

**THE GWYNNNS FALLS WATERSHED: A CASE STUDY OF PUBLIC  
AND NON-PROFIT SECTOR BEHAVIOR  
IN NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT**

by

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## ABSTRACT

This research explores the activities and roles of the non-profit and public sectors in the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed (GFW), in western Baltimore City and County, Md., USA. A case study of this system is presented, including a quantitative analysis of the relative activities and positions of organizations in the public and non-profit sectors; and a detailed, qualitative analysis of the interactions among three actors.

A survey of formal non-profit organizations and government agencies conducted in the GFW, a watershed of 66.2 square miles, indicates that a primary group of 45 organizations, of which 53% are non-profit organizations and 47% are public agencies, is involved in management of public natural resources in the GFW.

Social network analysis quantitatively verified the observation that the relative positions of a public agency and a non-profit organization appeared to reverse between the late 1980s and the late 1990s. The non-profit organization became a central actor in the natural resource management regime in the GFW, while the public agency moved into an increasingly peripheral position. This switch is attributable in part to the fiscal crisis faced by the City of Baltimore, which resulted in regular reductions in the agency's budget; and to a concurrent reduction in federal funding available to urban areas in the United States.

Two additional factors were found to explain the relative centrality of the non-profit organization: 1) the comparative flexibility of its organizational structure and mission, and 2) the comparative inability of the public agency to recognize and capitalize on the concept of ecosystem-based resource management as a means of gaining political and constituency support, and funding. Qualitative analysis of the organizational responses to the presence of change agents, faculty and graduate student interns from a well-respected school of forestry and environmental studies, revealed these relative strengths and weaknesses of the two organizations.

**Readers:** M. Gordon Wolman, Erica Schoenberger

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*This work is dedicated to the memory of  
Ruben Moreno  
who valued knowledge in all its forms,  
and sought knowledge with all his senses.*

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# SECTION I: PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH

## CHAPTER I-1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

### *A. Introduction*

Proponents of ecosystem-based natural resource management programs often emphasize the need for flexible adaptive organizations to work together in an open system to integrate their management activities (Moote *et al.* 1994; Moote & Cortner, 1996; Shannon & Antypas, 1997). The details of how these interactions might play out are left to the imagination of the reader. In fact, integrating activities among organizations who, at best, help one another out when they can, and, at worst, compete directly for limited resources and the authority to allocate and distribute them, represents a serious challenge for theorists and practitioners alike.

This research examines interactions among a particular group of organizations in a particular place – the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed (GFW) in western Baltimore City and County, Md., USA (see Figure 1.1-1, following page). Using this natural resource management regime as a case study, this research measures, describes, and explains the relative activities and positions of the public and non-profit sectors in natural resource management in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. In particular, the relative positions of a public agency and a non-profit organization within the system of actors comprising its natural resource management regime are examined, and potential implications of this research to natural resource management in other settings and over the long term are considered.

**Figure 1.1-1. Gwynns Falls Watershed Locator Map**



This work seeks to explore the following broad research questions:

- 1) What are the relative roles of public agencies and non-profit organizations in natural resource management?
- 2) What factors constrain or facilitate the integration of resource management activities (for example, preservation or restoration of ecological structures and processes) within and between the public and non-profit sectors?

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used to study the natural resource management regime in the GFW. The quantitative approach included creating a census of organizations, an inventory and analysis of their activities by sector, and analysis and explanation of their roles. The qualitative analysis was conducted using a framework of organizational power developed by Clarke and McCool (1997), in their book *Staking Out the Terrain*. Although this study is not focused upon power *per se*, their framework, derived from organizational and political science theory, proved a useful guide for examining the

behavior of the organizations of interest. Clarke and McCool demonstrated that two broad components of power, information/expertise and political/constituency support, can contribute to explanations of the relative positions of federal natural resource management agencies. It is used here in a similar fashion, as a tool to explain the relative positions of two organizations within the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. However, because Clarke and McCool did not explicitly define or operationalize the concept of power, and because the system under scrutiny here differs from the federal arena, their research methods were adapted and used as a guiding framework only.

This dissertation is composed of three major sections. The first introduces the research (Chapter I-1), places it in a theoretical context (Chapter I-2), presents the research methods (Chapter I-3), limitations to the research and its implications for theory and policy (Chapter I-4). Section II presents the findings of the research, starting with placing the current conditions in the study site in historical context (Chapter II-1); then presenting quantitative results that describe and characterize the activities of and relationships among the public and non-profit sectors in the study site (Chapter II-2); and, finally, explaining the relative positions of two organizations, a public agency and a non-profit organization, through an examination of interorganizational relationships in Chapter II-3. In the final section (III), results of the research are discussed and conclusions are presented in terms of theory, methods, and practice. Future research directions are also considered.

My interest in this research emerged as I participated in efforts in Baltimore to conduct and integrate natural resource management activities at a number of scales, from neighborhood based community greening efforts to a watershed-based urban ecosystem management project. I arrived in Baltimore in June of 1992, a recent graduate from the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies. What began as a three-month internship extended to a 7.5 year tenure in Baltimore. During that time, I witnessed first-hand many of

the organizational challenges described on the following pages, and the sometimes innovative and sometimes ineffective solutions to those challenges.

I became curious about the structural constraints to integration of activities among formal organizations, including public agencies and non-profit organizations. This research flowed from that curiosity, and was conducted from an observational position nested within the system itself. This, of course, brings both potential strengths and weaknesses to the work. In the first instance, I have had access to information that might have been unavailable to others, in both people's heads and filing cabinets. In the second, it presents obvious potential biases.

It was with the latter weakness in mind that I undertook the quantitative research, which was intended to account for the public natural resource management activities of the whole system. As it turned out, I was able to quantify the relative positions of the public agency and the non-profit organization in which I am interested, and to examine their roles and activities in the broader context of the activities and roles of the two sectors they represent.

My interest is in ecosystem-based resource management, which implies the need to integrate activities among organizations, including public agencies and non-profit organizations. The likelihood that this can be accomplished depends on politics, funding, and the inclination of relevant organizations. Thus, an examination of local politics and local funding structures for natural resource management was necessary. This case study provides the opportunity to examine how a public agency and a non-profit organization responded to the introduction of the concept of ecosystem-based resource management. This concept was presented to them by representatives of the academic community, faculty and students from the Yale University School of Forestry and Environmental Studies (among them, myself).

It became clear fairly late in the process that studying only the local scene would not entirely explain the behavior of the two organizations in which I was interested. National

politics have shaped urban areas in the United States in tangible ways, influencing both the development of infrastructure and the ability of public agencies to maintain it.

This case study reveals the characteristics of and relationships among the structures and processes of the actors involved. That is, the activities, roles, and fates of two organizations, the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks (a public agency) and the Parks & People Foundation (a non-profit organization) are analyzed in the context of federal and local politics. The different responses of the two organizations to the introduction of a new natural resource management paradigm, ecosystem-based management, and to the actor introducing that paradigm, the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies included in this comparative analysis.

### ***B. Background to Research***

Recent writings in fields related to natural resource management document a trend in management goals in the U.S. Once, most resource management agencies were expected, by the general public and policy-makers alike, to focus on a limited, well-defined product. For example, the primary role of the USDA Forest Service was to produce timber; the Bureau of Reclamation was established to build the infrastructure to provide water to the arid western states; and the National Park Service was expected to protect wild areas and provide recreational opportunities (Clarke and McCool, 1997). Today, with increasing public awareness of the ecological connections among different natural resources, federal, state, and local agencies are increasingly expected and, indeed, required to manage properties under their jurisdiction for “multiple uses” (Clarke and McCool, 1997; Rauscher, 1997). These can range from watershed protection, to the protection and enhancement of biological diversity, to recreational opportunities. Multiple, often competing goals, defined by multiple, often conflicting stakeholders contribute to agency confusion and retrenchment, and can result in paralysis (Rauscher, 1999).

This trend away from single-purpose management or commodity production and toward the provision of ecosystem services by resource management agencies has been accompanied by changes in interorganizational relationships. Agency representatives are finding it necessary to work together with other agencies, non-profits, businesses, and institutional and private stakeholders in order to provide ecosystem services because: 1) they are often in need of expertise unavailable in-house, and 2) they cannot achieve their goals without cooperation because the ecosystems they are trying to manage extend beyond the borders of their jurisdictions. Hence, organizations traditionally in competition with one another find themselves in the position of needing to cooperate (Clarke and McCool, 1997; Yaffee *et al.*, 1996; Kohm and Franklin, 1997). The resultant partnerships are comprised of complex combinations of federal, state, and local government agencies, citizens groups, businesses, non-profit organizations, and private land owners (Yaffee *et al.*, 1996). The management units under consideration of these fledgling organizational networks range from vast river basins such as the Columbia in the Pacific Northwest (Lee, 1993), to small urban-rural watersheds such as the Gwynns Falls Watershed in Baltimore City and County, MD (Dalton, 1995). Understanding the constraints and opportunities faced by groups of organizations attempting to manage natural resources at an ecosystem scale remains a relatively impoverished area of research, and one to which the present study is intended to contribute.

## **CHAPTER I-2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH**

### ***A. General Theoretical Background***

Activities of the non-profit sector have been documented by Lester Salamon, among others, and exhibit a dramatic rise in its size, scope, and range, in the US and globally (1989, 1994, 1995). Specifically, Salamon reports that the non-profit sector has come, in many cases, to be the implementing arm of federal government policy and initiatives in the United States. This phenomenon has been most frequently observed in the provision of health, education, and social services. Salamon derives his conclusions, to some extent, from measures of federal funding transferred to the non-profit sector for various types of activities. By contrast, this research measures the level and range of activity of the two sectors directly, and employs social network analysis to measure the relative centrality of particular public agencies versus non-profit organizations.

There is a growing body of literature that concerns itself with the challenges to integrating natural resource management activities in order to manage ecosystems for multiple goals (Kohm and Franklin, 1997; Shannon and Antypas, 1997; Yaffee *et al.*, 1996; Moote and Cortner, 1996)). The actors who in these circumstances are required to integrate their activities are, in fact, not unaccustomed to competing with one another for resources, prestige, and territory. In addition, they often have conflicting mandates, geographic jurisdictions, and disciplinary boundaries. Thus, there is interest among both academics and practitioners (i.e. natural resource managers) in understanding the structure of the interorganizational relationships and activities that comprise natural resource management regimes.

## **B. Social Network Analysis**

Social network analysts assert that in order to understand actors' behaviors, one must look beyond the individual (or "ego") to understand how ego's relationships facilitate certain activities and impede others. The actors studied in social network analyses range from individual persons to informal groups, to formal organizations such as government agencies or firms, to other collectives such as regions or nations. Wasserman and Faust, in their comprehensive treatment of network analysis, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (1994), assert that:

[t]he fundamental difference between a social network explanation and a non-network explanation of a process is the inclusion of concepts and information on *relationships* among units in a study. Theoretical concepts are relational, pertinent data are relational, and critical tests use distributions of relational properties. Whether the model employed seeks to understand individual action in the context of structured relationships, or studies structures directly, network analysis operationalizes structures in terms of networks of linkages among units.

In whole network studies, *density* describes the degree to which the network is interconnected (Valente, 1996), (Wellman, 1988). Density measures identify connections between and among nodes in a system, and are used to both characterize the overall network structure, and identify central actors within it.

*Cohesion* is a measure of the intensity of the links between actors (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). This can also be measured and calculated for the whole network, and for subgroups of actors within it. Cohesion can be measured in a number of ways, including by examining the strength and type of ties between actors, the density of those ties, and the average distance from one actor to another.

The detection of *cliques* within a network can be very informative. Cliques are subgroups within a network, which allow analysts to detect actors who are defined mathematically as "a maximal complete subgraph of three or more nodes" (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, p.254). Cliques are, by definition, composed of groups of actors among whom

relationships are reciprocal. In order to be included in a clique, actors must nominate one another as participants in a particular type of relationship.

Revealing the relative positions of different actors within a network is often a primary goal of network analyses. This allows researchers to make predictions about how various resources flow within a social network, and which actors are likely to have the greatest influence on allocation and distribution of resources. That is, researchers can identify “the ‘most important’ actors in a social network” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). A number of writers have worked to define *centrality* in the social network context; and include definitions “based on degree, closeness, betweenness, information... [and] differential status or rank” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994).

*Brokerage* is also an important network concept in the context of this research: this tool identifies positions of actors relative to types of other actors within a network. For example, in this research brokerage calculations can tell us whether actors occupy bridging positions within and between the public and non-profit sectors.

### **C. *Organizational Analysis***

Political scientists have been studying bureaucratic power, and competition for it, for years (Rourke, 1972), (Seidman and Gilmour, 1986). Drawing from this body of literature, Clarke and McCool (1997) tested a theory in the second edition of their book *Staking Out the Terrain*, that suggested that two sources of federal agency power are 1) *expertise/control of information*, and 2) *political/constituency support*. Clarke and McCool developed and applied methods to test this theory among seven federal natural resource management agencies. However, they did not define the concept of power explicitly, and arguably explained the *positions* of federal natural resource management agencies, relative to one another, within the federal government. This interpretation of their work was adapted and used in the present research.

Too, at smaller scales, an understanding of the relative positions of government agencies *only* is likely to be insufficient to provide an understanding of the network of stakeholders making up a given resource management regime. Salamon's work (Salamon, 1995) on the non-profit sector demonstrates the extent to which government agencies depend upon non-profits to implement their objectives. This is true of the management of publicly owned natural resources in addition to other government activities (Dalton, 1995), (Yaffee *et al.*, 1996).

In *Staking Out the Terrain*, Clarke and McCool identify two key components of organizational *power* among federal natural resource management agencies. In the Gwynns Falls Watershed, I use this framework in the context of other factors influencing the behavior of the two organizations studied, to explain their relative *positions*. Below, the two broad variables shown to be sources of power among federal natural resource agencies, and their constituent parts are described in more detail. What follows is derived from Clarke and McCool.

#### 1) Expertise and Information

The idea that information is a source of power for organizations can be traced to Weber's work on bureaucracies (Weber, 1978). Organizations can be shown to collect and use information in order to function. However, different sources and types of information are valued differently by society, and this variability is expressed differentially as sources of power for organizations. Organizations whose missions derive from or depend upon science, engineering, medicine or law, professions that are "related to the survival of society," (Rourke, cited in (Clarke and McCool, 1997, p.8) are more likely to use their professional expertise to their advantage than organizations whose skills are less vital. Clarke and McCool also note, however, that today's public is less "enamoured" of experts than that of yesteryear, and that the increasing public skepticism about expert opinion can also be a hindrance to public agencies. Despite this skepticism, it is still fair to say that natural resource

management organizations need information to carry out their work. Insofar as the expertise/information are perceived to be derived from a “dominant, scientifically based profession,” (Clarke and McCool, 1997), p.10) employed in service of the common good or public needs, it can be considered as a source of power for organizations.

The mission of a given organization will indicate to some extent the expertise needed by that organization to carry out its business. If the founding mission of the organization serves “dominant societal values” (Clarke and McCool, 1997, p.9), it is likely to be a source of power for the organization, garnering as it would, support from a broad constituency base. However, missions so broad that they become incomprehensible to most people can diminish their contribution to organizational power. Conversely, organizations with very narrow missions are likely to have reduced access to power on this basis, as it can marginalize them, and their ability to expand their activities based on their mission is hobbled. A confounding feature of some organizational missions is their seeming contradictory nature. The US National Park Service is a good example of this. It is expected to simultaneously protect the resource base and provide recreational and cultural opportunities for millions of people.

Similarly, the circumstances under which organizations are created are also important to their bases of power. Those created by executive order are much more easily eliminated than those created through an act of Congress, or in the case of Baltimore City, the Mayor and City Council. It is much less difficult to create organizations through departmental or executive orders; however, it is also much easier to abolish those same organizations. Creation through an act of government often provides the added benefit of giving organizations “a definite identity to work from.” (Clarke and McCool, 1997, p.9).

“Agencies that have a strong sense of their own identities and of their mission – often referred to as organizational zeal or *esprit de corps* – have an edge over those that do not.” These organizations know what they are and are not about, and the people who work within

them do so with an air of confidence that extends into their relationships with other organizations. Thus, although *esprit de corps* is considered to be difficult to quantify, and is sometimes more easily perceived by its absence than by its presence, it is a source of organizational power. “Organizations with *esprit de corps* can both better maintain the loyalty of their members and the support of their outside constituencies” (Clarke and McCool, 1997), p.11).

Leadership is also considered to be part of an organization’s information base. In particular, organizations that can groom and recruit leaders internally are more likely to derive power from this source than those whose leaders are appointed politically. In addition, “something like a ‘founder’s myth’ does exist and does give organizational benefits,” (Clarke and McCool, 1997) in that it can contribute to an organization’s sense of identity.

## 2) Political and Constituency Support

Just as expertise contributes to organizational power based on its several constituent parts, so does political/constituency support. The four factors around which political and constituency support are clustered are reported by Clarke and McCool to be: 1) constituency size, 2) nature of interests with which the constituency is concerned, 3) “the nature of the [organization’s] mission, and 4) “the extent of intragovernmental support for the organization.” (Clarke and McCool, 1997), p.12).

In general, public agencies can be divided into two types: service-based and regulatory. Those unfortunate organizations whose primary *raison d’être* is to restrict persons’ or entities’ behaviors are much less likely to be able to generate a strong constituency than those whose activities are based on providing a public service<sup>1</sup>. Service providers, on the other hand, are much more likely to have a broad base of appeal to potential constituents than regulators.

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<sup>1</sup> It can be argued, however, that regulation of some actors’ behaviors is likely to be considered a public service to another set of actors.

“The size, nature, and type of interest group support are critical variables affecting an agency’s power base” (Clarke and McCool, 1997), p.13). A clientele that is broad-based but well organized is more desirable than one whose interests are very narrow or esoteric, or one that is so large and broad as to be difficult to mobilize. The size of an organization’s constituency is only one facet of its potential to provide power: as important are its geographic and socioeconomic distribution. Limiting the geographic range of an organization’s activities potentially also limits the population from which it can draw support. Likewise, organizations that disproportionately serve “economically disadvantaged groups” are also less likely to derive power from this clientele.

In addition to recognizing popular constituents as potential sources of power, Clarke and McCool posit that having the support of individual political actors, and other organizations and agencies within one’s sphere of activities is also an important component of constituency support. This can be a double-edge sword, however, as when an agency is derived from an executive act, nurtured under a particular administration, and abolished after the incumbent loses the next election. For this reason, it is important, particularly for organizations created through departmental or executive order, to align themselves broadly within the political system.

Finally, the extent to which an organization’s activities are subject to judicial review affects its power. Increasing judicial review decreases an organization’s power base, specifically because it subjects an organization to governmental gridlock, making it at least appear to be less efficient and effective than other organizations.

Table 1.2-1 shows the measures developed by Clarke and McCool to test power among federal natural resource management agencies. Some were adapted for this analysis, and these adaptations are also shown in Table 1.2-1. Clarke and McCool verify their findings by comparing their analysis to more standard, quantitative indicators of organizational power,

such as measures of change in budgets and staff. These measures are comparable at the federal level, where the organizations all draw essentially on one source of funding. This is not true at the local level, where diverse funding sources contribute to agency and non-profit budgets, and where the funding mechanisms are incomparable across organizational type. Thus, changes in budget and staff in the GFW can be compared between organizations as they are in the federal system, and demonstrate the relative ability of organizations to garner support for their activities.

**Table 1.2-1  
Indicators Adapted from Clarke and McCool for Local Scale Analysis**

Broad Variable (Clarke and McCool)	Constituent Part (Clarke and McCool)	Indicator (Clarke and McCool)	Adapted Indicator	Data Source(s)
Expertise/ Control of Information	Nature of Mission	+pro-development; multiple use; utilitarian values  +created by an organic act  +contains a mission that is expandable  -the product of executive orders or reorganizations  -narrow or esoteric mission; dominant use; preservationist values	+In city charter ( <i>City Agency only</i> )	R&P Mission Statement(s); P&P Mission Statement(s)  City Council records
	Dominant, Established Profession	+scientific, legal, military bases of expertise  -interdisciplinary; melting pot of professions	Used as in Clarke and McCool	Key informant interviews (KII)
	Astute Leadership	+scientific, legal or military leadership  -political appointments to head agency	Used as in Clarke and McCool	KII Newspaper articles  KII
	Esprit de Corps	+coherent public image  +well-defined agency character  +integrated organization  -servile attitude; inferiority complex  -lack of a competitive edge	Used as in Clarke and McCool	Newspaper articles KII
Age of Organization	(No discernible effect)			
Political/ Constituency Support	Constituency Size	+large; evenly distributed  +well-educated, well-funded  -narrow exotic interest  -broad, amorphous interest	Used as in Clarke and McCool	Notes from public meetings Member lists of "Friends of..." Groups
	Linkages to Majoritarian Issues	+concrete, economic interests  +defense contractors  -the poor; ethnic minorities	Used as in Clarke and McCool	Mission statement(s)  Constituency analysis
	Service or Regulatory	+service orientation and functions  -regulatory functions	Used as in Clarke and McCool	KII
	Intra-governmental Support	+congressional support  +presidential support  -judicial oversight	+city council support  +mayoral support	Social network analysis Newspaper articles KII

Table 1.2-1 shows two broad variables considered to be sources of organizational power: *expertise/control of information*, and *political/constituency support*. Each of these is composed of four constituent parts, and indicators are set forth for each.

This chapter has briefly placed this research effort a broad theoretical context. This work draws from implementation theory and attempts to understand the organizational dynamics of ecosystem management. It is an effort to understand how interorganizational relationships shape the integration of public natural resource management programs. It uses social network analysis as a tool to measure those relationships and Clarke and McCool's analytical framework to examine and explain them. The details of the research methods are presented in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER I-3 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

### *A. Objectives of Research*

Natural resource management is often undertaken to provide public goods and services (e.g. clean air, clean water, recreational opportunities); increasingly, constituents' demand for ecosystem-based management strategies that produce multiple and usually public goods, benefits, and services poses serious challenges to resource management agencies, not only in terms of the technical difficulties involved in managing for multiple uses, but also in terms of their ability to work with one another (Dietrich, 1992; Yaffee *et al.*, 1996; Kohm and Franklin, 1997). This, coupled with the documented rise of non-profit activity in general in the U.S., and the use of that sector by government agencies to implement their policies, suggests that investigation of the relative positions of the public and non-profit sectors in natural resource management regimes is a potentially fruitful line of inquiry, capable of exposing and explaining opportunities and constraints to integration in more detail.

By *natural resource management organization*, I mean any public agency (whether federal, state, county, or city level) or formal non-profit organization (those having formal 501(c)(3) status) that owns or manages publicly owned natural resources (including land, water, vegetation, wildlife, etc.).

A *management regime* is defined as: "all those arrangements that regulate the way the demands put into the system are settled and the way in which decisions [related to the management of publicly-owned natural resources] are put into effect" (Swartz *et al.*, 1966). The management regime in the GFW comprises those natural resource management organizations who own or manage publicly owned natural resources in that watershed.

The objectives of the research reported in this dissertation are to:

- 1) describe and characterize the natural resource management regime in the GFW;

2) quantify the relative activities and roles of the public and non-profit sectors in the natural resource management regime in the GFW in general, and the relative positions of the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation, in particular;

3) explain the relative positions of one public agency, the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, and one non-profit organization, the Parks & People Foundation, within that management regime.

### ***B. Overview of Research Strategy***

An *ex post facto* research design (Isaac and Michael, 1995) and a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to study the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. The quantitative methods used summary statistics and social network analysis, to: 1) describe and characterize the system, 2) measure the relative activities of the public and non-profit sectors, in general, 3) measure the relative positions of a public agency and a non-profit organization, in particular, within the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. The qualitative methods were used to explain the positions of the two organizations. In addition, in order to place the activities of the organizations of interest in context, an historical narrative tracing the development of the park system in the Baltimore area and relevant federal policies that shaped it is provided.

### ***C. The Case Study***

The Gwynns Falls Watershed was used as a case study to examine the activities and roles of the public and non-profit sectors in natural resource management. Among formal natural resource management organizations working in the Gwynns Falls Watershed, the relative positions of a public agency, the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, and a non-profit organization, the Parks & People Foundation, appeared to shift dramatically between 1989 and 1999. In the early 1990s, the Baltimore City Department of Recreation

and Parks was engaged in a number of ecosystem-based resource management partnerships, while the Parks & People Foundation was a fledgling organization, and still in the process of defining itself and its role among other organizations with potentially compatible or competing missions and goals. By 1999, however, the Parks & People Foundation was heavily involved in a number of high-profile natural resource management projects in the Gwynns Falls Watershed, while the Department of Recreation and Parks had lost its entire field staff to the City's Department of Public Works. The Parks & People Foundation was involved in more projects, with more partners; its budget and staff were growing while those of the Department of Recreation and Parks' shrank. By 1999, the Parks & People Foundation's budget actually matched that of the Bureau of Parks.

#### I. The Gwynns Falls Watershed

The Gwynns Falls Watershed (GFW), in western Baltimore City and County was selected as the site for this research because it is a highly diversified landscape in a human-dominated system. It is the site of a variety of interorganizational responses to management challenges initiated during the 1990s by many different organizations; these often include the Department of Recreation and Parks, the Parks & People Foundation, or both.

The GFW has an area of 17,150 hectares (66.2 sq. mi.), is home to approximately 246,000 people (>5% of MD's population) (Jahnige, 1999) and drains into the Patapsco River, which drains into the Chesapeake Bay. Population density in the GFW ranges from 2.5 persons/ha to 19.8 persons/ha (Grove, 1997a). The GFW exhibits variability in terms of income levels of its inhabitants, land uses, and ownership patterns. About two-thirds of the watershed is located in Baltimore County, with the remaining third lying within the limits of Baltimore City. Most of the City-owned property in the watershed lies along the stream valley, while County-owned properties are more widely dispersed. Land uses in the lower reaches of the watershed (within the City limits) are primarily residential, commercial, or

industrial, while the upper reaches (the County portions) are primarily agricultural, forested, and open spaces (Grove, 1997a).

## II. Research Subjects

A public agency, the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, and a non-profit organization, the Parks & People Foundation, provide a basis for this inquiry for several reasons. First, the recent apparent change in their status within the resource management regime in the GFW prompts exploration. Second, they represent the two types of organizations of interest in this study, and both are involved in the management of publicly owned natural resources in the GFW. Third, through their interactions with faculty and students from the Yale University School of Forestry and Environmental Studies during the 1990s<sup>2</sup> both were exposed to an influx of new *expertise/information*. Thus, it was possible to analyze and document the results of an unstructured experiment - the relative ability of the organizations to use information/expertise for their own benefit. Finally, representatives of both organizations were available and willing to participate in interviews, and to provide documentation of past activities to researchers.

### ***D. Data Collection and Analysis***

#### I. Quantitative Methods: Social Network Analysis

##### *a. Data Collection*

This research employed summary statistics and social network analysis to quantify the relative activities and positions of federal, state, county, city agencies, and non-profit organizations within the management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. Data for this analysis were collected through a telephone survey, the instrument for which was developed, tested, and revised in 1997/98 (see Appendix A). In order to collect information about the

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<sup>2</sup> These interactions were undertaken through a partnership program among R&P, P&P, and YF&ES, called the Urban Resources Initiative, which created a summer internship program to help improve park management. For more information on this program, see (Dalton, 1995; Burch & Grove, 1993; Grove & Hohmann, 1992; Grove, 1995; Grove, 1997b).

actors of interest in the system, *organizations*, it was necessary to select one or more organizational representatives, *individuals*, to interview. It was important to identify the appropriate representative to interview: the ideal organizational representative is that person who can most fully speak to the activities of the organization in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. In many cases, key informants provided contact information for representatives of organizations. The survey provided three separate but related types of information. First, it generated a census of federal, state, county, and city agencies, and non-profit organizations involved in natural resource management activities in the GFW. Second, it provided attribute data about the organizations. Third, it provided the relational data needed to conduct network analyses.

Ideally, social network analyses are conducted on a complete census of actors in the system of interest. In this case, inventories of public agencies and non-profit organizations, obtained from publicly available data sources, were combined with information from key informants, and a snowball sampling technique to obtain the census. The initial inventories were reviewed by key informants to identify missing actors and those that do not belong in the data set, and when possible to obtain names of specific contact persons within organizations. Subsequently, screening questions were used at the outset of interviews to verify that the organization should be included in the data set.

An inventory of public agencies (and divisions within them) was created using the local telephone book, and an *Atlas of Federal Agencies*, (Tarar, 1996) produced by the National Park Service.

A list of approximately 21,000 non-profit organizations in Maryland was obtained from the IRS website in 1998. This list provides information on registered 501(c)(3) organizations in the state. It was filtered by activity type and zipcode to identify organizations likely to be involved in natural resource management in the GFW. The initial filter yielded a list of approximately 11,000 organizations. Because of time and budget

constraints, and because it was also possible to detect organizations through snowball sampling techniques, this list was reduced further to approximately 150 organizations. The reduction was accomplished by decreasing the number and types of activity codes included in the filter (for example, activity codes that related to influencing policy were removed from the filter), and by confining the geographic search to only zipcodes that were partially or fully contained within the GFW. Additionally, respondents were screened at the outset of interviews to verify that they should be included in the database.

During interviews, respondents were asked to identify their organization's natural resource management projects and organizations they considered to be partners in those projects. Additional organizations were identified and added to the database by being nominated as project partners. Of these, those cited by 4 or more other organizations as partners were contacted and interviewed. Organizations cited three times or less were not contacted for interviews.

#### *b. Data Analysis*

Initially, data were manipulated in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, then exported to Ucinet (Borgatti *et al.*, 1999) for social network analyses. Summary information was compiled using Microsoft Excel. A numeric coding system was developed that allowed sorting by type of organization. In some cases it was necessary to condense information from several records into one record: organizations in which more than one respondent, representing more than one division or program of the organization, was interviewed. Initially a separate record was created from each questionnaire; these were then condensed into one record for each organization.

Additionally, a coding system for project type was developed using the Human Ecological System as an organizing framework (see Appendix B). This is the organizing framework used by the Baltimore Ecosystem Study, a Long-Term Ecological Research effort

of which this organizational research is a component (see Machlis *et al.*, 1994, and <http://www.ecostudies.org/bes> for more details).

The survey instrument provided attribute and relational data on the organizations involved in natural resource management in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. Microsoft Excel was used to calculate summary statistics on the overall system, Ucinet 5, a SNA software packages (Borgatti *et al.*, 1999), was used to conduct the network analyses. The data analysis strategy is summarized in Table 1.3-1, below. This shows the measures used to calculate summary statistics and to identify the level and range of activities, and roles of the two sectors.

**Table 1.3-1. Data Analysis Schema**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Measure</i>
<b>Summary Statistics</b>	Composition of management regime	# each type of organization in management regime
	Organizational age	Average age of each type of organization
	Projects by age	# projects plotted against age of organization
	Distribution of project types	# and % of each type of project
	Concentration of activity	# organizations involved in from few to several projects (#s to be determined by analysis)
	Funding	# projects funded by each type of organization
	Distribution of partnerships	% projects conducted with partners per sector
<b>Level of Activity</b>	Density	Average # of partners per project (of those with partners) per sector # actual ties / # potential ties for each sector and for the whole network
	Relative proportions of organizations by type	Percent non-profit organizations; percent public agencies
<b>Range of Activity</b>	Relative number of projects per type of organization	Percent projects of total number of projects cited by non-profit organizations; Percent projects of total number of projects cited by government agencies
	Diversity of projects	Number of types of projects per type of organization
<b>Actor Position</b>	Diversity of partners	Number of types of partners per type of organization
	Cohesion	Number and composition of cliques
	Betweenness Centrality	The relative number vertices occurring on a geodesic containing individual public agencies and non-profits
	Brokerage	Over 50% of non-profit organizations occupying the consultant position in network brokerage calculation
	Range of activity and partnering	Number of types of resource management projects and number of types of partner organizations per sector

## II. Qualitative Methods

Clarke and McCool's framework was used to guide this inquiry with minor adaptations (see Table 1.2-1, previous chapter).

### *b. Data Collection*

Two sources of data were used to explain the relative positions of the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation within the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed: 1) key informant interviews, 2) archival data.

#### 1) key informant interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives of the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, the Parks & People Foundation, and several other organizations who worked with or near these two organizations during the 1990s. The interviews were initiated with the observation that the shift in the relative positions of the two organizations has taken place, and respondents were asked to provide their thoughts on why and/or how this happened. Respondents were asked to consider and report on what internal and external pressures the two organizations faced during the course of the 1990s; whether and how the creation of the Urban Resources Initiative influenced their activities; the role of leadership and personalities within the two organizations; and what their own perspective is (internal to which organization, working in what capacity with or within the organizations). Table 1.3-2 provides the name, organization, position, and date of interview for each key informant.

**Table 1.3-2.  
Key Informants Interviewed**

<b>Name and Position</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>
Sally Michel, Chair, Board of Directors	Parks & People Foundation	August, 1999
Laura Perry, Member, Board of Director and Park Board	Parks & People Foundation and Baltimore City Dept. of Recreation and Parks	August, 1999
Mary Porter, Park Planner	Baltimore City Dept. of Recreation and Parks	October, 2000
Bill Stack	Baltimore City Dept. of Public Works	October, 2000
Jeff Barrett	Baltimore City Dept. of Education (formerly of R&P)	October, 2000
Fran Spero	Baltimore City Dept. of Recreation and Parks	October, 2000
Mike Baker, Acting Chief of Parks	Baltimore City Dept. of Recreation and Parks	October, 2000
Jeff Horan, Deputy Director, Forest, Wildlife and Heritage	MD Dept. of Natural Resources	October, 2000
Gene Piotrowski, Director of Resource Planning	MD Dept. of Natural Resources	October, 2000
Calvin Buikema, Former Chief of Parks	(retired) Baltimore City Dept. of Recreation and Parks	October, 2000
Beth Strommen, Environmental Planner	Baltimore City Dept. of Planning	October, 2000
Jacqueline Carrera, Executive Director	Parks & People Foundation	January, 2001
Don Outen	Baltimore County Dept. of Environmental Protection and Resource Management	March, 2001

In addition to these formal, planned interviews, some of the information used in this study had already been collected during numerous spontaneous conversations with people listed here and other representatives of these and additional organizations in the Baltimore area. The author was a member of this system between 1992 and 1996, having worked in that time frame for both the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation. Thus, some of the information used in the analysis was collected through informal participant observation.

2) archival data

Archival records from a number of sources were consulted in the course of this research. These included internal and external memos, annual reports, and budgets of the

Baltimore City Dept. of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation, and journalistic accounts reported in The Baltimore Sun.

*b. Data Analysis*

The qualitative data were analyzed through systematic comparisons of personal accounts of key informants, newspaper articles, public documents such as reports, and documents internal to organizations such as memos and minutes of meetings. Findings were analyzed and compared across sources of information (for example, newspaper articles versus key informant interviews).

## CHAPTER I-4 LIMITATIONS TO RESEARCH

### *A. Data Collection*

There are two important potential limitations to the data set itself: all projects were equally weighted in this research. For example, the Army Corps of Engineers' multi-year, multi-million dollar effort to restore sections of the stream channel in the Gwynns Falls was counted the same way as a community forestry project involving the planting and maintenance of a few dozen trees. When the original survey instrument was tested, this problem was addressed by asking for the budgets of each project. However, because of the complexity of some organizations' budgets, or because the information was not immediately at the respondents' fingertips, this detailed request proved too elaborate for the survey. This type of information would have to be acquired in face-to-face meetings for which the respondents would be asked to prepare; this level of detail is not necessary for this particular research effort, in which the goal was to get a broad impression of the overall system and then use qualitative methods to zero in on the two organizations of interest. However, because this research is concerned with the relationships among organizations that are represented through partnership on projects, this limitation of the data is of less concern than it would be if the projects themselves were the focus of the research.

In addition, it is possible that incorrect or incomplete answers were provided by respondents simply because of their own position within their organization. In some cases, it was possible to address this source of error by interviewing several representatives of the same organization. In others, it was not. This leads to the additional possibility that some organizations were overrepresented in the survey because more than one respondent has been interviewed. However, because it was necessary to rely on the advice of key informants in the system in order to access it at all, it was also necessary to risk the error associated with that commitment. Therefore, every effort was made to both ascertain that the respondent was the

appropriate representative of a given organization, and to simplify the survey instrument enough to minimize response error.

### ***B. Data Analysis***

This process required developing a detailed understanding of the activities of the two organizations, not only on their own terms, but in terms of their interactions with other organizations in the system. This understanding was partially developed over the course of several years, during which the author both worked within the system and studied it from a theoretical perspective. This presents a potential bias, created by the process of explicit and implicit participant observation in the system. There are at least two possible problems here: first, the activities of the researcher (who was employed at various points in time by both organizations studied) may have influenced the activities of the research subjects; second, the act of participation itself may have biased the researcher's observations. I attempted to overcome these problems by first removing myself from the system under study once the formal research had been proposed; and second, to the extent possible, I cross-checked my observations and key informant responses with external sources of information. As with all qualitative research, however, it cannot be guaranteed that these precautions have had the desired effect. This can only be overcome by replication of the research effort, and barring that, review of the findings by experts both within the system and external to it.

Clarke and McCool used only one source of information in their work (McCool, 1999), while in this case it was necessary to collect data from a number of sources. Key informants and public records are both potentially rich sources of data. However, both bring to the research effort potential sources of error. In the first case, recall error and personal biases may skew results. In the second, the interpretation of documents is also subject to bias on the part of the researcher. Thus, my intention in using these two sources of information was both to gather qualitative data and to use them as a means of cross-checking one another.

# SECTION II: RESULTS

## CHAPTER II-1 THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter identifies and describes key historical factors shaping public and non-profit natural resource management activity in the GFW. It provides a brief history of the growth and development of Baltimore City and County, the evolution of the local government's structure and, briefly, changes over time in the relationship between Baltimore City and Baltimore County governments. It describes the history of Baltimore's park system and its management. Policy is discussed in terms of its effect on land use and social structure within the region, its effect upon the City and County governments' ability to deliver services in general, and the ability of natural resource management organizations to integrate their activities across the City/County boundary in particular. The concluding section provides a discussion of the combined effect of all these factors on the activities of the City's Department of Recreation and Parks, and the Parks & People Foundation.

### *A. Early Growth*

The features belonged to a town site of magnificent potential. The place was a natural haven for ships. It possessed streams with plenty of fall for turning mills, and also admirable timber on the necks, a generous agricultural climate, a great variety of soils, an abundance of fine springs of water, and a long ridge of excellent red brick clays...

So begins Sherry Olson's book, *Baltimore: the Building of an American City* (1997). The history of Baltimore spans 12 generations, each of which interacted with and left a signature upon the landscape. The first land patents in the area were issued in 1650s, the first on the site of the present city in 1660. Baltimore Town was formally founded in 1729 and laid out on sixty acres in 1730. "Jones Town was laid off in 1732, into half-acre lots on ten acres east of the Jones Falls" (Olson, 1997) -- p.8. Fells Point originally settled in 1726 by William Fell (a ship's carpenter). A hundred years later, the area still housed only 200 people. Maryland's economy at the time was based primarily on tobacco production, and because the

tobacco trade did not require a market center, the state's landscape remained largely agricultural, as did its political power base, until well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1745 Baltimore Town, Jones Town and Fells Point were joined into one town, Baltimore, which within 45 years changed from a village of 25 houses and 200 people to a city, the fourth largest in the nation. By 1800, 30,000 people called Baltimore home. This growth was spurred, in part, by Baltimore's strategic location; it was within four days sail of the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, was the westernmost town on the region's east coast, and was connected to the interior states by rail. It became a center of international commerce, thriving particularly during times of war and stagnating in intervening calm years (Olson, 1997).

In 1816, a number of properties near and around the large suburban estates proximate to Baltimore were annexed to the city. In 1888, 23 square miles of land were annexed to the City on the north and west sides (Canton and Highlandtown on the east declined to join, through district referenda). This nearly tripled the size of Baltimore, extending the boundaries to present-day North Ave. and Munroe St. Baltimore's final annexation took place in 1918, and extended the borders of the City to its present configuration. This time, the lands acquired were sparsely populated, minimally improved, and again tripled the size of the City from 30 to 92 square miles (Olson,1997).

Political, social, and economic changes accompanied these changes in configuration. In the first case, annexation was justified because it was thought that the wealthy landholders near Baltimore, merchants who were dependent on the City's port and land-based transportation system to conduct their business, ought to contribute as tax-paying citizens of the City to the public facilities that supported their businesses. In 1888 and 1918, Baltimore's population and economic activity had outgrown her size, and the annexations were necessary to allow the city to expand to accommodate both. In each case the lands in the annexes were subject to speculation by nearby landowners and developers. In 1918 in particular, the tax

structure, public investment in infrastructure, and advances in transportation technology caused a wave of migration from the downtown neighborhoods into the periphery (Browne, 1980).

In the annexation of 1888, “public streets and public parks defined the locus of housing development. In the northwest, terraces were built on Auchentoroly, and the Mount Royal area was rapidly built up near Druid Hill Park. Development of the northwest was described as ‘superinduced’ by construction of the North Avenue electric to Walbrook and the extension of Fulton Avenue northward into the annex.” (Olson, 1997) -- p.217. In 1918, “in the new annex there were two thousand people per square mile, whereas in the 1888 annex there were already twelve thousand per square mile, in the old city limits thirty-four thousand, and in the pre-1816 core (Fells Point, Old town, the inner harbor) there were fifty thousand” (Olson, 1997) – p.303, and “the wealthy were moving out.” (Olson, 1997, p.303). “Before the war, 60 percent of Social Register or ‘black book’ families still lived in Mount Vernon and Bolton Hill, 8 percent in Roland Park, and most of the others somewhere in between. By 1932, only a third lived in Mount Vernon and Bolton Hill; nearly half lived in the Roland Park Company suburbs of Roland Park, Guilford, and Homeland, or along University Parkway” (Olson, 1997) – p.303. The pattern of middle and upper class outmigration, which in effect confines the urban poor to the inner city, spans more than a century. Importantly, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, this migration was contained within the *new* city limits, and “capital flows had each time occurred inside the expanded city.” But by the 1950s and 1960s, “for the first time, the line between city and county divided the zones of investment and disinvestment” (Olson, 1997, p.371).

## I. City Government

Baltimore was incorporated in 1796. “The city, approaching 25,000 people, was given no representation in the [state] assembly, apart from the two already authorized delegates of Baltimore County, of which it was a part. Within the city, authority was divided among the

elected mayor and city council, the appointed port wardens, and the appointed town commissioners.” (Olson, 1997, p.36). Thus, there existed a tense relationship between the state and city governments, as well as a high level of “fragmentation within the city government” (Olson, 1997, p.36). The powers expressly delegated to Baltimore gave the new city control over the general areas of health, police, bridge construction, the harbor, the establishment of new streets, lands, and alleys, fire protection, and the regulation and standardization of trade, ‘and to pass all ordinances necessary to give effect and operation to all the powers vested in the corporation of the City of Baltimore.’ The financing of these powers came from the city’s right to establish fees, fines, penalties, forfeitures, and a property tax.”

However, the representatives of Maryland’s landed gentry in the state legislature, from Annapolis and from Baltimore county, did not intend for Baltimore to be an autonomous polity. For example, the new city was not granted its own court system but had to continue using the Baltimore County court for resolving its urban problems. Though cumbersome and occasionally impracticable, this system allowed the landed gentry in the county to continue exercising some powers over the new city until Baltimore’s renewed growth after the War of 1812 induced the creation of a municipal court system. Thus, now and in the future, Maryland’s landed gentry – the rural, the Roman Catholic and Episcopalian squirarchy on the Eastern Shore and in the southern part of the Western Shore including Baltimore County – showed its animosity and fear of the city through the state’s legislature. Specifically, the planters would circumscribe Baltimore’s potential political power along two lines: one was to alter periodically the charter arrangements that defined the municipality, and the other was to restrict the city’s representation in the state legislature to two representatives. Annapolis, the state capital, and each county also sent two representatives to the legislature; and by so restricting Baltimore’s representation despite its larger and growing population, rural Maryland interests were able to control the state legislature and to intervene in city affairs. This would remain the pattern throughout the antebellum period (Browne, 1980, p.37).

By 1851, Baltimore had achieved enough power to separate herself from Baltimore County. A new state constitution “strengthened county governments, increased the number of elected officials [statewide], and divorced Baltimore City from Baltimore County” in that year. Olson, 1997, p.135. The initial result of this within the city was primarily psychological, bringing to residents and policymakers “a new conception of the meaning of the city boundary.” (Browne, 1980, p.135). In addition, policymakers began to think about systematic delivery of services and centralized administration of the various functions of city

government. This was critical to the development and implementation of plans for the park system, which will be discussed further shortly.

The Baltimore City Charter was rewritten in 1898, updating the original of 1796. The City's Board of Estimates was created, as were eight municipal departments, reflecting the new systemic approach to city management. One of the new agencies was the City's Department of Public Parks and Squares. The City's Department of Public Works was added in 1925 "to coordinate the activities of the civic agencies performing similar types of public services" (Anderson, 1977, p.26). In 1918, a home rule charter was adopted by the City; today Baltimore has both a city charter and a home rule charter. The mayor is responsible for the overall supervision of the various boards and departments, the heads of which he appoints. The city council is the legislative arm of the government, responsible for passing local ordinances. Thus, by 1918, Baltimore City's physical dimensions and political structure were substantially as they are today.

## II. Relationship between Baltimore City and Baltimore County

Throughout this time frame, the relationship between Baltimore City and Baltimore County, which surrounds the city on three sides, evolved. When Baltimore Town was established in 1729, it was part of Baltimore County, which at that time comprised all of present-day Baltimore City and County, Cecil and Harford Counties, and parts of Carroll, Anne Arundel, Frederick, Howard, and Kent Counties ([http://www.bcponline.org/info/history/hist\\_bacohistory.html](http://www.bcponline.org/info/history/hist_bacohistory.html) ). Since that time, clearly, Baltimore County has lost much of its territory, not only to Baltimore City but to the other counties in the area. Of interest here, because the Gwynns Falls Watershed is a geographic and hydrologic unit shared by the two political jurisdictions, is the relationship between Baltimore County and Baltimore City.

Both the major annexations of land from Baltimore County to Baltimore City (1888 and 1918) were hard-won by the City. The division of the City and County...

...[t]o some extent ... merely recognized the fact that the city government had become a more important administrative unit than that of the county, and the immediate consequences of the separation were not dramatic. Nevertheless, in the long run this change influenced the city's pattern of development – for better in some instances, worse in others. Baltimore has avoided the problem of dual governments that plague other large cities which have outgrown the counties of which they are a part. There was only one set of taxes and one bureaucracy with which to deal. But the results of the separation were not always beneficial. Because expansion of the city could now come only at the expense of the county, annexation became very difficult. County commissioners were jealous of the populated areas surrounding the city, areas which often contained a large part of the county's wealth and population. Since annexation could occur only by act of the state assembly, which was dominated by the counties, it is easy to see why the city boundaries have been expanded only twice since 1816.

The question of annexation was not merely one of civic pride. Whether or not the outlying areas were under the jurisdiction of the city government, Baltimore had to supply many services to the population surrounding the city. In some cases, such as the extension of water and sewer lines, the city was reimbursed or joint commissions were established. Of more serious nature was the use of city facilities by the county in cases where the city had no way to charge for the services rendered. Roads, parks, and other public accommodations were services enjoyed by nonresidents at virtually no cost to them. The demand for municipal services by the neighboring counties increased markedly at times just preceding annexation. However, when the annexation bills were finally enacted, demand increased even more as roads, schools, and police and fire protection had to be brought up to the city's standards, and water, and later sewer, lines had to be extended. Because the city was now considered to be a county and could not expand gradually but had to wait for annexation bills to pass the assembly, population growth followed an uneven course (Anders on, 1977, p.23).

Baltimore County received a home rule charter in 1956, thirty-eight years after Baltimore City, prior to which the County was governed by a Board of County Commissioners. Since then, Baltimore County has had 10 County Executives, the most recent of which has been in office since 1994. The County seat changed several times during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, until Towson was selected when Baltimore became a distinct political jurisdiction.

### III. Development of Baltimore's Park System

The ebb and flow of commerce, industry, population, wealth, and poverty are written across Baltimore's landscape, natural, built, and social. We are concerned here with the creation of the park system. However, the creation of this system has taken place within the context of the social, political, economic, and technological evolution of the City as a whole.

As 12 generations of Baltimoreans have marched across her stage (the most of recent of which is just coming of age), the locus of activity has seeped outward from the Inner

Harbor. By 1979, “Baltimore had experienced eleven successive suburban fringes and eleven reconstructions of its downtown and harbor.” (Olson, 1997, p.371). As early as 1918, industry had been attracted away from the harbor to the greener fringes of the new annex, where land was cheaper to purchase and develop, and subject to lesser taxes than the crowded downtown and harbor sites. Earlier still, as Baltimore evolved from a center of commerce to take on manufacturing activities, her streams were used to power grist and cotton mills.

By the mid-1800s, the demands of a growing population on public services increased the extent, nature and complexity of problems the city government addressed. The government responded by beginning to systematize and centralize the administration of its activities. Thus, while park development was seen by many prominent Baltimoreans as an important issue in its own right, it was viewed by the city administration as part of a suite of public services that needed attention (Olson, 1997; Anderson, 1977; Browne, 1980).

Between 1850 and 1930, city leaders systematized the planning and implementation of services: zoning land, laying out new roads and neighborhoods, connecting existing neighborhoods, laying water and sewer lines, building roads, and providing public transportation and recreational amenities.

The first act of major importance in terms of park development was the creation of a dedicated source of funding: a 20% tax on street car revenues was imposed as part of the franchise award. This feat was the brainchild of Mayor Thomas Swann, and while the percentage and amount of revenue from this source varied, and was supplemented from other sources, over the course of the approximately 80 years the street car business was in operation, absent this Baltimore’s park system would not likely be as extensive as it is today. “By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many of the city’s major parks had been established, as well as an extensive system of smaller parks and squares...Druid Hill, Patterson, Clifton, and Carroll...Federal Hill, Riverside, and Gwynns Falls” parks were included in this system (Brosius and Cameron, 2000, p.4).

The street car revenue “accumulated from 1857 until 1860 when the City Council established an unsalaried Public Park Commission, which was to select and purchase sites for municipal parks. Their first purchase was Druid Hill Park, a site of over five hundred acres that surrounded Druid Lake, one of the city’s reservoirs, immediately northwest of the city. Their second purchase was land adjacent to Patterson Park in the eastern portion of the city...” (Browne, 1980, p.211) Mayor Swann chaired this volunteer Board of Park Commissioners, which directed the development of the park system and continues to exist today, although with reduced authority and power.

As in other US cities at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the need for opportunities for active recreation in the parks became recognized in Baltimore. This need was addressed, initially, by volunteer organizations - the Children’s Playground Association and the Public Athletic League. By 1940, the need for a public agency to provide these services was recognized and Mayor Howard Jackson’s administration approved the creation of the Department of Public Recreation. “There was often tension in reconciling the management of parks with the demands of recreational programming. In an effort to ease this strain, the Board of Park Commissioners merged with the Board of Commissioners of Recreation in 1948, and the Department of Public Parks and Squares merged with the Department of Public Recreation.” “The current Department of Recreation and Parks is structured from this dual legacy with two bureaus: the Bureau of Parks and the Bureau of Recreation. Bridging the missions of the two bureaus has always been a challenge and historically, the agency head has had skills or interests in one or the other, parks or recreation, but rarely both” (Brosius and Cameron, 2000, p.4).

The first comprehensive plan for Baltimore’s park system was commissioned by the Municipal Art Society of Baltimore City, which was founded by a number of prominent Baltimoreans in 1899. This organization’s initial intent was to “‘help to generally beautify the city’ by providing sculptural and pictorial decoration and ornaments for public streets,

parks, and buildings in the city” (Crooks, 1968, p.129). Its activities, however, quickly expanded far beyond this relatively humble mission. Membership increased from 133 in January of 1899 to 351 by March and 556 by December of the same year. (Crooks, 1968, p.129). The first major project this group took on was the commissioning of a study to address the management of sewage in the city. The second was “to engage a landscape architect to draw up a plan for park and suburban development in Baltimore. Anticipating the growth of the city into the Annex [of 1888], the directors believed that intelligent planning would not only make it more functional and attractive, but they also believed planned development would be cheaper than rebuilding an urban sprawl in later years” (Crooks, 1968, p.137). The Olmsted brothers (sons of Frederick Law, who was no longer an active partner in the landscape architect firm he had founded) were contracted to develop the plan. “Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. undertook the Baltimore project...The contract called for planning suburban and park development, but a topographical survey was a prerequisite for suburban planning, and none had been made of the Annex. Olmsted, therefore, was forced to concentrate his efforts on developing a system of parks. The park plan, however, was a masterpiece that served as a basis for park development for two generations” (Crooks, 1968, p.137). This *Report on the Development of Public Grounds for Greater Baltimore* was initially published in 1904, reproduced in 1987 (Olmsted, 1904), and currently serves as the guiding document for the development of a greenway effort in the Baltimore area.

The report centers around a need for three distinct types of open spaces: “first, the city needed neighborhood parks and squares to be opened in the densely populated areas to provide recreational facilities for children, youths, and adults. Baltimore was particularly lacking in these. Second, the city required large wooded parks on its outskirts, like Baltimore’s Druid Hill Park, to provide a complete contrast to the city’s sights and sounds. Third, the city needed attractively landscaped parkways or roads radiating out from the heart of the city” (Crooks, 1968, p.138). These suggestions, with specific recommendations as to

location and alignment, were made in a presentation to the Municipal Arts Society in November of 1903. By January of 1904, “Baltimore’s delegation to the General Assembly announced its readiness to support the bills to provide sewers, street paving, schools, parks, and engine houses for the city” (Crooks, 1968, p.141).

Thus, the park system grew as Table 2.1-1 (following page) indicates. As Table 2.1-1 shows most of the system of large parks and squares was in place by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Table 2.1-1 does not include information on the acquisition of hundreds of smaller parcels.) Today, acquisition is limited to purchases intended to join parks along the stream corridor greenways, and to properties “inherited” from other city agencies. The current state of the park system and its management will be discussed in further detail later, as will the trajectory of City Parks Department and the increasing role of the non-profit sector in public natural resource management.

In contrast to Baltimore City, the County is actively acquiring land to meet the open space needs of its growing population. The State of Maryland identifies a goal that each locality provide 30 acres of park land per 1,000 residents (inholdings belonging to other jurisdictions do not count toward this goal); this goal is endorsed by the County. Since the County anticipates population growth in the Owings Mills Growth Area in the upper reaches of the Gwynns Falls Watershed, this will affect the structure and function of the natural resource management regime there.

**Table 2.1-1.  
Timeline of Acquisition of Baltimore’s Major Parks and Squares**

<i>Name of Park</i>	<i>Year Acquired</i>
Middle Branch Park*	Data not available
Perkins Square	Data not available
Mt. Vernon Place	1815
Patterson Park	1827
Franklin Square*	1845
Union Square	1847
Broadway parks/squares	1851 (extended in 1881)
Eutaw Place	1853 (extended in 1853 and 1876)
Madison Square	1853
Robert E. Lee Park	1853
Lafayette Square	1859
Druid Hill Park	1860
Riverside Park (Battery Square)	1862
Harlem Park Square*	1868
Federal Hill	1875
Johnston Square	1878
Collington Square	1880
Mt. Royal Terrace	1885
Carroll Park*	1890
Clifton Park	1895
Wyman Park	1902
Gwynns Falls/Leakin Park*	1908 and 1940s
Preston Gardens	1914
Hanlon Park*	1918
Herring Run Park	1920s
Reedbird Park*	1920s
Farring-Baybrook Park	1940s
Cylburn Arboretum	1942
Canton Waterfront Park	1988

\* Parks in the Gwynns Falls Watershed

***B. Policy***

Land use and management in the Baltimore area have been shaped by a combination of factors including diverse and numerous federal, state, and local policies. In this section, I will present a number of policies at each of these levels of government, which have affected growth and development in the Baltimore area. Both historical and contemporary policies have given the landscape its current configuration, and especially in Baltimore County, as the Owings Mills Designated Growth Area continues to develop, will continue to affect changes in land use in the Gwynns Falls Watershed well into the future. In particular, I will concern

myself with policies that have shaped the biophysical and socioeconomic histories of the region, and with those that have affected the City's Department of Recreation and Parks. Information in this section is derived primarily from the work of Benjamin Kleinberg: *Urban America in Transformation* (1995). Unless otherwise noted, the quotes and page numbers refer to that book.

### I. Federal Policy

Federal policy has had lasting effects upon the biophysical and socioeconomic structure and function of U. S. cities. Some policies affected the park system directly, by providing and withdrawing funding from public agencies for the creation and maintenance of public spaces; others were indirect, causing spatial changes in the socioeconomic characteristics of the region, and attendant changes in both public demand for parks and recreational facilities and the City's ability to respond to those demands.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a dramatic shift took place in the relative amount of federal and local public expenditures. For example, prior to 1940, when "the federal government pulled ahead for good," (Anderson, 1977, p.10), combined municipal expenditures frequently exceeded the entire federal budget. In fact,

"[a]verage national income data for the years 1919-1938 show that city governments generated a larger portion of the national income (6.2%) than mining (2.2%) or non-municipal construction (3.5%), and about two-thirds as much as the agricultural sector (9.6%) did. Income from transportation services (6.9%) only slightly exceeded that from local governments. Finally, the income from the municipal sector amounted to nearly one-third of that produced in all of the manufacturing industries (21.0%) – the heart of the modern industrial economy" (Anderson, 1977 p.12).

Thus, today's conception of city government, to a large extent dependent upon various types of grants-in-aid from their federal and state counterparts, is drastically different from that of the early 1900s, when cities were relatively self-sufficient.

This shift in relative spending has been accompanied by a shift in the intergovernmental structure of the delivery of urban services since the 1930s. "During the 19<sup>th</sup> century...aside

from a number of basic federal responsibilities such as regulation of interstate commerce and levying of federal taxes, virtually all domestic policies were funded and managed by the states alone.” (Kleinberg, 1995, p.95). “By the 1980s it could be said justifiably that ‘there are ...few urban functions—whether law enforcement, education, public health, transportation, or community revitalization—that do not involve all three levels of government’” (p.94).

*a. The Great Depression*

Increased federal spending was precipitated, initially, by the economic crisis of the Great Depression. “New Deal programs in public works and public housing, together with federal mortgage insurance programs supporting private home ownership and construction in central cities and surrounding suburban areas, laid down the essential organizational foundations of a national urban policy system in the 1930s. Ever since that era, federal policies have had important implications for the redevelopment of central cities and for the challenges posed by suburban growth to central city economies and residential sectors” (p.97).

New Deal public works programs were comprised of the Civic Works Administration (which evolved into the Works Progress Administration) and the Public Works Administration. The WPA directly hired people to ‘work on labor-intensive local public works projects’ (p.101). This program “spent \$40 million in Maryland (1934-1939)” (Olson, 1997, p.340), providing primarily “landscaping, preservation, and artwork on public sites and public buildings,”(Olson, 1997, p.340).

The PWA “emphasized the building of larger, technically complex facilities...” (p.102), and was intended to employ people both directly and indirectly, either by putting people on the public payroll or by creating jobs through purchase of support services from third parties. It spent \$100 million over 4 years in Baltimore (1934-37), the selection criteria for projects being “their value as future public assets, ... their potential for employing people and their chances of getting started quickly.

It was this stream of resources that made the depression a city-building period. The criteria were consistent with the [Baltimore] City Plan, and Baltimore was in an exceptional state of readiness...The PWA in Maryland was headed by a civil and sanitary engineer, Abel Wolman, and housed in the vacant Baltimore Trust Company skyscraper. It...reached a peak employment level [in Baltimore] in August 1934 of over 12,500 men. The unskilled labor, 35 percent of the PWA's workers, was taken from relief rolls. For each person it hired, the PWA figured private enterprise hired two or three more to provide materials and transport services. PWA funds allowed the city water department to complete a 10-year program in four years: Prettyboy Reservoir, a second water tunnel from Loch Raven, a 'high service' reservoir and pumping station at Ashburton, and a siphon under Curtis Creek. Sewage treatment facilities were expanded at Back River. The city completed plans for the annex using PWA funds. The Herring Run valley was developed: a retaining wall along the run, Mount Pleasant Park and golf course, buildings for Morgan College, the extension of Loch Raven Boulevard, Edison Highway, the Brehms Lane fire house and school, and several streets crossing the run," and more. (Olson, 1997, p.341).

Combined, Depression era works programs had short-term effects upon the local economy, and enduring effects upon the public infrastructure in Baltimore.

Federal housing programs had equally significant impacts on the structure of the city, and its socioeconomic arrangement on the landscape. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was established in 1934, "authorized to provide mortgage insurance for private housing," and "aimed at stimulating the development of the private housing market and targeted to middle-class home buyers" (p.104). Thus, it indirectly influenced local economies by encouraging private construction through the assumption of lender risk. "Over the long term, FHA's mortgage program played a major role in encouraging construction of private housing and in the rapid development of the nation's suburbs" (p.104).

In contrast, the U. S. Housing Authority, was created in 1937 "to administer a public housing program targeted to the housing needs of lower income groups" (p.105). This was a subset of PWA initiatives, in which the "PWA undertook to directly acquire and develop project sites at the local level by exercising the power of eminent domain." (p.105). This program did not receive broad public support, meeting resistance to the federal government invoking the power of eminent domain and selecting sites at the local level:

"From the initial promise of the public works and slum clearance programs of the New Deal, which first opened the prospect of large-scale modernization and redevelopment of older American cities (with a particular focus on older inner-city residential areas), we now have come to the stigmatization and stagnation of contemporary public housing. Clearly, public housing has not held high priority with government decision makers, and its consequent neglect is reflected not

only in the poor physical condition of much public housing but also in its typical confinement to areas of segregated and seriously deteriorated housing in the cities where it has been concentrated” (p.110).

Eventually, the PWA devolved power to local governments, which led to the creation of 50 local housing authorities in 29 states. “PWA’s delegation downward of federal program authority to local public housing agencies became the guiding framework for the administration of public housing policy in the United States and later influenced the structuring of the urban renewal program” (p.107).

New Deal response to the economic crisis of the 1930s impacted urban areas in the United States in at least two important ways. First, as we have seen, it changed the landscape and infrastructure of many cities, including Baltimore. Second, it planted the seeds of what would become an explicit policy arena in subsequent administrations. Heretofore, urban problems had been the responsibility of state and local government. New Deal programs were often directed to urban areas because those areas were most in need – they housed the highest density of people with no access to work and no means of feeding, clothing, and housing themselves other than through participation in a cash-based economy – but it was not exclusively an urban program. By the end of WW II, however, urban America was explicitly on the federal agenda.

#### *b. Post-Depression Federal Policy*

Between the end of WW II and the beginning of the War On Poverty (1964), the American landscape adjacent to and between urban areas was transformed. Due to a combination of federal housing, highway, and defense policies, a period of general economic growth, and increases in income and size of the middle-class, the United States underwent a remarkable period of suburbanization. Simultaneously, and again largely because of federal policy, millions of displaced farm laborers and tenants migrated into urban areas. “Together these trends constitute what has been referred to as a dual migration, whose net effect was to

weaken further the economic condition of older industrial cities already shaken by the Depression and the neglect of the war years that followed” (p.121).

*c. Housing*

The FHA lending program created in 1934 contributed to suburbanization and deterioration of city neighborhoods in at least 3 ways: first, it served as a model for a similar program of the Veterans Administration that provided low-cost mortgages to returning WW II veterans, thereby increasing the pool of potential homeowners; second, because it made it easier to obtain credit for new homes than existing ones, it encouraged developers to build outside cities where land was less expensive; third, through discriminatory social policies based on race and income, it made it difficult for minority and low-income families to become homeowners. This contributed to the creation of all-white suburbs and the concentration of the poor and of African Americans and other minorities in inner-city neighborhoods.

*d. Defense*

The War Production Board was created in 1942, shortly after America entered WW II, to increase U. S. industrial output. This it did effectively, boosting industrial output “by nearly 60%” and “spending over \$23 billion in...a few years to supplement existing manufacturing facilities” (p.128). The scale of this operation dwarfed the PWA, which it outspent five-fold. More importantly, in terms of the effect on cities, were the choices it made about location of new industrial facilities. These were placed most frequently outside of urban areas and/or in the Sun Belt, and had the effect of drawing working-class families out of cities in general, and away from the northeastern and midwestern industrial cities in particular. “Overall this resulted in reducing the numbers and influence of the organized urban liberal voting bloc, with important long-term implications for the making of urban policy” (p.128).

*e. Highways*

No less important in shaping the American suburban landscape was the Interstate Highway Act passed by in 1956 during the Eisenhower administration. This stimulated the building of an interstate highway network, which facilitated travel within and between suburban areas, encouraged home buyers, business firms, and manufacturers to settle outside of city limits, and pulled service providers of various sorts along with them. The interstate highway system was the largest public works project in U. S. history, “planned to include over 40,000 miles of interstate and local highways, of which more than 5,000 miles were allocated to metropolitan areas, shaping their development for decades to come” (p.129).

Coupled with the increasing ability of many families to purchase cars, the creation of a network of roads was a powerful incentive for people to move out of inner city areas. The effects on inner-city areas “left behind” and on the landscape surrounding them were profound and enduring.

II. Urban Renewal

By the time millions of veterans returned to the U. S. from WW II, many residential neighborhoods in the country’s cities were seriously deteriorated. Reduction in private investment during the Depression combined with the subsequent diversion of both public and private funds during WW II resulted in the creation “a serious housing shortage, the intensification and spread of urban slums, and deteriorating central business districts” (p.131) in many areas. This issue was taken up by a “broad coalition including veterans’ organizations, labor unions, community organizations, and religious groups” (p.132) demanding housing reform.

The demand received high priority during incumbent president Truman’s reelection campaign in 1948, and resulted in the passing of the Housing Act of 1949, which was intended to provide adequate, affordable housing. This urban renewal program, instituted in 1949, and terminated as a free-standing program in 1974, went through a number of phases.

By 1960, it had been captured by “the interrelated elite interests of private commercial entrepreneurs, local officials acting as public renewal entrepreneurs, and representatives of major city institutions” (p.137). The result was that, overall, urban renewal responded more effectively to the needs of large corporate headquarters than to the housing needs of city residents. Thus, while downtown areas saw the creation of office complexes and jobs, and received an infusion of tax dollars, the housing needs of urban populations often went unmet. Worse, entire neighborhoods were demolished to make way for the redevelopment of central business districts, causing social dislocation and exacerbating the already difficult conditions faced by many urban dwellers.

### III. War on Poverty

Combined with the growing civil rights movement in the south and later in northern industrial cities, increasing poverty and unemployment in urban areas, and the Kennedy administration’s recognition of the potential significance of the Black vote, by the early 1960s, urban poverty gained the attention of the President. By “the summer of 1963, President Kennedy indicated that he was interested in a pilot program to combat poverty in a limited sample of about 10 cities. Kennedy’s own concept of an antipoverty program envisioned a strategy of government action for job creation together with services that would help the unemployed link up with jobs” (p.151).

This effort was taken up by President Johnson after Kennedy’s assassination in 1963, and the War On Poverty was officially launched with the signing of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964. Based on the assumption that “large-scale long-term unemployment...[is]...a significant cause of poverty,” (p.152) and one that, in the early 1960s economic climate of “full-employment,” could be remedied by improving the job skills of the poor themselves, a suite of social services programs was launched “to overcome the educational and attitudinal shortcomings of the poor” (p.153). This package was called the Community Action Program (CAP), and differed dramatically from urban renewal programs

in two ways: first, it focused on changing attributes of individual people through social programs, rather than emphasizing physical redevelopment; second, it attempted to develop community-based responses to institutionalized, structural barriers to reducing poverty.

Not surprisingly, the notion that access to local institutions and related power structures should be opened to the poor was challenged by powerful constituencies. Their ability to manipulate the structure and distribution of federal resources is reflected in spending patterns: between 1965 and 1968, Head Start (a national preschool program) received 38% of all CAP funding. “Taken together, Head Start and about another half dozen national emphasis programs received approximately 50% of CAP funding (rising from 40.8% in 1965 to 53.2% in 1968). During the same period, local initiative programs received only about one third of CAP funding” (p.158). Thus, powerful local constituencies were able to divert federal funding from local community action programs into national programs unlikely to challenge local power structures.

The CAP program was further crippled by the fact that in a handful of cities, it had been captured by militant community groups, whose activities made the national press during a time of heated civil unrest. Soon, public support for the program had shifted to resistance, and the Model Cities program was proposed to address urban issues through an organizational structure that was less challenging to existing local power structures. This was to combine social programs and physical redevelopment in a “new program [that] would be an experiment in sensitively redeveloping the total neighborhood environment, social as well as physical” (p.176). It scaled back the community participation requirements, and scaled up “the planning and coordination of interrelated programs, concentrating its resources on a relatively few major cities,” including Baltimore (p.176). In addition, the program substantially reduced community members’ inclusion in the decision-making process.

#### IV. Model Cities

The U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development was created in 1965, and Model Cities was a new program to be administered by this new organization. Potentially, there was an opportunity to learn from the problems of CAP and integrate social and physical redevelopment programs into a comprehensive neighborhood package. However, when Richard Nixon assumed the Presidency in 1969, his administration substantially altered the Model Cities program into one that served constituencies very different from those originally intended by the War On Poverty.

The first change was in the organizational structure of the program, which removed citizens from the decision-making process entirely. Local government representatives could seek citizen input but were no longer required to do so. Next, the Nixon administration eliminated the requirement that HUD review (except those reviews required by law) local programs, which shifted program administration substantially from the federal to local level, and also consolidated power of cities' chief executives to "sign-off on all federal categorical programs applied for by city agencies, 'prior to their approval by federal agencies'" (p.182). This concentrated power in the local mayor's office, both decentralizing power for program administration from Washington and consolidating local power by locating authority for all the local categorical grants in the chief executive's office. Finally, by allowing the Model Cities to expand their program focus to the entire city rather than targeted neighborhoods, likelihood that neighborhoods most in need would actually benefit from the program was substantially reduced.

#### V. Comprehensive Education and Training Act, Community Development Block Grants

The structural changes in the Model Cities program introduced by the Nixon administration were consistent with his intent to decentralize federal government authority, facilitating "an orientation away from redistributive objectives and their supporting

constituencies (including various urban officials as well as the urban poor) and toward more conservative constituencies who mainly were not urban, and mostly not poor. At the same time Nixon's new domestic initiatives would provide compensatory subventions, if not to the poor, at least to their local officials" (p.188).

These "compensatory subventions" initially took the forms of General and Special Revenue Sharing. The former was "designed to distribute federal revenues to state and local governments with virtually no binding restrictions as to how they were to be spent" (p.188). Seen as new money, it was largely supported by local government officials. The latter was "aimed at consolidating over 100 existing categorical grant programs into 6 large block grants in specified functional areas such as education or community development," (p.189) and was actively contested by many constituents and eventually distilled into the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA), in 1973, and the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), in 1974.

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 consolidated 17 categorical grants in the area of job training and development and provided countercyclical funding for public service employment to help combat the unemployment effects of recessionary swings in the business cycle. The act provided money to local governments (cities or counties with over 100,000 population) to operate as prime sponsors of a variety of employment-related approaches – from counseling and training to placement and employment – that would fit best the employment needs of the local area...

Given the serious economic problems associated with the recession of the mid-1970s, states and localities found themselves under conditions of considerable fiscal stress. In these circumstances they increasingly used CETA funds to subsidize the continuing employment of workers on the local government payroll who now were exposed to possible unemployment due to fiscal stringency...Eventually the job training aspect of CETA came to be overshadowed by local government use of the program to fund existing public service positions, amounting to about 300,000 in 1974, and rising to over 650,000 by 1978 (p.196).

When CETA was reauthorized in 1977 under the Carter administration, its focus was the provision of entry-level public sector jobs and training for persons with limited work experience. This undercut the ability of local governments to use CETA funds to pay existing staff; the program was eliminated entirely in 1981, the first year of the Reagan administration.

The Community Development Block Grant Program consolidated seven former categorical grants – urban renewal, Model Cities, and gave grants in the area of physical improvement (neighborhood facilities, grants for water and sewage utilities, open space urban beautification, historic preservation) – together with two related physical development loan programs (loans for public facilities and for housing rehabilitation). Reflecting these components, the major objectives of CDBG stand in contrast to the Model Cities focus on providing social services such as education, job training, and the like, for the support of ‘human renewal.’ Although the Model Cities grant was folded into CDBG, strict limits were placed on spending CDBG funds for social services (a maximum of 20% of the total grant), so that CDBG has functioned predominantly as a consolidation of grants in support of physical improvements rather than human renewal, in the local community...

...The core of the CDBG grant system has consisted of formula-based funding entitlements going to more than 500 metropolitan cities (over 350 central cities and 150 suburban satellite cities – all larger than 50,000 population – located in metropolitan areas) and to over 70 populous urban counties (population greater than 200,000) typically located in the suburban rings of metropolitan areas...

Beyond that, nonentitlement communities...could apply to HUD for discretionary funds...Less than 150 communities had received funding under Model Cities, and approximately 1,200 communities received some form of urban renewal by 1974. By comparison, in just the first year of CDBG, almost 3000 grants were made. Overall, CDBG tended to spread and diffuse urban aid considerably more widely than preceding urban programs, particularly to suburban and nonmetropolitan communities...(p.197).

The CDBG program has been applied in many areas to the “gray” neighborhoods, those located usually both physically and socioeconomically between utterly destitute and working- or middle-class neighborhoods. This strategy is based on the assumption that it is better to save neighborhoods on the edge from poverty and abandonment than to pour resources into those beyond hope. In addition, because the Nixon administration made it possible to distribute CDBG funds across a wide geographical and socioeconomic spectrum, they have been used also to build such facilities such as marinas and tennis courts.

Under the Carter administration, CDBG became part of a package of funding for urban areas, intended to stimulate economic growth. And under Reagan, the program was reduced dramatically. These changes will be discussed in more detail below.

## VI. Urban Development Action Grant Program

The Urban Development Action Grant Program (UDAG) was created during the Carter administration to address serious problems of unemployment and inflation in the U. S. economy during the 1970s. “UDAG was an economic development program targeted

explicitly to economically distressed cities, serving a function for which neither general revenue sharing nor CDBG were designed” (p.211). Through this program, Carter stressed the development of public/private partnerships to address urban revitalization, and provided federal subsidies for urban development projects involving public agencies and private for-profit companies. It required for-profit investors to enter into legally binding agreements with their public partners once development plans had been made, and was based on the assumption that the investment in commercial, industrial, and residential projects would increase tax bases, and that the benefits of the development projects would “filter down to all city residents” (p.224).

## VII. Federal Retrenchment

The inauguration of Ronald Reagan in 1981 initiated the systematic dismantling of federal urban policy in the United States. This resulted from Reagan’s approach to government in general, “that intervention by government (particularly the federal government) in areas of economic or social affairs is disruptive to basic voluntaristic processes in American society – hence such intervention is to be avoided if at all possible” (p.226). Reagan’s presidency is marked by the following dramatic shifts in federal activity:

- “1) sharp reductions in federal taxes, particularly through cuts in taxes on upper-bracket incomes...
- 2) major shifts in spending, from domestic programs to defense programs...
- 3) restructuring of the intergovernmental system, by devolving federal responsibilities to the states and localities...
- 4) reliance on private sector initiatives, with an active role suggested for private business in relation to urban affairs...” (p.227).

In 1981, Congress passed the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, which authorized \$14 billion in cuts from grants to localities between FY 1982 and FY1984, and another \$11 billion in cuts in grants to individuals dependent in various ways upon public support. In addition, funding was reduced for specific social and public infrastructure programs as well

as for UDAG. The delivery of grants was also restructured to consolidate categorical grants into block grants. The CDBG was one of 54 programs that were consolidated into 9 block grants; the ultimate goal of this process was not to increase the efficiency of the grants-in-aid system, but to reduce if not eliminate outright state and local dependency on them. In many cases the authority for administering and distributing funds from block grants was devolved to the states, which resulted in a reduction of funding to inner-city areas as states attempted to distribute resources more generally.

Consistent with the goal of minimizing government intervention in private business activity, the Reagan administration instituted an Enterprise Zone program directed at urban areas. This persisted through the subsequent Republican Bush administration and emerged in 1994 as the revamped and renamed Empowerment Zone program, under the Democratic Clinton administration. Intended to attract private business to downtown areas, “[t]he basic premise is that luring businesses with low taxes and tax incentives can revitalize areas of persistent poverty” (Flint, 1999). This program was and continues to be criticized for at least three reasons: 1) “businesses will not move into deprived areas just for tax incentives; the costs (isolation, lack of security, poor infrastructure and scarcity of skilled workers) outweigh the benefits; 2) small businesses will not be able to hire the large numbers of unemployed residents, especially at good wages; 3) jobs will not go to zone residents” (Flint, 1999).

The federal Enterprise Zone legislation was passed despite a Government Accounting Office report of Maryland’s State Enterprise Zone program in 1988, which stated that the “program did not stimulate economic growth as measured by employment or strongly influence most employers’ decisions about business location.” There is a federally-funded Empowerment Zone in western Baltimore, one of the original six cities funded in 1994. Currently, there is minimal additional federal activity in Baltimore.

### ***C. Local Effects of Federal Policy***

Each of the programs and policies discussed above has contributed to shaping the current biophysical and socioeconomic conditions in the Baltimore area. Depression era efforts to jumpstart the economy resulted in the completion of massive public works projects, many of which eased the flow of migration from downtown Baltimore to the Annex of 1918. Federal housing and highway policy furthered this migratory trend as middle-class White families peopled the suburbs surrounding the city.

Thus, despite the urban renewal programs of the 1950s and 1960s, despite the War on Poverty in the 1960s and 1970s, despite Model Cities funding and Community Development Block Grants, and thanks in no small part to the Reagan and Bush administrations' "policy" of non-policy in urban areas, Baltimore remains a place of haves and have nots. In terms of parks and open space management, this has had at least 4 discernible impacts:

- 1) the creation in the 1960s and 1970s of many pocket parks and playgrounds, which are little-used and are in a state of decay and disrepair
- 2) an increase in the number of abandoned lots for which the City's Department of Recreation and Parks become *de facto* managers
- 3) a reduction in city agency staff to maintain these small properties
- 4) a reduction in management of the larger parks, which is limited to minimal maintenance such as grass mowing (on a six-week rotation as of 1992), and maintaining ballfields

As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the reduction in federal funding created resentment among constituents of the Department of Recreation and Parks, and a niche in the provision of recreation- and park-related services that could now be filled by the non-profit sector.

## I. The Baltimore Area Today

### *a. Socioeconomic Conditions*

In 1940, the population of Baltimore City was approximately 1.2 million (Olson, 1997, p347). Today it is about 630,000. While the population of Baltimore City has been shrinking the overall population in the State of Maryland has grown in the past decade. Between 1990 and 1999, Maryland's population increased from 4,780,753 to an estimated 5,171,634. This is an increase of 8.2%. Population density in the state ranks sixth in the nation, at 529.08 persons per square mile in 1998 (<http://www.census.gov/>).

The reduced tax base reflects this reduction in population, as does the crumbling infrastructure and property abandonment in many inner-city neighborhoods. Between 1990 and 1999, the City lost an estimated 103,333 people, or 14% of its population. Between 1995 and 2000, the City's overall budget decreased by \$20.5 million, or 1.8%. Baltimore generated 75% of its own revenues, while it received an estimated 5.7% of its revenues from the State of Maryland, and 20% from the federal government in FY2000. In 1995, it received 8.9% from the State, 22% from the federal government, and generated 69% of its own budget (Md. State Archives website).

Compared to Baltimore City, the County has thrived in the past decade. Baltimore County's population increased by an estimated 31,780 or 4.6% between 1990 and 1999, from 692,134 to 723,914, while its budget increased by \$410 million or 32%. In FY1995 and in FY2000, Baltimore County generated 72% and 71% of its own budget, respectively. In FY1995, Baltimore County received 20% of its funding from the State, and 4.9% from the federal government; in FY2000 the County received an estimated 19.8% from the State and 5.5% from the federal government. Thus, while the distribution of sources within their budgets remained fairly stable, the City did exhibit some change between FY1995 and FY2000: its budget actually shrank and proportion of its revenue generated internally

increased by 6 percentage points, and the State's contribution to its budget decreased by 3.2 percentage points. Especially noteworthy is the relative proportion of the City and County budgets on federal and state support: while the City receives a substantial portion of funding from the federal government and minimal support from the state, the relative proportions are almost the inverse for the County.

Comparisons of the per capital levels of the City and County budgets indicate that Baltimore City spent \$1770 per resident in 1999, while Baltimore County spent \$2223 per resident in the same year. Between FY1990 and FY2000, the number of employees on the City payroll decreased from 12,669 to 11,229 people, a loss of 1440 jobs, or 11% of the municipal work force. The County added 2484 people to its payroll, an increase of 12% from 19,995 in FY1990 to 22,479 in FY2000. The County had 30.7 public employees per 1000 population, while the City had 17.9 employees per 1000 population in 1999 (Md. State Archives website).

According to the Maryland State Archives, the average per capita income in 1997 in the State of Maryland was \$29,222; in Baltimore City it was \$23,501 and \$31,033 in Baltimore County. According to the U. S. Bureau of the Census, in 1990, homeownership rates were 65% for the State, 48.6% for the City, and 66.3% for the County. In 1997, an estimated 9.5% of Maryland's population and 14.9% of Maryland's children lived below the poverty line; while in the City 23.7% of the population and 34.4% of the children are defined as poor, and in Baltimore County 7.6% of the population and 12.8% of the children are poor. In 1999, 29,757 housing units were authorized by building permits in the State, 191 (or 0.6% of the state total) of which were in the City and 3,752 (or 12.6% of the state total) of which were in the County. These numbers support the observations concerning suburban investment and urban disinvestment made earlier in this section.

*b. Effects on Natural Resource Management*

During the decades between 1940 and 1980 the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, and the infrastructure it maintained, saw rapid and widespread growth. This was spurred, in part, by the federal commitment to urban renewal, which was particularly well-funded during the 1970s (Caverly, 1991). These efforts were focused on the provision of recreational services and small neighborhood parks and playgrounds, in particular, and resulted in the building of recreation centers, playgrounds, and tot-lots, and creation of many civil service positions to staff them.

The 1980s marked the end of this era of strong federal government support for urban parks and recreation programs in the United States. The Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks was responsible, in the early 1980s, for programming and maintenance of 123 recreation centers (with a Recreation budget of \$10 million/year) in addition to park land and playing fields. However, by 1989, the Recreation budget had shrunk to just over \$6 million and the number of recreation centers had been reduced to 79 (Caverly, 1991). By 1996, the number of recreation centers had decreased further to 58; the park maintenance staff had been reduced from 363 in 1975 to 149 in 1996; combined, the staff in the Construction, Forestry, Horticulture, and Turf Management Divisions had lost 89 people, dwindling from 182 in 1985 to 93 people in 1996 (Recreation and Parks Task Force, 1997). This represents almost a 50% reduction in the number of people responsible for managing the same 6500 acres of park land, 300,000+ street trees, and many additional public open spaces and facilities.

Between FY1995 and FY2000, the City's Department of Recreation and Parks' overall budget decreased from \$35.3 million (3% of total City budget) to \$19.8 million (1.7% of total City budget), a 44% overall budget decrease; while the Bureau of Parks' budget alone decreased from \$13.8 million (1.2% of total City budget; 39% of total agency budget) to \$4.1 million (0.4% of total City budget; 20% of total agency budget). The Bureau of Parks' field

staff was transferred to the City's Department of Public Works in 1997, which explains, in part, the dramatic decrease in the Bureau's budget. In 1997, before the transfer, the Bureau of Parks' budget was \$12.4 million, which was 34% of the agency's total budget, and 1.2% of the total City budget. These numbers include only the budgets of the Park Maintenance, Horticulture, and Construction Divisions (Spero, 2001). In 1987, the Bureau of Parks had 384 full-time employees, 187 in 1997, and 53 in 1999<sup>3</sup>. The City allocation to the Department of Recreation and Parks as a percentage of the total City budget indicates a significant withdrawal of commitment to the activities of that agency in general, and to park management in particular.

*c. Response of the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks*

Despite these overwhelming organizational constraints, or perhaps in part because of them, the City's Department of Recreation and Parks, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, engaged in a set of innovative programs to address the increasing demand to manage and maintain more land and facilities, with an decreasing budget, staff, and equipment. These were undertaken in partnership with the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies and the Parks & People Foundation. The history of this partnership program effectively demonstrates the ability of representatives of the public and non-profit sectors to respond to cues in their environment, and harness new opportunities for the benefit of their organizations.

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<sup>3</sup> The Departmental budget and staff numbers cited in this paragraph were provided by the Bureau of Parks. The differences between these and the staff numbers cited in the Recreation and Parks Task Force report are not readily discernible since that document is not explicit about exactly which positions it counted. Despite these inconsistencies, both reflect a clear downsizing trend at the Department

**CHAPTER II-2**  
**THE NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT REGIME**  
**IN THE GWYNNNS FALLS WATERSHED**

In the preceding chapter, the case was made that federal policy has had a dramatic impact on the management of public natural resources in the Baltimore area, likely accompanied by changes in how management is subsequently carried out by different types of organizations. This chapter quantifies the relative activities and positions of the public and non-profit sectors in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. The chapter is intended to describe and characterize the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed, and to quantify the activities and positions of the public and non-profit sectors in the system; and to identify the relative positions of the Parks & People Foundation and the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks within the system.

***A. General Findings***

Two groups of organizations emerged in the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed: a core group (population=45) and a peripheral group (population=109)<sup>4</sup>. The core group consisted primarily of organizations that had been in the original inventory, plus several that were identified through snowball sampling techniques. Organizations in the peripheral group include those cited three or less times as project partners by survey respondents and a “general” category that includes such catch-all responses as “the community” or “the schools” (see Appendix C for details). Detailed calculations were conducted on the core group only.

A numeric coding system was developed that allowed sorting by type of organization. Federal, state, county, and city agencies, and non-profits were sorted into their respective categories. Non-profit organizations, which include city-based, county-based, regional, and national non-profits are all included in the 5000 code. Respondents were asked

to identify the scope of their organization’s activities (national, regional, state, county, city). These categories were sorted for the initial analysis of the organizational types of the core group. Thereafter, they were treated as one category.

Slightly over half the actors in the core group (population=24 or 53.3%) involved in natural resource management in the GFW are non-profit organizations. The other 46.7% (population=21) are public agencies. The relative proportions of these two types of organizations remain fairly consistent in the peripheral group (37% NPOs; 39% government agencies), and the combined groups (43% NPOs; 41% government agencies). The balance in the two second groups are comprised of the other types of organizations not present in the core group (see Table 2.2-1).

**Table 2.2-1.**  
**Formal Organizations Comprising the Natural Resource Management Regime in the GFW.**

<i>Type of Organization</i>	<i>Core Group</i>	<i>Peripheral Group</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>City Agencies</b>	5	8	13
<b>County Agencies</b>	5	18	23
<b>State Agencies</b>	5	7	11
<b>Federal Agencies</b>	6	10	15
<b>Non-Profit Organizations</b>	24	40	66
<b>Businesses</b>	0	4	4
<b>General</b>	0	8	8
<b>Institutions</b>	0	7	7
<b>Partnerships</b>	0	6	6
<b>Regional Entities</b>	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	45	109	154

Figure 2.2-1 depicts the average age of each type of organization in the core group. While NPOs comprise the greatest number of organizations, they are also the youngest group, on average, in the system. City agencies are the oldest group, reflecting Baltimore’s early settlement, incorporation, and organization of public service delivery. Note, too, the relative

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<sup>4</sup> Here, the terms *core* and *peripheral* are defined socially, as identified in the original organizational inventory and by key informants, rather than mathematically through network calculations.

youth of the county agencies, averaging just over 20 years. Baltimore County received home rule charter in 1956, which explains the relative youth of that jurisdiction's agencies.

Figure 2.2-1  
Average Age (in Years) of Different Types of Organizations

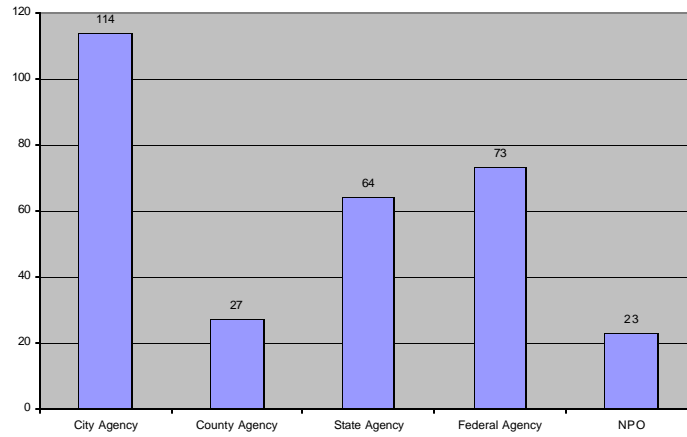


Figure 2.2-2  
Projects by Age

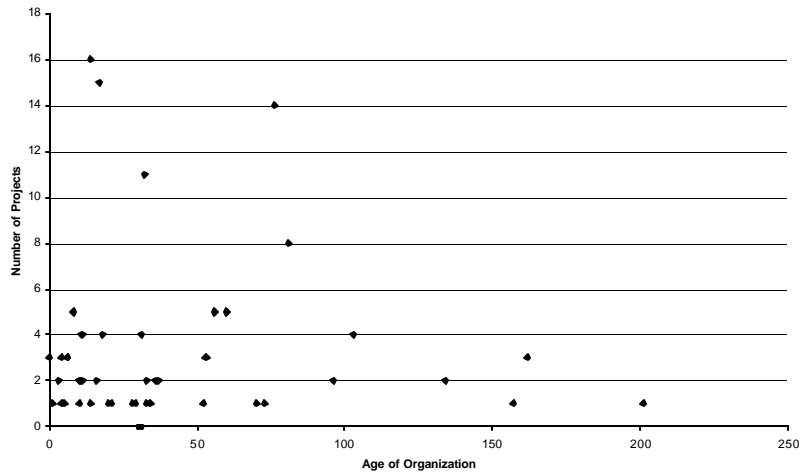
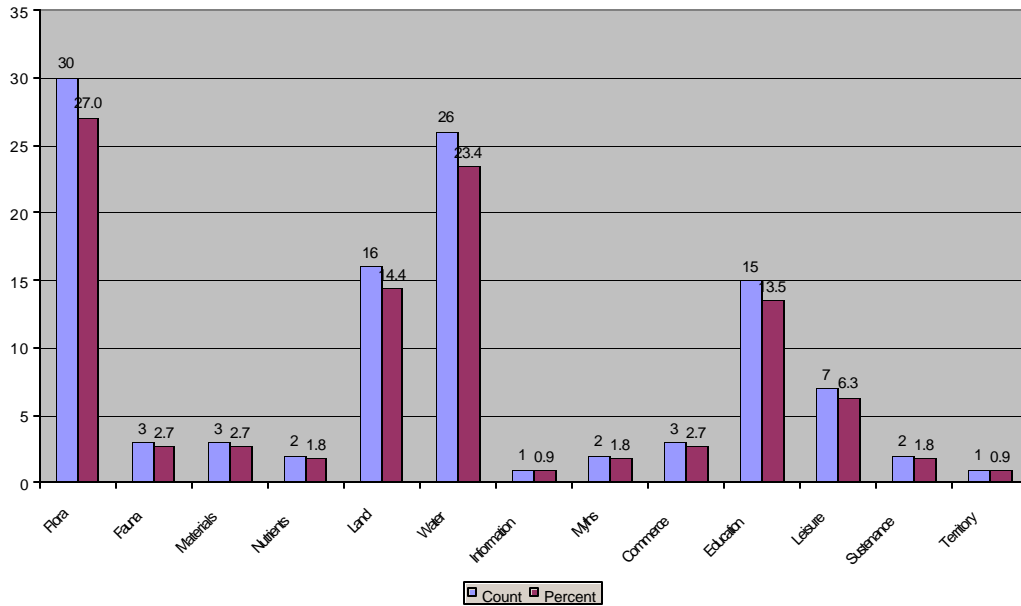


Figure 2.2-2 plots the number of projects of each organization against its age. The results are somewhat counterintuitive: one would expect older, more established organizations to be involved in more projects. There is a cluster of young organizations,

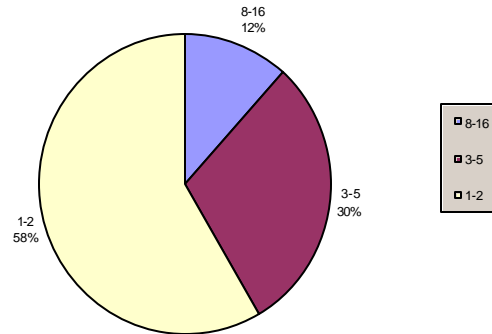
Figure 2.2-3  
Distribution of Project Types



involved in fewer projects. But there is also a trend from a few very young organizations with many projects to several very old organizations with relatively few projects.

Figure 2.2-3 shows that the most common types of natural resource management projects in the Gwynns Falls Watershed are those involving vegetation management (usually forestry), followed by water, and land. The education sector is also quite heavily involved in natural resource management activities in the GFW. Absent from the responses was any mention of air quality improvement initiatives. This is likely a reflection of the larger scale of the issue, spanning well beyond the boundaries of the Gwynns Falls Watershed.

**Figure 2.2-4**  
**Percent of Organizations Working on 1-2, 3-5, and**  
**8-16 Projects**



There are 111 distinct natural resource management projects in the GFW, conducted primarily by 45 organizations. Of the 45 organizations, 58% are engaged in 1 or 2 projects, while about a third are involved in 3-5 projects. The remaining 12% are involved in 8-16 projects (see Figures 2.2-4 and 2.2-5).

Figure 2.2-5  
Extent of Activity by Sector

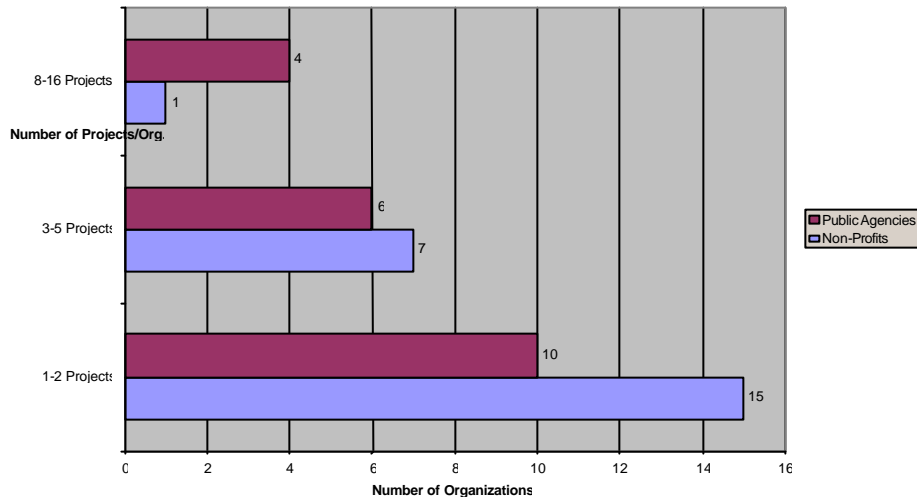


Table 2.2-2 shows the perceived funding structure of the management regime. This is based on responses to a question asking for identification of the primary funder (i.e. that organization that provides the greatest proportion of funds) for a given project. While there are 111 projects, 145 are reported in the results, reflecting the differing perceptions of funding sources. This is likely a reflection of the fact that some funds are flowing through intermediary groups. For example, the USDA Forest Service (FS) provides funds for the Revitalizing Baltimore project to the Parks & People Foundation (P&P), but P&P in turn disburses some of those funds to other organizations. So, while a secondary organization (P&P) cites a primary organization (FS) as the project funder, a tertiary organization may cite the secondary organization from whom it receives its funding as the “primary project funder”.

Table 2.2-2 indicates that federal agencies are perceived to fund much of the resource management activity in the Gwynns Falls Watershed: 8 land-related projects, 8 water-related

projects, and 6 education-related projects. They are perceived to fund more types of projects (9) than any other type of organization in the system. State agencies are perceived to fund 15 of the 37 cited vegetation-related projects, while 10 of the water-related projects are funded by a county agency.

**Table 2.2-2  
Number of Projects (by Type) Funded by Each Type of Organization**

	<i>Flora</i>	<i>Fauna</i>	<i>Mat.</i>	<i>Nut</i>	<i>Land</i>	<i>Water</i>	<i>Info</i>	<i>Myths</i>	<i>Comm</i>	<i>Edu</i>	<i>Leisure</i>	<i>Sust</i>	<i>Terr</i>
<b>City Agency</b>	6				3	6				1	1		
<b>County Agency</b>	7		1	2	1	10				2	1		
<b>State Agency</b>	15	3	1		3	4				3	2		
<b>Federal Agency</b>	3				8	8	1	1	1	6	7	3	
<b>Non-Profit Organization</b>	3				3	2				4	4		1
<b>Business</b>						1							
<b>Institution</b>										2			
<b>General</b>					4	1				2			
<b>Unfunded</b>	3		1		1				2		1		
<b>Total</b>	37	3	3	2	23	32	1	1	3	20	16	3	1

Figure 2.2-6 shows the combined number of projects funded by each type of organization. This is based on respondents' *perceptions* of funding sources. Overall, the federal government is perceived as the primary funder of natural resource management projects in the Gwynns Falls watershed, followed by state then county agencies. City agencies and non-profit organizations are perceived to be equal in the number of projects they fund.

Figure 2.2-6  
Total Number of Projects Funded by Each Type of Organization

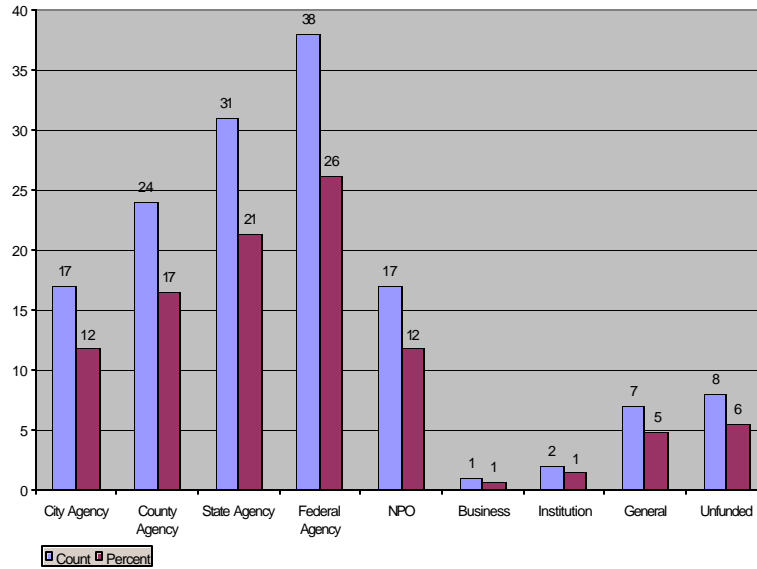
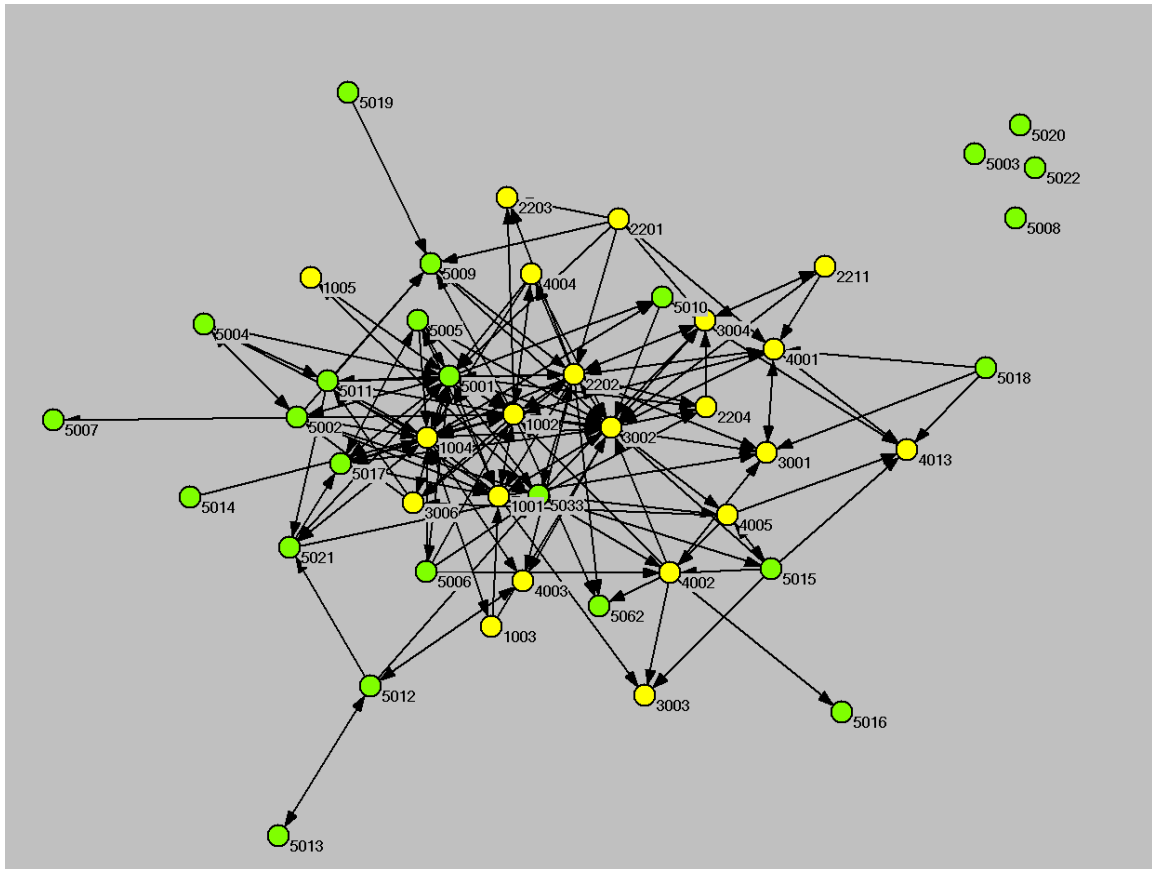


Table 2.2-3 shows the number of projects in which each organization is involved, the number of projects conducted in partnership by each organization, and the average number of partners per projects of those projects with partners. Four organizations stand out in terms of the number of projects in which they are involved: a city agency (Dept. of Public Works), a county agency (Dept. of Environmental Protection and Resource Management), a state agency (MD Dept. of Natural Resources) and a NPO (the Parks & People Foundation). The on-the-ground activities of the federal government are relatively limited in this system. The average number of partners cited on projects ranges from 0 (6 different organizations) to 8 (the National Aquarium). City Public Works, County DEPRM, and the Parks & People Foundation all average 4 partners per project, while the MD DNR averaged 3.

Density was calculated to measure the overall integration of the system. Density is defined as the number of ties divided by the number of potential ties among actors, and was calculated for three different subsets of data: in the *core* group only, 1) density of ties as indicated by self-nomination to projects (i.e. organizations linked through their own claim to projects), 2) density through nomination to projects by other organizations; and 3) in the

*core/periphery* dataset, through nomination to projects by other organizations. The lowest measure of density was exhibited in the combined *core/periphery* group ( $D=0.0185$ ), and was highest for the *core* group ( $D=0.1247$ ). Figure 2.2-7 (following page) is an image of the latter. The yellow nodes represent government agencies, and the green nodes non-profit organizations. Note the clustering of yellow nodes: this tells us that the relationships among actors in the core group, as measured through their interactions on projects, are much denser than in the combined *core/periphery* group. The overall self-nomination to projects density was lower than the nomination to projects for the core group ( $D=0.0869$ ), suggesting a difference in perceptions of participation in projects between those claiming affiliation with projects on behalf of their own organizations versus those nominated as partners by other organizations.

**Figure 2.2-7**  
**The Natural Resource Management Regime<sup>5</sup>**



*Figure 2.2-7.* The natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed, based on nomination to projects by others (core group). Of particular interest are: (a) the clustering of yellow nodes (representing government agencies), indicating many direct relationships among public agencies; (b) the “cloud” in the central section of the network comprised of the City DPW (1002), Parks & People Foundation (5001), MD DNR (3002), DEPRM (2202), the City Planning Dept. (1001), and the City Dept. of Recreation and Parks (1004); (c) the outlying position of several non-profit organizations, who were identified in the census but turned out not to be directly connected to the network.

<sup>5</sup> Thanks to Dr. Stephen Borgatti for transforming the data from a matrix to this image.

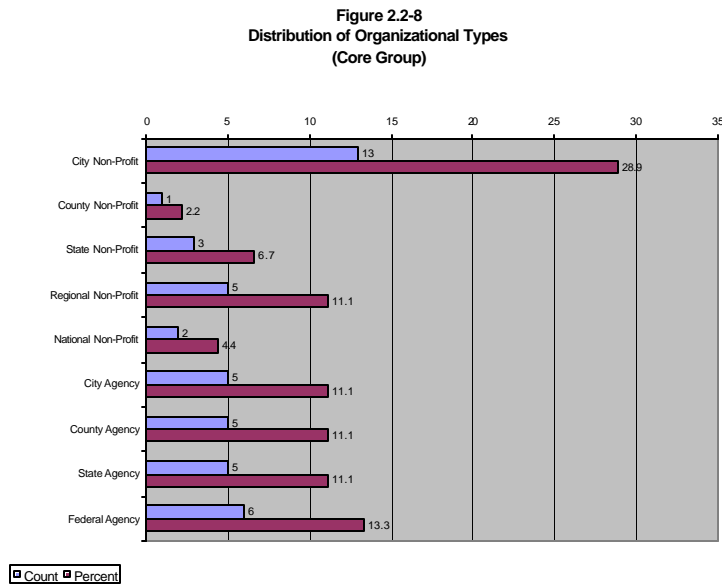
**Table 2.2-3  
Organizations, Projects, and Partnerships.**

<i>Name of Organization</i>	<i>Numeric Code</i>	<i>Total # of Projects</i>	<i># of Projects w/ Partners</i>	<i>Average # Partners / Project*</i>
Baltimore City Planning Department	1001	5	4	5
Baltimore City Dept. of Public Works	1002	14	11	4
Baltimore City Dept. Of Education, Office of Science, Math & Health	1003	3	3	3
Baltimore City Dept. of Recreation & Parks	1004	4	4	5
Baltimore City Dept. of Housing and Community Development	1005	1	1	1
Baltimore County Office of Community Conservation	2201	3	2	5
Baltimore County Dept. of Environmental Protection and Resource Management	2202	16	14	4
Baltimore County Dept. of Public Works	2203	3	0	0
Baltimore County Dept. of Recreation and Parks	2204	1	1	1
Western High School	2211	2	2	3
MD Department of the Environment	3001	1	1	3
MD Department of Natural Resources	3002	10	8	3
MD Department of Transportation	3003	8	0	0
Baltimore County Forestry Board	3004	5	5	3
Morgan State University	3006	2	2	7
DOD: Army Corps of Engineers, Baltimore District	4001	1	1	6
Dept. of the Interior: National Park Service	4002	1	1	6
Baltimore Ecosystem Study	4003	1	1	2
USDA: Forest Service, Eastern Region	4004	2	2	5
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, CBP Office	4005	1	1	4
Environmental Protection Agency	4013	0	0	0
Parks & People Foundation For Baltimore Recreation & Parks	5001	15	14	4
Washington Village -Pigtown Center and Neighborhood Planning Council, Inc.	5002	3	3	6
Woodland Committee Land Trust Inc.	5003	1	1	1
Chesapeake Bay Foundation	5004	2	2	4
Trust for Public Land	5005	1	1	6
Center for Poverty Solutions	5006	2	2	6
Carroll Park Foundation	5007	3	0	0
YMCA-Western Family Branch	5008	1	1	1
MD Save Our Streams	5009	4	4	2
Living Classrooms Foundation	5010	2	2	4
Gwynns Falls Watershed Association	5011	3	3	3
Rognell Heights Cultural Center	5012	2	2	2
Oyo Traditions	5013	1	1	1
Barre Circle Community Association Inc.	5014	1	1	1
National Aquarium	5015	1	1	8
Diamond Ridge and Woodlands Golf Courses (through Baltimore Co. Revenue Authority)	5016	2	2	2
Gwynns Falls Trail Council	5017	1	1	6
Baltimore Development Corporation	5018	4	1	3
Cheswolde Neighborhood Association Inc.	5019	1	1	2
Franklinton Land Trust Inc.	5020	4	0	0
Friends of Gwynns Falls -Leakin Park	5021	4	3	2
George McMechen Middle School 177	5022	2	1	1
Civic Works	5033	5	5	3
Alliance for the Chesapeake Bay	5062	0	0	0

\* Average number of partners / project (of projects with partners)

***B. Public and Non-Profit Sector Activity in the Gwynns Falls Watershed***

Figure 2.2-8 shows the relative proportions of each type of organization in the core group, including a breakdown of the types of non-profit organizations. The largest group is comprised of city-based non-profits (13), followed by federal agencies (6), then



city/county/state agencies (5 in each category). There is only 1 county-based non-profit organization in the management regime.

**Figure 2.2-9  
Distribution of Organizational Types (Core Group),  
NPOs Combined**

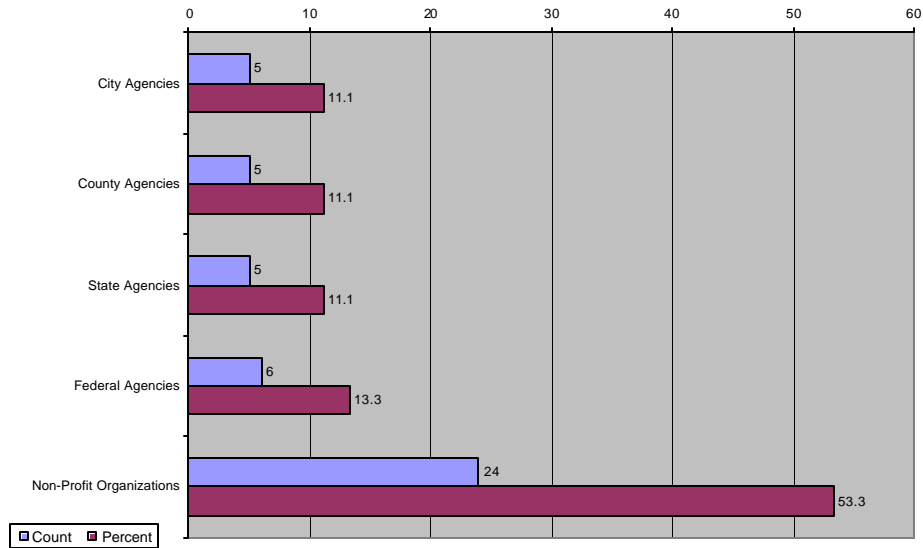
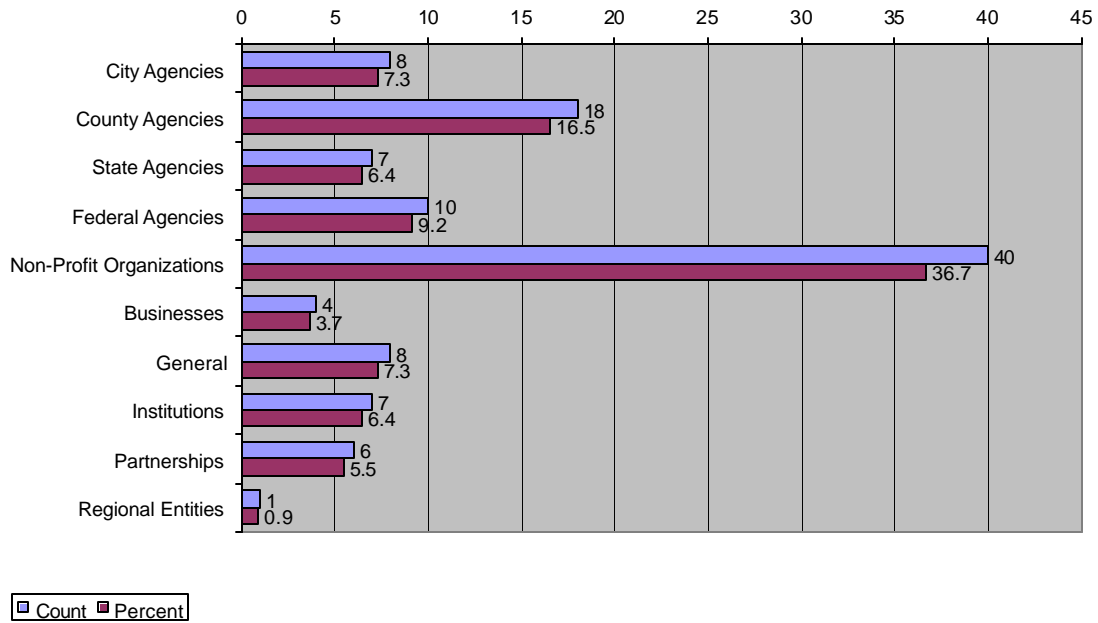


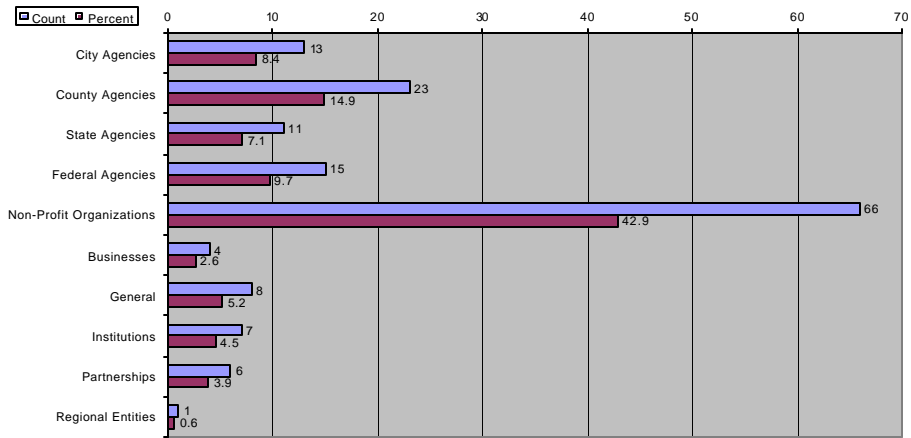
Figure 2.2-9 graphs the distribution of core groups, with the non-profit organizations consolidated into one category. There is a large proportion of NPOs relative to the individual types of public agencies, but the NPO sector represents about ½ (53.3%) of organizations in the management regime.

**Figure 2.2-10**  
**Distribution of Organizational Types: Peripheral Group**  
**(NPOs Combined)**



The overall percentage of NPOs drops when additional categories of organizations are introduced into the system. Figure 2.2-10 shows the distribution of actors in the peripheral group only. Note the number of county agencies is triple that of the core group; these consist of agencies in both Baltimore County and other counties in the Baltimore Metropolitan Statistical Area (see Appendix C). Similarly, NPOs in the peripheral group (nominated as partners <3 times) also are not located in the Gwynns Falls Watershed; their interactions appear also to cross jurisdictional and/or watershed boundaries.

**Figure 2.2-11**  
**Distribution of Organizational Types: Combined Dataset**  
**(NPOs Combined)**



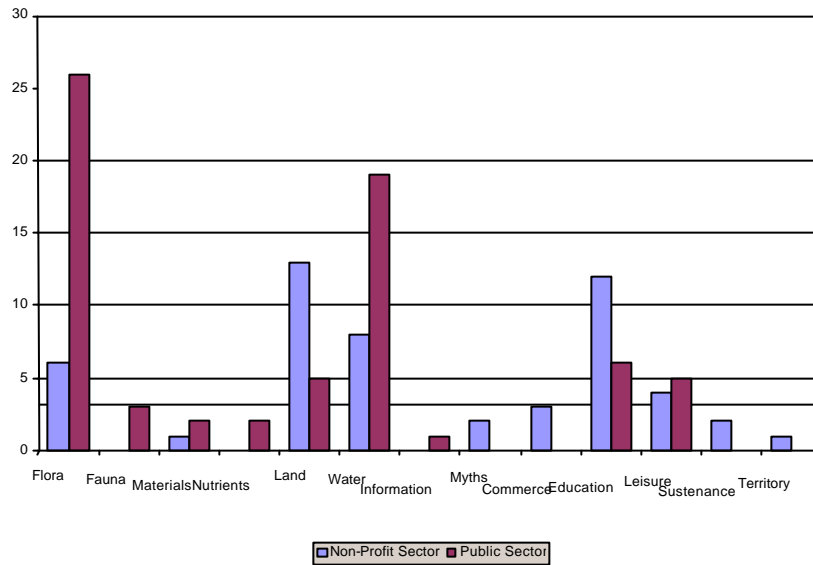
In the combined dataset (Figure 2.2-11), the nonprofit sector comprises >40% of the group, despite the introduction of 5 additional categories of organizations that are not present in the core group. These findings suggest that there is a high level of non-profit activity in the system.

The public sector reported involvement in 69 natural resource management projects.

The non-profit sector reported involvement in 52 natural resource management projects.

These are distributed as shown in Figure 2.2-12.

**Figure 2.2-12**  
**Number of Projects of Each Type by Sector**



In the public sector (including all public agencies in the core group), of a total of 69 projects, 74% (51 projects) were conducted in partnership with other organizations, with an average number of 3.3 partners per project. Among the non-profit organizations, of a total of 52 projects cited, 85% (44 projects) were conducted with partners, with an average of 2.9 partners per project.

### ***C. Public and Non-Profit Sector Roles in the Gwynns Falls Watershed***

Cohesion was calculated by measuring the number of detected cliques in the core/periphery group and the core group. In the core/periphery group, when the minimum set size was set at 3 (standard for social network analysis (Wasserman and Faust, 1994)), 84 separate cliques were detected using the partner nomination dataset. This indicates that the combined group comprises a loose cohesive network. When the minimum set size was increased to 5, the number of cliques dropped substantially, to 9 (Clique Set 1, Table 2.2-4). For the core group, through measures of self-nomination on projects, 8 cliques were identified when the minimum set size was set at 3 (Clique Set 2, Table 2.2-4), and 3 were identified when it was set at 5 (Clique Set 3, Table 2.4-4). This table indicates that non-profit organizations appear less frequently as a group in cliques than do public agencies. However, it also shows that the actor that appears in more cliques (75%) than any other is a non-profit organization; followed by the City's Department of Public Works and the Baltimore County Department of Environmental Protection and Resource Management; which appear in 60% of the cliques; the City Department of Recreation and Parks, 45%; and the State Department of Natural Resources (40%). This is the same set of organizations, with the exception of the City Department of Recreation and Parks (R&P), that appear in Table 2.2-3 as primary actors in the system. R&P appears in 7 of 9 cliques based on nomination to projects by other organizations, and 1 of both 8 and 3 based on self-nomination. The others are somewhat more evenly distributed across the three sets of cliques.

**Table 2.2-4.  
Clique Composition**

<b>Organization</b>	<b>Clique Set 1</b>	<b>Clique Set 2</b>	<b>Clique Set 3</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>% Cliques in which Actor Occurs</b>
1001	4	1	1	6	30
1002	7	3	2	12	60
1004	7	1	1	9	45
1005	0	1	0	1	5
2201	0	1	1	2	10
2202	7	3	2	12	60
2204	0	1	0	1	5
3001	0	1	1	2	10
3002	3	3	2	8	40
3004	0	1	0	1	5
3006	2	1	1	4	20
4001	0	1	1	2	10
4002	0	1	0	1	5
4004	2	1	1	4	20
4005	0	1	0	1	5
<b>Total # Times Public Agencies Appear in Cliques</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>66</b>	
5001	9	4	2	<b>15</b>	75
5002	1	1	0	2	10
5004	0	1	0	1	5
5005	1	1	1	3	15
5011	3	1	0	4	20
5015	0	1	0	1	5
5017	1	1	1	3	15
5020	0	1	1	2	10
5021	0	1	1	2	10
5030	1	0	0	1	5
5033	0	3	0	3	15
<b>Total # Times NPOs Appear in Cliques</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>37</b>	
10003 (not included in calcs)	2	0	0	2	10

To measure the structural positions of non-profit organizations in the Gwynns Falls Watershed, the concept of betweenness centrality was employed: "...an actor is central if it lies between other actors on geodesics, implying that to have a large 'betweenness' centrality,

the actor must be between many of the actors via their geodesics.”<sup>6</sup> (Wasserman and Faust, p.189). This was calculated in several ways. Data from the core group’s self-nomination to projects were divided into two subdatasets: non-profit organizations and public agencies, and betweenness centrality for each of these subgroups was measured. Next, these data were reassembled and betweenness centrality was measured for the combined group. This gives one measure of the comparative centrality of the different types of organizations in the system. The same disaggregation and reaggregation was conducted for the core groups, but by nomination of partnerships. Thus, there are measures for centrality as perceived within and between organizations. The outcomes of these calculations are presented in Table 2.2-5 and 2.2-6 (following pages).

The results of these calculations confirm that, in general, non-profit organizations are comparatively more “between” than government agencies. In the first set of calculations, betweenness centrality was calculated for the core group through nominations to projects by partners (Table 2.2-5). In that set, the Parks & People Foundation (5001) was found to be two times more central among just non-profit organizations than the next group, Civic Works (5033). Among government agencies only, the MD DNR (3002) was the most central group, followed by the County Department of Environmental Protection and Resource Management (DEPRM - 2202) and the City Dept. of Public Works (1002). When the two data sets were combined, the Parks & People Foundation emerged as the most central organization in the system, followed by MD DNR, DEPRM, Civic Works, and the City’s Departments of Public Works and Recreation and Parks (1004). Of the 15 most central organizations in this system of relationships, 5 are non-profits.

In the second set of calculations (Table 2.2-6), the same set of organizational combinations were run on measures of self-nomination to projects. The results are similar: MD DNR emerged as the most central public agency, and among the combined groups, only

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<sup>6</sup> A geodesic is the shortest path between two nodes in a network.

9 of 45 organizations exhibited measurable levels of centrality: 6 of these were non-profit organizations. Civic Works and the Parks & People Foundation exhibited the highest level of centrality in the system ( $n_{\text{Between}} = 9.27$  and  $9.25$  respectively). MD DNR was the third most central organization followed by County DEPRM (2202), and the City's DPW (1002). The City's Department of Recreation and Parks (1004) did not rank among central organizations, indicating that its perception of its own centrality is dramatically lower than that of other organizations within the system.

**Table 2.2-5.  
Betweenness Centrality: Nomination to Projects by Partners**

NPO x NPO Freeman Betweenness			GOV x GOV Freeman Betweenness			NPO x GOV Freeman Betweenness		
<i>Numeric Code</i>	<i>Between</i>	<i>nBetween</i>	<i>Numeric Code</i>	<i>Between</i>	<i>nBetween</i>	<i>Numeric Code</i>	<i>Between</i>	<i>nBetween</i>
5001	60.17	11.89	3002	83.07	21.86	5001	246.43	13.02
5033	26.00	5.14	2202	64.75	17.04	3002	241.89	12.78
5002	23.17	4.58	1002	34.68	9.13	2202	227.36	12.02
5012	13.00	2.57	3004	31.70	8.34	5033	154.58	8.17
5021	12.50	2.47	4005	19.03	5.01	1002	151.88	8.03
5011	5.33	1.05	1004	16.82	4.43	1004	104.54	5.53
5004	4.33	0.86	1001	15.52	4.08	5012	102.00	5.39
5017	1.50	0.30	4001	15.23	4.01	3004	69.73	3.69
5003	0.00	0.00	4002	9.83	2.59	4003	64.00	3.38
5005	0.00	0.00	3006	5.17	1.36	4002	58.18	3.08
5006	0.00	0.00	3001	2.87	0.75	5002	57.98	3.06
5007	0.00	0.00	2211	1.67	0.44	5009	49.32	2.61
5008	0.00	0.00	1003	0.67	0.18	4005	40.23	2.13
5009	0.00	0.00	1005	0.00	0.00	1001	39.08	2.07
5010	0.00	0.00	2201	0.00	0.00	4001	37.92	2.00
5013	0.00	0.00	2203	0.00	0.00	5021	36.29	1.92
5014	0.00	0.00	2204	0.00	0.00	5011	31.12	1.65
5015	0.00	0.00	3003	0.00	0.00	3006	25.89	1.37
5016	0.00	0.00	4003	0.00	0.00	3001	16.23	0.86
5018	0.00	0.00	4004	0.00	0.00	5015	10.07	0.53
5019	0.00	0.00	4013	0.00	0.00	5010	8.99	0.47
5020	0.00	0.00				5006	8.00	0.42
5022	0.00	0.00				5004	7.78	0.41
5062	0.00	0.00				5017	7.43	0.39
						2204	1.73	0.09
						2211	1.67	0.09
						1003	0.40	0.02
						5005	0.29	0.02
						1005	0.00	0.00
						2201	0.00	0.00
						2203	0.00	0.00
						3003	0.00	0.00
						4004	0.00	0.00
						4013	0.00	0.00
						5003	0.00	0.00
						5007	0.00	0.00
						5008	0.00	0.00
						5013	0.00	0.00
						5014	0.00	0.00
						5016	0.00	0.00
						5018	0.00	0.00
						5019	0.00	0.00
						5020	0.00	0.00
						5022	0.00	0.00
						5062	0.00	0.00

**Table 2.2-6  
Betweenness Centrality: Self-Nomination to Projects**

NGO x NGO Freeman Betweenness			GOV x GOV Freeman Betweenness			NPO x GOV Freeman Betweenness		
<i>Numeric Code</i>	<i>Between</i>	<i>nBetween</i>	<i>Numeric Code</i>	<i>Between</i>	<i>nBetween</i>	<i>Numeric Code</i>	<i>Between</i>	<i>nBetween</i>
5001	18.5	7.31	3002	21	11.05	5033	87.72	9.27
5033	13.5	5.34	1002	16.5	8.68	5001	87.55	9.25
5021	10.5	4.15	2202	7.5	3.95	3002	53.32	5.64
5011	7.5	2.96	1001	0	0.00	2202	43.73	4.62
5002	5	1.98	1003	0	0.00	1002	41.32	4.37
5003	0	0.00	1004	0	0.00	5021	33.78	3.57
5004	0	0.00	1005	0	0.00	5011	18.53	1.96
5005	0	0.00	2201	0	0.00	5002	14.05	1.49
5006	0	0.00	2203	0	0.00	5012	1.00	0.11
5007	0	0.00	2204	0	0.00	1001	0.00	0.00
5008	0	0.00	2211	0	0.00	1003	0.00	0.00
5009	0	0.00	3001	0	0.00	1004	0.00	0.00
5010	0	0.00	3003	0	0.00	1005	0.00	0.00
5012	0	0.00	3004	0	0.00	2201	0.00	0.00
5013	0	0.00	3006	0	0.00	2203	0.00	0.00
5014	0	0.00	4001	0	0.00	2204	0.00	0.00
5015	0	0.00	4002	0	0.00	2211	0.00	0.00
5016	0	0.00	4003	0	0.00	3001	0.00	0.00
5017	0	0.00	4004	0	0.00	3003	0.00	0.00
5018	0	0.00	4005	0	0.00	3004	0.00	0.00
5019	0	0.00	4013	0	0.00	3006	0.00	0.00
5020	0	0.00				4001	0.00	0.00
5022	0	0.00				4002	0.00	0.00
5062	0	0.00				4003	0.00	0.00
						4004	0.00	0.00
						4005	0.00	0.00
						4013	0.00	0.00
						5003	0.00	0.00
						5004	0.00	0.00
						5005	0.00	0.00
						5006	0.00	0.00
						5007	0.00	0.00
						5008	0.00	0.00
						5009	0.00	0.00
						5010	0.00	0.00
						5013	0.00	0.00
						5014	0.00	0.00
						5015	0.00	0.00
						5016	0.00	0.00
						5017	0.00	0.00
						5018	0.00	0.00
						5019	0.00	0.00
						5020	0.00	0.00
						5022	0.00	0.00
						5062	0.00	0.00

**Table 2.2-7  
Un-normalized Brokerage Scores based on  
Nomination to Projects by Partners**

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	<i>Coordinator</i>	<i>Gatekeeper</i>	<i>Representative</i>	<i>Consultant</i>	<i>Liaison</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Public Agencies</b>						
1001	6	4	7	2	0	19
1002	17	15	9	8	0	49
1003	1	0	0	0	0	1
1004	4	8	4	5	0	21
1005	0	0	0	0		0
2201	0	0	0	0	0	0
2202	15	6	8	2	0	31
2203	0	0	0	0	0	0
2204	0	1	0	0	0	1
2211	1	0	0	0	0	1
3001	4	2	0	0	0	6
3002	23	11	13	3	0	50
3003	0	0	0	0	0	0
3004	2	1	0	0	0	3
3006	1	0	4	0	0	5
4001	10	0	0	0	0	10
4002	4	9	2	6	0	21
4003	0	0	2	0	0	2
4004	0	0	0	0	0	0
4005	3	3	1	0	0	7
4013	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>NPOs</b>						
5001	22	29	10	10	0	71
5002	6	3	0	0	0	9
5003	0	0	0	0	0	0
5004	3	0	1	0	0	4
5005	0	0	1	0	0	1
5006	0	0	1	0	0	1
5007	0	0	0	0	0	0
5008	0	0	0	0	0	0
5009	0	0	0	0	0	0
5010	0	0	0	0	0	0
5011	1	5	0	0	0	6
5012	2	3	1	0	0	6
5013	0	0	0	0	0	0
5014	0	0	0	0	0	0
5015	0	0	0	2	0	2
5016	0	0	0	0	0	0
5017	1	0	4	0	0	5
5018	0	0	0	0	0	0
5019	0	0	0	0	0	0
5020	0	0	0	0	0	0
5021	2	0	1	0	0	3
5022	0	0	0	0	0	0
5033	3	1	23	3	0	30
5062	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 2.2-7 presents the results of the brokerage tests on the data. Column 4 in the results tells us that in general non-profit sectors are not acting as bridges between government agencies. In fact, the only non-profit that fills that position at a significant level is the Parks & People Foundation.

Figure 2.2-13 shows the distribution of types of projects in the two sectors. Non-profit organizations participate in 10 types of projects, while public agencies participate in 8.

Figure 2.2-13  
Range of Project Types by Sector

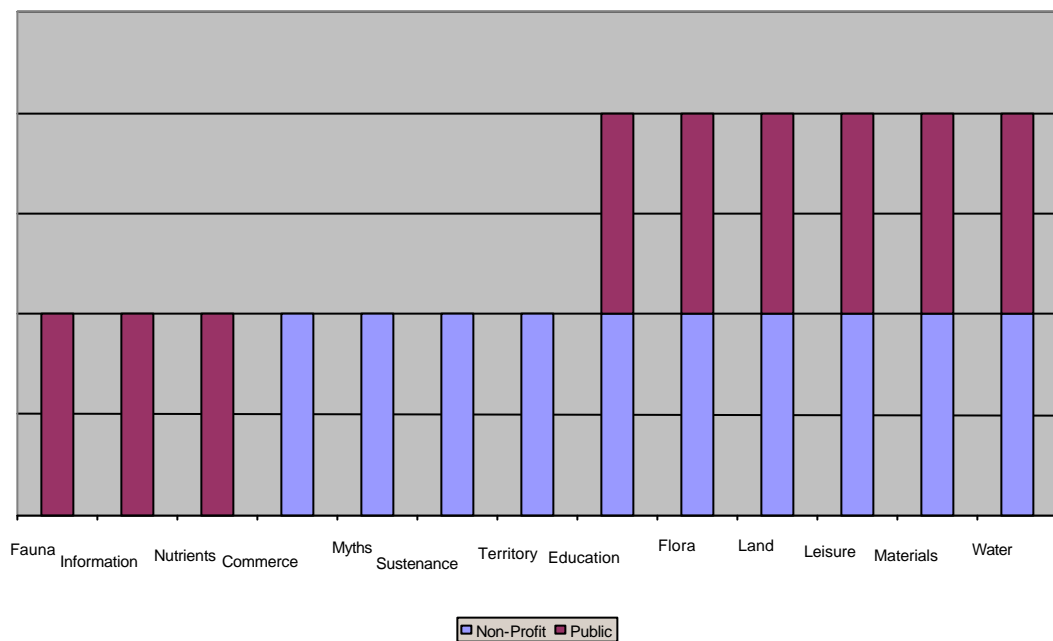
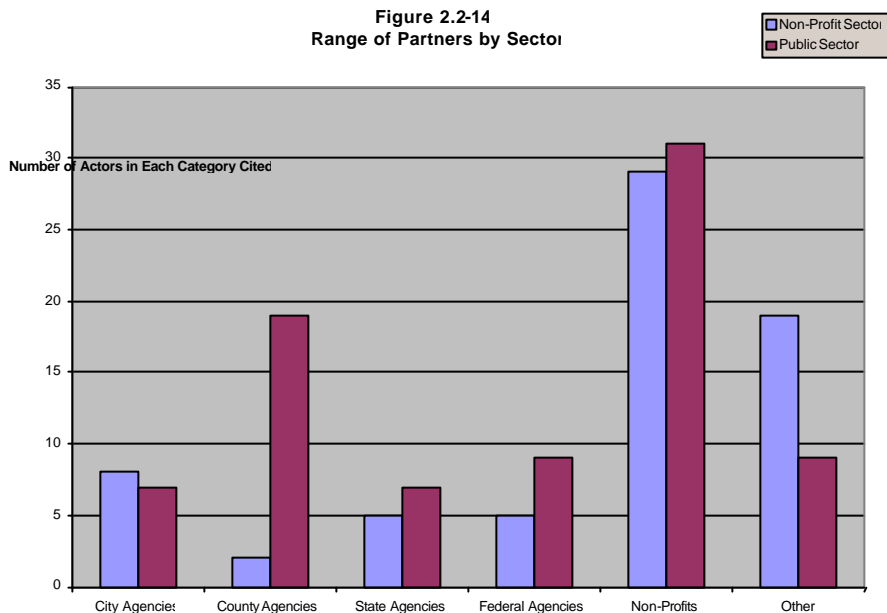


Figure 2.2-14 shows the distribution of partner types in the two sectors. Non-profit organizations are the most common partners cited by both sectors. County agencies are second among public agencies, followed by other entities, federal, and city and state agencies. A variety of other entities were the second most frequently cited partners among non-profit organizations, followed by city, federal and state, then county agencies.



***D. Discussion***

The quantitative research assessed the levels of activity and positions of the public and non-profit sectors in natural resource management in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. With the exception of the actual number of projects conducted by each sector (69 versus 52), the level of activity of the two sectors was found to be comparable. Non-profit organizations, in general, were found to be members of 44% fewer subgroups than were public agencies.

Calculations of betweenness centrality based on nomination to projects by others indicate that three of the five positions ranked above the median are occupied by non-profit organizations (Positions 1 and 4) while three are occupied by public agencies (2, 3, and 5). Calculations of betweenness centrality based on self-nomination to projects indicate that two of the three positions ranked above the median are occupied by non-profit organizations (Positions 1 and 2), while 1 is occupied by a public agency (Position 3). The same two non-profit organizations appear above the median in each of these sets of calculations. The same single government agency identified in the second set of calculations (Table 2.2-6) also outranks the other two public agencies in the first (Table 2.2-5).

The two sets of betweenness centrality exhibit varying representations of network structure, depending upon whether groups were self-nominating or nominated as partners in the system. This is especially true of the City's Department of Recreation and Parks, which ranked sixth in measures of centrality based on nomination by other organizations, but was not among the organizations with measurable levels of centrality in calculations based on self-nomination to projects.

Both sets of centrality measures, however, indicate that the betweenness ratings of several non-profit organizations are higher in the combined public agency/NPO datasets than in the NPO datasets alone. This is not true of the public agencies. In some cases, their centrality rating decreased when the NPOs were introduced into the system; in other cases it increased.

When brokerage was calculated, however, it became clear that while some NPOs ranked highest in the system in calculations of betweenness centrality, the sector as a whole is not bridging relationships between organizations in the public sector. These tests also show within the public sector alone there is a very high level of integration among some organizations (see column 1, Table 2.2-7).

The Parks & People Foundation is clearly a central node in the management regime. In all measures of centrality in which the non-profit sector was included, this organization ranked at or just below the most central position. However, the range of calculations conducted indicated that the relative positions of other non-profits and government agencies were less consistent.

**CHAPTER II-3**  
**THE DEPARTMENT OF RECREATION AND PARKS,**  
**THE PARKS & PEOPLE FOUNDATION, AND YALE**

***A. Introduction and Background***

The last chapter showed that the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed is comprised of 45 core organizations, and 109 peripheral organizations, entities, or partnerships. Of the core group, 53% are non-profit organizations, while 47% are public agencies, indicating that the non-profit sector plays an active role in the management of publicly owned natural resources in the GFW. In this system, the Parks & People Foundation ranked higher in three measures of centrality than the Department of Recreation and Parks. It was and is involved in more projects, with more partners; and its budget and staff have grown while the Department of Recreation and Parks' have shrunk: by 1999, the Parks & People Foundation's budget actually matched that of the Bureau of Parks.

Among natural resource management organizations in the Gwynns Falls Watershed, the relative positions of the Parks & People Foundation and the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks shifted between 1989 and 1999. In the early 1990s the public agency was engaged in a number of ecosystem-based resource management partnerships, while the Parks & People Foundation was a fledgling organization, barely 5 years old, and still in the process of defining itself and its role among other organizations with potentially compatible or competing missions and goals. The Department of Recreation and Parks occupied a prominent position in terms of providing ecologically-based responses to changing and competing management goals and fiscal constraints (Porter, 2000). But by 1997, it had been stripped of most of its responsibilities, those having been assumed by the City's Department of Public Works. What remained was responsibility for park planning and management (with no staff to implement plans or management strategies), and programming (Spero, Baker, 2000). In addition, it had lost its internal Capital Projects and Planning functions to DPW.

Parks & People, on the other hand, between 1992 and 1996 alone, grew from running four programs under a \$500,000 budget, to running twelve programs with a budget of \$2 million. This represents a three-fold increase in program activity, and a four-fold increase in budget (Carrera, 1997).

Since 1989, a third organization has been involved in research, education, and extension in Baltimore, in cooperation with the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation: the Yale University School of Forestry and Environmental Studies. The program that developed as a result of this partnership, the Urban Resources Initiative (URI), has worked to apply a human ecological approach to the preservation, protection, and improved management of natural resources using the watershed as a management unit (Burch and Grove, 1993). Through a number of programs, URI demonstrated that the correlation between the health of the ecological system and its human system (Grove, 1997a) implies the need to address ecological restoration and social revitalization simultaneously.

Researchers, students, and URI staff have acted as informal change agents, by providing increased access to information and expertise, within the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation (Conover, 1992; Perry, 1999; Buikema, 2000). Working with representatives of these organizations, URI researchers, interns, and staff developed a neighborhood-based community forestry program, a watershed-based natural resource planning and management program for the City parks system, a natural resource management training program, several environmental education programs for Baltimore's youth, and demonstrated the potential use of geographic information systems in resource management. In addition, URI interns and staff helped to increase the organizational status and profile of the Department of Recreation and Parks by initiating partnerships with a number of other local, county, state, and federal organizations and agencies (Conover, 1992; Porter, 2000; Piotrowski, 1996). These include, among others, the Baltimore City

Department of Public Works' Water and Wastewater Management Division, the Baltimore County Department of Environmental Protection and Resource Management, the MD Department of Natural Resources Forest Service, the Trust for Public Land, MD Save Our Streams, and the USDA Forest Service (Dalton, 1995).

This chapter examines this change in the relative positions of the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation, in particular their responses to the infusion of new information and expertise brought to Baltimore by URI faculty and interns.

### I. Organizational Structures and History

It should be clear by now that the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation are two very different organizations: not only is one a public agency and the other a non-profit organization, but their organizational structures exhibit considerable differences, as do their abilities to recognize and respond to opportunities and constraints in their environments.

The Department of Recreation and Parks is a public bureaucracy, composed of three Bureaus: Recreation, Parks, and Music. This work concerns itself with the activities of the Bureaus of Recreation and Parks. The Bureau of Music is responsible for various public performances, and analysis of its activities would not inform this study.

The Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, in its current formal iteration, was created as part of the City Charter of Baltimore in 1948. Prior to this, there had been a Department of Public Parks and Squares, created through the City Charter of 1898. The 1948 Charter sets forth the following roles and responsibilities of the department, which remain largely in tact in its contemporary mission statement:

- (a) to establish, maintain, operate, and control parks, zoos, squares, athletic and recreational facilities and activities for the people of Baltimore City, and to have charge and control of all such property and activities belonging to, or conducted by, the City;... (City of Baltimore, 1949, p.104)

(h) to adopt and enforce rules and regulations for the management, use, government and preservation of order with respect to all land, property, and activities under its control...(City of Baltimore, 1949, p.105)

At the head of the Department of Recreation and Parks is a Board of Recreation and Parks, which is composed of six members from the community at large. These are appointed by the Mayor, “for terms of six years, two of them to expire at the end of every odd-numbered year.” (City of Baltimore, 1949, p.103). The Board appoints a director to run the department (City of Baltimore, 1949, p.104). Since the Mayor appoints the Board and the Board appoints the director, the Mayor obviously has substantial influence on who sits in that position.

The organizational structure of the Department of Recreation and Parks shifted several times during the 1990s, in response to budget cuts (Spero, 1996). The two bureaus persisted, each overseen by a lead person who reports directly to the Director of the Department. Within each Bureau, there are district supervisors and division managers, responsible for smaller units of management. Among these is a Division of Forestry, which manages the city’s street trees and forests. Additional staff in the Bureau of Recreation includes Recreation Center directors and program coordinators (both permanent and summer employees); and until 1997, when they were transferred to the Department of Public Works, the Bureau of Parks included field staff. There is also an Office of Capital Projects and Planning which plans and coordinates the implementation of capital projects for the Department (also transferred to DPW in 1997).

The headquarters of the Department of Recreation and Parks is located in Druid Hill Park, in central Baltimore. It contains the offices of the Director of the Department, upper management of the Bureau of Recreation (including district supervisors), and the Department’s budget office. The Bureau of Parks’ headquarters and the Office of Capital Projects and Planning are in a separate building, located on the outskirts of the same large

park. Managers of the park districts have offices in the district yards, and issue work assignments to the field staff each morning.

The field staff of the park system is relatively cohesive, when compared to the Bureau of Recreation. To reduce confusion in the rest of this document, let me clarify that by field staff, I mean the men and women who manage and maintain the park system in Baltimore. Whether formally a unit in the Bureau of Parks or in the Department of Public Works, they are the same group of people, working out of the same maintenance yards, and using the same equipment to manage the same resources and amenities. They were and are responsible for the physical maintenance of the park system, including some 6500 acres of park land, 300,000 street trees, over 500 pocket parks and playgrounds, approximately 50 recreation centers, the city's squares and monuments, and additional facilities such as a rowing club, arboretum, a conservatory, and numerous buildings in the parks. This group of people worked in the Bureau of Parks until 1997, and for the Department of Public Works after 1997, and will be referred to from this point forward in this chapter as the "parks field staff."

Baltimore's parks, squares, playgrounds and monuments are highly visible features in the urban landscape, making it relatively easy for upper management to monitor the performance of the field staff, and for local residents and politicians to see the results of their collective efforts. District supervisors oversee the activities of their staff: they issue work assignments, monitor activity at worksites over the course of the day, and tour the parks to ensure that work assigned has been completed.

After the transfer to DPW took place, parks field staff reported to work in the same place each morning and were supervised by the same managers. The substance of the transfer involved a shift in upper management (i.e. the District Managers' supervisors) and transfer of funds from the Department of Recreation and Parks' budget to that of the Department of Public Works. Thus, interactions among the field staff and between field staff

and their direct supervisors remained largely unchanged after the transfer to DPW, as did identification of particular people with particular parks, maintenance yards, and coworkers.

The Bureau of Recreation is a comparatively atomistic system. Recreation centers are largely independent nodes, providing programming to city residents within a fairly small catchment area. Each center develops and delivers its programs in response to local user needs. This makes coordination among and monitoring of individual recreation centers difficult. The centralized location of the management of the Bureau of Recreation in the Department's headquarters rather than in their own districts makes it easier to integrate activities at that level of the organization, but reduces the opportunities for interaction between management and recreation center staff people.

The Department of Recreation and Parks by definition requires staff of diverse backgrounds to carry out its work. It performs multiple functions within the city, from child care to turf management. Too, staff requirements of the Bureau of Recreation and the Bureau of Parks differ. Recreation center staff people are in many cases required to have university degrees, as are their supervisors; this is not generally the case for their hierarchical equivalents at the Bureau of Parks. The Director of the department also comes, traditionally, from an academic and mid- to upper-class background. There is thus a cultural difference between the two bureaus that is precipitated, in part, by the differing nature of the work and expertise needed to carry it out. This is exacerbated by the fact that the two bureaus also serve different constituents. Recreation centers primarily serve citizens of relatively deprived neighborhoods, while the Bureau of Parks provides services to a much wider audience, including the elite residents of the city most likely to espouse ecosystem-based resource management as a management philosophy for the park system.

The Department of Recreation and Parks has several hundred employees, and manages a huge system of public parks, recreation centers, and other amenities. It is a formal bureaucracy and is structured as such: it is clearly hierarchical, having a mayor-appointed

Board, a Director at its head, and senior managers and assistant managers in each of its bureaus, districts, and divisions. It exhibits clear lines of authority and responsibility.

In contrast, the Parks & People Foundation (P&P) is a relatively small, flat organization. Its establishment in 1984 was prompted by the Mayor of Baltimore at the time, William Donald Schaefer, through the cooperation of a local community activist and the Director (at the time) of the City Department of Recreation and Parks. Prior to his election, Schaefer had run on three policy platforms: education, housing, and recreation and parks. He established public-private partnerships to bring outside resources to these agencies.

The activities of the Parks & People Foundation are guided by a Board of Directors, and managed by an Executive Director, who has an assistant. There are five administrative and two development/promotions staff people (<http://www.parksandpeople.org>). The staff of the Foundation comprises an array of backgrounds. This is not the case for the senior staff or the Board of Directors: all the Foundation's executive directors have been college educated and come from middle or upper class backgrounds. The Board of Directors is composed exclusively of prominent citizens of the Baltimore area. The staff, however, ranges from lower class and/or high school educated to upper class with advanced degrees. For example, at least one line staff person has a law degree.

The mission of the Parks & People Foundation reports its dedication "to supporting a wide range of recreational and educational opportunities; creating and sustaining beautiful and lively parks; and promoting a healthy natural environment for all" (Parks & People Foundation, 2000). This, it carries out through three major programs: Motivating Youth, Community Greening, and Great Parks and Stream Valleys. Motivating Youth is comprised of the Baltimore Baseball League, Baltimore Middle School Soccer League, Baltimore Starlings Volleyball Club, KidsGrow, and SuperKids Camp. Community Greening activities are coordinated through Community Grants and Community Forestry projects. And Great Parks and Stream Valleys comprises the Gwynns Falls Trail, Revitalizing Baltimore, the

Urban Resources Initiative, and the Urban Parks Alliance. Combined, this represents a variety of recreation, education, and natural resource management programs (Parks & People Foundation, 1999), operating from the neighborhood to the national level. It also indicates that the organization serves a broad clientele, from local citizen-based groups to a national urban parks coalition.

The first program of the Parks & People Foundation was the Baltimore Chesapeake Bay Outward Bound (BCBOB) program. While Outward Bound had run a number of urban programs, this was the first permanent urban Bay Outward Bound base. In the late 1980s, the Parks & People Foundation's Board of Directors had been invited to participate in an Outward Bound expedition/orientation weekend at their Hurricane Island school in Maine (Michel, 1999). After this experience, they enthusiastically supported the creation of the urban base in Baltimore, the goal of which was to provide traditional Outward Bound experiences to inner-city youth. These expeditions were to be provided to those unable to pay for them through the creation of a scholarship program, subsidized by those clients who could pay for their own Outward Bound experience (for example, corporate clients), and through fundraising efforts. Baltimore Chesapeake Bay Outward Bound became independent of the Parks & People Foundation in the mid-1990s. However, the Foundation continues to raise scholarship funds in support of the program. Other early programs of the Foundation include the Baltimore Baseball League and a track and field program. These were more oriented toward recreation than park related issues, as was BCBOB.

The programs and projects of the Parks & People Foundation are coordinated by a variety of individuals, and exhibit different hierarchical structures. Nine administrative and thirteen program staff are listed on the Foundation's website. This core group of staff people is augmented in the summer, when interns and temporary staff are hired. Great Parks and Stream Valleys and Motivating Youth have official directors, while the Community Greening program has a Community Forestry manager and several additional staff people, working on

a related but separate Vacant Lot Restoration Program. While the structure of the organization at the administrative level is characteristic of a traditional bureaucracy, this is not so at the level of service delivery. In addition, several of the programs do not fit neatly into one or another of the categories implied by the program names. For example, KidsGrow, which is part of the Motivating Youth program, is also an environmental education program; and while the Gwynns Falls Trail project is a stream-valley trail running through park land, the primary role of the Parks & People Foundation in that effort is to organize community representatives to participate in its development and programming (Dalton, 1998).

Until 1996, the entire staff of the Parks & People Foundation worked out of Crimea Mansion, which is located in one of Baltimore's major parks, Leakin Park. The Outward Bound headquarters was housed in a nearby building on the same property. By 1996, Parks & People had grown so large as to require restructuring into the three program areas. The directors of Great Parks and Stream Valleys and Community Greening were moved into the Bureau of Parks headquarters, where their staff people (URI Project Coordinator and interns, and community foresters) were already working. Recently, the entire staff of the Parks & People Foundation was reunited when they moved into new offices, near Druid Hill Park. This move puts it geographically closer to the headquarters of both the Department of Recreation and Parks, and the Bureau of Parks.

Most of the programs of the Parks & People Foundation are, arguably, the types of things that could easily fall under the purview of the Department of Recreation and Parks. The task at hand, then, is to explain how and why, in the span of a decade (1989 – 1999), the Parks & People Foundation came to be a central node, while the Department of Recreation and Parks has occupied an increasingly peripheral position, in the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed.

Clearly, the Department of Recreation and Parks faced a series of constraints that the Parks & People Foundation did not. It was ravaged by budget cuts, largely because of a shift

in federal funding that, as we saw in Chapter II-1, shunted money to the non-profit sector. In addition, the Director of the Department was more concerned with the Bureau of Recreation than park-related issues. This potentially exacerbated the traditional dichotomy between the two bureaus, which already had substantial differences in goals, organizational cultures, and in the characteristics of both staff and constituents. Finally, the boundaries between the two bureaus appear to have been more clearly defined than the boundaries between the maintenance functions of the Bureau of Parks and the City's Department of Public Works, which was eventually successful in acquiring those responsibilities.

The Parks & People Foundation faced none of these challenges. Rather, it was created precisely because the Department of Recreation and Parks was in crisis, and it was intended to aid the Department in the provision of services to city residents by receiving funds for recreation- and park-related projects and programs in the City. As it turned out, the Department failed to capitalize on the intended functions of Parks & People, leaving the latter to define itself and its role in the system in which it became a prominent player.

## ***B. The Story***

### **I. The Urban Resources Initiative**

Between 1940 and 1980 the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, and the infrastructure it maintained, saw rapid and widespread growth. As described in Chapter II-1 the federal commitment to urban renewal, well-funded during the 1970s (Caverly 1991), was a key supporter of this growth. The dramatic reduction in federal support for urban parks and recreation programs, coupled with a decreasing population base in the City, caused associated cuts in the Department's budget. Many recreation and park facilities in Baltimore fell into disrepair and many recreation programs were discontinued (Buikema, 1992a).

By 1996, the Department had lost about 50% of its field staff, but was still responsible for the management and maintenance of 6500 acres of park land, 300,000+ street trees, and many additional public open spaces and facilities (Spero, 2000). The Urban

Resources Initiative partnership was established in 1989 to assist the Department in its efforts to deal with the challenges it faced. By the early 1990s the Department of Recreation and Parks was engaged in a set of innovative programs to address the need to manage and maintain its land and facilities, with decreasing budgets, a smaller staff, and less equipment.

The stated goal of URI was to help improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the services delivered to the people of Baltimore by the Department of Recreation and Parks (Urban Resources Initiative, 1993). The department was seen by Yale representatives as their primary client, while the Parks & People Foundation administered funds for URI projects (Grove, 1992).

Over the course of the first four summers of the partnership, URI developed five programs: community forestry, a geographic information system for park planning and management, planning and management for the major stream valley parks in the city, environmental education / experience for youth, and a natural resource management training Program for the field staff of the Bureau of Parks. What follows is a description of the growth and subsidence of the program, based on my own experiences with URI first as an intern (1992), then as Project Coordinator (1993-1995), and finally as a member of the Advisory Committee (1995-present); and based on conversations with representatives of Yale (Grove, Burch, Shemitz), the Department of Recreation and Parks (Barrett, Buikema, Hite, Jenkins, Jordan, Perry, Porter, Schwartz, Spero) and the Parks & People Foundation (Michel, Perry, Carrera). Conversations with these key informants are documented in the case of formal interviews. However, because of my own work with URI, I also took part in literally hundreds of informal conversations with these people and others over the course of the 7.5 years during which I lived and worked in and with this system. These discussions were not and are not formally documented.

In 1989, URI's first summer intern, Morgan Grove, arrived in Baltimore. The partnership was originally conceived by Drs. Ralph Jones (then Director of the Department)

and William R. Burch, Jr., a professor at the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, as a means of bringing contemporary ideas about community-based natural resource management to the City of Baltimore. The benefit to Yale was to be field experience for its students, and a research site for faculty and students. However, shortly before Grove was scheduled to arrive in Baltimore, Dr. Jones passed away. Enough planning had been conducted in the Department to allow the internship to move forward, but that it would not do so under the guidance of Dr. Jones altered the direction the partnership would take. Grove was introduced to senior managers in the Bureau of Parks and the Division of Forestry, where his skills were recognized and put to work. He was provided with office space in the Bureau of Parks headquarters building, and soon had access to city vehicles, as did URI interns in subsequent years. In addition, interns were provided with common housing in the park-owned buildings, and a stipend for their work.

By 1991, it became clear to Department representatives that the organization needed to undertake a strategic planning process, and by the end of that calendar year they had written, with Grove and other URI interns, a *Strategic Plan for Action* (URI, 1991) for the Department. The success of this effort contributed to the creation, the following year, of URI's park planning and management efforts. In 1991, also, the community forestry program gained momentum, with URI interns working with local community representatives and staff from the Division of Forestry to develop a *Community Forestry Stewardship Handbook* (URI, 1992) which articulated means by which individual citizens could participate in the management of Baltimore's public forest, particularly street trees.

A geographic information system was developed to map the relationships between neighborhood boundaries, park and recreation districts, vegetation cover, parks, streams, and other features of Baltimore's biophysical and social landscapes. This was used in the park plans, neighborhood community forestry efforts, and in public presentations and meetings with potential partners within the public and non-profit sectors.

The youth program also began in 1991, through a partnership with the Chesapeake Bay Outward Bound Program. Soon after Grove's 1989 arrival in Baltimore, a member of the Board of Recreation and Parks, who was also a board member of the Parks & People Foundation (Laura Perry), heard of his presence in the City. Shortly thereafter, he was invited to meet with her and the Chair of the Parks & People Foundation's board, Sally Michel. This proved to be an important meeting, as P&P representatives, Grove, and later Burch, began to see potential connections between their programs and organizations.

The Mayor of Baltimore at the time, Kurt Schmoke, was a Yale Trustee, 1971 graduate of Yale College, and had appointed Perry to the Board of Recreation and Parks. Thus, URI representatives now had a direct line to the Mayor, with whom they could claim a common academic affiliation. In addition, the local Yale alumni group was contacted and soon expressed interest in supporting URI in some way.

As it turned out, that support took the form of a fund-raiser for URI, which took place in 1991. This event raised approximately \$40,000, which went into the Parks & People Foundation's bank account. Now the Yale group had formed a solid relationship with the local political elite, and had money in the bank to pay for their own activities, and continued to work out of the Bureau of Parks headquarters, under the guidance of the Superintendent of Parks and two staff people in the Office of Capital Projects and Planning. In addition, the URI Advisory Committee has included a representative of the local Yale Alumni group since at least 1992.

In the summer of 1992, six URI interns produced a number of documents for the Department. These include neighborhood profiles, written by community forestry interns, which described the social, economic, and biophysical conditions of the neighborhoods in which they worked. They were used as points of departure for planning neighborhood based forestry activities. In addition, a natural resource management plan for the major stream valley parks in the Herring Run Watershed (located on the east side of the City and County)

was produced. This included an inventory and map of recreational amenities and their condition in each of the parks (including ballfields, trails, etc.), as well as estimates of types and percentages of land and vegetation cover (forest, meadow, wetland, lawn, pavement, playing fields, etc.). It provided general recommendations for managing the natural resources in the park system, as well as site-specific recommendations regarding where to reduce or stop mowing, and where to plant wildflower meadows or tree nurseries.

By this point, the park field staff people were becoming uneasy about the reduced mowing recommendations made by the URI interns. This had been brought to the attention of the Superintendent of Parks, and the request was made that URI produce a natural resource management training manual for the field staff, which would introduce them to the concept of integrated resource management, and the idea that management of the City's park system could contribute to efforts to restore the Chesapeake Bay. The training manual was also drafted during the summer of 1992.

Shortly after the conclusion of the 1992 summer internship program, I was hired by the Department to develop and conduct the natural resource management training program, based on the training manual, for the field staff of one of the park districts. This was planned over the course of the winter months, and implemented two afternoons per week, over a six-week period in the early spring of 1993. The training program was piloted in the Herring Run Watershed, and transferred into the Department as staff persons (2 administrative and 2 field staff) were trained to be trainers. They subsequently trained the field staff in the other two watersheds (the Jones Falls in 1993 and the Gwynns Falls in 1994).

By the time the six-month contract to conduct the training program closed, URI was perceived by many of its collaborators to have a year-round presence in Baltimore. The decision was made by the URI Advisory Committee to create a full-time Project Coordinatorship. The three partners each contributed a third of the funds for the salary for this position, and it was administered by the Parks & People Foundation.

In the spring of 1993, I was hired to be the URI Project Coordinator, supervised by the Executive Director of the Parks & People Foundation, and in June of that year was joined in Baltimore by 19 interns. This proved to be the most active season of the program: community forestry interns worked with Grove to extend the community forestry program into a total of over 30 neighborhoods; the park planners used and adapted the methodology developed the previous year to write a management plan for the major parks in the Jones Falls Watershed; two interns worked with the Outward Bound staff to provide an experiential education and job training program for youth; and the GIS program provided base maps to other interns and developed methods for assessing and inventorying urban forests.

The presence of 19 interns taxed the system in unanticipated ways. In the first place, it was impossible to find common housing for this many people, and they were thus housed in different locations. This reduced their ability to interact with one another during non-working hours, obviously, and had the effect of reducing the potential for coordination of efforts and cross-fertilization of ideas, methods, and activities within the group. Second, the presence of so many people strained the ability of the Department to provide support for them: office space, desks, computers, vehicles, etc. Third, and most importantly, supervision became a major issue. The value of the internships from an educational perspective was the opportunity they had provided to work closely with representatives of the city government. The increase in numbers reduced access to those people.

Thus, the following summer, the number of interns was returned to six. This eased the difficulties in providing housing, vehicles, and other forms of support, and reopened the lines of communication between interns and representatives of the Department. Simultaneously, however, other changes were afoot that altered the nature of the relationships among the three partners, and between interns and their potential supervisors.

Primary among these was the establishment of the Revitalizing Baltimore project: the activities of the Department, Parks & People, and the Urban Resources Initiative had attracted

the attention of the USDA Forest Service, whose State and Private Forestry arm had been considering establishing an urban ecosystem management pilot program (Neville, 1996). The idea of applying the ecosystem management concept in an urban setting was just emerging in the USDA FS early 1990s. In 1993, Congress approved funding for a national model for urban ecosystem management. Revitalizing Baltimore is housed at the Parks & People Foundation, and its many partners have included the Department of Recreation and Parks and Yale. This diverted substantial attention away from the original URI partnership, and arguably created a larger version of the same program, focused on one watershed, the Gwynns Falls.

The details of how it affected the Department and the Parks & People Foundation will be discussed later in this chapter. Of note here is the fact that the creation of Revitalizing Baltimore left the Urban Resources Initiative with something of an empty nest syndrome – its projects were essentially subsumed under the RB umbrella, and URI was left trying to figure out what to do next. This was exacerbated by the fact that in 1995, Yale discontinued its financial support of URI, both in terms of its contribution to the Project Coordinator's salary, and support of its faculty representative, Dr. Burch. This substantially reduced his ability to participate in the project. In addition, Grove was by this time occupied with Revitalizing Baltimore, and having completed his doctoral work, was now working as a research scientist at the USDA Forest Service. He was therefore less flexible in terms of the nature and extent of his commitments in Baltimore.

In 1995, the Project Coordinatorship became available and was filled by someone who had not been an intern of the program, and was therefore unfamiliar with its earlier culture and activities. This person stayed with URI until the end of the summer of 1997, since which time a series of people have filled the position. Between 1997 and 2000, URI had five different Project Coordinators.

An additional distraction presented itself in 1997: the National Science Foundation funded the first urban Long-Term Ecological Research site in Baltimore, the Baltimore Ecosystem Study. The research team, spearheaded by Grove, decided on the Gwynns Falls as its intensive research site. This large, ongoing research effort has created a complex organizational structure, for which the Parks & People Foundation acts as a liaison to local communities, including in some cases government agencies and other non-profits. The BES now funds the Parks & People Foundation's half of the URI Project Coordinator's salary, while the Department of Recreation and Parks continues to pay the other half.

As the 1990s drew to a close, the innovative partnership that had provided a variety of services to the Department of Recreation and Parks and the Parks & People Foundation had become largely irrelevant to a Bureau of Parks stripped of its resource management responsibilities. And because the Parks & People Foundation had the Revitalizing Baltimore project, URI's role within the Foundation had also become unclear. However, with the inception of the BES, and the dedicated source of funding it provided for the URI Project Coordinatorship, a specific set of functions for URI within the Foundation began to present itself.

This section has presented a brief history of the two formal organizations of interest in this research, and of the Urban Resources Initiative partnership. The next section, examines these entities in motion, relative to one another and to the larger context in which they were operating in the City. In essence, this is a story about the Department of Recreation and Parks, and the means by which the organization navigated in political and social space over the course of a decade.

## II. The Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks

It is undoubtedly without surprise that the reader will find me reporting on points of contact within and between the organizations of interest. These were of at least two types: those that caused problems, and those that solved problems. URI is considered by some to

have failed to change the Department of Recreation and Parks (Buikema, 2000; Carrera, 2000). However, it has also been suggested that URI has had dramatic influence on natural resource management in general in the Baltimore area (Perry, Michel; 1999). It infused other organizations with innovative approaches to resource management, built a broad coalition of organizations at the federal, state, county, and city levels, and brought millions of implementation and research dollars into Baltimore.

The Department was unable to remake itself at a time that required dramatic and well-publicized change, or to capitalize on the multiple opportunities to use URI to bolster its position within the City government, and among the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. At its disposal were access to both increased expertise and information, within URI and in other government agencies and non-profit organizations with whom URI had developed partnerships; and political and constituency support, particularly in the form of other government agencies. The question, then, is not whether or why URI failed to change the Department of Recreation and Parks, but why the Department failed to capitalize on the resources (including millions of dollars in implementation and research funding) within its reach.

The answer to this question is not simple, but it is clear: URI, which could have been used to the agency's advantage, came to be a program of the Bureau of Parks, not of the Department of Recreation and Parks. Composed of two separate and competing entities, the Bureau of Recreation and the Bureau of Parks, the organization itself was already fragmented, and URI was inserted into the less influential half of it. The most powerful leaders within the Department, including its Director, were oriented almost exclusively toward recreation, not recreation and parks. This recreation focus created friction between the Director and the Superintendent of Parks, and exacerbated the existing tension between the two bureaus. Too, the idea of ecosystem-based resource management was a premature one in the system, and because it was an unknown and untested management philosophy in

urban park management, arguably posed a threat to a Director who already knew dramatically less about park management in general than her subordinate, the Superintendent of Parks. The Department failed to recognize that this management philosophy was likely to be supported by a powerful political elite in the City and therefore also failed to build its support.

*a. Information and Expertise*

From 1990 to 1997, Marlyn J. Perritt was the Director of the Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks. Previously employed at the Washington D. C. Department of Parks and Recreation, her background was in recreation programming.

Numerous key informants support the assertion that the management of the park system in Baltimore was of secondary importance to her. This opinion is further supported by the distribution of coverage related to parks and recreation issues in several articles about the Department in the Baltimore Sun. For example, between 1990 and 1996, at least 37 articles involving or about the Department were printed in the Sun. Most of these report on issues other than park management, but of those pertaining to decreasing levels of mowing, the creation of wildflower meadows, or the planting or mowing of tree seedlings, the director of the Department usually let the Superintendent of Parks interact with the media. In contrast, in Recreation-related articles, the Superintendent of Recreation is not quoted – rather, Ms. Perritt herself was interviewed for a variety of articles (e.g. Marbella, 1991).

Therefore, leadership in terms of park management was provided both within the Department and City-wide by the Superintendent of Parks, Calvin Buikema. It was through his support that the Urban Resources Initiative got off the ground. Quick to see the potential benefits of the summer interns' work, he provided them with housing, vehicles, stipends, and the assistance of his field staff. The Chief of Capital Projects and Planning, whose office was located in the same building as Buikema's, soon joined him in this enthusiasm for the program, and put Yale interns to work on park planning efforts.

During the summer months, Ms. Perritt sometimes toured community gardens, street tree planting sites, and vacant lot reclamation projects with URI interns. However, compared to Buikema's regular attention to URI intern activity, Perritt's behavior toward URI can be described as benign neglect (Carrera, 2000) as readily as active support. For her, the program served the dual purpose of bringing prestige to her Department through its affiliation with Yale University, and bringing her closer to the Mayor because of his connection to that institution. Structurally, it also provided a means of gaining political support for programs or projects that received positive attention, and someone to blame when new initiatives were poorly received.

It was not during Perritt's tenure that the field staff of the Bureau of Parks was shifted to the Department of Public Works; it was during her interim successor's, Thomas Overton. He, too, came from a recreation background and was perceived by several key informants to be far more interested in recreation than parks (Spero, Baker, Carrera, Porter, 2000). According to one anonymous respondent, he was pleased to dispose of the parks, did not personally attend the meeting with the director of the Department of Public Works at which the final decision was made to transfer park maintenance staff and Office of Capital Projects and Planning to the Department of Public Works, and balked only when told that recreation center maintenance staff might also be shifted to the Department of Public Works.

The innovative nature of the URI program, and the management strategies it offered were lost first on Perritt, then on Overton. This trained incapacity left them unable to capitalize on those innovations; rather, the URI program exacerbated existing tensions between the two Bureaus and between the Director and the Superintendent of Parks. Too, both Perritt and Overton came to the directorship of the Department already at a disadvantage: the department, itself, was fragmented and operating in a fiscal crisis. It was being pressured from within city government to improve its performance on a decreasing budget. And it was increasingly criticized by recreation users for the decreased services it

provided, by park users for reducing mowing levels, and by a new environmental constituency for not allowing more acreage to “return to nature.” Confronted by such a diverse range of challenges, any director would find it difficult to provide consistent, strong leadership.

Ecosystem management has been on the national agenda in the U. S. since the spotted owl controversy in the Pacific Northwest in the 1980s (Deitrich, 1992). This concept has influenced the activities of the USDA Forest Service, and the institutions that train that agency’s future employees, among them the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies. This approach was brought to Baltimore by the URI interns from Yale, and by 1993, had caught the attention of the local media (Daemmrch, 1993a, 1993b). However, it was largely misunderstood by other agencies within city government, the Mayor, many citizens, and within the Department, by the Director and the parks field staff. Despite national trends, the idea of adopting an ecological approach to resource management in an urban setting was not broadly understood or well-received. Thus, while it can be argued that ecosystem-based approaches to resource management are becoming increasingly common, it does not appear to be sufficiently common to have been a true source of support for the Department.

This caused a number of problems for Perritt, Buikema, and the URI program. In 1992, URI interns developed a management plan for the major stream valley parks in the Herring Run Watershed, which recommended reducing mowing in general in the parks, and creating a forested buffer area in the riparian zone along the streams in the City’s parks. This recommendation in particular caused the field staff to perceive “the Yale program” as directly threatening their jobs (Barrett, 1992; Buikema, 1992a; Jenkins, 1992). Half of their colleagues had been laid off in recent years, and they knew more lay offs were coming as the Department’s budget continued to shrink (Fletcher, 1991; Evans, 1991).

In addition, the constituency of the Bureau of Parks had begun to change: many long-time residents of the City who lived near parks had begun to complain about the scruffy look

of the long-grass meadows near their homes (Berger, 1993). Some of these were randomly placed in the middle of large tracts of mowed turf, and labeled with “No mow zone” signs. Residents complained to the field staff, who were unable to explain the existence of these areas<sup>7</sup>. Meanwhile, a new citizen-based watershed association began to form in the Herring Run Watershed in 1992, and by 1997, similar groups had formed in the Jones Falls and Gwynns Falls. These groups voiced support for the new reduced mowing strategies, as well as other ecologically-based resource management strategies. Now the Department faced the added demand to satisfy both types of constituents.

The Department had no choice about the amount of grass it could cut with a reduced staff: some areas had to be allowed to return to meadow and forest (Siegel, 1994). However, in response to URI’s recommendations that the Department of Recreation and Parks plant more trees and mow less grass, field staff had begun to “accidentally” mow newly-established reforestation areas in riparian zones (Buikema, 1992a; Wolfe, 1992). In 1992, the decision was made to develop a natural resource management training program for the field staff. The goals of this program were to teach them about ecologically-based resource management, make the connection for them between their parks and efforts to restore the Chesapeake Bay; encourage them to see themselves as stewards of the parks and to actively participate in their management; and give them the conceptual tools they needed to explain changes in resource management strategies in the parks to concerned citizens (e.g. Buikema, 1992b).

As noted earlier, I was hired to conduct this training program, and my interactions with the field staff through this program represent the first direct and ongoing contact with the men and women who manage the park system. I requested that four park personnel work with me to develop and teach the pilot training program. This would serve three purposes: 1)

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<sup>7</sup> This was an additional reason for recommending that areas near streams be taken out of mowing: streams were generally in the middle of parks, furthest from residential areas.

it would build the institutional capacity within the department to allow the training program to continue beyond the pilot effort in the first watershed; 2) it would give the program credibility among both administrative and field staff in the Bureau of Parks, since I asked permission to invite two field staff people and two administrative people to participate; and 3) it gave me access to administrative support (e.g. by facilitating the purchase of supplies for the program through the office staff) and to trucks, ploughs, mowers, and other equipment through the field staff.

Before developing a curriculum and schedule for the program, I also asked to spend a few days in the parks working with field staff. My goal in doing so was to learn about my audience and about their daily rounds. As it turned out, these three days in the field accomplished much more than that. They also provided the field staff with the opportunity to revise their overall impressions of URI and “Yalies.” For example, on my first morning out, I worked on edging a baseball diamond with four men. The work day began at 7:30 and by 8:30 or 9:00, they were all ready for a cup of coffee. Someone made a run to a nearby coffee shop, and asked me if I wanted one. When I very gratefully accepted the offer, and asked for a large cup with lots of cream and sugar, my new co-worker Anthony looked at me quizzically and said, “Shawn...You drink *coffee*?” I said, “Yeah!” and continued my ineffective efforts at pushing a heavy machine along the rock-hard turf. Then I noticed he was still looking at me quizzically and when I stopped and looked back at him, he slowly delivered the following question, “Shawn...You eat meat?” Again, I answered, “Yeah!” and there was a slow nod of the head and a shift in perception. Not only of me, but of the program I represented and the interactions that might follow between his gang and mine.

I asked him if he thought all the interns from Yale lived on vegetables and herbal tea, and it was his turn to say, “Yeah!”

The next morning, we were sent out to mow the grass in Herring Run Park. Here, I got to try out a tractor mower. The men showed me where to mow and I showed them where

not to, and we talked a bit about riparian zones and forest regeneration and why rats don't really spend a lot of time in meadows in the parks. Then, I hopped up on the mower, and very carefully avoided gouging the bark of a mature tree near the edge of the park. It's a bit tricky, avoiding both hitting the tree and driving the mower off the curb. We were soon joined in the park by an energetic resident who had come across the road to tell me something. Vociferously. Emphatically. Someone came over and turned off the mower so I could hear what he was saying: "...some kind of complete moron. You idiot! Are you *blind?*" It turned out that, while I had successfully avoided hitting the tree, I had also done a wonderful job of spraying a stripe of fresh, wet, green grass clippings along one side of his freshly washed and buffed white sedan. I apologized profusely, explained that I was just learning how to use the tractor mower, and tried not to notice the smirks on the faces of my new colleagues.

By the time we got back to the maintenance yard, the district supervisor was outside waiting to greet his new problem child. The man, of course, had already called and given him an earful about his inept "employee." He very graciously told me not to worry about it. By the time I got back to the Parks headquarters that afternoon, Buikema and Grove not only knew about the incident, but accurately reported to me what I had been wearing at the time. The ice between URI and the parks field staff had definitely been broken. But, to my knowledge Ms. Perritt and her staff in the Bureau of Recreation never heard about these events.

The training program was well-received by field staff and managers alike: it served the multiple purposes of informing the staff about the ecological functions of the parks they managed, gave them a sense of importance and improved morale, and increased their ability to both act as resource stewards and explain the necessary changes in resource management strategies to sometimes irate citizens (Dalton, 1993). It also solidified the impression, both

within the Department and externally, that the Urban Resources Initiative was a program of the Bureau of Parks.

*b. Political and Constituency Support*

Increased levels of knowledge among field staff in the Bureau of Parks, particularly knowledge about the ecological basis for changing park management strategies, heightened the profile of the Bureau of Parks among a number of potential allies and enemies in Baltimore, including the Director of the Department of Public Works (DPW). In the summer of 1994, a controversy erupted over the mowing of newly planted tree seedlings in a riparian meadow along Chinguapin Run. This was carried out by staff of the Department of Public Works in an area over which it did not have jurisdiction (Wheeler, 1994).

The event is informative on a number of fronts. It points to the continued conflict between traditional and new constituents of the park system – the former wanting the parks returned to their familiar manicured look, and the other wanting the parks to contribute to purifying water before it entered the Bay as well as providing habitat for urban wildlife and performing other ecosystem services. This incident also points out the growing tension between the Bureau of Parks and DPW, and suggests that increasing expertise and the ability to articulate its scientific basis in the Department of Recreation and Parks was perceived as a potential threat in another city agency.

The mowing along Chinguapin Run was described by one anonymous key informant as a “total power move” (2000) on the part of the Director of Public Works at the time. In 1994, the first public discussions of the potential transfer of parks field staff to DPW also took place. Although the transfer did not occur at that time, the process had been set in motion. The “Yale program” had made a mark in the system, with the unanticipated consequence that it had created a threat to the very agency it was trying to help.

Internally, the training program had clearly been necessary. Changing resource management strategies were being sabotaged by the very people who were supposed to

implement them. However, the constituency base within the community was obviously not ready to support the Bureau of Parks in its efforts to provide ecosystem services through park management. The division between the two bureaus has been mentioned several times. While the Department's mission permits it to provide a broad suite of services and amenities to a wide base of constituents, in fact, the two Bureaus serve very different publics. Generally, recreation centers are neighborhood-based and serve a geographically confined group. Parks are used more widely, and their constituency base is likewise more geographically and socially dispersed.

The residents of most inner city neighborhoods, the primary users of recreation facilities, do not fit the description of an ideal constituency: large, evenly distributed, organized, and well-funded. That they could stave off recreation center closings more effectively than the relatively affluent and supposedly well-organized park supporters could keep the park field staff at the Bureau of Parks is informative: it tells us that the agency did not recognize the support of a powerful constituency, and speaks again to the lack of support in general within the agency for the Bureau of Parks.

The people who do use parks come in all shapes and sizes, and expect a variety of amenities, some of which are largely incompatible, to be available to them. To make matters worse, park users often make competing demands on the same resources. For example, active recreational users of the parks are sometimes at odds with environmental groups who want to reduce mowing by reducing the number of ballfields. This puts the agency in the awkward position of trying to please everyone.

Too, the provision of recreation services is more commonly understood, accepted, and supported than the notion of managing parks to provide ecosystem services. Parks are often understood to be simply the places where ball games or picnics happen. From this perspective, it makes perfect sense to have the park field staff at the Department of Public Works: this would reduce redundancy and increase efficiency in the City government. Thus,

while inner city residents were able to politicize the closing of recreation centers in Baltimore, the small constituency that supported keeping the field staff in the Department of Recreation and Parks was not.

The lack of internal support for the Bureau of Parks is further evidenced by the agency's failure to capitalize on the outreach and partnership activities of URI. This had also increased the profile of the Department of Recreation and Parks, giving other organizations the impression that the Department was willing to work together to improve the ecological health of the urban ecosystems under their management, contribute to efforts to clean up the Chesapeake Bay, increase opportunities for environmental education and passive recreational activities in the city parks, and integrate activities across biophysical, geographic, and disciplinary boundaries.

The Department might have adopted this partnering approach to strategically align itself with a number of potentially powerful allies. However, in 1993 it refused to manage or to receive funds for the large urban ecosystem management project, Revitalizing Baltimore, funded by the USDA Forest Service. By 1992, the activities of the Department, Parks & People, and the Urban Resources Initiative, had attracted the attention of the USDA Forest Service, whose State and Private Forestry arm had been considering establishing a pilot program in urban ecosystem management (Neville, 1996). The idea of applying the ecosystem management concept in an urban setting was just emerging in the USDA FS early 1990s. In 1993, Congress approved funding for a national model for urban ecosystem management: the Revitalizing Baltimore project was created.

Focused on the Gwynns Falls Watershed, the project wound up being housed at the Parks & People Foundation, and has included many partners during its history. Participation of the different organizational partners and levels of activity have changed over time (see Table 3.3-1, following page); however, according to the network analysis data presented in the preceding chapter, Revitalizing Baltimore is the most interdisciplinary and

interjurisdictional resource management project in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. The Department of Recreation and Parks declined to receive funds (several million dollars to date), declined to manage or guide the program, and thus missed an opportunity to gain the political support of federal, state, county and other city agencies; several local, regional, and national non-profit organizations; and several universities.

In addition, based on the URI-initiated partnerships, the National Science Foundation established a Long-Term Ecological Research site in Baltimore in 1997. The Department of Recreation and Parks also plays a relatively minor role in this research partnership, despite attempts on the part of research partners to engage the agency in the development of the research proposal in 1997. This project is one of over 20 LTER sites, the first of two urban sites to date, which are funded on an ongoing basis, and of high stature in the ecological research community.

**Table 3.3-1  
Timeline of RB Partner Organizations' Participation**

<b>Organization</b>	<b>1993</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>
<i>?? VOTING PARTNERS</i>								
<b>USDA Forest Service</b>	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
<b>Parks &amp; People Foundation</b>	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
<b>Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks</b>	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
<b>MD DNR</b>	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
<b>Yale/Urban Resources Initiative</b>	XX	XX	XX	***	***	***	***	***
<b>Outward Bound</b>	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
<b>MD Save Our Streams</b>	***	XX	XX	XX	***	***	***	***
<b>Trust for Public Land</b>	***	XX	***	***	***	***	***	***
<b>Information Frontiers</b>	***	XX	XX	***	***	***	***	***
<b>Baltimore County Dept. of Environmental Protection and Resource Management</b>	***	***	XX	XX	***	***	XX	XX
<b>American Forests</b>	***	***	XX	XX	***	***	***	***
<b>Baltimore City Planning Department</b>	***	***	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
<b>Baltimore City Department of Public Works</b>	***	***	***	***	XX	XX	XX	XX
<b>Gwynns Falls Watershed Association</b>	***	***	***	***	XX	XX	XX	XX
<b>Jones Falls Watershed Association</b>	***	***	***	***	***	XX	XX	XX
<b>Herring Run Watershed Association</b>	***	***	***	***	***	XX	XX	XX
<b>UMBC/ Spatial Analysis Laboratory</b>	***	***	***	***	XX	XX	XX	***
<b>Heritage Museum / Gwynns Falls Conservancy</b>	***	***	***	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
<i>?? ASSOCIATE PARTNERS</i>								
<b>Irvine Natural Science Center</b>	***	***	***	***	***	XX	XX	XX
<b>Civic Works</b>	***	***	XX	XX	***	XX	XX	XX
<b>Community Resources (Consultant)</b>	***	***	XX	XX	***	***	***	***

\*\*\* = Not involved; XX= Involved

(Source: RB Project Management)

*c. Summary*

Early in 1997, Calvin Buikema resigned as Superintendent of Parks; in June of that year, Marlyn Perritt resigned as Director of the Department under the pressure of tremendous public criticism of her leadership skills (Department of Recreation and Parks Task Force, 1997); also in 1997, the field staff of the Bureau of Parks was transferred to the Department of Public Works along with the entire Office of Capital Projects and Planning. By 1995 the management of URI and the administration of virtually all of its programs had been assumed by the Parks & People Foundation.

III. The Parks & People Foundation

The Parks & People Foundation has been described as opportunistic (Outen, 2001), a direct competitor of the Department of Recreation and Parks (Porter, 2000; Spero, 2001), and an organization that stepped in to fill a niche when it was created by the Department of Recreation and Parks (Stack, 2000).

The Urban Resources Initiative is managed and administered by the Parks & People Foundation, whose early activities and budget are tied to those of URI. The first major leap in the foundation's budget (15.6%) was in 1992. During that year, the Urban Resources Initiative dramatically expanded its program activity from 2 summer interns to 6, and hired in the fourth quarter a year-round Project Coordinator. In 1993, the second major jump took place (20.3%). In that year, the URI internship program expanded from 6 to 19, and the Project Coordinator's position was funded for the full the year. In 1994, the Revitalizing Baltimore project was funded; the foundation's budget jumped 22.2% (see Table 3.3-2, below)

**Table 3.3-2**  
***Changes in Parks & People Foundation's Annual Budget***

<b>Year</b>	<b>Annual Budget</b>	<b>Percent Change</b>
1987	\$1 494 458	---
1988	1 428 994	-4.4
1989	1 470 478	+2.9
1990	1 390 447	-5.4
1991	1 473 129	+5.9
1992	1 703 192	+15.6
1993	2 048 703	+20.3
1994	2 503 152	+22.2
1995	2 756 555	+10.1
1996	3 128 593	+13.5
1997	3 556 180	+13.7
1998	4 338 485	+22.0
1999	Not available	---

*Data Source:* Meehan and Roby, 1988; McLean et al., 1988-1999,  
Parks & People Foundation Financial Audits.  
(Percent change calculated by author.)

From 1984 to 1996, the Parks & People Foundation's mission was "to protect, enhance, restore, and preserve open space and parks, and increase recreational opportunities for the people of Baltimore." In 1996, this changed to dedication "to supporting a wide range of recreational and educational opportunities; creating and sustaining beautiful and lively parks; and promoting a healthy natural environment for all" (Parks & People Foundation, 2000). This organizational redefinition reflects a shift in program activity from a focus on individual parks and programs to one that encompasses a broader approach to natural resource management (Carrera, 1996; Carrera, 2000).

*a. Information and Expertise*

The expanded mission of the organization also introduces a broad range of activities into the purview of the Foundation, and articulates the organization's potential role in those activities more clearly. The expanded range of activity now explicitly includes education, park management, and the ecological health of the region. This expanded mission follows on the

heels of the expansion of program activity (Parks & People Foundation, 1999), and so may be as much an endorsement of existing activities as a guide to future ones. It is also the culmination of several difficult years, during which the organization struggled to define itself (Carrera, 1997, 2000). In a number of URI Steering Committee<sup>8</sup> meetings, for example, representatives of the Parks & People Foundation's board expressed confusion about where URI ended and the Parks & People Foundation began, what its appropriate role should be in guiding URI as the Department of Recreation and Parks became less willing or able to do so, and what role the Parks & People Foundation played vis à vis the Department of Recreation and Parks (Urban Resources Initiative, 1998). That the Parks & People Foundation was foundering in terms of its identity at a time when URI was doing the same reinforces the observation, made earlier, that the ideas and activities of URI directly influenced those of the Parks & People Foundation (Carrera, 1997).

The broad range of activities in which the Foundation participates requires a wide skill set in its staff. Thus, the Parks & People Foundation cannot not rely on one dominant profession to carry out its mission. A single, unifying requirement of its staff is the ability to create and perform well within complex interorganizational partnerships. The Parks & People Foundation derives a substantial amount of its prominence from two aspects of its partnership capabilities: first, it specifically promotes its ability to develop partnerships, particularly among community representatives, and publicizes this skill as a way of increasing efficiency by using existing resources in its projects; second, this emphasis on partnerships renders its continued involvement critical to the ongoing success of the programs in which it participates. Its partnering ability creates among the organizations with which interacts a dependency upon Parks & People.

The organization has benefited from a strong combination of leadership, both on the Board of Directors and in the Executive Director's office. The current Executive Director of the

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<sup>8</sup> The URI Steering Committee guides the program's activities and is composed of representatives of

Parks & People Foundation, Jacqueline Carrera, has been with the organization since 1993. Prior to her, the Parks & People Foundation had two executive directors; the present leadership represents the longest tenure at the head of the organization. Carrera had previous experience in the non-profit sector, having worked for MD Save Our Streams for a number of years. She was directly involved in the establishment of the Herring Run Watershed Association in 1992/93, and had a strong interest in supporting the development of community-based watershed restoration activities prior to being hired at the Parks & People Foundation. Through her work at MD SOS, she had established working relationships with representatives of both Baltimore County and Baltimore City agencies, and was familiar with the politics in both systems. She also had worked with URI interns when at MD SOS, and came to the Parks & People Foundation already enthusiastic about the ecosystem-based approach to resource management encouraged by URI (Carrera, 1996).

The composition of the Parks & People Foundation's Board of Directors has changed over time, but a core group of founding members remains; today it is composed of 31 regular and 5 honorary members. The current Chair, Sally Michel, has occupied that position since the creation of the Foundation in 1984. Michel has strong opinions about the appropriate activities of the organization and has been able to garner political support from both city agencies and funders for those activities. She also maintains strong contacts with state and federal level politicians, and was directly involved, for example, in lobbying Senator Paul Sarbanes to support Revitalizing Baltimore during the federal allocation process.

Since its creation in 1984, the Foundation has struggled at times to find an identity for itself among the organizations in its field of activity (Carrera, 2000). Initially, it took its cues from the Department of Recreation and Parks/URI partnership, then to some extent from the RB project (arguably the brainchild of key URI participants, primarily from Yale University). Recently, however, the Department of Recreation and Parks, Yale, and URI all faltered in their

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partner organizations, including Yale University, P&P, R&P and others.

commitment to local resource management activities, Parks & People has taken the lead in all of these partnerships.

Having reached a point in its history where the organization has a coherent public image (e.g. “we’re the tree guys” (Hager, 1999)) and a well-defined character, its staff is confident and understands the role of the organization in the partnerships in which it is engaged (Dalton, 1997; Horan, 2000, Piotrowski, 2000). However, there have been discrepancies between what the staff people think their programs are all about and the appropriate role of the organization according to the Executive Director (Steele, 2001). For example, the organization has been anonymously described by one staff member as “getting too big for its britches.” By this, the interviewee meant that the perception among some staff members is that the job of the Parks & People Foundation is to work with and serve the needs of underserved communities in Baltimore. Carrera, however, sees the interactions between the organization and community representatives as one of several means to several ends – reminding the interviewer of the mission of the organization (Carrera, 2001). This issue is related to where the respondent is located within the organizational structure: Carrera’s job is to run the entire organization, while staff members contribute to its projects or programs. The difference of opinion reflects these differences in structural positions within the organization.

#### *b. Political and Constituency Support*

The Parks & People Foundation has managed to maintain a reputation for flexibility and innovation (Horan, 2000; Piotrowski, 2000; Carrera, 2001). That innovation is generally focused on community organizing around a particular issue (e.g. the Gwynns Falls Trail; neighborhood greening; vacant lot restoration). The Parks & People Foundation is considered the organization that is able to reach community representatives on behalf of the large complex partnerships in which it is involved (Pickett, 1997). Thus, an additional source

of strength of the organization is its ability to maintain legitimacy among public agencies, smaller non-profits, and in informal community settings (Parks & People Foundation, 1997).

The Parks & People Foundation is a non-profit organization; unlike public agencies it therefore cannot benefit from the protection of having been created through a public act. The Parks & People Foundation has managed to surround itself with a large number of relatively powerful organizations, each of which depend upon it for something. These include partnerships with federal, state, county, and city agencies; other non-profit organizations that operate within the city, county, region, and at the national level; and several universities (Parks & People Foundation, 1993-2001; Parks & People, 1998). It works nationally on urban parks issues (Carrera, 2000); regionally, in its attempts to contribute to the Chesapeake Bay Program's restoration efforts (Dalton, 1995; Parks & People, 1993-2001); at the watershed scale, through its management of Revitalizing Baltimore and support of citizen-based watershed associations (Parks & People Foundation, 1993-2001); at the city level through its participation in a vacant lot restoration program (Dalton, 2001); and at the neighborhood level via several different programs (Dalton, 2001). Likewise, through these efforts, it has created and serves a wide constituency, including the federal, state, and city governments, affluent park friends groups, formal and informal community groups, and individual residents including those in inner-city neighborhoods. It makes itself indispensable through its partnering activities; it brokers relationships among organizations that might otherwise not work together; and it survives, in part, by surrounding itself with diverse supporters.

As stated earlier, ecosystem-based resource management is an increasingly important issue in the US (Deitrich, 1992), and a substantial portion of the Parks & People Foundation's budget supports environmental issues in the form of natural resource management projects. Thus, this non-profit organization was able to read the popular and political landscapes effectively, and garner the information and expertise it needed to operate ecosystem-

based/environmental programs independently of the Yale interns. It was not constrained by *a priori* expectations on the part of constituents, and was able to fill a niche created by the Department of Recreation and Parks when that organization was preoccupied by other demands. In the process, the Foundation has demonstrated itself to be a flexible, innovative, but dependable organization, capable of learning and adapting.

As a non-profit organization, the Parks & People Foundation does not have regulatory authority. It is considered to provide a service to many of its government agency partners through its ability to gain community participation in resource management projects (Pickett, 1997). In addition, it is considered to provide a number of services to community representatives; for example, it works to revitalize urban open spaces through its vacant lot restoration and community forestry programs (Dalton, 2001). In the process, it brokers relationships between organizations of various types (e.g. between government agencies) and between formal organizations and community representatives (Huston-Zuraw, 1999).

### ***C. Discussion***

One close observer of the set of events reported here said in October of 2000, “Rec. and Parks missed the boat.” The Parks & People Foundation, on the other hand, not only caught the boat, but because no one else was there to do so, was forced to take its helm. By the close of the 1990s, the park management functions of the Bureau of Parks were gone. It will come as no surprise to the reader that the Department of Public Works is not open to the types of partnerships in which the Parks & People Foundation engages. Nor is it open to the idea of ecosystem based resource management. It performs a maintenance function in the parks. This left the Parks & People Foundation with very little to go on in terms of Park related partnerships in the City.

Likewise, Yale had bailed. Burch and Grove were substantially onto other projects, some local (such as the Baltimore Ecosystem Study), some not. The School of Forestry and Environmental Studies at Yale has no formal commitment to the URI program in Baltimore

at this time, but does have a sister program in New Haven. And because of these changes in organizational structures, the Revitalizing Baltimore and BES partners have no choice but to continue to work with and through the Parks & People Foundation.

The Bureau of Parks was abandoned by its own agency, the Department of Recreation and Parks. This essentially left the Parks & People Foundation with the choice of either abandoning or fully integrating into its organizational structure the Urban Resources Initiative, Revitalizing Baltimore, Community Forestry, and KidsGrow. It chose the latter, and in the process became the organization to which others turned to work on public natural resource management issues in Baltimore City, including in the lower reaches of the Gwynns Falls Watershed. No other potential partners remained.

# SECTION III: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

## CHAPTER III-1

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY, METHODS AND PRACTICE

My primary goal in undertaking this research was to examine questions about the ability of formal organizations to integrate their natural resource management efforts across political and disciplinary boundaries. In my search for means by which to throw some light on this question, it became clear that it would also be possible to use a case study in an urban area to examine larger questions about the dynamic relationships within and between the public and non-profit sectors.

#### *A. Theory*

It was necessary at the outset to examine larger political and economic factors shaping the behavior of the two sectors. In particular, withdrawal of federal funds from urban areas in the 1970s and 1980s had profound and enduring effects upon the ability of the public sector to deliver recreation services and manage public parks. This crisis in the public sector opened the door for non-profit entities to enter the recreation and parks arena. The structural properties of the two types of organizations strongly influenced their ability to survive and thrive in subsequent years. I suspect this is the case in other systems in the U.S.

In Baltimore, the relative weakness of the bureaucratic organizational structure of the City's department of Recreation and Parks was exacerbated by the fact that the two primary Bureaus comprising that agency have been, since at least 1948, fundamentally at odds. The structure, function, goals, staff, and constituencies of the two Bureaus are not only different, they are in many cases incompatible.

Compare this to the loose, flexible organizational structure of the Parks & People Foundation, whose *raison d'être* is arguably to continue to *être*, and it becomes clear that it is

structured in order to remake itself in response to cues from its environment, in particular funding opportunities. The Foundation is an organizational chameleon, able to redefine itself and its role in the world as the world around it shifted. The same cannot be said of the Department of Recreation and Parks.

The Urban Resources Initiative, the entity that spearheaded several public/private partnerships related to ecosystem-based resource management in Baltimore, itself presents an interesting case study. The transfer of the parks field staff to DPW in 1997 left it, essentially, a head without a body. Not only did the transfer mean that suddenly the implementation arm of changing resource management strategies was absent, it rendered the partnership a solution without a problem. The structural aspects of these interorganizational relationships provide critical lessons for existing or potential partnerships with similar goals, both in Baltimore and elsewhere. They bring the explanatory power of organization theory and analysis to bear on integrated natural resource management.

### ***B. Methods***

The methodological juxtaposition of participant observation, social network analysis, and qualitative analysis proved to be an effective combination of analytical tools. Participant observation provided the initial cue that this research was of interest to both academics and practitioners. It provided the detailed historical background that allowed me to identify where the interesting questions lay, and later provided me with access to representatives of the system.

The network analysis served at least two purposes, which in my mind are critical: first, it confirmed my observation that there was much to be learned from an examination of the interactions among the Department of Recreation and Parks, and the Parks & People Foundation, and other actors within their organizational field. That is, it allowed me to quantify the relative positions of the two organizations within a geographically defined social structure (i.e. the formal organizations comprising the natural resource management regime in

the Gwynns Falls Watershed). Second, the analysis of the larger organizational field informs us about both the roles and activities of the two sectors and about the actual integration of natural resource management activities both within and between sectors in the watershed.

The analysis yielded multiple unexpected results, not only related to the two organizations of interest, but also in terms of the social field of which they are members. For example, that the Department considers itself to be dramatically less central than other actors in the system think it is indicates one of three things: either 1) the Department doesn't recognize the value of the park system and the fact that it is essential to other organizations' desire to integrate resource management programs; 2) the Department doesn't recognize the associated benefits to itself of currying political support from potential partners; or 3) it is passing its responsibilities over to others.

As indicated by the sudden identity crisis for both URI and the Parks & People Foundation, precipitated by the transfer of the field staff to DPW, integrating natural resource management activities cannot happen without the resources to be managed. The park system, as the Director of DPW realized, can be used by organizations to serve their own ends. The Department of Recreation and Parks failed to recognize this, and the fact that others knew it. By giving away the park system, they also gave away the mechanism through which the Federal Forest Service, the State DNR, and other powerful organizations could support them politically. And, if in fact, the Department is shunting its responsibilities over to other organizations, in particular to the Parks & People Foundation, this has potentially dramatic implications for the long-term sustainability of the resources, their management structures, and the roles of the two sectors. It may indicate, for example, that the very existence of the Parks & People Foundation enabled the Department to plough itself under.

This leads me to conclude that the combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods provides a useful tool for identifying and explaining the relationships

among formal natural resource management organizations, and the management regimes they comprise.

### *C. Practice*

The findings are disconcerting. At this time, the park system in Baltimore is managed by field staff who work under the auspices of the Department of Public Works. The parks, according to one informant, were “a mess” within two years of the transfer. The traditional management schedule of the parks had been disrupted by the political maneuvering of the Director of Public Works. Scheduled mowing and maintenance had given way to haphazard responses to citizen requests of various types (including the planting of trees purchased with public funds on private property by city employees).

In 2000, Baltimore elected a new mayor, who has pledged to return the field staff to the Bureau of Parks. To date, this has not occurred. The Department of Recreation and Parks acquired a new director in 2000, one who comes from a traditional parks background. His interactions with the Parks & People Foundation have been, in the past year, frequent and varied. Likewise, the Director of Public Works has been replaced by the new administration.

However, very little has actually changed yet. In fact, the Parks & People Foundation is still managing the major public/private natural resource management partnerships, at least in the Gwynns Falls Watershed. Which means that, in practice, a non-profit organization, which has already demonstrated a proclivity to redefine itself in response to cues from its environment, is managing long-term natural resource management projects, on property over which it has no jurisdiction.

This is a precarious arrangement, and one that bears further investigation and monitoring. The Parks & People Foundation does not have the legal authority to make or carry out decisions about the management of public properties, or to enforce public regulations or laws. Likewise, it is not in a position to hold anyone accountable for actions or lack thereof, except insofar as it has the power to withhold or withdraw funding. This

suggests that not only is the overall management arrangement precarious, but that the Parks & People Foundation's position within it is, too, reliant as it is on soft money.

The Department of Recreation and Parks, on the other hand, has legal responsibility for the park system, despite it not having authority over the field staff at the moment. It has been around for over 100 years, and will persist. Any long-term ecosystem-based resource management efforts will eventually have to address this fact.

#### ***D. Future Research***

This research asked, what are the roles and activities of the public and non-profit sectors in natural resource management; and how can integration of resource management activities be accomplished? We have seen that the non-profit sector, in this system, plays a major role in natural resource management, and that its integration has turned out to be achieved through the partnering efforts of the Parks & People Foundation.

This leads to the next questions:

✍ What *ought* to be the role and activities of the two sectors?

✍ To what extent does the non-profit sector act as an enabler of the public sector?

How is it that a public agency can actually shirk its responsibilities, and that a non-profit organization can assume many activities traditionally in the public sphere?

✍ What can be learned about the successful organizational structure of the non-profit Parks & People Foundation (or other NPOs) and can these lessons be used to shape the structure and function of public bureaucracies?

About these issues, a great deal remains to be learned not only from the Gwynns Falls Watershed, but from the Baltimore area. Two other large streams flow through the City, the Jones Falls and the Herring Run. There are community based watershed associations working toward their restoration, and the same constellation of public agencies has, in both, the same responsibilities and mandates as in the Gwynns Falls Watershed.

However, the other watersheds differ from one another and from the Gwynns Falls in terms of the social composition and distribution of people on the landscape. An examination of the organizational structure of their management regimes would be informative. It would allow comparison among the three local watersheds, and would provide an initial sense of the regional natural resource management regime.

Likewise, the characteristics and interactions of other public agencies and non-profit organizations, both in Baltimore and elsewhere, will contribute to our theoretical and practical understanding of how to carry out sustainable ecosystem-based natural resource management.

# IV. REFERENCES

## IV-1. Appendix A: Survey Instrument

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### A. Identification

A1. Interviewer \_\_\_\_\_ <Intrvwr>

A2. Name of Organization: \_\_\_\_\_  
<OrgName>

A3. Stakeholder ID number: \_\_\_\_\_ (To be completed by interviewer) <StkID#>

A4. Contact Name \_\_\_\_\_ <CntNm>

A5. Phone Number \_\_\_\_\_ <Phone>

### B. Screening Questions

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I am calling from the Baltimore Ecosystem Study. We are conducting research on natural resource management in the Gwynns Falls Watershed, and would appreciate your allowing me to ask you a few questions about the activities of your organization. The interview will take about ½ hour - we will be happy to provide you with a copy of the report of this work, which will describe the natural resource management regime in the Gwynns Falls Watershed.

B1. Respondent agrees to interview? <Intrvw>  
(circle one)

1) Yes

2) No

*If it is inconvenient to speak with me now, may I schedule a time to call you back?*

B1a. Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_ <Intrvwdt>

B1b. Time of interview: \_\_\_\_\_ <Intrvwtm>

(In order to make sure that members of the resource management regime of the GFW are being interviewed, and that the time of others is not being wasted, ask the following questions:)

B2. Does your organization own or manage public natural resources (including land, water, wildlife, vegetation, or watershed protection)? <Mgr>  
(circle one)

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

(If respondent answers "no" to question B2, terminate interview.)

B3. Does your organization work in the Gwynns Falls Watershed, i.e. between Randallstown and the Middle Branch of Baltimore Harbor? <GFW>

- 1) Yes
- 3) No

(If respondent answers "no" to question B3, terminate interview.)

B4. We are required by federal law to obtain a signed consent form from you. May I fax you the consent form for your review and signature?

\_\_\_\_\_ <Fax>

**C. Questionnaire**

C1. Type of Organization (check type) <OrgTyp>

**Public Agency:**            \_\_\_\_\_ Federal <PAF>  
    \_\_\_\_\_ State <PAS>  
    \_\_\_\_\_ County <PACo>  
    \_\_\_\_\_ City <PACy>

**Non-profit Organization:** \_\_\_\_\_ National <NPN>  
    \_\_\_\_\_ Regional <NPR>  
    \_\_\_\_\_ State <NPS>  
    \_\_\_\_\_ County <NPCo>  
    \_\_\_\_\_ City <NPCy>

C2. Date organization founded \_\_\_\_\_ <OrgFnd>

C3. Please tell me, generally, what your organization does (i.e. mission or mandate) (paraphrased by interviewee; to be coded). <OrgMissMan>

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C6. Who is the primary funder (i.e. provides largest % of overall project funding) of these projects or programs?

<u>Name of Project/Program</u>	<u>Primary Funder</u>
<PrjA> _____	<FndrPrjA> _____
<PrjB> _____	<FndrPrjB> _____
<PrjC> _____	<FndrPrjC> _____
<PrjD> _____	<FndrPrjD> _____
<PrjE> _____	<FndrPrjE> _____
<PrjF> _____	<FndrPrjF> _____
<PrjG> _____	<FndrPrjG> _____
<PrjH> _____	<FndrPrjH> _____
<PrjI> _____	<FndrPrjI> _____
<PrjJ> _____	<FndrPrjJ> _____

C7. In general, from what other organizations do you learn about funding sources for natural resource management?

<FndSrcA> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <FndSrcB> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <FndSrcC> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <FndSrcD> \_\_\_\_\_

C8. With what other organizations do you share information about funding sources for natural resource management?

<FndShrA> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <FndShrB> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <FndShrC> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <FndShrD> \_\_\_\_\_

C9. Do you have Internet access? <Inet>  
 (circle one)

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

C9a. If yes, what do you use the Internet for? <InetUse>  
 (If no, go to question C9b)

- a) email
- b) downloading maps
- c) downloading datasets
- d) general information (i.e. surfing)
- e) other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

C9b. If no, why not? <InetNo>

<InetNoA> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <InetNoB> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <InetNoC> \_\_\_\_\_  
 <InetNoD> \_\_\_\_\_

**D. Contact Information**

D1. Name of Contact Person: \_\_\_\_\_ <CntNm>

D2. Position \_\_\_\_\_ <CntPs>

D3. Length of employment with organization \_\_\_\_\_ <LOE>

D4. Age: (Estimated by interviewer) <Age>

20-30            30-40            40-50            >50

D5. Gender:    female            male <Gndr>

D6. Address \_\_\_\_\_ <Address>

\_\_\_\_\_ <City>

\_\_\_\_\_ <State> <Zip>

D7. Phone Number \_\_\_\_\_ <Phone>

D8. Fax Number \_\_\_\_\_ <Fax>

D9. Email \_\_\_\_\_ <Email>

D10. Web Address \_\_\_\_\_ <WebSt>

D11. Would you like to receive a copy of the report of this work? <Rpt>  
(circle one)

1) Yes

2) No

## Appendix B: Coding Systems

### i. Organizations

<b>Organizations</b>	<b>Numeric Code</b>		
<b><u>CITY AGENCIES (1000s)</u></b>		<b><u>NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS (5000s)</u></b>	
Baltimore City	1000	Parks & People Foundation For Baltimore Recreation & Parks	5001
Baltimore City Planning Department	1001	Washington Village -Pigtown Center & and Neighborhood Planning Council, Inc.	5002
Baltimore City Dept. of Public Works: Engineering/Stream-Water Quality	1002	Woodland Committee Land Trust Inc.	5003
Baltimore City Dept. of Public Works: Water Quality Mngt.	1002	Chesapeake Bay Foundation	5004
Baltimore City Dept. of Public Works: Forestry Division	1002	Trust for Public Land	5005
Baltimore City Dept. Of Education, Office of Science, Math & Health	1003	Center for Poverty Solutions	5006
Baltimore City Dept. of Recreation & Parks	1004	Carroll Park Foundation	5007
Baltimore City Dept. of HCD: Neighborhood Project Coord.	1005	YMCA-Western Family Branch	5008
Baltimore City Police Dept.	1006	Save our Streams	5009
Harlem Park Community School	1007	Living Classrooms Foundation	5010
Port of Baltimore	1008	Gwynns Falls Watershed Association	5011
Carver Vocational Technical School	1009	Rognell Heights Cultural Center	5012
Frances Scott Key Elementary School	1010	Oyo Traditions	5013
Calverton Middle School	1011	Barre Circle Community Association Inc.	5014
Douglas High School	1012	National Aquarium	5015
		Diamond Ridge and Woodlands Golf Courses (through Baltimore Co. Revenue Authority)	5016
<b><u>COUNTY AGENCIES (2000s)</u></b>		Gwynns Falls Trail Council	5017
Anne Arundel County (2100s)	2100	Baltimore Development Corporation	5018
PACE	2101	Cheswolde Neighborhood Association Inc.	5019
Baltimore County (2200s)	2200	Franklinton Land Trust Inc.	5020
Baltimore County Office of Community Conservation	2201	Friends of Gwynns Falls -Leakin Park	5021
Baltimore County Dept. of Environmental Protection and Resource Management	2202	George Mcmechen Middle School 177	5022
Baltimore County Dept. of Public Works	2203	Motor and Equipment Manufacturers Association	5023
Baltimore County Dept. of Recreation and Parks	2204	Community Ratings System	5024
Baltimore County Dept. of Education	2205	Friends of Fort McHenry	5025
Owings Mills High School	2206	Baltimore Bird Club	5026
Baltimore County Dept. of Economic Development	2207	Boy/Girl Scouts	5027

Baltimore County Fire Department	2208	Coastal America	5028
Baltimore County Central Services	2209	Midtown Benefits District	5029
Hebville Elementary School	2210	Herring Run Watershed Association	5030
Woodlawn Middle School	2212	Southeast Community Organization	5031
Western High School	2211	Outward Bound	5032
Carroll County (2300s)	2300	Civic Works	5033
Carroll County Office of Planning	2301	Jones Falls Watershed Association	5034
Cecil County (2400s)	2400	Baltimore Metropolitan Council	5035
Cecil Co. Nature Center	2401	National Environmental Education Training Foundation	5036
Harford County (2500s)	2500	Heritage Museum	5037
Harford Co. DPW	2501	Mt. Washington Land Trust	5038
Howard County (2600s)	2600	Colonial Dames	5039
Howard County Planning and Zoning	2601	Mt. Washington Improvement Association	5040
Montgomery County (2700s)	2700	Issac Walton League	5041
Prince George's County (2800s)	2800	Pykesville Master Gardeners	5042
		New Southwest Community Association	5043
<b>STATE AGENCIES (3000s)</b>		National Fish and Wildlife Foundation	5044
State of Maryland	3000	B&O Railroad	5045
MD Department of the Environment	3001	Ralston Community	5046
MD DNR: Resource Assessment Service, MD Biological Stream Survey	3002	Irvington Association	5047
MD DNR: Forest Service- Cecil Co.	3002	National Audobon	5048
MD DNR: Waterway Resources- Freshwater Fisheries	3002	Friends of Olmsted Parks	5049
MD DNR District Office- Baltimore County, Baltimore City	3002	Windsor Mill Parochial School	5050
MD DNR: Gwynn Brook Wildlife Management Area	3002	Franklin Square Community Association	5051
MD DNR: Program Open Space	3002	TKF Foundation	5052
MD DNR: Soldiers Delight Natural Environmental Area	3002	Lila Wallace Readers Digest Fund	5053
MD Department of Transportation	3003	United Way	5054
Baltimore County Forestry Board	3004	National Association of Environmental Educators	5055
Baltimore City Forestry Board (among deletions)	3005	Junior League	5056
Morgan State University	3006	Dickeyville Community Association	5057
Towson State University	3007	Wild Turkey Federation	5058
Bragg Nature Center	3008	Safe and Sound Campaign	5059
UMBC	3009	Neighborhood Design Center	5060
MD Dept. of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Districts	3010	Citizens Planning and Housing Association	5061
MD State Dept. of Education, School and Community Outreach Office (covered in S8)	3011	Alliance for the Chesapeake Bay	5062
		Westport/Cherry Hill Community Park-Reist Corridor Coalition	5063
			5064

<b>FEDERAL AGENCIES (4000s)</b>	4001		
DOD: Army Corps of Engineers, Baltimore District	4002	<b><u>BUSINESSES (6000s)</u></b>	
Dept. of the Interior: National Park Service	4003	Chesapeake Environmental Management	6001
Baltimore Ecosystem Study	4004	Williamsburg Environmental	6002
USDA: Forest Service, Eastern Region	4005	EcoEnterprises	6003
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, CBP Office	4006	RESCO	6004
Baltimore Grows, USDA	4007		
US Fish and Wildlife Service	4008	<b><u>INSTITUTIONS (7000s)</u></b>	
USDA - Plant Materials Lab	4009	Cornell University	7001
Federal Highway Administration	4010	Loyola University	7002
Commission on Historic and Architectural Preservation	4011	Goucher	7003
Empower Baltimore	4012	UMD, Appalachian Environmental Lab	7004
Navy SEABEES	4013	JHU, Center for Livable Futures	7005
Environmental Protection Agency	4014	UMD	7006
USDA: Natural Resources Conservation Service	4015	Catonsville Community College	7007
Housing and Urban Development	4016		
Americorps		<b><u>PARTNERSHIPS (8000s)</u></b>	
		Nhood Open Space Advisory Cmte	8001
		Urban Forest Initiative	8002
		NSW gardeners	8003
		Arabers	8004
		Operation Reach Out Southwest	8005
		KidsGrow	8006
		<b><u>REGIONAL ENTITIES (9000s)</u></b>	
		Northeast MD Waste Disposal Authority	9001
		<b><u>GENERAL/GENERIC (10000s)</u></b>	
		Recreation and Parks Councils (Balto Co.)	10001
		YMCA's	10002
		The Community/Community Groups or Associations	10003
		Watershed Associations	10004
		Schools	10005
		Youth/Civic Groups	10006
		4-H Leaders	10007
		Park Friends Groups	10008

*ii. Human Ecological System Project Codes*

Human Ecological System	HES Codes
<b>CRITICAL RESOURCES (100s)</b>	
<i>Biophysical Resources (110s)</i>	
Air	111
Energy	112
Flora	113
Fauna	114
Materials	115
Nutrients	116
Land	117
Water	118
<i>Socioeconomic Resources (120s)</i>	
Information	121
Population	122
Labor	123
Capital	124
<i>Cultural Resources (130s)</i>	
Organization	131
Belief	132
Myths	133
<b>SOCIAL SYSTEM (200s)</b>	
<i>Social Institutions (210s)</i>	
Health	211
Justice	212
Faith	213
Commerce	214
Education	215
Leisure	216
Government	217
Sustenance	218
Family	219
<i>Social Cycles (220s)</i>	
Physiological	221
Individual	222
Organizational	223
Institutional	224
Environmental	225
<b>SOCIAL ORDER (300s)</b>	
<i>Identity (310s)</i>	
Age	311
Race	312
Gender	313
Class	314
Caste	315
Clan	316
<i>Social Norms (320s)</i>	
Informal	321

Formal	322
<i>Hierarchy (330s)</i>	
Wealth	331
Power	332
Status	333
Knowledge	334
Territory	335

## Appendix C: Organizations in the Peripheral Group

<i>ORGANIZATIONS CITED 3 OR FEWER TIMES</i>	<i>Numeric Code</i>
City of Baltimore	1000
Baltimore City Police Dept.	1006
Harlem Park Community School	1007
Port of Baltimore	1008
Carver Vocational Technical School	1009
Frances Scott Key Elementary School	1010
Calverton Middle School	1011
Douglas High School	1012
Anne Arundel Co. PACE	2101
Baltimore County	2200
Baltimore County Dept. of Education	2205
Owings Mills High School	2206
Baltimore County Dept. of Economic Development	2207
Baltimore County Fire Dept.	2208
Baltimore County Central Services	2209
Hebville Elementary School	2210
Woodlawn Middle School	2212
Carroll County	2300
Carroll County Office of Planning	2301
Cecil Co.	2400
Cecil Co. Nature Center	2401
Harford County	2500
Harford Co. DPW	2501
Howard County Planning and Zoning	2601
Montgomery County	2700
Prince George's County	2800
State of MD	3000
Baltimore City Forestry Board (among deletions)	3005
Towson State University	3007
Bragg Nature Center	3008
UMBC	3009
MD Dept. of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Districts	3010
MD State Dept. of Education, School and Community Outreach Office	3011
Baltimore Grows, USDA	4006
US Fish and Wildlife Service	4007
USDA - Plant Materials Lab	4008
Federal Highway Administration	4009
Commission on Historic and Architectural Preservation	4010
Empower Baltimore	4011
Navy SEABEES	4012
USDA: Natural Resources & Conservation Service	4014
Housing and Urban Development	4015
Americorps	4016
Motor and Equipment Manufacturers Association	5023
Community Ratings System	5024

<b>Friends of Fort McHenry</b>	5025
<b>Baltimore Bird Club</b>	5026
<b>Boy/Girl Scouts</b>	5027
<b>Coastal America</b>	5028
<b>Midtown Benefits District</b>	5029
<b>Herring Run Watershed Association</b>	5030
<b>Southeast Community Organization</b>	5031
<b>Outward Bound</b>	5032
<b>Jones Falls Watershed Association</b>	5034
<b>Baltimore Metropolitan Council</b>	5035
<b>National Environmental Education Training Foundation</b>	5036
<b>Heritage Museum</b>	5037
<b>Mt. Washington Land Trust</b>	5038
<b>Colonial Dames</b>	5039
<b>Mt. Washington Improvement Association</b>	5040
<b>Issac Walton League</b>	5041
<b>Pykesville Master Gardeners</b>	5042
<b>New Southwest Community Association</b>	5043
<b>National Fish and Wildlife Foundation</b>	5044
<b>B&amp;O Railroad</b>	5045
<b>Ralston Community</b>	5046
<b>Irvington Association</b>	5047
<b>National Audobon</b>	5048
<b>Friends of Olmsted Parks</b>	5049
<b>Windsor Mill Parochial School</b>	5050
<b>Franklin Square Community Association</b>	5051
<b>TKF Foundation</b>	5052
<b>Lila Wallace Readers Digest Fund</b>	5053
<b>United Way</b>	5054
<b>National Association of Environmental Educators</b>	5055
<b>Junior League</b>	5056
<b>Dickeyville Community Association</b>	5057
<b>Wild Turkey Federation</b>	5058
<b>Safe and Sound Campaign</b>	5059
<b>Neighborhood Design Center</b>	5060
<b>Citizens Planning and Housing Association</b>	5061
<b>Westport/Cherry Hill Community</b>	5063
<b>Park-Reist Corridor Coalition</b>	5064
<b>Chesapeake Environmental Management</b>	6001
<b>Williamsburg Environmental</b>	6002
<b>EcoEnterprises</b>	6003
<b>RESCO</b>	6004
<b>Cornell University</b>	7001
<b>Loyola University</b>	7002
<b>Goucher</b>	7003
<b>UMD, Appalachian Environmental Lab</b>	7004
<b>JHU, Center for Livable Futures</b>	7005
<b>UMD</b>	7006
<b>Catonsville Community College</b>	7007
<b>Nhood Open Space Advisory Cmte</b>	8001
<b>Urban Forest Initiative</b>	8002

<b>NSW gardeners</b>	8003
<b>Arabers</b>	8004
<b>Operation Reach Out Southwest</b>	8005
<b>KidsGrow</b>	8006
<b>Northeast MD Waste Disposal Authority</b>	9001
<b>Recreation and Parks Councils (Balto Co.)</b>	10001
<b>YMCAs</b>	10002
<b>The Community/Community Groups or Associations</b>	10003
<b>Watershed Associations</b>	10004
<b>Schools</b>	10005
<b>Youth/Civic Groups</b>	10006
<b>4-H Leaders</b>	10007
<b>Park Friends Groups</b>	10008

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## V. CURRICULUM VITA

### **Shawn E. Dalton**

Date of Birth: July 1, 1964

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## EDUCATION

**Doctoral Program**, Department of Geography and Environmental Engineering, The Johns Hopkins University (1995-2001). Dissertation submitted, October, 2001.

**Masters Degree in Environmental Studies**, Yale University School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, New Haven, CT (1992). Concentration in Environmental Communications.

**B.A., Liberal Arts** with concentration in Biology, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, NY (1988).

**High School Diploma**, Academics, Fredericton High School, Fredericton, New Brunswick (1982).

**French and Classical Arabic** at language schools in Tunis, Tunisia (1979-80).

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

**Research Affiliate**, Baltimore Ecosystem Study (February, 2000-present). Work with Demographic and Socioeconomic working group of NSF-funded Long-Term Ecological Research program to conduct social network analysis of formal organizations comprising natural resource management regime in study watershed. Write and publish results of research.

**Research Associate**, Spatial Analysis Laboratory, University of Maryland, Baltimore County (June, 1996-December, 1999). Research on human ecology and natural resource management; integration of spatial analysis and geographic information systems into planning and management across the urban-rural gradient; act as liaison between researchers and field projects; write, edit, and publish results of research.

**Adjunct Professor**, College of Notre Dame, Baltimore, MD (Fall semester and "Winterim" session, 1997). Developed and taught undergraduate Geography course: "Major Realms of the World."

***Park Planner***, Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks (February, 1995-October, 1995). Work with community representatives to develop and implement site-specific natural resource management projects, based on larger scale goals articulated in watershed level management plans for the park system.

***Project Coordinator, Baltimore Urban Resources Initiative*** (May, 1993-February, 1995). Work with representatives of Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks, Parks & People Foundation, and Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies to develop projects for summer graduate student interns; supervise interns; work with community representatives on open space management projects; develop and conduct natural resource management training programs; develop and manage \$100,000 annual budget, write grant proposals and fundraise.

***Independent Consultant*** (January, 1994-February, 1995). Develop training materials and conduct staff training program and workshops for the Parks & People Foundation's *Revitalizing Baltimore* project, a US national model for conducting urban ecosystem management.

***Independent Consultant*** (September-December, 1994). US Forest Service's *Eastside Ecosystem Assessment* project: work with professors at the University of Idaho to demonstrate the use of social indicators in natural resource management. Research and write literature review on social indicators and their uses; identify social indicators and measures related to human ecosystem model; identify data sources; obtain, enter, manipulate data, and present findings in writing.

***Staff Trainer, Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks*** (October, 1992-April, 1993). Develop and implement a pilot natural resources management training program for Baltimore City Bureau of Parks field staff. Subjects include Watershed Management, Streams, Wetlands, Meadows, Trees, Forests, Wildlife Management, and Serving the Public.

***Intern, Yale Urban Resources Initiative and Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks*** (June, 1992-August, 1992). Develop a natural resource management plan for the parks in one of Baltimore's three watersheds, and a companion training manual for Bureau of Parks field staff. Work with graphic artist to format training manual.

***Research Assistant, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies*** (August, 1991-May, 1992). Conduct survey of park use at Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine. Conduct statistical analysis of over 400 responses to survey and write eight-part documentation of findings.

***Grant Administrator, Research Institute for the Study of Man***, New York, NY (June, 1991-August, 1991). Establish and implement procedures for awarding grants for research in the social sciences.

***Office Manager/Administrative Assistant, Edelman-Cunningham Molecular and Developmental Biology Laboratory***, Rockefeller University and The Neurosciences Institute, New York, NY (August, 1989-August, 1990). Organize the activities and schedules of a busy research laboratory and its director, a Nobel Laureate.

**Research Assistant, GMI Consultants, Inc.** (May, 1989-July, 1989). Work on the developmental phase of a two-year project aimed at promoting adult literacy programs in the province of New Brunswick, Canada.

**Owner/Operator**, Snore by the Shore Bed and Breakfast (1985). Awarded a Student Venture Capital Program Grant in NB, Canada to open a bed-and-breakfast. Operated this business for a summer, then turned it over to my family and returned to school.

## PUBLICATIONS

- Dalton, S.E. & Wm. R. Burch, Jr. 2001. "Exploring Potential Links between Social Capital and Social Network Analysis: A Review of Literature, Concepts, Tools, and Applications." USDA Forest Service General Technical Report. In press.
- Dalton, S.E. 2001. "Baltimore Ecosystem Study Policy Inventory." In review.
- Dalton, S.E. 2001. "Background to Integrated Natural Resource Management in the Gwynns Falls Watershed." In review.
- Pickett, S.T.A., Burch, Wm. R., Jr., Dalton, S.E., and Foresman, T. W. 1997. "Integrated urban ecosystem research." *Urban Ecosystems*, Vol. 1, No. 4, p.183-184.
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- Dalton, S.E., (ed.) 1995. "Revitalizing Baltimore Training Manuals" -- series of nine natural resource management manuals developed for urban areas. Available from The Parks & People Foundation, 1901 Eagle Drive, Baltimore, MD, 21207, (410) 448-5663.
- Machlis, G.E., Force, J.E., and Dalton, S.E., 1994. "Monitoring Social Indicators for Ecosystem Management." Technical paper submitted to the Interior Columbia River Basin Project under Order #43-0E00-4-9186.
- Dalton, S., Conover, E., Mead, D., and Danzy, L. 1992. *Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks' Natural Resource Manager's Training Manual and Field Guide*. Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies/ Urban Resources Initiative. New Haven, CT.
- Dalton, S., Conover, E., Mead, D., and Danzy, L. 1992. *Herring Run Watershed Natural Resource Management Plan*. Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies/Urban Resources Initiative. New Haven, CT.
- Dalton, S.E., Burch, Wm. R., Jr., Grove, J.M., and Aley, J. 1992. *Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine Market Study*. Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies/Urban Resources Initiative Working Paper #8. New Haven, CT. 3 vols.

Dalton, S.E., Black, A.E. and Schmidt, S., (eds.) 1991. *Critique of the Master Plan for the Forestry Sector, Nepal*, IOF Project Discussion Papers Nos. 91/1-91/3. Yale-Institute of Forestry Project, IOF, Pokhara, Nepal. 3 vols.

Dalton, S.E. 1991. "A Critique of the Human Resources Development Subplan of the MPFSN." In: Dalton, S.E., Black, A.E. and Schmidt, S., (eds.) 1991. *Critique of the Master Plan for the Forestry Sector, Nepal*, IOF Project Discussion Papers Nos. 91/1-91/3. Yale-Institute of Forestry Project, IOF, Pokhara, Nepal. Vol. 1, pp.15-26.

### **MEMBERSHIPS**

Boardmember, Community Resources, Inc., 1994-present  
Boardmember, Working in Neighborhood Greenspaces, 1994-1996  
Maryland Association of Environmental and Outdoor Educators, 1993-1994  
Herring Run Watershed Association, 1993-1995