

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS INVOLVED IN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TOWNS IN TEXAS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Government
Sam Houston State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Janet Katherine Redd

May, 1975

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS INVOLVED IN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TOWNS IN TEXAS

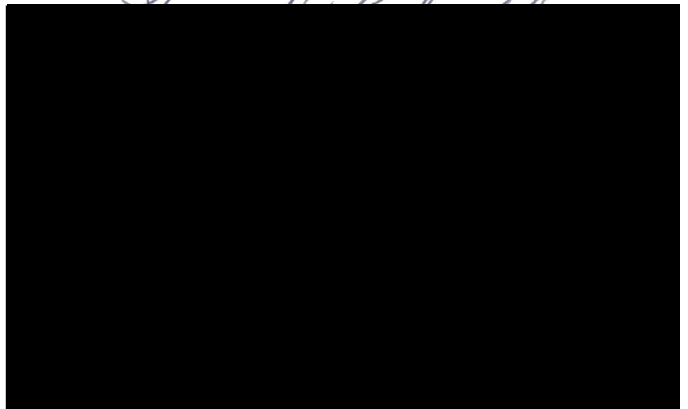
by

Janet Katherine Redd

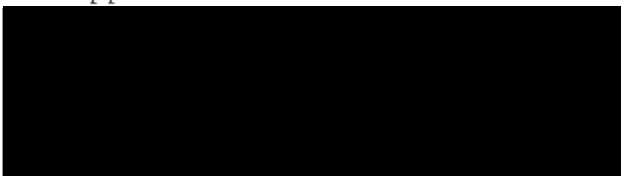
A THESIS

Approved:

Shirley A. Redd



Approved:



ABSTRACT

Redd, Janet K., Intergovernmental Relations Involved in the Development of New Towns in Texas, Master of Arts (Government), May, 1975. Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas.

Purpose

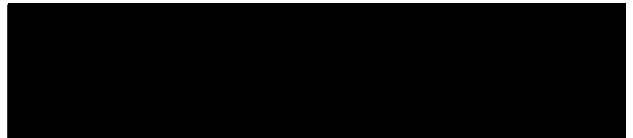
The purpose of this research is to explore the intergovernmental relations that are involved in the development of two new towns in Texas, namely, The Woodlands in Montgomery County and the Houston Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, and Flower Mound New Town in Denton County and the Dallas-Fort Worth Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

Methods

Relationships between governmental units and new towns were first separated into vertical (federal and state governments) and horizontal (those governments that are creations of the state) relationships. Information about these relationships was gathered from newspapers and personal letters. The major source of information was provided by personal interviews with local officials and new town representatives. These interactions are then categorized according to political relationship type: routine policymaking, mutual accommodation, innovative conflict, and disintegrative conflict.

Findings

1. The intergovernmental relations that involve the new towns of The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town are mainly routine administrative ones.
2. Horizontal relations make up the largest percentage of routine policymaking relationships, while vertical relations provide the majority of mutual accommodation, innovative conflict, and disintegrative conflict relationships.
3. There is little coordination among the programs that involve new towns.
4. Most governmental units involved with the new towns are completely unimpressed with the new town phenomena.
5. The new towns have found it difficult to be innovative.
6. New towns in Texas have found it necessary to create special districts to meet their needs.
7. The Department of Housing and Urban Development is not entirely committed to the new town program.



Supervising Professor

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There is no way to adequately express my indebtedness to all of those who have assisted in my research.

I would like to single out for special thanks Dr. Witold Lukaszewski who discovered and developed my interest in Political Science and Professor Howard L. Griffin who sparked my interest in urban politics. As my thesis director, Professor Griffin provided invaluable guidance, enthusiasm, and insight. I also thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Beryl Pettus and Dr. Anthony Antwi, for their patience and advice.

A thesis such as this depends very heavily on the information gained from personal interviews. The people whom I interviewed were gracious and helpful and gave much in the way of time and data. A special thanks goes to Mr. Skip Christy, Director of Government Relations for The Woodlands.

As always, my family assisted me in many ways. I greatly appreciate the generous help my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ben C. Ball, Jr., and my grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Ben C. Ball, gave in funding my schooling. Without their help, education would have been less of an enjoyment. I am obliged to my sister and her husband, Barbara and Gary Kerr, for their hospitality when I was doing research

in Denton and to Mary for providing transportation. My aunt, Alice Watts, also assisted me by sending articles from Dallas newspapers.

I especially thank my wonderful husband Tom who constantly provided suggestions, encouragement, support, and, most of all, understanding. He sacrificed much that this thesis should be completed.

To all of these people and more I am extremely grateful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
Chapter	
I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	1
New Towns: An Overview	1
The Study of Intergovernmental Relations in the United States	20
II. VERTICAL RELATIONSHIPS	31
The Federal Government	31
The State of Texas	59
III. HORIZONTAL RELATIONSHIPS	70
Councils of Governments	70
The County	74
Special Districts	78
Surrounding Municipalities and Developments	85
Internal Governance	95
IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	107

Chapter	Page
Findings	112
Conclusions	113
BIBLIOGRAPHY	119
APPENDIX	130
VITA	132

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. A Typology of Intergovernmental Political Relationships	30
2. Federal New Communities Programs	36
3. A Typology of Intergovernmental Political Relationships	65
4. A Typology of Intergovernmental Political Relationships	102
5. Analysis of New Town Intergovernmental Relationships	109

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. The Three Magnets	7

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

New Towns: An Overview

The United States today faces two urban crises. The first is the slums and ghettoes and the problems that they breed in the city. The second, which is closely related, is the crisis of urbanization: the likelihood that impending population growth, if it follows the present patterns, will breed further division, further waste of resources and further destruction of the environment.¹ Every month our population grows enough to add a city the size of Toledo, and every year enough for a city the size of Philadelphia. To meet this growing population's desire for urban services, America will have to build a city with housing for 140,000 people every month of every year from now until 2000 A.D.² The United States faces today what has been called the Columbus Challenge--"in what is left of this century we must build as much as has been built in the whole nation since the white man came." By the year 2000, nearly one-half of our people

¹Donald Canty, ed., The New City (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1969), p. i.

²Houston Chronicle, April 17, 1974, p. 18.

will live in houses or apartments that have not yet been built on land that has not yet been broken.³ Although this growth is unplanned, it does to some extent follow a pattern.

The movement of both people and industry is away from the central city. Each year 500,000 whites and 220,000 Negroes leave their homes in the city for the suburbs.⁴ This trend could possibly change due to the energy crisis. This would change the pattern, but not the situation. More people will still require new housing. This illustrates that the issue is not whether there will be new towns and communities: there will be. Growing population and increasing mobility guarantee that new communities are being formed and will continue to form. The issue and challenge is what these communities will look like. They can either be haphazard or they can be preplanned and intentional. Traditionally, cities in America have grown by unplanned agglomeration.⁵ However, as the President's Task Force on Suburban Problems concluded, "By starting afresh, a new option of organizing patterns of life can be given people now limited to

³"Looking Ahead--New Ideas," in Viewpoints: The American Cities (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1972), p. 284.

⁴Michael E. Carbine, "New Towns and the Search for an Urban Solution," Manpower, I (July, 1969), 15.

⁵Some cities such as Washington, D. C. and Savannah, Georgia were originally planned. However, the plans were unable to anticipate the tremendous growth that they have experienced.

variations of suburban sprawl."⁶ By planning urban growth, new towns can give us this option.

What Is a New Town?

Definitions of new towns vary from very general (any new development) to very specific (suggesting population and density limits, location and other specifications). In looking at the new town movement as a way of dealing with some metropolitan problems, a very inclusive (and perhaps somewhat idealistic) definition is given by the former Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. George Romney submits that a new town is one in which "all or most of the development is newly constructed . . . [with] a high degree of self sufficiency in that there is a balanced mix of housing, of different income classes, industry, commerce, shipping facilities, and public and community facilities. The development is well-planned in advance . . . it is physically separated from existing communities. It has some self government."⁷ There are, nevertheless, many forms that a new town can take.

According to the Department of Housing and Urban Development three factors--dependence, scale, and unity--are essential in

⁶Frederick M. Wirt, and others, On the City's Rim: Politics and Policy in Suburbia (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1972), p. 188.

⁷"Looking Ahead--New Ideas," in Viewpoints: The American Cities, p. 285.

determining the classification of new towns. New towns can be divided into four categories: (1) A satellite community is an economically balanced community developed within a metropolitan area as an alternative to urban sprawl. It can also be an addition to an existing smaller town or city capable of converting it into a major activity center; (2) A new-town-in-town helps renew a central city including the development of areas adjacent to central cities. This would provide high density residential and commercial development in a defined area within existing cities; (3) A town that is economically feasible and will assist in equalizing population growth is a free-standing new community; and (4) Paired new communities are made up of one city center and one suburban, which are linked by common services and give residents of both a greater choice of jobs, education, and cultural activities.⁸ Although the new town concept is relatively new, the basic element of new towns, town planning, can be traced as far back as the earliest known civilizations.

Background

Towns built with indications of pre-planning for pre-established purposes have been found in India, Egypt, Greece and other countries. Kalibangan in ancient India shows strict planning of streets and

⁸This classification is used for the purposes of Title VII review and approval. "What is a New Community?" Systems Building News, New Community Digest (June, 1973), p. 4.

evidence of an underground drainage system. The first "company towns," settlements owned and maintained by a company to house its employees, were established as early as 3000 B.C. These Egyptian settlements were constructed for the slaves building the pyramids and tombs. Some 3,000 years ago the Greeks founded settlements for purposes of colonization, commerce, and absorption of population increases in the city-states.⁹ The early settlements in America showed strict planning. Most of these cities used the grid plan, a system of parallel and perpendicular streets.

The first large American city to be laid out on a grid pattern was Philadelphia, Pennsylvania which was designed by William Penn and his surveyor, Thomas Holme. Other cities to use this plan include New Orleans, Louisiana; Annapolis, Maryland; and Savannah, Georgia. Of particular interest with regard to design and purpose is Washington, D. C. The founding fathers chose a site on the Potomac to avoid the commercial environment that many cities were experiencing. Major Charles L'Enfant's plan introduced new concepts to American planning and influenced later cities. A grid system was basically used on which a pattern of broad radial boulevards was superimposed.¹⁰ The advantage of this plan was that it invited expansion.

⁹James A. Clapp, New Towns and Urban Policy (New York: Dunellen Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 16.

¹⁰James Bailey, ed., New Towns in America (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973), pp. 2-5.

This use of preplanning for cities was reintroduced in Britain as part of a comprehensive urban project supported by the British government.

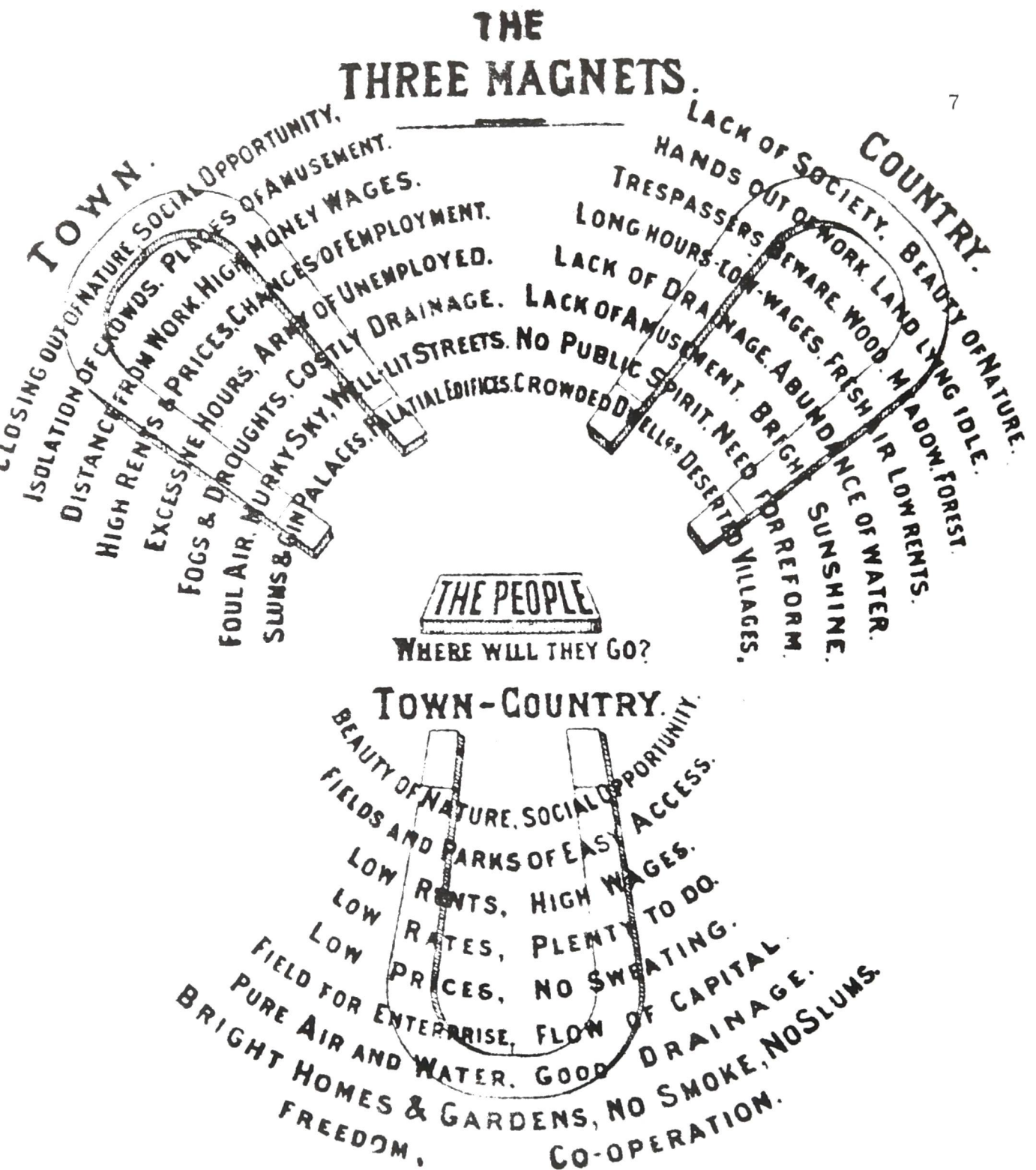
The Garden City Movement

The current new town movement was begun in 1898 by an Englishman, Ebenezer Howard. In his book, Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform, Howard addresses the problem of city structure. He believed that "human society and the beauty of nature are meant to be enjoyed together."¹¹ The cities in England at that time were congested and dirty and "ulcers on the face of our beautiful island,"¹² while the country was lacking in human companionship and the co-operative effort. The town did have advantages, however, and Howard saw it as the symbol of society--"of mutual help and friendly co-operation, . . . of broad, expanding sympathies; of science, art, culture, religion." And the country is the "symbol of God's love and care for man."¹³ These two societies were conceived of as magnets, and Howard envisioned a "marriage" of the Town Magnet and the Country Magnet. This is shown by Howard's conceptualization on the next page. This new city would provide the "best of both worlds."

¹¹Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, ed. by F. J. Osborn (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1951), p. 48.

¹²Frank Schaffer, "The New Town Movement" in New Towns, The British Experience, ed. by Peter Self (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972), p. 11.

¹³Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, p. 48.



THE THREE MAGNETS

Figure 1

Source: Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, ed. by F. J. Osborn (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1951), p. 49.

The advantages of these cities would be multiplied by town clusters. Howard conceived these, not as a loose indefinite sprawls, but rather compact, rigorously confined urban groupings, separated from the large cities by a permanent belt of open land. In 1903 these ideas were used in the building of Letchworth, about thirty-four miles from London, and Welwyn, about twenty miles from London. Howard's prime contribution was to outline the nature of a balanced community and to show what steps were necessary, in an ill-organized and dis-oriented society to bring it into existence. Lewis Mumford said that "until Ebenezer Howard came forth with his proposals in Tomorrow no one had the audacity to conceive a new form for the city which would utilize the facilities of modern technology without sacrificing the social advantages of the historic city."¹⁴

In spite of some of the problems and mistakes that were made in planning for the future, the towns served as a symbol of possibility for other new towns. Also, the towns did pioneer some significant planning innovations, including the greenbelt concept, the use of the neighborhood unit, and unified land ownership. Howard's ideas had an impact in countries all over the world. Garden Cities were developed in the Soviet Union, Israel, the Netherlands, Canada, Germany, France, Africa, and Sweden as well as in the United States.¹⁵

¹⁴Dugald MacFadgen, Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1970), p. i.

¹⁵Studies of new towns in other countries include: HUD International, New Communities in Selected European Countries (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of International Affairs, 1974); and Pierre Merlin, New Towns (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1971).

The United States' Experience

In 1939 the United States had 144 new communities that had been constructed according to some type of comprehensive plan. The federal government built three notable new towns to help strengthen the economy: Greenbelt, Maryland; Greenhills, Ohio; and Greendale, Wisconsin. Because these towns were not completely self sufficient, they were more Garden Cities than new towns. Their purposes were to give useful work to men on relief, to demonstrate certain Garden City principles, such as planning for open spaces, and to provide low rent housing in a healthy environment. Other towns formed during this period by the federal government were in connection with war-time industry (Brooklawn, New Jersey; Craddock and Hilton, Virginia; and Fairlawn, New Jersey); strategic operations (Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Los Alamos, New Mexico; and Richland, Washington); and regional resource development (Norris, Tennessee and Boulder, Colorado).¹⁶ During this period over one-half of the new towns were founded by industry. Although there were many attempts at planned communities, for one reason or another they have not dramatically affected the urban sprawl that the United States is now experiencing. Because new towns have had a greater impact in Britain, it is necessary to review their policies and operations.

¹⁶Clapp, New Towns and Urban Policy, pp. 29-30.

England's New Towns

The Government's Role

In England the government has had a strong role in the establishment of new towns. Three situations contributed to a renewed interest in new towns: heavily congested cities, accelerated rural to urban migration due to the upheavals of World War II, and the need for new residential and commercial construction because of damage by German bombing raids.¹⁷ The basic planning legislation for new towns was embodied in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932 and subsequent acts that made it possible, among other things, to acquire land for redevelopment and to prepare for comprehensive development plans. The New Towns Act of 1946 marked the first time in contemporary Western history that the building of cities became a concern of long-term national policy. A new instrument was designed--the public development corporation. While engaged in a self-liquidating operation, it could plan, build, acquire, manage, and dispose of property. It had access to long-term, low-interest government funds and was the recipient of the customary local and central governments' housing subsidies. "Its functions were entrepreneurial, its powers public; its term of life limited; its immediate aims: efficient and socially approved methods of town development."¹⁸

¹⁷George E. Berkley, "Britain's New Town Blues," National Civic Review, LXII (October, 1973), 479.

¹⁸Lloyd Rodwin, The British New Towns Policy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 55-56.

Operation

The New Towns Act gives the Minister of Housing and Local Government the power to designate an area for a new town. He then sets up a development corporation to plan and supervise the construction. This corporation is financed through sixty-year government loans at current rates of interest. The corporation is then dissolved when the new town is complete. In this system the public authorities do the planning and then rely on private business for the construction.¹⁹ Many authors have written describing the historical basis for new towns and the development process itself.²⁰

Analysis

Britain's new towns have been both praised and attacked in recent years. Some of the successes attributed to them include

¹⁹Lady Sharp, "The Government's Role," in New Towns, The British Experience, ed. by Peter Self (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972), pp. 40-44.

²⁰Some of these include William Ashworth, The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1954); J. B. Cullingworth, Town and Country Planning in England and Wales (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); M. P. Fogarty, Town and Country Planning (New York: Hutchinson's University Library, 1948); Donald L. Foley, Controlling London's Growth (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); Daniel R. Mandelker, Green Belts and Urban Growth (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962); Dugald MacFadgen, Sir Ebenezer Howard and The Town Planning Movement (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1970); Donald J. Olsen, Town Planning in London (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964); and Frederick J. Osborn, Green Belt Cities (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).

innovative architecture and planning, and traffic engineering.²¹ The opportunity to relate urban growth and transportation lines more efficiently was also provided by the new towns. Another benefit was to preserve land for recreation and open space between towns and the city.²² Also, by "steering" industry to certain areas, new towns can encourage regional growth in areas that have been declining. On the other hand, Britain's new towns have some shortcomings.

British plans oriented themselves towards the physical aspects of towns rather than the society and the community. Houses were similar and there were little visual distractions to add interest and diversion. Another problem has been the "dullness" and boredom of the planned communities. Some residents complain that the city is so planned that it seems to have no "spirit."²³ Even with these deficiencies Britain's new towns can be used as a framework and a starting point from which to work. However, because of the

²¹Berkley, "Britain's New Town Blues," 480.

²²Edward P. Eichler and Bernard Norwich, "New Towns," in Toward a National Urban Policy, ed. by Daniel P. Moynihan (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970), p. 307.

²³These analyses can be found in: George E. Berkley, "Britain's New Town Blues," National Civic Review, LXII (October 1973), 479-485; H. Wentworth Eldredge, "Lessons Learned From the British New Towns Program," in How to Manage an Urbanized World, Vol. II of Taming Megalopolis, ed. by H. Wentworth Eldredge (2 vols; Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967); Donald J. Olsen, Town Planning in London (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964); and Lloyd Rodwin, The British New Towns Policy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956).

different nature of government and culture, American new towns will be uniquely American.

America's New Towns

In 1958 the first contemporary new town in America was announced. El Dorado, thirty miles north of Sacramento, California, was to cover 10,000 acres of land. The next two new towns are probably the most well known. Reston, Virginia was begun in 1962 by developer Robert E. Simon who saw the new town as a "serious experiment in urban planning undertaken on a city-wide scale, and an attempt to discover what should be done to create a quality environment."²⁴ Because of financial difficulties, Simon was forced to surrender his control to the principal investor, Gulf Oil Corporation, which has changed the plans to some extent. One year later James Rouse began developing Columbia, Maryland. Rouse's goals were "to create a social and physical environment which works for people and nourishes human growth and to allow private venture capital to make a profit in land development and sale."²⁵

Texas' New Towns

The Woodlands

A new town, The Woodlands, is currently being built twenty-eight miles north of downtown Houston and directly in the path of

²⁴James Bailey, ed., New Towns in America (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973), p. 14.

²⁵Ibid., p. 16.

heavy, regional growth. This 17,000-acre property is being developed by a subsidiary of the Mitchell Energy and Development Corporation of Houston. A detailed inventory of the site's natural attributes--geology, soils, planting, drainage, and wildlife was taken and the land use plan was drawn from an analysis of this ecological data. A projected population of 150,000, the largest of any new town, is expected by 1992.

Flower Mound New Town

The community of Flower Mound New Town is just north of the new Dallas-Fort Worth Airport and twenty miles from Dallas. On the south of Flower Mound is Grapevine Lake. This 6,150-acre site is in a region of anticipated rapid growth. The developer is Flower Mound New Town Limited Partnership. Flower Mound New Town is in a distinctive situation in that it is located completely within the jurisdiction of an existing municipality, Flower Mound. A population of 65,000 is expected by 1985.²⁶

Possibilities for New Towns

The National Committee on Urban Growth, which is made up of senators, representatives, governors, mayors and county

²⁶Descriptions of the Texas new towns were provided by promotional material sent by The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town. Descriptions are also found in "Federally Assisted New Communities," Architectural Record (December, 1973), and News Releases from the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

commissioners, has suggested that at least 110 new cities be developed by the year 2000 to help relieve urban congestion. They have proposed federal funding to help develop 100 new cities of 100,000 people and 10 new cities of 1,000,000 people.²⁷ New towns can have many positive aspects that could pave the way for planned urban growth.

New towns can be planned for the life-styles of today. According to Community Planners Marshall Kaplan and Edward P. Eichler, "future developments should be conceived in terms of wholes -- they should be determined on the basis of essential physical, social, economic, and human needs."²⁸ The trend is toward an increasing amount of leisure time and increasing equality of opportunity for more people. Also, mechanization and automation give people new possibilities for the use of their time. The new towns must provide recreation areas as well as child care centers.²⁹ Besides being relevant to today, new towns must be flexible enough to grow and change to fit the future.

Another possibility for new towns is to help alleviate problems of segregation and inadequate housing. The current patterns of growth

²⁷Donald Canty, ed., The New City, National Committee on Urban Growth Policy (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 172.

²⁸Edward P. Eichler and Marshall Kaplan, The Community Builders (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 8.

²⁹Clarence S. Stein, Toward New Towns for America (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1957), p. 217.

in cities have polarized Americans by race and economic class. In addition to being an experiment in social balance, new towns can experiment with innovative technology. Experiments with new forms of construction, such as prefabricated housing, can be tested. Also, new forms of transportation can be implemented, separating pedestrian from other traffic.³⁰ Even new procedures of community or neighborhood government may be attempted. "New towns can serve not only as laboratories but also as vehicles for change--change urgently needed in the structure and population distribution of our urban areas."³¹

Problems of New Towns

Although new towns appear to offer many advantages, some actual and potential problems are arising. One problem is in the planning of the new towns. It may be impossible for the community to participate in the planning function. Rather elaborately described, this situation is "like space ships. There must be a detailed plan for the vehicle and its course before the launching; and once underway, travelers can make only small choices on their own."³² Depending

³⁰Urban Texas: Policies for the Future, Report of the Texas Urban Development Commission to Preston Smith (Austin, Texas, 1971), p. 103.

³¹Bailey, New Towns in America, p. 115.

³²Shimin Gottschalk, "Citizen Participation in the Development of New Towns: A Cross-National View," Social Service Review, XLV (June, 1971), 195.

on the point of view taken, this may or may not impair the effectiveness of new towns.

Another is that in the United States the developer has as his primary objective making a "reasonable" profit on his investment (usually twenty per cent) while keeping the risk within "acceptable" bounds. The quality and marketing of the town may be affected by this quest for profit. Innovative solutions and experiments with new technology might increase the capital risk.³³ Federal assistance by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to towns that make large profits may be questioned. These problems are not insurmountable barriers, but need to be dealt with in order for new towns to be effective.

One of the inevitable problems is financing the new town. The cost and problems involved in assembling the land can be tremendous. A developer usually must locate near an existing urban center, where the land is expensive, because the initial residents may need to commute to work. Essential public services such as education, public safety, water and sewers, and health care must also be considered. A developer may have to wait years before he realizes any return on his investment. Because of these massive initial costs, government subsidies or guarantees are needed.

³³George J. Pillorge and Daniel R. Brents, "The Design Process: Step by Step," in New Towns in America, ed. by James Bailey (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973), p. 57.

There is one problem, however, that some do see as a major barrier to the success of new towns. Public attitudes towards housing and neighbors are the country's major impediment to solving social problems according to Bernard E. Losbough, the executive director of Pittsburgh's Action Housing, Incorporated. One problem is that private houses are sources of prestige. The image of "one's own acre surrounded by a white picket fence clashes with the realities of urban land economics. We're the only country that insists on it,"³⁴ Attitudes such as these may be the largest barrier to a new form of community.

Current Studies

As can be seen most of the literature about new towns is either historical or descriptive. Some analyses have been published dealing with the successes and/or failures of British new towns. An exception to the prevalent trend is a study done by Richard L. Heroux and William A. Wallace in their book, Financial Analysis and the New Community Development Process.³⁵ Their research delineates the development process, the cash flows and outflows in a detailed and complex analysis. Also, a new methodology for arriving at a plan for financial development is proposed.

³⁴Herman G. Berkman, "The New Town and Urban Change Form," Land Economics, XLIX (May, 1972), 102.

³⁵Richard L. Heroux and William A. Wallace, Financial Analysis and the New Community Development Process (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1971).

Another source of analytical research is provided by Margaret Goertz in her Ph.D. dissertation, New Towns in the United States: Suburban Enclaves or Balanced Communities?³⁶ This study examines the question: "Given the structure of the housing market in the United States and our present system of government land development and housing aids, can and will the private sector provide housing for a variety of income groups in the new communities?" The new towns studied are Reston, Virginia; Columbia, Maryland; Valencia, California; Irvine, California; Litchfield Park, Arizona; Foster City, California; Jonathon, Minnesota; and Lysander, New York. Goertz found that housing units in these communities were priced for the top of the housing market and concluded that the new community developer has been neither encouraged nor aided in providing moderate- and low-income housing in these communities. Suggestions are given as to the policies needed to provide a balanced community.

The new towns in Texas will not be near completion for another twenty years. This makes any type of evaluation or judgment impossible at this time. Analysis must deal with the planning and beginning stage of development. New towns do not develop in a vacuum, but rather in a myriad of governmental units. The consequent intergovernmental relations are very crucial to the success of the new town.

³⁶Margaret Goertz, New Towns in the United States: Suburban Enclaves or Balanced Communities?, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Syracuse University, 1971).

The Study of Intergovernmental Relations
in the United States

Interpretations of History

Intergovernment relations have not always been emphasized as a characteristic of American government. The concept of dual federalism was used to describe the "layers" of government. Lord Bryce described the federal and state governments as "distinct and separate in their action." According to Bryce, the American system was "like a great factory wherein two sets of machinery are at work, their revolving wheels apparently intermixed, their bands crossing one another, yet each doing its own work without touching or hampering the other."³⁷ Another author, W. W. Willoughby, said that the general principle governing the exercise of governmental powers is that the federal government's powers, and those of individual states, shall be kept "as distinct and independent as possible."³⁸ This idea of dual federalism was also held by Leonard D. White, who wrote a history of public administration. According to White, the federal and state governments had little to do with each other in the conduct of public

³⁷Lord Bryce, The American Commonwealth (2 vols.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1893), as cited in Daniel Elazar, The American Partnership (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. vii, foreword by Morton Grozdins.

³⁸W. W. Willoughby, American Constitutional System, 1904, as cited in Elazar, The American Partnership, p. vii.

business except in the single field where the Constitution required them to work together, the militia. He characterized the years between 1829 and the Civil War as having state and federal administrative systems that were autonomous.³⁹ Federalism was studied as a legal, philosophical, and ideological concept.⁴⁰

The debate here is whether or not the reserved powers of the states limit the delegated powers of the national government. According to constitutional lawyers, such as Edward S. Corwin, dual federalists use the Tenth Amendment to support the position that the national and state governments are two equal sovereigns. From about 1890 to 1937 the Supreme Court supported dual federalism and ruled that "Congress could not use its powers over interstate commerce to regulate activities such as agriculture or manufacturing, because these subjects were reserved for the states."⁴¹

However, according to Burns and Peltason, "this position seems to overlook the supremacy clause which clearly makes the national government supreme." The Court has supported this view since 1937 and Chief Justice Stone in United States v. Darby (1941)

³⁹Leonard D. White, Trends in Public Administration (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933).

⁴⁰George C. S. Benson and others, Essays in Federalism (Cambridge: Institute for Studies in Federalism, Claremont Men's College, 1961).

⁴¹James Burns and Jack Peltason, Government by the People (2nd ed.; New York: Prentice Hall, 1954), p. 130.

stated "The [Tenth] Amendment states but a truism that all is retained which has not been surrendered. . . . From the beginning and for many years the Amendment has been construed as not depriving the national government of authority to resort to all means for the exercise of its granted powers which are appropriate and plainly adapted to the permitted end."⁴²

This concept of two sovereign governments competing for power is rejected by the proponents of cooperative federalism. The national and state governments are seen as partners working together to solve problems. It is the "search for a middle ground between the either-or attitude typified by discussions of national government versus the states or the advantages of centralization versus decentralization."⁴³

The view of history described as federal-state separation was destroyed by Daniel J. Elazar. He presented a radically revised picture of federal-state relations in the nineteenth century in The American Partnership. Elazar thoroughly examined a few programs such as railroad construction and land grants and education to demonstrate the cooperation that occurred in the nineteenth century. His hypothesis declared that major activities of government in nineteenth

⁴²Ibid., pp. 130-131.

⁴³Ibid., p. 163.

century United States were cooperative endeavors, shared by federal and state agencies as they are shared in the twentieth century.⁴⁴

This analysis of history is continued into the twentieth century to demonstrate the legacy of cooperative federalism. Elazar traces the course of intergovernmental relations in this century through four periods and into a fifth. The first period (1911-1921) is characterized as one of progressive agrarianism, which reflected "the first concerted national response to the Populist-Progressive-Liberal agitation for positive government action to meet the problems of an industrialized society, and laid the foundations for co-operation in the subsequent periods."⁴⁵ The second period (1921-1931) was one of "normal entrenchment" which was characterized by a general reluctance to increase the role of government coupled with a negative attitude toward collaboration. The third period (1931-1945), characterized by crisis-oriented centralism, brought great expansion of new federal programs. The fourth period (1946-1961) was one of non-centralist restoration, in which a resurgence of the states as spenders and policy-makers was seen, as well as a great expansion of local government. A fifth period (1961-) of concentrated cooperation saw an

⁴⁴Daniel J. Elazar, The American Partnership (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

⁴⁵Daniel J. Elazar, "The Shaping of Intergovernmental Relations in the Twentieth Century," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 16.

"increased federal activity in a number of fields coupled with an intensification of the debate over 'states' rights' on one hand and widespread acknowledgment of intergovernmental collaboration on the other."⁴⁶ Elazar argues that the federal principle (which he sees as the animating principle of the American political process) calls intrinsically for partnership--a partnership of governments and publics and individuals.⁴⁷

Co-operative Federalism

This change in conceptualizing intergovernmental relations from a "layer cake" to a "marble cake" was fathered by Morton Grodzins. He analyzes basic patterns in the sharing system: sharing by design (exemplified by grants-in-aid); sharing through professionalization; and sharing through proximity (such as in the regulatory agencies). The strength of the federal system is evaluated by the strength of governments within the system.⁴⁸ One goal that Grodzins calls for is decentralization.⁴⁹ This decentralization is one of "mild

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 21.

⁴⁷Daniel J. Elazar, American Federalism, A View From the States (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1972).

⁴⁸Morton Grodzins, The American System, ed. by Daniel J. Elazar (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1966), pp. v-vi.

⁴⁹This emphasis on decentralization is shared by George C. S. Benson, "Trends in Intergovernmental Relations," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 9. Benson believes the chief values of decentralization are ". . . a guaranty of freedom through checks on centralized power; an opportunity for broad political participation of the citizenry; and an opportunity for adaptation of governmental policies to the needs of areas."

chaos" that exists because of the existence of dispersed power centers. U. S. policies "reflect and reinforce the nation's diversities-within-unity."⁵⁰

While Daniel Elazar agrees with Grodzins in his concept of co-operative federalism, he labels this sharing as noncentralization. Decentralization implies "the existence of a central monopoly of governmental power which can concentrate, devolve, or reconcentrate functions more or less as it pleases." On the other hand, "noncentralization, the keystone of every true federal system, implies the constitutional coexistence of a general government and governments with more particularized authority which share governmental power."⁵¹

Other authors to use this concept of co-operative federalism in their analysis of certain functions include W. Brooke Graves and Roscoe Martin. Graves analyzes civil rights, commerce, labor, finance, foreign affairs, national security, and fiscal relations using this framework.⁵² Roscoe Martin uses the process of urbanization as a subject for study. Vertical relationships between federal, state, and municipal governments are analyzed as they seek solutions to the

⁵⁰Morton Grodzins, "The Federal System," in Goals for Americans, The Report of the President's Commission on National Goals (Columbia: The American Assembly, 1960), pp. 277-282.

⁵¹Elazar, "The Shaping of Intergovernmental Relations in the Twentieth Century," p. 12.

⁵²W. Brooke Graves, American Intergovernmental Relations (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964).

problems of urbanism. Tested is the ability and the capacity of the federal system to adapt to changing conditions, and particularly its flexibility in the face of new problems.⁵³

Another study in co-operative federalism involved an analysis of the working relations of the national and state governments in their daily operations. William Anderson edited a series of ten monographs on intergovernmental relations in Minnesota with each monograph studying intergovernmental relations as it applied to the courts, education, social welfare, employment security, fiscal relations, the grass roots, and the views by public officials. This meant concentrating on "how the officials of the different governments interact with each other when they come into official contact in the performance of their duties, because it is largely through such official interactions that the relations of the governments themselves are adjusted." This study was based on the premise that intergovernmental relations are carried out through the actions of public governing bodies and government officials.⁵⁴

The general conclusion of the above studies is that intergovernmental relations are characterized by friendliness and

⁵³Roscoe Martin, The Cities and The Federal System (New York: Atherton Press, 1965).

⁵⁴William Anderson, Intergovernmental Relations in Review (Monograph Number 10; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960).

co-operation. In order to demolish the myth of dual federalism and perpetual intergovernmental warfare, Grodzins was "forced to overstate the pervasiveness of co-operation and ignore distinctions which emerge only from a closer examination of both vertical and horizontal interactions."⁵⁵ The outstanding value of the co-operative federalism studies is that the focus of the field is on a relationship, rather than on a structure. This "conflict or cooperation" dichotomy, however, denies relationships that are not purely conflicting (dual federalism) or purely cooperative (co-operative federalism).

Current Studies

The current field of intergovernmental relations can be divided into the study of function and of area. Functions studied include fiscal relations,⁵⁶ urban renewal,⁵⁷ the urban crisis, welfare programs,⁵⁸ as well as many others. Those authors who use the area approach to

⁵⁵A. Lee Fritschler and Morley Segal, "Intergovernmental Relations and Contemporary Political Science: Developing an Integrative Typology," Publius, I (Winter, 1972), 101.

⁵⁶George F. Break, Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1967).

⁵⁷Clifford C. Ham, "Urban Renewal: A Case Study in Emerging Goals in an Intergovernmental Setting," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 44-52.

⁵⁸Richard D. Feld and Carl Grafton, The Uneasy Partnership The Dynamics of Federal, State, and Urban Relations (Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1973).

study intergovernmental relations concentrate on the role of a particular level of government, such as Winston W. Crouch's study of local government,⁵⁹ Neely D. Gardner's⁶⁰ and Phillip Monypenny's⁶¹ analyses of the states' role, and William G. Colman's research on the role of the federal government in intergovernmental relations.⁶²

Another approach to the study of intergovernmental relations is the "clinical" method, in which the "patient" is the practicing administrator. With this approach, the intergovernmental system is studied and alternative suggestions are given for improved practices: a "how to" study.⁶³ A model is suggested by James L. Sundquist that

⁵⁹Winston W. Crouch, "Conflict and Co-operation Among Local Governments in the Metropolis," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 60-70.

⁶⁰Neely D. Gardner, "The States' Role in Intergovernmental Relations," in Where Governments Meet: Emerging Patterns of Intergovernmental Relations, ed. by Willis D. Hawley (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1967), pp. 21-27.

⁶¹Phillip Monypenny, "Interstate Relations--Some Emergent Trends," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 53-9.

⁶²William G. Colman, "The Role of the Federal Government in the Design and Administration of Intergovernmental Programs," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 23-34.

⁶³Studies using this method include: The Council of State Governments, State-Local Relations (Council of State Governments, 1946); Leigh E. Grosenick, ed., The Administration of the New Federalism: Objectives and Issues (Washington, D. C.: American Society for Public Administration); and Arthur W. MacMahon, Administering Federalism in a Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

would have federal, state, and local governments adopt a universal system of multicounty agencies with responsibility both for planning and for facilitating action programs covering the entire range of community activities relating to economic and community development.⁶⁴ These studies, after analyzing their subject, add a "prescription" for the future administration of intergovernmental relations.

To provide a framework for the systematic analysis of both vertical and horizontal variations in intergovernmental relations, A. Lee Fritschler and Morley Segal have developed a typology. The typology itself "defines most of the conceivable political relationships within the intergovernmental system in a four-fold scheme of interaction." The four basic types of relationships include joint policy-making, mutual accommodation, innovative conflict, and disintegrative conflict.⁶⁵ The complete scheme can be seen on page 30. This framework will be considered in the study of intergovernmental relations involved in the development of new towns in Texas. Also, the extent to which the towns can use existing governmental units and develop new units will be examined. The analysis will be divided into the horizontal and vertical relations that these new towns experience.

⁶⁴James L. Sundquist with the collaboration of David W. Davis, Making Federalism Work (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1969).

⁶⁵Fritschler, "Intergovernmental Relations and Contemporary Political Science: Developing An Integrative Typology," 95-122.

TABLE 1
A TYPOLOGY OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Type of Political Relationships	Attitudes of Actors	Actors and Levels of Decisionmaking	Scope of Participation	Nature of Bargaining	Nature of Administrative Guidelines
Joint Policy-making	Cordial and friendly	Bureaus	Functional hierarchies	Routine	Understood and accepted by all parties
Mutual Accommodation	Competitive	Bureaus, special interest groups, congressional subcommittees, aid coordinators	Subsystems	Negotiated bargaining	Flexible
Innovative Conflict	Manipulative-defensive	Department heads, special interest groups, congressional subcommittees and noncommittee members, aid coordinators White House staff	Subsystems with "outside" interventions	Non-negotiated bargaining followed by negotiated bargaining	Less flexible
Disintegrative Conflict	Hostile	Department heads, special interest groups, congressional committees and delegations, local political actors, courts	Macro (Systemwide)	Non-negotiated bargaining	Inflexible

Source: A. Lee Fritschler and Morley Segal, "Intergovernmental Relations and Contemporary Political Science: Developing an Integrative Typology," Publius, I (Winter, 1972), 103.

CHAPTER II

VERTICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Intergovernmental relations form an intricate web that includes many levels and many areas of governments. These relationships cannot be separated, for they all interrelate. However, in order to provide an orderly and systematic analysis of governmental associations with the new towns of The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town, the topic will be artificially divided between vertical and horizontal relationships. Chapter III will discuss horizontal relationships: those between the new town and local governmental units. Chapter II will discuss vertical relations, i. e., those between the new towns and the federal and state governments. The reader must remember that this separation is artificial and that the ultimate objective is to describe the entire system.

The Federal Government

The Federal Government's current involvement in new towns is based on the Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970.¹ The purpose of this act is

¹P. L. 91-609, 84 Stat. 1770. Approved December 31, 1970.

. . . to provide for the development of a national urban growth policy and to encourage the rational, orderly, efficient, and economic growth, development, and redevelopment of our States, metropolitan areas, cities, counties, towns, and communities in predominately rural areas which demonstrate a special potential for accelerated growth; to encourage the prudent use and conservation of our natural resources; and to encourage and support development which will assure our communities of adequate tax bases, community services, job opportunities, and well-balanced neighborhoods in socially, economically, and physically attractive living environments.²

Congress's hopes were that the Federal Government, consistent with the responsibilities of State and local governments and the private sector, would assume responsibility for the development of a national urban growth policy. This hope resulted from a finding that

Federal programs affect the location of population, economic growth, and the character of urban development, that such programs frequently conflict and result in undesirable and costly patterns, or urban development which adversely affect the environment and wastefully use our resources; and that existing and future programs must be interrelated and coordinated within a system of orderly development and established priorities consistent with a national urban growth policy.³

Whether or not this coordination exists will be discussed after the relationships are delineated and described.

²Section 701(b), Title VII of the Urban Growth and New Community Development Act, December 31, 1970.

³Section 702(b), Ibid.

Background Legislation

The most important governmental relationship for the new towns is with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Three major assistance programs are the basis for HUD's involvement: Title X, Title IV, and Title VII. Title X was created when Section 201 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 amended the National Housing Act to provide mortgage insurance to private developers for the purchase of raw land and the development of improved building sites or new communities.⁴ Under Title X, the maximum mortgage insurable was \$10 million, but was increased to \$25 million in 1966.⁵ The Title X program has experienced very limited activity--approximately twenty-five projects of about 10,000 acres involving \$50 million worth of HUD guarantees had been insured through July, 1972. According to HUD officials, a developer can obtain similar financing terms through conventional bank loans and, therefore, does not need the assistance of the Title X program in most cases.⁶

⁴P. L. 89-117, approved August 10, 1965, 79 Stat. 451, 461. The program is still in effect.

⁵Section 402(a), Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, P. L. 89-754, approved November 3, 1966, Stat. 1255, 1272.

⁶Hugh Miels, Federally Assisted New Communities (Washington D. C.: The Urban Land Institute, 1973), p. 24.

In the latter part of the 1960's the Administration and Congress became increasingly concerned about the structure of urban growth and a program was formulated specifically toward the encouragement of large scale new town developments. Consequently, Title IV of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 was passed.⁷ Title X, however, was retained to provide assistance to smaller land development projects.

Title IV went a step further than Title X in an effort to make new communities more attractive to developers. The maximum obligation that could be insured in a single development was increased to \$50 million and supplemental grants were made available for a limited number of basic development programs. The total of outstanding principal obligations at the time of the original act was passed was set at \$250 million.

Despite Title IV, the Federal Government's support and encouragement of new community activity was very cautious. Instructions to applicants desiring federal assistance were issued one and a half years after the passage of the Act in August, 1968 and final regulations were not published in the Federal Register until April of 1970.⁸ The Federal Government's administration of the New Communities Program was cautious and reserved.⁹

⁷P. L. 90-448.

⁸Mields, op. cit., p. 24.

⁹Flower Mound New Town was approved as a Title IV Community in December, 1970 and converted to Title VII in March, 1971.

The Title VII program is the major current legislation under which new communities operate. This assistance program established by the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970,¹⁰ suggested a major commitment by the Federal Government to an effort that had been given only guarded encouragement under previous legislation. The ceiling on total guarantees for new communities was doubled to \$500 million and loan insurance was extended to public agencies.¹¹ The table that follows summarizes the legislation.

Eligibility

Before being accepted as a new community by HUD, the developer must, in cooperation with HUD, submit an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). This requirement, based on the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969,¹² includes the environmental consequences of the proposed new town, characteristics of the land, and land use controls. This EIS submits the proposed new town to reviews and comments from many different Federal Agencies. The Woodland's EIS was reviewed by the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Transportation, the Department of the Army (Corps of Engineers), the Office of Equal Opportunity, the Federal Power

¹⁰P. L. 91-609.

¹¹Both The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town are Title VII communities.

¹²P. L. 91-190.

TABLE 2
FEDERAL NEW COMMUNITIES PROGRAMS

Program Title	Legislative Source	Primary Purpose
Mortgage Insurance for land development and New Communities ^a (Title X)	Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 (P. L. 89-117, 79 Stat. 451, 461)	To insure mortgages for land acquisition and site improvement by private developers.
New Communities Program: Loan Guarantees and Supplementary Grants (Title IV)	Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (P. L. 90-448, 82 Stat. 476, 513; 42 U.S.C. 390 <u>et seq</u>)	To guarantee bonds, debentures, etc., of private new community developers and to assist in the development of new community facilities through supplementary grants.
New Communities Assistance Program (Title VII)	Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970 (P. L. 91-609, 84 Stat. 1770)	To guarantee bonds, debentures, etc., of private and public new community developers and to provide other development assistance through interest loans and grants, public service grants, planning assistance, etc.

^a"New Communities" were made eligible for Title X assistance by Section 401(a) of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, P. L. 89-754 approved November 3, 1966, 80 Stat. 1255, 1271.

Source: Hugh Miels, Federally Assisted New Communities (Washington, D. C.: The Urban Land Institute, 1973), p. 22.

Commission, the Department of Agriculture, and the Atomic Energy Commission.¹³ Reviews for Flower Mound New Town (FMNT) were made by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Commerce, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of the Army (Corps of Engineers), the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Department of the Interior.¹⁴

The central problem in the review process has been lack of specificity of the proposals, with the subsequent inability of departments to evaluate impacts. Most of the reviewing agencies complained that the plans were too vague and general to be helpful. Since detailed construction plans have not been completed at this point in the development process, construction impacts can be assessed only in conjectural terms. As a result of this dilemma, provision is made for additional reviews of environmental impact when considered appropriate throughout the development process.

For a new community to be eligible for federal assistance under Title VII, the Secretary of HUD must determine that the program:

¹³Final Environmental Statement, Proposed New Community, The Woodlands, Montgomery County, Texas, Appendix C, pp. 80-101.

¹⁴Flower Mound New Town, Denton County, Texas, Environmental Impact Statement, Appendix A, pp. 77-118.

1. will provide an alternative to disorderly urban growth, helping preserve or enhance desirable aspects of the natural and urban environment or so improving general and economic conditions in established communities as to help reverse migration from existing cities or rural areas;
2. will be economically feasible in terms of economic base or potential for economic growth;
3. will contribute to the welfare of the entire area which will be substantially affected by the program and of which the land to be developed is a part;
4. is consistent with comprehensive planning, physical and social, determined by the Secretary to provide an adequate basis for evaluating the new community development program in relation to other plans (including State, local, and private plans) and activities involving area population, housing and development trends, and transportation, water, sewerage, open space, recreation, and other relevant facilities;
5. has received all governmental reviews and approvals required by State or local law, or by the Secretary;
6. will contribute to good living conditions in the community, and that such community will be characterized by well balanced and diversified land use patterns and will include or be served by adequate public, community, and commercial facilities (including facilities needed for education, health and social services, recreation, and transportation) deemed satisfactory by the Secretary;
7. makes substantial provision for housing within the means of persons of low and moderate income and that such housing will constitute an appropriate proportion of the community's housing supply; and
8. will make significant use of advances in design and technology with respect to land utilization, materials and methods of construction, and the provision of community facilities and services.¹⁵

Provisions

The provision of the 1970 Act that has had the largest effect on new towns is the federal guarantee of loans for the purpose of financing

¹⁵Section 712(a), Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970.

real property acquisition and land development and compensating for the use of real property or the removal of liens or encumbrances on such property. The developer must provide 110 per cent security with his land in order to receive this loan guarantee. With this commitment from the Federal Government the developer has instant credibility in the financial community, for it legally allies the Federal Government with the developer. The developer can then receive a lower rate of interest than would otherwise be possible.¹⁶

The Woodlands, the largest new town in the United States, is the only community to receive the maximum guarantee allowed--\$50 million. Flower Mound New Town initially received \$18 million in guarantees. On February 7, 1975, a request for an additional \$9 million was submitted to HUD. The new town expects approval sometime this summer.¹⁷

The act also created a Community Development Corporation within the Department of Housing and Urban Development.¹⁸ The purpose of this action was to assure that the new towns program would have special identification, would be highly visible, "and that it would focus on the clear mandate in the Bill from Congress to

¹⁶Personal interview, Skip Christy, Director of Government Relations, The Woodlands, Texas, February 27, 1975.

¹⁷Personal interview, David Dunnigan, Director of Communication, Flower Mound New Town, Texas, March 11, 1975.

¹⁸Section 129(a).

actively and positively encourage large-scale, rational development."¹⁹

There are two provisions of this act that have never been put to use. Section 715 offers public service grants to a public body with the responsibility for providing the services involved to cover the cost of providing public services (including health, educational, and safety services) during an initial period. Section 720 provides for special planning assistance for new community developers. The Administration has never requested these funds from Congress.²⁰

Supplementary grants are also offered to new community projects. These consist of grants in thirteen different areas including mass transit, airports, housing, education, and library services. However, on January 5, 1973 these funds were among those impounded by President Nixon.²¹ The purpose for this action was twofold: it was an economy move, and it would force cities to consider revenue sharing.²² This, however, left new town projects out in the cold.²³

¹⁹Mields, op. cit., p. 26.

²⁰Ibid., p. 33.

²¹Congress and the Nation, Vol. III (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1973), p. 644.

²²Personal interview, Skip Christy.

²³According to David Dunnigan, the municipality of Flower Mound did receive some revenue sharing, but the amount was insignificant and not shared with FMNT.

Unincorporated new towns were not eligible for revenue sharing and therefore had no access to federal aid during this period. For The Woodlands this timing was disastrous; but because FMNT had been approved earlier, they applied for and received some of these supplementary grants.

Two separate HUD grants were given to the municipality of Flower Mound, in which FMNT is located, for water and sewer. The first, for \$2,408,000 received a new community supplement of \$928,000. The second, also for sewer and water, was for \$975,000 with a supplement of \$390,000 because of the new town. The Director of Communications, David Dunnigan, said he believed that these were the last grants awarded before the money was impounded.

Another grant given to Flower Mound was under the Open Space Land Grant,²⁴ established by the Legacy Parks Legislation in 1970. With this grant a \$1 million park and recreation facility is being built. A major conflict developed in "old" Flower Mound over whether or not to accept this grant because it required some local funds. It finally was accepted when the new town agreed to pay the necessary \$300,000 for land and planning services.²⁵

As a result of another provision of the act, an element of tension has developed between the General Accounting Office and

²⁴42 U.S.C.A. Section 1500.

²⁵"New Town Eligible for Funds," Dallas Morning News, January 13, 1975 (reprint).

Flower Mound New Town. The General Accounting Office (GAO) was created by the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921.²⁶ As an independent agency responsible to the legislative branch, the GAO was created to assist the Congress in providing legislative control over the receipt, disbursement, and application of public funds.²⁷ The GAO was brought into the federal relationship with new towns by means of Section 725 of the Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970.²⁸ In 1974 the GAO examined the new towns of Riverton, New York; Park Forest South, Illinois; Jonathon, Minnesota; and Flower Mound New Town, Texas. The report on FMNT states that "financial projections were based on acreage not controlled by the developer, that HUD did not verify the status of a freeway important to the project, and that a market study did not include data on industrial growth."²⁹

One of the criticisms dealt with other government departments and levels. The report states that HUD approved the project without fully verifying the status of a proposed freeway that was to be a major

²⁶31 U.S.C. 41.

²⁷Office of the Federal Register, United States Government Organization Manual (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 43-44.

²⁸P. L. 91-609, 84 Stat. 1770.

²⁹"Flower Mound Studies Draw GAO Ire," Dallas Morning News, November 20, 1974 (reprint).

factor in the project development. GAO said FMNT projections were based on the assumption that the Mid-Cities Freeway would be open by 1979 and that the accessibility of the freeway would stimulate business. But when the Departments of Transportation and Interior questioned the freeway alignment, Department of Transportation (DOT) officials noted that the freeway was not shown on the regional 1985 highway system, and Interior officials said the freeway seemed to violate planning concepts.³⁰ GAO contacted Texas State Highway Department officials in 1973 and learned that the freeway was not part of the regional transportation study, although it would consider a possible freeway through the area. HUD said the information on the freeway came from the State Division of Planning Coordination (in the Office of the Governor) and the North Central Texas Council of Governments. GAO said HUD did not contact DOT or the State Highway Department and relied on "general statements of support."³¹

After studying the four new towns GAO said that HUD was not fully aware of the financial difficulties of the projects because it did not require periodic revisions of the financial projections. In addition, the report said, HUD "improperly increased the value of the real property pledged by the four developers as collateral for HUD's

³⁰ Presumably, the planning concept violated would be a division of the new town by the highway.

³¹ "Flower Mound Studies Draw GAO Ire," op. cit.

guarantee." In conclusion, GAO recommended that HUD should analyze the approved development plans in terms of present market conditions, revise the plans, if necessary, and determine whether the projects appear able to meet the anticipated costs and retire the obligations.³²

The reaction of HUD to this report was a statement of faith in FMNT. A major independent re-evaluation by HUD reported that FMNT is one of the few new communities in the country that is viable and healthy. A HUD spokesman said the "GAO audit dealt mainly with the initial stages of getting these new community projects off the ground. Admittedly, HUD played catch-up with inaugurating the financial monitoring system, the cash flow projections, the tracking of progress. And that audit was justifiably critical of those areas." Since this time HUD has reorganized the reviewing process and instituted tighter operations, "so that the [GAO] audit does not reflect the current status of those problems."³³ David Dunnigan, an executive with FMNT, said that all of the publicity concerning the audits actually helped the new town. More visitors came to the new town after these articles appeared in the newspapers than ever before. He also felt that the GAO's attacks on FMNT were unfounded. He did,

³²Ibid.

³³David Clark, "Town Backers Optimistic, Flower Mound Plan Said 'Healthy' After Audit," Dallas Morning News, November 22, 1974, p. 1.

however, agree in principle that a thorough evaluation and review process is necessary to ensure successful HUD-backed new towns.³⁴

Planning Assistance

Besides giving grants to the new towns to aid in their development, the Federal Government has helped the municipality of Flower Mound to prepare itself for the rapid change that it is and will be experiencing. The Urban Growth and New Community Development Act of 1970 includes an amendment to Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954. This allows the Secretary of HUD to "encourage the formulation of plans and programs" in areas whose development "has significance for the purposes of national growth and urban development objectives."³⁵ The town of Flower Mound has received two of these "701 Planning Grants" which are administered by the state. "Significance" is based on the Dallas-Fort Worth Airport and Flower Mound New Town. HUD awarded Flower Mound \$20,000 to aid in developing a Master Plan for the town. Under a separate "701" project, the town received \$70,000 from HUD for setting up a municipal finance plan and for paying the necessary staff.³⁶

³⁴Personal interview, David Dunnigan.

³⁵Housing Act of 1954, as amended, P. L. 83-560.

³⁶Personal interview, Al Vick, Town Administrator for the Town of Flower Mound, Flower Mound, Texas, March 12, 1975.

In 1973 the United States Civil Service Commission awarded a \$15,750 grant to the municipality of Flower Mound to support the development of a model personnel management structure for the town based on a ten year population projection.³⁷ The grant was awarded under the provisions of the Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1970,³⁸ in particular, section 203(b) which provides that grants may be made to jurisdictions involved in "national interest" programs. A high priority was placed on organization and management and a comprehensive personnel program because "the opportunity to build an organization from the 'ground up' had at long last presented itself."³⁹ The consultant for this grant is the Public Administration Service. These three grants complement each other and allow a town of less than 2,000 inhabitants to begin the task of planning for an estimated population of 15,000 within three years and as many as 80,000 to 90,000 by 1995.

Review and Comment

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) was established in the Executive Office of the President in 1970 to supplant the Bureau

³⁷Personal letter, Kent Bailey, U. S. Civil Service Commission, Dallas Region, December 24, 1974.

³⁸P. L. 91-648, January 8, 1971.

³⁹Civil Service Commission Report, submitted to James Rankin, Town Administrator, Flower Mound, Texas, 1973.

of the Budget.⁴⁰ This office has similar relationships with both The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town. Both of these new towns must comply with OMB Circular Number A-95.⁴¹ This circular provides a procedure for coordinating Federal and federally assisted programs and projects with each other and with state, regional, and local plans and programs. Circular A-95 was first issued July 24, 1969, in partial implementation of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968, Title IV.⁴² A-95 cannot assure coordination, but is designed "to create a climate for intergovernmental cooperation in which such coordination is more likely to come about."⁴³ It does this by creating opportunities for contact and communication within and among the levels of government.

The circular designates two types of clearinghouses: state and areawide. In Texas the state agency that deals with review is the Division of Planning Coordination in the Office of the Governor.⁴⁴ The areawide agencies are the Councils of Government (COG): the Houston-Galveston Area Council for The Woodlands, and the North

⁴⁰Executive Order 11541 of July 1, 1970.

⁴¹Federal Register, Vol. 38, No. 228, Part III (Washington, D. C.: The Government Printing Office, November 28, 1973).

⁴²P. L. 90-577.

⁴³Office of Management and Budget Circular Number A-95, What it is, How it Works, provided by OMB, p. 2.

⁴⁴Its functions will be discussed later in this chapter.

Central Texas Council of Governments for Flower Mound New Town.⁴⁵

It is important to note that the comments made by the clearinghouses are advisory only. A supportive review will not assure Federal approval of an application, nor will a negative review constitute a veto.⁴⁶

The Project Agreement

The New Community Development Act provides for a Project Agreement between the accepted new town and the United States of America. This agreement typically consists of eleven sections or articles:

Article	I	Definitions
	II	General Warranties and Covenants of the Developer
	III	Covenants of the Secretary
	IV	Conditions Precedent to the Endorsement of Guarantees
	V	Performance Covenants of the Developer
	VI	Amendments to the Development Plan
	VII	Concerning Security
	VIII	Concerning Disbursements from Escrow
	IX	Defaults and Remedies
	X	Record Covenants of the Developer
	XI	Miscellaneous
		Appendix ⁴⁷

⁴⁵COGs are discussed in Chapter III.

⁴⁶Office of Management and Budget Circular No. A-95, op. cit., p. 5.

⁴⁷Project Agreement Between the United States of America and The Woodlands Development Corporation, August 23, 1972, and Project Agreement Between the United States of America and Flower Mound New Town, Limited, September 23, 1971.

This Project Agreement brings other federal agencies and departments into contact with the new town. The developer must, in his dealings with labor, comply with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended.⁴⁸ This requires the developer to pay minimum wages of the level paid on similar construction in the locality in which the project is situated. He must respect all requirements concerning equal opportunity regarding employment or use, sale, or lease of Project properties.⁴⁹

In addition to fulfilling the above federal requirements, the new town developer agrees in the contract to establish an affirmative action program for equal housing opportunity, for equal employment, and for encouragement of minority business enterprise. Both The Woodlands and FMNT have worked with such organizations as the Urban League, the Association for the Advancement of Mexican Americans, the League of United Latin American Citizens and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to put their affirmative action program into effect. A spokesman for The

⁴⁸40 U.S.C. 276a-276a-5.

⁴⁹These requirements include Section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 (12 U.S.C. 1701u); Title VIII (Fair Housing) of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3601-3619); Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000d and 2000e); the Civil Rights Act of 1866 as amended (42 U.S.C. 1981 and 1982); and Executive Orders that prohibit discrimination.

Woodlands reported that these programs have cost the developers thousands of dollars.⁵⁰

These general requirements that the new town developer must follow are particularized in the Development Plan, which is in the Appendix of the Project Agreement. The general contract calls for a substantial amount of low and middle income housing in the new town. The exact percentage is determined by a survey of households in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area that includes the new town. The Woodlands must show that it has made its "best efforts" to make twenty-five per cent of its housing available to people (or families) earning below \$7,000 a year, while FMNT is expected to provide twelve per cent. This requirement has caused a particular hardship for the developers. Both The Woodlands and FMNT were relying on rent and housing subsidies provided by the Federal Government; nevertheless, even though these funds were impounded, the new towns were still obligated to fulfill their commitments.

In early 1975 the President of the Woodlands Development Corporation, J. Leonard Ivins,⁵¹ reported that without federal aid The Woodlands could not afford to build low-income housing. He said that "current interest rates are too high for the company to use its

⁵⁰The word "spokesman" is used instead of the name in order to respect the confidentiality requested.

⁵¹Soon after this a new president was employed.

own money to build low-income housing." Otto Stolz, administrator for new communities for HUD, replied: "You can build low-income housing [without federal aid] but you just can't make as much profit."⁵²

Another conflict concerned whether or not the agreement was legally binding. Ivins said that the Federal Government had not fulfilled its obligation to provide funds for such housing and therefore The Woodlands was no longer bound to this promise. The federal director of the new communities program responded that this was not so. The Woodland's pledge was not conditional on there being federal assistance of any sort.⁵³

According to a Woodlands spokesman, while Ivins's statement about the cost of the housing was completely correct at the time it was made, it was not politically prudent. The situation has calmed down and Stolz has said that "The Woodlands would receive a 'significant amount' from a \$54 million HUD discretionary fund set up under the 1974 Housing Act to provide new town grants."⁵⁴

⁵²Tommy Miller, "Woodlands Needs More Federal Aid, Executive Says," Houston Chronicle, January 26, 1975, p. 1.

⁵³Tom Curtis, "U. S. Aided New Town May Bar Poor," Washington Post, January 12, 1975 (reprint).

⁵⁴Bill Schadewald, "The Woodlands: Separating Fact From Fiction," Houston Business Journal, March 3, 1975, p. 14.

New Community Administration

The New Community Program itself has been a headache to developers. Since the inception of the program, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has had three different secretaries and the New Community Administration five different directors. Because of these changes and the newness of the program, interpretations and directions have varied from week to week. The interest on The Woodlands' \$50 million loan is \$10,000 per day; consequently, any delay or misdirection from "headquarters" can be very costly. Another problem in administration is that the functions are all centralized in Washington, D. C. There is limited involvement with regional offices.⁵⁵

The stigma associated with a "federal" community has also been a problem to developers. All advertisements must indicate that the development is a federally assisted new community under HUD.⁵⁶ Residents in nearby areas fear that the developments will be all poor and Black. They are seen as "social experiments" with the Federal Government in control. This attachment with "federal money" does not endear the new community developer to the surrounding residents.

Critics of the Community Development Corporation's program have said that it is maladministration by HUD, rather than inherent

⁵⁵Personal interview, Skip Christy.

⁵⁶FMNT has minimized this as much as possible and only has, in one corner, the symbol of HUD.

defects in the programs, that has brought about the new towns' difficulties. HUD has been criticized for a lack of commitment to the new town program.⁵⁷ The League of New Community Developers, of which both The Woodlands and FMNT are members, suggested that difficulties exist because HUD has not supplied the planning and technical assistance that is provided for in the new community legislation.⁵⁸ In early 1975 HUD announced that no new applications would be accepted and that the program was to be discontinued. The fifteen communities already approved will continue to receive assistance; this is crucial because most of them are in financial trouble. While some members of the Housing Subcommittees of the Senate and the House of Representatives are questioning this action, the Courts have upheld HUD's right to abolish programs it has found to be unsuccessful.⁵⁹ Many new community developers feel that they have been abandoned. This feeling was verbalized by Floyd McKissick, the only minority developer of a new town: "Congress gave the law and no administrative agency can change the law. You are taking a baby nine months old and asking why he is not a lawyer. You say you are going to make loans, then make the loans. Don't send me to a

⁵⁷Thomas W. Lippman, "HUD Ends New Town Programs," Washington Post, January 11, 1975, p. A1.

⁵⁸"HUD Neglect Cited for Difficulties," Dallas Morning News, November 21, 1974 (reprint).

⁵⁹"HUD Ends New Town Programs," p. A1.

restaurant and tell me my budget is fifty cents when I haven't eaten in two months."⁶⁰

Other Federal Involvement

Federal departments other than HUD have given assistance to The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town. They are both involved in an informal manner with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). One of the reasons for the creation of this department was to improve the administration of those agencies of government which have responsibilities for promoting the general welfare in the fields of health, education, and social security.⁶¹ While HEW has provided information concerning the new towns' health organization plans, no grants have been made.

The Woodlands has applied for two grants from HEW. It asked the University of Texas School of Public Health to assist in creating a system of health service for the new town; the cost of this two year project would have been \$157,780.⁶² After promising to include Montgomery County, the plan passed the regional clearing-house and a request was made to HEW for a grant to cover these

⁶⁰Thomas W. Lippman, "HUD Retreats From New Town Idea," Washington Post, January 14, 1975, p. A1.

⁶¹U. S. Government Organization Manual, op. cit., p. 212.

⁶²"Woodlands Asks Grant for Health Care Plan," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), October 1, 1972, pp. 1+.

costs. The request was turned down and the application was not re-submitted.⁶³

Another grant request was made jointly by The Woodlands and Montgomery County in 1973. The request was for a \$250,000 library grant from HEW which would have been matched by The Woodlands. The grant was not issued. Skip Christy said that the money, along with funds for other grants, had been impounded by President Nixon. The request also received a low priority because the library would at present serve very few people and only a small number of those were with low incomes.⁶⁴

Because of Flower Mound New Town's location near the Dallas-Fort Worth Airport, it is involved with the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) in the Department of Transportation (DOT). The FAA became a part of the DOT in 1967 as a result of the Department of Transportation Act.⁶⁵ A major concern of FMNT is the noise resulting from the airport. The noise exposure forecasts prepared by the FAA will be used to define noise-sensitive areas.

Another agency in the Department of Transportation that is cooperating with Flower Mound New Town is the Federal Highway

⁶³"HEW Turns Down Request for County Health Grant," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), December 15, 1972, pp. 1+.

⁶⁴Personal interview, Skip Christy.

⁶⁵80 Stat. 932.

Administration. In July, 1967 a Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Transportation Study was prepared by the Texas Highway Department in cooperation with this federal agency.⁶⁶ FMNT is also working in an informal manner with DOT to study the possibilities of an air-trans system similar to the one at the new Dallas-Fort Worth Airport in which the trains run on a cushion of air. The new town envisions the possibility of receiving a demonstration grant to show the possibilities of this multi-model transportation system.⁶⁷

Another demonstration of intergovernmental relations is presented by Flower Mound New Town. Together with North Texas State University and Southern Methodist University, the new town received a grant of \$10,000 from the National Endowment for the Arts to help in their summer arts program.⁶⁸ The Endowment is part of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities which was created as an independent agency by the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.⁶⁹ Its activities are designed to foster the growth and development of arts in the United States, to preserve

⁶⁶Flower Mound New Town, Environmental Impact Statement, op. cit., p. 50.

⁶⁷Personal interview, David Dunnigan.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹79 Stat. 845, 20 U.S.C. 951.

and enrich the Nation's cultural resources, and to provide opportunities for wider experience in all the arts.⁷⁰

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is also involved with the new towns. It was established in the executive branch as an independent agency in 1970. It was created to "permit coordinated and effective governmental action to assure protection of the environment by the systematic abatement and control of pollution through proper integration of a variety of research, monitoring, standard setting, and enforcement activities."⁷¹ Both The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town have benefited from EPA construction grant funds approved in Public Law 92-500.⁷² The construction grant program is administered jointly by the State water pollution control agency (in Texas, the Texas Water Quality Control Board) and the United States Environmental Protection Agency. Before a project may be funded, it must receive a priority rating from the State agency and be certified to the EPA for funding. The application is submitted to the EPA through the local clearinghouses.⁷³

⁷⁰U. S. Government Organization Manual, op. cit., pp. 472-473.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 404-405.

⁷²Federal Register, Vol. 39, No. 29, February 11, 1974 (Washington, D. C.: The Government Printing Office).

⁷³Personal letter, Richard G. Hoppers, U. S. Environmental Protection Agency, Dallas, Texas, March 6, 1975.

The Woodlands EPA grant offer is directed to the Montgomery County Municipal Utilities District #6. The offer is for about \$70,000 for the preparation of plans and specifications and for additions and improvements to the existing waste-water treatment facility. A project costing a total of \$2,120,000 is beginning to take form in Flower Mound New Town. The EPA offered a grant of \$966,350, fifty-five per cent of total eligible project costs, to the municipality of Flower Mound. This grant will aid in the construction of a tertiary (three stage) sewage plant and major trunk lines. A request was made and approved to change this grant from Flower Mound to Flower Mound New Town's Municipal District (MUD) #1.⁷⁴ The state of Texas will finance twenty-five per cent through a long-term loan made by the Texas Water Development Board to the MUD, and the remaining twenty per cent (\$351,000) will be provided by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the form of a new community grant because of the MUD's relationship to the FMNT project.⁷⁵

Summary

The relationship between the Federal Government and both The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town has generally been one of aid and assistance. However, this competition for funds has caused

⁷⁴MUDs are discussed in Chapter III.

⁷⁵"FM Receives EPA Sewer Grant," Lewisville Leader, June 18, 1972, p. 1.

some conflict. The requirements placed on the new towns in order to get HUD's loan guarantees have strictly defined many of the developers' activities. When asked if the "hassle" was worth the loan guarantees and grants given by the Federal Government, a new town spokesman replied that many times he did not think so.

The State of Texas

The state's involvement in the new community process is considerably less than the Federal Government's. Texas has no mechanism for new communities. The State review agency in Texas is the Division of Planning Coordination in the Office of the Governor. The main purpose of this office in regard to new towns is to ensure that the affected Council of Governments has provided review and comment as mandated by the Office of Management and Budget Circular A-95. This office does no independent review of its own. It also is available to supply assistance in the preparation of environmental impact statements.⁷⁶ The new towns have no relations with this office in any other capacity.

State Departments

There are two departments that are involved with The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town in administrative capacities. But

⁷⁶Personal letter, James M. Rose, Director of the Division of Planning Coordination, Austin, Texas, February 3, 1975.

this relationship is not due to the new town characteristic of the development, but because, like any other development, streets and water and sewerage systems are needed. The Texas Highway Department is involved in its regional transportation studies. The study for each area will include the streets in the new towns: The Woodlands is included in the Houston-Galveston Regional Transportation Study, and FMNT is in the Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Planning Study.⁷⁷

Another department that is involved with the new towns is the Texas State Department of Health. Their participation is primarily directed toward the provision of adequate water and sewerage systems in the developments. The Texas Sanitation and Health Protection Law⁷⁸ requires that plans and specifications for new water and sewerage systems be submitted to this department for review and approval prior to construction. Both new towns have worked with the Health Department regarding these matters. They have also used such agencies as the Texas Forest Service, the Texas Water Rights Commission, the General Land Office, the Railroad Commission, and the Texas Water Quality Board as information sources.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Personal letter, Tom H. Taylor, Director of Travel and Information Division of the Texas Highway Department, Austin, Texas, December 23, 1974.

⁷⁸Article 4477-1 V.T.C.S.

⁷⁹Personal interviews, Skip Christy and David Dunnigan.

Texas Universities

Another way that the new towns have worked with the state is through Texas Universities. Texas A and M was commissioned by The Woodlands to conduct an inventory of wildlife and a classification of soils. At the University of Houston an inter-disciplinary five-hour credit course was offered to develop plans for a new town.⁸⁰ Besides being helpful for the developer, this provided a method of involving citizens in the planning process. Rice University also contributed urban designs for new community planning.⁸¹

Flower Mound New Town has also made use of neighboring universities. Their day care center is used for an internship program for Texas Women's University's graduate students. North Texas State University and Southern Methodist University were involved in the summer arts program for FMNT which operated under an NEA grant. North Texas State University also uses the site for archeological studies. The new town will continue working with these schools in the hopes of developing an innovative educational system for the new town.⁸²

⁸⁰"New City: University Students Design Modern Urban Area to be Built Near Houston," Daily Texan (Spring, Texas), April 24, 1971, p. 16.

⁸¹Personal interview, Skip Christy.

⁸²Personal interview, David Dunnigan.

Neither The Woodlands nor FMNT has received any State aid, although the "701 Planning Assistance" grant to Flower Mound is administered by the State. Skip Christy, with The Woodlands, said that the reason for the lack of state aid is that the aid is designed to correct problems that already exist, not to build or develop new systems. This makes it difficult for new towns, whose aim is a pre-planned community, to benefit from any state programs. Also, The Woodlands is not an incorporated municipality, and therefore unable to receive State aid.⁸³

In one way Texas has delayed development of The Woodlands. A branch of the University of Houston is planned for The Woodlands. They donated the land and the university was to provide much of the employment for the town. In early 1975 the Coordinating Board of the Texas College and University System issued a report opposing any legislative approval of any expansion or new campus as a part of the existing college and university system in the State. With this recommendation, the Texas Legislature decided to table the issue for two years. State Senator William Moore, who represents Montgomery County, is opposed to any new campus because he sees it as unnecessary. State Representative Jimmie Edwards agrees with the Board's decision. As representative of both Montgomery and Walker Counties,

⁸³Personal interview, Skip Christy.

Representative Edwards is concerned about the effect a north campus of the University of Houston might have on Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas. While Allen Commander, a Vice President with the University of Houston, feels that the campus is "justified and needed," he has decided not to press for immediate legislative approval of the campus.⁸⁴ Even though this will cause a delay, it will not change The Woodlands' plans to work for the approval of a north campus of the University of Houston.⁸⁵

Summary

The relationships of the State of Texas with The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town are basically routine administrative ones. There has been no conflict (except perhaps with the University of Houston branch) because the issues are neutral and non-controversial. There are no relationships based on the new town aspect of The Woodlands or Flower Mound New Town.

The vertical relationships are analyzed according to their relationship type in the following pages. The political relationships used are those presented by Fritschler and Segal in their typology of inter-governmental relations outlined in Chapter I. The authors present a fourfold scheme of interaction: (1) routine policymaking emphasizes

⁸⁴"No Campus Now for Woodlands," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), January 26, 1975, p. 1.

⁸⁵Personal interview, Skip Christy.

pre-imposed and generally accepted procedures; (2) mutual accommodation involves an element of competition; (3) innovative conflict starts with conflict and ends with cooperation; and (4) disintegrative conflict is when differences cannot be solved and, therefore, nothing constructive develops. The other categories used in typing these relationships are the actors involved, the issue area, and a brief description of the relationship.

TABLE 3

A TYPOLOGY OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Type of Political Relationships	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
Routine policymaking	The Woodlands, HUD	Loan guarantees	\$50 million in loan guarantees issued
	FMNT, HUD	Loan guarantees	\$18 million loan guarantees issued, \$9 million pending
	HUD, Flower Mound	Water and sewer grant	\$2,408,000 grant, \$928,000 new community supplement
	HUD, Flower Mound	Water and sewer grant	\$975,000 grant, \$139,000 supplemental grant
	HUD, Flower Mound, FMNT	Open Space Land Grant	\$1 million park and recreation facility
	HUD, FMNT, State of Texas	701 planning grant	State administers a \$20,000 grant to develop a Master Plan for Flower Mound
	HUD, Flower Mound, State of Texas	701 planning grant	State administers a \$10,000 grant to set up a municipal finance plan

TABLE 3--Continued

Type of Political Relationships	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
	U. S. Civil Service, Flower Mound, Public Administration Service	Intergovernmental Personnel grant	PAS is consultant in a \$15,750 grant to develop a model personnel structure
	OMB, The Woodlands; OMB, FMNT	Circular A-95	Requires review and comment by State and areawide clearing-houses
	Labor Dept., The Woodlands; Labor Dept., FMNT	Davis-Bacon Act, equal opportunity	New town must comply with these federal statutes
	HEW, The Woodlands; HEW, FMNT	Health organization	Informal information source
	DOT, FMNT	Airport and highway studies	Airport noise study by FAA; transportation study by Federal Highway Administration
	FMNT, NTSU, SMU, NEA	NEA grant	\$10,000 grant used to fund summer arts program
	EPA, The Woodlands (MUD #6)	EPA grant	\$70,000 grant for sewer plans and specifications

TABLE 3--Continued

Type of Political Relationship	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
	EPA, FMNT (MUD #1)	EPA grant	\$966,350 sewer grant for construction
	HUD, FMNT (MUD #1)	New community grant	\$351,000 supplemental grant for sewer construction
	State Division of Planning Coordination, The Woodlands; FMNT	OMB Circular A-95	Assures that COGs provide review and comment
	Texas Highway Dept., The Woodlands; FMNT	Transportation	Highway studies
	Texas Dept. of Health, The Woodlands; FMNT	Water and sewerage systems	Texas laws regarding plans and specifications of water and sewer systems
	The Woodlands, Texas A and M, U of H, Rice U.	Information and plans	The schools have provided plans and studies for the new town
	FMNT, TWU, NTSU, SMU	Information and plans	The schools have provided plans and will help develop an education system

TABLE 3--Continued

Type of Political Relationship	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
Mutual Accommodation	The Woodlands, EPA, DOT, Dept. of the Army, OEO, Federal Power Commission, Dept. of Agriculture, Atomic Energy Commission	Environmental Impact Statement	Agencies review and offer criticism of the EIS
	FMNT, OEO, Dept. of Agriculture, DOT, HEW, Dept. of Commerce, EPA, Dept. of Army, Atomic Energy Commission, Dept. of Interior	Environmental Impact Statement	Agencies review and offer criticism of the EIS
Innovative Conflict	GAO, FMNT, HUD	Audit	GAO report that FMNT is in financial difficulty and projections were incorrect
	HUD, The Woodlands	Low-income housing	The new town must provide low-income housing with or without federal assistance; The Woodlands is expecting some federal aid

TABLE 3--Continued

Type of Political Relationship	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
Disintegrative Conflict	New Community Administration, The Woodlands; FMNT	Administrative problems	Refusal to ask for funds for new towns, centralization, giving up any future new towns, stigma of "federal" community
	Federal Government, The Woodlands; FMNT	Supplemental Grants in New Community Act	Funds impounded by President Nixon in 1973
	HEW, The Woodlands, U of T	Health planning grant	Application turned down
	The State of Texas, The Woodlands; FMNT	New town assistance	Texas has no mechanisms to provide aid to new towns
	HEW, The Woodlands, Montgomery County	Library grant	Grant funds impounded
	The Woodlands, U of H, Coordinating Board of the Texas College and University System, Texas Legislature	U of H north branch at The Woodlands	After recommendation by the Board, the branch has been tabled for two years by the Texas Legislature

CHAPTER III

HORIZONTAL RELATIONSHIPS

The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town also have inter-governmental relationships that are horizontal in nature. These relations are with units that are smaller than the State and are creations of the State. The largest of these is a non-governmental body, the regional Councils of Governments. Local units of government include the county, school districts, non-school special districts, and cities. Unincorporated suburban developments are discussed along with cities because they have some of the same characteristics. The closest relationship to the new towns is their own internal governance. FMNT is governed by the town of Flower Mound, while The Woodlands has only a community association. Chapter III will discuss these horizontal relationships.

Councils of Governments

The regional Council of Governments (COG) is a relatively new phenomenon in Texas. These regional councils are voluntary associations of local governments which were created by State law August 30, 1965 under Article 1011m.¹ Their purpose is to promote

¹V.A.C.S., pp. 122-127.

intergovernmental cooperation and to strengthen local units of government. There are three main functions that COGs should perform: (1) Engage in the review of local planning and development activities in various functional areas; (2) develop the capability to provide technical assistance to member local governments; and (3) establish an areawide comprehensive planning process.²

In the nine years since the law creating COGs was passed, twenty-four councils have been established in Texas. Every area of the State is served by a COG. There are 1,458 cities, counties, and special districts with membership in some COG in Texas. Since their inception COGs have reviewed \$7.1 billion in State and federal grants to local governments and organizations.³

There are several reasons for the development of this regional council network. One is that local governments realized that such problems as pollution, water supplies, and transportation transcended traditional boundaries. Since these problems are multi-jurisdictional in nature, they needed coordinated multi-jurisdictional approaches. The State has provided stimulus to COGs by giving them technical assistance and State funding. The most important incentive has come from the Federal Government which has encouraged

²Office of the Governor, Division of Planning Coordination, Directory 1974, Regional Councils in Texas, p. 11.

³Ibid.

comprehensive local and areawide development planning through grant requirements.

Article 1011m confers the status of "political subdivisions" of the State upon the COG, but they are meant to be the servants of local governments. All COG governing bodies must consist of a minimum of 66 2/3 per cent local elected officials.⁴ This assures local government control. COGs are denied the authority to levy taxes and cannot issue bonds or engage in debt financing.⁵

The Woodlands is located in the Houston-Galveston Area Council (H-GAC), which includes thirteen counties. At the time that The Woodlands was submitting an application to HUD for loan guarantees, the COG review and comment under OMB Circular A-95 was in the initial planning stage. Therefore, H-GAC did not have to review the project.⁶ They have, however, reviewed parts of the project since this time.

In 1974 The Woodlands submitted an application to HEW for a grant to fund a health planning study. For the application to be approved by the COG, the county involved must go along with it. Montgomery County wanted the health planning to include the entire

⁴Section 5, Article 1011m, V.A.C.S.

⁵Section 6b, Article 1011m, V.A.C.S.

⁶Personal letter, Charles M. Trost, Assistant for Planning Coordination, H-GAC, Houston, Texas, December 26, 1974.

county. Once The Woodlands agreed to this, it was approved by the COG.⁷ They have also reviewed plans for waste control and water supply.⁸

An interesting development occurred recently that involved H-GAC. It refused to grant a determination of need to two Montgomery County hospitals, one supposedly proposed by the United Medical Centers for The Woodlands.⁹ When asked what effect this decision would have on The Woodlands, Skip Christy replied that The Woodlands was not involved in this application. He said that they first heard about it from the newspapers and were requesting the minutes from this meeting. A clinic is being planned but The Woodlands knew nothing of the United Medical Centers Woodlands hospital.¹⁰

Flower Mound New Town is a part of the North Central Texas Council of Governments (NCTCOG), the first regional council established in Texas. This sixteen-county COG is the largest in Texas. Like H-GAC, NCTCOG was not initially required to review

⁷"Health Plan Okayed by H-GAC," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), November 16, 1974, p. 1+.

⁸"Mitchell Request is Okayed by H-GAC," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), January 11, 1973, p. 1+.

⁹"Two Hospital Applications Turned Down," Huntsville Item, February 16, 1975, p. 1.

¹⁰Personal interview, Skip Christy, Director of Government Relations, The Woodlands, Texas, February 27, 1975.

and comment on the new town's plans.¹¹ NCTCOG has been a major source of information for both FMNT and the municipality of Flower Mound. The Council initiated transportation studies and noise exposure forecasts; moreover, when Flower Mound needed zoning and building codes, the COG provided them. The Town Administrator of Flower Mound, Al Vick, emphasized the cooperative relationship of the town with NCTCOG and said that the Council worked for the cities.¹²

The County

Texas counties were established in the State Constitution in Article IX, Section 1. There has been no basic change in the county system since 1876. County governments in Texas have dual responsibility as administrative extensions of the State government and as local governmental units endowed with local responsibilities. Because of strict constitutional limitations on counties, they are restricted from being a powerful governmental unit.

The Woodlands is located wholly in Montgomery County, the county seat of which is Conroe. In 1972, when The Woodlands started planning for the new town, there were some conflicts with Montgomery County. County Judge Lynn Coker said that the county

¹¹Unsigned letter, NCTCOG, Arlington, Texas, March 17, 1975.

¹²Personal interview, Al Vick, Town Administrator of the Town of Flower Mound, Flower Mound, Texas, March 12, 1975.

had been ignored by project planners and when changes were made the county was not notified. Another sore spot with Montgomery County relates to the tax base. According to Judge Coker county officials know that without adequate industry to support the tax pressure The Woodlands will place on the county, every resident will be burdened.

To ease some of these fears local government officials were sent by The Woodlands to Columbia, Maryland, one of the first new towns in the United States. One aspect that they noticed is that municipal services to the new town are provided by the county. County officials were worried because their services were already in trouble: "Fire protection is local volunteer units who raise money through bazaars; the sheriff's department is short changed in the budget every year; county roads need improving; they need a new library, etc."¹³

The county has no planning control, but they have provided assistance in street planning and drainage. The one service that Montgomery County provides to The Woodlands is protection by the sheriff's department.¹⁴ According to Skip Christy, The Woodlands

¹³Personal interview, Tim Cummings, Administrative Aid to the Montgomery County Judge, Conroe, Texas, March 5, 1975.

¹⁴Joyanna Price, "Woodlands Planned for 150,000 People in Twenty Years," Houston Post, December 21, 1972, p. 10BB.

bought the police car and finances its maintenance as well as paying the salaries of the officers that serve this area.

The Woodlands has worked with the county in applying for two grants. In 1973 The Woodlands submitted an application for an HEW grant to facilitate a health study by the University of Texas School of Public Health. The county refused to go along with this request until it was expanded to include all of Montgomery County. After this was done, the application was submitted; but the funds were impounded.¹⁵

Another area of county-new town cooperation involves the county library system. An application was made for a library grant which would be funded by one-half federal money (HEW) and one-half State money. The application received a low priority from the State because the library would serve very few people at the present time; moreover, a small percentage of the clientele could be classified as low income. Also, these HEW funds were impounded. Negotiations regarding a library have continued. The location has changed many times and the question of who will pay for the construction is still undecided. For the time being, a branch library is set up in The Woodlands' Information Center and the county pays \$1 per year rent on the building.¹⁶

¹⁵"HEW Turns Down Request for County Health Grant," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), December 15, 1972.

¹⁶Personal interview, Tim Cummings.

One relationship that must be considered is the effect that such a large development could have on county politics. The newcomers could swing the balance of power and seize control from the traditional authority that exists in the county. Because of changes in residential patterns in this precinct, the area of the precinct from which the commissioner is usually elected has changed. This causes the current county government to be concerned about any great influx of people to the county, for the "old timers" see themselves as rural and want to continue this way.¹⁷

Flower Mound New Town is located in Denton County. Because it is located within an incorporated municipality, it has few relationships with the county. Before Flower Mound established a police force, they relied on the Denton County Sheriff's Department. They still have a good working relationship with them: they share dispatch radios and the county helps out when needed.¹⁸

Denton County also provides road services to Flower Mound. The county has no obligation and no contract exists, but an arrangement has been made whereby Flower Mound supplies the materials and Denton County provides machinery and manpower for road construction. Flower Mound New Town developers have built some of

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Personal interview, George Metarelis, Chief of the Department of Community Safety, Flower Mound, Texas, March 5, 1975.

their own roads. The County Commissioner for Precinct 2 in which FMNT is located suggested that a conflict could possibly develop because trucks used for construction in the new town are tearing up county roads.¹⁹ The relationships at this time, however, are basically between the municipality of Flower Mound and Denton County, rather than the new town, specifically.

Special Districts

School Districts

Probably the most cooperative intergovernmental relationship for the new towns is with the school district. Texas school districts are a form of the local governmental unit known as the special district, in this case complete with taxing power and a governing board. Independent school districts are governed by trustees who, among other duties, set school policies, levy taxes, and appropriate funds. All three levels of government share in the burden of financing schools. In the State of Texas as a whole about 11 per cent of public school finances comes from grants-in-aid from the national government; about 41 per cent is provided by the local school districts, which derive most of it from ad valorem property taxes; and the remaining 48 per cent is supplied by the State.²⁰

¹⁹Personal interview, Denton County Commissioner El Elbert, Precinct Two, Lewisville, Texas, March 6, 1975.

²⁰Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of Texas, (4th ed.; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1972), pp. 303-305.

The Woodlands is located in two school districts, Conroe Independent School District (CISD) and Magnolia Independent School District (MISD). The Magnolia District encompasses the last stages of the projected new town development; consequently relations have, thus far, been strictly with CISD. The Woodlands envision around thirty-five schools upon completion of the development. One school, Lamar Elementary, is already in operation. The land was donated to CISD by The Woodlands. A new high school is being built and The Woodlands is building a bridge to allow access to the location.²¹ The Woodlands will either give or sell land for the remainder of the schools. The plans are that there will be numerous shared facilities, such as recreation facilities and libraries, between CISD and The Woodlands. Other subdivisions such as Timber Lakes, Timber Ridge, and Oak Ridge North are pleased with this arrangement, for it allows many facilities to be used by the students from these areas.

The Woodlands would like to see, sometime in the future, a consolidation of MISD with CISD so that they can be completely within one school district. This would allow consistent education and solve the problem of school district rivalry.²² C. D. York, the Superintendent of CISD, doubts that this will ever occur. The Conroe

²¹"New High School Plan to Proceed," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), December 11, 1974, p. 1+.

²²Personal interview, Skip Christy.

School District is the largest in the Gulf Coast and he doubts that the State would allow it to increase in size. He considers the relationship between The Woodlands and CISD to be a cooperative one.²³

One of the first relationships to be established by Flower Mound New Town was with the Lewisville Independent School District (LISD). The new town is only a small part of the district's 112 square miles which include many new developments and about seven residential-type cities. FMNT hopes to establish joint use of facilities, such as libraries. Administrators from the district even attended a conference in New York about education and new towns and the shared structures and services. Dr. Clayton Downing, Assistant Superintendent, observed that a time-table for the establishment of these shared facilities has been very difficult to establish. Thus far impressive promises have been made but there has been no concrete action. The example that Downing used was a library. FMNT wants the school to share a library with the new town; but, if the school is built and the library has not yet been constructed by the new town, the school must furnish a library. The problem of a shared staff also arises.²⁴

²³Personal interview, C. D. York, Superintendent of Conroe Independent School District, Conroe, Texas, March 7, 1975.

²⁴Personal interview, Dr. Clayton Downing, Assistant Superintendent of Lewisville Independent School District, Lewisville, Texas, March 12, 1975.

One school is currently in the planning stage for FMNT. The Lewisville Independent School District purchased ten acres from FMNT and was given twenty-one acres by the new town for the Edward S. Marcus Middle School.²⁵ Dr. Downing said that the new town will get no special treatment; schools will be built wherever the children are.

Both Conroe and Lewisville school officials emphasized that the new towns will get no special treatment and no special services. They will be treated in the same manner as any other development is. Anything desired above the educational level of the school districts must be provided by the new towns. Both districts, however, are innovative and provide high quality education. If the new town should be allowed to break off from the school district it must take a proportional share of the school district's indebtedness. (If the new town makes up 15 per cent of the district, it must take 15 per cent of the indebtedness.) Moreover, it must then set up its own kindergarten through twelfth grades, making this highly unlikely. For these reasons the new towns will continue to work through the existent school districts.

Non-School Special Districts

Texas has experienced a tremendous growth of non-school special districts, which now number at least 1,421 and represent

²⁵"Two Story Structure Suggested for Marcus," Lewisville Daily Leader, February 9, 1975.

more than one-third of all Texas governments. These numerous special purpose governments are "variations from the general-purpose, standardized local governmental pattern of county, municipal, and school district governments."²⁶ Texas has seven classes of special purpose governments: airport authorities, hospital districts, housing authorities, noxious weed control districts, rural fire prevention districts, soil and water conservation districts, and water districts.²⁷ The bulk of these are water-related districts.

HUD's preference clearly is for the use of general governmental units rather than special districts. Texas new town developers have found this impossible to do because the counties do not provide the high level of services needed by the new town. The Woodlands' voters approved \$7,831,000 in bonds to finance Montgomery County Drainage District Number 2. This district composed of 5,500 acres within The Woodlands is designed to handle drainage inadequacies in the eastern part of the development. Flower Mound New Town is located within two special districts set up before the new town started: Cooke County Junior College

²⁶Beryl E. Pettus and Randall W. Bland, Governments in Texas (forthcoming: Dorsey Press, 1976), p. 52.

²⁷U. S. Census Bureau, 1972 Census of Governments, Vol. 1 Governmental Organization (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 449-450.

District and a Water Conservation District. These districts have no real effect on the new town, but there are districts that are very important to new towns' development--municipal utilities districts.

In 1971 the Texas Legislature, by use of the provisions of the Texas Constitution, Article XVI, Section 59, authorized by general law the creation of a new type of water district, the municipal utility district (MUD). Water districts may be created by legislative act or by order of a state agency or a local government. The laws governing MUDs are found in Chapter 54 of the Texas Water Code, V.T.C.A., pp. 269-344. These legal creatures of State have broad powers: contractual relations, taxation, indebtedness, annexation, eminent domain, and intergovernmental agreements. They can even set up police forces and parks and recreational facilities, although their most common functions include water supply, drainage, and liquid and solid waste collection and treatment.²⁸

In 1974 eighteen registered voters in Montgomery County MUD Number 6 voted unanimously for a \$20,750,000 bond issue. This district is comprised of 1,364 acres in the southern portion of The Woodlands' development. MUD Number 6 is the first of an

²⁸Beryl E. Pettus, "Basic Library Sources: Municipal Utility Districts in Texas." Paper presented to the Texas Junior College Teachers Association Annual Meeting, Houston, Texas, February 21, 1975, p. 4.

undetermined number of utility districts. When asked why there would be many MUDs instead of annexation by MUD Number 6, Skip Christy said the people in the MUD can refuse to pass the required bond issue that is needed to serve a larger area. He said that this happened to the developers of Clear Lake City.²⁹ MUD Number 6 will provide water, sewer, and drainage services. It is possible that future MUDs may contract with MUD Number 6 for sewerage treatment.³⁰

Five people approved a \$19.5 million bond issue for Flower Mound MUD Number 1, located in Flower Mound New Town.³¹ The MUD was necessary because the town could not supply the needed services of water supply and sewage treatment. Contractual arrangements have been made for the city of Dallas to provide water to the new town MUD. According to David Dunnigan, with FMNT, the area will be serviced through annexations by the MUD, one of which has already taken place.³² Another MUD, Flower

²⁹Personal interview, Skip Christy.

³⁰"The Woodlands First MUD," Woodlands Sun (Spring, Texas), March 27, 1974, p. 1.

³¹"Flower Mound MUD Elections July 27," Lewisville Leader, July 19, 1972, p. 1.

³²Annexation can occur after receipt of a petition signed by a majority in value of the land owners of an area requesting to be annexed and following an "annexation hearing and order" procedure outlined in the law.

Mound MUD West Number 1, is being created outside of the new town. The Town Administrator suggested that the Town of Flower Mound may buy water from MUD Number 1 and sell it to this new MUD.

One event that has affected developers with regard to MUDs is a ruling by the Texas Water Rights Commission that requires water district developers to pay thirty per cent of construction costs for water, sewer, and drainage facilities. This move is said to be aimed at assuring that water districts will be on sound financial footing so residents will not have to pay higher taxes.³³ This requirement is not retroactive but it will affect future MUDs in The Woodlands and FMNT.³⁴ The new towns believe that the move will be helpful for the "responsible developer," but the additional costs will be passed on to the consumer.³⁵

Surrounding Municipalities and Developments

Some of the most important relationships for a new town are those with its surrounding municipalities and unincorporated developments. Because of difficulties incurred by other new towns

³³"Developers Must Pay 30 Percent of Costs," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), September 17, 1974, p. 1.

³⁴"Ruling to Lower Taxes, Hike Costs," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), September 18, 1974, p. 1.

³⁵This actually works against the consumer, because taxes are deductible while the extra cost of the home (the principal) is not deductible. Ibid.

in dealing with local units, HUD is requiring detailed communications between them. This requirement of workable relations with surrounding areas is especially important for The Woodlands, since it is not an incorporated municipality.

Early communications problems resulted in problems for the new town. Conroe is the closest city to The Woodlands and the county seat of Montgomery County. City officials in Conroe felt that they were left out in the planning of the new town. Conroe Mayor R. A. Deison was irritated because much of the information that he had received had been second-hand. Deison expressed concern as to whether there would be enough industry to support the projected population of The Woodlands. He stated: "Originally they told us they would have enough commercial development to more than pay for all the (municipal) services. Now that's not necessarily so. Now we hear about light industry like warehousing. That would make them one more bedroom type community instead of an integrated community."³⁶

Other communication problems arose from the influx of new people and the internal turmoil in The Woodlands Development Corporation. The City of Houston, in neighboring Harris County, is the central city of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)

³⁶Joyanna Price, "Woodlands Planned for 150,000 People in Twenty Years," op. cit., p. 10BB.

in which The Woodlands is located. Both Conroe and Houston felt that there was little consistency in their relations with the management group of The Woodlands. When subdivision plat approval was needed from Houston, a different person was sent every time to present it. This angered the Houston City Council; and at one point, they refused to approve a plat until one person was designated to work with the City of Houston.³⁷ Instead of working with local people and using local engineers and consultants The Woodlands brought in "slick Easterners."³⁸

Some of the relationships have been routine administrative ones with neighboring unincorporated developments. The Woodlands received a state charter for their volunteer fire department and has signed a mutual aid agreement with the neighboring Timber Lakes Fire Department. The Woodlands Community Association donated fire-fighting and rescue equipment to the joint venture.³⁹ Another relationship is with the unincorporated development of Oak Ridge North (ORN). It shares in The Woodlands drainage district number 2. A possible conflict situation has arisen because,

³⁷Mr. Heiser said that this move was not legal, "but it did the job."

³⁸Personal interview, Ronald A. Heiser, Assistant Director for the Houston City Planning Department, Houston, Texas, March 2, 1975.

³⁹"Woodlands Get Charter," Woodlands Sun (Spring, Texas), July 17, 1974, p. 1+.

according to a study, The Woodlands is responsible for 16.25 per cent of the total drainage handled by the Oak Ridge North drainage system. ORN has asked The Woodlands to help financially in this situation.⁴⁰ The Woodlands has not made a decision concerning this matter.

One conflict between The Woodlands and Conroe that had a happy ending involved water supply. The city was concerned because it feared that the new town's excessive reliance upon the ground water supplies of Montgomery County would result in a lowered water table, increased land subsidence, and encroachment of salt water into the ground water supplies of Conroe. Mayor Deison felt that The Woodlands had misled Conroe in the early 1970's concerning the effect of heavy water usage by the development. A Conroe geologist and former councilman, who is now Montgomery County Commissioner, George Wood, charged that there was a discrepancy between the Environmental Impact Statement submitted to HUD and a report by Turner, Collie, and Braden, engineers for The Woodlands. The TC&B report stated that sole dependency by The Woodlands on ground water would lower the water table at Conroe 170 feet.⁴¹ A Woodlands spokesman feels that this was a scare tactic.

⁴⁰"Oak Ridge MUD Requesting Drainage Aid from Outside," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), November 21, 1974, p. 1+.

⁴¹"Conroe-Woodlands Meet on Shared Water Problems," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), July 12, 1974, p. 1.

Both The Woodlands and Conroe then expressed a desire for surface water from Lake Conroe. The City of Houston owns seventy-five per cent of the lake's surface water and sells it to Baytown and Pasadena.⁴² Because the chances of getting surface water were not great, The Woodlands and Conroe entered into a joint study of their underground water supply. The results showed that there is enough water to last at least thirty years and The Woodlands and Conroe therefore decided that they did not need surface water.⁴³

The Woodlands' relationships with Houston are based on their being in Houston's extraterritorial jurisdiction (ETJ). Under Title 28, Article 970a (Municipal Annexation Act, V.C.S.A.), a city with 100,000 or more people would have an ETJ of five miles. This can be extended if requested by the owners of a contiguous territory, but it cannot conflict with the existing ETJ of another city. The Woodlands asked Houston to extend its ETJ so that it would fall under one jurisdiction, giving the impression that this was needed to meet federal guidelines. This, however, is not true. The agreement with Houston would not allow any of The Woodlands' area to incorporate for seventeen years and The Woodlands would pay any court costs that resulted from the ETJ extension.⁴⁴

⁴²"Woodlands, Conroe Focus on Future Water Supplies," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), September 18, 1974, p. 1+.

⁴³Personal interview, R. A. Deison.

⁴⁴Personal interview, Ronald A. Heiser.

The Woodlands is involved with Houston city government in the policy preparation stage where such subjects as subdivision controls, streets, lots, and platting properties are discussed. The Woodlands would like to see Houston acknowledge Planned Unit Developments (PUDs) so that Houston will review larger units than just a lot or subdivision. A subdivision may not have enough open space to satisfy the city ordinances of Houston; however, when the overall development is viewed as a single unit, there may be more than enough open space. Houston fears that if it institutes PUDs the city could get short-changed. A developer could set up a master plan and then sell the property with the new owner refusing to go along with the master plan. This desired change has not yet been submitted to the Houston City Council, but it is being studied by the Planning Department.⁴⁵

The extension of Houston's ETJ into Montgomery County was not met with acceptance by the people of Conroe. Conroe's mayor, R. A. Deison, said that "Any type of extension by Houston is not viewed by much enthusiasm here. People are suspicious of a city that large. Our basic feeling is that we like to be the master of our own fate. Any encroachment by Houston and we are less likely to maintain our own identity."⁴⁶

⁴⁵Personal interview, Marie Gibbens Ristroph, Chief of Comprehensive Planning Division, Houston City Planning Department, Houston, Texas, March 3, 1975.

⁴⁶Joyanna Price, "Woodlands Planned for 150,000 People in Twenty Years," op. cit., p. 10BB.

A serious conflict between Shenandoah Valley, Conroe, Houston, and The Woodlands has developed because of the extension of Houston's ETJ. On March 16, 1974 the development of Shenandoah incorporated, including 300 acres of The Woodlands' proposed commercial land. A community must have the permission of the city whose ETJ it is in for it to incorporate. The basis of the conflict is whether or not Shenandoah needed Houston's permission to incorporate. (Houston's policy is to refuse permission for incorporation of communities within its ETJ.) If this is the case, the incorporation election would be illegal. This would really hurt Shenandoah because city officials have accepted federal revenue sharing money which would have to be returned.

According to Houston officials, Shenandoah asked if Houston was involved in their incorporation. Houston replied that its ETJ did not include the proposed incorporated area of Shenandoah. Shenandoah incorporated just before Mitchell asked Houston to extend jurisdiction over more property. The Houston ordinance includes a savings clause that states that Houston would not try to claim land that Conroe considered to be in its ETJ. A misunderstanding is based on strips of land along Interstate 45 that Conroe claims as part of its city. It is because of this land that Shenandoah would be in Conroe's ETJ.

The Woodlands argues that Conroe's strips are disjointed and therefore invalid. Conroe's ETJ would then be moved back and not include The Woodlands' part of Shenandoah. On the other hand, Shenandoah crosses over some of this strip. If Conroe's claim is upheld, the incorporation of Shenandoah is illegal.⁴⁷ Shenandoah seems to lose either way: if the strips are valid, the city is not; and if they are not valid, Shenandoah is in Houston's ETJ.

One thing that appears to be impossible to explain is why Conroe gave permission for Shenandoah to incorporate some of its land. Another interesting aspect is that the lawyer who works for Conroe is also the one who advised Shenandoah regarding incorporation.⁴⁸ While Conroe officials have stated that they will not spend money to protect Shenandoah, they have represented them in meetings with Houston and The Woodlands.⁴⁹

If litigation occurs, it will be between Houston and Conroe, rather than The Woodlands. A Houston city official felt that they were "sucked into" this conflict. He said that Houston has no desire to argue with Conroe. The push for a solution comes entirely from The Woodlands; Houston has nothing to gain either way.

⁴⁷"Shenandoah Town Election Saturday," Woodlands Sun (Spring, Texas), May 8, 1974, p. 1+.

⁴⁸Personal interview, Ronald A. Heiser.

⁴⁹Personal interview, R. A. Deison.

The conflict even involves the Federal Government. HUD will be "extremely concerned should there be any change in political jurisdiction."⁵⁰ If Shenandoah is successful in holding on to Woodlands' property, it can regulate its development through city ordinances designating street size, utility requirements, and land use. HUD did not say what action they would take if this happens, but it gives The Woodlands an added incentive to win.

The Woodlands has threatened Shenandoah (through Houston) with a lawsuit if they do not return the land that it incorporated. In order to reach a compromise, Woodlands officials presented to Mayor Roger Davis an offer of services that it would provide in return for 200 acres: extension of Tamina Road, use of facilities, and expertise. Shenandoah refused and the situation is now in the legal departments of the entities involved in the conflict.⁵¹

Because Flower Mound New Town is located within an incorporated municipality its relationships with surrounding municipalities have not been as extensive as those of The Woodlands. The closest city to Flower Mound is the City of Lewisville. As early as 1970 Mayor Sam Houston said the new town project would be

⁵⁰"Possible Woodlands Dispute Could Bring Federal Concern," Houston Post, November 11, 1974, p. 9B.

⁵¹"Woodlands Negotiates With Shenandoah to Avert Suit," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), October 7, 1974, p. 1+.

beneficial to the entire area.⁵² Lewisville experienced a tremendous growth in the late 1960's and it was not prepared for it; in fact, the city completely ran out of water. Therefore, most of the residents appreciate the need for planning for the inevitable.⁵³ While there are no contractual arrangements between Flower Mound and Lewisville, mutual assistance has been worked out for Lewisville to assist with fire and ambulance service. Also, Lewisville, Highland Village, and Flower Mound all share a Chamber of Commerce.⁵⁴

FMNT has had an impact on land speculation in the area. Both the new town and the new airport have contributed to this speculation. This has resulted in the incorporation of many communities south of Denton's extraterritorial jurisdiction. Hence the City of Denton has had to project strip corridor limits to protect its southernmost ETJ area. The extension of corporate limits by corridors is not good for neighboring community relations nor are frantic incorporations by small communities, according to Dennis Peacock, Director of Planning for the City of Denton. However, incorporation offers to some degree a sense of security for a

⁵²"Wide Open Space Won't Be For Long," Fort Worth Star Telegram, December 30, 1970, p. 22.

⁵³Personal interview, Mrs. El Elbert, Lewisville resident, Lewisville, Texas, March 13, 1975.

⁵⁴Personal interview, Al Vick.

partially developed area.⁵⁵ The situation in this area is very different from that of The Woodlands. Instead of being surrounded by unincorporated developments, FMNT is surrounded by incorporated municipalities, the majority of which do not even tax.

Many of these developments are "planned communities" in themselves though not complete and balanced, federally assisted communities. A feeling of envy exists on the part of these other developers. The City of Southlake is an example of this feeling, as they have had difficulty in securing any federal funds. This has been described as:

We find ourselves here in the City of Southlake in much the same situation as the little kid on the wrong side of the tracks wistfully watching the rich kid play with all the fancy new toys he keeps getting while we sit here with nothing. I keep thinking how much more we could have done with less money had we had it.⁵⁶

Internal Governance

In the project agreement the new towns agree to give their citizens a legitimate means of affecting the governance decisions that are made. The Woodlands is attempting to achieve this through a "quasi-government," The Woodlands Community Association (WCA).

⁵⁵Personal letter, Dennis Peacock, Director of Planning for Denton, Texas, March 12, 1975.

⁵⁶Personal letter, Aliceanne Wallace, City Secretary for the City of Southlake, February 4, 1975.

The Association is a Texas non-profit corporation that was created to coordinate, manage, and own a broad spectrum of services, facilities, and properties, such as health care, recreation and parks, transportation, and day care. The WCA receives its legal authority from The Woodlands Covenants. By accepting a deed or lease to property, a resident agrees to adhere to The Woodlands Covenants. These covenants provide for the maintenance and creation of architectural standards and other rules and regulations that will from time to time affect the use of property in The Woodlands.⁵⁷ The WCA also has the power to levy a resident fee and, in many ways, hopes to take the place of an incorporated municipality. Initially the developer assumes the costs of the facilities; but after the WCA has grown, the developer will deed the facilities to the residents, along with the debt.

A very skeptical view of the success of this quasi-governmental association is held by Conroe's former mayor, R. A. (Mickey) Deison. He feels very strongly that a municipal government is needed to handle a development of this size. A central authority is needed to provide laws to deal with such problems as crime and fire.⁵⁸ Until this occurs, he believes that the new town

⁵⁷The Woodlands Community Association, provided by The Woodlands Information Center.

⁵⁸"Woodlands Has Historic First," Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), September 11, 1974, p. 1+.

is merely a farce and a fallacy.⁵⁹ Incorporation will not occur for at least seventeen years, because of an agreement with Houston that will not allow any such incorporation. In 1992 the developer will lose control and the residents will decide their future. However, Deison believes that this is too late and a municipal government is needed earlier in the development process.

While Flower Mound New Town plans to have a similar type of community association, there already exists a municipal government. The new town's impact on relationships with the "old town" of Flower Mound has been very productive of conflict. The municipality of Flower Mound incorporated in 1960 immediately after a legal battle over their annexation by Irving. They operated as a general law city with no city taxes and only a part-time city secretary. The government consisted of three commissioners, one being the mayor. The residents consisted of farmers and people who had moved to Flower Mound to escape from city taxes and city problems.⁶⁰

The residents of Flower Mound and nearby communities were surprised when they first learned of the proposed development of a

⁵⁹Personal interview, R. A. Deison, lawyer and former mayor of Conroe, Texas, March 5, 1975.

⁶⁰Personal interview, Bob Rheudasil, Director of Land Management for FMNT, first mayor of Flower Mound, Texas, March 11, 1975.

new town in Flower Mound in 1970. Flower Mound Councilman Leonard Johns, Grapevine Mayor Tommy Edison, and Grapevine Mayor Pro-Tem Willis Pirkle expressed surprise and anger about being totally unaware of the development.⁶¹ A group, Flower Mound Property Owners Association, was formed to voice concern about the imposition of a city tax--the same issue which led to Flower Mound's incorporation more than ten years before to avoid being annexed by Irving. The President of the association, Richard Clem, commented that this was the beginning of urban inconveniences and the end of rural serenity. He feels that "Flower Mound is mostly a town of older people with folks expecting to retire in a year or two. We moved here so we could retire on an acre or two of land and live on a \$1,500 or \$1,600 fixed income a year. We can't do it with [city] taxes."⁶² Citizens were also concerned about anticipated changes--taxes, drifters, and crime. This set the stage for the battle that is still going on today between the "city wreckers" and the pro-progress citizens, who presently control city government.

The pro-progress group realizes that growth will occur in this area and wants to see it planned and orderly. They set up a

⁶¹"Town Plan Surprises Area Officials," Fort Worth Star Telegram, December 29, 1970, p. 1.

⁶²"Double Edged Sword for Flower Mound," Dallas Times Herald, January 12, 1971, p. 27.

planning and zoning commission and in 1970 a small tax was levied. The people who are dissatisfied with the path that Flower Mound is taking have tried to separate themselves from the town. Two separate de-annexation petitions were presented in 1973. The first would de-annex eighty per cent of the town. This was ruled illegal because a State statute of 1883 will not allow a town to be reduced to less than one square mile or one mile in diameter around its corporate limits.⁶³ The second de-annexation proposal (which did not include any of FMNT) did come to a vote, but it failed.

Many reasons have been suggested for the cause of this conflict. One is the new town, which would change the lifestyle of the community. Lewisville had a bad experience with the Federal 235 program for low-income housing. People considered as "undesirable" concentrated in Lewisville and the turnover rate for housing was very high. Also, the flow of federal money scares many people. The HUD grant for parks and recreation facilities was at first turned down by the city council. They even walked out of the meeting in which HUD officials were to explain the grants. Former Denton County Commissioner and Flower Mound resident Frank Hilliard said that "Federal involvement will take control away from local

⁶³"Flower Mound Sets Dis-Annexation Vote," Lewisville Leader, August 1, 1973, p. 1.

officials and give it to the socialist extremists that infest out local, state, and national governments."⁶⁴

Another cause of conflict which is related to the new town has been the tax issue. The battle between the pro-tax forces and the anti-tax forces ended with an election that changed the town's form of government and effectively guaranteed taxes. After incorporation Flower Mound had a government consisting of three commissioners, with one being the mayor. In 1970 this was changed to a mayor-council system, with four aldermen and a mayor. When the citizens wanted a police force and the necessary taxes that went with it, they changed the form of government back to a commission type. Flower Mound voted to have three commissioners in order to rid themselves of the two anti-tax aldermen.⁶⁵

Another view of the basis of these conflicts is held by Al Vick, Flower Mound's Town Administrator. He believes that the division is based on personality conflicts. He said that Flower Mound is curious in that anytime a problem arises somebody wants to dis-annex. One of the dis-annexation petitions was seen as a way of getting rid of three aldermen. Even though Edward Marcus has lived in Flower Mound for twenty years, some people have

⁶⁴"To Tax or Not to Tax," Dallas Morning News, April 4, 1974, p. 21A.

⁶⁵"Government Altered," Lewisville Daily Leader, February 23, 1975, p. 6C.

personal antagonisms toward him. Vick said regretfully that he is not sure that Flower Mound residents are sophisticated enough to be a true urban community.⁶⁶

For the present the Town of Flower Mound is working well with FMNT. The planning and zoning commission has already approved the plans that would cover development for the next four years. Al Vick, however, observed that the control of the government of Flower Mound could change with the next election and conflict with the new town developers could be renewed. FMNT is restricted by the fact that it must comply with the policies of the planning and zoning commission. David Dunnigan believes that the people against the new town are in the minority and the community will continue to cooperate with the new town.

Horizontal relationships are numerous for the new towns. It is difficult to maintain complete communication links with all of the governmental units. Any unit can cause insurmountable problems for the new town. It seems that big money and a sophisticated plan and "new people" can scare the citizens in a community. Skepticism about this "social experiment" prevails. These relationships are categorized in the following pages.

⁶⁷Personal interview, Al Vick.

TABLE 4

A TYPOLOGY OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Type of Political Relationship	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
Routine Policymaking	H-GAC, The Woodlands	Review and comment	Review for federal grant application
	NCTCOG, FMNT	Review and comment	Review for federal grant application, studies
	Montgomery County, The Woodlands	Security	The Woodlands' officers are part of the Sheriff's Department
	Denton County, Flower Mound	Roads	Denton County provides equipment and labor and Flower Mound provides material
	The Woodlands, CISD, MISD; FMNT, LISD	Education	The districts will provide schools for the new towns and attempt a joint use of facilities
	Drainage District #2, The Woodlands, ORN	Drainage	Handle drainage inadequacies on the east side of The Woodlands

TABLE 4--Continued

Type of Political Relationship	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
Mutual Accommodation	FMNT, Cooke County Junior College District, water conservation district	Special districts	Districts already in existence when the new town started
	MUD #6, The Woodlands	Water, sewerage	\$20,750,000 in bonds to finance water and sewer
	MUD #1, FMNT	Water, sewerage	\$19.5 million in bonds to finance water and sewer
	The Woodlands, WCA; FMNT, community association	Internal government	A quasi-government organization to govern community services
	Timber Lakes, The Woodlands	Volunteer Fire Department	Joint fire protection, The Woodlands provides equipment
	Montgomery County, The Woodlands	Political representation	Increased population in this area could change the balance of power
	CISD, The Woodlands; LISD, FMNT	Education	The school districts will give no special treatment to the new towns

TABLE 4--Continued

Type of Political Relationship	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
	MUDs, developers, Texas Water Rights Commission	MUD costs	Developers must pay 30% of construction of water, sewer, and drainage facilities
	ORN, The Woodlands	Drainage	ORN has asked The Woodlands to aid in their drainage costs
	Houston, The Woodlands	Extension of ETJ	Houston approves subdivision plats, feels that The Woodlands "sucked them into" conflict
	Denton, nearby developments, FMNT	Land speculation	The new town has caused land speculation which has increased the number of incorporations
	Nearby developments (such as Southlake), FMNT	Envy of wealth	Developments resent all the federal money that is "poured into FMNT"
Innovative Conflict	Montgomery County, The Woodlands	Communications, tax base	The Woodlands failed to include the county in early plans; county feared would not support services

TABLE 4--Continued

Type of Political Relationship	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
	Montgomery County, The Woodlands	HEW health grant	The county would not approve application until the entire county was included (grant not approved)
	LISD, FMNT	Joint use of facilities	Timing for facilities has caused LISD to doubt promises
	FMNT, Flower Mound	Acceptance of growth	After attempts to dis-annex, the Flower Mound city government is cooperating with the new town
	Conroe, The Woodlands	Communications	The Woodlands failed to include Conroe in early plans
	Conroe, The Woodlands; Houston, The Woodlands	Communications	Problems in internal coordination make communications difficult
	Conroe, The Woodlands	Water supply	After scares about dwindling water supplies, a joint study showed that there is enough water

TABLE 4--Continued

Type of Political Relationship	Actors Involved	Issue Area	Brief Description
Disintegrative Conflict	Conroe, Houston, Shenandoah, The Woodlands	Shenandoah's incorporation	Shenandoah's incorporation included some of The Woodlands' commercial property; a question of whose jurisdiction Shenandoah is in
	Conroe, Houston, The Woodlands	Houston's extension of its ETJ	Conroe resents any encroachment by Houston
	The Woodlands, the Federal Government	Shenandoah's incorporation	HUD is "concerned" about a change in jurisdiction of The Woodlands' property

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The new towns of The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town are involved in numerous intergovernmental relationships dealing with many different issue areas. These relationships have been artificially divided into vertical and horizontal categories. Vertical relations include those with the Federal Government and the State of Texas. The relationships included in the horizontal category concern those smaller than the State. The regional body, the Council of Governments, is a creation of the State but not a governmental unit. Local governmental units include counties, special districts, and surrounding municipalities. Unincorporated suburban developments are discussed with municipalities because they demonstrate some of the same relationships. The closest unit to the new town is their own internal governance which is not a governmental unit for The Woodlands as it is for Flower Mound New Town (FMNT).

These interactions are further divided into types of political relationships: routine policymaking, mutual accommodation, innovative conflict, and disintegrative conflict. The authors of this

typology, A. Lee Fritschler and Morley Segal,¹ conceive of a pattern being formed based on the actors involved. An analysis of these relationships according to type has been presented in Chapters II and III. These findings are summarized in the chart that follows. The interactions are first analyzed according to the per cent of the level of relations in each type. The levels are then compared according to type to determine their contribution to the total number of relationships.

When viewing the percentage of each level that contributes to each type, a pattern can be discerned. The majority of horizontal relations (75%) fall into the routine policymaking category. Vertical relations, however, are more evenly dispersed. Many of them (35.2%) are in the routine policymaking category, but high percentages are also found in innovative conflict (24.3%), mutual accommodation (21.6%), and disintegrative conflict (18.9%).

When viewed as a part of the total relationships, horizontal relations contribute most to the first category, while vertical relations contribute the majority of relationships in the other three categories. The majority of relationships, however, still fall into the routine policymaking type.

¹A. Lee Fritschler and Morley Segal, "Intergovernmental Relations and Contemporary Political Science: Developing an Integrative Typology," Publius, I, No. 2 (Winter, 1972), 95-122.

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF NEW TOWN INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS

Political Relation- ship Type	Per Cent of VERTICAL Relations in Each Type	Per Cent of HORIZONTAL Relations in Each Type	Percentage of All Relationships In Each Type		
			VERTICAL	HORIZONTAL	TOTAL
Routine Policy- making	13 (35.2%)	27 (75%)	13 (17.8%)	27 (37%)	40 (54.8%)
Mutual Accommo- dation	8 (21.6%)	2 (5.6%)	8 (11%)	2 (2.7%)	10 (13.7%)
Innovative Conflict	9 (24.3%)	4 (11.1%)	9 (12.3%)	4 (5.5%)	13 (17.8%)
Disinte- grative Conflict	7 (18.9%)	3 (8.3%)	7 (9.6%)	3 (4.1%)	10 (13.7%)
Total	37 (100%)	36 (100%)	37 (50.7%)	36 (49.3%)	73 (100%)

A conclusion could perhaps be drawn from this compilation of relationships involving The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town. Relationships with local governmental units are routine and fruitful. The relations with the Federal and State governments involve competition and initial conflict, and some develop into an irreconcilable confrontation. This finding would suggest that the largest hurdle for new towns to overcome involves their relations with vertical actors.

Comparative Observations

While new towns have similar ideals and goals, each develops in a different environment and each possesses different characteristics that affect its relations with governmental units. One of the most obvious differences between The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town is their legal position. As mentioned earlier, Flower Mound New Town is entirely within the municipality of the Town of Flower Mound, while The Woodlands is unincorporated. There are advantages and disadvantages of both conditions.

Because FMNT is in an incorporated municipality, it has fewer relationships with surrounding cities than does The Woodlands. The Woodlands is closely involved with the cities of Conroe and Houston; whereas FMNT has very few, if any, relations with Denton and Dallas. FMNT's relations with the municipality of which it is a part have been very intense. Also, FMNT does not have the concern of The Woodlands that part of their land will be incorporated and the

plans changed. Another advantage is that more aid is available to incorporated municipalities. On the other hand, FMNT is completely dependent on the Town of Flower Mound for plan approval. The planning and zoning commission could destroy the plans for the new town. This places limits on the new town and requires that the relationships with the municipality remain cooperative.

Another difference between The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town is their size; 16,927 acres and a projected population of 150,000 in twenty years for the former as opposed to 6,156 acres and a future population of 65,000 for the latter. (At the present time the population of each new town numbers less than 100.) This characteristic has had an effect on the towns' intergovernmental relations.

The Woodlands is located in an area in which people see themselves as being suburban, if not rural. A development this large is frightening. Many people moved to Conroe and surrounding areas to escape the "bigness" of Houston and they resent urbanization following them. Associated with bigness and urbanization are crime, pollution, and corruption.²

Because Flower Mound New Town is smaller, its impact is not as far reaching. It has had effects on the Town of Flower Mound, but little on Denton, Dallas, or Lewisville. Many developments and

²Personal interview, Tim Cummings, Administrative Aid to the County Judge, Conroe, March 5, 1975.

municipalities are springing up in this area, and FMNT is only one of them. The people seem more willing to accept the inevitable; the area is becoming and will soon be urbanized.

Another result of the size of the new town is the amount of federal financial assistance. With the largest commitment possible, The Woodlands' money has both offended and endeared neighbors. Surrounding areas are distrustful of a project that has so much federal money. On the other hand, The Woodlands is able to offer land to the University of Houston for a north campus, to Conroe School District for schools, and to Montgomery County for a library.

Flower Mound New Town has a considerably smaller financial commitment, but experiences the same advantages and disadvantages. Local citizens fear federal involvement, especially in the realm of low-income housing. FMNT, however, has not been as free with its land as has The Woodlands.

The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town can also be studied together as new towns. Certain observations can be made concerning the intergovernmental relations of both new towns.

Findings

As a result of this study several findings have become evident:

(1) The intergovernmental relations that involve the new towns of The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town are very complex. The new towns must interact with a myriad of governmental units.

(2) There is little coordination among the programs that can affect new towns. This includes specific new town programs and routine administrative actions.

(3) Most governmental units involved with the new towns are completely unimpressed with the new town phenomena. They do not share the enthusiasm of the developers who view new towns as a way to cure social and land use ills.

(4) The new towns have found it difficult to be innovative. They must act in an already existent framework of restraints, such as building codes and state regulations.

(5) New towns in Texas have found it necessary to create special districts to meet their needs. Even though the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) prefers that they use general purpose governments already in existence, such as counties and municipalities, the State of Texas has no provisions that would allow counties to provide extensive services.

(6) The Department of Housing and Urban Development is not entirely committed to the new town program. This situation has a very strong effect on new towns in the United States.

Conclusions

The intergovernmental relations involved in the development of new towns are crucial to the success of new towns. After studying the relations between governmental units and the new towns of The

Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town, one can analyze the findings on the basis of their effects on the new towns.

Several propositions can be drawn from the compilation of political relationship types. The majority of relationships in which the new towns are involved are routine policymaking. Further analysis reveals that horizontal relations tend to be primarily routine policymaking while vertical relations provide the majority of mutual accommodation, innovative conflict, and disintegrative conflict relationships.

New towns find themselves involved in a host of relationships from their very inception. Each must interact with the Federal Government, the State of Texas, and numerous local governments. These relationships are very complex and are often a source of difficulty for the developer. Any comprehensive coordination is non-existent. The new towns must interact with each unit separately and cope with each individual issue area separately. While many of the relationships result in cooperation, lack of coordination puts the developer in a difficult position. The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town have progressed in spite of, rather than because of, intergovernmental involvement.

This problem of complex intergovernmental relations is compounded by the lack of enthusiasm shown by governmental units. The new town developers have set lofty goals and high ideals for their new "social experiments." This concept, however, has failed to impress

units of government. The State of Texas has not set up any mechanism to aid or assist new towns. The regional Councils of Governments have not helped in coordinating programs for the new towns, and the local units of government seem to be the most unimpressed of all. Even though they voice a concern about urban growth, they see the new towns as being too idealistic and impractical. The new towns have made big promises which local leaders do not believe can be fulfilled. Many see the new town as just another land development scheme.

This failure by the developers to convince governmental units of the worth of the new town has serious repercussions. Because of the doubts in the minds of local leaders, incentives for cooperation are difficult to create. Suspicion and disbelief characterize many of the relationships.

Because of this lack of enthusiasm, new town developers find innovation very difficult. They are faced with many regulations that force the developers to use conventional methods and structures. Experimental schools have to comply with state laws and school district policy; prefabricated housing is opposed by construction unions; and local building codes have to be satisfied. The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town had envisioned a type of health maintenance organization, but both found that it was politically impossible. This lack of innovation is a serious problem for the new town developer because

one of the purposes of new towns was for them to serve as laboratories for social and structural experimentation.

New towns are also limited in their source of services. Both The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town have found it necessary to create special districts to provide the services needed, such as sewerage and water supply. This is in spite of the fact that HUD expresses the desire that they rely on existing general purpose governments. While some new towns in California and the Washington, D. C. areas have found county services sufficient, Texas new towns have not. This is partially because of the limits placed on Texas counties.

Unlike cities, counties are not governed under charters or by chief executives.³ Texas counties do not have home rule which would allow them to draw up their own charter to better tailor the county's government to their needs.⁴ These administrative deficiencies cause Texas counties to be unable to handle the needs of the new towns. Therefore, new towns are forced to contribute to the proliferation of local governments by creating utility districts.

Probably the most serious problem for the new town is the lack of commitment by the Federal Government in general and HUD

³Daniel R. Grant and H. C. Nixon, State and Local Government in America (3rd ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1975), p. 385.

⁴Stuart A. MacCorkle, Dick Smith, and Janice C. May, Texas Government (7th ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974), p. 351.

specifically. HUD has established requirements applicable to the new town that have not been in accord with the aid provided. This is especially manifested by the requirement of low-income housing versus the difficulty of receiving subsidies.

This lack of commitment has resulted in skepticism regarding the success of new towns. This feeling has been verbalized by Otto Stolz, the director of the New Communities Administration. He believes that "The reality of the new town development has set in; the blue sky thinking and the dreaming has ended and the reality has set in that this is just a damn difficult mode of development from a management standpoint."⁵

The hope of Congress was that the Urban Growth and New Community Development Act would provide for the development of a national growth policy. They had found that many governmental programs conflict and that future programs should be "interrelated and coordinated with a system of orderly development and established priorities . . ."⁶ The findings of this research on new towns in Texas show that coordination has not developed from the new town program. Furthermore, there are not even indications of attempts to coordinate programs. As a result, the new town developers must

⁵Thomas W. Lippman and Bill Richards, "New Towns: Realities Dim Dreams," Washington Post, June 12, 1975.

⁶P. L. 91-609, 84 Stat. 1770.

deal with a multitude of governments that can, and do, restrict or defeat the developer.

This attitude of skepticism and the non-integration of programs cause the new town future to be bleak. Most Title VII new communities are only in initial stages of development; yet HUD has already terminated the new town program. Given the many hurdles that new town developers must overcome, it is difficult to understand how such an early evaluation by HUD could justify the termination of the new town program.

This study of The Woodlands and Flower Mound New Town has shown that for a new town developer to be successful in the realm of intergovernmental relations he must be a master of politics, patience, and flexibility. And, given the importance of these relationships, the achievement of cooperation is crucial to the prosperity of new towns.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Anderson, William. Intergovernmental Relations in Review, Monograph Number Ten. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960.
- Ashworth, William. The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1954.
- Benson, George C. S., et al. Essays in Federalism. Cambridge: Institute for Studies in Federalism, Claremont Men's College, 1961.
- Break, George F. Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1964.
- Burns, James and Jack Peltason. Government by the People. 2nd ed.; New York: Prentice Hall, 1954.
- Canty, Donald, ed. The New City. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1969.
- Clapp, James A. New Towns and Urban Policy. New York: Dunellen Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.
- The Council of State Governments. State-Local Relations. Council of State Governments, 1946.
- Cullingworth, J. B. Town and Country Planning in England and Wales. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Eichler, Edward P. and Bernard Norwitch. "New Towns." Toward a National Urban Policy. Edited by Daniel P. Moynihan. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970.
- _____ and Marshall Kaplan. The Community Builders. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.

Elazar, Daniel J. American Federalism, A View From the States. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942.

_____. The American Partnership. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Eldredge, H. Wentworth. "Lessons Learned from the British New Towns Program." How to Manage an Urbanized World. Vol. II of Taming Megalopolis. Edited with H. Wentworth Eldredge. 2 vol. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967.

Feld, Richard D. and Carl Grafton. The Uneasy Partnership, The Dynamics of Federal, State, and Urban Relations. Palo Alto: National Press Books, 1973.

Fogarty, M. P. Town and Country Planning. New York: Hutchinson's University Library, 1948.

Foley, Donald L. Controlling London's Growth. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.

Gardner, Neely D. "The States' Role in Intergovernmental Relations," in Where Governments Meet: Emerging Patterns in Intergovernmental Relations. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1967.

Grant, Daniel R. and H. C. Nixon. State and Local Government in America. 3rd ed.; Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975.

Graves, W. Brooke. American Intergovernmental Relations. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964.

Grodzins, Morton. The American System. Edited by Daniel J. Elazar. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1966.

_____. "The Federal System." Goals for Americans, The Report of the President's Commission on National Goals. Columbia: The American Assembly, 1960.

Grosenick, Leigh E. ed. The Administration of the New Federalism: Objectives and Issues. Washington, D. C.: American Society for Public Administration, 1973.

Heroux, Richard L. and William A. Wallace. Financial Analysis and the New Community Development Process. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

- Howard, Ebenezer. Garden Cities of Tomorrow. Edited by F. J. Osborn. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1951.
- Lady Sharp. "The Government's Role." New Towns, the British Experience. Edited by Peter Self. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972.
- "Looking Ahead--New Ideas." Viewpoints: The American Cities. Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1972.
- McClesky, Clifton. The Government and Politics of Texas. 4th ed.; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1972.
- MacFadgen, Dugald. Sir Ebenezer Howard and the Town Planning Movement. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1970.
- MacMahon, Arthur W. Administering Federalism in a Democracy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Mandelker, Daniel R. Green Belts and Urban Growth. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962.
- Martin, Roscoe. The Cities and the Federal System. New York: Atherton Press, 1965.
- Merlin, Pierre. New Towns. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd, 1971.
- Mields, Hugh. Federally Assisted New Communities. Washington, D. C.: The Urban Land Institute, 1973.
- Office of the Governor, Division of Planning Coordination. Directory 1974, Regional Councils in Texas (Austin, 1974).
- Olsen, Donald J. Town Planning in London. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.
- Osborn, Frederick J. Green Belt Cities. New York: Schocken Books, 1969.
- Pillorge, George J. and Daniel R. Brents. "The Design Process: Step by Step." New Towns in America. Edited by James Bailey. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.
- Rodwin, Lloyd. The British New Towns Policy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Schaffer, Frank. "The New Town Movement." New Towns, The British Experience. Edited by Peter Self. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972.

Stein, Clarence S. Toward New Towns for America. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1957.

Sundquist, James L. with the collaboration of David W. Davis. Making Federalism Work. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1969.

Urban Texas: Policies for the Future, Report of the Texas Urban Development Commission to Preston Smith. Austin, 1971.

White, Leonard D. Trends in Public Administration. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

Wirt, Frederick M., et al. On the City's Rim: Politics and Policy in Suburbia. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1972.

Articles and Periodicals

Baer, Michael A. "Residential Mobility: Some Political Implications for New Towns." Western Political Quarterly, XXVI (March, 1973), 83-89.

Berkman, Herman G. "The New Town and Urban Change Form." Land Economics, XLVIII (May, 1972), 100-103.

Berkley, George E. "Britain's New Town Blues." National Civic Review, LXII, No. 9 (October, 1973), 479-85.

Carbine, Michael E. "New Towns and the Search for an Urban Solution." Manpower, I (July, 1969), 15-20.

Clark, David. "Town Planners Optimistic, Flower Mound Plan Said 'Healthy' After Audit." Dallas Morning News, November 22, 1974.

Colman, William G. "The Role of the Federal Government in the Design and Administration of Intergovernmental Programs." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 23-34.

- "Conroe-Woodlands Meet on Shared Water Problems." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), July 12, 1974.
- Crouch, Winston W. "Conflict and Cooperation Among Local Governments in the Metropolis." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 60-70.
- Curtis, Tom. "U. S. Aided New Town May Bar Poor." Washington Post, January 12, 1975.
- "Developers Must Pay 30 Per Cent of Costs." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), September 17, 1974.
- "Double Edged Sword for Flower Mound." Dallas Times Herald, January 12, 1971.
- Elazar, Daniel J. "The Shaping of Intergovernmental Relations in the Twentieth Century." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 16-21.
- "FM Receives EPA Sewer Grant." Lewisville Leader, June 18, 1972.
- "Federally Assisted New Communities." Architectural Record, December, 1973, pp. 111-22.
- "Flower Mound MUD Elections July 27." Lewisville Leader, July 19, 1972.
- "Flower Mound Sets Dis-Annexation Vote." Lewisville Leader, August 1, 1973.
- "Flower Mound Studies Draw GAO Ire." Dallas Morning News, November 20, 1974.
- Fritschler, A. Lee and Morley Segal. "Intergovernmental Relations and Contemporary Political Science: Developing an Integrative Typology." Publius, I, No. 2 (Winter, 1972), 95-122.
- Gottschalk, Shimin. "Citizen Participation in the Development of New Towns: A Cross-National View." Social Service Review, XLV (June, 1971), 194-204.
- "Government Altered." Lewisville Leader, February 23, 1975.
- "HEW Turns Down Request for County Health Grant." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), December 15, 1972.

"HUD Neglect Cited for Difficulties." Dallas Morning News, November 21, 1974.

Ham, Clifford C. "Urban Renewal: A Case Study in Emerging Goals in an Intergovernmental Setting." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 44-52.

"Health Plan Okayed by H-GAC." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), November 16, 1974.

Lippman, Thomas W. "HUD Ends New Town Programs." Washington Post, January 11, 1975.

_____. "HUD Retreats From New Town Idea." Washington Post, January 14, 1975.

_____, and Bill Richards. "New Towns: Realities Dim Dreams." Washington Post, January 12, 1975.

Miller, Tommy. "Woodlands Needs More Federal Aid, Executive Says." Houston Chronicle, January 26, 1975.

"Mitchell Request is Okayed by H-GAC." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), November 16, 1974.

Monypenny, Phillip. "Interstate Relations--Some Emergent Trends." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CCCLVII (May, 1965), 53-59.

"New Cities Needed." Houston Chronicle, April 17, 1974.

"New City: University Students Design Modern Urban Area to be Built Near Houston." Daily Texan (Spring, Texas), April 24, 1971.

"New High School Plan to Proceed." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), December 11, 1974.

"New Town Eligible for Funds." Dallas Morning News, January 13, 1975.

"No Campus Now for Woodlands." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), January 26, 1975.

"Oak Ridge MUD Requesting Drainage Aid From Outside." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), November 21, 1974.

- "Possible Woodlands Dispute Could Bring Federal Concern." Houston Post, November 11, 1974.
- Price, Joyanna. "Woodlands Planned for 150,000 People in Twenty Years." Houston Post, December 21, 1972.
- "Ruling to Lower Taxes, Hike Costs." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), September 18, 1974.
- Schadewald, Bill. "The Woodlands: Separating Fact From Fiction." Houston Business Journal, March 3, 1975.
- "Shenandoah Town Election Saturday." Woodlands Sun (Spring, Texas), May 8, 1974.
- "To Tax or Not to Tax." Dallas Morning News, April 4, 1974.
- "Town Plan Surprises Area Officials." Fort Worth Star Telegram, December 29, 1970.
- "Two Hospital Applications Turned Down." Huntsville Item, February 16, 1975.
- "Two Story Structure Suggested for Marcus." Lewisville Daily Leader, February 9, 1975.
- "Wide Open Space Won't Be For Long." Fort Worth Star Telegram, December 30, 1970.
- "Woodlands Asks Grant for Health Care Plan." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), October 1, 1972.
- "Woodlands, Conroe Focus on Future Water Supplies." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), September 18, 1974.
- "The Woodlands' First MUD." Woodlands Sun (Spring, Texas), March 27, 1974.
- "Woodlands Gets Charter." Woodlands Sun (Spring, Texas), July 17, 1974.
- "Woodlands Has Historic First." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), September 11, 1974.
- "Woodlands Negotiates With Shenandoah to Avert Suit." Daily Courier (Conroe, Texas), October 7, 1974.

Public Documents

Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. 31 U.S.C. 41.

Congress and the Nation, Vol. III. Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1973.

Davis-Bacon Act, 40 U.S.C. 276.

Department of Transportation Act. 80 Stat. 932.

Executive Order 11541, July 1, 1970.

Federal Register, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 228, Part III. Washington, D. C.: The Government Printing Office, November 28, 1973.

_____, Vol. XXXIX, No. 29. Washington, D. C.: The Government Printing Office, February 11, 1974.

Housing Act of 1954. Public Law 83-560.

Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. Public Law 89-117.

Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968. Public Law 90-577.

Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1970. Public Law 91-648.

National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965. 79 Stat. 845, 20 U.S.C. 951.

Office of the Federal Register. United States Government Organization Manual. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Office of the Governor, Division of Planning Coordination. Directory 1974, Regional Councils in Texas.

Open Space Land Grant, 42 U.S.C.A. Section 1500.

Texas Sanitation and Health Protection Law. Article 4477-1, V.T.C.S.

U. S. Census Bureau. 1972 Census of Governments, Vol. 1. Governmental Organization. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Urban Growth and New Community Development Act. Public Law 91-609.

Vernons Annotated Civil Statutes. Article 1011m.

Unpublished Material

Civil Service Commission Report. Submitted to James Rankin, Town Administrator, Flower Mound, Texas, 1973.

Final Environmental Statement, Proposed New Community, The Woodlands, Montgomery County, Texas.

Flower Mound New Town, Denton County, Texas, Environmental Impact Statement.

Flower Mound New Town. Promotional material.

Goertz, Margaret. New Towns in the United States: Suburban Enclaves or Balanced Communities? Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Syracuse University, 1971.

HUD International. New Communities in Selected European Countries. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Office of International Affairs, 1974.

Office of Management and Budget Circular Number A-95, What it is, How it Works, provided by OMB.

Pettus, Beryl E. "Basic Library Sources: Municipal Utility Districts in Texas." Paper presented at the Texas Junior College Teachers Association Annual Meeting, Houston, Texas, February 21, 1975.

_____ and Randall W. Bland. Governments in Texas. Forthcoming: Dorsey Press, 1976.

Project Agreement Between the United States of America and Flower Mound New Town, Limited. September 23, 1971.

Project Agreement Between the United States of America and The Woodlands Development Corporation. August 23, 1972.

"What is a New Community?" Systems Building News, New Community Digest (June, 1973).

The Woodlands. Promotional material.

The Woodlands Community Association. Provided by The Woodlands Information Center.

Correspondence

Baily, Kent. U. S. Civil Service Commission, Dallas Region, December 24, 1974.

Hoppers, Richard G., U. S. Environmental Protection Agency, Dallas, Texas, March 6, 1975.

North Central Texas Council of Governments, Arlington, Texas, March 17, 1975.

Peacock, Dennis. Director of Planning, City of Denton, March 12, 1975.

Rose, James M., Director of the Division of Planning Coordination, Austin, Texas, February 3, 1975.

Taylor, Tom H., Director of Travel and Information, Division of the Texas Highway Department, Austin, Texas, December 23, 1974.

Trost, Charles M., Assistant for Planning Coordination, Houston-Galveston Area Council, Houston, Texas, December 26, 1974.

Wallace, Aliceanne. City Secretary, City of Southlake, February 4, 1975.

Personal Interviews

City of Conroe. Personal interview with R. A. Deison, former Mayor of Conroe (presently a lawyer), March 7, 1975.

City of Houston. Personal interview with Marie Ristroph, Chief, Comprehensive Planning Division, Houston City Planning Department, Houston, March 3, 1975.

City of Houston. Personal interview with Ronald A. Heiser, Assistant Director, Houston City Planning Department, Houston, March 2, 1975.

City of Lewisville. Personal interview with Mrs. El Elbert, citizen, Lewisville, March 13, 1975.

Conroe Independent School District. Personal interview with C. D. York, Superintendent of CISD, Conroe, March 6, 1975.

Denton County. Personal interview with El Elbert, Commissioner, Second Precinct, Lewisville, March 13, 1975.

Flower Mound New Town. Personal interview with Bob Rheudasil, Director of Land Management; First Mayor of Flower Mound, Texas, March 11, 1975.

Flower Mound New Town. Personal interview with David Dunnigan, Director of Communications, Flower Mound New Town, February 11, 1975.

Lewisville Independent School District. Personal interview with Dr. Clayton Downing, Assistant Superintendent of LISD, Lewisville, March 12, 1975.

Montgomery County. Personal interview with Tim Cummings, Administrative Aid to the County Judge, Conroe, March 5, 1975.

The Woodlands. Personal interview with Skip Christy, Director of Government Relations, The Woodlands, February 27, 1975.

Town of Flower Mound. Personal interview with Al Vick, Town Administrator, Flower Mound, March 12, 1975.

Town of Flower Mound. Personal interview with George Metarello, Chief of the Department of Community Safety, Flower Mound, March 12, 1975.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEWS

One of the major sources of information for this research comes from personal interviews. These interviews can be divided into two categories: those with new town representatives and those with local governmental officials. Questions were asked in an open manner in order to give the respondent the opportunity to express his feelings.

The most extensive interviews were with the new town representatives. Questions were divided into vertical and horizontal relationships. Inquiries were made about the new towns' relationships with the different departments of the Federal Government and the State of Texas. Questions concerning horizontal relationships were broken down into those with the appropriate Council of Governments, county, special districts, neighboring municipalities and unincorporated areas, and the new towns' own internal governance. The purpose of these interviews was to gain a knowledge of the issue areas involved.

Interviews with local governmental officials were to determine the type of relationship that they had with the new town. Officials interviewed were from the county, municipalities, and school districts.

Questions were asked to determine the feelings of the officials (in their official capacity) toward the new towns. Their responses allowed the relationship to be categorized according to political relationship type. The responses were supplemented by articles in local newspapers.

Vita redacted during
scanning.