# Ideas Matter:

## A Comparative Analysis of two Neighbourhood Regeneration Programs associated with the Administrations of two Toronto Mayors between 2005 and 2012.

MPA Research Report

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## Executive Summary

An unprecedented event in Toronto's history occurred on July 16, 2012 when twenty-five residents of an impoverished neighbourhood in Toronto were shot, and two innocent young people were murdered in gang warfare crossfire. Seven years before, in the summer of 2005, dubbed "Summer of the Gun", Toronto witnessed a dramatic and alarming increase in the number of gang-related murders across what is known as Toronto's inner suburbs. In the two instances, the response by Toronto's top elected officials, the Mayors, was remarkably different. Then Mayor David Miller took a decisive leadership role to support and engage low income, visible minority residents who are characteristic of under-resourced Toronto neighbourhoods in a neighbourhood regeneration program called Priority Neighbourhoods. Mayor Rob Ford reacted by rejecting any proposals for preventative social initiatives as "hug a thug" programs and by calling for more policing, stiffer sentencing, and funding from other governments but not the City. Toronto Council had recently cut funding for Priority Neighbourhoods and adopted a new program, Neighbourhood Improvement Areas, that references all neighbourhoods and all residents, thereby making racialized youth and families who are characteristic of these neighbourhoods invisible.

The purpose of this research is to answer the question, how do the two neighbourhood regeneration programs that deal with Toronto's under-resourced neighbourhoods compare from the perspective of the approaches to public administration that are represented by Toronto Mayors Miller and Ford? To make this comparison, the theoretical frameworks of the "economic model" (new public management) and the

"community development model" (new public service) will be defined and used in a critical analysis of the Priority Neighbourhood and Neighbourhood Improvement Area programs of the City of Toronto.

The comparative analysis of the City of Toronto's two neighbourhood regeneration programs provides evidence that the two cases, the Priority Neighbourhood and the Neighbourhood Improvement Area programs, are based on two very different approaches to public administration. The analysis of the programs' goals and objectives, roles of public administrators, roles of citizens/residents in public administration, City-dedicated human and financial resources, and power relationships provides evidence that the Priority Neighbourhood program is consistent with the community development approach to public administration, championed by former Mayor Miller, and the NIA program is consistent with the economic model of public administration favoured by Mayor Ford. Under the Miller administration, racialized residents of under-resourced neighbourhoods joined with the City to make decisions about significant investments in social recreational infrastructure, youth and resident engagement programs, and youth employment initiatives. During the Ford regime, the City has turned its attention to managerial functions such as monitoring, evaluating and planning for all 140 neighbourhoods and all residents. It has divested its facilitator role in resident engagement to the United Way and cut funding it had previously used to leverage partnerships and significant investment by the private and charitable sectors.

Reports dating back to 1979 have warned Toronto City administrations of the economic and social risks of ignoring its under-resourced neighbourhoods and the poor, visible minority residents that are characteristic of these areas. Organizations like the

Toronto Board of Trade, CivicAction, and the United Way have urged the city to work toward social cohesion and economic inclusion for its marginalized immigrant population to achieve a better quality of life for all Torontonians and economic prosperity for the City.

However, given the City's current prevailing economic model of public administration, Toronto's residents should ask themselves, are the short-term impacts of the currently prevailing economic model of public administration that lead to government cost reductions through service cuts to programs like neighbourhood regeneration, and promise of low levels of taxation, worth the potential economic and social risks associated with a further decline in under-resourced neighbouroods and in Toronto's future prosperity?

The Neighbourhood Improvement Area program adopted in 2012 is in its early stages and it is too soon to evaluate its outcomes and compare them with the results of the previous Priority Neighbourhood program. To fully assess Toronto's capacity to address the complex issues of neighbourhood regeneration through an economic approach to public administration, it is recommended that research on the results of the NIA program be conducted in the future. Toronto's two differing approaches to its under-resourced neighbourhoods offer researchers a unique opportunity to examine and compare the results of the two dominant competing theories of public administration in practice. It is also recommended that further research be undertaken regarding the implications of mayoral positions on complex urban problems such as neighbourhood regeneration. Knowledge of these implications would be instructive to public administrators as they head into a new term of Council with a newly elected governing body.

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## 1. Introduction

An unprecedented event in Toronto's history occurred on July 16, 2012 when twenty-five residents of an impoverished neighbourhood in Toronto were shot, and two innocent young people were murdered in gang warfare crossfire. "Never before in Toronto have 25 different people been struck by bullets in a single incident" ("A Stricken Community," 2012, p. A8). Residents of this neighbourhood are calling out for help to restore peace to their community (Dale, 2012).

Responses to this horrible and frightening episode have been analyzed from different perspectives and proposed solutions coming from many leaders – with one notable exception, Toronto Mayor Rob Ford – have reflected similar principles. Toronto Police Chief Bill Blair stated that to make under-resourced neighbourhoods like Kingston Galloway safe, it will take both an increase in policing to respond to the threat of retaliatory gang-related shootings, and continued investment in social programs to provide young people with viable alternatives to gang affiliation (Howlett & Mills, 2012). Premier Dalton McGuinty also calls for a balanced approach between policing and social programs, such as the provincially funded Youth Challenge Fund, which he may re-instate. He criticizes "Mr. Ford for not embracing more social programs that reach out to young people" (Howlett & Mills, 2012, p. A15).

Gang-related criminal activity exists in major urban cities and is a complex social issue with many contributing factors including poverty and youth unemployment, marginalization, gun laws and ease of access to guns, and law enforcement, to mention a few. However, Toronto's top elected official, the mayor, remains firm in his belief that stimulating business interests so that the private sector can provide more jobs ("Fix for,"

2012), and increased policing are the answers to the issue of gang violence in Toronto. Mayor Ford's response to the events of July 16, 2012 is simplistic: "wage war on gangs" and "I want'em out of the city" (Coyle, 2012, p. IN1). He has approached Ontario Premier McGuinty for increased funding for policing and Prime Minister Harper for tougher crime laws but has consistently opposed funding for community-based, social programs Ford calls "hug a thug" programs, showing his lack of support by casting "the lone vote against 312 community grants worth more than $16 million at council this month. (He also voted against accepting $350,000 in free federal money for an anti-gang program in June)" (Grant & Robinson, 2012, p. M3).

Under Ford's leadership, Toronto City Council's approved 2012 austerity budget has led to significant cuts to the previously endorsed targeted neighbourhood regeneration investment program called the Priority Neighbourhood (PN) program. As well as cutting funding for these under-resourced neighbourhoods, City Council also approved a new program under the Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy 2020 banner, the Neighbourhood Improvement Area (NIA) program, which proposes to ensure equitable opportunities for all Toronto residents regardless of where in the city they live.

The PN program was a response to the violent summer of 2005, dubbed "Summer of the Gun", when Toronto witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of gang-related murders. The response of then Mayor David Miller provided a stark contrast to the more recent response of Mayor Ford. Miller championed a multi-sectoral alliance, including the United Way[1], the Toronto Police Services, the provincial and federal governments, trade unions, Toronto City Council, Toronto Public Service divisions, corporations and

[1] The United Way of Greater Toronto recently underwent a name change. For the purposes of this paper it will be referred to as the United Way.

businesses to rejuvenate thirteen of Toronto's most under-resourced neighbourhoods. Through his leadership, in 2005 and 2006 Council adopted Miller's recommendation to invest $13 million dollars in social and recreational infrastructure in those "priority neighbourhoods" (Poisson & Dempsey, 2012). The PN program was centered on prevention programs and services aimed at young racialized people living in these neighbourhoods, and worked on the premises of resident engagement and joint decision-making power with the City regarding social/recreational infrastructure investments (City of Toronto [COT], 2005).

The responses from the two Toronto mayors to similar gun-violence crises that threatened community safety in under-resourced neighbourhoods in 2005 and 2012 are very different, as are the two neighbourhood regeneration programs configured during the two mayoral administrations. To fully understand the differences, the question to be answered is how do the neighbourhood regeneration programs that deal with Toronto's under-resourced neighbourhoods compare from the perspective of the approaches to public administration that are represented by the two Toronto mayors? Mayor Ford's approach to public administration is consistent with an economic or market model, known in public administration theory as 'new public management'. Mayor Miller's public administration approach is consistent with a community development or citizen engagement model, described by theorists as the 'new public service' approach to public administration.

To make this comparison, the theoretical frameworks of the "economic model" and the "community development model" will be defined and used in a critical analysis of the PN and NIA programs of the City of Toronto. To what extent will the economic

model approach to public administration be effective in supporting neighbourhood regeneration? To what extent was the community development approach to public administration effective in neighbourhood regeneration? What will be the impacts on neighbourhood regeneration and the people who live in these neighbourhoods of the shift away from the community development model of public service to the economic approach to public administration?

This research paper examines these questions by means of a comparative analysis of the case studies of the two programs associated with the administrations of the two Toronto mayors during the time period between 2005 and 2012. Sources of data include document review, academic literature review, media articles, and personal professional experience. Council-adopted staff reports explaining the two programs and my work over a three-year period at the "street" level as the Director Champion for one Priority Neighbourhood, at the "corporate" level as a member of the PN program's Director Champion's committee, and at the "inter-divisional" level as the lead Director in Toronto Parks, Forestry and Recreation division for the $13 million Partnership Opportunities Legacy Fund are two important sources of information that provide perspective on the two programs. In addition, access to some of the City's internal briefing documents and personal contact with staff involved in the two cases supply data that are included in the analysis.

The critical analysis will utilize the typology of two approaches to public administration to examine the two cases. A comparison of the two cases will provide insight into the differences between the two theoretical approaches to public administration when they are put into practice. The premise here is that ideas matter and

directly affect the practices employed in public administration. How a local government approaches public administration has a significant impact on the outcomes it achieves and the people it serves.

## 2. Theories of Public Administration: New Public Management (Economic Model) and New Public Service (Community Development Model)

New Public Management, referred to in this paper as the *Economic Model* of public administration, is a conceptual framework that has evolved over the past three decades. The economic model is a reflection of reforms to the rule-bound, inflexible, monopolistic 'bureaucratic' model of public administration common in public institutions from the 1960s to the 1990s (Kernaghan, 2000). The economic approach's theoretical concepts were consolidated into a normative model in the 1990s and are rooted in three schools of thought -- public choice, economics and positivism (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). Kernaghan (2000) provides a narrow definition of the economic model as "the application of business principles and market mechanisms to public organizations" (p. 24).

New Public Service, or the public administration theory referred to here as the *Community Development Model,* is guided by theories that have evolved during a similar period. The community development model is based on democratic, contemporary communitarian and post-modern theories (De Leon & Denhardt, 2000; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; Frederickson, 1996). The community development approach is defined as "a set of ideas about the role of public administration in the governance system that places public service, democratic governance and civic engagement at the centre" (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007, p. 7). The community development model represents a strong call to action for an alternative to the economic model of public administration, one that fully engages citizens in public services and governance, and that is a quest for relevance in the public sector (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000).

These two public administration theoretical models will be compared using the dimensions of purpose, underlying values, goals, power relationships, roles of public administrators, tools, accountability criteria and processes, roles of citizens, and resources. These dimensions are important to fully understand the two theoretical frameworks. Table 1: Comparing Economic & Community Development Models in Public Administration summarizes the differences between the theoretical models and includes the dimensions noted above.

## The Economic Model of Public Administration

A number of economic model theorists' writings have strongly influenced public administration over the past three decades. Arguably the most influential of these are Osborne and Gaebler's *Reinventing Government* (1992), and Osborne and Plastrik's *Banishing Bureaucracy* (1997). Reinventing government is defined as "the fundamental transformation of public systems and organizations to create dramatic increases in their effectiveness, efficiency, adaptability, and capacity to innovate. This transformation is accomplished by changing their purpose, incentives, accountability, power structure, and culture" (Osborne & Plastrik, 1997, pp. 13-14).

According to Kernaghan (2000), among the many economic model theorists with similar perspectives to Osborne are Barzelay (1992) in *Breaking through Bureaucracy: A New Vision for Managing in Government*, and Borins (1995) *"*Summary: Government in Transition – A New Paradigm in Public Administration*"*. Barzelay supports many of the ideas in the economic model including the move toward a customer-driven public

administrative organization. Both Barzelay and Borins add to the economic model by emphasizing the importance of results that citizens (customers), not public servants, value.

Osborne (1993) summarizes some of the economic model's key concepts. Governments should:

- "Steer rather than row". Governments should separate the policy functions from service delivery functions, set the policy agenda, and look at alternatives for service delivery other than by government.
- Inject competition and incentives into public service delivery, which will lead to greater public sector productivity.
- Be mission-driven. Once the agenda is set, managers should be free to manage in a way that demonstrates achievement of the organization's mission.
- Base managerial accountability on results or outcomes, especially those results that are efficient and "bottom line-driven".
- Provide choice to customers. "Market-orientation" will produce options for the services that customers want most.
- Focus on revenue generation opportunities rather than government spending. Government is a "cost" that should be minimized and focus should be on how to achieve revenue targets.

The basic premise of the economic model that has emerged is that government's purpose is to contribute to a thriving market economy, predominantly through its financial policies related to taxation and business development. As Horak and Dantico (2012, p. 1) state, "Dominant accounts of urban policy-making in North America suggest that local governments in both Canada and the United States are structurally compelled to

privilege the development and servicing of property, often to the exclusion of other concerns".

The economic model's public administration is business-like, underlined by a value system that embraces efficiency, competition and incentives within the structure of its organizational solutions (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000). As Dinsdale (2007) states, the economic model in public administration utilizes "[m]arket-type mechanisms [that] seek to … improve economy, efficiency and service quality" (p. 377). Market techniques like the competitive bid process for contracting out, privatizing, or outsourcing to the private sector, or "side loading" services to the non profit sector, revenue generation through user fees and leases and agreements, development industry incentives like bonusing, and budget cuts generated from service level reductions and/or wage freezes are common in the public sector.

Public managers are viewed as entrepreneurs with a mission to steer the course of government (Box, 1999; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; Osborne, 1993; Terry, 1998). They are valued in the economic organization when they reduce costs by outsourcing or privatizing public services (Frederickson, 1996), achieving budget cuts, and finding ways to increase revenues (Osborne, 1993). The economic approach to public service supports an organizational culture that is "…empowering to bureaucrats and would give bureaucrats greater latitude by cutting red tape" (Frederickson, 1996, pp. 264-265). Terry (1998, para. 11) concurs that, "…to improve the performance of public bureaucracies, managers must be liberated from the shackles of governmental red tape".

Table 1: Comparing Economic & Community Development Models in Public Administration

| DIMENSION | ECONOMIC MODEL | COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MODEL |
|---|---|---|
| Purpose | "Steer" don't row by separating policy from service delivery. Contribute to a market economy by devolving service delivery | Mediate collective citizen interests & preparation for political action |
| Values | Efficiency, competition, incentives | Public interest, diversity, inclusion, deliberation |
| Goals and Objectives | Policy & programs that support the market-economy | Participatory, democratic governance, community building & a civil society |
| Organizational Structure | Functional, lean, empowered | Multi-disciplinary, internal & external to government, public issue based collectives |
| Power | Managerial derived from political direction/"head office" | Shared with citizens and collaborators |
| Role & Orientation of Public Administrators | Steering & managerial-orientation | Serving, & facilitative-orientation, using social, political, economic lenses |
| Role of Citizen in Public Administration & Government | Customer & elector | Citizen & joint decision maker |
| Primary stakeholders | Elites, internal & external to government | Citizens, community groups, non-profit, private & public agencies |
| Resources | Less government, more community $, user fees, contracts, private sector $ | From within governments, community, and private sector |
| Level of Discretion | Broad to achieve results | Some discretion within accountability lines |
| Accountability Processes | Primarily financial, e.g., budget management, cost-benefit analysis, revenues | Legislative & professional standards, code of ethics |
| Accountability Criteria | Efficient, quantifiable results & outcomes | Public interest, community values, political norms, transparency in government |
| Tools | Outsourcing, performance measures, top-down strategic planning, benchmarking | Dialogue, democratic processes, engagement, mediation, consensus |

Managers manage with a focus on "efficiency, cost effectiveness, and responsiveness to market forces" (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000, p. 556) and are accountable for financial issues such as risk management, cash handling, and fraud reduction processes, all vital components of tools like the City of Toronto's annual "Management Accountability Checklist". Achieving performance measures with quantifiable indicators, benchmarking government services, providing results in economic, not process terms, are the focus of the public servant (Bumgarner & Newswander, 2009). Managers attempt to find efficiencies through the use of technology and/or business process re-engineering (Agocs, 2006). These processes reflect the managerial focus on financial or budget-oriented accountability criteria in the economic approach to public administration. As Dinsdale (1997) states, a manager's emphasis is "on improving ***how*** services are delivered, as opposed to ***what*** services to provide" (p. 372), and on "…accountability mechanisms … defined within their framework document and business plan, which together lay out target commitments for service levels and financial performance" (p. 378).

Another vital tenet of the economic model is the belief that citizens are customers who act in their own self-interest (Osborne, 2003). The administration responds efficiently with information analyses of individual customer interests through customer surveys and quick solutions to problems that are based on customers' choices (Frederickson, 1996). Customers are not usually involved in public administration except for their role in voting during elections (Agocs, 2006; Kernaghan, 2000; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Sandel (1996) adds, "…government exists to ensure citizens can make

choices consistent with their self-interest by guaranteeing certain procedures (such as voting) and individual rights" (in Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000, p. 552). Frederickson (1996) points out how the use of the "customer metaphor" in the economic model borrows "…heavily from utilitarian logic, the public choice model, and the modern application of market economics to government. In this model, the empowered customer makes individual (or family) choices in a competitive market" (p. 265).

Emphasis on the individual customer rather than the citizenry in the economic model firmly places power in the hands of elected officials to implement the mandate that is given to them on the day they are elected. Osborne & Gaebler (1992, p. 32) state, "those who steer the boat have far more power over its destination". Political leaders, and through them, administrative elites, exercise their authority in shaping government policies and programs that have appeal to the voting public, with little interest, and few legislated requirements, to act on recommendations derived from community consultations (King, Feltey, & Susel, 1998). They make little effort to respond to the needs of traditionally non-voting, typically low-income residents, and residents who are immigrants and do not have voting rights that come with citizenship (Groves, October 19, 2012).

Under the economic model, the resources necessary to operate the public service are minimized or eliminated if possible. Public officials support strategies to reduce governments' role in service delivery and utilize resources derived from sources external to government, such as user pay/fees, and devolving service delivery to external public and private entities (Agocs, 2006; Osborne, 1993). The practice of devolving services and ultimately the downsizing of the public service is done in an effort to eliminate

wasteful practices, avoid duplication and focus on government's "core services" (Dinsdale, 1997; Little, May 25, 2010).

## The Community Development Model of Public Administration

The community development model emerged through the prominent writings of Robert Denhardt and Janet Vinzant Denhardt. Their book *The New Public Service: Serving Rather than Steering* (2007) argues for the importance of democratic values, active participation by citizens, and the critical element of public interest in public administration (Denhardt & Campbell, 2003).

Denhardt & Denhardt's (2000) work puts forth seven principles for public administration. Governments should:

- Serve rather than steer. Government's role is to bring parties together, including citizens, private and non-profit groups, and governments, in order to facilitate, negotiate and/or broker solutions and actions.
- Help in the articulation of the collective public interest. The aim is to create shared interest and shared responsibility with citizens.
- Think strategically and act democratically. The most effective means to meet community needs is through collective and collaborative methods.
- Serve citizens. Build trust and collective understanding through dialogue with and among citizens.
- View accountability through many lenses including relevant legislation, professional standards, community and political values and norms as well as resident interests.
- Value and show respect for all people through collaboration and shared leadership.

- Value citizenship and public service. Demonstrate public servant and citizen commitment to making contributions to the public interest.

Denhardt & Campbell (2003) sum up the underlying assumptions of the community development approach to public administration and the contributions by other theorists:

> Public leaders play a crucial role in this process. By facilitating active and inclusive participation, they contribute to the development of citizenship. According to Sandel (1996), democratic citizenship is a process in which citizens develop a sense of belonging, a concern for the whole, and a moral bond with their community. Democratic government depends on the development of an engaged, involved citizenry and a civil society in which people work together to express personal interests in the context of the needs of the community (Putnam, 2000). King and Stivers (1998), deLeon and Denhardt (2000), Denhardt and Denhardt (2003), and others have argued that public administration plays a critically important role in facilitating this sort of active citizenship that results in the transformation of both public organizations and the citizens they serve (p. 568).

The community development approach to public administration provides a sharp contrast to the economic model. It is based on the belief that the purpose of public institutions is to be mediating organizations that give focus to collective citizen interests and prepares them for action at the political level. "[W]ith citizens at the forefront, the emphasis should not be placed on either steering or rowing the government boat, but rather on building public institutions marked by integrity and responsiveness" (Denhardt & Denhardt 2000, p. 549). Public administrators play a vital role in engaging citizens and building capacity in its citizenry to participate in the governance process on an on-going basis. Public institutions, the citizens, and the community are the benefactors of the community development model of public administration.

The model of authentic citizen participation developed by King et al (1998) is aligned with the concepts of "citizens at the forefront" and "public institutions as a mediating organization". "Authentic participation places the citizen next to the issue and

the administrative structures and processes furthest away. However, the administrator is still the bridge between the two" (p. 321).

Underlying values in the community development model are many and include integrity, public service, shared leadership, democracy, diversity, inclusion, and citizen engagement.

> In other words, the role of government will become one of assuring that the public interest predominates, that both the solutions themselves and the process by which solutions to public problems are developed are consistent with democratic norms of justice, fairness and equity (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000, p. 554).

The goals in a public sector organization that support the community development model are to serve the public interest, and to build an informed citizenry and strong communities. Strategies in this approach include facilitating dialogue among citizens and groups in order to create a sense of community based shared values. Using public deliberation is vital in creating a collective democratic consensus about community issues and solutions (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; Frederickson, 1996; Nalbandian, 1999).

The role of public administrators in the community development model is very different than that of the public servant in the economic model. In the community development approach, public administrators "…help citizens articulate and meet their shared interests rather than to steer society" (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000, p. 549). Nalbandian (1999, pp. 187-188) states,

> City managers are seen as community builders and enablers of democracy. With those goals they have become skilled at facilitative leadership and at building partnerships and consensus….[M]anagers must anticipate and attend to claims for equity, representation and individual rights.

The public servant is an important partner among many others bringing together "…the proper players to the table and facilitating, negotiating, or brokering solutions to public

problems (often through coalitions of public, private, and non-profit agencies)" (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000, p. 553).

Denhardt & Denhardt (2007) maintain that the role of the public administrator in the community development approach is expanded from a direct delivery role to one of "a conciliating, a mediating, or even an adjudicating role" (p. 554) achieved through public dialogue. The public servant also serves in the roles of, for example, steward of public resources, catalyst for community engagement, and leader at the community level. Public administrators work to make a difference in the lives of others.

Accountability criteria in the community development approach to public administration recognize and reinforce the immense complexity of work in the public sector. Administrators are held accountable for satisfying legislative requirements, meeting professional standards and codes of conduct, abiding by political, administrative, and community norms, and acting in support of the public interest. They are conscious of the fact that their actions may one day be judged publically in the media, by public inquiries, and by tribunals or courts of law.

To be successful in maintaining integrity, transparency, and ethical and lawful practices, administrators adopt accountability processes of informing and dialoguing with citizens about the tensions that are inherent and inevitable in the public service accountability framework. They ensure that such things as competing interests, the importance of transparency and equity are part of the public discussion. This kind of public disclosure in the process supports the adoption of feasible solutions to community issues and builds accountability among all members of the partnership including the citizenry (CPRN, March 2008; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; King et al, 1998).

The community development approach to the role of citizens is fundamentally different than the role of customer/elector in the economic model. Denhardt and Denhardt (2007) maintain that, "*Public servants do not deliver customer service, they deliver democracy"* (p. xi). Frederickson (1996) describes the vision of citizenship in the community development model as

> …informed, active citizen participating 'beyond the ballot box' in a range of public activities with both elected and appointed public servants. This perspective is rather like the 'strong democracy' argument and is relatively compatible with the contemporary communitarian movement (Barber 1984) (p. 265).

Box (1999) describes citizen engagement:

> It is, rather, a collective effort that includes every person within a defined geographic area (city, county, district, state, nation), and membership is involuntary unless a resident moves out of the jurisdiction. Mandatory membership carries with it a sense of the right to be involved if one so wishes in the process of deliberating and deciding on creation and implementation of public policy (p. 35).

In the community development model, public organizations deliberately engage citizens in ways that increase residents' capacity to participate in the political processes of governance. They educate citizens about the political decision-making process so that residents can participate fully through such things as public forums, discussion groups, deputations, and/or by communicating directly with their elected officials. This education process can take the form of, for example, learning programs about civics.

At the same time in the community development approach, public administrators value and respect citizens' roles as educators. Public organizations recognize that citizens may have information and skills that are highly relevant to the development and delivery of public services, and, therefore, public institutions seek out the on-going engagement of, and are willing to learn from its citizenry.

Public organizations expand opportunities for an ever-growing number of citizens to look beyond themselves and be involved in issues beyond themselves that impact the broader community, and to share responsibility for neighbourhood concerns. "It is through a process of dialogue, brokerage, citizen empowerment, and broad-based citizen engagement that these issues must be resolved" (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000, p. 556). The community development model values shared leadership among government, its citizens, and other contributors.

Beyond shared leadership, the community development approach to public administration advocates for shared power among all responsible parties, especially citizens. Public officials adopt a "we" frame of reference, signaling that the power to define neighbourhood problems, determine appropriate solutions, and implement these are part of the dialogue that leads to shared decision making (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000).

This view of shared power is consistent with Arnstein's (1969) seminal work on citizen engagement. Arnstein describes the "partnership" level of citizen power in "A Ladder of Citizen Participation":

> Power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and powerholders. They agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses. After the groundrules have been established through some form of give-and-take, they are not subject to unilateral change (p. 20).

Both public servants and citizens in the community development model are responsible participants in the decisions about what is important at the community level and how needs and issues will be addressed.

Finding the resources needed to resolve complex neighbourhood issues and concerns is a major challenge in public administration. The community development approach acknowledges that, "[t]o serve citizens, public administrators not only must know and manage their own agency's resources, they must also be aware of and connected to other sources of support and assistance, engaging citizens and the community in the process" (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000, p. 557).

Public servants' knowledge of resources is not enough in the community development model. In this model,

> …at minimum the role of leaders will be 1) to help the community and its citizens to understand their needs and their potential, 2) to integrate and articulate the community's vision and that of the various organizations in any particular area, and 3) to act as a trigger or stimulus for action (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007, p. 141).

Consistent with the community development approach, public servants encourage citizens and the community to build the necessary skills to self-advocate through such things as the preparation of funding proposals and presentations. They involve citizens in co-negotiations with the private sector and other public institutions for resources and support, and they act as catalysts that broker or leverage their public institution's available resources to achieve greater support from other organizations.

## 3. Analysis of Two Cases

The City of Toronto is witnessing a significant shift in its approach to neighbourhood regeneration in 2012. Through a comparative analysis of two cases related to neighbourhood regeneration, specifically the City's Priority Neighbourhood (PN) and the Neighbourhood Improvement Area (NIA) programs, this research will provide evidence that Toronto is moving away from the community development model to the economic model of public administration as represented by the City's top officials, then Mayor David Miller and current Mayor Rob Ford.

A neighbourhood regeneration strategy as defined by Horak and Dantico (2012, p. 1) is "territorially targeted, multi-sectoral programming that redistributes resources toward distressed neighbourhoods with the aim of improving the quality of life for residents *in situ*". "Distressed neighbourhoods" are "areas that concentrate poor, visible minority populations". For the purposes of this discussion, "under-resourced" will replace "distressed" in reference to neighbourhoods of Toronto that have these characteristics. Also, "residents" will be used synonymously with citizens.

Critical to the discussion of neighbourhood regeneration in Toronto is an understanding of key forces that threaten resident equality and the City's social and economic viability overall. Decades of decline in Toronto's under-resourced neighbourhoods are evident through many social indicators such as lower school attainment, higher unemployment, aging housing stock, less social infrastructure, more crime, poorer health, and less resident engagement. Residents experience a vicious cycle whereby poverty leads to social problems, and social problems lead to an exodus of business and middle class residents, and a reduction of many vital opportunities and

services such as quality schooling and jobs for those who remain. Ultimately, negative living conditions in under-resourced neighbourhoods create stresses for many residents across the entire city and put Toronto at risk of developing a reputation as a city unattractive to investment with an inadequately skilled workforce. In short, social exclusion and marginalization of residents in under-resourced neighbourhoods threaten Toronto's image as a great city (Horak & Dantico, 2012; Toronto Board of Trade[2], 2010; Toronto City Summit Alliance 2007; United Way, 2011). The recent increase in gang-related violence in public settings that led to the injury of innocent bystanders and the murder of several residents is felt across the entire city.

As far back 1979, researchers and civic-minded elites sent 'a call to action' to former Metropolitan Toronto and amalgamated Toronto City Councils, and to provincial and federal governments, to intervene in under-resourced communities (Hulchanski, 2007; Toronto and Board of Trade, 2010; Toronto Social Planning Council, 1979; United Way, 2004).

The November 2003 election of Toronto Mayor David Miller and members of Council marked the beginning of the City's commitment to answer these calls to action in under-resourced neighbourhoods with a community development approach to public administration and the creation of the Priority Neighbourhood (PN) program. However, the 2010 election of Mayor Rob Ford and Toronto Councillors ushered in an economic approach to public administration. The recently approved Neighbourhood Improvement Area (NIA) program replaces the PN program, and threatens effective neighbourhood regeneration, undermines low income, racialized residents' life chances, and detracts

[2] The Toronto and Region Board of Trade has recently undergone a name change and will be referred to here as the Toronto Board of Trade.

from Toronto's prospects for long-term social and economic vitality. Diminished City-based financial and human resources, lack of staff accountability for resident engagement, and the invisibility of racialized residents' roles in addressing neighbourhood issues and solutions effectively indicate that the City has walked away from neighbourhood regeneration despite making the claim it will do it through the NIA program. Community Development Officers that were formally assigned to the PN program have no idea what they will be doing in the NIA program (personal communication, August 26, 2012).

This chapter critically analyzes the two programs' goals and objectives, roles of public administrators, roles of citizens/residents in public administration, City-dedicated human and financial resources, and power relationships, making reference to the contrast between the economic and community development models of public administration discussed previously. These five dimensions have been selected from and stand for the larger models in application to these two cases because they are directly relevant to this program and demonstrate significant shifts in public administration. However, it should be noted that some dimensions of the theoretical economic model described in the previous chapter, for example the "entrepreneurial" manager, are not evident in the Ford administration. Toronto's elected officials are more aligned with the "entrepreneurial" approach to public administration at the City. Public servants in Toronto are not acting as entrepreneurs, but are avoiding risk-taking behaviours that are more commonly associated with the economic model as practiced in American cities where it originated.

## Shift in Goals and Objectives

The recent approval of the NIA program by Toronto City Council on February 8, 2012 marks a shift in goals and objectives of the City's neighbourhood regeneration program from a community development to an economic approach to public administration.

In 2005, Toronto City Council approved the PN program goals and objectives, "to strengthen at-risk neighbourhoods through targeted investment….[with] a balance between prevention and response to neighbourhood problems; improved services and programs for youth and improved community safety" (COT, 2005, p. 4).

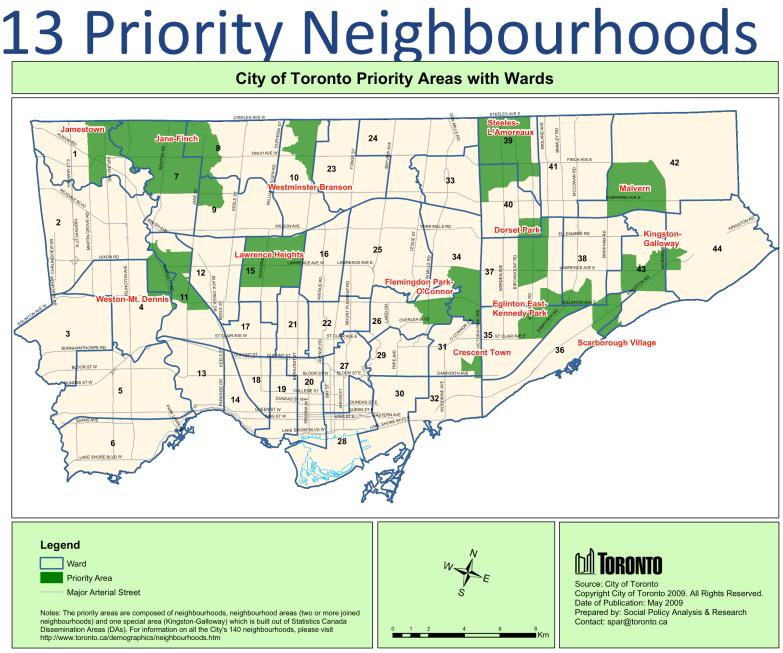
The PN program goals and objectives were designed to respond to evidence that some Toronto neighbourhoods were experiencing problems, and to acknowledge that building a better City required local government action to provide support and improve services to the City's under-resourced areas. As such, the goals and objectives of the PN program were consistent with the community development model of public administration and reflected the belief that local government's purpose is to serve the public interest and act as community builders in pursuit of a civil society.

The 2005 staff report adopted by City Council aligned the PN program with the community development approach when it stated:

> During the current term of Council, the City of Toronto has placed increasing emphasis on identifying vulnerable neighbourhoods and targeting resources to improve outcomes for their residents. This report recommends the adoption of a civic strategy on neighbourhood building that encompasses current activity and provides a framework for future initiatives (COT, 2005, p. 3).

Through Mayor Miller's leadership and his motion at Council, by September 2004, the

City adopted seven under-resourced areas for neighbourhood action planning and targeted programs and services. In September 2005, Toronto City Council supported and endorsed the report of the Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Task Force, a partnership between the City of Toronto and the United Way, with financial support from the federal and provincial governments. This report identified areas of the city as 'priorities for investment' (COT, 2005). By 2007, City Council had endorsed thirteen under-resourced Priority Neighbourhoods, noted on the map below, as areas of the City needing targeted investments.

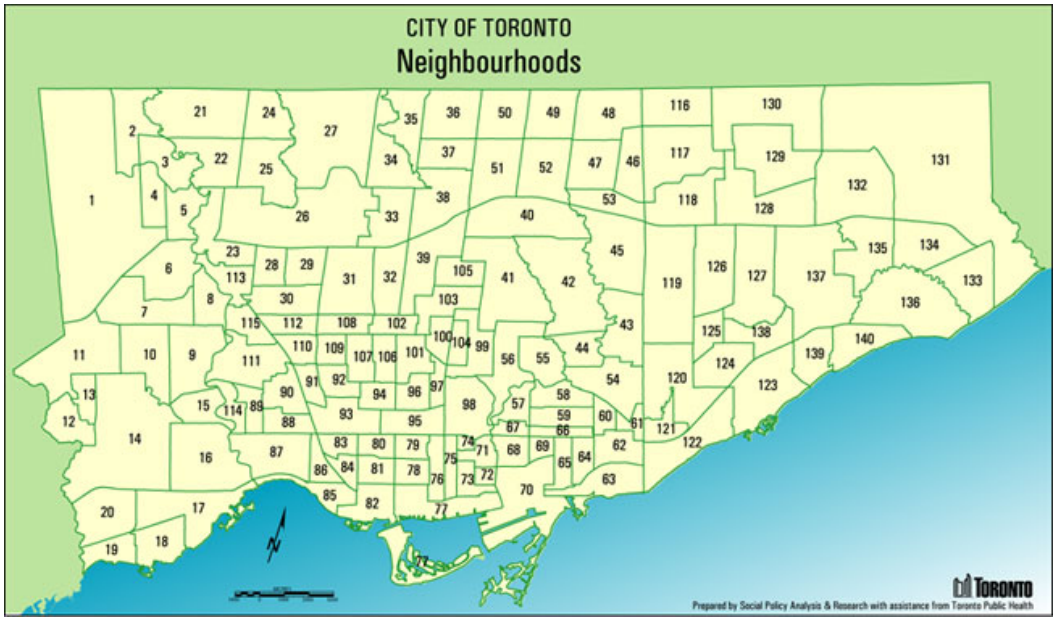



Five years later, in February 2012, recently elected Toronto Council voted to implement the newly designated NIA program to replace the PN program for neighbourhood regeneration. The following map identifies 140 social planning neighbourhoods that form the basis of the NIA program. Future Neighbourhood

Improvement Areas will be selected from these defined neighbourhoods. However, Council has not adopted any areas for neighbourhood regeneration at this time and the public servants involved in the program are unaware of any action that is underway to begin work on the designation process (personal communication, August 2012).

The goals and objectives of the NIA program are remarkably different from those of the PN program. The Toronto Strong Neighbourhood Strategy 2020 report (COT, 2012, p. 8) states:

> [To] advance equitable outcomes for all neighbourhoods [and] to ensure every Toronto neighbourhood has the public, private and community infrastructure required for equitable resident opportunities…. to inform the broader municipal, regional, provincial and national policies, programs and funding priorities required to ensure equitable opportunities for residents and advance equitable outcomes for neighbourhoods.



The NIA program goals and objectives are all encompassing, citing "all residents", and "every" and "all neighbourhoods". The goals and objectives are silent about improving under-resourced neighbourhoods and outcomes for residents and youth living there, and/or increasing community safety. By adopting the NIA program's goals and objectives, City Council ignored the recent advice of Toronto's economic sector, which urges the City to provide civic leadership in under-resourced neighbourhoods, "to promote social cohesion and economic inclusion" (Toronto Board of Trade, 2010), and the advice of the CivicAction multi-sectoral leaders coalition Chair, John Tory, who says:

> [S]trengthen, rather than re-invent, these [neighbourhood regeneration] programs and to deploy similar programs in disadvantaged neighbourhoods outside the city of Toronto…. In my view the Priority Neighbourhood programs may well offer the best rate of return of almost any dollars spent...if there is to be any review of the Priority Neighbourhood initiatives do it clearly and unequivocally with a view to maintain and make more effective the current programs and to continue to treat this as a high priority of the Toronto government. (COT, 2012, p. 4-5).

The absence of references to improving under-resourced neighbourhoods and outcomes such as community safety, social cohesion or economic inclusion in the NIA program goals and objectives is evidence that in 2012 Toronto Council is moving away from neighbourhood regeneration toward a reduction in local government services that is consistent with the economic model of public administration. Further evidence of this reduction is the 2012 cuts to "street level" staffing, capital, and operating budgets for neighbourhood regeneration.

## Shift in the Roles of Public Administrators

The change in the roles of public administrators in the two programs demonstrates a second fundamental shift from the community development to the economic model of

public administration.

The PN program's public administrator roles are many and include, for example, facilitator, catalyst, collaborator, and broker. The program assigns roles to City public servants at multiple levels within the public service to support regeneration of the thirteen neighbourhoods by "[w]orking with local residents to identify the neighbourhoods which most need assistance and ensuring they get the assistance they need" (COT 2005, p. 3).

At the executive staff level, the City defined a role for the Deputy City Manager in the PN program:

> Under the leadership of Deputy City Manager Sue Corke, the Interdivisional Committee on Integrated Responses for Priority Neighbourhoods is intended to maximize the impact of investments in these neighbourhoods….The committee's objectives are to:
>
> (1) coordinate City leadership in building stronger neighbourhoods, based on community priorities;
> (2) develop a collaborative, effective and sustainable approach to delivering services to neighbourhoods in need;
> (3) contribute to community safety by providing leadership in coordinated service delivery; and
> (4) support the development of programs and facilities in underserviced neighbourhoods (COT, 2005, pp. 5-6).

At the "street level", Community Development Officers (CDOs) facilitate neighbourhood action in the Priority Neighbourhoods. They assist neighbourhood residents and groups in the development and implementation of a process to create a partnership that:

- Is inclusive, and operates within an Anti-Oppression Framework;
- Has effective processes for identifying and taking action on neighbourhood priorities;

- Implements a broader community engagement strategy to ensure the needs and opinions of diverse neighbourhood residents and groups are reflected in the priorities it identifies and acts on;
- Operates based on democratic principles (Toronto Internal Briefing Documents, "Neighbourhood Action Partnerships: Brief Overview and City Role", n.d.)

The public administrators' roles of partnership building, collaboration, facilitation, and of supporting democratic processes in the PN program are consistent with the community development model of public administration.

The public administrators' roles in the NIA program shift toward a managerial focus on monitoring, evaluating, and reporting. The Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy 2020 report (COT, 2012, p. 11) states:

> Once the outcomes framework, evaluation process and NIA designation criteria have been established, SDFA [*Social Development, Finance, and Administration Division*] will report back to Community Development and Recreation [*Committee of Council*] on the results of this work and on the next group of NIAs. This report back will also include a recommended reporting cycle for TSNS, which will include updates on neighbourhood wellbeing and on progress made in advancing equitable outcomes for all neighbourhoods.

In the NIA program, administrators gather information, monitor, and disseminate results to "users", an undefined group of people or organizations. They use a technological tool called Wellbeing Toronto. The Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy 2020 report (COT, 2012, p. 10) also states:

> [A] number of important developments have taken place that will allow the City to monitor the wellbeing of neighbourhoods, establish outcomes to be advanced for all neighbourhoods, and evaluate its progress in this area. The most important of these developments is Wellbeing Toronto, an interactive web mapping application that provides a wide range of data at the neighbourhood level to support the ongoing monitoring of neighbourhood wellbeing.

Further, it appears that the City will devolve to the United Way the previous PN program's public administrator roles related to facilitation of local residents and groups. As the Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy 2020 report (2012, p. 10) identifies:

> As a part of TSNS 2020's implementation, the City will continue to work closely with United Way Toronto's Action for Neighbourhood Change (ANC) to advance this goal [of strengthening resident engagement]. ANC is an initiative that aims to establish resident-led neighbourhood associations….[which] are an important tool for the development of local decision-making, planning and problem solving abilities, and they provide residents with an opportunity to play a central role in shaping their neighbourhood.

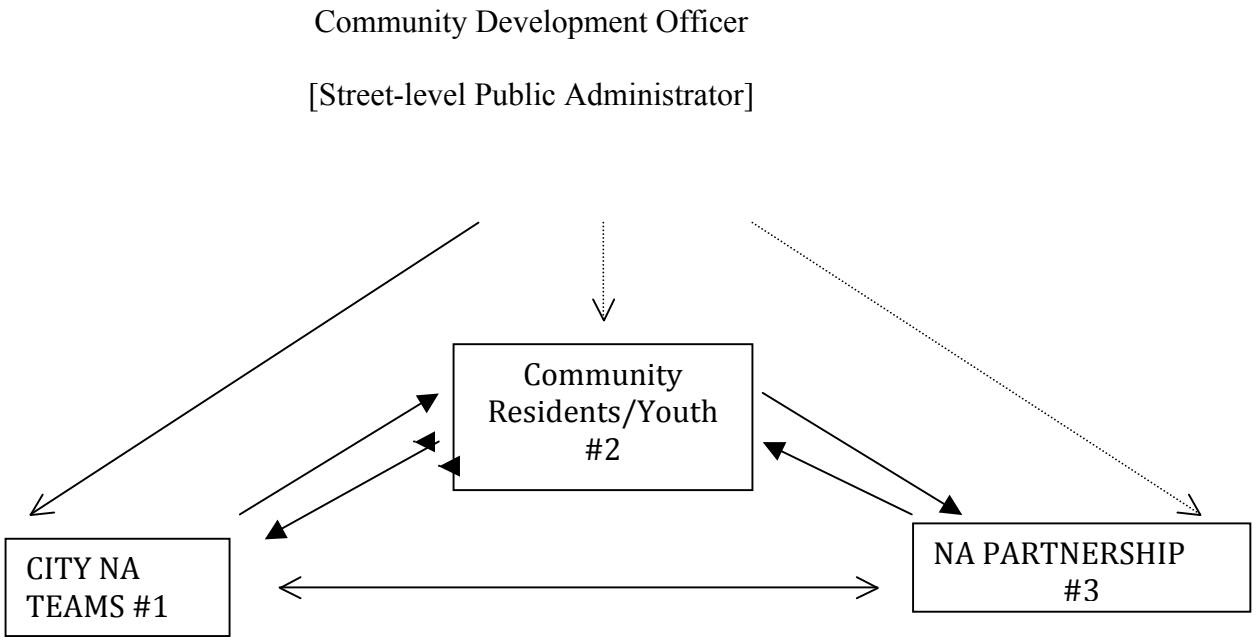
Focusing public administrators' roles on managerial functions such as monitoring, evaluation and reporting, using technological tools such as the Wellbeing Index, and devolving the 'street level' facilitator role to an external provider are evidence of a shift to the economic model of public administration in the NIA program and a shift way from the role of public administrator in 'serving' the public interest to 'steering' from a centralized position.

## Shift in Citizen/Resident Roles in Public Administration

A look at who participates in the two neighbourhood regeneration programs provides further evidence of the shift away from the community development approach, which engages residents on an ongoing basis in public administration, toward a 'traditional' approach to resident participation, which diminishes the citizen's role to that of customer and elector, consistent with the economic model.

Horak and Dantico (2012) state that poor, visible minority residents are characteristic of under-resourced communities. As depicted in the diagram below (Toronto Internal Briefing Documents, Neighbourhood Action (NA) Framework, 2006, p. 1), the PN

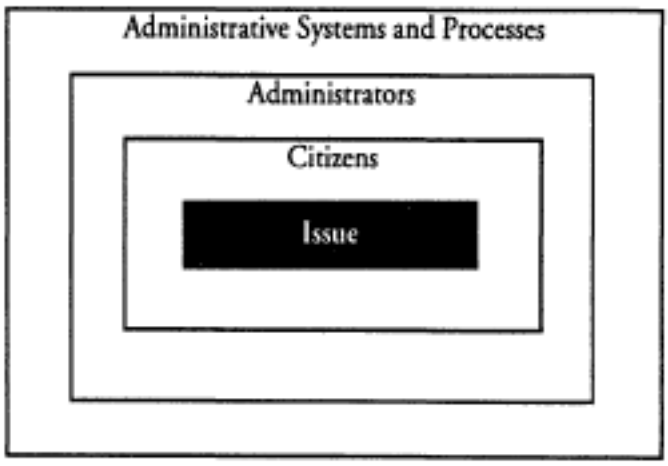
program places the engagement of community residents and youth living in under-resourced neighbourhoods at the centre of regeneration work.




The PN program's resident engagement process is consistent with a citizen-centered approach to "authentic citizen engagement" as King et al (1998) depict below in the diagram titled Figure 2: Context of Authentic Participation. Low-income, racialized residents, who are closest to the issues, are at the centre of the authentic participation process in the Priority Neighbourhoods. The Toronto Board of Trade's report (2010) endorses a citizen-centered approach for neighbourhood regeneration and states:

> The social disconnection between residents also presents the biggest obstacle to neighbourhood regeneration: the extent to which people in the community believe they can make a difference, together, in the future of their neighbourhood. When residents have confidence in their ability to make a change, they will contribute the thousands of volunteer hours and will confront the challenges that are necessary to repair the state of public amenities and other infrastructure in the neighbourhood. *Even with government or private sector investment, regeneration efforts tend to fail unless they are supported by neighbourhood residents*. [emphasis added] (p. 11).

**Figure 2**
**Context of Authentic Participation**




The PN's Neighbourhood Action Framework (Toronto Internal Briefing Documents, 2006), Strategy #2, highlights the importance of the participation in the PN program by neighbourhood residents, particularly racialized youth:

> **STRATEGY #2 - COMMUNITY/RESIDENTS/YOUTH ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH THE CITY**
> **Key Outcomes:**
> 1. Increased community knowledge of City and related programs and services
> 2. Opportunity for a variety of community engagement in City and related programs and services
> 3. Increased City awareness and use of community knowledge and expertise in service planning and delivery
> 4. Enhanced local services based on recognition and use of community knowledge and expertise
> 5. Increased equitable participation of racialized youth in particular African – Canadian youth (pp. 2-3).

The PN program's recognition of the central role of residents, especially racialized youth, in setting priorities and influencing policy decisions, and in educating public

administrators about residents' knowledge and expertise related to neighbourhood service planning and delivery, is consistent with a community development approach to public administration.

In the NIA program, the City identifies the role of residents differently. The TSNS 2020 report (2012) states that the NIA program will address residents' recommendation to increase the number of residents involved in neighbourhood planning through the United Way's Action for Neighbourhood Change (ANC) program. Of concern is the fact that the United Way is a charitable organization that is skilled in fundraising, not in community development work, and as such, may be more effective in engaging middle class and wealthy residents rather than low-income residents. Therefore, it remains to be seen how effective the United Way will be in expanding resident engagement in the administration of the NIA program.

The NIA program is silent about the role of Toronto's local racialized residents and youth in the regeneration process. To achieve greater economic success, the Toronto Board of Trade (2010, p.7) urges the City to engage Toronto's racialized immigrants:

> The Toronto region's diversity in turn attracts more talented newcomers, enhancing the range of skills in the Toronto workforce and our capacity to connect to new markets in the local and global economy. This diversity is critical to the Toronto region's future prosperity. As well, our immigrant communities help to drive our international trade and investment linkages, as individuals seek to create commercial ties and other connections with their countries of origin. Unfortunately, we are not making the most of this wealth of diversity.

As the NIA program moves to full implementation, the extent of the City's actions to ensure the role of racialized residents in neighbourhood regeneration is yet to be determined. Currently, however, poor, visible minority populations and racialized youth are invisible in the City's NIA program.

However, the role of residents in the NIA program is more reflective of the "traditional citizen participation" approach identified by King et al (1998). In the traditional model of citizen participation, the administrative systems and processes, represented by such things as the NIA program's Wellbeing Index, are positioned closest to the issues, followed by the public administrators, while the citizens are in the position furthest away from the issues. Therefore, the City is moving toward an economic approach to public administration by minimizing meaningful, ongoing, and authentic participatory roles for residents in the NIA program. Instead, the citizens' role in city governance will be limited to the role of electors, expressing their preferences in public administration by voting every four years. Residents will be regarded as customers acting in their self-interest by selecting options that are developed by public administrators without ongoing involvement. Their knowledge and expertise will not be utilized on an ongoing basis in public administration processes.

## Shift in City-dedicated Human and Financial Resources

The change in the City-dedicated human and financial resources for the two programs demonstrates a decisive shift away from the community development to the economic model of public administration.

During the former Miller regime, Toronto Council invested $13 million in capital funding for Toronto's thirteen Priority Neighbourhoods. The City created the Partnership Opportunities Legacy fund to initiate a capital investment process that is collaborative and engages many partners:

> "…including local residents, City staff and Councillors, as well as program and funding partners…Through the City's Neighbourhood Action

> Teams/Partnerships, Staff work collaboratively with local residents to identify neighbourhood recreational and social investment priorities and maximize the City funding through leveraged partnerships with the private sector, community funding organizations and other orders of government" (Toronto Internal Briefing Documents, Budget Briefing Note, November 5, 2008).

The $13 million capital dollar capital investment by the City leveraged $25 million from private donors for the PN program. The POL fund led to twenty-six social/recreational infrastructure projects in the thirteen Priority Neighbourhoods (Poisson & Dempsey, 2012).

In addition to City-dedicated capital funding, Council approved the assignment of twelve Community Development Officers (CDOs) from the Community Development Unit to work with local residents, community partners, and City staff teams in the Priority Neighbourhoods. The CDOs utilize specialized skills at the "street-level" to facilitate, broker, and support democratic processes in the thirteen under-resourced neighbourhoods. Lastly, the Community Development Unit had approximately $125,000 dedicated annual operating budget to assist with resident and partner engagement and neighbourhood action activities in the Priority Neighbourhoods (personal communication, July 6, 2012).

By dedicating substantial human and financial resources for the PN program, the City signalled to others that Toronto Council was playing a key leadership role to regenerate Toronto's Priority Neighbourhoods, support local residents, and to collaborate with other partner organizations working or investing in these neighbourhoods. The City's resource allocation provided evidence of Council`s

public service commitment to city building and the public interest, consistent with the community development model of public administration.

The NIA program is currently underway with significantly fewer dedicated City resources. In 2012, City Council reduced dedicated staffing for the NIA program prevention initiatives by 58%, and eliminate all capital and operating budgets for the program (personal communication, July 2012). Council is sending a strong message to local residents in under-resourced neighbourhoods and potential funding partners that the City is divesting itself of this leadership role in neighbourhood regeneration.

City budget cuts in 2012, including funding cuts for the neighbourhood regeneration program, were cause for concern for many Torontonians. Protests and civil disobedience occurred during the budget deliberations when "Dozens of police officers were lining the doors of the building and a stretch of Queen Street West was shut down" ("Toronto Protesters," 2012, para. 4), as protesters tried to get into City Hall, and several people were arrested. An article in the Toronto Star quotes Professor Martin Horak of the University of Western Ontario: "More stable core funding from all levels of government is crucial (Poisson & Dempsey, 2012, para. 39).

A 2011 staff report prior to the 2012 City budget submission provides insights into the City Council's priorities and preoccupation with the economic model of public administration:

> For 2011, a Core Service Review, Service Efficiency Studies and a User Fee Review will be undertaken to address the City's financial challenges. These reviews are expected to generate significant benefits and cost savings….Funds in the amount of $3 million have been approved in the 2011 Operating Budget to engage third-party expertise to support the core service review and service efficiency studies as required (COT, 2011, p. 2).

This report confirms Council's strong focus on the City's "financial challenges" through

"cost savings" and "user fees". It documents Council's willingness to contract out $3 million dollars to a "third-party" private sector financial services company. Council's hiring of a consultant to focus on " a core service review", "efficiency", and revenue generation through "user fees", coupled with Council's cuts to City funding for neighbourhood regeneration are consistent with the economic model of public administration that strives to reduce government spending as well as the size of government.

## Shift in Power Relationships

The substantive shift in power relationships between the City and residents of under-resourced communities from the community development to the economic approach to public administration is evident in the two cases.

In the PN program, the City shares power with local residents, and views them as collaborators. The 2005 TSNS staff report identifies local residents and other neighbourhood organizations as partners with the City to identify and recommend action. This report states, "It proposes targeted investment in priority neighbourhoods and the establishment of new collaborative implementation structures" (COT, 2005, p. 6), and, "With the assistance of local residents and service-providers, specific areas of focus will be identified within these areas" (COT, 2005, p. 7).

The 2005 TSNS report (COT, 2005, p. 9) repeats the themes of collaboration with residents and other local partners in the PN program:

> The Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy, following the directions laid out by the SNTF [*Strong Neighbourhood Task Force]*, proposes that a broad collaborative, neighbourhood-centered approach be formalized…. a broad range of residents, businesses, faith groups, service providers, organizations and other local

> stakeholders will be brought together to identify local priorities and recommend investments… It is recommended that the City should begin the process of implementation of the Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy by engaging partners … in developing a plan for expanding Neighbourhood Action activity at a local level in the priority neighbourhoods.

The Neighbourhood Action Team Framework (Toronto Internal Briefing Documents, Neighbourhood Action Framework, 2006) reinforces the empowered role of neighbourhood residents and youth when it puts forth the following suggested approaches:

> **STRATEGY #2 - COMMUNITY/RESDIENTS/YOUTH ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH THE CITY**
> **Suggested Approaches:**
> - Identify better mechanisms to inform the community on the types of programs and services available through the City and related partners
> - Develop a process that involves the local community in identifying programs and services that are reflective of their priorities and needs
> - Develop a joint community/city framework that is locally based, flexible and successful
> - Develop a process by which community is involved in influencing policy decisions
> - Increase opportunities to build partnerships that utilize the skills and strengths of all stakeholders (pp. 2-3).

The PN program is based on the principle of local resident empowerment. Local racialized residents and youth share the decision-making power with the City in determining their neighbourhood's needs and solutions to meet these needs. The PN program is also based on the creation of new collaborative structures to ensure that residents' needs for social/recreational infrastructure are met. Resident engagement in joint decision-making processes is consistent with the community development approach to public administration.

By comparison, the TSNS 2020 report (COT, 2012) makes fewer references to resident decision-making power in the NIA program. In one instance, the report states,

> As a part of this work, the City will also connect with a wide range of stakeholders including residents, the private sector, other governments, community organizations and groups, community funders and Councillors to define the most appropriate criteria for the designation [identification] of the next group of NIAs (p. 11).

In the NIA program, residents are one stakeholder among numerous elites such as government representatives, elected officials, funders and other organizations that will contribute to the Neighbourhood Improvement Area designation. In addition, the report is unclear about which residents will be involved in decision making about NIA designation. Will poor, visible minority residents that are characteristic of under-resourced communities make decisions in the NIA program?

The same report (COT, 2012, p. 10) also states, "To ensure their participation, TSNS 2020 will place a renewed emphasis on expanding resident participation and partner engagement in all neighbourhood planning". However, given severe budget cuts for neighbourhood regeneration in 2012, the lack of clarity about staff assignments for local neighbourhood action, and the absence of any reference to the role of the racialized residents who are characteristic of these neighbourhoods, the NIA regeneration program appears to be an empty shell.

Finally, the Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy 2020 report gives power to the public administrators who manage the Wellbeing Toronto web-based tool to control the information without a requirement to be accountable to local residents, other than at election time. It is unclear who will use the information that is generated, and at no point does the City assign value to the knowledge and expertise that local residents possess about their neighbourhoods. Instead, the NIA program puts a higher value on the technical expertise of the public administrators who conduct centralized needs assessments for local neighbourhoods.

The NIA program reduces residents' power in relation to the City administration to that of the 'electorate'. Elites and technical experts gain power through their control of information about neighbourhoods. These changes in the City's neighbourhood regeneration efforts confirm a shift in the power relationships that is consistent with the economic approach to public administration.

## 4. Conclusions

The findings of the comparative analysis of the City of Toronto's two neighbourhood regeneration programs provide evidence that the two cases, the Priority Neighbourhood (PN) and the Neighbourhood Improvement Area (NIA) programs, are based on two different approaches to public administration. The community development and economic models are represented by Mayors Miller and Ford respectively. The analysis of the programs' goals and objectives, roles of public administrators, roles of residents in public administration, City-dedicated human and financial resources, and power relationships provides evidence that the PN program is consistent with the community development approach to public administration, championed by former Mayor Miller, and the NIA program is consistent with the economic model of public administration favoured by Mayor Ford.

To what extent was the community development approach to public administration effective in neighbourhood regeneration? Public administration theorists and Toronto's concerned leaders maintain that the most efficient and effective route to addressing local government issues and achieving solutions is by tapping the insights and abilities of an engaged citizenry through authentic and ongoing dialogue (Blair, 2011; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007; King et al, 1998; Nalbandian, 1999; Toronto Board of Trade, 2010).

Pursuing neighbourhood regeneration goals and objectives sincerely, defining the public administrators' roles as facilitators, supporters and collaborators, placing citizens at the centre of the issue to lend their knowledge and expertise, dedicating human and financial resources in a partnership capacity, and sharing power with local residents and collaborators in a community development approach showed the potential benefits of the

PN program.

The program had support from many prominent proponents including the Toronto Police Chief, the Toronto CivicAction coalition Chair, John Tory, and the United Way. In addition, the PN program provided an estimated total increase of 1,175 initiatives for youth (employment, education, skill development, engagement and justice), and resident engagement, and community and family support reaching 50,000 youth and 28,000 residents across the thirteen neighbourhoods (Toronto, Internal Briefing Documents, "Who We Engaged and What They Said", Priority Neighbourhood Evaluation Summary, 2011). Finally, the City-based investment of $13 million dollars leveraged another $25 million dollars from the private and charitable sectors for a total investment of $38 million dollars of funding for social recreational infrastructure such as sports fields, playgrounds, community hubs, and media centres in these communities.

Despite many testimonials, increases in programs and resident and youth engagement, and legacy projects such as the social recreational infrastructure, the community development approach to public administration was up against a formidable opponent – the threats of government deficits at every level and the fear of tax increases. Hence, the economic model of public administration currently prevails in Toronto's approach to neighbourhood regeneration.

To what extent will an economic approach to public administration be effective in addressing the complex problem of under-resourced neighbourhoods? Early signs are not encouraging. Not only has Toronto Council drastically cut resources for the NIA program, but Mayor Ford also voted against full federal government funding for anti-gang programs. The Mayor continues to speak out against City funding to community

organizations working with low-income residents in under-resourced communities by singularly voting against the City grants and publicly belittling youth support programs.

Research from Toronto economic and multi-sectoral elites (Blair, 2011; Toronto Board of Trade, 2010) provides evidence of the value of local government leadership and investment in under-resourced neighbourhoods. Their premise is consistent with the community development approach model – in order for Toronto to achieve economic prosperity it must work toward social cohesion and economic inclusion. Toronto must value and tap into the wealth of knowledge and skills of its new immigrant, racially diverse residents to achieve greater economic success. To do otherwise is shortsighted and puts Toronto in peril, socially and economically.

Therefore, even from an economic perspective, Toronto risks considerable losses by adopting an economic model of public administration, as embodied in the NIA program, for dealing with under-resourced neighbourhoods. By disengaging with its young, diverse recent immigrant population, the City minimizes access to residents that have a significant capacity to contribute to future economic prosperity for the City.

In addition, the City loses tax revenues from residents and business taxpayers who flee from the City's under-resourced neighbourhoods to avoid the stresses they experience, such as increased violence and crime. Further, Toronto's image suffers, as it becomes known as a city with a deteriorating quality of life, which in turn deters investment and skilled labour from coming to the city. Finally, the City loses millions of dollars in external partnership funding to improve under-resourced neighbourhoods for the benefit of residents who live there and for all Torontonians.

From a social perspective, the shift to the economic model of public administration

in the City's neighbourhood regeneration efforts paradoxically reduces the City's capacity to provide efficient public services. Without a resident-centered approach, theorists and civic elites agree, solutions to complex problems such as neighbourhood regeneration are either faulty or unsupported, and tend to fail. Public administrators that act as city builders, facilitators of dialogue, and who support democratic processes have both the expertise and motivation to act in the public interest. They want to be a part of a public service that maintains its relevance and understands that a community development approach to public administration is the right model for all concerned (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007).

Are the short-term impacts of the economic model of public administration, namely government cost reductions through services cuts to programs like neighbourhood regeneration, and low levels of taxation, worth the economic and social risks associated with a further decline in these neighbouroods and in Toronto's future prosperity? The early evidence is that the potential impacts are not worth the risks. It is understandable that Toronto politicians who subscribe to the economic model of public administration do so to give the electorate what they want in order to be re-elected. However, for the citizens of Toronto who have elected the current Mayor and Council, the benefits are less obvious. In fact, it appears that the longer-term implications of the current NIA program are detrimental to Toronto's wellbeing, economic viability, and social cohesion.

The NIA program is in its early stages and it is too soon to evaluate its outcomes and compare them with the results of the PN program. To fully assess Toronto's capacity to address the complex issues of neighbourhood regeneration through an economic approach to public administration, it is recommended that research on the results of the

NIA program be conducted in the future. Toronto's two differing approaches to its under-resourced neighbourhoods offer researchers a unique opportunity to examine and compare the results of the two dominant competing theories of public administration in practice. It is also recommended that further research be undertaken regarding the implications of mayoral positions on complex urban problems such as neighbourhood regeneration. Knowledge of these implications would be instructive to public administrators as they head into a new term of Council with a newly elected governing body.

As Selznick (in Terry, 1998, p. 198) says, "Those concerned with public management research and practice must not lose sight of the fact that ideas matter; they do have consequences". Terry (1998, p. 198) cautions: "The ideas embodied in…market-driven management may not serve democracy well.…Values such as fairness, justice, representation, or participation are not on the radar screen. This is indeed, troublesome".

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