen commissions are the agencies responsible for designing and implementing General Plan and Consolidate plan.

Figure 5. City of Los Angeles Organizational Chart



Source: (Organization of the City of Los Angeles, 2018).

The City Council

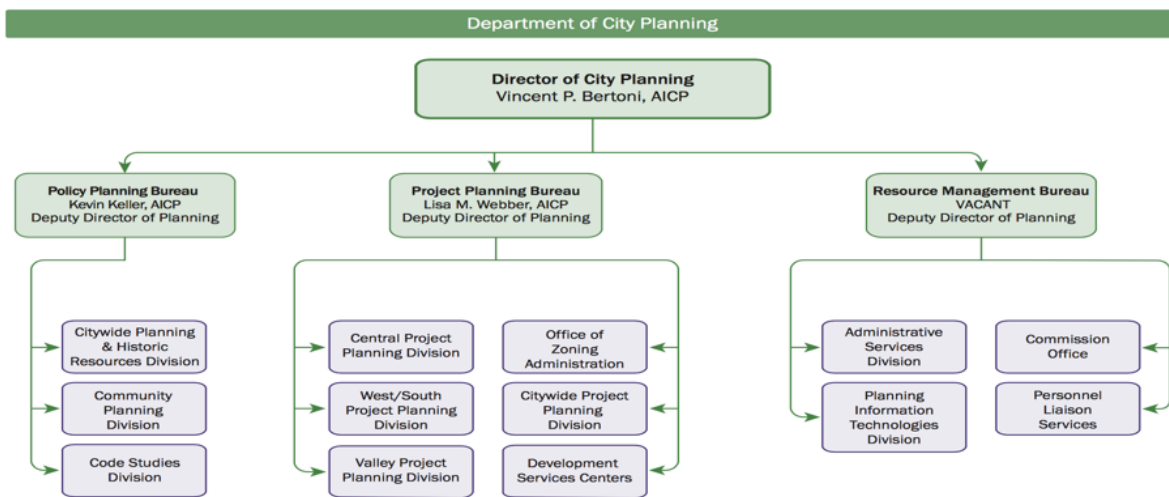
The City Council legislates ordinances plans and policies including taxes, budget, contracts and traffic regulations subject to the veto or approval of the mayor. People elect fifteen City Council members representing fifteen districts for four-year terms. The council is structured into committees to respond to matters subject to its attention and ad hoc committees may be formed in case of need. Each council member chair one committee and can be a member of two others. Council committees meet regularly on Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday and all of these meetings are open to the public (Elected Officials, City Councils, n.d.).

The citizen can comment on agenda of the meetings ahead of time, so the committee discusses it during the meeting. If the public comments on agenda are not heard, people get chance at the end of the meeting to raise their points. Before the adoption of any policy proposed by Department of City Planning, City Council gives a chance for people to comment before voting on it. These meetings also provide translation for individuals whose first language is not English, if requested from the City Clerk's office 72 hours in advance. (City Charter, 2002)

The Department of City Planning (DCP)

The Los Angeles Department of City Planning (LADCP) is charged with preparing, maintaining, and implementing plans for the development of the City of LA. The LADCP implements policies at the direction of the City Council and reports directly to the Mayor. The organizational structure consists of three bureaus, including policy planning, project planning, and resource management. The latter two are responsible for enforcing the policies and provision of the administrative and technical function of the department. The policy planning bureau has a more community-driven process that involves public in urban planning. (LA Department of City Planning, 2017) Figure 6 shows the organizational structure of the LADCP.

Figure 6. Department of City Planning Organizational Chart



Source: (LA Department of City Planning, 2017).

City Planning Commissions

The City Planning Commissions advises the mayor, the City Council, and the DPC. The commission meets regularly, twice a month, and all of its meetings are open to the public. All proposals and plans from citizens or neighboring councils pass through the Planning commission. Based on the knowledge they receive from their interactions with the various stakeholders, they advise local governments and officials on matters related to the community’s development (Lacity 2002).

The mayor appoints the members of the Planning Commissions subject to the confirmation of the City Council.

Area Planning Commission

There are also seven Area Planning Commissions representing different geographic regions of the city, including South Valley, North Valley, East LA, South LA, West LA, Central, and Harbor. The Area Planning commissions are established to regulate land use in those specified geographical parts of the

city, and members of the commission, who are also appointed by the mayor, must be voting residents of the City of LA (DCP 2017).

Neighborhood Councils

There are currently 96 Neighborhood Councils across the City of LA, with more in development. Requirements for creating a Neighborhood Council include defining an area that has at least 20,000 residents, reaching out to the community to collect between 200 to 500 signatures from community stakeholder, and preparing proposed Neighborhood Council bylaws (Department of City Planning, n.d). Each proposed council must then go through a certification process with the Board of Neighborhood Commissioners and the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment (DONE) before operating. In addition to certifying Neighborhood councils, DONE oversees them, working with them on such matters as engagement methods, ethics training, and provision of legal advice.

Neighborhood Councils receive \$42,000 per year from the city to invest in the community through outreach, providing community grants, funding community project initiatives, e.g., neighborhood cleanup, and painting murals. However, more than half of money is given back to the General Fund because many Neighborhood Councils cannot process the paperwork required by the state to use the funds (Department of Neighborhood Empowerment, 2017). Nevertheless, in 2013, neighborhood councils exerted enough influence to keep a proposed \$3 billion bond issue off the ballot (Orlov, 2013). Their success represents an evolution for the councils, which at their inception were seen as potentially powerless because they held no real voting authority in city matters.

Citizen Engagement in Planning Processes

Its stated processes lay out detailed series of steps for each planning process or other decision to be taken. Whereas there are a number of different plans to be developed or amended, the approach to planning and incorporating citizen participation in the various plans follows a similar pattern. The following example of the steps for designing or amending an Area Plan illustrates the typical approach.

- 1) Planners research, review, conduct the survey and collect necessary data.
- 2) Planners meet with established community organizations to share the plan and gain the community goals, priorities and insight to determine the objective of the plan. This process takes place through focus groups coming from community organization including neighborhood councils, chamber of commerce, business owners, property owners, business owners, etc.
- 3) Planners organize a public community workshop to present the concepts and thoughts of the focus groups and seek opinions of the public at large. The nature of this workshop may differ based on the project. They also notify relevant Neighborhood Councils.
- 4) Planners generate the Preliminary Plan based on the information gained through focus groups and public workshops and prepare the environmental clearance (Terry A. Hayes Associate Inc, 2015). They make the plan available for a specified amount of time for public review and comment. After gaining the clearance approval, the LADCP presents the plan in an open house and answer questions. The certified neighborhood council can request a separate presentation in their meetings.

- 5) The LADCP, in a Public Hearing, asks the public to provide their formal testimony both verbally and written about the preliminary plan. The LADCP writes the proposed plan based on the insight gathered through these processes and sends it to the appropriate Area Planning Commission (APC).
- 6) The Area Planning Commission (APC) operates as a review body to recommend changes in the development of the plans ordinance to the City Council. APC's process of reviewing includes public meetings, too, providing further opportunities for the public, including Neighborhood Councils, to provide comments on the project. (LADCP, 2017).
- 7) The City Council receives the recommendation from APC and refers it to the Land Use Management Committee (PLUM). After PLUM conducts its assessment, it brings necessary changes to the proposed plan and presents it to the City Council. The City Council makes changes deemed essential and send sit for the Mayor's signature.
- 8) The Proposed Plan adopted by the City Council becomes effective after the Mayor signs it. The Mayor does not meet with Neighborhood councils about every proposed plan.

Methods of Engagement

As illustrated in the planning process described above, the LADCP typically uses a variety of different methods to engage with citizens, including focus group sessions, public workshops, hearings, and open meetings.

With regard to the current development of the 2040 Plan for LA, LADCP understands the importance of building ongoing public consensus to ensure that the new Plan reflects the concerns and aspirations of community members. As noted earlier, the LADPC dedicated 2017 to collecting information regarding urban planning needs and wants from the public via surveys on their website. The LADCP initiated a Vision Survey a year before the plan was officially announced to begin collecting community trends and patterns. The Vision Survey, located on the Our LA2040 website, was comprised of five open-ended planning questions in Spanish and English (LA2040). The LADCP sent emails to all Neighborhood Councils explaining the importance of the Vision Survey to encourage local level voices to participate. The surveys provided the Department of City Planning with a framework to build their planning agenda.

Figure 7 examines the various methods of engagement within the Department of City Planning during their Public Participation Process mandated by California law.

Figure 7. Department of City Planning Methods of Engagement for Community Participation

Level of Participation	
Community Planning Public Participation Methods of Engagement	
Inform	Researching plans with citizens, collecting data, & social media
Consult	Meetings with Neighborhood Councils, & Focus Groups
Empower	Open House, Public Workshop, & Digital Empowerment
Involve	Open House, Public Workshop, & Surveys
Collaborate	Charettes, Open House, & Public Workshops

The LADCP initiated a Vision Survey a year before the plan was officially announced. During an interview with a community organizer in LA,³ the interviewee mentioned that various populations respond differently to the word planning. The interviewee worked with Latino communities at a nonprofit organization and stated that “Often Hispanic communities don’t understand how their neighborhoods will be impacted by developers because city planners do not take the time to build trust within the communities. Planners have an agenda before starting the conversation, and that is apparent to many residents.”

Feedback Loop

The Department of City planning relies on neighborhood associations to provide community feedback because they often bring the public together to work on determining priorities and objectives and provide insight on the community’s vision for their neighborhoods. A designated official within the Department of City Planning emails all council members about upcoming meetings, and the Neighborhood Councils are then asked to distribute information to their community. Planners gather ideas and information to review and take into consideration for further analysis and examination. This phase also includes Environmental Clearance, a requirement for all planning projects. Once planners have developed an environmental clearance plan, the plan is prepared and made available online for the public to review and comment via email.

In 2011, before a Department of City Planning meeting regarding future multifamily, mixed-use, and industrial project, the Department of City Planning sent out an email invitation to numerous community organizations and certified neighborhood councils to encourage a diverse range of interests at the meeting. The Focus Group meeting was held on a weekend, and fourteen people were in attendance (Recommendation Report). The focus group members from various community organizations described the meeting as an interactive learning session; however, they did not have any ownership in the decision-making process (Silva, 2014).

³ Interview: Community Organizer in Los Angeles, March 30, 2018.

Consulting Workshops and Focus Groups

The Department of City Planning states that public workshops incorporate citizen participation with community organizations and Neighborhood Councils to discuss suggestions from the focus group meetings and solicit additional opinions. Workshops may include presentations by planners or discussions at various workstations aiming to have the community help shape the proposed project (Department of City Planning). LA has numerous neighborhood councils to empower residents and promote a diverse range of interests. Our interviews concluded that several grassroots organizations do not feel engaged at the workshops because they have not been part of the process from inception and feel intimidated asking general questions. On the other hand, Neighborhood Council members identify this method of engagement as a collaborative form of participation because everyone has an opportunity to comment on agenda items.

Open House

The Participatory Planning process offers information on future projects how the projects will impact neighborhoods and communities. These phases are identified as informational forms of participation. Open House flyers are digitally distributed via email to Neighborhood Councils and promoted on social media sites like Twitter and Facebook. A community Open House provides planners with a platform to share initial concepts from the plan to gauge community reactions in an informal setting. Open Houses in LA do not have agendas, presentations, or audience seats like a meeting. The purpose of an Open House is to provide an opportunity for one-on-one conversations between planners and community members in an attempt to encourage the exchange of information without time limits.

Public Hearings

If participants have comments or feedback from planning items, they are asked to attend the *Public Hearing*. Public Hearings provide a formal space for the public to provide written or verbal testimony regarding the new plan objectives. The fundamental difference between the Open House and Public Hearing is that participants can comment on a proposal for the formal transcript, and Hearings require official notice. Representatives of Certified Neighborhood Councils are encouraged to attend Public Hearings to deliver their community stance on the project (Department of City Planning). Councils that are unable to participate in can subscribe to planning notifications to receive all agendas and public hearings affecting their geographic area. The city will also send bi-weekly updates on all new planning cases filed. Public Hearing agendas are public documents on the City of Planning website.

Online Initiatives: Chip, the chatbot

The standard way for citizens to contact government officials regarding processes or applications to do business with the city is often an arduous experience. Additionally, the roles of government employees to manage city services and communicate with residents regarding diverse needs presents its challenges. A team from Microsoft, LA's mayor, Eric Garcetti and his Deputy CIO Joyce Edson developed a "chatbot" to enhance communication between residents and city employees. Technology provides a platform to understand residents better and offer immediate assistance. The City Hall Internet Personality, known as "Chip," is available seven days a week and 24 hours a day helping residents navigate the city's website

and explain city government processes by offering resource and guidance to keep residents informed (Microsoft in Business). City departments are noticing fewer inquiry emails regarding procedures.

CIO Ted Ross commented that emails to Business Assistance Virtual Network fell from 80 per week to 40 or less (Wagenen, 2017). The LA Police Department is also using Chip to assist with recruiting and training questions. Every month, the Personnel Department's Public Safety Division receives thousands of calls thousands of calls with candidates inquiring about specific information about joining the police department (Rodger, 2018). Additionally, the mobile application, Next Door promotes neighborhood awareness and is also partnering with the LA Police Department. As residents share information on online platforms, varying departments are taking note and using the information to identify trends and areas of concern.

Chip is also instrumental in providing citizens with accurate neighborhood information like regional services including trash pick-up times and planning and construction information. Chip provided information on the Agendas of Public Hearings under the Office of Zoning Administration. Public Hearings are held in the morning and open for the public to address items of interest; however, citizens must complete a speaker card before the meeting and submit it to a city planning staff member. The rules state that individuals are limited to speaking about an issue for three minutes and up to ten minutes per subject. The Review Board chairperson has the discretion to modify the time allotted on each topic, to each speaker and the number of speakers per topic. Items may be called in any order at the discretion of the Review Board chairperson (Department of City Planning).

The Department of City Planning reported (2017) that "Chip" received 3,221 questions and had 1,042 conversations in just two months, allowing people to engage with local government with convenience and accessibility. The Department of City Planning foresees Chip managing a city-wide calendar of events and providing residents information via their smartphones (Department of City Planning).

Zoning Information and Map Access System. Within the last ten years, the LA City Planning Department developed the Zoning Information and Map Access System (ZIMAS). ZIMAS provides residents with an Internet-based Geographic Information System (GIS) to empower users with the ability to instantly retrieve property information within the framework of a user-friendly and inherently self-intuitive interface (Chen, 2009). ZIMAS was an attempt to make zoning information more open and transparent to residents in LA by providing detailed filing instructions online.

Non-Governmental Initiatives

The Collaborative Learning Project

The University of Southern California (USC) launched The Collaborative Learning Project initiative at the School of Policy Planning and Development. The initiative unites stakeholders from city agencies with neighborhood councils to discuss collaboration strategies through a series of workshops. Students email stakeholders to determine if they may be interested in participating in their project. The school's model emphasizes on sharing of ideas and concepts as the most effective in democratic and participatory processes such as workshop presentations, small-group and plenary discussions, informal networking, and participant reflection.

The Learning and Design Forums are based on an action research approach that establishes a process whereby city administrators and neighborhood leaders review current city agency practices to identify and develop shared components of service delivery (Kathi & Cooper, 2005). These shared components become the foundation for the development of coproduction of city services. The central feature of the

Learning and Design Forums is deliberation. In this case, deliberation is crafted between two parties working together, face to face, in the same location, in a facilitated seminar setting. The goal of the deliberation is to have city administrators and neighborhood leaders foster a new partnership in the planning and delivery of city services. The Forums allowed participants to recognize their common goals and interests to plan the delivery of targeted city services (Kathi & Cooper, 2005). Once these common goals were identified, they were able to forge effective working relationships toward those ends and, ultimately, formalize these relationships in writing.

After several Forums concluded, the students found three primary principles (1) participation should be of a practical nature, addressing real problems facing the public at local levels; (2) participation should be bottom up; and (3) the decision-making process should be based on reason (Kathi & Cooper, 2005). The Forums also demonstrated that agreements could be developed between diverse and contentious groups.

Grassroots Organizations

While online transparency is an essential aspect in increasing awareness, it does little to empower citizens to be part of the decision-making process, and as a result, there is a resurgence of grassroots organizations in LA. Many grassroots organizations are known only to their members and have no formal contact with governmental organizations. By contrast, one of the most influential organizations in California is California Calls, a growing alliance of 31 grassroots, community-based organizations spanning urban planning, rural, and suburban counties across the state. Through their bottom-up approach, they are organizing voters most impacted by budget cuts and deteriorating public services in support of systemic, progressive solutions of California's fiscal crisis (California Calls). Their mission is to include marginalized individuals excluded from policy decisions. Approaching citizens through a door to door approach, volunteers provide communities with information related to urban planning ballot items that may impact their community that are related to development projects and transportation.

California Calls collected survey information from approximately 30,000 residents, and individuals were asked what they thought should be done to reduce drug and alcohol-related crime and violence. The nonprofit focused its efforts on identifying alcohol vendors with high rates of alcohol and drug-related violence in and around their businesses to seek closure of these community-unfriendly establishments. Through community participation initiatives such as focus groups and workshops in marginalized neighborhoods, Community Coalition thwarted the re-opening of the 24 liquor stores and reduced violence. By using a community-driven approach to reduce the number of neighborhood businesses that represent a threat to the health and well-being of residents (California Calls, 2017).

The mutual respect and unity of purpose within LA's grassroots organizations face various challenges as opinions change regarding how communities should progress. Organizations created to represent the needs and wants of the community may have agendas that do not entirely align with those of the community. For example, local nonprofit organizations that assist community members with affordable housing options and foreclosure prevention like East LA Community Corporation (ELACC) work in unison with like-minded nonprofit developers such as Los Angeles Housing Partnership to ensure long-term affordability in the City of LA. However, ELACC is under scrutiny from the community it supports for promoting gentrification. The organization's decision to build a \$25 million affordable housing complex has even like-minded activists at odds over the definition of gentrification (Zahniser, 2017). The residential projects are appealing, and the fear is that they have the potential to attract buyers from surrounding neighborhoods, potentially driving up housing prices.

Implementation and Performance

Despite the growing understanding of public participation at the city and grassroots levels, and while LA incorporates various methods of engagement throughout the planning process, the city faces many obstacles that undermine the effectiveness of public participation. To engage citizens in the planning process, it is also critical to take a more comprehensive look at how these initiatives and programs are implemented. LA's prior experiences will provide Mexico City's new planning institute with helpful lessons to consider during their design and research of public participation.

Challenges and Limitations of Participation

Interviews and secondary research provided evidence that both cynicism and lack of public trust in the planning process pose a significant problem for LA. One interviewee noted that developers and planners wait until the planning agenda is created before reaching out for public consensus on projects.⁴ Local nonprofits commented that it is helpful in some communities to hold meetings with fewer agenda items to promote a sense of ambiguity; this approach increases the number of comments raised during a meeting because there is decision-making platform atmosphere. However, increasing the number of voices in the beginning stages of planning slows down the planning process significantly and makes it difficult for developers to meet timelines.

Our team interviewed several grassroots organizations working in urban planning, and none of the stakeholders were familiar with the LADCP's methods of engagement to incorporate citizen participation throughout the urban planning process. The lack of awareness speaks to a more significant challenge of how communication is distributed throughout the networks and the effectiveness of information posted on social media.

A second significant challenge to public participation is working with and understanding how to approach diverse populations. Research by the Pew Research Center found that almost five million Hispanics reside in LA (Brown & Lopez, 2013). The founder of a nonprofit organization in LA working with Hispanic communities related to community development emphasized the importance of building trust within these communities before knocking on their doors asking them about planning related concerns.⁵ The founder noted that often marginalized communities in LA do not have the opportunity to understand the significance of development due to language barriers. If Los Angeles can bridge the gap between the informal and formal sectors relating to citizen participation, it is likely that new visions would transpire capturing priorities and shared values among a broader group of people, therefore, emerging multisectoral networks could form.

During an interview with an urban planner and community organizer in LA, the interviewee mentioned that various populations respond differently to the word planning⁶. The interviewee worked with Latino communities at a nonprofit organization and stated that "Often Hispanic communities don't understand how their neighborhoods will be impacted by developers because city planners do not take the time to build trust within the communities. Planners have an agenda before starting the conversation, and that is apparent to many residents."

⁴ Interview: Nonprofit sector in Los Angeles, March 28, 2018.

⁵ Interview: Nonprofit Sector in Los Angeles, March 29, 2018.

⁶ Interview: Nonprofit Sector in Los Angeles, April 2, 2018.

Our team was unable to speak with anyone at the LADCP regarding the effectiveness of the online survey to gather pertinent information regarding downtown urban planning. The research has the potential to empower residents; however, currently, it is more of an informing form of participation.

Additionally, Neighborhood Councils face information asymmetry within their neighborhood districts. Neighborhood Councils are administered by the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment to oversee elections, assist with funds received from the state and distributing grant money to neighborhood nonprofits. However, the LA Charter, § 907 states that Neighborhood Councils may take positions regarding specific planning projects and make recommendations or provide advice but the final decision is for the City to determine. While Neighborhood Councils are self-governing and work in parallel with the City; they are not formally part of the decision-making process. Often tension is created when Neighborhood Councils object a proposal, and later it passes at the City level, leaving community members unfamiliar with the process questioning their involvement, and widening the gap between expectations and reality. The Mayor and City Council have exclusive power over the City's intergovernmental relations, creating a top-down approach to decision-making.

A report from Chen (2009) found that residents view the formal stages of participation through the Department of City Planning as a surface level approach, and there is little online evidence that comments from Focus Group or Workshop are further explored by city planners. The study found that planners and developers informed residents of the downtown development plans with little discussion leading up to the unveiling of the project. As a result, gentrification poses a threat to the neighborhoods in the downtown area, as well as poses a risk to the cultural heritage of these neighborhoods (Chen, 2009).

Residents that wish to appeal decisions by LADCP are forced to pay a fee; therefore, eliminating populations from lower-socioeconomic backgrounds (Reyes, 2017). The city argues that a fee will eliminate frivolous appeals that often slow and stop proposed developments across LA. The newly implemented fee not only reduces the number of appeals, but it also allows for only the residents with financial resources to influence the process and as a result, creating a stronger divide and tension between communities. Additionally, at public hearings, all public comments and neighborhood council agenda items are always the first items on the agenda, and as a result, the public does not have a chance to comment on proposed plans or projects during the meeting. This cycle forces citizens to discuss and make statements on previous action items that the planning department has already addressed or removed from the agenda.

Grassroots organizations such as Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE) in LA emphasize that it would be helpful if urban planners began meetings with a degree of ambiguity rather than a formalized agenda to increase participation and remind citizens that they are part of the creation process. Icebreaker activities that create universal values in the room are more effective with a group of people that may feel intimidated by the idea of planning.

Evaluation Methods

The Consolidated Annual Performance and Evaluation Report (CAPER) is one of the only reporting mechanisms of substance in the city. The CAPER reports on activity performance of Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) formula grant programs: Community Development Block Grant (CDBG); HOME Investment Partnership Act (HOME); and Emergency Solutions Grant (ESG) (DPC, 2017). Funding decisions for the County program are based on the needs and strategies discussed in the CP. Each year, the city submits its progress toward to consolidated plan to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Before submission to HUD, the public is provided with a fifteen-day public notice to submit their comments on CAPER. The fifteen-day comment period allows citizens a to provide feedback regarding their satisfaction with the performance of the city projects and development. Citizen participation is one of the mandatory elements of CP and provides citizens a platform to evaluate its activities for the inclusion of its citizens, which gives the city a chance to assess its operations for the inclusion of all citizens.

The CAPER utilizes varying metrics to measure the goal impact; Anti-crime programs are assessed based on the number of persons assisted, and economic development is assessed by the total number of businesses supported. The report focuses on high priority needs that were identified through a process that included needs assessments, market analysis, and additional data collection efforts, including public input. Each project is assessed quarterly with financial metrics and target guidelines objectives for project completion.

Conclusion

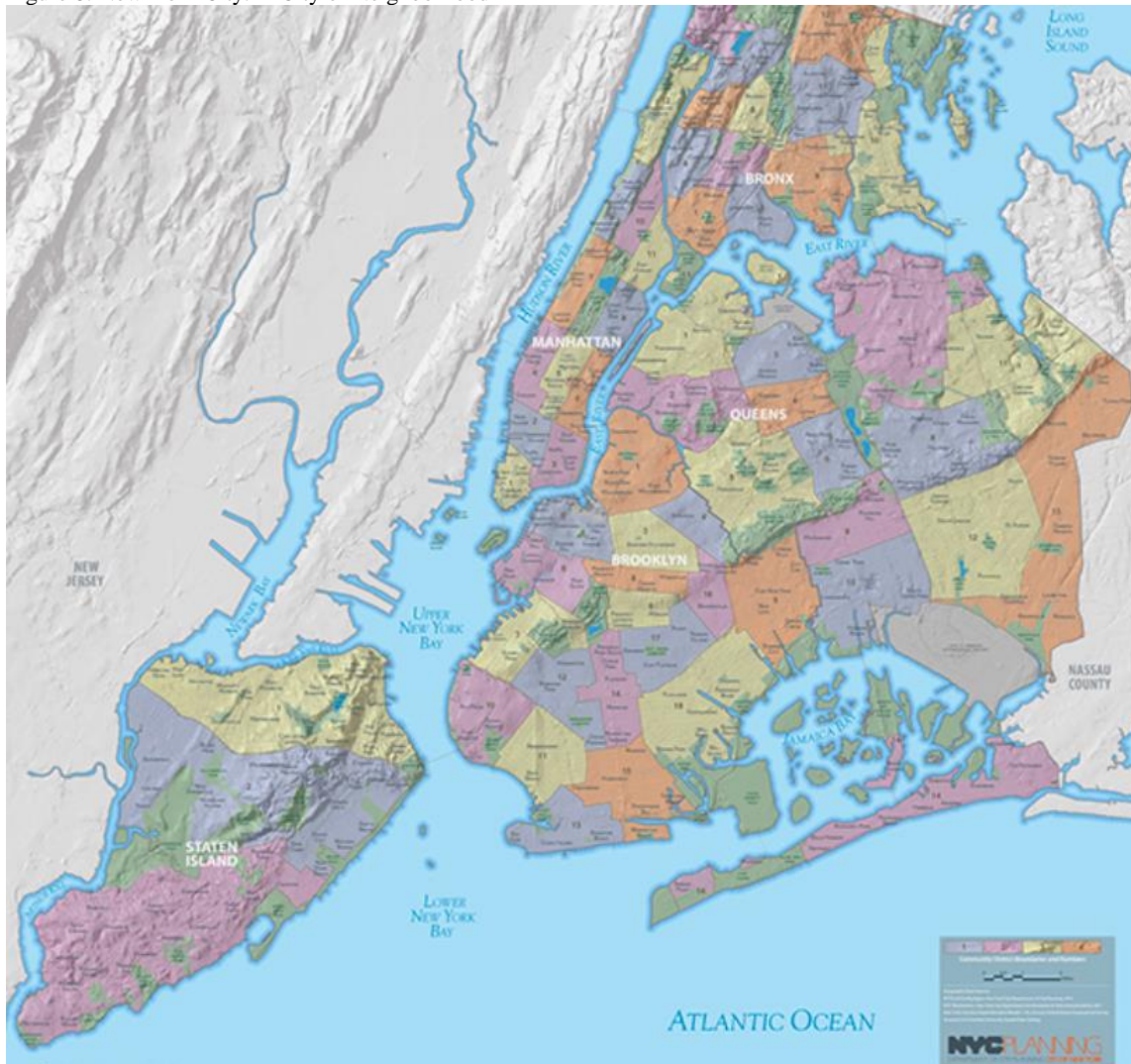
LA is a city known for its diverse neighborhoods and its ability to incorporate various methods of engagement through the urban planning process like surveys, focus groups, workshops, and charrettes. The launch of the LA2040 Plan is revisioning the development of LA as it continues to grow while incorporating many voices into the projects with the assistance of local level organizations like Neighborhood Councils. The influence of multiple stakeholders combined with digital initiatives such as the City Hall chatbot, are reaching more residents and providing various ways for citizens to not only remain informed but to participate.

New York City, New York: Case Study

New York City is the largest, most influential American metropolitan city; the city encompasses Manhattan and Staten island, the Western sections of Long Island, and a small portion of New York State. For the past two centuries, New York has been the largest and wealthiest American city (Lankevich, 2018). According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the estimated population of New York is 8,537,673 people (Department of City Planning, 2016). New York City encompasses five different county-level administrative divisions called boroughs: Manhattan, the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn, and Staten Island. All boroughs are part of New York City, and each is coextensive with a respective county (See Figure 8).

Despite widespread prosperity in New York City, the city faces different urban planning challenges. Living costs and income inequality are rising and poverty and homelessness still remains high (de Blasio & Shorris, 2015). In addition, while New York City is a 21st century global city, its aging infrastructure is straining to meet the demands of a modern and dynamic urban center. Infrastructure connects people, neighborhoods, and businesses, and provides essential services. Some of these services include the water use on a daily basis, the gas needed to cook, the electricity that lights homes and businesses, and the internet access to communicate and learn. In addition, affordable housing is in short supply. The city also faces increasing risks from the impacts of global climate change. Climate change is projected to have an impact on the city's critical infrastructure and population through higher temperatures, more intense flooding events and rising sea level (Solecki, 2012).

Figure 8. New York City: A City of Neighborhood



Source: (NYC Planning, 2018)

Urban Planning Policy Context

City Government

Similar to the federal government, New York City is divided into three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial branch. The mayor heads the executive branch and is responsible for all city services and enforcement of the city and state laws. The City Council is the legislative branch and is responsible for proposing and revising bills. The City Council is comprised of 51 elected officials, representing different districts within the five boroughs of New York City. The judicial branch is made up of various court systems present in all five boroughs (See Figure 9). New York City has a strong mayor-council type of government. This model gives more power to the mayor than some other forms of city government. The mayor and council members serve a maximum of three four-year terms (The New York City Charter, 2018).

The City Charter

The government of New York City is organized under the New York City Charter. The charter is the document that defines the functions, organization, powers, obligations and liabilities of the city's government. The City Charter is subject to periodic review and change.

Perhaps the biggest change as a result of the 1975 charter revisions was the Uniform Land Use Review Procedure (ULURP), which mandated a community board review and vote on all land use applications, including zoning actions, special permits, acquisition and disposition of city property, and urban renewal plans (Forman, n.d.). The revisions also gave the community boards the power to draft master plans.

In 1990, another City Charter revision, Section 197-a, established a process for reviewing community board master plans (Forman, n.d.). Prior to this change, plans affecting communities were prepared by the Department of City Planning and presented to the City Planning Commission for approval. In the charter, Section 197-a gave the boards explicit authority to prepare plans and submit them to the Planning Commission and City Council for approval. These plans are strictly advisory policy statements (Forman, n.d.). But at the very least, Section 197-a obligates city agencies to consider the plan in making future decisions.

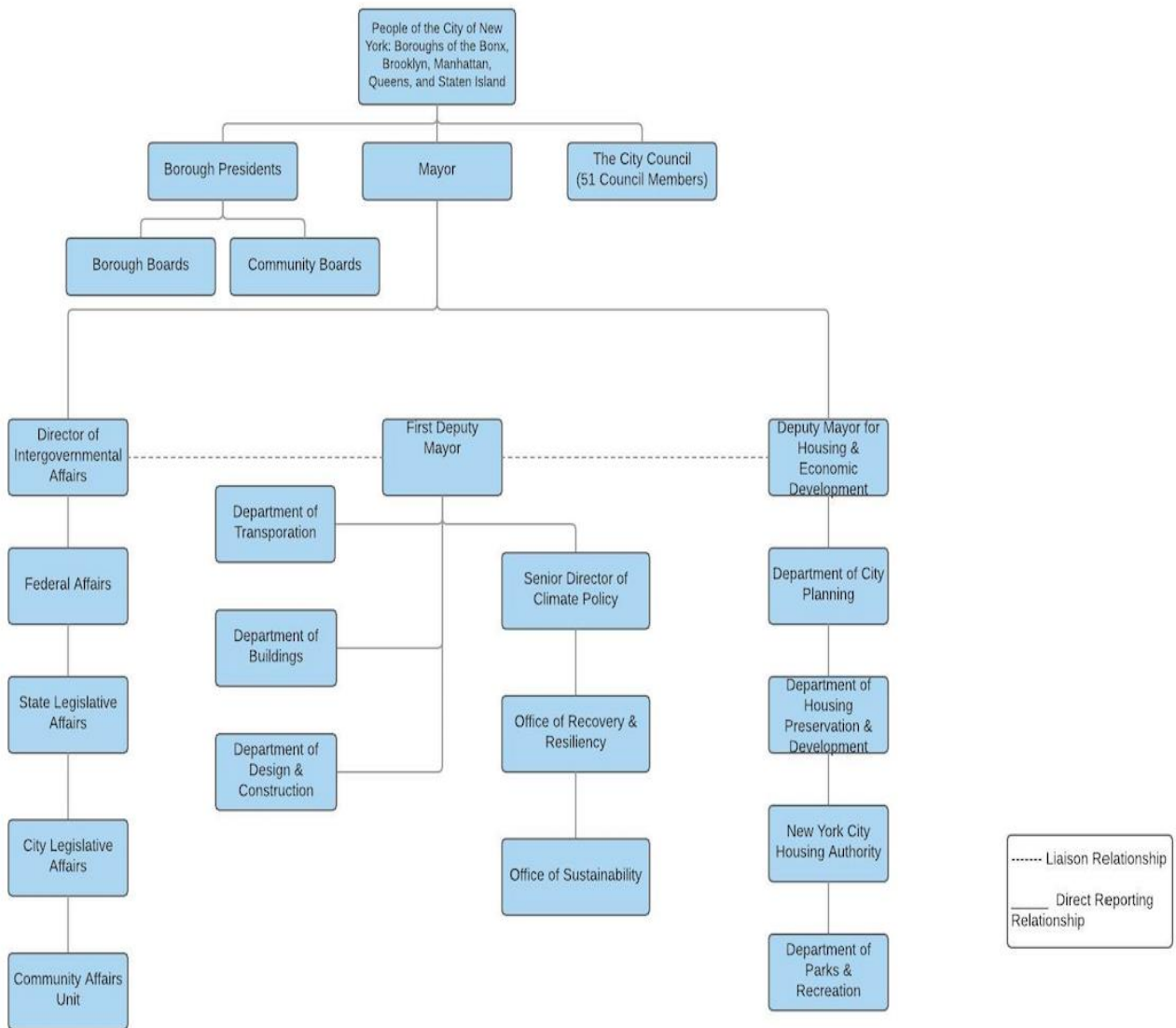
Mandates Promoting Citizen Participation in Urban Planning

Plans for the development, growth, and improvement of the City of New York and its five boroughs and community districts utilize a citizen participation plan and mandates stated in the city's charter to promote citizen participation in New York City's urban planning processes. The City Planning Rules, which are stated in New York City's Charter, are established by the City Planning Commission or the Department of City Planning (Department of City Planning, 2018). The City Planning Commission oversees the implementation of laws that require environmental review actions done by the city (Department of City Planning, 2018). Also, the commission is required to establish procedures for environmental reviews of proposed actions done by the city (Department of City Planning, 2018). One of these procedures includes citizen participation in environmental reviews involving agencies other than the city agencies (Department of City Planning, 2018). Additionally, citizen participation in budget requests and district needs is mandated in the city charter as well (New York City Charter, 2018).

The Consolidated Plan regulations, Section 91.105, in the New York City Charter requires that a citizen participation plan be adopted and followed (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2014). The citizen participation plan regulations specify required elements in eight areas for participation in the planning and budgeting process. These requirements include (New York City Charter, 2018):

- Encouragement of citizen participation
- Providing information on budget materials
- Access to records during the budget process
- Technical assistance to community boards and groups of people with low-incomes
- Public hearings
- Performance reports reasonable notice of Consolidated Plan-related public comment periods
- Related public hearings
- Comments and complaints regarding the final Consolidated Plan/One-Year Action Plan, or the Annual Performance Plan

Figure 9.



Source: (NYC Organizational Chart, 2018)

Institutional Arrangements

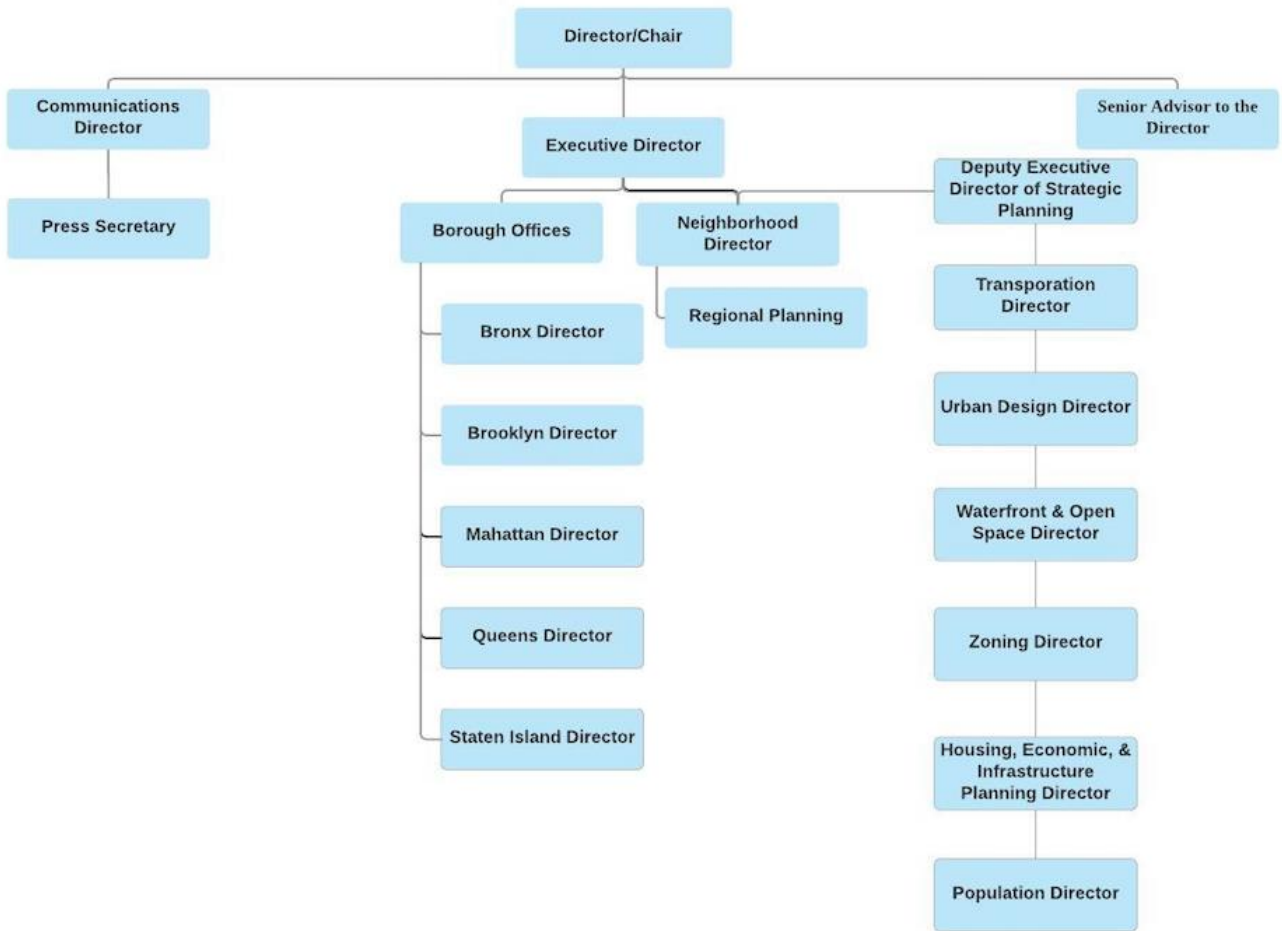
The City of New York has a multi-faceted approach for urban planning processes. The institutions that are involved in the planning and civic participation include the Department of City Planning, The Planning Commission, and the community boards within each borough. In each of these institutions, citizens are encouraged to participate through public hearings and community meetings. Although there is not a designated office for citizen participation, there are other mechanisms in, which other institutions support civic participation in planning initiatives. Each of these institutions work collectively in order to help address the city and neighborhood necessities.

The Department of City Planning

The Department of City Planning (DCP) helps carry out new urban planning approaches and relevant policies that are beneficial in the development of New York City. The DCP is responsible for establishing the urban and socioeconomic framework for the planning process in New York (Department of City Planning, 2018). The primary functions of the DCP include monitoring the land use and environmental review of the city, preparing plans and policies, and providing information to and advising the Mayor, borough presidents, the New York City Council, community boards and other local government bodies (Department of City Planning, 2018).

In addition, the DCP, through a comprehensive plan helps to promote participatory planning processes involving multiple agencies and organizations and input from New Yorkers in every borough (Department of City Planning, 2018). According to a government official from the DCP, the organization has been providing information and building an understanding with the community regarding neighborhood plans. When developing planning reports, the organization goes out into the community to do surveys in order to receive feedback to see if the public has questions about regulations or items that they don't understand. See Figure 10 for an organizational chart, outlining some of the areas in the DCP. Please, note this is not a full representation of the DCP.

Figure 10. Department of City Planning Partial Organizational Chart



Source: The Department of City Planning. (2018).

The City Planning Commission

The City Planning Commission is responsible for the growth and development of the planning process in New York City (Department of City Planning, 2018). The Commission oversees implementation of laws that require action for environmental reviews, which are done by the city (New York City Charter, 2017). The City Charter established the Commission in 1936, which consists of thirteen members. The Mayor appoints the Chair who is also the Director of City Planning (Department of City Planning, 2018).

The City Planning Commission incorporates citizen participation through public hearings for proposed plans for the city's growth and development. Suggested plans from a community board, borough board or borough president can be submitted through a written recommendation to the City Planning Commission after the board or borough president has held a public hearing on such plans (New York City Charter, 2017). Once submitted, the city planning commission reviews the plan, holds a public hearing, and approves the plan with modifications or disapproves the plan. All plans proposed to the City Planning Commission are referred to the DCP. The DCP circulates these plans to all affected community boards, borough boards, and borough presidents. The City Planning Commission also allows citizens to comment on an active land use application by using the City Planning Commission comments form through the DCP website. This allows citizens to provide valuable feedback regarding the use of public land within the five boroughs.

Mayor's Community Affairs Unit (CAU)

The Mayor's Community Affairs Unit (CAU) is the direct link between the Mayor and New York City's diverse communities, especially the five boroughs (NYC: Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). CAU plays an important role in improving the quality of life for all the citizens of New York by working with neighborhood organizations and city agencies (NYC: Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). The CAU maintains liaisons with tenant associations, parent groups, students, workers, communities of faith, and public and private organizations to address and bring to the attention of the Mayor and appropriate city officials, issues and problems of concern to communities. Additionally, the CAU collaborates with the DCP through city specific projects, including zoning, affordable housing, and transportation.

Local Level Participation

Borough Boards

The five borough presidents in New York wield power under Chapter 4 (Borough Presidents) of the city charter (Perrotta, 2013). Each borough president serves a four-year term, with a maximum term limit of twelve years (Perrotta, 2013). Borough presidents have influence over intra-borough affairs by appointing members of the community boards in their respective boroughs. Community board members are appointed for two-year terms (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). In addition, the borough president reviews and makes recommendations on the Uniform Land Use Review Procedure (ULURP) applications, maintains planning, and budget offices. Furthermore, the borough president administers training to community board members and serves as chairperson of the borough board and borough service cabinet (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). Borough presidents have historically retained a close working relationship with community boards, and this alliance between borough presidents and community boards was an important response to the urban planning initiatives.

The New York City borough boards consist of the borough president, council members representing each of the five boroughs, and the chairpersons of all the community boards in the borough (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). Chairpersons may only vote on matters directly affecting their

community districts. The board has the authority to initiate and review comprehensive or special purpose plans for the borough and is responsible for preparing a statement of expenses and capital budget priorities for the borough (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). In addition, the board mediates any disputes between community boards as well.

Community Boards

Community boards are the local representative bodies and help provide the citizens of New York with a voice and an opportunity to help their communities. There are 59 community boards throughout the city, and each one consists of up to 50 unsalaried members, half of whom are nominated by their district's city council members (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). Additional board members are selected and appointed by the borough presidents from among active, involved people of each community (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). Each community board is led by a district manager, who establishes an office, hires staff, and implements procedures to improve the delivery of city services to the district (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). While the main responsibility of the board office is to receive complaints from the community residents, they also manage special projects that cater to specific community needs, including organizing tenants' associations, coordinating neighborhood cleanup programs, and more.

The structure of community boards varies greatly, depending on community needs in New York (Forman, n.d.). Some boards organize committees on the basis of functional areas such as land use review, education, public safety, and the budget. Some boards establish committees and assign them to the operations of specific city agencies. Still others are organized by area committees, concerned with matters affecting specific geographic parts of a district. Many boards combine all three committee structures. In addition, while interviewing a government official from the Manhattan Community Board, we found that each community board office is its own autonomous office with each community board under the borough president of that specific borough.⁷ For example, within the Manhattan Community Board, there are different committees including the land use committee, water for parks resiliency committee, and the licensing committee. Additionally, there are fifteen members within the Manhattan Community Board. The government official indicated that a uniform committee shown across boards in New York is the land use committee because one of the primary roles of the community boards is to participate in the ULURP process.

Community boards have a variety of responsibilities that include, but are not limited to, handling land use and zoning issues, assessing the needs of their own neighborhoods, and addressing other community concerns (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). First, community boards have an important advisory role and must be consulted on the placement of most municipal facilities in the community. Applications for a change in or variance from the zoning resolution must come before the board for review, and the board's position is considered in the final determination (NYC Mayor's Community Affairs Unit, 2018). Second, community boards look at the needs of their community members and meet with city agencies to make recommendations in the city's budget process. Third, the community boards address any concern or issue that affects part of the community, from traffic problems to deteriorating housing.

Citizen participation is strongly encouraged during community meetings. Board meetings occur once a month and are open to the public. At these meetings, members address items of concern to the community and hear from citizens as well. Boards regularly conduct additional public hearings on the city's budget.

⁷ Manhattan Community Board official in New York, April 12, 2018

In addition, while conducting interviews for additional research, a government official indicated that the formal role of citizen participation is through the community boards. Within each of the borough offices there is a liaison to every community board, and the liaison attends the regularly scheduled monthly meetings. The community boards have a formal role in the public review of land use application.

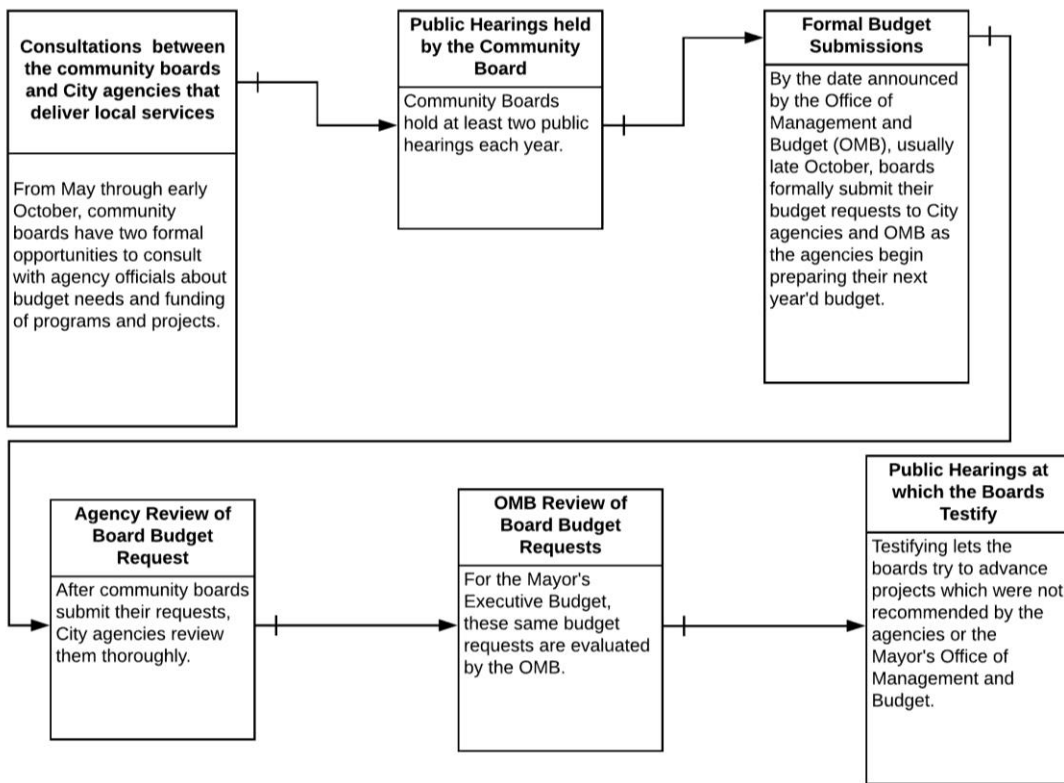
Participatory Budget Process

As previously noted, citizen participation in budget requests and district needs is mandated by the New York City Charter. With this in mind, community boards are given a broad range of responsibilities for advising the city about local budget needs and priorities. The city charter mandates that the community boards consult with agencies on the capital and budget needs of the district, hold public hearings, prepare capital and budget priorities for the next fiscal year (NYC: Community Board No. 10, 2014). To meet these mandates, a formal structure was created which allows the city's communities to make their needs known to agency decision makers and the mayor. This process tries to ensure that local neighborhood opinion is considered when the city allocates its resources and services.

As representatives of local communities, boards are most concerned with city spending that affects the quality of life for residents and workers in their districts. There are six major elements by which the community boards participate in formulating the city's budget. These six major elements represent a real opportunity for boards to impact the decisions that are made about projects and programs for their community. These six elements include (1) consultations between the community boards and city agencies that deliver local services (2) public hearings held by the community board (3) formal budget submissions (4) agency review of board budget requests (5) The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Review of Board Budget Requests and (6) public hearings at which the boards testify (NYC: Community Board No. 10, 2014). See Figure 11 for an overview of the Community Board Budget Process.

Assessing community needs is one of the most important and useful activities performed by community boards in determining the district's service and budget requests. This requires the involvement of each board member and committee and should be an ongoing activity. Personal observations, published surveys, public hearings, discussion with local service chiefs and the use of community records from the District Service Cabinet and other district office complaint logs can help in identifying patterns or areas of problems within the community (NYC: Community Board No. 10, 2014). As a result, the board can then determine if the identified problem can be addressed by reallocating existing resources or through a request for more funds.

Figure 11. Overview of the Community Board Budget Process



Source: (NYC: Community Board No. 10: Manhattan, New York City, 2014).

Institutions Promoting Citizen Participation

There are institutions like the state, nonprofit, and public-private partnerships that help promote citizen participation in urban planning processes. Some of these institutions are focused on specific urban planning initiatives such as creating different programs and neighborhood activities for civic involvement and providing safe public spaces around the City of New York. These institutions are focused on different geographic locations within the city and provide engagement tools to interact with different stakeholders for neighborhood projects.

The Department of Parks and Recreation

The New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, also known as the Parks Department, utilizes different programs and initiatives to support public engagement for the city's public spaces. The Parks Department is the principle provider of recreational and athletic facilities and programs in New York (NYC Parks, 2018). The department is responsible for maintaining and preserving the city's parks system and maintains more than 30,000 acres of the city's land (NYC Parks, 2018). Within the Parks Department is an office that promotes citizen participation at the local level. The Community Outreach Office supports the civic involvement in the planning process for parks (See Figure 12 for the organizational

structure of the Community Outreach Office).⁸ Please, note that this is not a full representation of the Community Outreach Office and only some of the entities within this office are of relevance.

The department also works with different programs such as Partnerships for Parks to help provide public spaces for social and civic engagement. Partnerships for Parks is a public-private partnership between the City Parks Foundation and NYC Parks that supports citizen volunteers by providing them with the tools they need to care for their neighborhood parks and green spaces (City Parks Foundation, 2018). The program offers a Partnership Academy Workshop which is offered year-around to the public (City Parks Foundation, 2018). Some of the main topics in this workshop include:

- Working with elected officials
- Fundraising
- Getting to know NYC Parks
- Group development

Nonprofit Organizations/Public-Private Partnerships

The Bryant Park Restoration Corporation

The Bryant Park Corporation (BPC) is a not-for-profit, private management organization that was founded in 1980 to reclaim Bryant Park for the people of New York City (Bryant Park, 2018). It was established by Daniel A. Biederman and Andrew Heiskell, with support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (Bryant Park, 2018). Historically, the corporation has worked to provide a clean and safe public space for the citizens of New York. With the support of the Parks Department, the BPC has experimented with different ways “to break the cycle of desertion and danger” in the past (Rosegrant, 2004, p. 13). This was done by discarding trash and installing booths, so people could buy books, flowers, and discount theatre tickets that offer free mid-day concerts. These efforts have helped to engage and provide a safe public space for citizens. Today, Bryant Park is a 9.6-acre park adjacent to the New York Public Library located in the New York City Manhattan borough. The park is full of historical monuments and urban amenities.

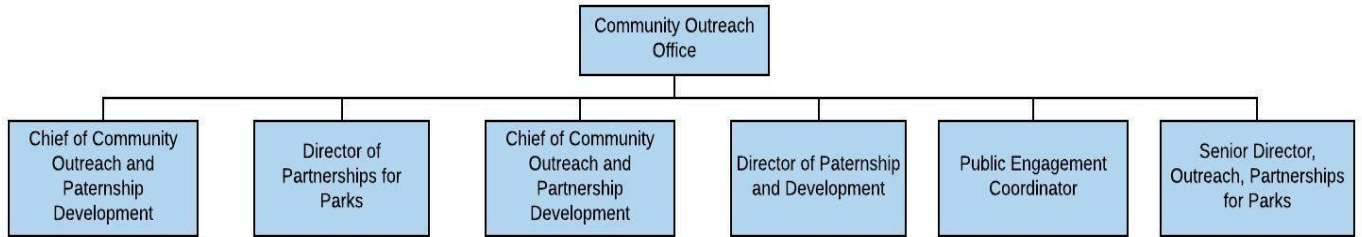
The Central Park Conservancy

The Central Park Conservancy, a private, nonprofit organization, was formed in 1980 by a group of concerned citizens determined to improve Central Park (Rosegrant, 2004). Some of these concerned citizens included George Soros, and Richard Gilder. In 1974, George Soros, and Richard Gilder conducted a study that “formed a focal point for citizens’ anxieties about the park’s condition” (Rosegrant, 2004, p. 7). During this period, Central Park was in a chronic state of decay and socially, the park was being misused with unchecked amounts of garbage, graffiti, and vandalism. To help remedy this

⁸ We conducted an interview with a government official from the Parks Department. Government officials in the Community Outreach Office were involved in a project called Public Engagement Pocket Parks in Mexico City. The purpose of the Pocket Parks initiative was to work with Latin American countries on environmental issues. One of the main initiatives of this project was to create pocket parks in all areas of Mexico City. Employees from the Parks Department utilized engagement tools to help government officials in Mexico City learn how to collaborate with citizens in order to improve the initiatives to create public spaces.

situation, George Soros and Richard Gilder underwrote a management study of Central Park (Central Park Conservancy, 2018). This groundbreaking study recommended two initiatives to be implemented, which included selecting a chief executive officer to have full authority of all Central Park operations and establishing a Central Park Board of Guardians to oversee planning and policy initiatives, thereby introducing private citizen involvement in New York City’s public parks (Central Park Conservancy, 2018). These initiatives have helped to shape the structure and civic involvement of the organization.

Figure 12. Community Outreach Office Partial Structure



Source: (NYC Parks, 2018).

Methods of Engagement

New York City has long been a leader in developing and implementing urban planning processes. As such, it is important for the city to find ways to keep citizens informed and integrate public opinion into planning at the city, borough, and neighborhood level. The majority of programs currently implemented are intended to inform citizens about government resources and regulations, but some go a step further and ask for feedback that will help shape future planning processes. The following section will describe a handful of participatory programs that New York City has recently undertaken at the local level. After these descriptions, we will explore some of the challenges and limitations that New York City faces in soliciting participation and how the city evaluates the success of such initiatives.

Current Initiatives

Because New York City is such a large government, we found it helpful to categorize some of their methods of engagement into the policy areas, which they affect. First, we will review methods used to garner citizen participation in general planning related issues. Next, we will focus on programs or initiatives centered around issues of zoning, particularly relating to increasing sustainability and reducing flood risk in the wake of Hurricane Sandy. Lastly, we will look at methods for involving the public in issues regarding affordable housing, which is an increasingly important issue for New Yorkers in recent years. The table below summarizes some of the current methods of engagement used by New York City.

Policy Focus	Method	Description	Operated By	Form of Participation	Who Participates
General Planning	Community Portal	Online portal that allows residents to easily access information and resources pertaining to planning	Department of City Planning	Inform	Residents
General Planning	Public Hearings	Allows residents to provide commentary on land use and real estate improvement applications that come before the commission	City Planning Commission, Community Boards, Department of Parks & Recreation	Inform, Consult	Residents, developers, representatives of elected officials, nonprofit officials
Zoning	Resilient Neighborhoods Campaign	Initiative to inform citizens of and gain input for changes to floodplain zoning regulations in response to Hurricane Sandy. Includes social media videos, outreach events, and feedback form on website	Department of City Planning	Inform, Involve	Residents, community leaders
Zoning	ZoLa Map	Interactive map that allows residents to search for zoning regulations, zoning proposals, and City Planning initiatives	Department of City Planning	Inform	Residents, property owners, developers

		around the city			
Affordable Housing	Housing New York Map	GIS map that allows residents to look up affordable housing projects that have been built or developed since 2014	Mayor's Office, Department of Housing Preservation and Development	Inform	Residents, developers
Affordable Housing	Housing Connect Portal	Online resource to connect citizens with affordable housing options in NYC	Department of Housing Preservation and Development, Housing Development Corporation	Inform, collaborate	Residents, developers
Parks & Recreation	Surveying	Representatives attend meetings of local churches, clubs, and other groups in order to elicit input from citizens in a convenient way	Department of Parks & Recreation	Inform, Consult, Involve	Residents, nonprofits
Parks & Recreation	Public-Private Partnerships	Strategic collaboration between a governmental agency and corporations, nonprofits, and other units of government	Department of Parks & Recreation	Involve, Collaborate	Nonprofits, businesses

General Planning

General Planning issues include big decisions about the vision for the city, basic informational tools for citizens, and in-person hearings to gather general feedback about the planning process. For example, the Department of City Planning designed and maintains a “community portal” that allows residents to quickly access information and resources pertaining to the department’s planning activities (“Community Portal,” 2018). Developed in 2017, the portal brings together information about individual community boards and their needs, local flood risks, and active land use applications by the community district (Litvak, 2017). Additionally, the site offers downloadable versions of all data used so that residents can have full, unfettered access to the city’s information at the community district level.

Another general method for promoting participation within the planning process is the City Planning Commission’s regular hosting of public hearings. These hearings give residents, property owners, and developers the chance to provide commentary on land use and real estate improvement applications that come before the commission (“Commission Meetings,” 2018). However, while these meetings are conducted before the public, any commentary to be considered must be submitted in writing prior to the beginning of the meeting. Thus, citizens must have the time to both submit commentary and attend the meeting in order to participate, which may limit the ability of certain groups of people to have their voices heard in the hearings.

Zoning

In the wake of Hurricane Sandy, New Yorkers are looking for ways to improve zoning regulations in order to increase their resiliency to future threats. One such method that the city has used to do this is the launch of the Resilient Neighborhoods Campaign in 2013. This is an initiative that seeks to inform citizens and gather input for changes to the floodplain regulations following the hurricane’s destruction (“Climate Resiliency,” 2017). This campaign utilizes several different methods for involving stakeholders such as residents, property owners, community leaders, and developers. First, they created informational videos about flood regulations and the possible changes that could be easily shared on social media or other platforms. Next, the Department of City Planning hosted various community workshops, meetings with community boards, town halls, public hearings, and the like to gauge public opinion and educate community leaders on how to be involved in the process. Additionally, in order to make this information more accessible, all notes and presentations from such events are posted on the department’s website (“Flood Resilience Zoning Update,” 2018). Lastly, the department created a feedback form that residents and other stakeholders can use to express their ideas or concerns directly to the government.

Another interesting method of engagement used to improve zoning in New York City is the ZoLa map. ZoLa is an interactive map based on 100% open source data that allows users to look up current regulations for specific properties, neighborhoods, or jurisdictions (“ZoLa,” 2018). In theory, residents could use this system to look up restrictions for properties in their neighborhoods to make sure that ongoing projects there are complying with all relevant information and report them if not. However, while user-friendly, the ZoLa map may not be available to all citizens, such as those without smartphones or internet access. Additionally, ZoLa does not support the reporting of violations in-app, so citizens still must use a separate channel to relay concerns.

Affordable Housing

Over the past few years, concerns over affordable housing in New York City have been growing rapidly. In response, Mayor De Blasio has made the expansion of affordable housing in the city a major priority of his administration. In 2014, his office released Housing New York, a comprehensive plan to create or preserve 200,000 affordable housing units for more than half a million people by the year 2024. As of 2017, over 77,000 new units have been developed, which far surpasses the office's initial target for that time frame (Glen, 2017). Part of this plan included the creation of the Housing New York map, which is an interactive GIS map that allows residents to quickly look up affordable housing projects developed since the program's inception in 2014 ("Housing New York Map," 2018). This map can be used by residents to locate new developments or by developers to visually see which areas are still being underserved by the program.

Another important program run jointly by the Department of Housing and Preservation and New York City's Housing Development Corporation is the operation of the New York Housing Connect Portal. This online tool allows developers to list their properties on an online system where potential residents can search and apply for affordable housing for which they qualify (Kamping-Carder, 2018). Once residents find a unit for which they are a match, they can send in an application and are placed into a lottery to be considered. Lottery "winners" then undergo interviews, credit checks, and other processes before being able to lease the apartment. Demand for housing still exceeds supply, so many applicants are not chosen during the lottery stage of the application process. Thus, there are obviously still many citizens who cannot secure affordable housing. However, the surplus of applications also illustrates that the connect portal is successful at connecting potential residents to partnering developers. In order to make this program more successful, the department could focus on involving more developers and more housing projects on the portal. Currently, developments are not required to be listed on the portal, so the tool does not represent a comprehensive database of all affordable housing available in the city. Nevertheless, this platform has a great deal of potential to inform citizens of housing opportunities and help them afford to live in the city.

Parks & Recreation

Parks have long been a cherished and integral part of New York City. Today, these parks encompass more than 30,000 acres of land, comprising approximately 14% of the city (NYC Parks, 2018). The Department of Parks and Recreation, like the community boards and other city departments, utilizes hearings and other traditional methods of engagement in order to elicit participation from citizens. The Department of Parks and Recreation frequently tries to gather citizen preferences when changing, renovating, or improving parks and other public spaces. They may do this in organized public meetings or simply by reaching out to citizens individually to gather their input.⁹ For example, Parks employees may go door to door, attend neighborhood events, or reach out to local groups such as churches or clubs in order to inform people about opportunities to participate in the decision-making process.

One unique engagement method of the Department of Parks and Recreation is their partnership strategy. These "partnerships" were initially borne out of necessity as the department faced shrinking budgets in the 1970s and 1980s (Rosegrant, 2004). During this period, the department handed over responsibility for concessions, zoos, parkway maintenance, and litter and snow removal to nonprofits, corporations, and other local government agencies. After the initial success of these partnerships, the Department of Parks

⁹ Department of Parks and Recreation official in New York, April 7, 2018.

and Recreation integrated collaboration with these outside groups into their reframed mission. Several nonprofits, such as the Central Park Conservancy, were formed during this time in order to raise money to support and maintain New York City's network of parks (Rosegrant, 2004).

Over time, these partnerships have become an invaluable resource for capital investments, volunteer labor, contracted services, and even political support (Rosegrant, 2004). One public program, The Partnership for Parks, began serving as an umbrella group for park-related initiatives in order to foster the development and growth of organizations designed to support park services (NYC Parks, 2018). These partnerships were observed to be successful for three major reasons. First, the private organizations had a higher degree of flexibility, allowing them to work in a faster and more efficient manner than the Department of Parks and Recreation. Secondly, these organizations were able to procure goods and services and raise capital with far fewer restraints. Lastly, these partnerships provided the government with valuable learning opportunities and insights into the community it serves (Rosegrant, 2004).

Implementation and Performance

Although it is interesting to look at the different methods that New York City employs in order to engage its citizens in the planning process, it is also valuable to take a deeper look into how exactly these initiatives and programs are implemented and evaluate their performance. By reviewing this information, we are able to see what lessons from New York City's experience could be generalized and applied to the Mexico City context.

Challenges and Limitations of Participation

There are numerous challenges and limitations to gathering citizen participation using each of the methods described in the previous section. In regards to general planning, the major issue is one of access. Virtual participatory methods, including the community portal, may not be useful for low-income individuals that do not have smartphones or internet access or for disabled persons for whom the technology may not be completely accessible (Bohman, 2012). On the other hand, more traditional methods (such as the City Commission's public hearings) require a significant time commitment from participants. Citizens who work inflexible or long hours may not have the ability to submit written comments and then attend the meetings.

Another barrier to citizen participation is a lack of technical information. In issues relating to zoning, for example, the general public may not know enough about urban planning, architecture, floodplain risk, or the like to meaningfully participate in these issues (Mazza, 2002). As a result, New York City mainly uses its methods of engagement to keep citizens informed about zoning regulations and changes rather than directly empowering them to enact change. Moreover, because these methods primarily serve to merely inform the public rather than consult or collaborate with them, it is likely that particular types of groups with greater resources, expertise, or connections (such as developers, wealthy property owners, etc.) have more influence over zoning changes than does the general public. We hope to further explore this idea in our upcoming interviews with the various stakeholders in New York City.

Additionally, there may be an information asymmetry present that affects who participates in planning. For example, developers and property owners may have more information about the state of affordable housing in the city than would a poor family seeking a housing match. However, some of the methods employed by New York City, such as the Housing Connect portal, serve to mediate this divergence of information and inform potential residents about housing opportunities. Nevertheless, as discussed in the previous section, this system does not provide a comprehensive database of all available or upcoming

affordable housing units in the city at any given point in time. This leaves open the opportunity for landlords to give preference to certain qualifying potential residents if the housing is not openly advertised, which decreases the affordable housing initiative's overall efficiency and equity profile. Therefore, making this database more comprehensive could be one place that New York City could work to improve its citizen participation processes.

Finally, our interviews with stakeholders in New York City have revealed that young people, families with young children, the elderly and disabled, and non-native English speakers tend to not participate for a variety of reasons.¹⁰ However, recent initiatives and changes implemented by New York City seek to increase the volume of participation by these underrepresented groups. For example, certain departments have begun hosting their public meetings in the evening rather than during the day or offering childcare services in order to attract parents. Thus, by using a combination of methods, New York City has created a delicate balance of which voices are heard in the planning process. Thus, any other city must also consider how their choice of methods affect who is effectively barred from the participatory process.

Evaluation Methods

Many of the methods of engagement used by New York City are not formally evaluated in a regular, systematic manner for how well they engage the citizenry. Instead, however, citizens are empowered to evaluate various initiatives by providing feedback (Litvak, 2017). Government officials can use the comments received through these feedback forms in order to improve the problems in the future. This system, ideally, can encourage citizens to remain engaged and inform the government of whether or not the implementation of its programs and initiatives is meeting the desires of the public. Moreover, government officials in New York City have stressed that they actively seek out such feedback because participation leads to better decision making.

Nevertheless, individual departments within the New York City government do regularly conduct internal evaluations. In fact, New York City has a well-developed process for setting targets, measuring outcomes, and analyzing results for its programs and initiatives (NYC Department of Planning, 2018). However, this evaluation tends to focus more heavily on the tangible outputs of the program rather than the quantity and quality of citizen input that is integrated into it. For example, the success of Mayor De Blasio's Housing New York program is measured in terms of how many new housing units are created, not necessarily by how well these housing projects are meeting the needs and desires of the general public (Glen, 2017). In addition, the Department of City Planning presents an annual Consolidated Plan Performance Report, which details its performance for projects funded by HUD or other federal grants ("Consolidated Plan," 2016).

Conclusion

Historically, New York City has been a leader in innovation in urban planning. Today, they continue to innovate using new technologies and methods in order to increase engagement with citizens. Although traditional, in-person methods of engagement such as public hearings, community groups, and workshops are still widely utilized by the city at various levels (city, borough, neighborhood, etc.), in recent years many new virtual online methods have been introduced to keep citizens informed and make it more convenient for them to access services and provide feedback. Many of these programs are developed

¹⁰ Manhattan Community Board official, Interview, April 12, 2018

using open source data, which allows them to quickly adapt to changing conditions in the city. Additionally, New York's willingness to engage with the private and nonprofit sectors allows them greater flexibility and efficiency in their delivery of services. Although New York City faces a number of urban policy challenges, its government has created a number of channels of participation and communication in order to build and sustain an environment that best meets the needs and preferences of its population.

Seoul, South Korea: Case Study

Introduction

With a current area of 605km² and a population of 10 million, Seoul is one of the densest cities in the world. The Seoul Metropolitan area continues to grow, as new towns and satellite cities claim a population of 25.6 million and serves as a hub city of Northeast Asia due to its proximity to Tokyo, Hong Kong, Beijing, and Singapore (Seoul Solution).

First recognized by the United Nations in 1948, South Korea has seen substantial development in economy, education, and culture since its inception. From the 1960s onward, the nation has developed from one of the poorest countries in Asia to one of the top economies in the world. Shortly after incurring vast infrastructural damages from World War 2 and the Korean War, the capital city of Seoul experienced rapid government-led urban transformation. To encourage rapid economic growth, the redevelopment of Seoul was set as a national priority by the South Korean government (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

City Structure

While South Korea has a unitary government, it also encompasses a system of local self-governance where citizens elect the heads of the central government, city governments, and local district (gu) governments. The government of Seoul is comprised of an executive branch, the Seoul Metropolitan Government, and a legislative body, the Seoul Metropolitan Council. Furthermore, the administrative structure of the city is divided among three tiers: si (city), gu (district), and dong (neighborhood). The mayor serves as the head of the metropolitan government, followed by vice mayors and directors of bureaus, offices, and divisions.

Seoul has 25 gus, each home to an average population of 400,000 people. The governing body of each gu is called a Local District Government (LDG). Each gu has its own legislative council, mayor, and even sister cities. These districts are further divided into dong, which are the smallest level of urban government to have a designated office and staff. The leaders of each dong are appointed by the LDGs. Seoul has 423 dong in total (an average of 17 per gu), with an average population of 23,000 per dong. The dong are tasked with private service provision within their respective administrative areas (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).



Source: (Seoul, 2017)

Urban Challenges

The 1990s ushered in an era of democratic reforms in South Korea, which in turn increased demand among citizens for participation in local issues. Throughout the decade, the effects of rapid urbanization in Seoul became increasingly apparent, manifesting in the following urban challenges:

1. **Congestion**
As the population of Seoul has continued to rise, the city has become increasingly congested in terms of traffic and density. To mitigate these issues, the Seoul Metropolitan Government is currently working to create a paradigm shift from a car-oriented environment to a more pedestrian-friendly city.
2. **Decreases in Living Standards**
Seoul's urban sprawl has resulted in less than ideal living standards for many citizens as developers struggle to keep up with the city's increasing demand for more housing. These adverse effects have become increasingly apparent in terms of inadequate amenities and poor construction standards.
3. **Decreases in Social Trust**
Increasing conflicts regarding the urban regeneration of Seoul has created a decrease in the interpersonal relations of many citizens due to a reduction of social trust and increases in competition for housing.
4. **Increases in Inequality**

As wealthier and more educated individuals migrate to more affluent regions like Gangnam-Gu, the city faces increased income and education inequality by district (Panel: Planning for Communities: Lessons from Seoul and Singapore. 2017).

This rise in urban challenges has not been entirely negative, however, as the less than ideal situation has prompted citizens to be more proactive in voicing their needs and concerns in urban planning affairs. Participatory planning efforts in Seoul were institutionalized after Park Won Soon was elected mayor in 2011 (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

Urban Planning Policy Context

Seoul's first modern urban plan was drafted in 1952, as an outlet through which to guide reconstruction following the Korean War. The formulation of urban master plans was formally sanctioned in 1981, with the government designating that a mandatory review be conducted every five years. The South Korean government placed a high priority on the development of Seoul and held final approval authority on urban plans for the city. Urban planning in Seoul has primarily focused on promoting economic development and accommodating its rapidly growing urban population.

Due to a lack of public finances, Seoul has had to rely heavily on private capital to finance the majority of its urban development. Both city and national level governments have supervised private urban development projects within Seoul. These public-private urban development partnerships can be credited with the rapid improvement in residential environments and the creation of a modern transport network (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

Created in 1981, the Urban Master Plan aims to improve the quality of life of Seoul's citizens through the implementation of sustainable and environmentally sound policies. The highest-level plan, the Urban Master Plan establishes the guidelines and procedures for lower-level urban plans that relate to the use, development, and preservation of land, to create a culture of uniformity. Comprehensive in nature, it aims to encompass and address numerous social and economic aspects, including transportation & infrastructure, environment & energy, and culture & welfare (2030 Seoul Master Plan, 2017).

In February 2009, the South Korean government revised its Act on Planning and Use of National Territory. This policy change had major implications, as it shifted the authority to establish an urban master plan from the central government to local government, therefore granting the mayor of Seoul the ability to develop an urban master plan that more accurately reflected the characteristics of the city (2030 Seoul Master Plan, 2017).

Following the established guidelines of the Urban Master Plan, Seoul developed its own urban master plan—the “2030 Seoul Plan”—in 2011, to shift its focus to more city-specific interests. While drafting the 2030 Seoul Plan, Mayor Won Soon Park asked city officials to focus on the following three areas in particular: citizen engagement, values for the future (i.e, sharing, innovation, peaceful co-existence, and consensus), and local features and communities (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017). City officials and policymakers worked to ensure that the planning and implementation process be as transparent as possible, by including citizens, experts, and any other organizations who were interested in helping formulate the plan. While previous urban master plans have traditionally focused on spatial and physical elements, the 2030 Seoul Plan focuses more on non-physical aspects such as welfare, culture, history, and education. Established as a template from which to guide the future direction of the city, the 2030 Seoul Plan focuses primarily on the following five core initiatives (2030 Seoul Master Plan, 2017):

- A people-centered city without discrimination

- A dynamic global city with a strong job market
- Vibrant Cultural and Historic City
- Lively and safe city, and
- Stable housing and easy transportation, community-oriented city

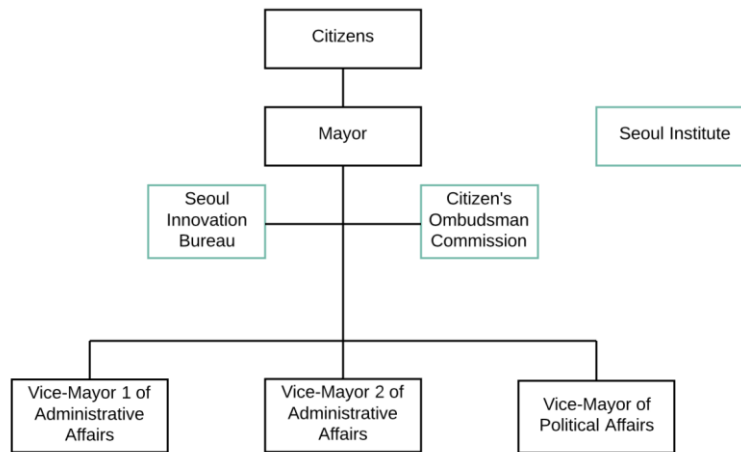
Institutional Arrangements

City Level

The urban planning framework of Seoul is designed to be both a vertical and horizontal process. National and regional development priorities are at the top of the hierarchy and function to inform the urban master plan. The urban master plan then serves as a guide for urban management plans, detailed district plans, and individual developments further down.

This system is complemented by a horizontal layer of domain-based technical plans and statutory guidelines, which are developed following relevant and respective laws.

While Seoul does not have a single office designated for citizen participation, there are a few offices scattered across the Seoul Metropolitan Government structure that incorporate citizen feedback into their urban planning practices, as shown in the diagram below.



Governmental

Seoul Innovation Bureau. The Seoul Metropolitan Government views social innovation as one of the critical policy issues that can help to resolve complicated social problems. The first of its kind in Asia, the Seoul Innovation Bureau encourages citizen participation by seeking ideas and insights which it often adopts as city policies (The Seoul Innovation Bureau and its “Sharing city” Initiative, 2016).

Citizen’s Ombudsman Commission. Ombudsman Institutions are a key outlet through which to amplify the voice of citizens and make governments more open and inclusive. This office plays an essential role as the communication bridge between the Seoul Metropolitan Government and citizens, by serving as a mechanism for social control in which citizens can submit suggestions and complaints (Mendiburu, 2014).

The Seoul Institute (SI). The Seoul Institute is the official think tank of Seoul and is a somewhat autonomous government entity. The Seoul Institute aims to improve the Seoul Metropolitan Government policies and improve the quality of life of Seoul's citizens through professional research and workshops (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

Participatory Budgeting

In 2012, SMG introduced participatory budgeting (CPB) with the purpose of promoting transparency, preventing budget waste, and "efficient budget distribution" (Rhee & Ahn, n.d; SMG, 2017). Seoul's Participatory Budget System (PBS) is led by the PBS committee, which requires no special qualifications to engage a diverse range of citizens. Members of the committee are selected via electronic draw which takes into consideration sex, age, and regional balance. Additionally, the PBS committee has a quota of 300 ordinary citizen members. Citizens are required to undergo PBS training before being entered into a drawing for this position. Advanced training is provided for established members of the PBS committee to strengthen capacity.

In addition to the PBS committee, "all citizens [are] granted voting rights for the selection of businesses." An online voting system (website & application) was put in place in 2015 to allow for greater participation (SMG, 2017).

Regional & Local Level

Seoul has three main types of community organizations which include resident governing bodies, resident organizations, and "grassroots units."

Resident Governing Bodies. The main resident governing body is a *Resident Self-Governing Committee (RSGC)*. An RSGC is a statutory organization, as well as a formal and representative body, which has the responsibility of planning, decision-making, and implementation of various activities related to self-governance and community development at the dong level. Members of RSGC are comprised of about 25 residents who are publicly recruited, recommended by fellow residents, and/or appointed by dong heads.

Resident Organizations. Underneath the RSGC are a type of resident organization called *Apartment Resident Committees (ARCs)*, which manage common living facilities at apartment complexes. ARCs are relevant because "58.6% of all residential units are high-rise apartments," and a majority of apartment residents actually consider their apartment complex to be their neighborhood.

Grassroots Units. Grassroots units are described as "spontaneous communities and their networks" operating at the gu (district) level. Organizations established by SMG, such as RSGCs and ARCS, have been said to have limitations due to their rigidity and disconnect from citizens. Barriers faced by these types of organizations have led to the creation of what are considered to be "more relevant community organizations" that are "less formal and rigid and more "community-led," such as Local Community Support Programs (LCSPs) and Community Networks.

Local Community Support Programs (LCSCs) are run by SMG in tandem with LDGs and are publicly funded, but "aim to increase citizen participation in community activities and strengthen the foundation of local communities." These programs are typically divided into sub-programs which focus on areas of communities such as childcare, culture, and economy.(Center for Livable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

Seoul Community Support Centers (SCSCs) are uniquely intermediary, staffed by private partners with professional expertise as opposed to public servants, with the purpose of helping to “nurture a system of collaborative governance between the public and private sectors.” These community centers serve to meet the specific and unique needs of each district. As of 2016, 25 local districts had their own center (Center for Livable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

Community Networks. Community Networks serve to connect the various entities within each community as well as to “encourage free and open engagement between members of different communities” (Center for Livable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017). These networks are comprised of stakeholders such as “spontaneous resident groups,” grassroots organizations, institutionalized community unites, cooperatives and social welfare centers, architects, individuals, and experts that are interested in the community within each gu.

Community Planning Groups (CPGs). In dong-level planning, SMG provides resources to LDGs in the form of funding and expertise, as well as “monitors all projects.” SMG and the LDGs have administrative steering groups that work with dong on community planning. Within each dong, there are Community Planning Groups (CPGs). These groups are comprised of about 100 residents and are solely responsible for the drafting and implementation of dong-level plans. Additionally, SMG works with non-government activists called *Community Officers*. Each dong has Community Officers that assist them in the planning process, and that act as intermediaries between CPGs and each dong office.

Methods of Engagement

Seoul’s urban development model relies heavily on citizen involvement which has contributed to the city’s high quality of life and has thus been used as an example for other growing cities around the world. Of particular interest to other growing cities, Seoul has paved the way for the incorporation of technology and data into its citizen engagement. The greater focus on citizen involvement and technology has been attributed to the initiatives of Mayor Park Won-soon. After being elected governor of Seoul in 2011, Park decided to pursue a new form of governing called collective governance. Collective governance is said to allow for citizens and the city’s administrators to come together and engage in public policy making. “Park Won-soon, the award-winning mayor of Seoul, has made citizens’ participation a cornerstone of running the South Korean capital, a model he says cities around the world should adopt to tackle urban challenges” (Zweynert, 2016).

There are a number of tools used to engage citizens within the city of Seoul. These tools range in complexity, level of participation, and administrative level; and they are both online and offline. This section firstly identifies the multitude of tools commonly used to engage citizens in Seoul, then focuses on the key methods utilized, followed by vignettes on the city as well as the regional and local level, to further illustrate the key methods in action.

The table on the next page takes a more detailed look at specific examples of the methods used by Seoul, identifying their policy focus, which entity facilitates the method, the level of participation, and the participants involved. The key methods include citizen groups, websites, meetings, and surveys.

	Method	Policy Focus	Facilitator	Level of Participation	Participants
C	2030 Seoul Plan Citizen Group	2030 Seoul Plan	SMG and the Seoul Institute	Collaborate	100 citizens
	Local Community Planning Citizen Group	Local Community (district) Plans	SMG & LDGs	Collaborate	100 citizens per gu
	Community Planning Group	Dong-level (neighborhood) Plans	Citizens with support from Community Officers, LDGs and SMG	Collaborate/ Empower	About 100 residents per dong
W	SMG Planning Website	Plans on the city and local level	SMG	Inform, Consult & Involve	All citizens who both have access to the internet and that have an interest in participating
	Gu (district) Websites	Everyday urban development, local community plans	LDGs	Inform & Consult	All citizens within the district who both have access to the internet and that have an interest in participating
N	Public Meetings	Varies	Varies	Inform & Consult	Open to Public within initiative area
S	Satisfaction Surveys	Varies	Varies	Consult & Involve	Open to Public within initiative area

The table on the next page serves to more clearly identify common citizen participation methods utilized within Seoul’s urban planning by categorizing the methods based on their function. Functions include providing info to citizens, collecting citizen preferences, educating citizens on processes in urban planning, consulting and deliberating with citizens, taking their complaints, and facilitate monitoring and evaluation.

Function	Methods
Providing info	Websites, Newsletters, Applications
Collecting Preferences	Surveys, Open Forums, Town Halls
Educating	Workshops, Symposiums
Consultation/Deliberation	Citizen Groups, Committees, & Councils
Decision-Making	Community Planning Groups (CPGs)
Complaints	Surveys, Open Forums
Monitoring & Evaluation	Surveys, Open Forums, Town Halls

The following sections discuss planning on both the city and the regional/local level to illustrate further many of the key methods of engagement identified in the above tables.

City Level

While Seoul is often lauded in the international community for being a leader in citizen participation, its implementation of such practices is a relatively new development. The 2030 Seoul Plan is the first-time citizen participation has been implemented in the city to such a degree.

To best design and implement these citizen participation initiatives, the Seoul Metropolitan Government decided to enlist the support of the urban research think tank, the Seoul Institute. Instrumental in both the design and implementation of the 2030 Seoul Plan, the Institute’s primary objective is to improve municipal administration through professional research, improve the quality of life in Seoul, and reinforce and sustain the competitiveness of Seoul.

Managed by a committee comprised of the Seoul Institute and Seoul Metropolitan Government, the process for designing the 2030 Seoul Plan began with the establishment of an advisory group of 33

experts from academia and civic groups. With the guidance and support of top government officials, the advisory group determined the direction that the master plan should take and decided the make-up and operation of citizen participants for the planning process (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

Throughout the implementation process of the 2030 Seoul Plan, the Seoul Metropolitan Government and Seoul Institute have placed a high priority on the input of Seoul's citizens.

- They designed the planning process in a manner that granted citizens and experts alike the ability to review and edit the plan openly and transparently throughout the entire process.
- They altered the plan to more accurately reflect the defining characteristics of Seoul as defined by citizens.
- The Seoul Institute reviewed the 2030 Seoul Plan in accordance with the plans from the Seoul government offices and shifted priority towards the policies that raised the status of the umbrella plan.

In 2012, the Seoul Institute created 100-member Seoul Plan Citizen Group to help shape the vision for Seoul's future. Any resident of Seoul aged 19 or older were eligible and encouraged to apply. The government then contracted out the selection process to a private research consulting firm to ensure that members had no attachment to specific interests. To ensure a fair selection process, the firm both accounted for and balanced participants' gender, age, region of residence and occupation, and included minorities, persons with disabilities and foreign nationals. To include and engage the younger generation, a 16-member Youth Group was also established. This group stands alone as a separate autonomous entity so that the ideas of those involved would not be influenced by those in the primary Citizen Group.

Representing the 10 million people of Seoul, the 100-member Citizen Group was approved by the mayor and is responsible for identifying the vision and key tasks for the city. The Seoul Metropolitan Government has facilitated a number of roundtable discussions with the Citizen Group and Youth Group, through which the two groups have identified seven key issues confronting Seoul's future (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017):

1. Lowering the cost of education.
2. Provision of welfare for the disadvantaged.
3. Jobs for youth and elders, and support for small creative enterprises.
4. Need for an increase in communication with citizens.
5. Conservation of historical and cultural resources and landscape.
6. Environmental Conservation.
7. Urban regeneration through small-scale improvements.

To better focus and address many of the key issues raised, a Development Committee for the 2030 Seoul Plan was established, which featured the following five thematic subcommittees: Welfare, education and women; Industry and jobs; History and culture; Environment, energy and safety; Urban space, transport improvement. Each of the five subcommittees is comprised of 20 - 30 people who were recruited from one of the following categories: citizen participants, city counselors, planning experts, civil servants and researchers from the Seoul Institute. The planning process was then coordinated and integrated by a supervisory subcommittee, which included a chief master planner, five master planners from each subcommittee, city counsellors, the heads of the Planning and Coordination Department and the Urban Planning Bureau, and researchers from the Seoul Institute (Centre for Liveable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

Regional & Local Level

Seoul's approach to a Local Community Planning Project paints a clearer picture of what these methods look like in action. In August 2014, SMG launched a Local Community Planning pilot. There were a number of engagement methods involved in this pilot, including marketing tools, citizen groups, a website, and workshops.

Citizen Groups

The first step in this project was to recruit citizens to form the citizen groups. To do this, SMG disseminated information via posters, advertisements, video clips, social media, and other avenues encouraging citizens to apply. Following the process, 913 citizens from 22 communities and 87 dong (neighborhoods) were recruited for the groups. Despite efforts to have a balance between individual citizens and leaders, low interest led to 90% of participants being community leaders or activists. The figure to the right illustrates the citizen group makeup for one of the communities.



Workshops

A citizen workshop program was established to give citizens a voice in the planning process. From September to December, 42 citizen group workshops were held across the 22 pilot communities. The program was designed to conduct two workshops in each community, the first of which focuses on identifying resources and a vision for the community, and the second of which dives deeper, exploring existing issues and identifying ways to improve. In an effort to help gu (district) officials understand and effectively run these citizen workshops, SMG created a detailed instruction manual, which can be found in Appendix B. The manual gives details about each of the two workshops types based on their description, objectives, activities, and outcomes. In some cases, researchers found that gus would create their own programs to further inform citizens of community plans such as lectures and site tours.

Website

SMG set up a planning website (<http://planning.seoul.go.kr>) to share information regarding the progress of community plans, to schedule workshops, and to receive feedback and opinions from citizens.

Results

The pilot was evaluated by SMG and gu district governments following the workshops. SMG and gu (district) governments met to assess the outcomes and plans of the communities. Gu governments discovered that it was challenging to maintain participatory interest, while others reported that the plans had not been shared with them (gu governments) making it difficult to address citizen concern (Center for Livable Cities Singapore & Seoul Institute, 2017).

Implementation & Performance

2030 Seoul Plan Successes:

While interviewing a researcher from the Seoul Institute who played a vital role in the design and implementation of the 2030 Seoul Plan, we found that before 2012, citizens were uninformed and disenchanted by urban planning processes.¹¹ He explained that the plan was too lengthy (700 pages) and complicated. It wasn't until the Seoul Institute shortened the Urban Master Plan to 200 pages that citizens began to understand, become interested, and provide feedback. Additionally, although the 2030 Seoul Plan was implemented on an ad-hoc basis, the initial involvement of citizens has helped make the plan sustainable - paving the way for future participation.

A significant reason that citizen involvement has been successful throughout the implementation of the 2030 Seoul Plan is that each stakeholder benefitted from the process- residents were able to see that their contributions led to tangible results. The decision for the Seoul Metropolitan Government to play a supporting role rather than a leading one has also been instrumental. Had the Seoul Metropolitan Government attempted to lead the initiative, it is likely that the 2030 Seoul Plan would not have achieved the same level of success.

Choosing the independent research institute, The Seoul Institute, helped bridge the gap between the Seoul Metropolitan Government and the citizens of Seoul. If the Seoul Metropolitan Government been in charge of collecting citizen feedback, citizens might have been wary of the intentions and sincerity of the initiative.

2030 Seoul Plan Challenges:

While the 2030 planning process has been successful in its ability to engage citizens at a city level, the master plan has been limited in its ability to incorporate public views at the neighborhood level. A researcher from the Seoul Institute stated citizens have a tendency to focus on small projects for themselves and are not as interested in bigger plans for next generation.¹² The Seoul Institute is working to alleviate this issue by including updates in the master plan that will harmonize the smaller and bigger projects.

To mitigate some of the shortcomings of the 2030 Seoul Plan, The Centre for Liveable Cities and The Seoul Institute (2017) suggest that policymakers consider expanding the Citizen Group beyond its limit of 100-persons to better represent the entire city's population and also enhance the supporting role of experts in providing consultation and information to citizens.

A number of challenges and limitations to the implementation and performance of citizen participation methods were gleaned from a review of literature and interviews with stakeholders. These limitations and challenges include:

- Small number of participants representing large populations
- Participating citizens not necessarily representative of whole population
- Government-heavy involvement, including in evaluative mechanisms
- Methods of engagement sometimes temporary, and/or focus on short-term rather than long-term

¹¹ Seoul Institute Official, Interview, March 22, 2018

¹² Seoul Institute Official, Interview, March 22, 2018

Though virtually all projects involve some level of citizen participation, each initiative only includes a fraction of the citizens that it represents. For instance, in the case of 2030 plan, our interviewee informed us that the 500 citizens and specialists were included in the 2030 planning process. This is about 0.005% of the population. In the case of the local community planning pilot, the Jangwi Seokgwan community citizen group was comprised of 100 citizens from the various dong, whereas in total the community has 100,065 residents. In other cases, the specific plan recruited a set number of citizens, as was the case with the aforementioned Local Community Planning. While impossible to include all citizens, it is important to consider how many citizens are involved, and why or why not. The limited number of participation is often due to a lack of citizen interest, as was mentioned in the Local Community Planning vignette. Interrelated with the above limitation, even when citizens are involved, they are not necessarily representative of all citizens. A third limitation is that SMG played a role in nearly all of the citizen engagement efforts we studied, including their evaluative mechanisms. While this is not inherently negative, it could introduce potential biases. A final challenge and limitation that was discovered is that in some cases the engagement mechanisms such as councils, websites, etc., are ad-hoc or short-term. This may suggest that in relation to planning projects, citizens may not be involved, or as involved past the initial planning.

Evaluation Methods

The evaluation of citizen engagement initiatives on the city level is primarily conducted by the Seoul Institute through evaluative studies and is to be reported annually. Whether this report is actually done annually is not immediately clear. On the regional and local level, SCSCs conduct studies. Additionally, Community Officers oversee citizen participation programs and initiatives. Examples of key methods used for evaluation include citizen surveys and comparing the number of citizen suggestions in actual decisions and policies.

Conclusion

Seoul is a city known for an emphasis on citizen empowerment. The Seoul 2030 Plan paved the way for greater citizen engagement in urban planning within the city. Though the 2030 Plan exists at the city level, the majority of planning in Seoul takes place on a regional and local level. SMG seemingly has a hand in most every aspect of citizen involvement. The responsibility of citizen engagement is very distributed, with no single central SMG office in charge. Each district has their own institutions, government and website that facilitate citizen participation, while on the neighborhood level, the same is done through dong-offices and other community organizations. There do exist a number of challenges and limitations to Seoul's citizen engagement methods and initiatives. However, since including citizens in the Seoul urban plans, Seoul has begun to see progress in their urban challenges. The push for greater citizen engagement is still less than ten years old and is projected to improve in the years to come.

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Appendix

Appendix A. Interviews

The team conducted semi-structured interviews with relevant stakeholders such as government officials and community organizers familiar with the cities will to complement any gaps in the literature. It aided in identifying successful practices and challenges experienced by the different stakeholders and programs. Interviewees were chosen based on their work with urban planning and citizen engagement.

The semi-structured interviews incorporate a combination of open-ended and follow up questions to gather experiences and perspectives of respondents. The team created a set of open-ended interview questions based on insights provided and interviewers may ask follow-up questions as appropriate.

Bogotá	Sector	Date Conducted
Interview 1	Private/Nonprofit Organization	March 16, 2018
Interview 2	Citizen	March 26, 2018
Interview 3	Participation Council Member	March 28, 2018
Interview 4	Nonprofit Organization	April 2, 2018
Interview 5	Academia	April 3, 2018
Los Angeles	Sector	Date Conducted
Interview 1	Nonprofit Organization	March 29, 2018
Interview 2	Government Sector	April 2, 2018
Interview 3	Nonprofit Organization	April 3, 2018
Interview 4	Nonprofit Organization	April 4, 2018
Interview 5	Academia	April 5, 2018
New York	Sector	Date Conducted
Interview 1	Government Sector	March 29, 2018
Interview 2	Government Sector	March 29, 2018
Interview 3	Government Sector	April 5, 2018
Interview 4	Government Sector	April 12, 2018
Seoul		
Interview 1	Government	March 22, 2018

Questions for Semi- Structured Interview

Note: These questions were designed to be used for all four cities being studied (New York, Los Angeles, Bogota, and Seoul). Where the text says, "city x," that will be filled in with the name of the city pertinent to each interview. Questions are designed to be flexible enough to be applied to each city.

#	Questions
1	Can you please describe your role and your involvement with urban planning in <u>city x</u> ?
2	Is there a central office that has responsibility for working with citizens on urban planning? a) Or are there other arrangements for participation?
3	Have you had any direct involvement with these participatory processes? a) How well do you think that the arrangements for participation work?
4	With reference to urban planning in your city, what efforts to increase citizen participation have been most effective? a) Which efforts have been least effective?
5	Do you think that the outcomes of participatory processes are taken into account in decisions about urban planning?
6	Do you think that participation has helped the city make better or worse decisions about urban development? b) Can you give examples?
7	In your experience, how many people participate in these processes? c) Who participates? d) Are there groups of people who do not participate? Why? e) Is there anything you want citizens to do more of regarding participation?
8	Is there a particular urban planning challenge or decision that you think is an especially good example that shows how participatory processes work? a) Can you tell us the story of that challenge/decision?
9	If another city was designing institutions and processes for integrating participation in urban planning, what would you tell them, based on [city x's] experience?

10	<p>Generally, several departments or organizations have to work together in public participation initiatives. What is your experience with working with other departments or organizations on public participation initiatives?</p> <p>b) Is collaboration easy or difficult?</p> <p>c) Why?</p>
11	<p>Turning to urban planning more generally, how well do you think the city has done in its urban planning?</p> <p>a) If well: what has been important in facilitating its successes in urban planning?</p> <p>b) If not so well: what have been the barriers to good urban planning?</p> <p>c) What changes would you like to see implemented in the urban planning process?</p>
12	<p>What kinds of conflicts, if any, has your organization faced with urban planning?</p> <p>a) Why have these occurred?</p>
13	<p>What comments or questions do you have for us? Is there anything you would like us to explain?</p>
14	<p>Is there something that we have not asked that you would like to tell us about these topics?</p>