

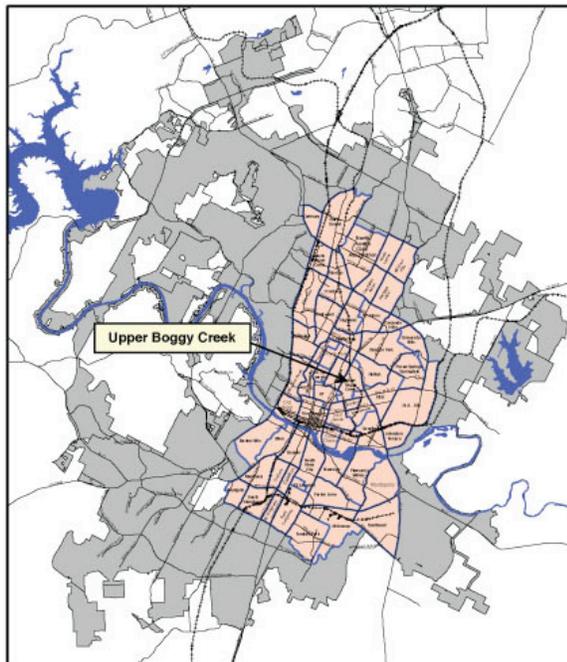
Neighborhood Planning in Upper Boggy Creek: One Austin Neighborhood's Direct Democratic Response

Participatory Methods in Planning
Patricia Wilson
March 23, 2006

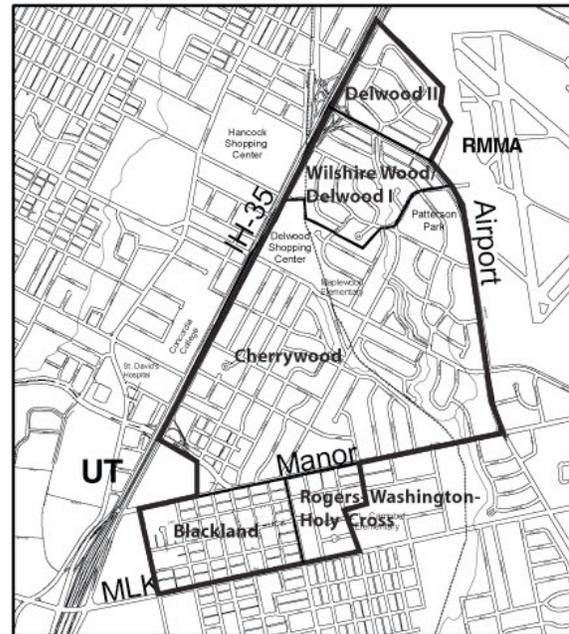
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Drive from the trim ranch-house lawns of Rogers-Washington-Holy Cross across Manor Road, past the liberal-political lawn signs of Cherrywood to the expansive lots and impressive trees of Wilshire Wood/Delwood I. Visit the varied, multigenerational streets of Blackland, and then soak up the quiet, homey character of Delwood II—one thing will become clear: not much besides proximity obviously connects the subdistricts of Upper Boggy Creek. The story of neighborhood planning in this combined East Side area¹, then, is distinguished by a thoughtful negotiation of this diversity, a narrative that privileged strong democratic principles and meticulous attention to process. We found that this approach, devised ad hoc by neighborhood representatives, yielded an experience participants describe as generally positive despite some minor pitfalls, and in 2002 they adopted a plan the neighborhood is proud of. The sticking points for this neighborhood, participants told us, began after the plan was completed. What follows is the Upper Boggy Creek (UBC) neighborhood planning story as told by the residents and the planner who shaped it.

¹ Upper Boggy Creek (UBC) is bounded by I-35, 26th St., and Comal St. to the west, MLK Jr. Blvd., Cedar Blvd., Rogers Blvd., Walnut Blvd., and Manor Rd. to the south, and Airport Blvd. to the east and north.



City of Austin City Limits and Urban Core Neighborhood Planning Areas



Upper Boggy Creek Neighborhood Planning Area: Founding Neighborhoods

Embracing Diversity and Acknowledging Differing Priorities

The Neighborhood Planning and Zoning Department (NPZD) created the Upper Boggy Creek neighborhood planning process by combining the several individual neighborhoods introduced above into one larger area for the purposes of the plan: Rogers-Washington-Holy Cross, Blackland, Cherrywood, Wilshire Wood/Delwood I, and Delwood II. According to the UBC neighborhood planner, the NPZD grouped these neighborhoods together in order to facilitate the ongoing removal of the East Austin Overlay. This 1997 zoning ordinance encompassed much of East Austin, and was intended to reduce “the overwhelming amount of industrial land uses and zoning” centralized in the vicinity over the last century, said the city planner. “We went in there to engage different stakeholders in the community to basically get rid of the overlay,” he explained, by negotiating within the neighborhood an appropriate zoning designation for each sector or property.

According to neighborhood residents interviewed, the individual neighborhoods were taken aback by what they saw as an arbitrary grouping. The active, vocal neighborhood association of Cherrywood, the most populace of the UBC's sub-districts, had assisted the planning department in distributing surveys and other initial neighborhood planning materials to area residents. The NPZD and the Cherrywood association assumed that the newly combined area would take on the Cherrywood moniker. At initial meetings, however, non-Cherrywood residents protested, and after some negotiation and suggestions from the combined group, the newly combined neighborhood planning area agreed to be known as Upper Boggy Creek after a common topographical feature.

Neighborhood participants interviewed said they still fought to be allowed to choose their planning tools and priorities by sub-district based on the original boundaries of their previously existing neighborhoods. Neighborhood residents said they based their justifications for this insistence not on an unwillingness to work together on the plan, but on a recognition that the needs and desires of each sub-district would be distinct, especially in the area of infill. A resident from Wilshire Wood (who became a planning team member), for instance, said she understood why neighboring UBC sub-districts welcomed denser zoning options and the lower-income housing alternatives (such as garage apartments) they often bring. Participants from Wilshire Wood, however, a middle class area she said is perceived as primarily white, "struggled to find tools in the toolbox" that would add density without changing the established single-family character of their sub-area. "We're a little NIMBY," she admitted, but continued to stress that Wilshire Wood and Delwood I "actively looked for ways to incorporate affordable housing opportunities into our portion of the neighborhood plan." Cherrywood and Blackland residents, on the other hand, did find techniques they could use among the infill options provided by the NPZD, and the remaining UBC sub-districts were not passionate about the issue one way or the other. Said the Wilshire Wood planning team member: "It felt [to Wilshire Wood residents] that the City was coming to enforce a lot of increased density with

a cookie cutter approach. ... But there wasn't a cookie cutter approach that would apply for... our five neighborhoods as a whole." (See Appendix A for a demographic profile of UBC).

The planning department and City Council were unenthusiastic about allowing sub-districts, explains UBC's neighborhood planner, who noted that Neighborhood Planning and Zoning "didn't have the ability, regulatorily, to create sub-districts." Remembered an outspoken Cherrywood resident who would go on to lead the UBC planning team: "The City didn't like that worth a damn, because that's just more work for them. ... We didn't quite say it this way, but basically we said, 'We really don't care whether you like it or not.'" The neighborhood sought the advocacy of Mayor Pro-Tem Jackie Goodman, leading to the City Council amending the Combining District Ordinance to include the potential for sub-districts throughout Austin's remaining neighborhood plans. "...I don't know that they ever embraced it, but they accepted it and we got on down the road," continued the team leader.

The area's planner—who replaced another planner who worked with UBC during this era—notes that in the end, the sub-districts "worked out very well." Remarkably, neighborhood residents reported no lingering acrimony in their relationship with the NPZD due to the fight for sub-districts. The infill options adopted turned out to be fairly simple. Blackland and Rogers-Washington-Holy Cross adopted Small-lot Amnesty—which "permits construction or major renovation of existing single-family homes on existing legally created lots that do not meet current minimum lot standards"—as did Wilshire Wood/Delwood I/Delwood II. Cherrywood adopted both Secondary Unit/Garage Apartment zoning—which "permits a second dwelling unit 850 square feet or less in size on a lot with a minimum area of 5,750 square feet"—and Small-lot Amnesty (City of Austin 2005). Beyond the tangible zoning differences between sub-districts in the UBC plan, neighborhood residents we interviewed agreed: Subdividing into smaller areas "improved [the process] a hundredfold," according to the Wilshire Wood planning team member quoted above. "It made things

so much better. ... We could each make pretty much autonomous decisions and support the other neighborhoods in what their needs were... It made us all more supportive of one another when we realized that we could each get what we wanted from the process.”

Foremost, the sub-district system eliminated the potential for arguments between sub-districts on UBC neighborhood planning time; each sub-district came to an agreement on its own density separately, and the representatives of other sub-districts supported those decisions. “We were able to say, in our area this is what we’re thinking we need and why, and everybody supported that. It eliminated pretty much any opportunity for disagreement,” noted the Wilshire Wood homeowner. Sub-districts “allow us as a planning area to pick and choose the tools that each area wants. ... It’s probably, in an overall sense, the best accomplishment we had” outside of getting the plan passed, said a Cherrywood neighborhood resident.

Secondly, the equal standing of sub-districts for voting purposes within UBC gave agency to smaller neighborhoods such as Rogers-Washington-Holy Cross, preventing “big dog eating the little dog type stuff,” in the words of the planning team leader, who considered his own Cherrywood a “big dog.” More populous, well-organized neighborhood associations such as Cherrywood were, in his view, obliged to consider less active or vocal areas’ needs as a result. Meanwhile, representatives of the smaller areas noted that they felt empowered by their position within the support system of a larger group, especially when disputes have arisen with city departments or a noncompliant neighbor. “Many areas are large but our small areas have the same number of votes as the large areas. We have been able to see some advantages from this relationship. We know now that we don’t want to go back to a stand-alone organization. We can’t afford to,” said a 40-year resident of Rogers-Washington-Holy Cross, whose small neighborhood association the resident notes was originally founded by a small group of concerned African-American women residents. Added the Wilshire Wood planning team member: “It was a great opportunity for those of us who didn’t have a lot of involvement with some of the other neighborhoods to get to know them, so when future things come

up we can all band together. ... Now we can stand up for another neighborhood to make sure they get what they need.”

Most of the resident interviewees suspected the sub-district system helped quell potential disagreements that might otherwise fall along socioeconomic or racial lines. Participants seemed acutely conscious of socioeconomic class and race, volunteering information about the range of classes and races represented in UBC, and seemed proud that these differences did not hold up the planning process. “These neighborhoods are really quite disparate; I mean they are not the same at all,” noted the district’s neighborhood planner. “And it was one of the few occasions where that’s actually occurred, where people who had different neighborhood identities really came together....” The planning team leader from Cherrywood concurs: “We had a lot of diversity. ... We had a little undercurrent [of racial or class tension] every now and then,” apparently due to income disparities and the differing priorities for the plan that those circumstances brought up. “So there are some dynamics, but you know, given the disparity from one end to the other, the diversity, it went pretty smoothly.” Interviewees reported that as a result of the sub-district system, the often aesthetic concerns of more affluent areas did not need to compete with vital social services concerns for attention within UBC. At the same time, the same Wilshire Wood homeowner isn’t sure whether the other neighborhoods will, in the future, stand up for her area considering its perceived socioeconomic privilege: “I don’t know that everybody else would come to our defense. ... It’s hard to feel like you need to defend someone who has these huge lawns [when you’re thinking]: ‘I could fit four garage apartments on that property!’”

Residents reported no serious disagreements in an area with the potential for disputes, the development of the Future Land Use Map (FLUM). The Upper Boggy Creek FLUM maintains much of the existing residential areas as such, streamlining some anomalous zonings throughout the neighborhood to be more consistent. The FLUM locates mixed-use zoning, including most of the

neighborhood's business uses, on Manor Road and along the Interstate-35 access road, which are also set up to provide greater density, such as multi-family housing, in the future.

Relations Between City Staff and Neighbors

While the NPZD initiated the process and coordinated the first few meetings, organizational responsibility for the process was turned over after the first few meetings to a loosely organized group of resident stakeholders from the five neighborhoods—many of whom would eventually be part of the planning team. As the planning team leader from Cherrywood explained:

The City set up the planning area, then notified everybody that this was going to happen and to 'show up.' ... They set the meetings for the first few and then kind of transitioned to us running it and them being support. And one of these things was to elect a chair that would take over from the city staff, and so I volunteered to be on the committee to select a chair, and somehow I ended up being it.

After the chair was selected, the assembled group of neighborhood residents—which varied in size depending on the issue being dealt with—spearheaded the planning effort while in the estimation of residents, the city planner assigned to UBC played a more minor role.

The opinions of neighborhood participants about this relationship varied by neighbor. On one hand, the Cherrywood planning team chair seemed to be satisfied with the autonomy of the neighborhood throughout the decision-making process: “This is a neighborhood plan; this is not a city staff plan. Now granted, they were there to help us. But it was *neighborhood* planning not *city staff* planning. And in my opinion we kind of had to educate them about that.” But the other resident participants we interviewed would have appreciated more of a collaborative relationship with the neighborhood planner. The Wilshire Wood planning team member suggested that the planner could have provided “scenarios of what could happen under the different planning tools” because “they have the tools, the knowledge, the education, the experience... and schmoes like me don't.” One resident of the Rogers-Washington-Holy Cross neighborhood assumed that he was one of “the lowest

staffers on the food chain” who had “no real contacts with anyone” higher up at the City or any real “clout.” The Wilshire Wood planning team member confirmed this lack of involvement of the part of the neighborhood planner: “We didn’t ask him things that really went beyond him because we didn’t get the impression it would go anywhere or mean anything.”

She also felt that the neighborhood planner should have facilitated better, or that an independent, trained facilitator should have been hired: “In some ways I wish the City would control the process a little more... you’ve been to meetings where the facilitator is just really good and has a process for directing the meeting and not controlling discussion but making sure the meeting stays going the right direction. We didn’t have that. ...If our city staffers had that kind of structure and training in meeting facilitation—they’re planners so I can understand they’re not skilled at it, but because they’re in a role where they are facilitating meetings they should have that training.” The planner saw himself in multiple roles: “The neighborhoods need to recognize that as much as we are facilitators and educators, we’re also stakeholders—we’re representatives of the City. And that this is indeed a City sponsored and City-directed process. We are being paid by the city manager to go forth and create these plans.”

Representation and Process

As mentioned above in the discussion about the naming of the planning area, participants in Upper Boggy Creek were very interested in being inclusive and democratic throughout the planning process. According to the Cherrywood resident who acted as planning team chair, they wanted to “go into planning commission and council as a done deal” to avoid “battles” in that late stage of the process. To this end, those involved in planning UBC tried to engage as many people as possible. They had no trouble involving residents of Cherrywood, a group already well connected through a website, a newsletter, and a list serve. Most of the other neighborhoods have also had strong representation, but the chair mentioned more than once that the planning team “had a really hard time

with Delwood II because they're small and they just didn't have many people to send." While there was only sporadic representation of Delwood II on the planning team, he pointed out that they have been better able to engage Delwood II residents more recently during the ongoing phases of involvement.

A longstanding challenge for Upper Boggy Creek has been getting business owners to become involved. The planning team was not inclined to make decisions without seeking the input of those who would be affected, so the planning team chair explained that "if something came up that had to do with [a] business, we would try to contact them ahead of time for that meeting to try to get them to come in. Sometimes they would and sometimes they wouldn't." He also noted that the planning team was generally not attempting to drastically down-zone business properties, so perhaps businesses never felt threatened or affected enough by any part of the plan to spark involvement. In the chair's estimation, business owners knew that even if they were not involved in the planning process in an ongoing manner, they would be notified of any proposals that would affect them.

On the resident participation front, one resident of Wilshire Wood explained how using scare tactics in attempt to encourage homeowner participation did not work very well: "To try and get involvement from our neighborhood, we would send these really nasty messages! Like, your house is going to be rezoned! That's what we did, honest to goodness, fliers on people's doors! It didn't get a lot of people out, and it was a double-edged sword because when it did get people out, they were mad." Though by the accounts of those interviewed, Upper Boggy Creek did attempt to engage people in the process, continuing to get more people involved is something the chair of the planning team would have liked to see. "Minorities, businesses, all the neighborhoods as represented as possible on an on-going basis. And I think if we could have done that it would not have taken 2 years." The planning team member from Wilshire Wood lamented particularly that churches and other institutions were not more active: "There was the involvement of the churches, they would let

us use their facilities always, They're great neighborhood resources, but they wouldn't attend unless there was a problem."

TIMELINE OF UBC NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING PROCESS	
9/19/2000	UBC Neighborhood Planning process kick-off meeting
12/2000	Initial survey mailed out to residents and businesses
9/15/2001	Open House held at Maplewood Elementary to allow stakeholders to comment on the neighborhood plan thus far
3-4/2002	Final survey mailed to residents and businesses
8/1/2002	Austin City Council adopts UBC Neighborhood Plan
8/2002	City crew re-stripes Ardenwood Road against plan recommendations
Late 2002	UBC becomes aware of long-range transportation plans supporting the conversion of Manor Road and 38 1/2 Street to major, six-lane thoroughfares
8/2004	City Council amends the city's long-range transportation plan to include keeping Manor Road at its current size in accordance with the UBC neighborhood plan.

The initial survey during the winter of 2000 received responses from 260 people, or 4.7% of the neighborhood's adult population (4,835 persons). According to the UBC Neighborhood Plan, the final survey in the spring of 2001 received a total response rate of 7.5%, with an overall support rate (among responders) of 96%. Although the neighborhood planning team met 53 times, specific attendance data is only available for two landmark meetings in UBC. The first of these meetings, the kick-off to the planning process, attracted 100 participants, which amounted to 2% of the total adult population of the UBC. The second meeting was an in-progress open

house to invite comment on the progress of the plan to date. Seventy participants attended for a participation rate of 1.4%.

Once the plan was adopted, the UBC has strived to keep each of the five neighborhoods represented by four people each on the neighborhood contact team. This arrangement began as a result of a misunderstanding between Neighborhood Planning and Zoning and residents—the UBC planning team was under the impression that they were required to convene 20 total representatives, when they really only required four representatives total from the entire planning area. When this situation was cleared up, however, the UBC team thought it was a good idea and is still trying to work toward the goal of 20 active contact team members, a goal it has never fully attained.

The planning process in UBC took two years, from the initiation of the process in September 2000 to passage of the plan by City Council in August 2002. Those involved with the process had differing feelings about this length of time. A resident of Wilshire Wood said that it took “longer than it should have,” and mentioned that “people don’t have that kind of time to devote to the planning process,” but she also pointed out that there may not be an optimal amount of time for doing such a plan because “you need to learn the ropes” and because you are making complex decisions with long-reaching implications. The planning team chair echoed those sentiments, saying that the meetings got “old after a while.” He summed up his perspective with this statement: “In the middle of it, we would probably have said, boy, yeah, two years is way too long. But when you look at it, you need to take the time you need to take to get it the way you need to have it. You don’t want to rush it, but you don’t want to let it drag on.” In his opinion, “if it took two years, fine, if it didn’t, fine, if it took longer, fine.” The neighborhood planner, on the other hand, felt strongly that the process took far too long. Though he has a certain amount of respect for the dedication of the UBC planning team (“my god, they stuck through it”), in his opinion “the amount of meetings was just brutal”: 53 in total. As the neighborhood planner stated, “these folks over there are nothing if not

painfully democratic. And I say that with all due respect, and that actually sets forth a course or a theme that carries through the Upper Boggy Creek process.”

As the story of Upper Boggy Creek’s planning process unfolded to us, it became evident that the relationship between the neighborhood and city planners was somewhat misaligned with the desires both stakeholders expressed. The basic description of the desired relationship was similar as expressed by both planners and neighborhood activists, but the functional definition differed greatly. Both the planners and the residents interviewed suggested that their relationship should be collaborative in nature. According to the planner: “I think the City should partner with neighborhoods and collaborate with them, at the same time recognizing that we are a stakeholder here, too. We have things that we can and cannot let go into these plans.” The planner continues that he hopes neighborhood activists will be able to realize that “your neighborhood is not an island unto itself” and be able to “turn the telescope around and look through the right end and see the bigger picture.” He expressed the view that city planners should listen to the neighborhood through the planning process and then use their technical expertise to help the neighborhoods develop strategies to accomplish the goals set forth in the plans. Neighborhood residents agreed that the process should be collaborative, and city planners should listen to residents: According to the Wilshire Wood planning team member interviewed, although “the City has the big picture, people who are trained planners who have a vision for the city, neighborhoods know the ground. We’re there in the trenches and we know what works and doesn’t work.”

Implementation and the Future of the UBC Plan

The Upper Boggy Creek neighborhood plan, including updating zoning and 19 action items, was approved by City Council on August 1, 2002, with no dissent from the neighborhood. “We’ve got this document that the city council has approved, and we were standing there, so proud watching them approve it,” remembered a Wilshire Wood resident. But the honeymoon lasted only one week:

“I tell you, within a week of City Council approving this, there was a City truck out [on Ardenwood Road] doing exactly the opposite of what was in our plan. ... We said, ‘remove the stripe from this road.’ And there, that week, was the truck re-stripping it.” With that, the implementation of the plan became cause for some concern. Residents complain that those various departments of the City do not seem to be referring to the plan in their own planning of capital improvement projects.

A resident of Rogers-Washington-Holy Cross who is also a member of the planning team expressed frustration that when a church in the Chestnut neighborhood obtained City permits to build what UBC residents considered an exceedingly tall structure, UBC was not contacted. (The Chestnut neighborhood lies south of and adjacent to the Rogers-Washington-Holy Cross and Blackland sub-districts.) Commented the resident:

Within 3 blocks of us, this church requested—and was moving forward to build—this 80-foot bell tower and a 60-foot roof on this structure that they wanted to have. ... City staffers agreed, and when we finally found out about this we thought that this was ridiculous. ... If some of the leadership [of UBC] had not become very active, it would have been a done deal.

She and another planning team member, from Wilshire Wood, credited the active leadership of the UBC for a successful intervention: “I wouldn’t have known anything about that unless the folks at Blackland had brought it to the planning team. So now we can stand up for another neighborhood to make sure they get what they need.” However both resident interviewees were disappointed that the existence of a UBC neighborhood plan was not enough to trigger some kind of notification of the nearby building permits.

Contrastingly, neighbors interviewed said the existence of their neighborhood plan served them better in late 2002, when the planning team learned that existing long-range city transportation plans included the “upgrading” two East-West roads in UBC to major, six-lane arteries. Said the Wilshire Wood planning team member:

TxDOT said Manor Road and 38 1/2 [Street] are going to be major thoroughfares—they wanted to change the designation. But our neighborhood plan said both of those roads should remain lower level, and these are the kinds of development we want along them. TxDOT is

saying one thing, the city is rubber stamping what CAMPO [Capital Area Metropolitan Planning Organization] had suggested, but then [after the UBC planning team intervened before City Council] the City backed us up, and I think that's because of the plan ... as well as the team the plan brought together—we were talking about these very roads! And the city backed us up on that.

The UBC neighborhood plan had been approved by City Council in conflict with the existing Austin Metropolitan Area Transportation Plan (AMATP). In August of 2004, City Council amended the AMATP to reflect the neighborhood's wishes. NPZD transportation planner Teri McManus acknowledged during the council session, "The amendment will ... make the long range transportation plan consistent with Council action on the adopted Upper Boggy Creek and the East MLK neighborhood plan. Both have been adopted and recommended this section of Manor Road not be expanded to a six-lane divided size" (City Council 2004). As a result of this experience, and of an ongoing concern for available public transportation for senior and lower-income residents, neighborhood residents interviewed agreed unanimously that transportation Capital Metro, and TxDOT (Texas Department of Transportation) should have been actively integrated into their neighborhood planning process, and should be part of other neighborhood plans going forward.

While participants realize that the neighborhood planning process was an opportunity for residents to develop a shared vision of their neighborhood and give some direction to the City, there was some confusion among those interviewed about whether the neighborhood plans are or are not binding documents. The City's website states that "adoption of the plan does not legally obligate the City to implement any particular action item." According to the neighborhood planner, while the Neighborhood Planning and Zoning Department compiled action items from the neighborhood plans and presented them to the Bond Election Committee for consideration, what the neighborhoods suggest in their plans is by no means law. This misunderstanding has caused some disillusionment among residents involved in the UBC planning process.

UBC's assigned city planner agrees that the City fails to utilize the effort that the residents of UBC put into creating their list of action items. Neighborhood Planning and Zoning Department planners leave much of the implementation process up to neighborhood residents. As the UBC neighborhood planner put it:

The implementation stops on our part. We've done all we can do as a department of the City. And then there is a directive to other city departments to reference these plans when you are going into an area to do something. If you are going to be spending some capital improvement funds, well, take a look at this area, we have some indications of how the funds should be spent. ... And at that point it is incumbent upon the neighborhood to say that we have listed these things as priority, it is up to them to lobby those respective city departments to make those happen. There is only so much money to do stuff. And after that, it is up to them to be the squeaky wheel in order to make that happen. ... There is only so much staff to go there and rattle the cages of the other departments.

In other words, UBC's neighborhood plan and action item list are not being integrated within city functions as a whole or used to help define projects within other city departments. The chair of the planning team agrees, and takes some responsibility as well: "The squeaky wheel gets the grease. And so that's the thing that I think we have fallen down on the most, is we've got these 119 or however many action items, and we need to see what has been done and what hasn't."

The future for Upper Boggy Creek, then, is uncertain. Now that the plan has been approved, neighborhood residents are concerned about how to translate their planning efforts into action from city departments. It remains to be seen whether active interest on the part of the neighborhood planning team—or changes in city planning processes—can give it life. Whatever the circumstances, however, the positive intra-neighborhood relationships formed during the planning process seem to be an enduring benefit to UBC neighbors. In contrast to the acrimonious experience of participants involved in some of the other Austin neighborhoods' plans, the residents of Upper Boggy Creek we interviewed are pleased to know one another, feel strengthened by their partnership, and have a generally upbeat attitude toward their plan's potential to have a positive influence.

LESSONS LEARNED IN UPPER BOGGY CREEK

- Passing the plan is only half the battle—implementation is important. Neighborhoods must be proactive in monitoring and implementing their action items
- NPZD doesn't have the authority to make other city departments comply with neighborhood plan action items
- An effective neighborhood planning team has strong representation from all sub-areas and stakeholders
- Being as inclusive as possible throughout the process helps to avoid later conflicts
- Dividing large or heterogeneous planning areas into sub-areas reduces conflict
- Diversity complicates things, but it can be a blessing
- Most neighborhood residents want a collaborative relationship with the City; planners provide the big picture and help residents see the impact of different choices, while residents provide hands-on understanding of the neighborhood
- Neighborhood participants want planners to have excellent facilitation skills
- The neighborhood planner would like to be respected by residents as he/she shares knowledge; listening and helping the neighborhood achieve its objectives
- The roles of the neighborhood and city planning staff must be better defined
- Formal coordination of neighborhood planning with outside agencies such as TxDOT, Capital Metro and CAMPO - as well as adjacent neighborhoods - would improve the process

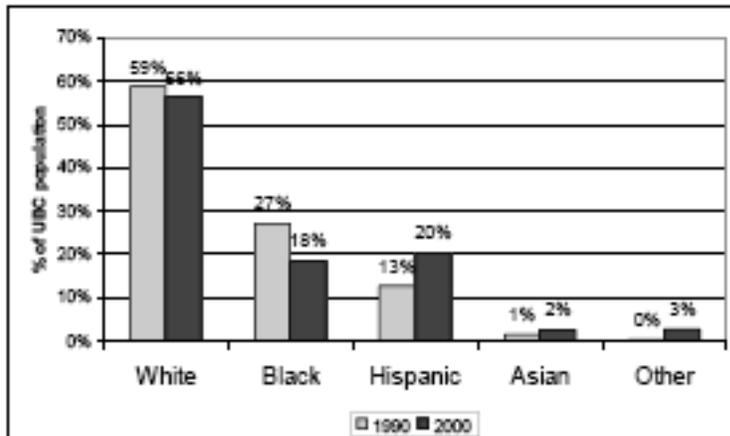
Appendix A: Population and demographic data (source: the UBC Neighborhood Plan)

Total population of Upper Boggy Creek Neighborhood Planning Area and City of Austin

	UBC	City of Austin
Total population in 1990	5,004	465,622
Total population in 2000	5,688	656,562
Percent Increase	+12%	+29%

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census

Ethnicity in the Upper Boggy Creek Neighborhood Planning



Source: 1990 and 2000 Census

UBC Age Breakdown

Age 17 and under:	15%
Age 18-24:	17%
Age 25-34:	29%
Age 35 to 44:	15%
Age 45 to 54:	11%
Age 55 to 64:	4%
Age 65 to 84:	8%
Age 85+:	1%

Source: 2000 Census

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Interviewees:

Cherrywood resident/Planning team chair. Personal Interview with Nora Keane. 11 February 2006.

Wilshire Wood resident/Planning team member. Personal Interview with Dylan Siegler. 14 February 2006.

Washington-Rogers-Holy Cross resident/Planning team member. Personal Interview with Dylan Siegler. 12 February 2006.

Planner from the City of Austin's Neighborhood Planning and Zoning Department. Personal Interview with Chris Maxwell-Gaines. 12 February 2006.