UC Berkeley
IURD Working Paper Series

Title
Public Participation in Planning: New Strategies for the 21st Century

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3r34r38h

Authors
Innes, Judith E.
Booher, David E.

Publication Date
2000-11-01

Working Paper 2000-07

Public Participation in Planning:
New Strategies for the 21st Century

Judith E. Innes

Department of City and Regional Planning
University of California, Berkeley

and

David E. Booher

Policy Consultant, Sacramento, California
and
Visiting Scholar, Institute of Urban and Regional Development
University of California, Berkeley

University of California at Berkeley
Institute of Urban and Regional Development

THE BOONDOCKS *Aaron McGruder*

Figure 1. Participation in the postmodern era.

Business as Usual in Public Participation

It is time to face the facts we all know, but prefer to ignore. The traditional methods of public participation in government decision making simply do not work. They do not achieve genuine participation in planning or decisions; they do not provide significant information to public officials that makes a difference to their actions; they do not satisfy members of the public that they are being heard; they do not improve the decisions that agencies and public officials make; and they don't represent a broad spectrum of the public. Worse yet, they often antagonize the members of the public who do try to work through these methods. Moreover, they pit members of the public against each other as they each feel compelled to speak of the issues in polarizing terms to get their points across — making it even more difficult for decision makers to sort through what they hear, much less to make a choice. Most often these methods discourage busy and thoughtful individuals from wasting their time in going through what appear to be nothing more than rituals designed to satisfy legal requirements.

Public hearings at the local level in the U.S. typically are attended only by avid proponents and opponents of a measure affecting them personally, an occasional organized interest group, and a handful of diehard city council or commission watchers. Formal processes of review and comment in the United States, like environmental impact review or, in Europe, the public posting of planning proposals, end up with comments coming from all directions that the agency may or may not respond to in any substantive way. Later, the agency does what it chooses and the commentators are mostly unaware of whether their opinions have even been

considered much less used. Open meetings laws, designed to assure that the public knows how and why decisions are being made by requiring noticing and early agendas and preventing elected officials from communicating informally among themselves on public matters have largely had the opposite of their intended effect. They drive some decision making further behind the scenes, prevent elected officials from having the time and opportunity to become informed about complex issues that cannot be covered in formal meetings, and discourage the speculative discussion needed to develop creative solutions. Elite citizen committees of local leadership are, by definition, unrepresentative of the range and diversity of citizens. Even the most traditional of methods of public participation — voting for the people who will make the decisions — in the United States is now at an all time low.

It is not surprising that elected officials often pay little attention to the comments of the public at hearings, often talking among themselves or leaving the room. Three-minute time limits are often placed on speakers, with equal time for the highly informed or the person whose home or livelihood is at issue as for the rambling fellow who has a vague idea of the subject at hand. It is not surprising that ordinary citizens normally only speak at public hearings when a lot is at stake for them as individuals. They have to stand in a humble way before a council, or legislative committee or commission, with members on a stage above them. They have to speak quickly. They cannot get answers to their questions nor even know what anyone thought of their perspective. Similarly, an experience of preparing detailed comments on an Environmental Impact Report of a major project can be discouraging when the agency's response three months later, if any, notes that most of one's comments are not within the scope of the report.[1] The project may proceed as planned even when there is a lot of well informed opposition. Such experiences lead to alienation from the political and planning system and contribute to the long term trend, at least in the United States, of the public disengaging from civic activities (Putnam, 2000).   They lead to lawsuits, to wars at the ballot box, and to an increased fragmentation of an already highly divided government and society. Nonetheless, all over the U.S. every day, planners, agency staff, elected officials and the public engage in these rituals, with no one saying out loud that the emperor has no clothes.

Emerging Alternatives

In response to this situation, planners and public officials in the United States have found ways to test public opinion other than the traditional hearings or review and comment procedures. They increasingly rely on social science research methods such as public opinion polls, focus groups and other surveys. While these methods give public officials a more representative and accurate understanding of what the public wants than do the traditional procedures, they are not actually participation. They are instead detached and scientific. The information they provide is about current, though not necessarily well informed, opinion, much less opinion that will be stable as conditions evolve or as a policy gets implemented. These research methods lack the hands-on reality of engaging members of the public directly with decision makers, even in the limited way that is possible through traditional participation. These methods also often do not do well in picking up the opinions of the most disadvantaged members of society, those for whom English is not their first language, or those who cannot readily be reached through sampling strategies.

At the same time all over the U.S.— and all over the world — new cooperative methods of public involvement are being invented or evolving from simpler into more developed forms. Some of them have deep roots in different cultures,[2] and some have been created as alternatives to the formalistic, bureaucratic or individualistic approaches that are the norm in many societies. The methods that we consider significant and that we believe will be the most important in the next century are these interactive collaborative methods of discourse allowing multi-way communication around tasks and issues, involving the public directly with planners and decision makers, and allowing real learning and change to take place on all sides.

These methods for the most part exist informally in ad hoc groups around the edges of the formal institutions of government. Sometimes they have a remarkable degree of impact despite their marginalized status. Most of these methods are not enshrined in legislation nor in administrative practice. On the contrary, they run counter to many of these practices and laws, and it is an uphill battle for those who want to make them influential. For example, open meetings laws discourage the informality of collaborative decision making. Other rules and practice norms discourage public agency representatives from participating as equals in discussion with private citizens and members of interest groups. Pork barrel practices, where projects are decided behind the scenes or by legislatures or chief executives, leave the public out of the early decision making

and typically represent deals with powerful players that are not open for discussion. Court proceedings are narrowly limited to specific points of law and to the witnesses that one or another side chooses to call. Administrative agencies typically work with their "constituents," the regulated players or the recipients of resources. This excludes a wide range of interested parties such as disadvantaged groups which do not have the clout or legitimacy to insist on being heard.

Despite the obstacles, collaborative forms of participation are rapidly increasing, though people's skills in implementing these create a steep learning curve.

At the local level around the world collaborative groups are being set up in various forms to deal with everything from neighborhood disputes to building infrastructure or developing a proposal for economic development. Partnerships have become the norm in the United States' community development practice — among nonprofit agencies, between nonprofits and universities and city agencies, among neighborhood organizations and nonprofits and foundations (De Sousa Briggs, 1998).[3] The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's University Partnership Program, which funds universities to pair with poor communities and work cooperatively with them to develop improvement strategies, has become popular around the country. Many other types of collaborations have been started by public agencies and engage not only professionals but also citizens in a joint effort to set direction for their community. Many others have been started more spontaneously by players in a community. Ostrom documents a wide array of collaborative resource management groups around the world which have spontaneously developed to protect a shared resource such as water, a fishery or a fragile grazing area (Ostrom, 1990). Some of these collaborative efforts involve organized interest groups. Some involve individual citizens. Some involve government agencies. Most involve a mix. Search conferences, community workshops and visioning efforts engage dozens, even hundreds, of citizens in developing long range aspirations for the community or identifying issues that they want their elected officials to give priority to.[4]

What these enormously varied efforts have in common with each other, and in contrast to the traditional participation methods, is that they engage the participants directly in conversation with one another and with decision makers. They are interesting, empowering and sometimes can be seen to have an effect, to actually cause change (Innes and Booher, 1999). They are efforts which involve learning by all the participants. Government officials get a chance to understand in

some depth the points of view of their constituents, and citizens and stakeholder groups learn about what is possible and what is not. The group as a whole sometimes learns how to make something possible that never was before because the group work can allow polarization to be replaced by cooperation, ill will by trust, parochial objectives by shared ones. This work, in turn, can help change alienation into engagement, and frustration into hope.[5]

Purpose of this Paper

The purpose of this paper is to develop theory about these newer methods, showing how and when they work and what some of the institutional obstacles are that prevent the faster growth of these efforts, as well as to make a case for how these can lead to more genuinely deliberative democracy. Though the literature is beginning to document these efforts, there is as yet little reflection, much less theory building, about what they can or should mean for the future of citizen participation. There have been many review articles developing typologies of existing modes of participation and documenting the dilemmas.[6] We will argue here that a new paradigm for public participation is required to coincide with the emergence of collaborative planning institutions. We believe this alternative way of understanding citizen involvement will help the field to move beyond these well documented dilemmas into some new modes of practice to replace the ritualistic or counterproductive methods that are so often used. We hope this way of thinking about participation will help link planning thought and practice into emerging theory about deliberative democracy and network based policy making and public management because each of these offers rich opportunities for insight and creativity to meet the challenges of the next century.

Purposes of Public Participation

A number of purposes have been advanced for public participation in planning and policy decision making. One is simply for decision makers to acquire information about the public's preferences so they can play a part in the decisions about projects, policies or plans. A stronger way to put it is that public participation is designed to help assure that the people's will is done. A second and closely related purpose is to improve the decisions that are made by incorporating the knowledge of the public or members of the public into the calculus of the decision. Thus, it may be that the people in a local community know about the traffic or crime problems on a particular street, and the planners and decision makers can learn about this through public

involvement. Both these purposes are increasingly important as government gets larger and more impersonal and more distant from its constituencies. Public participation is ostensibly also about fairness and justice. There are systematic reasons why the least advantaged groups' needs and preferences are likely to be unrecognized through the normal analytic procedures and information sources of bureaucrats, legislative officials and planners. These needs may only come onto their radar screen when an open public participation process occurs. So public participation gives at least the opportunity for people to be heard who were overlooked or misunderstood in the early stages. A fourth purpose follows from these others. That is, public participation is about getting legitimacy for public decisions. If a planner can say, "We held a dozen public hearings and reviewed hundreds of comments and everyone who wanted to had a chance to say his piece," then whatever they decide to do is, at least in theory, democratic and therefore legitimate. Public participation may be done to build support for plans among the public as well. Last, but not least, public participation is something planners and public officials do because the law requires them to.[7]

Traditional Participation Techniques

Several techniques for participation are nearly ubiquitous in the United States, most of which are enshrined in law as required "steps" in a public decision process. These may include in different processes public hearings, written public comments on proposed projects, and the use of a citizen-based commission with quasi judicial and/or quasi legislative power. The first two tend to be rather formalistic one-way communication from the public to the agency or elected officials. There is little or no opportunity in these methods for interchange or learning from one another. Typically only where a large and vocal contingent packs a public hearing or some member of an informed interest group finds a major flaw in a project are there any changes in the plans as a result of such commentary. Needless to say, these events are most often alienating to participants and privately seen as a waste of time, if not actually a great nuisance, by professionals and elected officials. But such hearings have an almost religious significance to many as expressions of the public will, and they are not optional.

The citizen commission is another traditional model for public involvement in the United States, but it is rather different. In this model, leading citizens in a city or state are appointed to a planning or transportation commission, sometimes selected to represent different interests, such as

development or environment, but often simply to represent the views and supporters of the elected officials who appoint them. This kind of group often has the authority to make decisions that can be overridden by the elected body, but which are usually allowed to stand. This approach has a considerable advantage over the first two methods of participation in that interchange is possible, the group members can become fairly knowledgeable about a topic and thus can make informed decisions. Their decisions typically have more legitimacy than decisions made solely by an agency, and members have more time to become knowledgeable than the elected officials because they focus on a more limited agenda. However, the group is not necessarily representative of the people or interests in the community, much less of those outside it. It usually leaves out the poorer groups who are not politically active and not known to the elected officials. The jobs are often rewards for political or other service, which is another reason marginalized groups like new immigrants or ethnic minorities are usually under represented, even in diverse cities. They almost never include members outside the jurisdiction who could represent a neighboring city or a regional interest group. "Blue Ribbon" Committees can be similar in how they are chosen and how they work. Typically these committees are set up as ad hoc or advisory groups made up of well known and respected individuals. Sometimes they have real tasks, but often their job is to give a stamp of approval to the policies of the agency or jurisdiction's leadership. The members not only are not representative of the range of interests almost by definition, but even when a participant does come from an organized interest group, he or she is expected to speak for his personal view as community leader rather than to check with and speak for the interest group. Thus, there is at best randomness in what these groups represent and, at worst, they become supporters and rationalizers for the status quo.

A number of techniques of education and outreach are increasingly employed by traditional public agencies as part of their public involvement program. These include, for example, at the San Francisco Bay Area's Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC), newsletters and big meetings with lots of presentations on what the agency has been doing about transportation problems. They also take the form of staff members going on TV and radio programs to talk about the agency or even of systematic public information campaigns, led by professional consultants. It may involve answering questions from the public (Innes and Gruber, forthcoming). These can be useful and important exercises, in at least some incarnations, to make

sure the public is aware of the work of the agency, but they cannot be called public participation. These methods do not raise issues as a rule. They tend to be one-way processes from the agency to the community, designed to say, "We are doing a great job." They tend to be more public relations than public participation. While clearly education is an essential prerequisite to meaningful public participation, often the process stops with the education of the public and does not proceed to the education of the agency.

Another approach that is rapidly growing in popularity is the use of focus groups and opinion polls. These are helpful ways of finding out what the public, or various elements of the public, think at a point in time, but they are not public participation either. They are not interactive between the decision makers or planners and the public. Citizens serve only as object of research, but not as active participants in policy making. Such research is helpful in informing the agency and providing a starting place for working with the public. While both these research methods and the one-way education and public relations approach have their value, they are really pseudo participation.

Internet technology also offers potential to allow many citizens to express their opinion on policy ideas or planning issues. While this e-government approach remains in its infancy,[8] experiments abound and simple applications are easy to develop. Proposals can be posted on an agency's web site and comments received and even responded to on the web site for all to see and review. Town hall type conversations are possible with elected officials on a real-time basis. Much of this in the first instance is an extension of the stepwise process of presenting ideas to the public and the public responding in turn. But these can be developed into versions of the more interactive participatory methods described below as the give and take among government officials and citizens increases and becomes less ritualized and more informal. Nonetheless, the Internet model inevitably lacks the authenticity of dialogue that can come through in-person discussions.

Traditional methods have been unsatisfactory to many interested citizens and organizations. These have led to protests, citizen initiated ballot measures and, in many cases, full fledged social movements formed to challenge the powers that be. In the MTC case, for example, a coalition of environmental groups teamed up with transit riders and environmental justice

groups to challenge MTC's policy. In Portugal, a Bridge Users Association organized to protest higher tolls on Lisbon's only bridge to its suburbs, blocking traffic for days (Vasconcelos, 1997). These end up making the life of the agency or public official very uncomfortable and, while they sometimes produce results, it is often at considerable cost.

Interactive and Collaborative Methods

At the same time as these ritualized and sometimes polarizing methods of participation continue to consume vast public resources, a wide array of collaborative and experimental methods of public participation are taking place. These are often under the auspices of the same agencies that are going through the traditional formalities, but often they also are being done in ad hoc and informal ways outside formal public decision making processes. Some of these have been done in various forms for many years, but they are evolving and gaining in popularity as the techniques are being refined and developed. Informal or ad hoc task forces representing the major interests may be established to make recommendations on controversial issues. For example, a task force made up of pro-development and anti-development individuals, along with a variety of business members and nearby residents might be convened to find a consensus on the problems and desired future of a town's business district. In Davis,California, a widely representative citizen group was set up to find a way to address controversy over new taxes and infrastructure. If a group like this can reach agreement, the city council can avoid otherwise paralyzing controversy and have some hope of getting support for a policy. Such short term working task forces can be and are set up at all levels of government.

Another model, largely developed by architects based on their own training in the creative method, is the design or planning charrette. The principle is that new ideas come out of intensive and often collaborative focus around a design problem. Creativity is not something that can be achieved through step-by-step or routine procedures. In this model, professionals will assemble a wide array of citizens or other interested parties to look at a place or a site and imagine various futures for it and develop strategies to achieve those futures.

A more recent model that has been used, particularly at the local level in the United States, for the development of broad community objectives is the search conference (Trist, 1985). In this an invitation may be issued to all citizens in an community. A facilitator will manage a conference

of a day or more, including small group discussions and plenary discussions, designed to allow different viewpoints to be expressed in a context which allows all to be heard and hostility to be minimized. The goal is to find common areas of community objectives and agreements and to build community in the process. The results then can be used as input to the policies of the agency or jurisdiction.

Many communities have also developed community or neighborhood boards, sometimes with a broad mission to address all neighborhood policy issues, or others with more specific missions such as Oakland, California's program for community policing and crime prevention. These involve local people who become well informed on the topics and develop working relationships with agency staff. They help develop programs and provide information and legitimacy to the rest of the community because they are known to play an active role in the decisions. Foundations and non-profit organizations have also been the instigators for such neighborhood organizations, which may have varying degrees of formal or informal organization as elected bodies or more self selected groups.[9] These groups can be powerful players representing much of the community to other agencies.

Public agencies, planners and others also may decide that rather than simply rely on formal public hearings and comment or waiting for protests or criticisms from the public, they will take a proactive role in going out into the community not only to tell them about proposed projects, but more importantly to get community input into the plans and projects before they are fully developed. This is a difficult task because the need is to bring out people who normally would not come to the agency and to do it before the issues have become controversial enough to be on the front page. Thus, such professionals may work with local churches, service organizations and clubs, and non-profit organizations which have members or participants they can bring to meetings. These can serve as dialogues and a two-way learning process before decisions are made. They can serve as an important component of efforts to develop the knowledge and skills of people, especially in disadvantaged communities so they can participate more effectively in various venues and arenas.[10]

Finally public participation is emerging from collaborative groups that have been set up outside of public agencies involving interested parties such as environmental organizations,

business community members and neighborhood representatives. Sometimes public agency staff may sit at the table with these groups as they problem solve together. Sometimes such staff may provide information or even help staff these informal non governmental groups in the hope that they may find consensual solutions. At other times such groups remain well outside the public agencies and may, after reaching some agreements, work on influencing them.

The challenge today for these collaborative methods is to develop a set of principles and relatively easy to follow guidelines so that these can be representative, democratic and influential. These groups are often unrepresentative in their makeup. They may start off with good ideas which no one follows up or which never become part of the public decision making process. They are sometimes not properly designed and facilitated so they do not reflect the true views of the participants and they do not succeed in getting tasks done. They may lack the ability to develop and implement a complex proposal or to influence players who were not involved. They are subject to the critique that they are just about making people feel better, coopting rather than making real change. This paper will outline some of the principles and practices that can make these collaborative dialogues effective methods of public participation. Before we do this, however, we will outline the four models of planning which we contend coexist and compete in many, if not most, public agency settings. The existence, indeed the dominance, of three of these planning models is a major factor explaining the persistence of ritualistic methods of participation and the failure of attempts at collaborative planning. We will have to be aware of these and how they affect our thinking and the work of practitioners as we try to reinvent participation.

Four Models of Planning: Public Participation Contested

When practicing planners speak of public participation they mean many different things,[11] some of which are quite incompatible with each other. We contend that the confusion over public participation, what it is and what it should be can be traced to four competing tacit models of how planning should be conducted that are held not only by the professionals but also by public officials and other participants. These include the technical/bureaucratic model, the political influence model, the social movement model and the collaborative model (Figure 2). Those who believe in and practice each model act within the logic of the particular model and tend to feel strongly that their approach is the right, if not the only, real way to do planning. Each model not

Figure 2.

Four Models of Planning and Policy Making

	Diversity	
	low	high

low	**Technical Bureaucratic** *Convincing*	**Political Influence** *Co-opting*
high	**Social Movement** *Converting*	**Collaborative** *Co-evolving*

<u>Interdependence of Interests</u>

Adapted from "Planning Institutions in the Network Society: Theory for Collaborative Planning" by Judith Innes and David Booher in <u>Revival of Strategic Spatial Planning</u>, eds. Willem Salet and Andreas Faludi, Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.

only has a different concept of how planning should proceed and who should be involved in it, but also a different notion of what kinds of information are relevant and of what the role of the public or various interests should be.

Part of the challenge of developing new theory for citizen participation is that these are largely invisible models that tacitly frame the actions of different players in the policy arena. They each represent very different understandings of how to proceed in the development of public policy. The existence of these models and the dominance of two in particular — the technical and political versions — help account for the persistence of the ritualistic versions of public involvement. The collaborative approach is the least privileged, the least recognized and the least

understood of the models.[12] Yet we believe it will become the dominant model in the next decade and the dominant way of involving the public in planning decisions because it is the only one that can accommodate the enormous fragmentation of interests and values we confront in public arenas today. Even more importantly, it is the only method of planning and public involvement that is flexible, responsive and adaptive enough to be effective in the uncertain and rapidly changing environment of the turn of the 21st century.

Participation in Technical Bureaucratic Planning

The first model, the technical bureaucratic, is a version of the so-called rational technical model as practiced de facto in bureaucracy, especially in bureaucracies which involve substantial technical information in what they do. In this model, planning is about assessing which alternatives best meet goals, developing comparative analyses and projections, making recommendations to decision makers about which course of action to follow based on the information, and later assessing the impacts of policies and suggesting changes.   One thing they do not do is develop goals because goals and values are the givens with which they start their analysis . In the ideal version of this model, all significant alternatives are considered and all significant information is gathered and assessed. It is supposed to involve objective, scientific information and thus typically depends first and foremost on quantitative data, modeling information and similar methods of research. Such planners tend to believe in the potential for getting accurate information that can show the best way to do things. They believe that there is a truth out there which they are best qualified to uncover through their analytic skills. The tacit idea of a good plan is one which is backed up by high quality data and analysis. This model works well when there is a unitary set of goals and a single decision maker and where the problems are sufficiently understood for analysis to be useful. Where there are diverse interests or where the interests are highly interdependent, creating multiple options and unpredictable complex scenarios, this planning model does not work well.

Planners working in this model are apt to regard public involvement as something they have to do to meet the requirements of the law. They may also regard it as a useful way to get a better understanding of goals and values of the community and to fill in gaps in what has been formally adopted by the legislative body for their objectives. Some of them may privately see it as a nuisance or even a necessary evil that contributes little to their work. While in some cases such

technical planners do want to incorporate local knowledge of problems into their analyses, for the most part they look with great skepticism on "anecdotal" evidence that comes from the public. For the technical planner, public participation is something that may be needed at the beginning of a process to determine goals and toward the end of the process to help make the final choice of a plan or strategy, usually only between marginally different choices. It is not something integral to their work because public involvement could water down the integrity and neutrality of their analyses.

The Lack of Participation in Political Influence Planning

The second planning approach we call the political influence model after Banfield's description (Banfield, 1961) in his classic story of politics in the first Richard Daly's Chicago of the 1950s. (It is often popularly referred to as the pork barrel approach). This model, which does not seem much like planning to the professional planner, is so pervasive that one high level official and practitioner of this model suggested a better name for it was the "government" model. In this model, the planner — often an agency head or elected official rather than a trained planner, though some professional planners operate in this mode (Howe, 1980; Howe and Kaufman, 1979) — chooses what goes into the plan on the basis of what different constituencies want. Typically in this model a plan is made up of projects, each of which is desired by a politically important player. The key planner in political influence planning is essentially a "fixer" who works with everyone behind the scenes, amasses power by giving out resources to different powerful players, who in return offer loyalty and support the package that this political planner puts together. This political planner as a result continues to have the power to get more resources and maintain the system. Others who participate in this process are also political influence planners as each has his or her constituencies to please. A newer version of this model that is less blatantly political is the use of formulas to allocate funds to the key players or jurisdictions for the projects they choose. It creates a powerful alliance that means that other agencies or levels of government or players are more likely to lend their support or offer funding. In this model, a good plan is one which has something for everyone of importance. Political influence planners often can see no other criterion that makes sense and like the planners in other modes truly believe they are doing good planning. This model works well where there is a diversity of interests but not if the interests are

15

interdependent because deals are struck one by one with players. Their joint interests are not addressed because that would reduce the power of the fixer.

Very often, especially in fields like transportation or infrastructure where there is substantial project funding and substantial need for technical analyses, political influence planners team up with the technical planners. The technical planners need some guidance as to what alternatives they should be looking at and the political ones need legitimacy for what they do. This is often a very uneasy alliance because there really is not the opportunity to compare alternatives for the technical planners nor do the political planners choose projects based on goals. All too often it ends up that the technical planner's job is to document the value of a project that has already been chosen. The two groups may work as a team but be privately at odds in their views of what should be done or how decisions should be made.

In the political influence model of planning, broad public participation of citizens[13] is undesirable, if not actually a threat to the whole system. This type of planning works behind the scenes with the "fixer" making deals with powerful players one by one. It does not deal with the players who have little to offer politically, but who might come out to de-legitimize the arrangements in a public meeting. This kind of deal making does not bear public scrutiny, even when there is nothing illegal about it because it violates public norms of fairness and equal treatment. It could open up the process to demands for inclusion of other less powerful players or for consideration of other alternatives, or even to doubts about the motivation of the decision makers and their possible personal stake in the choices.

The public participation process most often happens after the deals have been made. Citizens may then have the opportunity to comment on proposals though there is very small likelihood that basic changes will be made. Indeed, it is this deal making component that is behind a great deal of the impression citizens often get that public participation is merely for show as opposed to actually designed to get public input. Paradoxically, the public may regard such deal making as illegitimate, but as long as this perception is not forced on them, they seem to accept project-based decision making, if they approve generally of the projects. Projects, after all, are concrete benefits the public can understand. Yet the political planning model is the biggest

obstacle to genuine public participation in decisions. When this model is teamed up with the technical approach, meaningful public participation can be almost entirely locked out.

Social Movements are Participation

A third model of planning arises very often in response to the inability of some interests or of a large number of citizens to get a hearing or be incorporated into the planning and decision making process. In California, social movements have placed propositions on the ballot and changed the entire fiscal structure of the state. Proposition 13, which limits the amount of spending and taxing that can be done, was the result of a social movement of citizens dissatisfied with the growing property tax and the fact that there were budget surpluses. At the local level, social movements have passed growth control measures of various kinds when local elected officials would not do so. Environmental organizations often represent social movements with wide grass roots support. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the leadership of several social movements joined together in a Transportation Land Use Coalition to challenge the political/technical decision making of the regional transportation agency, including such membership as environmental grass roots organizations, bus riders unions, the disabled and those concerned with environmental justice (Innes and Gruber, forthcoming). This is a model which builds on the interdependence of the interests of such players, but inevitably it cannot address the full diversity of interests or it would not hold together.

The essence of a social movement is that individuals and groups who are not in the power structure join together for some common purposes because the only way they can have an influence is through their numbers. They are not insiders and cannot get their way through political influence. They cannot easily challenge technical analyses (though they may get the resources to do so if they form into a powerful enough movement to raise funds). Many planners are part of such social movements, whether formally or not, and bring the mission of the movement into their work for non profit and public agencies, or even in consulting practice. But often "social movement planners" are volunteers working in their free time.

A social movement is held together not only by the need for solidarity to confront the existing power structure but also by a vision, an idealistic view of how the world should be. In the case of Bay Area transportation, that was a vision of a compact metropolitan area, with transit

17

as a real alternative to the car and a high level of air quality and environment. The movement develops its own arguments and analyses to counter those put forward by the establishment. It may hold vocal protests, pack public meetings, develop media campaigns, call in to radio talk programs or whatever is needed to get public opinion on its side and shift the balance of power. The vision itself is often the starting place rather than the result of research or study. It becomes a position which may be difficult for movement leaders to back off from, even if other options seem equally desirable. The vision holds the movement together.

Public participation in this model gets blurred with the movement itself. After all, the members of the movement reason, "Anyone who wants to can join us. We are the grassroots and fighting the establishment. We *are* the citizens participating."   But the reality is, of course, that a social movement has to be limited in scope and diversity of participants because it cannot hold together if it is too diverse. While the Transportation Land Use Coalition is relatively broad, it does not include, for example, small business, homeowners, workers who are commuting by car, or many others who are citizens wanting to participate. Such citizens would probably not join the movement nor necessarily sympathize with its objectives. If they joined, they would water down the objectives.

Collaborative Planning and Public Participation

The fourth model of planning incorporates very different notions from the first three about what participation is and how it works. In the collaborative model, the essential idea is that planning should be done through face-to-face dialogue among those who have interests in the outcomes, or stakeholders. For this dialogue to work most effectively and produce feasible and well informed choices, innovations, and joint action, various conditions must hold: 1) the full range of interests must be involved; 2) the dialogue must be authentic in the sense that people must be able to speak sincerely and comprehensibly to each other; that what they say must be accurate and that they must speak as legitimate representatives of a stakeholder interest; 3) there must be both diversity and interdependence among the collaborators (Booher and Innes, forthcoming); 4) all issues must be on the table for discussion with nothing off limits — the status quo cannot be sacred; 5) everyone in the discussion must be equally informed, equally listened to and thus empowered as members of the collaborative discussion; and 6) agreements are only reached when consensus is achieved among the vast majority of participants and only after

substantial serious effort has been made to satisfy the interests of all players.[14] In this model, participants jointly develop a mission and purpose, lay out their interests (avoiding taking positions) for all to understand, develop a shared understanding of a problem and agreement on what they need to do, and then work through a series of tasks which lead to action or agreements that all, or most, believe will improve their ability to meet their own interests and, in the process, improve the collective welfare. They reach these results, not by argument, but by cooperative scenario building, role playing and bricolage — piecing together the ideas, information and experiences all members have to create new strategies that often can get the group out of some impasse that would otherwise have prevented action (Innes and Booher, 1999).

This model of planning (or versions of it) is growing in popularity as collaborative dialogues are being spontaneously developed not only around the United States but across the globe when other means of planning and decision making fail to produce results. They are particularly well suited to conditions where diverse interests have a stake in an issue, and where these interests are too interdependent to be able to accomplish their goals working alone or with only a small set of others. While many of these collaborative dialogues are limited experiments as people feel their way in this new method and while many of them meet only a few of the ideal conditions, they nonetheless often accomplish a good deal. They can get agreement or buy-in from a wider range of stakeholders than other methods on a strategy; they can satisfy participants and observers that a process was open and fair; they can generate substantial learning among the participants that pays off in the longer run; they can help a variety of participants to develop shared understandings and agendas as well as common heuristics to guide their actions, even when full fledged agreements and implementation remain elusive. These methods, however, are far from becoming the norm in policy making or planning practice. Indeed institutions, practices, laws and regulations, not only do not typically provide the opportunity for such dialogue, they often make it very difficult or even illegal.[15] Most often these dialogues are outside of formal government, though sometimes they include participants from public agencies. Other times they are instigated by public agencies but include a full range of stakeholders.

Examples of Collaborative Planning
Hundreds of examples of collaborative planning can be found at all scales from local to national around the world. Around Europe many municipalities have voluntarily begun

collaborative processes to implement Local Agenda 21's mandate for sustainable development (Coenen et al., 1998, 73-123). While the degree to which this engages multiple stakeholders varies, it has nonetheless encouraged the growth of much more interactive conversations among public officials, interests, and individual citizens. In the Lisbon area, for example, municipalities have been engaging experts in group process to help them create their own sustainability agendas (Vasconcelos, Personal Communication). In the Netherlands, the cooperative polder system, developed over centuries to protect this nation from inroads of the sea, has evolved into a cooperative environmental management system (de Jongh, 1999) that engages many players inside and outside government. In Germany after the fall of socialism, Roundtables were set up to guide Eastern Germany during a period when there was no unifying government and no policies they could fall back on (Olivo, 1998). These Roundtables included players on all sides of the issues, including communists ousted from power and the principal citizen opposition groups. They became so popular that it became normal to set up roundtables in local communities or at the national level to deal with issues ranging from peace in a city to women's issues to violence.

In the U.S., the creation of negotiated rule making was one of the first and most notable efforts at the national level (Susskind and MacMahon, 1985). Administrative rule making around environmental regulation had been an especially contentious process over the years, with agencies proposing rules and industries or environmental groups challenging them in court or Congress. The whole process of creating a rule could take decades, and it might not produce the desired outcomes. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency discovered it could create collaborative dialogues among these players, who would meet face to face and work out a rule satisfactory to all.

In California, consensus building deliberations have become the principal way that federal and state agencies deal with California's politically complex and difficult statewide water issues. These dialogues, referred to as CALFED, include not only 15 public agencies but also interest groups representing every major stakeholder (Connick, forthcoming). The San Francisco Estuary Project was set up and funded by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and included interests like fishing, farming, development, local government, and environment, along with the public agencies that control and regulate this massive estuary, including the U.S. Corps of Engineers and the State Department of Water Resources. The California Governance Consensus

Project, by contrast, was outside government bringing together lobbyists representing every major interest to develop a program for fiscal and governance reform in response to the legislature's failure to do so. It was funded by a combination of foundation grants and the interest groups themselves (Innes and Booher, 1999).

Citizen Participation in Collaborative Planning

The way the issue of *citizen* participation is normally addressed in collaborative dialogue methods is that since they are typically ad hoc, whether government sponsored or not, their agreements are not official or binding. Proposals and actions have to be agreed to or implemented by public agencies (as well as perhaps also by some of the individual stakeholders) and legislative bodies. Each of these has its own traditional public participation procedures and their decisions are subject to these procedures. Thus, at least ostensibly, the results of collaborative planning are scrutinized by citizens, and citizens have opportunities to speak on these — no less than they do on other public decisions. As we have argued, however, these traditional participation methods are not particularly satisfactory for many of their purposes. While we are convinced that collaborative stakeholder dialogues go a long way to meeting many of these purposes — further than the participation methods associated with the other three planning models — there is more that needs to be done.   In one sense, a collaborative planning process that comes close to meeting the ideal conditions laid out above incorporates participation in a much deeper, more inclusive and more meaningful sense than the conventional methods. Many interests are at the table and their representatives get a chance to become informed, to express their views and concerns and to participate in developing new alternatives. Leadership of social movements may come to the table representing their grassroots membership in the discussions. These participants can include representatives of not only such interests as business, environment, or local neighborhoods, but also of many groups which are not normally part of the planning or policy making discussions, such as disadvantaged communities or ethnic minorities and immigrants. It may be necessary to organize and mobilize these groups and take time to bring them up to speed with information and understanding of what is at stake for them, but this can be done. When it is done, the result can be more meaningful participation for these groups than many other methods can ever achieve.

Therefore some would say collaborative methods do not need additional public participation. After all, every relevant interest is at the table already or can be. Certainly in our research and practice as well as other cases, when such consensus building and collaborative planning is taking place, not many additional members of the public show up, even when the meetings are advertised and accessible. The kinds of public participants who normally make a point to attend public meetings are often already represented.

On the other hand, even when each of us has all our interests at the table, we may as citizens be different from the sum of our interests. Each of us has presumably an interest in environmental quality, economic development, and transportation and we might agree that representatives at the table can negotiate among these concerns and come up with a solution that is better at reflecting our interests than what comes out of our legislative or bureaucratic processes. We might think that the agreements they reach may be the best and most feasible likely to be developed using any other planning method, but it is still possible we as individual citizens would look at the agreement and find it unsatisfactory. When all the components and mutual agreements among the stakeholders are put together in a plan or strategy, the sum of the parts may not be what the ordinary citizen actually wants. Moreover, the strategy may itself create new interests because it proposes new activities with new winners and losers who are not at the table because no one knew they needed to be. While these are not common scenarios where collaborative processes have followed the key principles, they are theoretically possible and they need to be dealt with. Search and visioning conferences do bring in citizens in their citizen role (as opposed to as interest representatives) but these are not well suited to really developing feasible plans and strategy, much less to developing implementation approaches. Something beyond stakeholder involvement is needed. Dryzek (2000) makes the case that it is all too easy for the state (or even the other powers that are linked into the state) to coopt citizens and contends that maintaining a somewhat distinct and separate civil society is important to the health of deliberative democracy.

Collaborative Planning as a Strategy for Building Civic Community

Many formal public participation methods have not been satisfactory, not just because the procedures and techniques can be alienating and because they fail to provide meaningful information to decision makers, but also because of the much noted loss of civic community in the

United States (Putnam, 2000). When civic community is alive and well, it means that citizens talk to one another on public issues and build an understanding of these issues through interchange with others. As a result, they become better informed, not only about the issues, but more importantly about what they want and believe in themselves. They begin also to develop some shared sense of being part of a community as they acquire more understanding and empathy for one another and come to understand the problems and opportunities they share.

It is our hypothesis that as collaborative planning methods proliferate and more individuals learn how to communicate constructively and develop the skills and norms for collaboration, they will provide a growing core of a civic community in city after city. They will develop the capacity for authentic deliberative democracy in the sense that Dryzek proposes (2000). They will develop a sense that they can have an influence through their collaboration and conversation, and they will become less alienated as they see results from their dialogues. We have ample evidence that those who get involved in collaborative dialogues — at least those that are well managed — typically come to prefer these modes of interacting and deciding to the more traditional confrontational or simply bureaucratic or logrolling behind the scenes methods (Innes et al., 1994). These collaborative dialogues allow the participants to learn and evolve, and this opportunity is something even the busiest and most important of players appreciates on a personal as well as professional level. Collaborative dialogue is just plain more enjoyable than other modes of discourse or action for most people. These participants seek as a result to bring this spirit and practice into their daily lives as they learn how to have difficult conversations more successfully, and work together more effectively, even on the most ordinary of daily activities.

There is growing evidence in research and practice that a paradigm for participation based upon direct communication and deliberation is more relevant to the successful resolution of public policy conundrums and stalemate than the participation based upon the technical, political, or movement models. Some of this research has been developed in the literature of consensus building practice (Susskind et al., 1999; Innes and Booher, 1999).

Other relevant findings are emerging from social and computer scientists' research, employing the methods of agent-based artificial societies (Epstein and Axtell, 1996) which simulate interactions of extremely large numbers of agents interacting among themselves according to simple algorithms. For example, one model called Agent-Based Argument

Repertoire (ABAR), experiments with some of the fundamental assumptions of deliberative democracy (Lustick and Miodownik, 2000). Their results support the hypothesis that more and better dialogue among citizens contributes to the quality of democracy. They found that democratic polities can maintain stability, civility, and an effective problem solving capacity by maintaining moderate levels of education (the ability of a citizen to understand more than a small fraction of the arguments being made by other citizens). In their experiments, low levels of education are associated with very high levels of pervasive disagreement and with low levels of agreement clustering. They also found that opinion leaders have important multiple roles. (Leaders of interest based entities are often recognized as opinion leaders.) In low levels of education as modeled, opinion leaders decrease the amount of disagreement and incivility in a polity. The presence of opinion leaders also significantly increases agreement clustering, thereby enhancing formation of cooperative communities in a system threatened by fragmentation. On the other hand, societies with high agreement levels tend toward stagnation that discourages citizens from changing their arguments, even when new coalitions render those arguments invalid. In this situation, the presence of opinion leaders improves the ability of educated citizenry to use their sophistication and adapt in response to new evidence.[16]

Local Agenda 21 is also about civil society and deliberative democracy. It "asks for more than participation for legitimacy purposes, it aspires to 'shared responsibility' which means a redefinition of the role of government and societal actors. The local Agenda 21 represents at least an attempt to extend the civil society at the expense of the role of the state. The role of local authorities changes from director to facilitator" (Coenen et al., 1998, 74). Marsten Hajer documents a number of creative experiments in interactive policy making in the Netherlands (Hajer, 2000). He also makes the case that such practices can build deliberative democracy.

Many of the collaborative dialogues in the United States are increasingly consciously designed to further deliberative democracy. Several experiments in public deliberative forums are underway based upon the work of Daniel Yankelovich. Yankelovich (1991) argues that citizens can move from unchallenged individual opinion to considered judgement through seven stages, based upon a public discussion, leading to shared mutual understanding of an issue and the development of more carefully weighed individual judgements. This can take years through an evolving process or can be greatly accelerated through public forums. The National Issues Forum Institute is experimenting with choice forums on such issues as the environment (Hinds, 1996).

24

These are organized by local groups such as civic, service, and religious organizations. For example, the California League of Women Voters is sponsoring a series of such forums relating to sustainability statewide in California. San Diego Dialogue, a regional collaborative initiative in San Diego, California, in 2000 is sponsoring a series of choice forums relating to growth issues in the San Diego region.[17] Similarly, some 19 regional collaborative initiatives in California are experimenting as a network with new technology tools to facilitate citizen participation in regional deliberative dialogues. These are using such tools as interactive web sites, visualizations tools, spatial analysis tools including GIS, simulation, groupware and collaboration tools, and multimedia resource centers. The tools are being used for such diverse activities as building leadership capacity, informing and educating, considering options, engaging the public, and influencing public policy (Henton and Studwell, 2000).[18]

A New Paradigm for Citizen Participation

As illustrated in Figure 3, the existing primary paradigm for citizen participation in planning is based on the idea of direct communication between government and the individual citizen (Arnstein, 1969; Day, 1997) through activities like public hearings, public "education," elections, polls and written comments on proposals. The government communicates information or questions to the individual citizen, and the citizen communicates preferences, information, and direction to the government. The government is, in this view, a sort of black box without much differentiation among its parts, and the citizenry is a mass of individuals with opinions to be heard, tabulated and analyzed. While information can flow in both directions, the process is not interactive. The government may be rather passive waiting to hear views so that inevitably some interests and values are not heard or perhaps not even developed in the first place because some citizens do not have the opportunity to become knowledgeable enough to express them. More ominously, government may manipulate public opinion toward its own ends. Social movements develop when important values are sufficiently ignored and when leadership mobilizes grass roots support for them so they can be heard. But these movements remain either oppositional and outside government or may be incorporated into government and at least partially coopted. The issue of sustaining informed citizen engagement is still not resolved.

We believe that the rise of collaborative planning institutions both requires and points the way to a different paradigm for citizen participation, illustrated in Figure 4. Citizen participation in this perspective works as part of a network, where government actors are many and varied

individual public entities and where interest based entities also play a part in not only interacting with the public ones, but also in interacting with citizens and helping citizens to interact with one another. Government is not a black box, but an array of agents loosely connected among themselves, with interest based entities and among individual citizens. Interest based entities include the full range in which citizens have chosen to invest their attention, time, and resources because of their mutual interest. They would include not only big interest based organizations such as the Sierra Club or the Chamber of Commerce and various professional, political and policy oriented groups, but also neighborhood groups, soccer clubs, civic groups, school groups such as parent teacher associations, recreational groups, and hobby groups. All of these are venues for the mutual learning of deliberative democracy, at least potentially. These public entities interact and build relationships with the various interest based entities as well as each other, according to the issues at hand. The interest based entities interact with each other as well as with their constituencies, public agencies, and the broader public.

Note in Figure 4, however, that not all interest based entities connect with each other or with all public agencies and that not all public agencies connect with each other or with all interest based entities. A citizen may connect with only the group with which she holds an interest, or indeed may not connect with any. Even with gaps in communication, however, there is a flow through the system as a whole. Note also that a citizen may (and is likely to) participate in more than one interest based entity. Government thus is not the only focus for participation, and government actors are not the only players who make things happen, or the only ones that citizens want to influence. Indeed the civil society is about much more than influencing government. It is also about building social and intellectual capital, institutional capacity and adaptiveness in the face of change.

FIGURE 3

TRADITIONAL PARADIGM
FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

THE STATE ⬄ CITIZENS
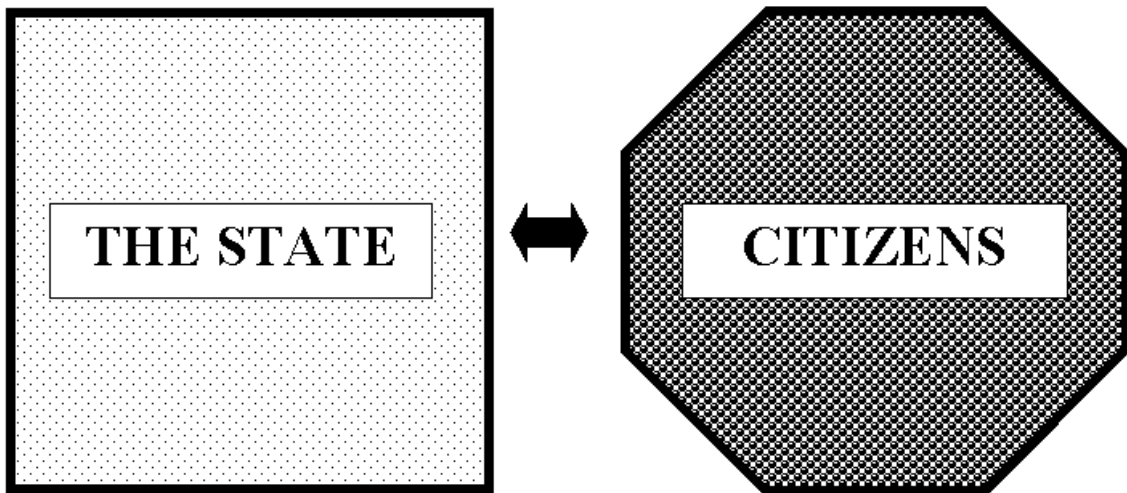
FIGURE 4
COLLABORATIVE NETWORK
PARADIGM
FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Citizen   Interest Based Entity

Public Agency   Information/Learning
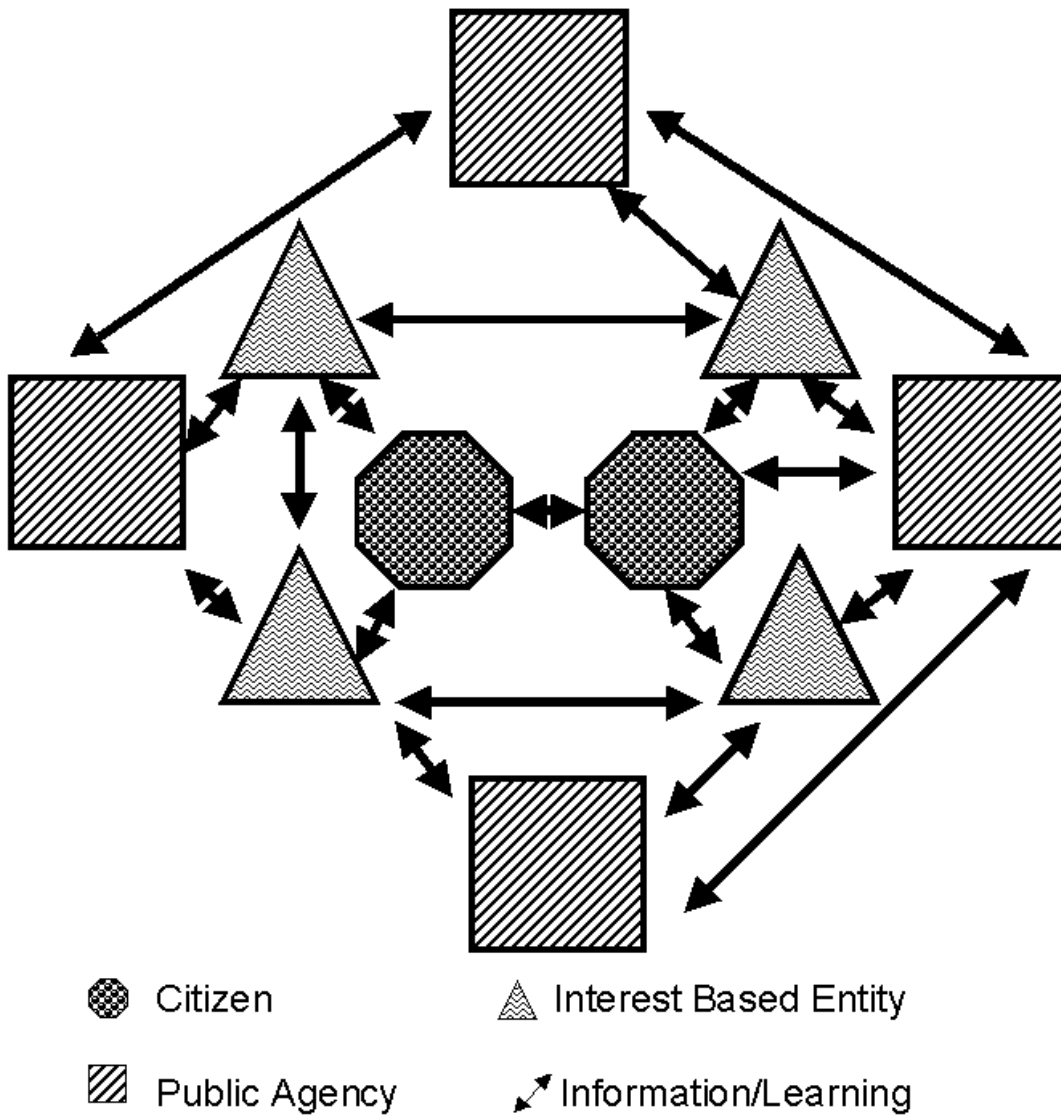
The concept for this proposed new way of seeing citizen participation grows from our observation that successful collaborative dialogues produce networks that last long after the specific discussions are over and which generate new dialogues and build the power of all who participate (Booher and Innes, forthcoming). Literature on the management of networks in the public sector is also important to building theory and practice for this way of thinking about participation (Kickert et al., 1997). What is most important for our purposes about networks is that they are self organizing, inter-organizational structures characterized by interdependence between organizations (including state and non-state entities), continuing interaction caused by the need for exchange and negotiation of shared purposes, game like interactions rooted in trust and reciprocity, and with no central authority. Network management takes place in a context where there is no shared public opinion about which way to go and no clear set of goals. There is no hierarchy and there are no clear decision rules on which the network actor can rely. The benefit of having networks and encouraging their efficient use in the information age — the age of rapid change, fragmentation, and globalization — is that this model is not only potentially more inclusive and empowering to more players than the traditional ones, but also that it is more able to respond quickly and help the planning system to adapt creatively to challenges than the old style. Networks allow many types of knowledge and information to flow through the system rapidly.

John Dryzek has argued that there are intrinsic features of networks that are conducive to the achievement of equality in deliberative competence. He cites the research of Schlosberg into the environmental justice network that arose in the 1980s as a contribution to democracy because of its capacity to promote dispersed control over the terms of discourse. The movement grew out of a series of local actions, but these local actions eventually grew into sharing information and resources through a network with no hierarchy or centralized leadership (Dryzek, 2000; Schlosberg, 1999).

We share with Dryzek the view that networks can be the means by which communicative and deliberative competence can be spread and by which citizen participation becomes, not an isolated task added on to planning, but rather part of building civil society so that citizens are in fact part of all collective choice processes in an integral way but without being coopted by the state. An example at the local level may help to illustrate how this can happen. Recently in the

City of Davis, California, the city council was confronted for the first time with voter rejection of a tax increase. (In California, most local tax increases require approval of a super majority of the electorate.) As a result of the vote, the city government was facing a multi-million dollar budget deficit that would impact many programs and services, but there was no agreement about how to proceed. Many people proposed severe budget cuts, some targeted at specific activities, and others across the board, while other people pushed for another attempt at a modified tax increase. In response to the fragmentation of opinion, the city council appointed a Citizen Budget Commission that was composed equally of budget cut proponents and tax increase proponents. (One of the authors served as the neutral chair/facilitator of the Commission.) In the succeeding months, a dialogic process emerged that included leaders from the various city departments, interest based groups from the community such as senior groups, youth groups, swimming groups, conservation groups, taxpayer groups, unions, and economic groups. Occasionally members of the city council also participated. Although opportunity was provided for individual citizen participation, it is noteworthy that few citizens participated on this basis. Instead there was active participation from individual citizens who were present as members of interest based groups, many of them as participants in more than one group. Through the process guided by the Commission, the citizens, commissioners, and public agency participants all interacted in a joint fact-finding and learning process about the city's budget, programs, practices, and services. As a result, unanimous agreement was reached regarding a proposal crafted by the Commission and participants. The vote ratifying the proposal was taken by the Commission, but it was clear that the proposal enjoyed wide support from the other participants (interest based entities and public agencies). The proposal included a package of budget reforms and changes in programs and practices as well as a new tax increase that was half the size of the original tax increase proposal. At first the majority of the city council was unwilling to adopt this proposal because it included several far reaching innovations. But after several additional joint meetings of the Commission and city council occurred with the participation of the public agencies and interest based groups, the city council embraced the package of proposals unanimously. The package was subsequently presented to the voters. There was no opposition expressed in the community and the proposal was approved by over 80 percent of the voters. This was not just because the people at the table supported the proposal, but also because, in the process, a community-wide dialogue had ensued as each of the participants communicated and discussed the ideas through their own networks.

In this collaborative network paradigm for citizen participation, the traditional purposes of citizen participation described above become only part of the story. Citizen participation can help to build social, intellectual and political capital among citizens and between them and governmental and non-governmental actors. It can encourage positive sum solutions to problems instead of political compromises; it can encourage the development of better informed and more engaged citizens and create a context in which citizens can, through the methods of collaborative authentic dialogue, jointly share and develop their views on public policy issues in more a constructive way than is possible when such shared capital is missing. In short, a basic purpose of citizen participation becomes learning and adaptation of the community governance and planning system. Once this learning occurs and communicative competence is built, the other purposes of citizen participation can be better met, whether the goal is to gain information, to legitimize public actions or to be responsive to the will of the people.

This collaborative, network paradigm for citizen participation applies to planning practice ideas from those who have been thinking about deliberative democracy over the past decade (Fishkin, 1991; Gutman and Thompson, 1996; Bohman, 1996; Bohman, 1998; Dryzek, 2000). Deliberative democracy theory focuses on the potential to increase political participation and the quality of democratic decision making. It is linked to research and theory drawing on sociology, communications, and political science. It identifies group dialogue as a fundamental mover of action and as a restraint on the effects of mass media. Deliberative democracy posits that by exchanging views with one another, citizens increase their reasoned attention to evidence. Such dialogue can produce wider access to more relevant knowledge, triggering agreement on alternative solutions that tap latent concerns for the good of others while meeting underlying interests. Citizens, these authors suggest, will not only become better informed, but also more involved in the policy realm. As a result, democracy will be better able to cope with a variety of contemporary threats to accountable and effective government. Reasoned discussion within "discursive communities," communities whose diverse leaders both represent and guide their constituencies, can help improve the quality of public policy by broadening the diversity of participation and the boundaries of civil speech and action. Consequently such discussion may ultimately enhance the capacity of democratic systems for beneficial adaptation in the face of fragmentation and rapid change (Gutman and Thompson, 1996; Lustick and Miodownik, 2000).

The focus in this new paradigm is no longer simply about the government-to-citizen relationship. Instead the focus is on the public network of discourse and action that includes public agencies, citizens, and interest based entities. "Public reason is exercised not by the state but primarily in the public sphere of free and equal citizens" (Bohman, 1996, 241). But the discourse does not stop at the boundaries of the state. "Discourses and their contests do not stop at the edge of the public sphere; they can also permeate the understandings and assumptions of state actors. Yet it is important to maintain a public sphere autonomous from the state, for discursive interplay within the public sphere is always likely to be less constrained than within the state" (Dryzek, 2000, 79). The networked pattern of relationships, without hierarchy or central direction and with many points where action or opinion can be developed and begin to flow to other actors provides potentially both effective participation while maintaining at least a semi-autonomous public sphere. Governance in this paradigm is not about control structures and systems of checks and balances. Instead it is about the direct engagement of citizens with each other around the geographic place they share (Kemmis, 1990). Within a network, tensions and differences can remain and can provide the political and intellectual space for new ideas and competing perspectives which are critical to democracy and to the protection of the voices of those outside the mainstream. And endangered ideas, like endangered species, can be protected for that day in the future when changes in the environment may make them necessary for the health of the democratic system.

Summary and Conclusions

The combination of the evident failure of traditional methods of citizen participation according to almost any criterion and the emergence of new collaborative methods involving interests and citizens has led us to try to develop a new paradigm for citizen participation — one that will both work better and better correspond to the realities of contemporary times and indeed to the emerging practices. We have sought here to outline the obstacles to change, to delineate the characteristics and practices of collaborative planning and to develop theory to help understand and advance this mode of citizen participation. We are ultimately making the case that such participatory methods can help to build deliberative democracy and civil society and, in doing so, help us to achieve all the objectives that have been laid out for citizen participation.

The biggest obstacles to change are the degree to which at least two other models of planning are institutionally entrenched in practice. The technical bureaucratic model focuses on

analyses to find the truth but relegates citizen involvement mainly to setting goals and then to giving minor feedback on alternatives. It does not permit truly collaborative work because citizens do not have adequate access to the necessary kinds of unbiased knowledge. The political influence model operates with the powerful players and does not welcome direct citizen involvement at all. Teamed up with technical planning, this model virtually squeezes out dialogue or genuine involvement of citizens. Social movement planning can be internally collaborative, but social movement planning cannot collaborate ultimately with those they regard as the enemy and still hope to maintain their internal support. It may engage many citizens but does not include a full diversity of points of view. Existing law encourages and creates the setting for these first three models but seldom encourages the collaborative model. Some law actually discourages it. Moreover, doing collaborative planning is not easy because it requires many players to learn new modes of interaction and authentic dialogue and new ways of designing planning processes.

Nonetheless, collaborative methods of planning in a wide range of forms are being spontaneously invented around the world in great part in response to the failures of other methods of engaging the public and the interests. These are sometimes instigated by government and sometimes outside government, but either way they tend to involve governmental and non-governmental entities as well as citizens in long term dialogue, mutual learning processes, and joint action. Collaborative planning seems to resolve many issues in citizen participation in that citizens can be involved in more informed ways, they can be heard and their views taken seriously, and most interests can be represented as an integral part of the dialogue. Generally, participation in collaborative planning can be more inclusive and more meaningful than the traditional model of citizen participation.   On the other hand, it raises the risk of absorbing citizens into the power structure rather than maintaining the distinction between the public sphere and the state as these collaborative models blur the boundaries. Citizens, or at least some of them, may still remain unrepresented even in the best designed collaborative process intended to be fully inclusive.   This is the case because citizens are more than merely the sum of their interests and collaborative processes can produce unanticipated proposals which generate new and previously unrepresented interests.

Despite this risk, the case can be made that collaborative planning processes educate citizens in authentic democracy as they learn how to deliberate effectively and how to learn and evolve through dialogue. Evidence shows that people involved in such processes come to prefer

them over confrontation and that they learn a great deal about the problems and the other players. We contend finally that planning requires a new paradigm for citizen participation built on the idea that citizens participate as part of a loosely connected network of public and private entities and citizens communicating in various collaborative dialogues among themselves. This paradigm is one that will allow all the purposes of participation to be better met than they are in the traditional paradigm. It is one that demonstrates how the practices of deliberative democracy are spread and help to develop the civil society. The focus of citizen participation in the new paradigm is not the one-way communication between government and citizen or citizen and government, but the multi-way communication among many actors and citizens. The ultimate purpose of citizen involvement is to integrate well developed citizen opinion into collective actions and decisions, but to do so in a way that maintains autonomy for the public sphere.

NOTES

1. A research project at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa reviewed a series of environmental impact studies and found that of the mitigation measures proposed most were not used. (Personal Communication, Lia Vasconcelos).

2. For example, the Hawaiian model of decision making is a highly collaborative way that continues to influence public involvement.

3. The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, for example, which has played the leading role in the United States in supporting research and development of alternative dispute resolution, consensus building and collaborative dialogues by supporting research institutes and agencies that offer mediation services, is bringing collaboration into the effort to revitalize some of California's most troubled neighborhoods by supporting universities to provide assistance to newly formed neighborhood governing boards.

4. For example, see the story of community visioning in Atlanta (Helling, 1998)

5. The *Consensus Building Handbook* (Susskind et al., 1999) offers 17 detailed cases of collaborative decision making.

6. The best of these in recent years is a review article in the *Journal of Planning Literature* (Day, 1997) which gives a good overview of the literature of the last 30 years.

7. Another list was developed by Glass which is more or less parallel. He identifies five objectives including: information exchange; education; support building; supplemental decision making and representational input (Glass, 1979).

8. The Governor of California has announced in mid 2000 that all agencies will have to develop e-government strategies for engaging the public.

9. This includes, for example, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation's initiative providing millions of dollars to support three troubled neighborhoods in the San Francisco Bay Area through a citizen governed process.

10. Many of these and other collaborative interactive techniques are outlined in two recent books (Sanoff, 1999; Morrish and Brown, 2000).

11. These ideas are largely drawn from a four-year, in-depth study of the planning and decision making process at the San Francisco Bay Area's regional transportation agency (Innes and Gruber, forthcoming).

12. Innes and Gruber developed this typology as part of a study they have been conducting of the planning process of the San Francisco Bay Area's Metropolitan Transportation Commission (Innes and Gruber, forthcoming; Innes and Gruber, 1999). As the authors of this paper have examined their own practice and research in many other arenas of planning, the typology seems equally appropriate to describe these, though in different arenas different types of planning tend to be more or less dominant.

13. We use the term citizens as it is widely used, but we mean it to include members of the community whether they are technically citizens or not. Of course, elected officials are most likely to pay attention to citizens — especially the ones that vote.

14. These are the conditions laid out in the *Consensus Building Handbook* (Susskind et al., 1999) and mirror quite closely the ideas of Habermas (1989). Dryzek (2000) describes many of these conditions as part of authentic dialogue. These are conditions that much research on practice, described in the *Handbook*, and in a number of other studies (Innes et al., 1994; Connick, forthcoming) shows are most likely to lead to joint learning, innovation and adaptive response to complex evolving conditions (Innes and Booher, 2000).

15. For example FACA, open meetings laws. The urban general plan, the fear of planners that they should not be activist, the failure to have forums arenas and courts.

16. The ABAR model can be accessed at http://jasss.sc.survey.ac.uk/JASSS.html/

17. The San Diego Dialogue and California League of Women Voters choice forums are projects of the California 2000 Project, a network of organizations in California working to enhance deliberative democracy around the issues of fiscal, governance, and land use reform. They are sponsored by the William and Flora Hewlett and James Irvine Foundations. For more information, consult their web site at http://www.c2kproject.net.

18. More information about the regional collaborative initiatives can be accessed at the web site for the California Center for Regional Leadership, http://www.ccrl.org. The Center is sponsored by the James Irvine Foundation.

REFERENCES CITED

Arnstein, Sherry R. 1969. A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 35(4):216-224.

Banfield, Edward C. 1961. *Political Influence: A New Theory of Urban Politics*. New York: Free Press.

Bohman, James. 1996. *Public Deliberation: Pluralism, Complexity and Democracy*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

———. 1998. The Coming of Age of Deliberative Democracy. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 6:399-423.

Booher, David E., and Judith E. Innes. Forthcoming. Network Power in Collaborative Planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*.

Coenen, Frans H.J.M., Dave Huitema, and Lawrence J. O'Toole, Jr., Eds. 1998. *Participation and the Quality of Environmental Decision Making*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Connick, Sarah. Forthcoming. The Use of Collaborative Processes in the Making of California Water Policy. Ph. D. Dissertation. Berkeley: Environmental Sciences, Policy and Management, University of California.

Day, Diane. 1997. Citizen Participation in the Planning Process: An Essentially Contested Concept? *Journal of Planning Literature* 11(3):421-432 .

de Jongh, Paul E. 1999. *Our Common Journey: A Pioneering Approach to Environmental Management*. London: Zed Books.

De Sousa Briggs, Xavier. 1998. Doing Democracy Up-Close: Culture, Power, and Communication in Community Building. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 18:1-13.

Dryzek, John. 2000. *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Epstein, Joshua, and Robert Axtell. 1996. *Growing Artificial Societies: Social Science from the Bottom-Up*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Fishkin, James. 1991. *Democracy and Deliberation: New Directions in Democratic Reform*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Glass, James J. 1979. Citizen Participation in Planning: The Relationship between Objectives and Techniques. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45(2):180-189.

Gutman, Amy, and Dennis Thompson. 1996. *Democracy and Disagreement*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Habermas, Jurgen. 1989. *The Theory of Communicative Action. Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Translated by Thomas McCarthy. Boston: Beacon Press.

Helling, Amy. 1998. Collaborative Visioning: Proceed with Caution! Results from Evaluating Atlanta's Vision 2020 Project. *Journal of the American Planning Association*

64(3):335-349.

Henton, Doug, and Kathie Studwell. 2000. *Informed Regional Choices: How California's Regional Organizations are Applying Planning and Decision Tools*. California Center for Regional Leadership.

Hinds, Michael deCourcy. 1996. *Environmental Protection: A Challenge Bigger than All Outdoors*. Washington, DC: National Issues Forum Institute.

Howe, Elizabeth. 1980. Role Choices of Urban Planners. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 46(4):398-409.

Howe, Elizabeth, and Jerry Kaufman. 1979. The Ethics of Contemporary American Planners. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45:243-255.

Innes, Judith E., and David E. Booher. 1999. Consensus Building as Role Playing and Bricolage: Toward a Theory of Collaborative Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 65(1):9-26.

———. 2000. Collaborative Dialogue as a Policy Making Strategy. Paper presented at the International Society of Ecological Economics, Canberra.

Innes, Judith E., and Judith Gruber. 1999. Planning Styles in Conflict. Paper presented at the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Chicago.

———. Forthcoming. *Regional Transportation Planning in the Wake of ISTEA: A Case Study of the San Francisco Bay Area's Metropolitan Transportation Commission*, Monograph. Berkeley: University of California Transportation Center.

Innes, Judith E., Judith Gruber, Michael Neuman, and Robert Thompson. 1994. *Coordinating Growth and Environmental Management through Consensus Building*. CPS Report: A Policy Research Program Report. Berkeley: California Policy Seminar, University of California.

Kemmis, Daniel. 1990. *Community and the Politics of Place*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kickert, Walter J.M., Erik-Hans Klijn, Joop F.M. Koppenjan, Eds. 1997. *Managing Complex Networks: Strategies for the Public Sector*. London: Sage Publications.

Lustick, Ian S., and Dan Miodownik. 2000. Deliberative Democracy and Public Discourse: The Agent Based Argument Repertoire Model. *Complexity* 5(4):13-30.

Morrish, William R., and Catherine R. Brown. 2000. *Planning to Stay: Learning to See the Physical Features of Your Neighborhood*. Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions.

Olivo, Christiane. 1998. The Practical Problems of Bridging Civil Society and the State: A Study of Roundtables in Eastern Germany. *Polity* 31(2):245.

Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Sanoff, Henry. 1999. *Community Participation in Design and Planning*. New York: John Wiley

and Sons.

Schlosberg, David. 1999. *Environmental Justice and the New Pluralism: The Challenge of Difference for Environmentalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Susskind, Lawrence, and Gerard MacMahon. 1985. Theory and Practice of Negotiated Rulemaking. *Yale Journal on Regulation* 3:133-165.

Susskind, Lawrence, Sarah McKearnan, and Jennifer Thomas-Larmer, Editors. 1999. *The Consensus Building Handbook: A Comprehensive Guide to Reaching Agreement*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Trist, E. L. 1985. Intervention Strategies in Interorganizational Domains. In R. Marguiles and F. Massarik, eds. *Human Systems Development*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Vasconcelos, Lia T. 1997. The Use of Information and Interactive Processes in Growth Management: The Case of the New Bridge Controversy. Ph. D. Dissertation. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Yankelovich, Daniel. 1991. *Coming to Public Judgment*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.