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Creating a Framework for Participatory Practice

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Creating A Framework for Participatory Practice

A Dissertation Presented

By

ALINA T. GROSS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the

University of Massachusetts, Amherst in partial fulfillment

of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2014

Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning

Creating a Framework for Participatory Practice

A Dissertation Presented

By

ALINA T. GROSS

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                    Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning

DEDICATION

For my father, Meir Gross.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My advisor, Professor Elizabeth Brabec, has played a fundamental role in this research, as well as in my development as a scholar. This dissertation would not have been possible without her. Professor Mark Hamin has been a constant source of support and academic guidance throughout my time in graduate school. He has had an immeasurable role in my academic and professional journey, and has always been supportive in the most challenging of times. I would not be where I am without him.

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ABSTRACT

CREATING A FRAMEWORK

FOR PARTICIPATORY PRACTICE

MAY 2014

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Public participation has become highly relevant in the practice of urban and regional planning, as well as within a number of planning-related disciplines. A broad body of research has been developed on how to more effectively involve the public in a participatory planning process, and recent decades have seen the rapid development of a wide range of methods for doing so. This proliferation of various participation methods presents a number of organizational challenges that may hinder the practitioner's ability to select participatory methods effectively. In order to better understand these challenges, this dissertation explores the history of how planning literature has addressed participatory practice, highlighting publication of participation-focused articles as exemplified by two major planning journals from their inception. We then analyze categorization schemes for participatory methods, highlighting five different ways that categorization for methods has been approached: level-, objective-, method-, stage-, and participant-based schemes. Finally, we explore the development of an integrated, comprehensive and hierarchical scheme for organizing participatory practices that can

serve as decision-making support for planners and other professionals. By examining the past, present and potential future evolution of participatory planning methods, as well as the articulation between participatory theory and practice, this research aims to lay the initial groundwork for strengthening the relationship between participatory research and practical application, and more broadly, to understand how participatory programs can be planned more effectively to create more effective and representative plans and policies.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Public participation, a range of practices defined as involving the public when they are effected by a decision or situation, has become relevant to a wide variety of fields related to urban and regional planning, and has developed a correspondingly broad body of research. The practice of public participation is generally based on two beliefs: first, that decision making is improved by including people whose perspectives could otherwise be missing from the process; and second, that if the public has more information and increased access to the process, stronger support for plans and policies will emerge (Mumpower 2001). A growing number of disciplines embrace the importance of integrating public participation into decision-making processes, resulting in increasingly extensive and diverse research in fields such as environmental studies, resource management, public policy, communications, education, disaster mitigation, sociology, ethnic and race relations, public history, public health, and many others. Most of these fields, moreover, have significant connections with the planning profession.

Many benefits of public participation in the planning process have been identified by researchers, including pre-testing the feasibility and acceptability of new programs and ideas, building citizen support, incorporating local values into plans, gaining access to local leaders, developing local skills, reinforcing coordination between agencies and organizations, and negotiating conflicts (Bracht and Tsouros 1990). In order to achieve these potential benefits from a participatory process, planners as well as other professionals increasingly require an understanding of how to meaningfully and effectively involve the public, in many cases, to meet legal requirements, but also to

create plans, policies, and research that are reflective of the public's needs, wants, preferences and priorities.

While a range of benefits to involving the public in decision-making have been identified in research literature, planning and executing participatory programs in practice inevitably involves obstacles and challenges. Some common difficulties can include a lack of political support or community support, difficulty in determining and/or recruiting participants, working within a particular timeframe, challenging group dynamics, a lack of clarity in objectives and determining whether they have been achieved, and others. Planning researchers and researchers from other fields have undertaken extensive investigations of these and other challenges in their work, particularly as the range of participatory mechanisms and tools grow rapidly, increasing the challenges and opportunities that may arise in participatory practice with these advancements.

As the need for public participation in planning and its relevance across other disciplines has increased, so has research on its practice. During the initial rise of public participation in planning research, major topics explored included the level of authority given to participants (Arnstein 1969), and the success or failure of participatory programs (Mogulof 1969). What was once a small handful of articles has since become a significant body of research on various complex aspects of participation, such as how to align methods with their appropriate objectives (Glass 1979, Rosener 1978); how to teach participatory planning to students; how gender, age, race, or religion informs participatory practice (Beebeejaun 2006, Elsass 1997); how to evaluate participation (Margerum 2002, Salmon 1980, Rosener 1981, Rowe and Frewer 2004); how the planner's language and issue framing used in participatory practice can influence

outcomes (Goetz 2008); how professionals can integrate public input into the plans and designs they create (Crewe 2001); and more.

The literature on planning and evaluating participatory practice has developed significantly, particularly given that the objectives and definitions of 'success' for participatory practice have broadened and evolved over time (Webler 2001). While some work has focused on the importance of tangible, policy-based evaluation processes for planning, or evaluation by results (Wildavsky 1973), other scholars have explored the idea that, while these types of results are more tangible and easily evaluated, a lack of direct policy change does not mean a lack of effect (Alexander 1981). In terms of application to participatory practice, having a narrow view of what 'success' means in terms of participation activities (i.e. direct policy impacts) can be limiting because of the many objectives and outcomes that have been identified as worthwhile for participatory processes. For example, subtle socially-driven objectives based on building human capital such as building trust or self-esteem, getting community members involved in local politics, encouraging tolerance for other points of view, addressing perceptions of dependence on government, reducing feelings of anonymity and alienation, and strengthening a neighborhood social bonds are legitimate objectives that do not necessarily have direct policy outcomes (Alterman 1982).
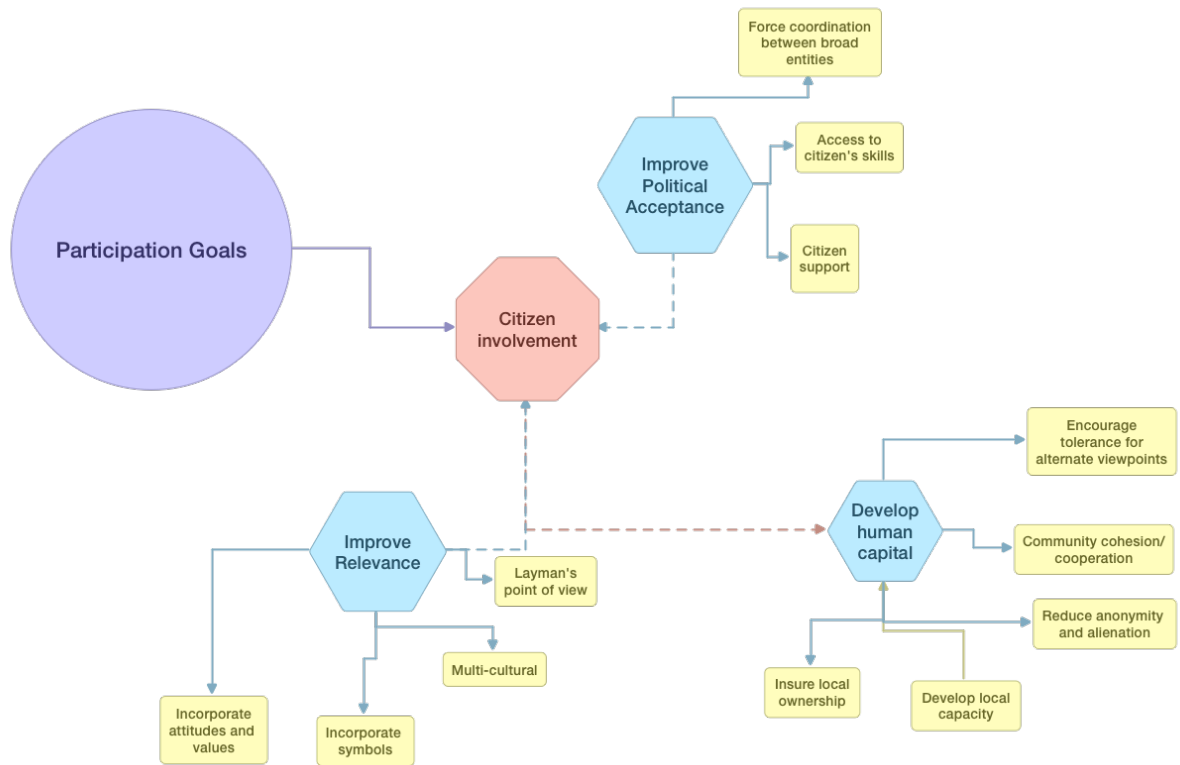
Figure 1. Participatory goals and objectives

Another aspect of the participation literature that has significantly grown is research on the many participatory mechanisms that can be used for facilitating participatory programs and for meeting this broad range of potential objectives. As the concept of integrating the public into decision-making has risen in popularity and importance, ways of achieving that goal have been on the rise as well. What was once a limited choice between public meetings or basic handwritten surveys has grown exponentially into a bank of participatory practices that includes a myriad of different methods and variations of those methods (Mumpower 2001; Rowe and Frewer 2005). In addition, with constant developments in computer technology, we now have access to a wealth of tools and techniques for implementing various participatory methods that

makes the different options almost overwhelming in terms of how to choose appropriately from among them.

While the development of participatory mechanisms and tools is exciting in that it can offer planning professionals new ways of involving the public, reflecting public opinion in plans and policies, and achieving other goals, the rapid development of these mechanisms has also created challenges. The number of participatory mechanisms and their variations can be bewildering to navigate in professional planning practice. Definitional issues regarding the terminology associated with various mechanisms can complicate matters, and even the terms that are interchangeable for public participation (public engagement, public involvement, community involvement, community collaboration) make it challenging to organize, categorize and navigate through this large body of knowledge (Rowe and Frewer 2005). In essence, ***the way that we have conceptualized participation methods has not kept pace with how rapidly they have developed***. Authors have offered various frameworks for guidance in designing and executing participation plans (Mumpower 2001), and developed schemes for organizing menus of participatory methods, but little comprehensive work has been done to develop these frameworks and categorization schemes and make them relevant in a planning field that is rapidly evolving (Webler 1999, U.S. National Research Council 1996) .

Increased research on public participation also raises important questions about the connection between research and practice in the planning field (Webler 1999) and between the various fields that are related to planning. While urban and regional planning are of course practically oriented fields, much of the research that is produced on public participation appears in peer-reviewed academic journals that is not necessarily

consulted regularly by practicing municipal or regional planners. Thus, another issue to consider in the exploration of public participation research is how to connect those who are actually planning and executing participatory practice with research on how to improve it.   Also relevant is the relationship between the planning field and other academic disciplines that deal with participation, and how research is acknowledged and reflected on an interdisciplinary level, as shown in Figure 2.
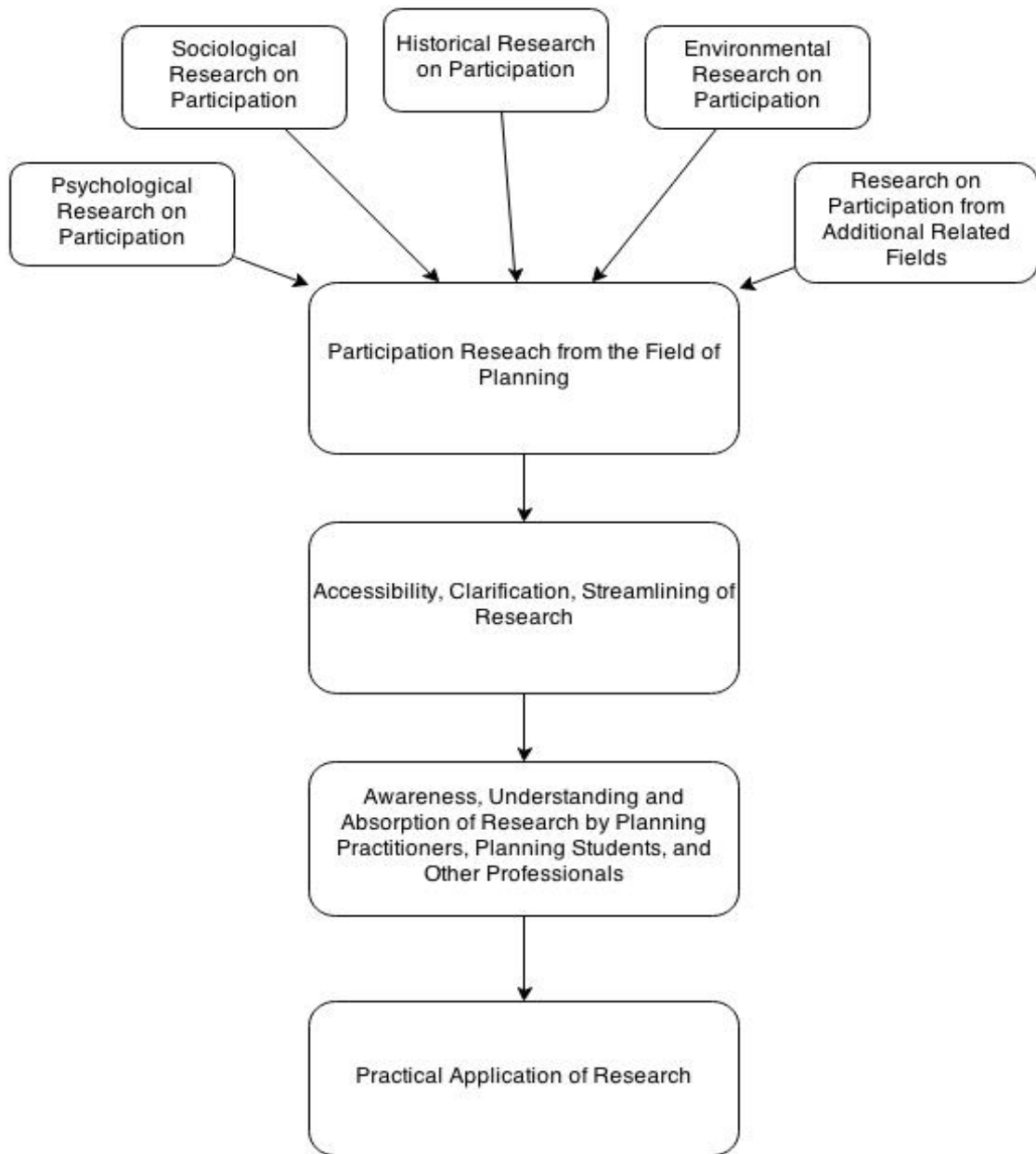
Figure 2. The journey from interdisciplinary academic research to practical application in planning

These issues inspire two overarching questions:

1. In what ways and to what extent may public participation research conducted in a wide variety of disciplinary fields inform the understanding of public participation in the planning field?

2. In what ways and to what extent may this research become more accessible and applicable to planning practitioners and planning students?

In order to examine these larger overarching questions, we explore the transition that public participation has undertaken from its interdisciplinary inception, to its integration in the planning field, to its focus in research, and to its practical application. This evolution defines the overall focus of this dissertation. Specifically, the three chapters of the dissertation examine the following topics in detail:

1. A meta-analysis of how public participation research has evolved in the planning literature, the diversification of research topics and how the literature's evolution has been influenced and informed by historical events.

2. The ways in which mechanisms for participatory practice are categorized and selected by planners and other professionals.

3.	The creation of an integrated, comprehensive and hierarchical scheme for organizing the various steps of the participatory planning process and to rationalize the selection of participatory mechanisms.

The first article of this dissertation examines how participation literature has evolved in the two leading planning journals in the United States, The Journal of the American Planning Association (JAPA) and The Journal of Planning Education and Research (JPER). It examines the topical and thematic trends of participation articles in these journals as well as the historical context in which this publication took place. It also examines how the literature evolved from addressing a few narrow topics in participatory practice to including a diverse number of topics related to participation and to the people involved. Through an examination of published articles with a central focus on public participation, we trace how significant historical events may have broadly coincided with increased or decreased attention to these topics in the planning literature. While some authors have discussed socially-related planning literature more generally, including subtopics of social planning issues such as advocacy planning or equity planning in their presentations, our research aimed to isolate and identify work specifically focused on public participation in planning to understand this subtopic's evolution in its own right within the planning field.

The second article of this dissertation looks at the ways in which participatory methods are framed and categorized by authors, and how this serves as the lens through which practitioners and researchers understand them. An inventory of schemes for categorizing participatory practices are collected from a variety of different professional

and academic sources, and analyzed in order to identify various patterns and trends and to evaluate their comparative strengths and weaknesses for practice. Five different schemes for organizing participation methods are identified including *level-based schemes, objective-based schemes, participant-based schemes, stage-based schemes, and methods-based schemes,* each of which offer a distinctively important focus for the practitioner to consider, as well as its potential advantages and limitations.

In the third article of this dissertation, we build on the evaluation of organizational schemes in the second article to explore the possibility of using an innovative, integrative model for conceptualizing and selecting participatory mechanisms. This comprehensive and hierarchical model, which we designate as The Layers of Participatory Practice, conceptualizes participatory mechanisms in a way that addresses some of the shortcomings of previously explored categorization schemes. The new scheme allows the user to conceptualize participatory mechanisms in a more comprehensive way considering level of participation, objectives of the process, participants involved, temporal stage and political logistics, and then looking at mechanisms hierarchically. We also explore potential use of the model in an actual case study of participatory planning where challenges such as promoting youth involvement in an Open Space and Recreation Plan Update presented unique challenges to selecting participatory mechanisms.

Despite the fact that the dissertation research has been divided into three separate articles, these articles and their associated research are linked as a continuum from past through present to future. The first article addresses the past, reviewing planning history and highlighting how planning has addressed participatory practice in its evolution as an academic and professional field. The second article deals with the present, dealing with

specific categorization schemes and systematic analysis of the current methods utilized in the public participation process both by planners and other social scientists.   The third article builds on the foundation established by the first two in order to develop a new integrative model for participatory planning application. Given a set of conditions, how can practitioners appropriately plan an effective participatory process, informed by the research that has been developed in planning and other fields? In short, the three articles of this dissertation fit together on two axes defining an intersecting continuum: from past to future evolution and from theoretical to practical orientation.

CHAPTER 2

**HISTORICAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION RESEARCH AS
EXEMPLIFIED IN TWO PROMINENT PLANNING JOURNALS**

Introduction

The topic of public participation has been studied within many academic disciplines and accordingly, academic research publications from a wide variety of fields have published articles that address public participation. Such fields include, among others, urban planning (Burke 1968, Arnstein 1969, Glass 1979a), environmental management (Halvorsen 2001, Webler 2001) public administration (Crosby, Kelly, and Schaefer 1986, Warner 1997), government (Ozawa 1983) public policy (Rowe and Gammack 2004), public health (Rifkin 1986, Bjaras 1991), health education (Kroutil and Eng 1988), and behavioral science (Milbrath 1981, Rosener 1981), to name just a few. While examination of literature from the above fields reveals that substantial work has been done to further theoretical understanding and practical undertaking of public participation, review of the literature also reveals that a major gap exists between the body of theories, on one hand, and the practical application of these theories in real-life planning situations on the other hand. In short, the research in planning literature and the literature of other related fields has addressed various specific topics within public participation, but there is a lack of clarity in how to translate this research directly to the planners who are charged with implementing this process.

While many planning academics and practitioners would agree that planning can be seen as an interdisciplinary field that easily and often lends itself to collaboration with other fields, there is a question as to whether the typical practicing planner has the time or

desire to regularly review the range of peer-reviewed research journals from within the planning field, let alone from all the disciplines that could be seen as more indirectly related to planning. There may be similar question regarding the extent to which even planning academics review the full range of journals from within the planning profession and from related fields. Some research efforts have begun to explore this issue (Crespi 1998, Goldstein and Maier 2010) as well as the more general issues relating to the demand for and, the use of, planning journals by planners, both nationally and internationally (Freestone 2011, Webster 2011, Salet and Boer 2011). In terms of the importance of specific planning journals, research has shown that planning academics place a high value on the *Journal of the American Planning Association* (JAPA) (previously known as the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* [1944-1978] and before that *Planners' Journal* [1935-1943]) as well as the *Journal of Planning Education and Research* (JPER) (Goldstein and Maier 2010). In order to explore the links between planning academics, planning research, and practicing planners, it is critical to understand the type and degree of focus that public participation is given in these journals and how such focus has evolved over time.

To date, a number of literature reviews have been completed about the topic of public participation. They have been published in policy journals (Carpini, Cook, and Jacobs 2007), biology journals (Reed 2008), environmental science journals (Chess and Purcell 1999), environmental agencies' technical reports (Petts and Leach 2000), forest policy journals (Buchy and Hoverman 2000) and others. However, there has not been a review of the public participation literature in planning by planners published in the major planning journals. This review aims to identify and evaluate public participation

literature that has appeared in the most prominent planning journals, in order to understand long term trends, contributing factors from inside and outside the planning field, changes in theory and practice, relative increases and decreases in publication rates in relation to major political, institutional and social occurrences, as well as changes in topical focus within participatory planning.

Methods

Journal Selection

Goldstein and Maier (2010) identified two planning journals that "dominate all others in importance" (72).

1. The *Journal of the American Planning Association* (JAPA)

2. The *Journal of Planning Education and Research* (JPER).

As a result of this analysis, these two publications were selected for review in this study since they have the most influence on planning education and (directly or indirectly) planning practice. Review of JAPA began from the journal's inception in 1935 and went through 2009, while JPER's review began from its inception in 1982 through 2009.

Selection and Inclusion of Public Participation Articles

A critical part of this study was locating articles that were focused on public participation in the planning process. In order to evaluate the presence of public participation-related research, it was necessary to determine what would classify an article as *directly relating* to participation. This was not always clear, given that many

articles address broad social planning issues that could be seen as relating to public participation such as communicative planning, humanism in the planning process, advocacy planning, and so on. However, for the purposes of this paper, it is important to distinguish articles that directly address public participation methods, case studies, and theory from the other socially-related planning literature. Keywords in the title of the article were used to determine whether an article directly addressed public participation. This method provided a more directed list of articles than using broader keyword searches, since these resulted in inconsistencies, e.g., some of the most critical articles on public participation, including Arnstein (1969), not consistently showing up in search results for the word "participation".

After an initial search, a closer examination of each article's abstract and a review of the text ensured that the article had a direct relation to public participation. This process excluded articles that used words indicative of public participation, however using them in different contexts or with different meanings. For example, while the word "representation" is often indicative of citizen involvement, there were cases where the word was used in alternate contexts such as for example, "Increasing Minority and Female Representation in the Profession: A Call for Diversity" (Ross 1990). The table below shows the title keywords utilized to identify articles directly relating to public participation.

Table 1: Participation-related journal title words and phrases

Title Keyword/Phrase	Other forms
(Types of Methods)	Cognitive Maps Advisory Boards Meetings Land-use Planning Committees Attitude Survey Public Opinion Survey Citizen Boards Public Meetings Bottom-up GIS
Activism	
Citizen	Citizenship Citizens
Civic engagement	
Collaborative	
Communicative	
Community	Community-managed Community-based
Consensus	Consensus-building
Cooperative	
Local Knowledge	
Mediation	
Negotiation	
Participation	Participatory Participating
Public	
Representation	
Social responsibility	
Stakeholder	

After finalized lists of articles directly relating to public participation were compiled for JAPA and JPER, histograms were created of the publication years and frequencies. Charts were created to illustrate publication in each journal of these articles since each journal's inception, in yearly increments, 5-year increments and 10-year increments. These charts were analyzed in order understand historical trends in

publication within JAPA and JPER separately. Then data from each journal were also combined to analyze the general trends of publication of public participation research in both journals overall.

After the above steps were completed, analysis of the public participation articles continued in order to further understand the trends in the *types* of participation articles that were published in each journal. The participation literature was reviewed and divided into subgroups based on content analysis of the articles, and each group category was analyzed for its own trends and patterns. These subgroups included articles that had a focus on particular methodologies of public participation, case studies of public participation activities in places or programs, participation theory, evaluation of participation, participation objectives, and public participation involving ethnic or racial issues. The division of these articles into subgroups was based on keyword searches and a general review of the article's contents. In many cases, an article fit into more than one category of subgroup. For example, an article that discussed a case study and also dealt with the topic of race was placed into both subgroups.

Each of the subgroups was separately analyzed for its own trends and patterns and its own historical context, e.g., examining whether the literature related to minority group participation had any correlation with the civil rights movement, and so on. Excel spreadsheets were utilized to generate scatter charts and other graphic methods to illustrate trends and understand patterns of publication.

The Taylor and Francis Publication Website (JAPA) had a number of variations relating to changing article categorizations and classifications over time. Accordingly, adjustments to counting were made so that articles percentages were more accurate and

representative. The following notes relate to observations of these variations and criteria for dealing with them. The general intention was for the count of articles to reflect standard length original research articles as opposed to briefer comments, reviews responses, etc.

- Articles that had titles beginning in *Comments* had a very wide range. In cases where what are very short comments (less than a page) are placed under the category of *articles* or *original articles*, they were not included in the count.

- *Planner's Notebook* articles were counted regardless of length (some are less than a page and some are over 10 pages).

- *Planner's Notebook* is often its own category name, and is sometimes placed within other categories.

- *Interpretation* is often its own category name, and is sometimes placed within other categories.

- In early years the above category is referred to as *Pages From Planner's Notebook* and in later years it becomes simply *Planner's Notebook*. Both of these category types were included.

- *Abstracts of City Planning Theses* were not included in count, even if they appeared under the category of *Original Articles*.

- *Introduction* and *Guest Editor Introduction* were not included in count when placed under the category of *Article* or *Original Article.*

- *Letters to the Editor* placed under the category of *Articles* or *Original Articles* were not counted.

- *Symposium* and *Special Issues* articles were counted for overall percentages of research even though participation articles did not come from these categories.

- *Periodical Literature In Urban Studies* placed under the category of *Original Articles* was not included in count.

- *In this Issue* was not included in count when it appeared in category of *Original Articles* or *Articles*.

- *Conference Calendar* was not included in count when it appeared in category of *Original Articles* or *Articles.*

Table 2. JAPA count categories

Categories Included	Categories Not Included
Articles	Editorial
Original Articles	Letter to the editor
Interpretations	Miscellany
Planner's Notebook	Communications
Symposium Articles	Comments
Special Issue Articles	Presidential Message
Research Notes	Activities and Comments
Research Reports	Book review
Computer reports	Advertisements
Technical Reports	Annual Judicial Review
Counterpoint	Legislative Review
The Longer View	Editor's Introduction
	Technical Report
	Review Comment
	Comments and Replies
	Historical Biography
	Historical Biography Series
	Focus
	State Land use Planning
	Comments and Letters
	Features

Results

Chart 1. Yearly increments of JAPA public participation article publication

Yearly JAPA Public Participation Article Publication
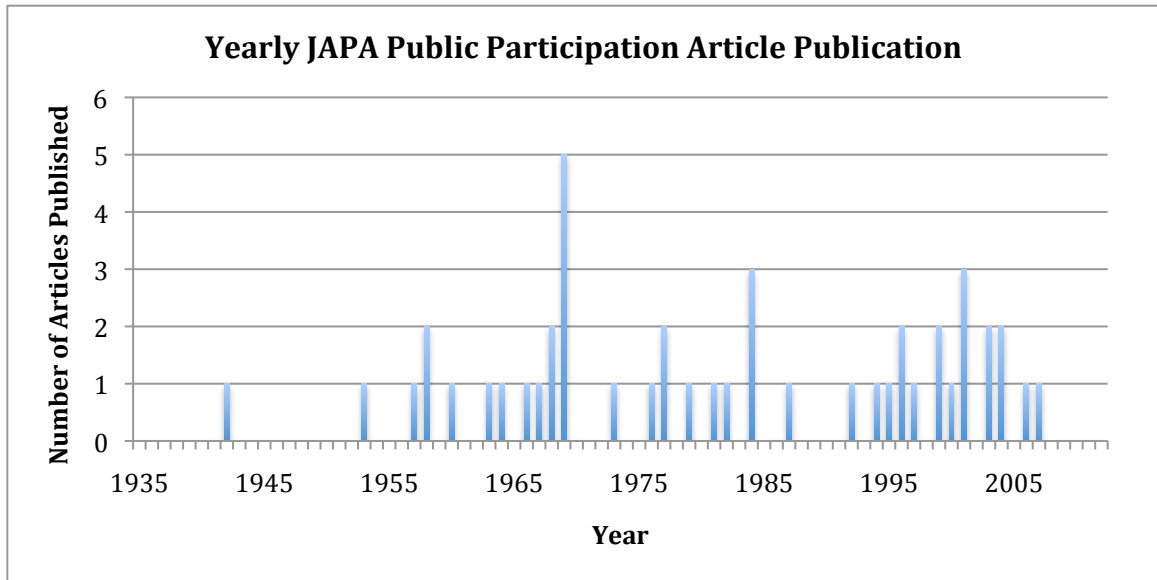
Chart 2. 5-year increments of JAPA public participation article publication

5 Year Increments of JAPA Public Participation Article Publication
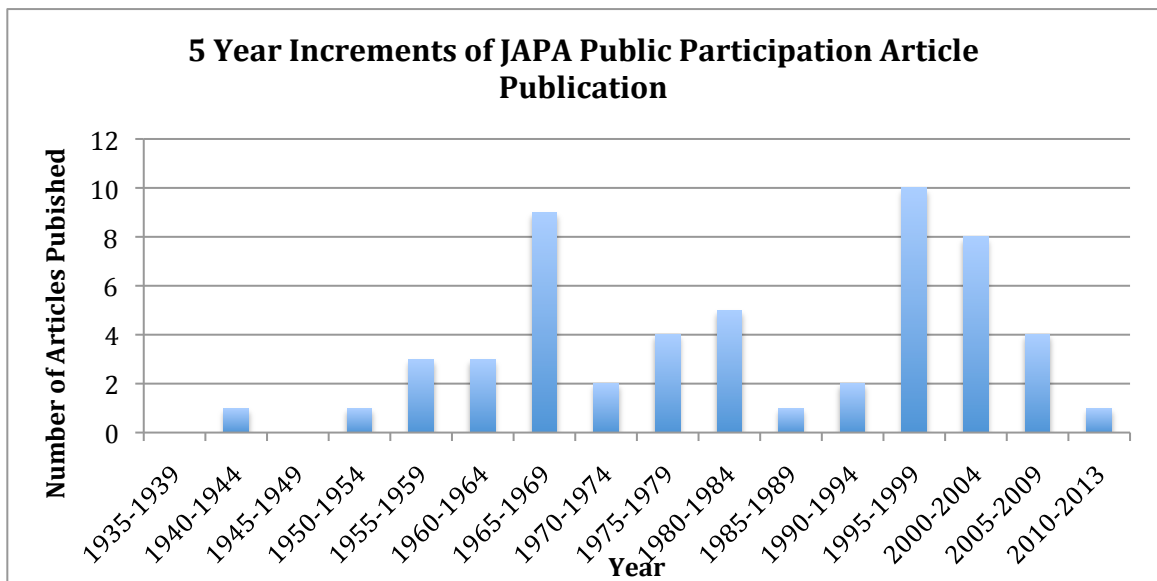
Chart 3. 10-Year increments of JAPA public participation article publication

10 Year Increments of JAPA Public Participation Article Publication

Number of Articles Published vs Year
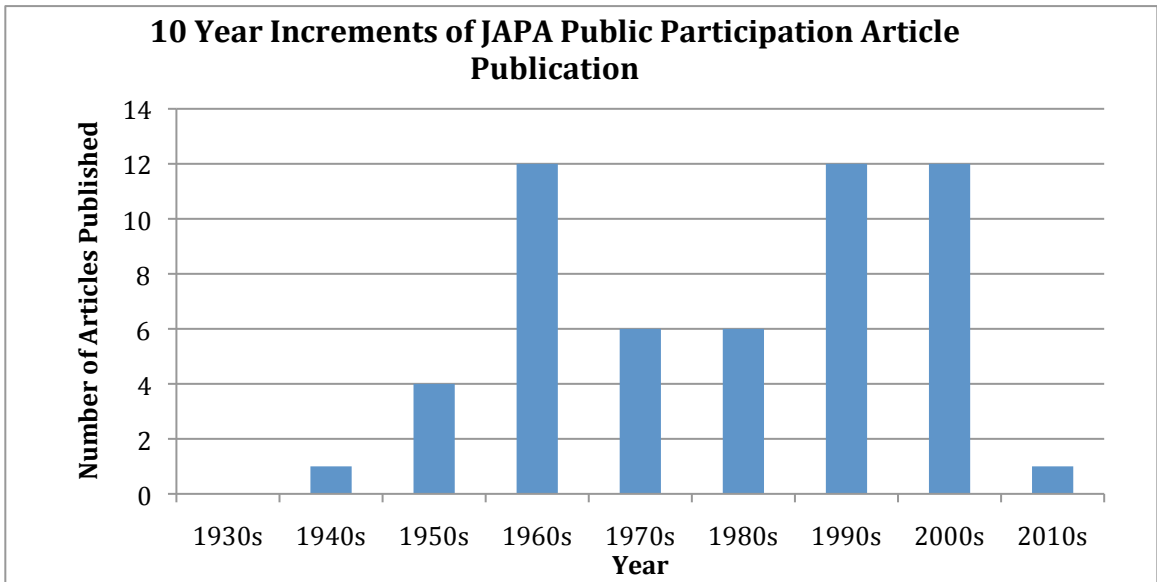
Chart 4. Yearly increments of JPER public participation article publication

Yearly JPER Public Participation Article Publication

Number of Articles Published vs Year
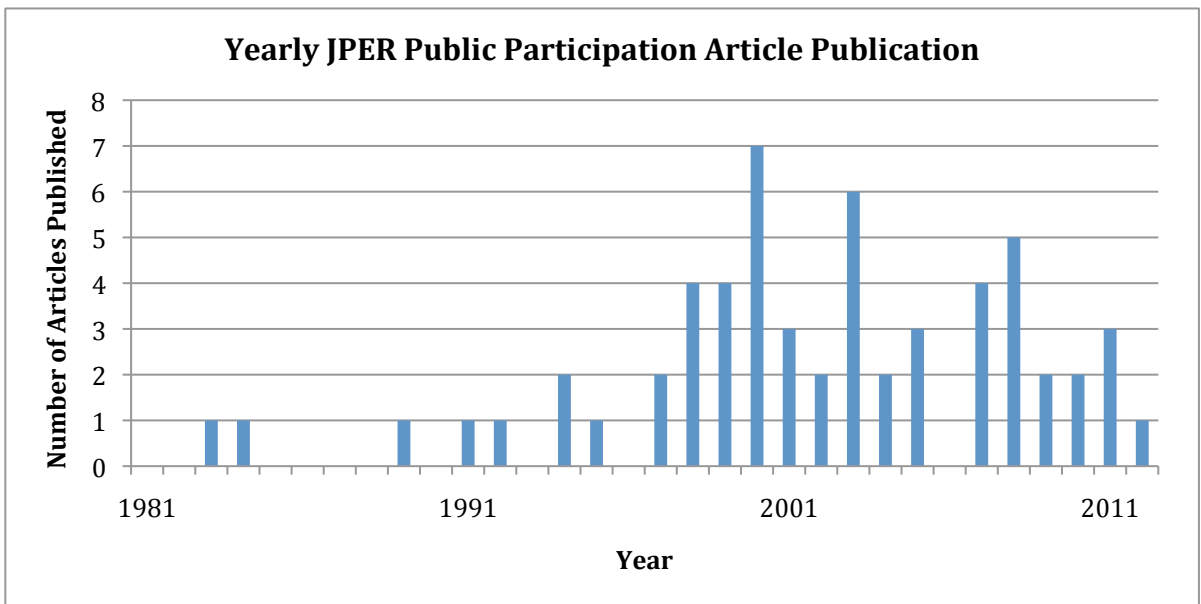
Chart 5. 5-Year increments of JPER public participation article publication

5 Year Increments of JPER Public Participation Article Publication
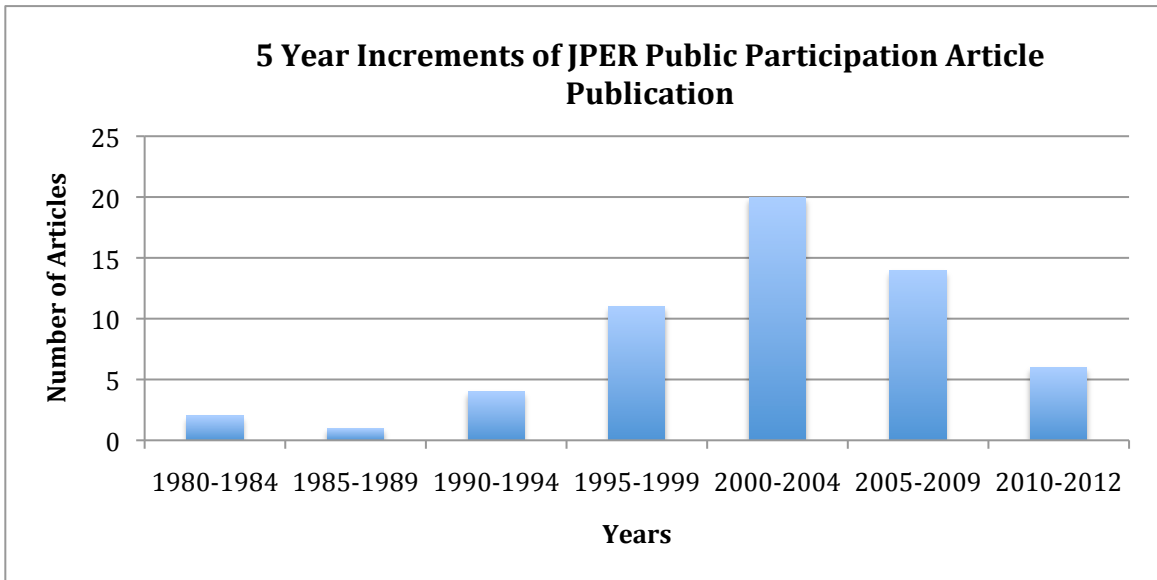
Chart 6. 10-Year increments of JPER public participation article publication

10 Year Increments of JPER Public Participation Article Publication
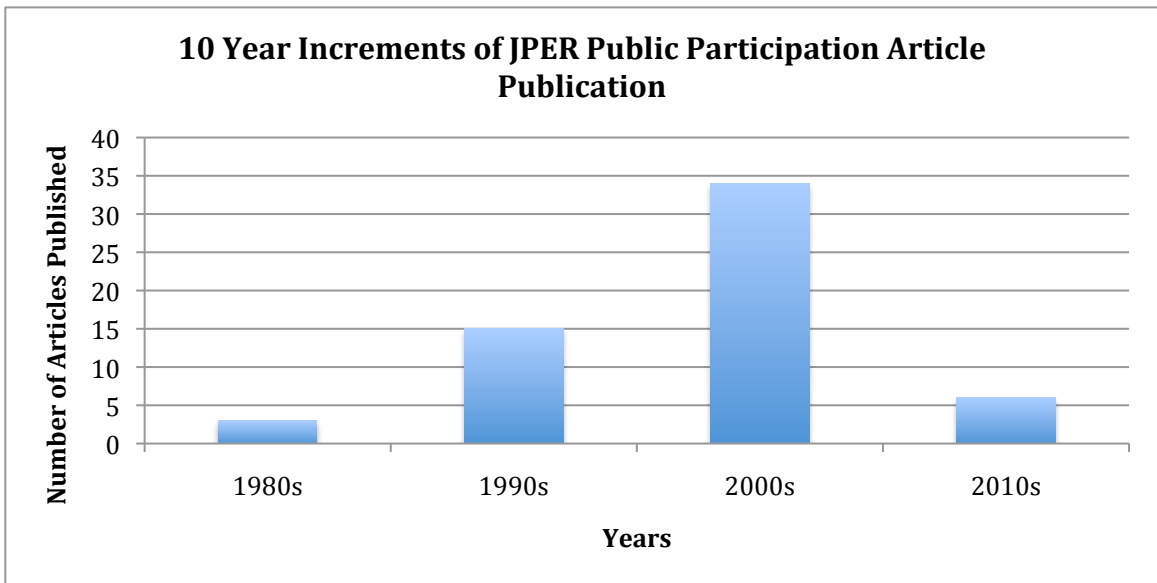
Chart 7. 10-Year increments of JAPA and JPER public participation article publication

10 Year Increments of JAPA and JPER Public Participation Article Publication
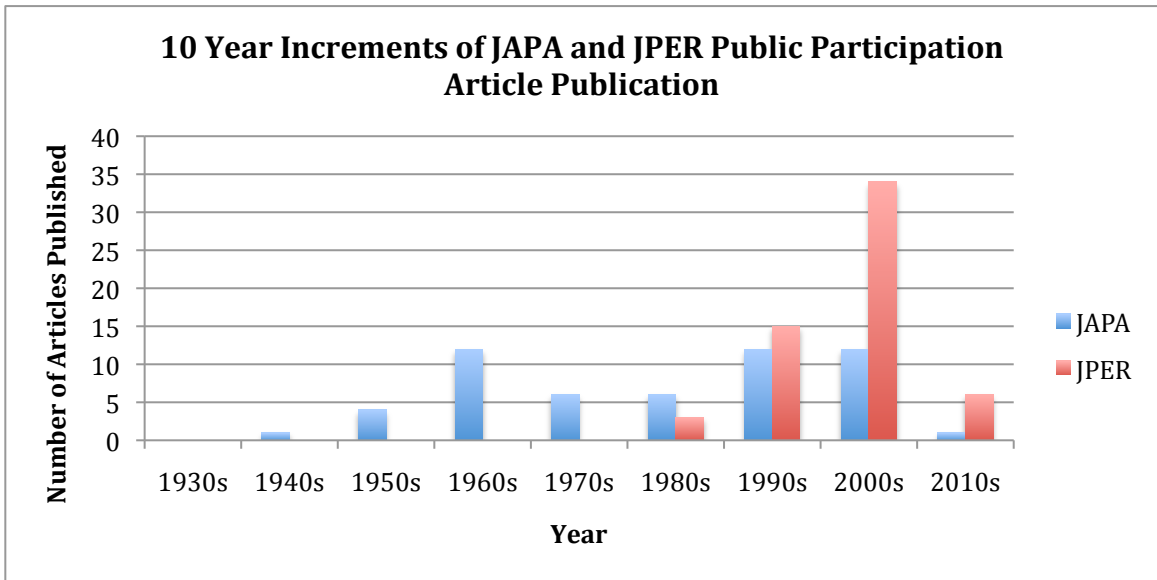
Chart 8. 10-Year increments of joint JAPA and JPER publication

10 Year Increments of Joint JAPA and JPER Publication
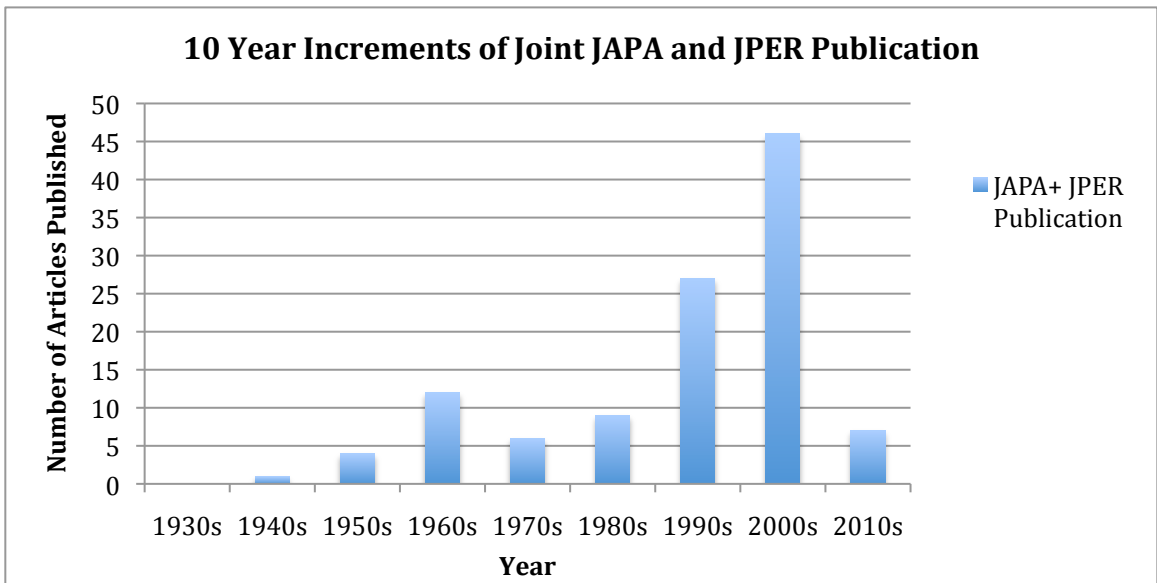
Chart 9. Percentage of public participation articles relative to total articles published in JPER by decade

Percentage of Public Participation Articles Published in JPER by Decade
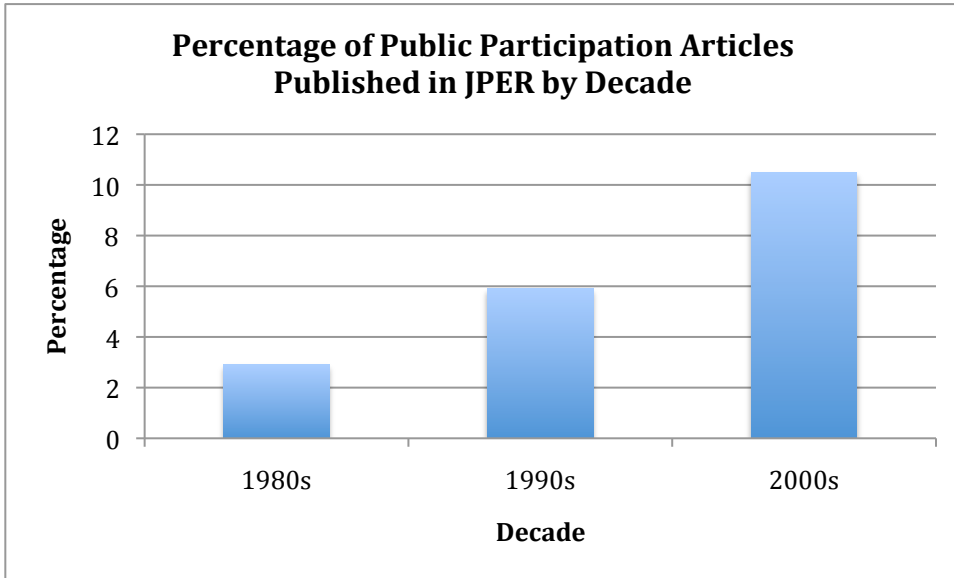
Chart 10. Percentage of public participation articles relative to total articles published in JAPA by decade

Percentage of Public Participation Articles Published in JAPA by Decade
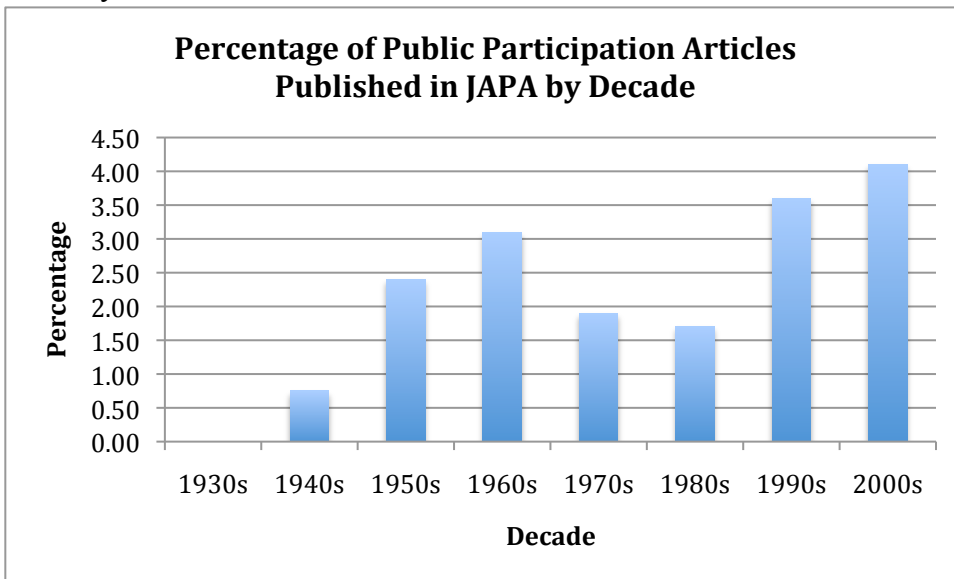
Table 3: Public participation articles in JAPA by decade

Public Participation Articles in JAPA by Decade	
Decade	Citations
1940s	(Foster 1942)
1950s	(Gans 1953, Ravitz 1957, Eldredge 1958, Sarchet and Wheeler 1958)
1960s	(Levine 1960, Wilson 1963, Mann 1964, Godschalk and Mills 1966, Popenoe 1967, Burke 1968, Clavel 1968, Arnstein 1969, Bolan 1969, Hyman 1969, Mogulof 1969, Warren 1969)
1970s	(Godschalk 1973, Harrison 1973, Stewart and Gelberd 1976, Meyers, Dorwart, and Kline 1977, Runyan 1977, Glass 1979a)
1980s	(Ducsik 1981, Evans, Smith, and Pezdek 1982, Ducsik 1984, Gundry and Heberlein 1984, Hutcheson 1984, Forester 1987)
1990s	(Greene 1992, Beatley, Brower, and Lucy 1994, Tauxe 1995, Innes 1996, Sawicki and Craig 1996, Julian et al. 1997, Baum 1998, Helling 1998, Innes 1998, Takahashi and Smutny 1998, Innes and Booher 1999a, b)
2000s	(Hanna 2000, Talen 2000, Baum 2001a, Crewe 2001, Fleming and Henkel 2001, Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003, Burby 2003, Laurian 2004, Forester 2006, Sirianni 2007, Ganapati and Ganapati 2008, Shandas and Messer 2008)

Table 4: Public participation articles in JPER by decade

Decade	Citations
1980s	(Ganapati and Ganapati 2008, Shandas and Messer 2008, Patton 1983)
1990s	(Susskind and Ozawa 1984, Baum 1989, Blackford and LeBrasseur 1992, Ndubisi 1992, Baum 1994, Krausse and Amaral 1994, Checkoway, Pothukuchi, and Finn 1995, Lowry, Adler, and Milner 1997, Rocha 1997, de Souza Briggs 1998, Hillier 1998, Reardon 1998b, Wiewel and Lieber 1998, Baum 1999, Healey 1999)
2000s	(Rahder 1999, Warner 1999, Abram 2000, Few 2000, Hibbard and Lurie 2000,

	Huxley 2000, Huxley and Yiftachel 2000, Jones 2000, Neuman 2000, Angotti 2001, Graham 2001, Umemoto 2001, Booher and Innes 2002, Margerum 2002, Brody 2003, Corburn 2003, Kohl 2003, Lane 2003, Laurian 2003, Miraftab 2003, Carp 2004, Van Herzele 2004, Chaskin 2005, Miraftab and Wills 2005, Puppim de Oliveira 2005, Harwood 2007, Hou and Kinoshita 2007, Laurian 2007, Nance and Ortolano 2007, Baxamusa 2008, Machemer, Bruch, and Kuipers 2008, Mandarano 2008, Mason and Beard 2008, Van Herzele and van Woerkum 2008)

Limitations and Delimitations

The overall purpose of the following analysis is to correlate over time the frequency of papers published in the two major planning journals (JAPA and JPER) with socioeconomic changes in the United States in general and with changes in the planning profession in particular. When examining the history of public participation research publication in JAPA and JPER and understanding the historical context of this research's publication, it is important to note that to start with there are two levels of lag time between the socio-economic event and the publication of related research. The first level of lag time is created between the time that the socio-economic event occurs and the time that the planning profession reacts to it and research is conducted addressing issues related to the event. The second level of lag time occurs between the time that research papers addressing the issues are submitted for publication and the time they are published (this second type of lag is particularly evident in refereed journals, where the paper is first submitted for blind peer review to a number of referees, who may then recommend changes which in turn further increases lag time).

In addition to the temporal factors noted above, the time lag between the socio-economic event and the publication of research papers related to it depends on factors such as funding that is available for research in that topic and the level of political and

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administrative support for this research, and so on. In summary, the social, political and academic systems that influence and control the way research topics are academically pursued and published is complicated and convoluted. Thus it is nearly impossible to definitively quantify and determine the temporal relationship between the real event and the time of publication of related research papers. Nevertheless, the following analysis seeks to generally address overarching themes of the research and contextualize what was going on societally during (or preceding) the publication of this research and to track how it may have been received, and how that reception may have influenced subsequent publication patterns.

Analysis

1930s

The 1930s were an important decade for the development of the planning field in many ways. While the United States was experiencing arguably its most seminal and critical socioeconomic event of the twentieth century, The Great Depression, planning commissions were forced to cut their budgets and planners had an increasingly reduced role at a time that they were perhaps needed most. Unemployment rates and housing foreclosure rates continued to rise throughout the early 1930s. In the preceding decades of the 20th century, the profession of city planning had emerged primarily on the basis of land-use and development regulation, with a focus on managing economic growth. During this subsequent period of depression, planners were unsure of whether the skills and experience they had acquired previously would be relevant, given that the economic hardship and limited resources had become the major social concern. Thus the depression altered the entire planning climate. The decade saw an increase in the area of

regional, state, and national planning, and skills needed for effective region-wide or state-wide planning often differed from those needed for the smaller geographic scale of city and community planning. State planning required a more thorough understanding of tools and techniques associated with larger-scale land-use studies, regional industrial operations, regional resource management and general macro-economic sectors. Thus planners needed to retool in the theoretical aspects and practice of planning. In the midst of these important changes in the profession, JAPA was founded in 1935, two years after Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal began its recovery and reconstruction measures.

Improvement in economic conditions starting in the late 1930s led to a resurgence of city planning as well as the emergence of the Master Plan or General Plan, which at the time included elements such as zoning, streets, parks, sites for building, and routes for public utilities. Cities began to be rebuilt, which led to increased demands for urban planners. This, in turn, caused an increase in the number of institutions of higher learning offering graduate programs in city planning. Different institutions approached the development of these programs in varying ways. Some schools added planning as part of landscape architecture programs, some included planning within their school of engineering, and some others included them within their schools of social sciences. This variation in organizational milieu generated a debate within the profession. Some argued that the broad definitions of what planning meant and the diversity of courses associated with city planning meant that the field needed some unifying parameters to add stability and direction. Others thought that this kind of pluralism in planning education was a good sign that indicated that the field was still growing and developing and thus capable of adding more theories, tools and techniques to its knowledge base. A consensus

emerged that interdisciplinary approaches which included sociology, law, political science, and other disciplines were necessary to the education of future city planners who needed to address increasingly complex problems (Scott 366). These planning debates resumed and intensified following World War II. Another important development occurring in the 1930s was the beginning of "redlining", or the practice of denying or increasing costs of certain services to particular groups based on where they live. The term originated when the Dade County Florida Home Owners Loan Corporation developed a rating system utilizing maps that determined which areas of cities would be desirable loan candidates. These maps were used for years afterwards to deny people of color loans.

Initially the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* covered physical planning issues such as "Zoning" (Ackerman and Acpi 1935), and "Land Planning for States and Regions" (Augur 1936), thereby emphasizing the need for the profession to address more state-planning issues. In terms of social planning research, there were some articles that discussed population density issues (Ihlder 1935), or articles addressing the planner's role in this still somewhat new and evolving profession such as "The Place of the Professional Planner in State Planning" (Hoelscher 1936). However, generally during the 1930s the journal did not explicitly address public participation in the planning process, or any other major sorts of social planning issues in great depth. Planning research may have had a general public interest in mind, but this did not necessarily translate into recognition of a role for public participation relative to technocratic expertise serving public ends.

1940s

The years 1940 to 1947 witnessed the largest internal and external migration in United States' history. In these seven years, nearly half the population had moved to new homes, 12 million people moved to different states and 13 million changed counties within states. Much of this migration was related to wartime mobilization, and a significant share involved minorities moving from rural regions in the south to urban-industrial regions in the north. It was also during time that the rational planning model began to rise in popularity in the aftermath of depression and war.

The socio-economic events of the 1930s and the demographic shifts of the 1940s resulted in increased emphasis of the importance of social planning, which in turn was reflected in the planning research and publications. The year 1942 marked the first publication of an article directly addressing public participation in planning. "The Development of Rural Land-Use Planning Committees: A Historical Sketch" (Foster 1942) discussed how planning could develop as a democratic process versus being ruled by experts without involvement of the public. Foster talks about the importance of involving farmers and local experts in the rural planning process, as well as the importance of public participation in rural planning, stating, "Widespread public participation is encouraged throughout the rural planning process by public meetings, publicity, and popular discussion of the problems with which rural planning is concerned" (Foster 1942, 8)

Another important first for JAPA that occurred in the 1940s was the publication of the article "The Social Factor in City Planning" (Dickinson 1946), in which Dickenson concludes, "We must retain and develop what is best in the life and organization of the

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great city, give it real metropolitan character, and open it up into smaller units, so as to cater adequately to the social needs to man in urban society" (10). Not only does this mark the first time the word "social" was used in an article title since the journal's inception, it also marks the first time an author *directly* dealt with the need for planners to address social issues in planning.

The Housing Act of 1949 was one of the most significant events affecting city planning in the recent history of the United States. Some of the important parts of the act included financing for improving slums, financing the construction of 800,000 public housing units, and permitting the Federal Housing Administration to provide mortgage insurance and also permitting them to finance homes in rural areas.

The end of World War II brought a heavy increase in home-building production. This was the period of development of Levittown (and other new towns) where 51,000 moved into 15,000 nearly identical houses by the end of 1950 (Scott 1969). During this period of time, American planning moved to embrace pluralism, democracy and social responsibility and emphasized these facets as triumphant over centralized and bureaucratic German and Soviet totalitarianism. As the country emerged as a world power in opposition to Soviet Union, these distinctions had a new resonance.

In 1947 the Committee on Planning Education of the American Institute of Planners released a report that was very influential in relation to social planning and likely the publication of socially related planning research. The report was important to this history of public participation in planning research because it emphasized the importance of the social sciences in planning education and planning in general. This report highlighted the growing concern with the human element of planning and

eventually led to planning being increasingly involved with organizations that dealt with poverty, racial segregation, education and unemployment. It meant that planners were required to know more about social theories and acquaint themselves with tools and techniques suitable to address human, social problems. This critical transformation in planning would have an effect that carried into the following decades, and appears to have set the groundwork for an increased number of social planning and public participation-related research in the 1950s.

1950s

Among the most important acts of legislation related to planning during the 1950s was the Housing Act of 1954, which included a participatory requirement and was noted by some as the beginning of the participatory movement (Zimmerman 1972, Glass 1979b), and the allocation of resources during this decade for the construction of the Interstate Highway System and for Urban Renewal Programs. Both the building boom and the enhanced transportation network contributed in a major way to the phenomenon of urban sprawl and suburban development. Meanwhile, Robert Moses' transportation-related projects in New York which started in the 1940s, and which were a major factor in the urban renewal movement, continued. All of these factors had an impact on the American landscape. Now more affluent people could afford large homes on large lots away from the city center. While economic motivations are what primarily encouraged people to move to the suburbs, it is important to note that the subsequent "white flight" also occurred as a result of fears of integration with the migrating middle and working-class Blacks and Latinos to northern cities. As white middle-class families moved farther

away from the center city areas, they took their economic capital and civic institutions with them, creating the foundation for the inner-city pockets of poverty that would emerge in the subsequent decades.

As a result of the above legislation, the second half of the 1950s also witnessed substantial increase in planning activities. Some of this accelerated development led to less than desirable outcomes. Events happened rapidly, and inexperienced planners were thrust into positions of authority without sufficient preparation. The rush of suburban development increased demand for qualified planners, which was not fully met by graduate programs. Thus, people who were not trained in planning but were trained in other fields such as political science and sociology were thrust into planning jobs for which they were underqualified and inexperienced. The American Institute of Planners (AIP) attempted to address this problem by holding several professional workshops to train people in planning.   In 1959 the American Society of Certified Planners (ASCP) was formed, in part to address issues related to planning education.

Demand for professional planners was generated by two principal sources. First there was an increase in the number of agencies addressing issues related to planning. Second, other types of organizations were realizing the need to have planners on their staff. Planners thus became involved in various physical planning matters such as real estate, and facility locations. Soon thereafter planners also became more involved in social issues related to planning such as human resources and public participation. Finally, as a result of the above, the demand for planning educators also increased (Scott 548).

The events of the late 1940s and the 1950s resulted in a substantial increase in the number of published articles addressing public participation published in JAPA (then the Journal of the American Institute of Planners) from a single article published in the 1940s to 5 articles published in the 1950s. The 1953 piece, 'Planning and Political Participation: A Study of Political Participation in a Planned New Town" (Gans 1953) can be considered the first case study and evaluation of public participation published in a planning journal, and also one of the first to address public participation theory by bringing up issues such as "deprivation-oriented" political participation in the planning process. This phenomenon is described as occurring when people participate in a political process only when they are deprived of something, and stop their participation when the deprivation is over or when they have accepted deprivation (Gans 1953).

Three of the five public participation articles published in the 1950s dealt with utilizing specific methods for public participation. Two of the methods-focused articles discussed the usage of surveys (Eldredge 1958, Ravitz 1957). The third dealt with community organizers and neighborhood councils (Sarchet and Wheeler 1958).

The article by Sarchet and Wheeler (1958) was also the first published in the journal to overtly emphasize the importance of public involvement in the planning process. The authors explicitly state that, "The citizen must be given an opportunity and a responsibility to contribute his support and abilities to planning better neighborhoods" (187). In general and more specifically as well, authors were continuing what Dickinson did in 1946, in addressing the importance of the planning profession to understand its social role. Perhaps the strongest example of this recognition was Adams' editorial (1951), where he strongly asserts the need for planners to address social issues. The

editorial also goes on to discuss the need for planners to rethink their role, since many of them made an important change from representing private entities to representing the public.

> "Next to its increase in numbers and its general recognition as an independent professional activity, requiring special techniques and skills, perhaps the most important change in the planning profession during the past twenty-five or thirty years has been the trend away from the planner as a private practitioner-responsible only to himself and his immediate client- to the planner as a public official. Here his responsibilities go beyond his own and those of his planning agency to embrace the broader claims of the whole community or region which he is serving in an official capacity" (Adams 1951, 2)

Adams goes on to touch upon professional situations where the planner may disagree both with their superiors and the members of the public about some issues. He writes,

> "His position is even more difficult if he finds himself at odds with the opinions of both official and lay groups in such matters as public housing, racial segregation, or the maintenance of adequate planning standards despite the pressures of a defense minded economy. Under extreme conditions he may be forced to decide between his convictions and his job, but where the issues are less clear cut the alternatives are less obvious" (Adams 1951, 2).

This editorial would be the start of an increasing awareness of how the planner should address social issues in the context of their jobs, and their responsibility to do so (e.g. Davidoff 1965). In addition, the editorial would be followed by numerous future articles where authors discuss how planners deal with issues like racism, and other complicated social issues in the context of their profession (Hoch 1993, Mier 1994a).

1960s

The 1960s was a decade of major changes in the United States, which in turn affected planning and planning literature. The 1960s witnessed a substantial population growth as well as large changes in the age distribution. This was a result of the post-World War II baby boom; 32 million babies had been born by the end of the 1940s, compared with 24 million in the 1930s. This baby boom came of age in the 1960s, placing increased pressures on the economy. The percentage of elderly people also increased somewhat. Thus the percentage of dependents (adolescents and elderly people) increased to 48% of the total. These demographic changes had a number of planning implications. First, it placed more of a burden on people during their working years and second, it increased the demand for public services such as education and special housing for younger and older citizens. Major economic forces were also in play. Automation in many fields caused increased structural unemployment, migration of African Americans from rural to urban areas and from the south to the north induced job competition with poor whites. Slums were expanding and overcrowding with African American occupancy and many white families were fleeing to other areas as blacks moved in. The net results of all these changes included segregated education, competition for low-skill

jobs and tension between racial groups. Finally, the combination of all three factors (economic changes, relocation and migration, and the civil rights conflicts), which emerged as major social issues, demanded the urgent attention of the planning profession, with growing emphasis on the resolution of racial problems.

The major socioeconomic changes also resulted in important federal legislation. In 1964 President Lyndon Baines Johnson declared a War on Poverty and initiated various Great Society programs to attack poverty, including the Model Cities Program launched by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act. Public participation was mandated by the federal government in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which required community action programs to oversee antipoverty efforts (Lowry, Adler, and Milner 1997). Finally, response to the publication of Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs 1961) and similar planning critiques added to the discussion of the great changes the United States was going through in the 1960s. It explicitly addressed the negative impacts that the socioeconomic change had on urban areas. Similarly in the environmental realm, Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), along with other publications, drew increased attention to problems of natural resource depletion, ecological degradation, and pollution related to public health.

The 1960s were an important decade for both, planning research generally related to social issues, as well as planning research directly related to public participation. As a result, JAPA started integrating more socially-oriented works in issues that came out throughout that 1960s. The journal was dealing with social issues head-on, as evidenced by articles that covered topics like diversity (Ylvisaker 1961), racially changing neighborhoods (Wolf 1963), the direction of social planning (Perloff 1965), social

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welfare planning (Perlman 1966), racism in the context of comprehensive planning (Stafford and Ladner 1969), and most famously, Paul Davidoff's "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" (1965). Davidoff's paper, which indirectly challenged the dominance of the rational planning model, framed the role of the planner addressing social justice and discrimination in the context of advocacy planning. He asserted that a planner is not value-neutral and that judgment is part of every planner's job. He stressed that planning should be pluralistic and should also represent the interests of people of color, and other minority groups. He noted that, unfortunately, most instances of citizen participation usually involve the public reacting to plans that have already been proposed, rather than enabling the public to be an integral part of the plan making process in a meaningful way (Davidoff 1965).

Not surprisingly there was a substantial increase in the number of articles published in JAPA related to public participation. These papers brought to light some interesting and important new issues with regard to understanding public participation such as Wilson's article which began to touch briefly on the issue of objectives in urban renewal and, by extension, the objectives of its accompanying public participation efforts (Wilson 1963). The notion of understanding and articulating the objectives of public participation was also addressed by Burke, who began exploring the challenges that planners face when designing and executing public participation programs. He suggested that a way of creating more effective public participation processes and resolving social dilemmas would be to recognize and utilize participation strategies specifically designed and tailored to the organization's particular needs and resources. Such strategies included education-therapy, behavioral change, staff supplement, cooptation,

and community power (Burke 1968). This idea of understanding the objectives of participation process in order to design one that would be appropriate and effective would be further addressed in papers published in the following decades.

As it did in the previous decade, the journal also continued to publish articles that discussed specific participation methodologies such as the use of citizen boards (Clavel 1968), and urban activities surveys (Godschalk and Mills 1966). Theoretical aspects of public participation also continued to be addressed in the 1960s issues of JAPA. For example, one article offered a framework for understanding the relationship between planning and community decision-making (Bolan 1969), while another distinguished between the meaning of community development and community planning (Popenoe 1967). Another article reviewed various models of community decision-making (Mann 1964). In 1969, JAPA published an article by Sherry Arnstein that became one of the most cited and most well-known theoretical articles on public participation. Her paper, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" in which she compares levels of public participation to the rungs of a ladder, became one of the most read and most cited articles published in the journal (Taylor and Francis Group 2014) and has become standard required reading in many planning history and theory classes.

The year 1969 was an important year for publishing articles about public participation for another reason. In addition to Arnstein's article, JAPA published its first article that principally dealt with racially-related issues in public participation, namely the way black neighborhoods participated in the Kennedy Administration's Juvenile Delinquency Demonstration Program, the Office of Economic Opportunity's Community Action Program, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Model Cites

programs (Mogulof 1969). While previous articles published in JAPA touched on how planners might deal with racial issues (Davidoff 1965, Adams 1951), this was the first article that dealt directly with issues concerning both public participation and race. The same issue included another article that addressed racial issues in the context of the Model Cities program (Warren 1969). Other articles published by JAPA in the 1960's addressed case studies of public participation in various locations including Philadelphia (Levine 1960), Boston (Hyman 1969), New York and Chicago (Wilson 1963).

The social turmoil and transition of the 1960s was a strong impetus for research and publication of papers related to social planning in general and public participation in particular. This impetus would carry on to future decades.

1970s

The election of President Richard Nixon in 1968 ushered in an era of more conservative governance in the 1970s, which marked a significant departure from the inclusive and wide-reaching government funded programming that was prevalent in the 1960s. Important economic and social forces reinforced this shift, including skyrocketing oil-prices during the OPEC embargo, which affected the affordability of development and transportation, as well as inflation, higher crime rates and increasing joblessness domestically. The opposition to the war in Vietnam that began in the 1960s grew exponentially in the early 1970s leading to the U.S. military's ultimate withdrawal. However, continuing concern about the spread of Communism coupled with dismay that the U.S.'s actions internationally could be seen as weak pushed public policy away from many of the pro-growth paradigms of the 1960s. There were indications that aspects of

the 1960s agenda were still moving forward, although these were often tempered by the increasingly conservative social atmosphere and concerns about urban economic decline. The Equal Rights Amendment, which stated that access to opportunity would not be denied in the US on account of a person's gender, was passed in 1972, although it was never ratified due to conservative lobbying. In the aftermath of the Stonewall riots in New York City, the gay rights movement took a significant step forward in the 1970s with election of political figures such as Harvey Milk in San Francisco, although he was eventually assassinated. There were also some important technological advances that would influence future decades, and the planning and engineering in particular, such as the advancement of information and telecommunication technologies such as personal computers and satellite transmission. The environmental movement became stronger and more institutionalized during this time and the first Earth Day was held in 1970, along with passage of NEPA and other environmental legislation that included public participation requirements.

The publication of articles dealing with socially-related planning issues continued in the 1970s and the types of social issues that were addressed in these volumes became more diverse. Subjects like justice in the context of regional planning (Berry and Steiker 1974), social planning from the view of the planning practitioner (Hemmens, Bergman, and Moroney 1978), as well as other social planning topics were broached in the 1970s.

In terms of publication of participation-focused articles, however, while publication remained steady, JAPA did not increase publication of articles on the subject as much as it had from the 1950s to the 1960s. Eight articles directly related to public participation were published in this decade. Many of these had a theoretical component

and addressed issues like the public interest (Friedmann, Nisbet, and Gans 1973), social judgment theory (Stewart and Gelberd 1976), value implication for community planning (Moffitt 1975) and the exploration of understanding participation objectives as a foundation for selection of methods (Glass 1979a).

Authors also continued to explore and review participation methods that had previously been addressed in JAPA, such as citizen boards (Harrison 1973, Meyers, Dorwart, and Kline 1977), citizen surveys and neighborhood committees (Glass 1979a). In addition, new and innovative citizen participation methods were introduced and explored, such as nominal group process (Glass 1979a), analysis of judgment policy (Stewart and Gelberd 1976), and social impact assessment techniques (Runyan 1977).

Generally there was a decrease in case-study articles other than an outline of the aforementioned judgment policy techniques taking places in Boulder, Colorado (Stewart and Gelberd 1976), as well as a study outlining the participation of low-income neighborhood residents in the Model Cities Program (Harrison 1973). This article was important because it stands out as the only participation article from the 1970s that formally and directly addresses the topic of low-income black neighborhoods, specifically discussing issues such as black power and education of blacks in low-income neighborhoods as relevant to the program. While it was clear that the publication was steadily addressing social issues including race (Davidoff 1965, Adams 1951) more regularly, the number of articles dealing with racial issues in the context of participation still only numbered a few (Harrison 1973, Warren 1969, Mogulof 1969).

1980s

In general the major socioeconomic events which started in the previous decades and which were the impetus to the increased involvement of planners in social planning in general and public participation in particular continued in the 1980s. The urban design movement that commenced in the 1980s addressed itself to poor neighborhoods in the inner cities and their social problems. In 1980 the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) was established to represent the academic branch of planning. This was followed with the establishment of the *Journal of Planning Education and Research* (JPER) in 1982. Henceforth the primary planning literature was divided between the two leading journals, JAPA and JPER. The Planning Accreditation Board (PAB), which was recognized in 1989, issued accreditation guidelines to planning schools, which, among others, emphasized social planning.

One social planning issue that increased in importance during the 1980s was environmental justice (or environmental racism). As noted previously, environmental planning was very prevalent in the 1970s. It was soon discovered that environmental planning also raised issues of equity, the primary example being when certain groups (frequently low-income minority groups) suffer disproportionately from the effects of environmental hazards. The case that made this specific issue come to the light took place in 1982 in Warren County, North Carolina, where a landfill was to be placed in an African-American community and residents protested its construction. Since then, environmental justice has been studied in many other contexts.

The politics of Ronald Reagan's Presidential administration worked against these types of grass-roots, group-based actions. "Reaganomics" as a political-economic

philosophy was focused on small government, deregulation, and private-market forces, particularly on moving away from large-scale expensive social projects. An increased emphasis on personal responsibility and individual effort began to eclipse the social ideology that championed marginal groups and worked directly to challenge discrimination. Reagan also championed "trickle-down" economics, which was the idea that making policies that benefited wealthy Americans and business owners would have 'downstream' benefits for the rest of society as the rich spent money and invested their increased capital in projects that would create jobs and wealth for lower-income Americans. This is also known as "supply side economics" and was part of a backlash to the collaborative, human-focused, large-scale government investment programs started earlier in the 1960s, such as Model Cities. This shift is reflected in decreased public participation articles during this time period.

The articles published in JAPA included some very important contributions that differed from previous works on public participation. Two of these articles addressed the topic of public participation in the process of power plant siting (Ducsik 1981, 1984) echoing the aforementioned environmental justice concerns that were increasing in the 1980s. These articles were interesting and innovative for two reasons. First, they were the first articles to talk about participation in the context of a specific planning concern (the siting of power plants), unlike most other previous articles which discussed topics such as participation theory, methods, or case studies of programs or particular locations. Second, Ducsik (1981) raises new and important questions about participation that had not been addressed by other authors in the same way. He raises questions including whether laypersons can effectively participate in complicated planning processes without

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the skills and training of professionals, the level of openness and transparency of the participation process, representation in the process, who should or could participate, and which methodologies are more effective than others. Ducsik also strongly asserts that the participatory approach should be given much more attention than it had received previously.

A number of articles related to methods of public participation were published in JAPA in the 1980s, and continued the trends of delving deeper into the public participation process. These papers addressed various questions about methods that had not been previously addressed in planning journals.   For example, one article questioned whether public meetings actually represented the public in participation processes or whether the people that make themselves heard at public meetings are those that simply have more drive to be heard and resources to support that drive (Gundry and Heberlein 1984). The article also cites Glass' work from several years earlier, in which he states that perhaps certain methods are more effective than others for objectives such as representation in the public process (Gundry and Heberlein 1984, Glass 1979b). Another methods-related article addressing the objectives in the public participation process asserts that at times representation may simply not be the primary objective in the participation process (Hutcheson 1984). Other papers discuss topics such as negotiated mediation strategies in the context of public participation (Forester 1987) and Kevin Lynch's cognitive mapping ideas from the 1960s were brought into a more modern participatory planning context (Evans, Smith, and Pezdek 1982, Lynch 1960).

In the 1980s JPER published three articles that were principally about public participation.   One article brought up the professional planner's responsibly in

considering citizen input (Patton 1983), and questioned representativeness of citizen input (also addressed in JAPA by Gundry and Heberlein 1984 and Hutcheson 1984) and brought up issues concerning how input varied depending on the method used to collect it. The second article examined the role of the planner as a mediator (Susskind 1984). The third article about participation was a description of a case study of community planning efforts in Yonkers, New York (Baum 1989). This article also brought up racial issues, namely the ethical issues that planners in Yonkers faced concerning the problems that low-income black residents had in getting affordable housing.

1990s

The major socio-economic events that started in the 1960s and 1970s affected the planner's increased involvement in the social elements of planning, which, in turn, resulted in the increase in the number of papers that addressed the public participation process. Some legislative actions affected the planner's involvement in social planning issues, both directly and indirectly. For example, a direct impact was the 1992 Hope VI Program of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). This program, among others, changed the design of low income housing by shifting from high-rise public housing to low-rise, walkable housing. An example of an indirect impact was the 1991 Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) and the Transportation Equity Act (TEA 21), which encouraged intermodal transportation policies. These acts, among others, affected the spatial urban structure and accessibility to places of employment, both of which involve various issues related to social planning.

The 1990s saw the publication of new types of master plans and enactment of legislation on the state and regional level. For example in 1992 New Jersey's State Development and Redevelopment Plan was adapted (New Jersey State Planning Commission) in 1996 the Regional Plan Association (which included parts of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut) published its report *A Region At Risk: The Third Regional Plan* (Yaro 1996) and in 1997 Maryland enacted Smart Growth and Neighborhood Conservation Legislation. All these state and regional level activities had strong social planning elements.

The 1990s saw a large increase in the number of articles about the public participation process in both JAPA and JPER. Case studies of public participation activities in various locations continued to be published in JAPA. They included reports on public participation in Austin (Beatley, Brower, and Lucy 1994), Baltimore (Baum 1998), Atlanta (Helling 1998), and Orange County, CA (Takahashi and Smutny 1998). Articles that addressed public participation methods continued to explore meeting formats (Innes 1996), and collaborative visioning (Helling 1998). Unlike previous decades where some of the articles addressing public participation also looked directly at racial issues, the articles published in the 1990s did not directly address racial issues in the context of participation. JAPA did, however, publish several articles that directly addressed racial issues in planning in general (Hoch 1993, Cordova 1994, Grigsby 1994, Mier 1994b, Connerly 1998), demonstrating the professions continuing acknowledgement of the importance that social issues, and particularly issues related to race, can play in certain planning situations.

Investigation into how public participation activities should be evaluated was a new direction taken in some of the 1990s JAPA research. As with some of the other subtopics of public participation, the evaluation of participation had been approached a few years earlier in other journals associated with related fields (Moser 1984, Rosener 1981), but this topic was not addressed in this planning journal directly until 1992. Sherwin Greene's article on communication and evaluation of community design included a framework for evaluating community design issues (Greene 1992). A few years later, a paper by Innes and Booher emphasized the importance of developing a framework for evaluating participant role playing and bricolage (Innes and Booher 1999c) and in another article, the same authors offered a framework for evaluating a community consensus-building process. They suggest that process criteria for effective consensus-building should include representativeness, self-organization of participants, consistent engagement of the participants, creative thinking, and full exploration of the issues at hand (Innes and Booher 1999a).

Meanwhile, JPER, which had published three articles about public participation in the previous decade of its inception, greatly increased its publication of public participation articles in the 1990s, publishing a total of fifteen. These articles addressed a number of unique new topics within public participation that had not been addressed previously in either journal. One article discussed the role of youth participation in planning process and its potential benefits (Checkoway, Pothukuchi, and Finn 1995). In this article, the authors discuss various forms of youth participation including social action, community planning, public advocacy, community education and local services development. They also discuss the benefits of youth participation, which include

individual involvement, organizational development, and community change (Checkoway, Pothukuchi, and Finn 1995).

Another notable article about public participation published by JPER in the 1990s was a response to Arnstein's famous article about public participation previously published in JAPA (Arnstein 1969). In Rocha's *Ladder of Empowerment*, five rungs of community empowerment identified, ranging from atomistic individual empowerment to political empowerment (Rocha 1997). In addition to adding to the important theoretical dialogue about public participation, Rocha's article also added to the critiques and alternative ladders that had been published and would continue to be published in related journals and fields (Connor 2007, Wiedermann and Femers 1993, Dorcey, Doney, and Rueggeberg 1994, Pretty 1995)

In terms of literature on the participation of minority groups, for the first time Jewish people, specifically the Jewish Community Federation of Baltimore, were explored in terms of strategic planning and public participation. One important lesson that Baum asserts in his article is that it is necessary to directly acknowledge cultural differences if plans are to be realistic. Baum also explored new territory when he investigated ethics in community participation a few years later (Baum 1998). In general, one can discern an overall pattern of transition from relatively theoretical and general articles in earlier decades toward more empirically and specifically oriented research in more recent decades, as will be seen even more clearly in the discussion below.

2000s

In the 2000s, especially in the wake of 9/11, the United States was engaged in war and counter-terrorism efforts, which increased its awareness of the need for increased domestic security and exhausted many domestic social program resources. In addition, two recessions led to widespread unemployment and the near-collapse of the banking industry, both of which required increased government spending to combat. As in the 1980s, the combination of security concerns, a weak economy and a perception of government programs as bloated and over-reaching led to a resurgence of conservative programs centered around deregulation, market-based policy, reduced government aid, and personal responsibility. Demographic changes that had started in previous decades continued. Those included a substantial increase in the Hispanic population, an increase in the number of women in the workforce, and an increase in single-parent households. All of the above increased the number of social issues that planning professionals had to address. Directly or indirectly, these multicultural and mobility trends presumably had an impact on the increased number of articles published in JAPA and JPER dealing with public participation. A total of 48 articles directly related to public participation were published in JAPA and JPER during the 2000s.

The 14 public participation articles that JAPA published in the 2000s included case studies from Boston (Crewe 2001), Florida, Washington (Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003), North Carolina (Laurian 2004), California (Forester 2006), and Seattle (Sirianni 2007). While JPER had much more frequent publication of international case studies of participation, JAPA's 2008 volume did include work (Ganapati and Ganapati 2008), which detailed a case study of the World Bank's housing reconstruction in

Turkey. JAPA also included articles detailing participation in Portland's Community Watershed Steward Program (Shandas and Messer 2008), the Education Task Force of Southeast Baltimore (Baum 2001b) and the Fraser River Estuary Management Program (Hanna 2000).

During the 2000s, JAPA published several more articles that added to the body of knowledge on evaluation of public participation. Baum brings up a variety of important issues related to the evaluation of community issues. For example, he discusses that many community initiatives do not have funding for long-term evaluation, which thus often occurs as general reflection on the engagement rather than being conducted in a more formal and systematic way. His article also discusses other obstacles to participation such as lack of stability in community programs as well as a lack of participant consensus on what the program aims to achieve (Baum 2001b). Another article explored evaluation of public participation in a new way, examining the way professional designers evaluate the work resulting from community participation (Crewe 2001).

As noted above, JPER published a total of 34 articles related to public participation during the decade of the 2000s. The 2000 Summer issue of JPER dealt with topics related to communicative planning theory, which addresses the way in which planners interact with other actors. Some of these articles dealt with the limits of communicative planning theory, and its application in planning practice. Some of these articles specifically brought up aspects of public participation in the planning process (Neuman 2000, Jones 2000, Huxley 2000, Huxley and Yiftachel 2000, Abram 2000).

With its frequent publication of public participation articles in the last decade, JPER offered articles that featured a variety of different public engagement case studies from national locations such as Wyoming (Hibbard and Lurie 2000), Kentucky (Jones 2000), California (Harwood 2007, Baxamusa 2008), Washington (Hou and Kinoshita 2007) and Florida (Deyle and Slotterback 2009). Additionally, the publication included an impressive number of international case studies of participation from locations such as Britain (Abram 2000), Belize (Few 2000), Venezuela (Angotti 2001), Poland (Graham 2001), Australia (Margerum 2002, Lane 2003), Bolivia (Kohl 2003), South Africa (Miraftab 2003), Belgium (Van Herzele 2004), Brazil (Puppim de Oliveira 2005, Nance and Ortolano 2007), Japan (Hou and Kinoshita 2007), and Mexico (Mason and Beard 2008). These articles were an important addition to the case studies available on public participation in planning journals, as many featured in both JPER and JAPA had not been international. Thus readers could now get a sense of the way public participation methodologies were utilized in other countries. In addition, there were some case studies of public participation within specific programs, including the Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative (Chaskin 2005), and The New York-New Jersey Harbor and Estuary Program (Mandarano 2008).

An important participation topic that was increasingly addressed in JPER's articles was the utilization of local knowledge in the planning process (Van Herzele 2004, Van Herzele and van Woerkum 2008, Corburn 2003, Graham 2001). Corburn's work (2003) addresses some fundamental questions about the utilization of local knowledge, including how it differs from professional knowledge and how it can best be utilized in professional planning. Van Herzele's work addresses some other interesting subtopics,

including how visualization tools, while effective in many participation activities, may in fact separate people from their local knowledge base (Van Herzele and van Woerkum 2008).

While there were not a great many articles in JPER that dealt primarily with ethnic and racial public engagement issues, some articles made very important contributions to this body of knowledge. Umemoto's work on epistemological challenges in participatory planning (Umemoto 2001) discussed new challenges brought to the practice of planning with increased diversity, particularly issues that arise when planners are working with cultures that are outside their own. This includes such issues as understanding multiple meanings of language, and the understanding of cultural protocols. Umemoto discusses the way participants are shaped by factors associated with their race, ethnicity, gender, age, religious affiliation, and so on, and how planners have addressed the challenge of interacting with individuals who may see the world very differently than them. Her article, "Walking In Another's Shoes: Epistemological Challenges In Participatory Planning" won the 2002 Chester Rapkin Award for Best Article in Volume 21, likely increasing its readership and the exposure of planning academics and practitioners to these issues (Umemoto 2003, Pushchak 2001). In addition, Umemoto's report written upon her receipt of the award spoke directly to the planning profession's relationship to racial issues, and the profession's ability to improve intergroup relations by increasing understanding of ethnic and race relations, and putting more attention on issues such as spatial segregation and wealth disparities (Umemoto 2003).

Another race-related public participation article published in JPER was Laurian's work on public awareness and information levels and their effect on participation (Laurian 2003). Laurian lists various factors that could influence environmental knowledge and public participation including race, education, income, gender and others. Laurian's results show that African Americans as well as women and people of lower education levels may encounter structural barriers to becoming informed about environmental issues, and she suggests that planners' efforts to increase information levels should be aware of these barriers (Laurian 2003).

Other notable articles about public participation published in JPER in the 2000s include Harwood's article, which, among others, addresses the effect of neighborhood improvement programs and women's neighborhood activism (Harwood 2007). Machemer's article added to the body of knowledge of children's participation in the planning process. This was an interesting follow-up to the article published on this topic in the previous decade (Machemer, Bruch, and Kuipers 2008, Checkoway, Pothukuchi, and Finn 1995).

Current Coverage of Public Participation

Since the year 2010, of the two major planning journals evaluated in this article, JPER has published the majority of planning research related directly to public participation, while JAPA has not covered the topic as extensively. JPER's coverage of participation topics has included six articles on participation (through 2012), These articles have included two that directly addressed racial issues in the context of public participation, including case studies detailing work with minority communities in

Brooklyn and Queens, New York (Hum 2010) and a case study of planners working with immigrant organizations, dealing with racial controversies as well as distrust that exists between immigrant organizations and planning officials (Kondo 2012). Other participation research topics addressed in the last few years have included engaging urban youth with technology (Santo, Ferguson, and Trippel 2010), and potential disconnects in the community planning process resulting in dissatisfied citizenry (Loh 2011). Additionally, authors have covered topics such as distinguishing participation and inclusion (Quick and Feldman 2011) and the capacity of the media to enable design empowerment (Senbel and Church 2011).

One of JAPA's most recent issues was a special issue relating to public housing in the United States, the purpose of which was to provide new ways to think about housing in the planning context (Heathcott 2012). This is important to note because, while none of the articles within that issue included title words that would indicate a focus on public participation *per se*, in general, the topic of public housing dovetails with many social planning topics including the public good, race relations in planning, and so on. Therefore, we should not assume that a lack of participation-focused planning articles in this issue necessarily equates to a lack of focus on critical social planning topics.

While recent years have seen publication of new and important topics in public participation, it is important to note that if current publication trends for the 2010s continue, the number of articles *directly* related to public participation will not reach the level published in the previous decade. Future research efforts might explore whether this is a result of the migration participation-related literature to other planning journals or journals from related fields, whether the trend towards publication of participation

articles has decreased generally in favor of other social issues, or whether the publication of participation-related *and* socially-related planning articles has decreased.

Observations and Future Research

Coverage of topics directly relating to public participation in JAPA and JPER, two of the most prominent planning journals in the field, viewed cumulatively in the aggregate, has followed a revealing trajectory when examined in conjunction with historical events. The first signs of addressing social issues in planning journals appeared earlier on in the 1940s with some discussion of the "social factor" in city planning, but the first direct coverage of public participation commenced in the 1950s. In the 1960s there was a significant increase, corresponding with the critiques of rational top-down planning, expanded social programs and increased focus on identity politics and racial justice occurring at that time, and then publication subsided somewhat in the 1970s and 1980s, reflecting the increased conservatism that arguably commenced with the Nixon-Ford New Federalism of the 1970s and continued through the Reagan and Bush presidencies in the 1980s. In the 1990s, journal coverage of participation themes significantly increased, reflecting the shift back towards a booming economy, new technology, support for government spending, and broader public policies implemented under Bill Clinton. The increased coverage also reflected the growing importance placed on addressing the topic in the profession as well as the need to address it in planning students' education. While there are several lag times that must be kept in mind when examining publications in the context of historical events, (lag time between the event and the profession's response, lag time between the profession's response and the submission and publication of academic papers, particularly in refereed journals with

long review process), it is important to view publication of work on participatory planning issues in the broader political, economic, social, and cultural context in which they were published in order to understand how and why the planning field has addressed such as issues and where and why more participatory research in needed.

There are a number of ways that future research on the topic of public participating could be pursued.   Additional research in other planning journals and their trends of publication on participation literature would shed light on the broader field and provide more complete coverage of the trends.   Particular journals of interest would include *Urban Studies, Journal of Urban Affairs, Journal of Planning Literature*, and *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. In addition, it would be valuable to study how the establishment of journals that more exclusively address public participation issues such as the *Journal of Public Deliberation*, influence the publication of participation related articles in planning journals. It would also be worthwhile to examine the role of new information and telecommunication technologies as well as new public and social media in expanding the quantity and variety of research studies related to participatory processes and social dimensions of planning practice across a wide range of domestic as well as international case-study locations and contexts. This increasing diversity of instances studied calls for more effective schemes of categorizing variation among participatory practices, a topic which will be addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYZING AND UNDERSTANDING CATEGORIZATION SCHEMES FOR PARTICPATORY METHODS

<u>Introduction</u>

Public participation methods are written about in a variety of different formats, including academic articles, textbooks, comprehensive guidebooks, plans, websites, and professional handbooks. These texts are written by academics and professionals from many different fields, including planning, public policy, environmental management, organizational learning, education, public history, public health, sociology and others. The writing is geared towards a wide range of readership, from experts to the general public, i.e., readers who are completely new to the concept of public participation, and from researchers studying the effectiveness of particular participation methods to experienced professionals. The result of the wide-ranging disciplinary focus and the wide-ranging readership focus is an abundant quantity and variety of participatory practices that are presented in a wide range of classification schemes.

Mechanisms for executing public involvement are also loosely defined through a wide range of these materials, and the growth of mechanisms, many of which are similar to one another, creates problems in terms of categorization and more broadly, coordinated research and application (Rowe and Frewer 2005). In addition, there is often a lack of clarification between particular participatory methods on one hand and broader planning strategies on the other (Alterman 1982), as well as a lack of clarification in the participatory nomenclature, with dissimilar mechanisms being referred to by the same term and similar or equivalent mechanisms being referred to by different terms (Rowe

and Frewer 2005). Furthermore, the terminology is interchanged with synonymous terms such as *method, tool, technique*, *model* or *approach* (Webler 1997) creating even more confusion in the frameworks, nomenclature and categorizations associated with participatory planning.

In order to make sense of this large body of methods and ensure that they are utilized effectively to improve plans and policies, we must identify a systematic and comprehensive organization system for methods that allows planners and researchers to view them comprehensively and clarify the definitional and categorization issues that are apparent within these schemes.   As the literature review below will address, a handful of authors have approached categorizational and definitional issues related to public participation terminology and mechanisms, but to date an extensive inventory of the full range of categorization schemes has not been compiled or thoroughly analyzed.

What is a Categorization Scheme for Public Participation Methods?

The diversity of disciplinary focus areas and wide ranging goals of participatory practice have creating a challenging array of ways in which authors discuss participatory practice. In an effort to bring analytic order and a certain level of understanding to the array of options available to both the novice layperson and expert practitioner, authors have developed a variety of ways to organize these methods. The ways in which authors choose to organize, divide, subdivide or categorize their discussions and presentations of participation methods is what we here refer to as categorization schemes.

Why Examine Categorization Schemes for Participation Methods?

Schemes for classifying public participation methods serve as a lens for viewing participation methods, thereby fundamentally influencing the reader's understanding of how methods work, their overall objective and their relationship to each other. By analyzing classification schemes for participation methods, one can better understand the way students, researchers, professionals and the general public view and understand the public participation process, and how they plan to implement participation processes for communities. Analysis of the attributes of these classification schemes can lead to a deeper understanding of the choices practitioners make in selecting participatory methods, therefore leading to improvements in application and participatory practice.

Literature Review

A very limited amount of research has focused on the categorization of participatory mechanisms and issues related to the organization of participatory planning terminology. Alterman mentions the confusion that can arise in the lack of clarification between particular participatory methods on one hand and broader strategies on the other (2005). Bracht and Tsouros (1990) also highlighted issues with participatory nomenclature in their work, addressing the variety of synonymous terms for public participation such as consumer participation, community involvement, community collaboration, and others shown in Figure 3.

Synonyms for Public Participation:
- Citizen participation
- Citizen involvement
- Consumer participation
- Consensus seeking
- Community Involvement
- Community Control-self reliance
- Community partnership/collaboration

Synonyms for Participatory Process:
- Community development
- Community Action
- Community Organization
- Democratic Action
- Community Planning

Figure 3. Commonly used terms for public participation and participatory processes (Adapted from Bracht and Tsouros 1990)

Rower and Frewer (2005) focus on these issues directly, pointing out that one of the prime obstacles to researching and developing models for the selection of participatory methods are definitional issues within the realm of participatory research and practice. They discuss that concepts, including the concept of public participation itself, are not well defined. The lack of definition extends even to a lack of clarity related to which mechanisms fall into the category of public participation, as well as a lack of clarity about synonymous terms such as *public engagement* and *public involvement*, and what such terms include. They also propose a typology for mechanisms that considers three types of public engagement, including public communication, public consultation, and public participation, each distinguished by a particular flow of information, as shown in Figure 4.

Flow of Information
Public Communication:
Sponsor $\Rightarrow$ Public representatives
Public Consultation:
Sponsor $\Leftarrow$ Public Representatives
Public Participation
Sponsor $\Leftrightarrow$ Public Representatives
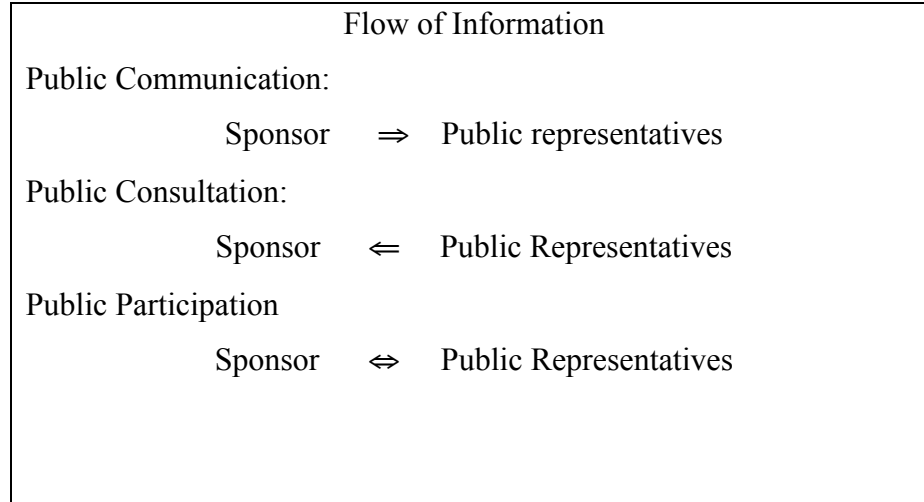
Figure 4. Three types of public engagement based on the flow of information (Rowe and Frewer 2005)

Rowe and Frewer point out that previous research has addressed the multi-dimensional nature of participation and have associated participatory mechanisms with various subtypes of participation, but these are not the same as the development of a scheme for organizing mechanisms. For example, Arnstein's ladder of participation identifies eights types of participation based on the level of participation by the public, and associates participatory mechanisms with each subtype but the primary focus of this article is not an intentional scheme for the categorization of mechanisms.

Table 5. Arnstein's levels of public participation and associated mechanisms (Adapted from Arnstein 1969)

Arnstein's Level of Participation	Arnstein's Associated Mechanisms
Citizen Control	Neighborhood corporation
Delegated Power	Majority seats on Model City policy boards or CAA delegate agencies
Partnership	Joint policy boards, planning committees, mechanisms for solving impasses
Placation	Representation on Boards of Committee Action committees, board of education, police commission, or housing authority
Consultation	Attitude surveys, neighborhood meetings, public hearings
Informing	News media, posters, posters
Therapy	Tenant groups
Manipulation	Advisory committees, advisory boards

An example of the confusion that arises between the many different terms for public participation is illustrated in a comparison of the work of Rowe and Frewer, Arnstein, and Bracht and Tsouros discussed above. While Bracht and Tsauros (1990) have identified community *partnership* as a general term that is synonymous with *citizen participation*, Arnstein (1969) has identified *partnership* as a specific subset of *public participation*, differentiating *partnership* from other possible subsets. Meanwhile, Rowe and Frewer (2005) identify *public participation* as a subset of *public engagement*, whereas the other two authors use *public participation* as a general term encompassing all mechanisms. The potential confusion in definitional and categorization issues is clear based on these few examples alone.

Webler (1999) also addresses devising a taxonomy for participation, questioning the significance of grouping models based on common features and pointing out that there is no universally accepted classification scheme for methods. He cites Arnstein, as well as other authors who make distinctions between methods based on the level at which the public is empowered by the process such as Creighton (1985), English et al. (1993) and Environmental Resources Management (1995). Additionally, Webler's (1997) review of three public participation handbooks including Bleiker and Bleiker (1995), Environmental Resources Management (1995) and English et al (1993) also addresses the organization and presentation of participatory mechanisms. In this article he makes observations about the organization of these professional handbooks, discussing the presentation of techniques in a cookbook style for practitioners. He mentions the sorting of methods into various categories along with their descriptions and evaluations, but does not specifically analyze their categorization in an in-depth way, since his focus is the participation handbooks as a whole.

While these authors have addressed issues relating to the categorization as well as the definitional challenges in classifying participatory methods, their work has not included an inventory and analysis of these classification schemes. Their work has made important observations of such schemes, and new categorization schemes have been identified, but not alongside a presentation of various alternative schemes previously utilized in the participation literature.

Rowe and Frewer (2005) point out that with the large number of mechanisms that have been developed for participatory practice, as well as the challenges with defining these mechanisms and categorizing them consistently, it is no surprise that there has been

no significant model developed to select mechanisms to enable effective engagement. They suggest that a way of making headway towards such a model requires an effective system of categorization. Such schemes serve as a lens through which practitioners, researchers, students and the public can view participatory planning methods, thereby influencing the way that viewers understand participatory practice and the implementation of various methods for participatory planning programs. We argue that to design an effective categorization scheme for methods we must first collect and analyze those that have been used previously, evaluating their strengths and weaknesses and building on this knowledge to create a more effective scheme.

Purpose

This article provides an inventory of classification schemes available in the literature, and analyzes these schemes for significant themes and trends. The outcome of this analysis is a discussion of ways that future schemes for the classification of methods can potentially be improved. This in turn can lead to improvement in participatory practice in planning as well as in how public participation is implemented in other public and professional contexts.

Research Methods

The methodology to identify frameworks was designed to identify a comprehensive range of both academic and professional sources that include categorization schemes for participatory processes. Academic journals from the planning field as well as from other disciplines including environmental science, sociology, public

policy, public health, disaster mitigation and other disciplines concerned with public participation were examined for potential inclusion in the inventory and analysis. The inventory also included academic articles and books, guidebooks, professional handbooks, websites, and other sources that offered and/or explained a menu of public participation methods.

The first step involved keyword searches in a number of library databases along with Google Scholar to identify books, reports, government documents, articles, and other sources that would contain organized lists of participatory methods. Keywords and phrases that were used included *participation, engagement, public process, participatory process, participation methods, participatory planning,* and other variations of these terms.

After review of the content of the sources identified, they were placed into three categories: those that presented a categorization scheme and those that contained a list of methods although not organized with a particular scheme. Those that did not contain multiple methods were set aside. All reference sections were reviewed using similar keywords to identify other potential sources for inclusion in the inventory.

Analysis

When examining the inventory of classification schemes for public participation methods, a number of themes emerged. Five typologies for categorization schemes were identified through the analysis of this inventory, based upon their primary organizing principle or rationale for delineating multiple types. These typologies include: level-based schemes, objective-based schemes, methods-based schemes, participant-based schemes, and stage-based schemes. The following sections explain these five typological schemes in further detail, with particular emphasis on level-based schemes and objective-based schemes. The greater emphasis on these two typologies of classification schemes is a reflection of their more frequent appearance in the participation literature.

Level-based schemes

Level-based schemes refer to categorization schemes for participatory methods that are related to the theoretical construct in Arnstein's article on the Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein 1969). Arnstein's eight-rung ladder model from her 1969 article in the *Journal of the American Planning Association* was a powerful metaphor illustrating the degrees to which citizens could be involved in a public process. The ladder rungs ranged from citizen power (citizen control, delegated power, partnership), to tokenism (placation, consultation, informing), to nonparticipation (therapy and manipulation) (Arnstein 1969).

Arnstein's article and subsequent elaborations on that model (Connor 2007, Wiedermann and Femers 1993, Dorcey, Doney, and Rueggeberg 1994, Pretty 1995) has had a strong impact on the planning field, and has become one of the most heavily cited

articles in both participatory research and planning, as well as required reading in many planning theory courses. In addition, authors have directly responded to her ladder model and developed alternate ladders of their own. For example, Rocha's *Ladder of Empowerment*, is another ladder model consisting of five rungs of community empowerment ranging from *atomistic individual empowerment* to *political empowerment* (Rocha 1997). Conner's seven-rung ladder ranges from education to resolution/prevention (Connor 1988). These are only two of a number of responses to Arnstein's work that have been published in planning journals as well as journals from related fields (Connor 2007, Wiedermann and Femers 1993, Dorcey, Doney, and Rueggeberg 1994, Pretty 1995). Arnstein's ladder is also frequently referenced in professional materials that introduce the concept of public participation to practitioners and give background on the public participation, frequently citing her work as fundamental to the understanding of participatory process and including the ladder model for reference (New Economics Foundation 1998, Grabow, Hilliker, and Moskal 2006).

Arnstein's impact on the way the topic of public participation is approached is apparent not only in articles that directly respond to her model, but also in the way that other authors present and categorize participation methods. Arnstein's terminology as well as the theoretical basis of her model is apparent in a number of the categorization schemes found in this inventory, as can be seen in Table 6 below. Some of the schemes that have obvious connections to her model include categorizations schemes such as *communication*, *participation*, and *consultation* (Rowe and Frewer 2005) and *informing*, *consulting*, *collaborating* (National Co-Ordinating Centre for Public Engagement 2013). Other categorizations schemes that have connection to Arnstein's theoretical basis are

information dissemination and issue understanding, citizen/government or industry interaction and *decision-making* (Howell, Olsen, and Olsen 1987) and *sharing decision-making authority with the public, involving the public for information only, involving the public to build acceptance* and *building strong relationships with citizen*s (Thomas 1995). Additional categorization schemes that have connection with Arnstein's work can be found in Table 6.

The major advantages of level-based schemes are they support the notion that, for the participatory process to be ethical, it must be explicit about the level of participation that is taking place. Level-based schemes are explicit and transparent about the actors involved in the participation and their roles in the process. Using schemes like this supports clarity between the practitioner and the public about the extent to which the public will be involved in and control the process as well as the outcome. As they are planning their participation programs, practitioners must acknowledge whether they are simply telling the public about a current planning or policy situation, or whether they are looking for input that could affect the outcome of the plan or policy. Transparency of this nature helps to support an ethical process, because citizens and staff have more clarity about the extent to which the public will impact (or not impact) the outcome.

Several types of participation (or rungs of the ladder) that Arnstein identifies can also be seen as objectives of participation. Consequently there is some overlap between schemes that we identify as level-based schemes and schemes that we identify as objective-based schemes. For example, *informing* is a concept that Arnstein identifies on the Ladder as a type of *tokenism* in a participatory context, but *dispersal of information* is also seen by many as a main objective in participatory programs and accordingly, many

authors, particularly of more practically-oriented materials, present scheme categories such as "tools to inform the public" (Webler 1999) or "awareness and information methods" (Webler 1999) that use terminology and concepts like Arnstein's. Because of this, there are several instances where categorization schemes that appear in Table 1 also appear in Table 2 and are classified as objective-based categorization schemes as well as level-based categorization schemes (2013). While there is some conceptual overlap between participation levels and objectives as organizing principles for typological schemes, identifying different levels of participation does not necessarily imply different objectives, nor vice versa.

Table 6. Level-based categorization schemes for participatory methods showing the variability in terms and categories.

Categories	Author
• Communication • Participation • Consultation	(Rowe and Frewer 2005)
• Modified Autonomous Managerial • Segmented Public Consultation • Unitary Public Consultation • Public Decision	(Thomas 1995)
• Information exchange • Involvement • Engagement	(Dietz and Stern 2008)
• Information Dissemination and Issue Understanding • Citizen/Government or Industry Interaction • Decision-making	(Howell, Olsen, and Olsen 1987)
• Sharing decision-making authority	(Thomas 1995)

with the public • Involving the public for information only • Involving the public to build acceptance • Building strong relationships with citizens • New forms of public involvement	
• Techniques for getting information *to* the public • Techniques for getting information *from* the public	(Creighton 2005)
• Organization based public information/outreach • Organization based public input/engagement • Community based public information/outreach • Community based public input/engagement	(Kimley-Horn and Associates and Strategies 2013)
• Informing • Consulting • Collaborating	(National Co-Ordinating Centre for Public Engagement 2013)

Objective-Based Schemes

There is a consistent tendency for professionally-oriented texts to include schemes that related to the overall objectives of the public participation program, as can be seen in Table 2. For example, many schemes that came from professional sources divide methods in terms of participation objectives such as *education*, *input* and *decision making* (Miskowiak 2004) or divided them in terms of *informing, generating input*, and *achieving consensus* (EPA 2013). Other examples of objective-based schemes are methods categorized into groups such as *contextual analysis, understanding stakeholders, identifying assets and vulnerabilities* and *defining needs, demands and projects* (Jha 2010), or *dispersal of information, gathering of information,* and *promotion of interaction* (Hampton 1977). Additional examples of objective-based schemes can be seen in Table 2.

The major advantage of objective-based schemes is that they are explicit with regard to the purpose of the participatory process. These schemes encourage practitioners to carefully consider the overall goal they have and then view methods according to that goal. Using such a scheme helps planners to focus the scope of the process, and in turn can enable the public to feel more focused on the objective. For example, if the objective of the process is "issue identification" (Roberts 2012) after identifying this objective the planner can view methods in terms of how they will support it and select methods such as mail surveys, focus groups or open houses that could support this objective (Roberts 2012).

The advantages of objective-based schemes are also at times the drawbacks of these schemes. While having a focused view on objectives create a more streamlined and

focused process, using this scheme may neglect to acknowledge secondary or more subtle objectives that could potentially emerge within a more open-ended process. For example, while education could be a primary objective, a process could be strengthened by acknowledging more subtle objectives such as building social capital, networking, and building trust between neighbors (Alterman 1982).

In addition, there are some parallels that can be drawn between the objective-based schemes and the Rational Planning Method. While arguably clear-cut, involving solid steps for planning and implementation, the Rational Planning Method has been criticized because of a lack of attention paid to more variable human dynamics and values in the planning process. The objective-based categorization schemes for participatory methods can be subject to similar criticism or shortcomings to the Rational Planning Model, because while viewing methods in terms of the objectives that they most effectively support may certainly be helpful to practitioners, a lack of attention paid to the human elements and dynamics of the participatory process may prove problematic.

Table 7. Objective-Based Categorization Schemes for Participatory Methods

Categories	Author
• Communication • Participation • Consultation	(Rowe and Frewer 2005)
• Non-Deliberative Mechanisms for Obtaining Information From the Public • Non-Deliberative Mechanisms for Providing Information to the Public • Traditional Mechanisms • Public Deliberation • Alternative Dispute Resolution	(Beierle 1998)
• Preparation Methodology • Participation Opportunities • Accountability Techniques	(Rosenbaum 1976)
• Dispersal of Information • Gathering of Information • Promotion of Interaction	(Hampton 1977)
• Information exchange • Involvement • Engagement	(Dietz and Stern 2008)
• Information Dissemination and Issue Understanding • Citizen/Government or Industry Interaction • Decision-making	(Howell, Olsen, and Olsen 1987)
• Sharing decision-making authority with the public • Involving the public for information only • Involving the public to build acceptance • Building strong relationships with citizens • New forms of public involvement	(Thomas 1995)
• Space-Related Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) Methods • Time-Related PRA Methods • PRA Relation Methods	(Kumar 2002)

• Techniques for getting information *to* the public • Techniques for getting information *from* the public	(Creighton 2005)
• Techniques to share information • Techniques to compile input and provide feedback • Techniques to bring people together	(Participation 2000)
• Community Diagnosis • Process Design • Data Collection and Analysis • Issues Identification	(Roberts 2012)
• Organization based public information/outreach • Organization based public input/engagement • Community based public information/outreach • Community based public input/engagement	(Kimley-Horn and Associates and Strategies 2013)
• Awareness and Education methods • Input Methods • Decision-making methods	(Miskowiak 2004)
• Tools to inform the public • Tools to generate and obtain input • Tools for consensus building and agreement seeking	(EPA 2013)
• Contextual Analysis • Understanding Stakeholders • Identifying assets and vulnerabilities • Defining needs, demands, and projects	(Jha 2010)
• Informing • Consulting • Collaborating	(National Co-Ordinating Centre for Public Engagement 2013)

Research on Participation Methods and Objectives

The typological schemes outlined and discussed above are emergent categories based on significant trends and patterns in the participation literature, but it is also important to identify a theoretical basis for the value of objective-based categorization in selecting appropriate techniques. Several authors have addressed the objectives of public participation (King, Feltey, and Susel 1998, Glass 1979a) and Glass's article was the first in a planning journal to directly address the importance of examining the objectives that planners aim to meet through participation activities prior to selecting the methods utilized. He asserts that there is a lack of attention paid to matching objectives with specific techniques and as a result the possibility of deriving success from participation activities is significantly declined. Since Glass' article was published various authors have addressed specific types of participation methods and explored the objectives that they best support.

There are a number of different objectives for public participation programs that researchers have identified and that also appear in the above objective-based categorization schemes. The following sections identify six participation objectives: building unity/consensus, education, problem identification, visualization, visioning, and opinion gathering. While some of these objectives appear in the objective-based schemes found above, some of the objectives, namely visualization and visioning, do not overtly appear in the objective-based categorization schemes. This is a reflection of two possible issues. Firstly, such objectives may be seen as secondary or might be seen as part of broader objectives. For example visioning is an objective that can also be seen as a precursor to the objective of opinion gathering. Additionally, the fact that there are

objectives that appear in literature on methods but are not reflected in objective-based categorization schemes could be an indicator of the separation between participation research and participatory practice.

Objective: Build Unity/Consensus

Public participation can provide the opportunity for community members to bond over a particular issue. This may occur because of camaraderie resulting from facing similar obstacles, the mutual sharing of feelings about a local issue, development of trust, or the creation of ideas. Sometimes it is a combination of several of these elements, or other elements, that can lead to unity over particular issue or event. It is apparent that the majority of tools that have been identified by researchers as helping to build unity/consensus evolve from direct communication involving direct conversation with and between participants.

Some researchers have addressed the objective of unity or consensus building as part of their study of participation methods. For example, collaborative planning, which often but not always includes neighborhood task forces and citizen juries, has been cited as an approach that can help community members feel a sense of togetherness and focus around a particular issue (Innes and Booher 2000). This method, by definition, causes community members to work together and discuss issues being dealt with in their community.

Generally it has been found that smaller-scale group interactions have been more successful in unity building. Small group discussions that can allow community members to learn about each other's experiences and bond more than in a large group

that is focused on a central speaker or leader. In addition, small groups can make people that feel guarded in large groups more comfortable in sharing experiences because they are often more at ease sharing these experiences with fewer people (Day, Morris, and Knight 1998). Some such small group exercises include community visioning, roundtable discussions, and small group mapping sessions.

Village design statements can also enable communities to feel a sense unity because this type of exercise allows participants to work together in defining the character of their community and prioritizing what aspects of the municipality are most important to them (Day, Morris, and Knight 1998). Task forces also have the ability to enable unification around certain issues or finding consensus (Innes and Booher 2000). In addition, search conferences in which many different voices can be heard in an environment that minimizes hostility, are a context in which common ground can be found and unity can often be developed (Nisker et al. 2006).

While the direct communication methods that promote building consensus are more numerous, in the right situation some indirect communication methods that can help promote this objective. Methods like educational exhibits that allow community members to attend and learn about a design or plan can also lead to bonding experiences as raised awareness of a certain topic becomes something experienced together (Day, Morris, and Knight 1998).

Objective: Education

In many ways education is a fundamental part of public participation, and can often be a prerequisite for other participation objectives. Community members who are

educated about issues and have understanding about the relevant information and data tend to have more influence throughout a decision making process. They are able to utilize sound arguments in defense of their opinions. By the same token, groups that are not educated about the issue at hand and do not have access to relevant data are at a disadvantage during the public participation process because of their inability to appropriately back up their arguments and views (Ozawa 1993). In some instances a planner's principle objective for the participation activity may be education, while in other instances educating the public may be an objective that must be met before moving on to another objective.

Direct methods and techniques such as group meetings lead by a community leader who is explaining various ideas have been found to be affective in familiarizing groups about a particular topic and enabling them to make more informed decisions (Innes and Booher 2000). Some argue, however, that subgroup meetings such as previously mentioned neighborhood meetings, should not be viewed as ideal circumstances for education to take place because they are often onetime occurrences and education at meetings often requires a number of meetings to be truly effective (Glass 1979b). However, Glass also points out that sometimes neighborhood meetings can help with educational goals as long as they are used in conjunction with additional future efforts to attain the education objective.

Interactive lecturing has been shown to be another effective technique of educating participants (Steinert and Snell 1999). The active nature of participation (as opposed to passive) has been shown to allow for more effective learning than other methods of educating a group of people. Interactive lecturing can involve various

techniques such as breaking participants into smaller groups, questioning the participants, using audience responses during lecturing, utilizing written materials, generating debates and doing role playing activities (Steinert and Snell 1999). In addition, advisory committees have been linked as being ideal for attaining the objective of education and support building (Glass 1979b).

Sometimes indirect methods such as the utilization of Internet technology offer an effective way to meet an educational objective. For example, proposals, designs and other relevant literature can be posted on an agency or municipal website for people to review in conjunction with attending meetings, or in lieu of attending meetings that conflicts with their own schedule (Innes and Booher 2000). Geographic Information Systems (GIS), and specifically online GIS images have been cited as also being a good tool for educating the public on specific plans and designs (Kim 1999).

Objective: Problem Identification

There are situations in which planners utilize participatory processes to gauge what issues or problems are occurring in a community or with regard to a specific plan or policy. Such circumstances call for methods that allow participants to communicate with planners and with one another to identify community issues, and generate ideas. Some of the methods that are identified as supporting this objective are task forces, which are also effective in determining the desired outcome of a particular issue (Innes and Booher 2000). In addition, citizen's juries are identified as effective means for achieving the objective of problem identification. James (1999) notes that citizens' juries are often asked to address questions about needs, priorities issues and impacts that are associated

various activities or events (James 1999). These juries are also seen as an effective method for communicating an informed and carefully considered public view on particular matters to decisions makers (Al-Kodmany 1999). Charrettes offer a collaborative way to identify community issues, and generate new ideas and designs (Innes and Booher 2000).

Objective: Visualization

The objective of visualization is important in a variety of planning circumstances. Some of the reasons visualizations are important are that they can help to clarify ideas considered from multiple viewpoints. The act of visualization helps the public to better understand complex physical transformations of neighborhoods, which may be complicated to follow. Visualization can be executed with a number of different tools such as computerized, printed, or mapped images. Most visualization tools for participatory programs are prepared prior to presentations and utilized in conjunction with lectures or other types of presentations. However, there are some methods, many of which are still being developed, that will enable visuals to be generated on-the-spot at public meetings or in other circumstances where appropriate (Warren-Kretzschmar and Tiedtke). In general, visualization enhances communication between community members and leaders (Bulmer 2001).

Simulated visualizations of the changes in the urban physical environment are seen as a tool that is effective in providing understanding and accessibility for a wide range of members of the community. Digital visualizations of the urban plans are an important way of increasing the trust between planners and community members (Bulmer

2001). It enables the planner to display and compare different design options (Warren-Kretzschmar and Tiedtke). The "on the fly" option of computer visualization, which is currently under development, enhances the process by allowing participants to express their thoughts not just through words but also through pictures (Warren-Kretzschmar and Tiedtke). Computer visualization also enables participants to visualize the effects that different plans and designs would have over time rather than only the initial impacts that the plans or designs would have when initially completed.

While there are new techniques being developed for electronic public engagement methods, some researchers question whether the benefits of such developing methods offset the potential pitfalls and complications associated with technological methods (Rowe and Gammack 2004). For example, while some of the benefits of electronic methods could include increased speed and minimized costs, the lack of face-to-face interaction, which such methods can entail, can sometimes greatly decrease the effectiveness of participation and the objectives which is seeks to achieve (Rowe and Gammack 2004). Thus, computerized methods, while offering clear benefits in terms of meeting certain objectives like visualizations, may hinder objectives like the achievement of unity or consensus, which could necessitate greater face-to-face interaction and personal understanding. They may also represent a partial return to expert-based or technocratically managed 'rational' planning.

Objective: Visioning

Visioning is a participatory objective that encourages participants to brainstorm and imagine broad goals and objectives for the future of their community, setting an

agenda for the future and helping to create overarching goals for plans, policies and designs. Achieving this objective usually involves verbal discussion, or written reflection that is later shared with planners or other community members. Public meetings have been identified as an effective method for doing visioning objective with the public (Day, Morris, and Knight 1998), providing people an environment in which they can hear other ideas and reflect upon their own visions for their community. Other techniques that have been shown as helping to achieve a visioning objective are future search conferences, focus groups and workshops (Day, Morris, and Knight 1998).

Objective: Opinion Gathering

Generating a valid representation of public opinion on planning, design, or policy issues is a common objective of public participation. There is a range of different ways to gather opinions in-person that include vocal, written, drawn, and mixed method forms. In terms of vocal opinion gathering methods, focus groups can be helpful in assessing what people think about an issue at a certain point in time (Innes and Booher 2000).

Sometimes more intimate types of group activities and community dinners are also an effective method of collecting opinions, particularly for gathering the opinions of people who were previously involved with the issue at hand. They allow for an effective communication, particularly with groups of people who are somewhat familiar with one another. However, people who are new to an issue or group to the may not feel initially as comfortable with this type of participation method (Innes and Booher 2000). The focused conversation technique can be better for soliciting the opinion of people that are newer to the topic (Halvorsen 2001).

One recurring theme in the research addressing opinion gathering as a participation objective is that public meetings are not the ideal forum for this type of objective (Day, Morris, and Knight 1998). Often at larger public meetings, the usual separation that occurs between the public and the leaders at the meetings tends to hinder the free flow of opinions (Innes and Booher 2000). Smaller group or even one-on-one methods such as interviews seem to work best if the objective is to gather the most information.

Another example of a smaller meeting style that has been sited as excellent for information exchange is neighborhood meetings, Glass asserts that information exchange should be the principle objective that should aim to be accomplished in smaller unstructured meetings like this (Glass 1979b). Neighborhood meetings have been identified as effective for interchange of information and meaningful opinion gathering that in turn has a real impact on planning decisions (Innes and Booher 2000). However, one disadvantage of using this method is that often it can exclude poorer individuals and other minority groups. This, in turn, would prevent the information from being completely representative.

Interactive lecturing, which was also mentioned above as an effective method for educational objectives, has also been noted as a method that could enable the flow of feedback from participants to lecturers, and vise versa. Among others, it has also been identified as helping to facilitate problem-solving, communication skills, on the spot brainstorming, and decision-making (Steinert and Snell 1999). What makes a lecture interactive can mean increased interactions between the lecturer and the audience, or

more discussion amongst the audience members, essentially ensuring that audience is not passive during the learning process (Steinert and Snell 1999).

Appraisal questionnaires have been identified as being affective as written opinion gathering methods (Day, Morris, and Knight 1998). Similarly, citizen surveys have been identified by Glass as able to provide more information on citizen attitudes and needs than any other method (Glass 1979b). However, Glass also points out that this method is really only effective as an opinion gathering tool but is not useful in accomplishing other objectives such as education, support, or information exchange. In addition, there are also concerns that because surveys require minimum commitment from those completing them, participants may base their responses on one or two highly prominent issues instead of having a more broad-based understanding of the issue at hand (Groves, Cialdini, and Couper 1992).

In certain situations internet technology also offers the opportunity for effective opinion gathering (Innes and Booher 2000). For example, various design options and proposals could be posted on a municipal website and responded to by residents. This is an effective way to gather opinions from people who would like to express an opinion but who have jobs, family commitments and other conflicts that may hinder them from attending scheduled meetings. Internet technology enables people to participate in the process at their own convenience and to the extent that they would like to. However, as Innes and Booher point out, internet technology options do not have the authenticity that in-person exchanges can offer (Innes and Booher 2000).

Other Observations on Methods and Objectives

In is important to remember that although there are times when participation methods seem to fit the achievement of a particular objective, it may well be that the benefits of such methods enhance the achievement of additional secondary objectives. For example, while Cole and Caputo (1984) did not find public hearings to have strong long term affects on policy decisions, the authors suggest there could be other possible benefits to this method such as promoting and enhancing individual leadership, and awareness of government functions (Cole and Caputo 1984). In short, the analysis of the effectiveness of methods should also consider their secondary long-range potential impacts.

One of the other important things to note on this discussion of methods and objectives is that the issue of the organization and classification of participatory methods becomes an issue when trying to compile the research on the topic of methods and the objectives they support. As previously mentioned, while research identifies a wide range of objectives that could be set and achieved in public participation processes, many schemes for presenting methods only include a handful of broad objectives, and do not address how other secondary participation objectives might support larger overarching participation objectives. For example, certain types of games and exercises (which are not generally mentioned in lists of participation methods) could be used in conjunction with public meetings can help achieve the objective of building trust with fellow community members or encourage the free flow of information (Pretty et al. 1995). Achieving these objectives may help support an overarching objective such as generating ideas or problem identification. These types of specific techniques are not generally

addressed in schemes for categorizing participatory methods, but could be in an organizational scheme that presents broad methods as well as specific techniques and exercises. Other benefits of a scheme for participatory practices that present methods from their most broad forms to their most specific forms will be further addressed below.

Additional Types of Categorization Schemes

In addition to the level-based categorization schemes and objective-based categorization schemes that were discussed in the sections above, a number of other types of schemes emerged from analysis of the inventory including stage-based schemes (when), participant-based schemes (who), and methods-based schemes (how).

<u>**Stage-based schemes**</u>

Two of the categorization schemes in the inventory divided methods based on stages of the participation program, as can be seen in Table 3. One of these schemes included the categories, *preparation methodologies, participation opportunities* and *accountability techniques* (Rosenbaum 1976). The other stage-based scheme included *techniques appropriate for all steps in the planning process* and *techniques appropriate for four steps in the planning process* (Gil and Lucchesi 1979).

The major advantage of stage-based schemes is that time and sequencing of the participation process is explicitly considered. This is important, particularly for practitioners who must work within a certain timeframe and need to derive solutions for plans and policies within a certain period. Planners frequently need to consider

budgetary constraints as well as political issues such as elections in developing the timeline of their participatory process.

One of the drawbacks of these schemes is that categorizing methods in terms of time or sequencing somewhat depersonalizes what is inherently a person-based process, a similar drawback to the objective-based schemes previously mentioned. Schemes such as level-based schemes and participant-based schemes force planners to consider the actors involved, whereas stage-based schemes do not. Stage-based schemes bring to focus the role of the planner in the midst of a governmental or political process and bring to focus the essential logistical elements that must be given attention in this process. The risk, however, is that organizing schemes in this way could draw attention towards political logistics and lose focus on participants and achieving objectives with a client group.

Table 8. Stage-Based Categorization Schemes for Participatory Methods

Categories	Author
• Preparation Methodology • Participation Opportunities • Accountability Techniques	(Rosenbaum 1976)

• Techniques appropriate for all steps in the planning process
• Techniques appropriate for four steps in the planning process
    o Development of values, goals and objectives
    o Choosing alternatives
    o Plan implementation
    o Feedback-modification
	(Gil and Lucchesi 1979)

Participant-based schemes

Several authors chose to frame categorization schemes in terms of the participants involved in the process, as can be seen in Table 9. Such authors used categories such as *discursive, electoral, elite* and *civic participation* (Rosenbaum 1976) and *organization-based outreach* and *community-based outreach* (Gil and Lucchesi 1979). Another example framed methods in terms of the structure of participant groups in the process by having categories that included one *organized group, multiple organized groups, unorganized pubic* and *complex public* (Jacobs, Cook, and Carpini 2009). The advantage to participant-based schemes is that they acknowledge the potential range of actors involved in the process and may help the planner to tailor the methods based on the characteristics of participants.

The shortcoming of a participant-based categorization scheme for participatory methods is that viewing methods according to the nature of participants involved may dilute the objective or lessen the importance of the overall objective of the participatory program. Just as objective-based schemes may take away from an examination of participants, an exclusively participant-based categorization scheme may do the opposite, and draw attention away from primary (and secondary) objectives of a project.

Table 9. Participant-Based Categorization Schemes for Participatory Methods

Categories	Author
• One organized group • Multiple organized groups • Unorganized public • Complex public	(Thomas 1995)
• Modified Autonomous Managerial • Segmented Public Consultation • Unitary Public Consultation	(Thomas 1995)
• Discursive Participation • Electoral Participation • Elite Contacting • Civic Participation	(Jacobs, Cook, and Carpini 2009)
• Organization based public information/outreach • Organization based public input/engagement • Community based public information/outreach • Community based public input/engagement	(Kimley-Horn and Associates and Strategies 2013)

Methods-Based Schemes

The final type of categorization schemes for methods that were identified within the inventory were methods-based schemes, which were schemes that that divided participation types based on methods and techniques themselves, as seen in Table 10. This type of categorization included categories such as *internet-web, classical communication tools, group meetings/workshops, visits* and *field observations* (Jacobs, Cook, and Carpini 2009) and *traditional participation techniques* and *interactive and collaborative methods* (Kimley-Horn and Associates and Strategies 2013). Other examples include *traditional techniques* and *emerging techniques* (Commission and

Participation 2003) and *internet-web, classical communication tools, group meetings/workshops* and *visits and field observations* (Innes and Booher 2000).

The major advantage of the methods-based schemes is that they are perhaps the most clear and straightforward for practitioners, particularly those who may be new at conducting participatory processes. The user can view the category of "participation games" (Smith 2003) and see a variety of different games that they could use, or "emerging techniques" (Commission and Participation 2003) to learn about new methods that are on the rise. However, this type of scheme has some obvious drawbacks. While other schemes connect practitioners to other parts of the process (participants, objectives, etc.) methods-based schemes isolate methods from other critical considerations and do not connect the user with a decision-making process for their selection.

Table 10. Methods-Based Categorization Schemes for Participatory Methods

Categories	Author
• Consumerist methods • Traditional methods • Forums • Consultative innovations • Deliberative innovations	(Lowndes, Pratchett, and Stoker 2001)
• Traditional Participation Techniques • Interactive and Collaborative Methods	(Innes and Booher 2000)
• Non-Deliberative Mechanisms for Obtaining Information From the Public • Non-Deliberative Mechanisms for Providing Information to the Public • Traditional Mechanisms • Public Deliberation • Alternative Dispute Resolution	(Beierle 1998)

• Sharing decision-making authority with the public • Involving the public for information only • Involving the public to build acceptance • Building strong relationships with citizens • New forms of public involvement	(Thomas 1995)
• Strategic Planning • Visioning • Charette Process • Community action planning • Participatory Action Research • Participation Techniques • Participation Games • Workshops • Post occupancy Evaluation • Visual Preference and Appraisal	(Sanoff 2000)
• Government-Initiated Mechanisms • Mechanisms related to elections • Mechanisms related to legislative process • Mechanisms of one-way communication from an executive agency • Temporary or permanent convenings • Methods for assessing public opinion • Mechanisms for decentralization and grievance-processing • Non-mechanisms • Future-Oriented Mechanisms • Information-age techniques • Planning techniques • Citizen Participation in Private Agencies • Citizen Participation in the Economic Sphere • Citizen-Initiated Mechanisms • Citizen organizations • Citizen-group strategies • Temporary convenings • Coalitions • Demonstration projects and alternative institutions	(Dale 1978)
• Traditional techniques • Emerging techniques	(Smith 2003)
• "Listed from unstructured to more formal	(Council 1976)

arrangements"	
• Meetings • A-H • Advisory Committees • A-J • Others Methods	(Planning 1993)
• Internet-web • Classical Communication Tools • Group Meetings/workshops • Visits and Field Observations • Other tools	(Commission and Participation 2003)
• Unstructured • Structured • Active process • Passive process	(Glass 1979a)

Table 11: Examples of Participation Lists Without Classification Schemes for Methods

List Title	Source Specifications	Author
Alphabetical listing of "participation" mechanisms	Academic article	(Rowe and Frewer 2005)
Overview of the Tools	Academic Article	(Lynam et al. 2007)
Methods of Participation	Guidebook	(Quium and Moon 2003)
Traditional Approaches to Community Involvement	Guidebook	(Day, Morris, and Knight 1998)
Summary of the Techniques (newer techniques as opposed to traditional)	Guidebook	(Day, Morris, and Knight 1998)
		(Grabow, Hilliker, and Moskal 2006)

The Twenty-One Techniques	Guidebook	(New Economics Foundation 1998)
A Number of the Most Formalized Public Participation Methods	Academic Article	(Rowe and Frewer 2000)
Alphabetical Listing of Methods	Guidebook	(Involve 2005)
Methods A-Z	Public website	(Wates 2013)
Methods A-Z	Guidebook	(Wates 2000)
Public Participation Techniques	Guidebook	(Fish and Wildlife Service 1985)
Tools and Exercises	Guidebook	(Burns, Heywood, and Taylor 2004)
Operational Techniques	Guidebook	(Connor 1981)

Table 12: Summary of Scheme Characteristics

Scheme	Description	Major Characteristics/Emphasis/ Advantages	Shortcomings
Level-Based (what)	Categorizes based on the level of participation of the public	Considers actor and their roles, promotes an ethical and open process	Does not directly consider logistical issues such as time and budget. Also does not directly consider the objectives of the process.
Objective-Based (why)	Categorizes based on goals of the process and methods that support those goals	Focuses the process and isolates objectives that planners and participants can work towards achieving	Does not directly consider the role of participants and human dynamics. May not allow for focus on secondary or more subtle objectives.
Participant-Based (who)	Categorizes based on the people involved	Considers people and group dynamics, relationship of people to the planning issue and to each other	Focus exclusively on the client group could take attention away from primary and secondary objectives.
Stage-Based (when)	Categorizes based on stage of the process	Considers time and sequencing, which is important for budgetary and political reasons	Focus on political logistics could cause planners to lose focus on the client group, depersonalization of the process.
Methods-Based (how)	Categorizes based on categories of method types themselves	Straightforward and direct	Isolates methods from other critical considerations of the participatory process including participants and political logistics.

The third column in Table 12 shows the major emphases and advantages of each of the categorization schemes. This implies that if, for example, level-based schemes are strong in promoting an ethical and open process, the other schemes are not as strong in this regard. The major limitations of these schemes are listed in the fourth column of the table.

A Lack of Integrated Categorization Schemes

The most notable observation of the categorization schemes found in the inventory is that these schemes are often not comprehensively hierarchical with regard to classifying methods, resulting in general methods and approaches often being placed in the same categories alongside specific techniques and exercises. These ways of categorizing participation methods, namely level-based schemes, objective-based schemes, participant-based schemes, methods-based schemes and stage-based schemes, do not present a comprehensive overview of methods that allow the viewer to achieve a fully integrated understanding of participatory practices, and see methods relationally from their most broad to their most specific levels. For some purposes, these types of schemes may be adequate, but there are many situations in which this may problematic, and this lack of hierarchical clarity could cause planners to select techniques that ultimately do not support the objectives of their participatory process, their community's characteristics, or the stage of the process they are working in. As ways of implementing participatory practice increase, and particularly with the increase of technological tools that can be used in conjunction with participatory practice, planners and researchers may be unclear as to where new and evolving methods fall in the overall knowledge base of

participatory practices. In situations where practitioners are reading texts on participation methods for the purpose of designing their own program, or learning about how to use a new method, presenting broad methods alongside specific techniques may lead to misunderstanding about how these methods are utilized in practice and their relationship to one another. An extreme example might be someone assuming that they had to prioritize one method over another, when in reality one is a subset of the other, or the two approaches could readily be combined in a participation program.

The extreme of this observation can be noted, in particular, in Table 11, which shows general lists of participation methods that do not use classification schemes. These examples are generalized menus that do not split methods into any sort of categories or demonstrate which methods or more broad and which are specific exercises or techniques that could be used as part of a broader method (Rowe and Frewer 2000, Day, Morris, and Knight 1998, Burns, Heywood, and Taylor 2004). Examples of such generalized schemes come from works that are both academically oriented as well as works that are professionally oriented.

Conclusions

Part of the reason for the challenges associated with participatory mechanisms is the sheer number of mechanisms that have been developed particularly with recent technological advances, in addition to the lack of definitional clarity when it comes to terminology related to participatory planning and its mechanisms (Miskowiak 2004). Participatory practices are increasing in popularity and simultaneously more modes of implementing participatory practices are developing. This is creating a sizeable body of

participatory practices that may be daunting to many practitioners. In order to make sense of this increasingly large and varied knowledge base, an effective and comprehensive system for organizing and evaluating participatory practices must be developed. There is a need for both academics who research and write about participatory methods, as well as practitioners who implement them, to view methods in a systematic way and understand how various practices relate to one another clearly and comprehensively.

The five categorizations schemes presented above highlight five necessary and important considerations in the process of selecting appropriate public participatory mechanisms, specifically the need to consider level of participation, objectives of the process, participants involved, stage in the context of the political process, and the participatory methods themselves. Yet, in schemes where these considerations are highlighted independently of one another, important planning issues may not be fully addressed. Rather than using just one of these elements as a basis for categorizing and selecting methods, a more effectively integrated model would consider participation level, objectives, participants and stage prior to viewing methods themselves in a hierarchical format. Viewing methods relationally will allow the user to understand the many different developments and innovations in participatory methods, the many different forms that methods can take, the way the various methods relate to one another, and how they can be used in conjunction with each other successfully. By viewing participatory methods hierarchically, as well as considering the other necessary aspects including level of participation, objectives, participants, and stage, planning professionals can understand various methods and subsets of methods that lend themselves to

supporting the unique characteristics of their community. In order for planners and researchers to better understand the full range of practices that exist for participatory planning, and utilize them more effectively in a planning program, a hierarchical decision-support system of viewing methods must be developed to create effective order out of the varied knowledge base.

As discussed in the analysis, most categorization schemes group participatory practices into various categories based on level of participation, program objectives, the method type, the participants involved, or stages of the process. While these schemes may be useful in some situations, they do not present an integrated system of how various methods relate to each another in a comprehensive view of participatory practices. In addition, because of this shortcoming, broad participatory methods are often grouped side-by-side with specific techniques, making it unclear how these practices relate to one another and how they can be practically implemented. Many research articles currently published in planning journals as well as journals from other fields address specific participatory practices, detailing their use in various communities and with particular planning projects. However, without a comprehensive interrelational understanding of where these particular practices fall in the larger system of participatory practices, identifying when to use them effectively and in conjunction with one another is not feasible.

Developing a framework structure for this knowledge base of participatory practices is necessary for practitioners and academicians to find their way through these many practices, and more importantly, to effectively select the appropriate participatory method based on the objectives of a participation program. This integrated framework

of participatory practices gives an opportunity for the viewer to go sequentially from the most general to the most specific in terms of application, and makes sense of an overwhelmingly large knowledge base that is otherwise extremely challenging to navigate. This integrated participation framework will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

A NEW INTEGRATIVE MODEL FOR PARTICIPATORY PRACTICE

Introduction

Public participation techniques for the community/urban/regional planning process have been researched in a variety of ways. Important topics that have been addressed within this sub-field of planning include the methods and forms participation can take (Carr and Halvorsen 2001, Arnstein 1969), how to evaluate public participation (Petts 2001, Petts and Leach 2000, Rosener 1978a, Rowe and Frewer 2000, 2004), how to teach planning students about public participation (Meligrana and Andrew 2003, Reardon 1998), and others. However, even with the increase in many types of research on social planning and specifically public participation, there is still a lack of clarity on how to deliver and administer public participation programs effectively. Even though public participation is often required of many public agencies and incorporated in various decision making contexts, there is still a lack of guidance on how to go about selecting from the wealth of participation methods that are available to practitioners and how to design an effective public participation program while considering various relevant elements of including the process (Rowe and Frewer 2005). As a result, most participatory programs in the realm of planning use the same basic 'default' triumvirate of methods – public meeting, written surveys and planning and design charrettes.

Rower and Frewer (2005) point out that one of the prime obstacles to researching and developing models for the selection of participatory methods are definitional issues within the realm of participatory research and practice. They point out that key concepts,

including the concept of public participation itself, are not well-defined to the extent that there is even a lack of clarity in terms of what mechanisms fall into the category of public participation, as well as a lack of clarity about synonymous terms such as public engagement and public involvement, and what such terms do or do not include. Bracht and Tsouros (1990) also point out multiple synonymous terms for public participation such as consumer participation, community involvement, community collaboration, and others (Bracht and Tsouros 1990). Mechanisms for facilitating public involvement are also loosely defined, and the growth of mechanisms, many of which are similar to one another, creates categorization problems and more broadly, problems with research and application (Rowe and Frewer 2005). In addition, there is often a lack of clarification between particular participatory methods and broader planning strategies on the other (Bracht and Tsouros 1990).

The preceding chapter of this dissertation elaborated on Rowe and Frewer's assertion that further analysis of categorization schemes was warranted.   Such schemes serve as a lens through which practitioners, researchers, students and the public can view participatory planning methods, thereby influencing the way that viewers understand participatory practice and the implementation of various methods for participatory planning programs. In the previous chapter we identified five types of schemes that have been utilized for categorizing participation methods.   These included *level-based schemes, objective-based schemes, participant-based schemes, methods-based schemes*, and *stage-based schemes*. These schemes each dealt with one of five ways of conceptualizing methods, representing unilateral approaches to viewing participatory mechanisms.   In order to improve the conceptualization and delivery of participatory

programs, a new integrative way of organizing decision support regarding participatory methods is needed. The approach must be both comprehensive, acknowledging the five schemes above, and hierarchical in order to provide accessible entry points to the selection of appropriately interrelated mechanisms that can best support an effective participatory planning process.

Another important point that Rowe and Frewer (2005) make in their work is that with the large number of mechanisms that have been developed for participatory practice, as well as the challenges with defining these mechanisms and categorizing them consistently, it is no surprise that there has been no significant meta-model developed to select mechanisms to enable effective engagement. They suggest that a way of making headway towards such a model requires an effective system of categorization. Building on this assertion, we develop a hierarchical model for selecting participatory methods, and show its application in a specific participatory case.

Decision Support for Selecting Appropriate Participatory Methods

While there is no fully integrative, hierarchal and comprehensive model for the selection of participatory planning mechanisms, the issue of selecting participatory planning methods has been addressed in both academic and professional resources. Selection of participation methods is generally considered one of a number of different steps involved in the creation of a public participation plan. For example, the Army Corps of Engineers identifies three stages in the development of a public participation plan. These stages are *process appraisal, process design, and implementation*. Within the *process design* stage alone, five phases are identified, one of which is *identifying*

appropriate involvement techniques to meet objectives (see figure 5) (Army Corps of Engineers 2013). The following literature review looks at the way various authors have addressed this particular step in the process of planning a participation program.
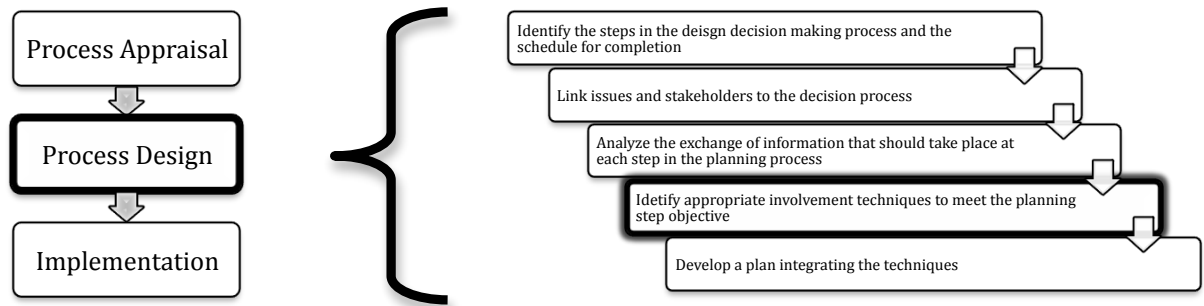
Figure 5. Stages in the development of a participation plan and steps in the process design stage of a participation plan (Army Corps of Engineers 2013)

Creighton (2005) also identifies stages of planning the public participation process that include decision analysis, process planning and implementation planning, with each stage including a number of steps (figure 6). The process planning phase includes the step: *identify techniques to use at each step of the process* (Creighton 2005).
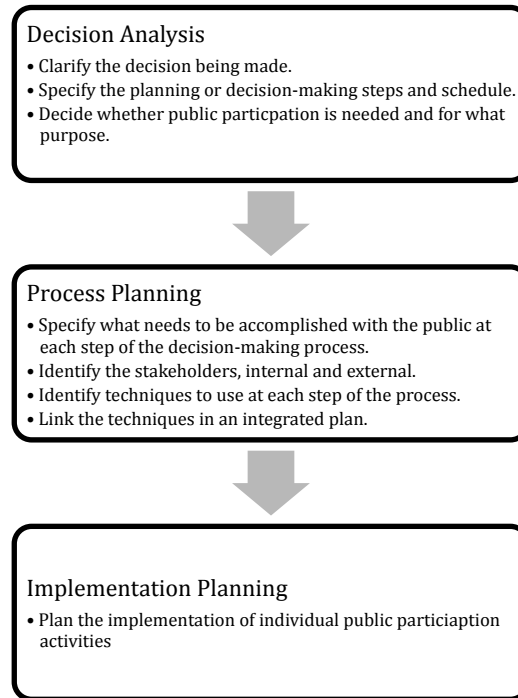
Figure 6. Three stages of planning a public participation process. (Identifying techniques is listed as the third point in the second step) (Creighton 2005)

Creighton and The Army Corps of Engineers have provided two examples of ways that steps involved in the planning of participation programs have been framed. Although sometimes authors may choose varying ways of presenting these steps, these examples and others usually involve the selection of methods, which is an integral part of planning a participatory program. This paper focuses on the details of this particular step of the process.

Literature on the Selection of Participatory Methods

The process of selecting the right participatory method has been addressed in both academic and professional literature and in a variety of formats: articles, texts, plans, and guidebooks. The following review of the literature draws from both academic and

professionally-oriented sources, developing an understanding of how authors have addressed the selection of participatory methods for a planning program.

Academic Literature

A review of the literature suggests that researchers have a wide range of conceptualizations of public participation, with many different interpretations on what public participation should mean in various contexts (Rosener 1978a, Webler 1995). Mumpower's work (2001) offered an overview of literature that discussed key factors that should be considered when selecting public participation techniques. He cites Renn, Webler and Wiedemann's work (1995), which asserts that public participation methods should be evaluated based on whether they are *fair* and *competent*, an extension of Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas 1984, 1987). The conditions that allow methods to be fair include:

1. All people who consider themselves affected by a decision having the ability to participate

2. The ability to make statements about facts, values, comprehensibility and sincerity

3. The opportunity for participants to challenge each other's statements

4. That all participants have equal opportunity to influence the decision about how to decide in the absence of consensus

There are also four parallel conditions that are set forth for competence that include:

1. Every potential discourse participants must meet minimal societal standards for

cognitive and lingual competence

2. Every participant must have access to the knowledge needed to make valid claims and criticize others

3. Speakers must verify results of any attempt to translate expressive claims

4. Judgments about conflicting validity claims must be made using the most reliable methodological techniques available

While Webler's analysis is relevant to an evaluation of discourse-based participatory mechanisms, it does not comprehensively address non-discourse based mechanisms. For example, conditions for fairness that allow an opportunity to challenge statements exclude mechanisms such as lectures and displays that may be valid for meeting an educational objective. The conditions set forth by Webler can be applicable to participatory practice that aims for citizen control over decision-making in discourse-based communication, but may not be applicable to many participatory practices that support other objectives or support different levels of public participation.

Mumpower (1995) presents an adapted version of Quinn and Rohrbough's 'competing values' approach, in which two value dimensions combine to define perspectives on effective decision-making programs. The first dimension is process structure, in which emphasis on flexibility competes with emphasis on control. The second dimension is related to focus, where an internally-focused process that is primary concerned with directly-affected participants competes with a broader, externally-focused participant process. Relative focus on these values defines four different perspectives on decision-making including the *rational* perspective, the *empirical perspective*, the

consensual perspective and the *political* perspective. Mumpower's Adaptation of this
model appears in Figure 7.
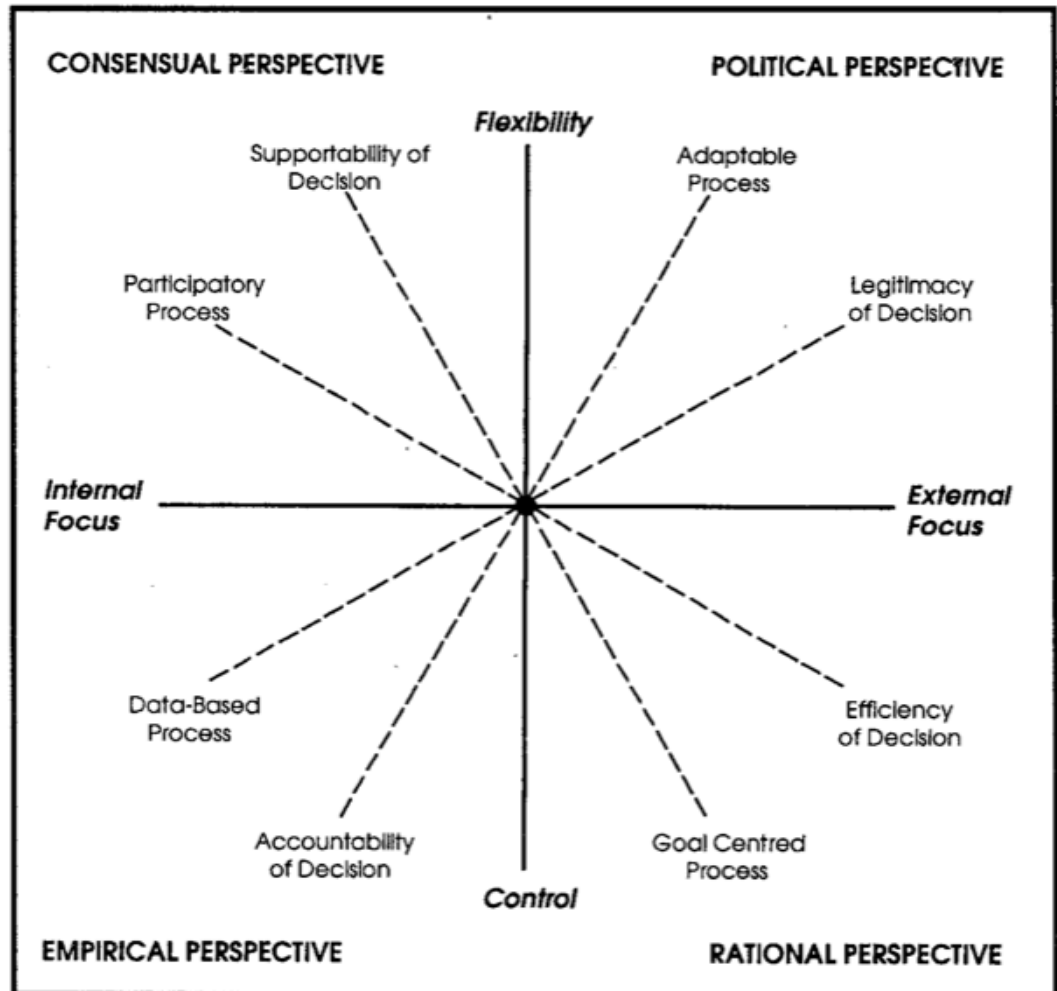
Figure 7. The competing values approach (Taken from Mumpower 1995)

While this model serves to present the different emphases that various processes
may have, the model is very much theoretical, and does not directly illustrate necessary
practical planning considerations or mechanisms to the municipal planner. It is useful in
that it presents a theoretical framework or foundation that may be helpful prior to

conducting participatory process, or be helpful with planning a participatory program in a clear way.

Victor Vroom and Phillip Yetton (1973) introduced a decision- making tree model geared towards the business world that has subsequently been adapted for public participation, particularly in the context of decision-making related to natural resources, as seen in Figure 8 (Lawrence and Deagen 2001). This adapted model for public participation has also been further altered to allow for coordination with other program selection tools designed by other authors and organizations (Robinson and Nolan-ITU 2002).

1. Does the manager have sufficient information to make a high quality decision?

2. Is the problem structured such that alternative solutions are not available for redefinition?

3. Is public acceptance of the decision critical to effective implementation?

4. If public acceptance is necessary, is it reasonably certain if the manager decides alone?

5. Are the relevant publics willing to engage in an integrative dialogue in order to improve the situation?

6. Would the quality of public input or future relations be improved if learning occurs among the publics about the situation's issues?
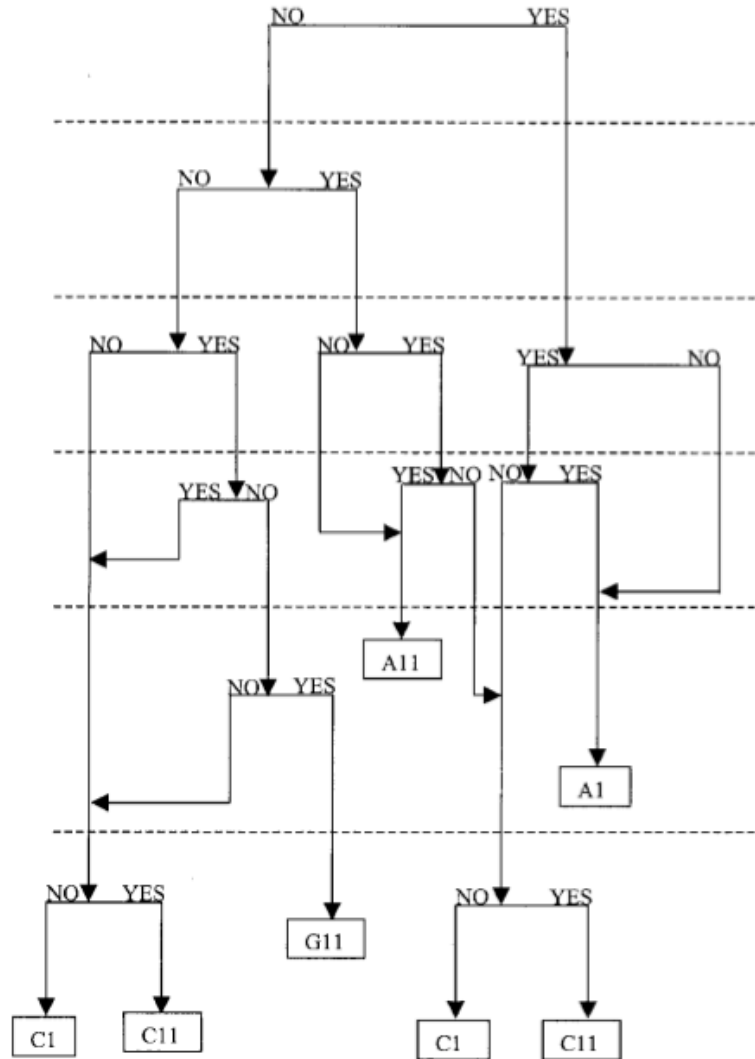
A1: The manager solves the problem or makes the decision alone without public involvement.
A11: The manager seeks information from segments of the public, but decides alone in a manner which may or may not reflect group influence.
C1: The manager shares the problem separately with segments of the public, getting ideas and suggestions, then makes a decision which reflects group influence.
C11: The manager shares the problem with the public as a single assembled group, getting ideas and suggestions, then makes a decision which reflects group influence.
G11: The manager shares the problem with the assembled public, and together the manager and the public attempt to reach agreement on a solution.

Figure 8. Revised decision tree for selecting public involvement methods for natural resource decision-making (Taken from Lawrence and Deagen 2001)

Unlike the Competing Values Model, the decision tree format is much more practically oriented towards making specific decisions about particular mechanisms and participatory programming. While a decision tree format offers a guide for practitioners to arrive on the appropriate methods for their participatory process, a system like this has important limitations that should be considered. Most obviously, questions on this tree can be answered either way depending on the user's perspective, and is most ideal for practitioners who have no preconceived notions about how to involve the public.   Given that planning education programs increasingly require studios involving work with the public, that participatory programs are planned by a group of practitioners, and that planning practitioners generally work closely with others, a user of this tool may begin the process with no preconceived notion of how to do public involvement. In addition, the model is focused on time-efficiency, and while time is an important consideration in a participatory process, other factors might mean that a less time-efficient method is ideal in a particular participatory planning situation (Lawrence and Deagen 2001).

Glass's work (1979) suggested the importance of examining the objectives that planners aim to meet through participation activities prior to selecting methods. He asserted that there is a lack of attention paid to matching objectives with specific techniques and as a result the possibility of deriving success from participation activities is significantly declined.   Since his article was published, various authors have written about the objectives of participation (King, Feltey, and Susel 1998, Alterman 1982) as well as the importance of matching objectives with particular techniques, which was addressed in the previous chapter on categorization of participatory mechanisms. Another author who deals with objectives in the context of participatory program design

is Alterman (1982), who suggests alternative participatory strategies may be designed and participatory mechanisms selected based on a set of six decision variables including the issue type, goals and objectives, definition of the public, the power relationship, the stage of the planning process, and the types of resources (Alterman 1982).

Alterman's work frames the strategy of designing a participatory program in terms of a set of decisions made on six dimensions prior to the selection of particular participatory methods (Alterman 1982). These six dimensions are:

1. The type of substantive issue

2. The goals and objectives for participation

3. The definition of the public

4. The power relationship amongst the decision makers and the participants

5. The stage in the planning process

6. The types and quantities of resources required

Alterman discusses the shortcomings of some previous authors who address participatory strategies, citing the need to look at the scope of the process comprehensively as well as take the implementation process into consideration when designing program strategy. Her approach emphasizes the need to plan participation as a strategy, taking into account major actors in the implementation process as well as planning objectives, as opposed to other methods that lay out more systematic planning of participatory programs (Glass 1979, Rosener 1978b). Her work also differs from previous frameworks that use goals and objectives as a principal part of methods selection, in that the strategy she proposes is not focused on a single goal or set of goals by the agency, but rather on many potential goals of not only the agency but the

participating groups as well. Additionally, she points out that there is an assumption in other objective-focused frameworks that goals are stagnant, whereas her strategy allows for the evolution of participation objectives throughout the process (Rosener 1978b).

Bracht and Tsouros (1990) present two main approaches to citizen involvement including:

1. Participation in formal decision-making mechanisms

2. Community led activities and mechanisms.

They suggest that selecting the proper mechanisms to use for community involvement should be based on community size, history, and preferences for decisions-making styles of the core organizing or motivating group (Bracht and Tsouros 1990). Such groups could include those who are linked by shared goals and attitudes, voluntary organizations, or types of groups. These groups, the authors argue, serve as a catalyst for assessing local needs and developing preliminary notions about what type of structure accommodates citizen involvement.

While these authors have contributed towards our body of knowledge on what is relevant to consider when selecting and evaluating participatory methods, it is apparent that what is missing is a framework for participatory methods that is both comprehensive in the scope of planning issues in considers in relation to the participation program as well as hierarchical, enabling a full body of mechanisms for participatory planning to be effectively viewed and considered. While these frameworks provide an important foundation and starting point for understanding the basic implications and considerations that are necessarily for participation, they are not models that lend themselves to a comprehensive selection of methods. Conceptual frameworks found in academically-

oriented publications generally provide a starting point for learning about participation (Mumpower 2001) but do not lend themselves to providing clear guidance for the practicing planner on how to actually design a program.

Professional Literature

Much of the professionally oriented literature on public participation has been developed in the form of manuals and handbooks geared towards practitioners, and this form of literature on participatory planning information is rarely addressed or analyzed in peer-reviewed articles. Webler has addresses professionally-oriented public participation handbooks both in terms of the relationship between theory and practice (1999) as well as in a detailed review of three specific handbooks (Webler 1997, Bleiker and Bleiker 1995, Resources 1995, English et al. 1993). These and other professional materials have been developed for planners and other practitioners to utilize in order to review a variety of participatory methods and appropriately select them for a participation program. Frequently written in a very direct style *cookbook* style (Webler 1997), they offer a wealth of knowledge on participatory planning methods. There are also professional texts that concentrate on participatory methods for more specialized parts of planning such as rebuilding after a natural disaster (Jha 2010) or participatory methods that can be utilized for community health programming (Murphy 2013).

Generalized guidebooks often contain descriptions of techniques, their strengths and weaknesses, and other information such as the ideal number of participants for using the method, budgetary requirements, and so forth. Some guidebooks present information on each method and leave the reader to ultimately make a selection based on their own

discretion (Pretty et al. 1995, Day, Morris, and Knight 1998), whereas others go a step further offering worksheets and numeric values for planning variables to assist the practitioner in the methods selection (New Economics Foundation 1998, Institute for Participatory Management and Planning 1993, Day, Morris, and Knight 1998). These numeric systems are appealing to practitioners who want a seemingly simplified or more quantitative way of selecting methods rather than having to decipher various methods and their appropriateness in the given situation. In addition, these types of systems are likely appealing for practitioners that do not have an extensive background in participatory planning or have limited practical experience with methods and their appropriate use. Other types of worksheets, such as Enabling Change's *Public Participation Matrix,* an assessment questionnaire inspired by The International Association for Public Participation's materials of a similar nature, suggest that to choose a participatory method, practitioners need to answer questions about the inherent risk for negative environmental impact, social impact, or community conflict in the situation at hand, as well as the complexity of the information that needs to be considered before informed participation is possible. Practitioners are asked to rate the risk and complexity factors in terms of three different levels, and then recommended levels of participation as well as methods that fall into this level are suggested in the form of a matrix (Anderson 2003, International Association for Public Participation 2000).
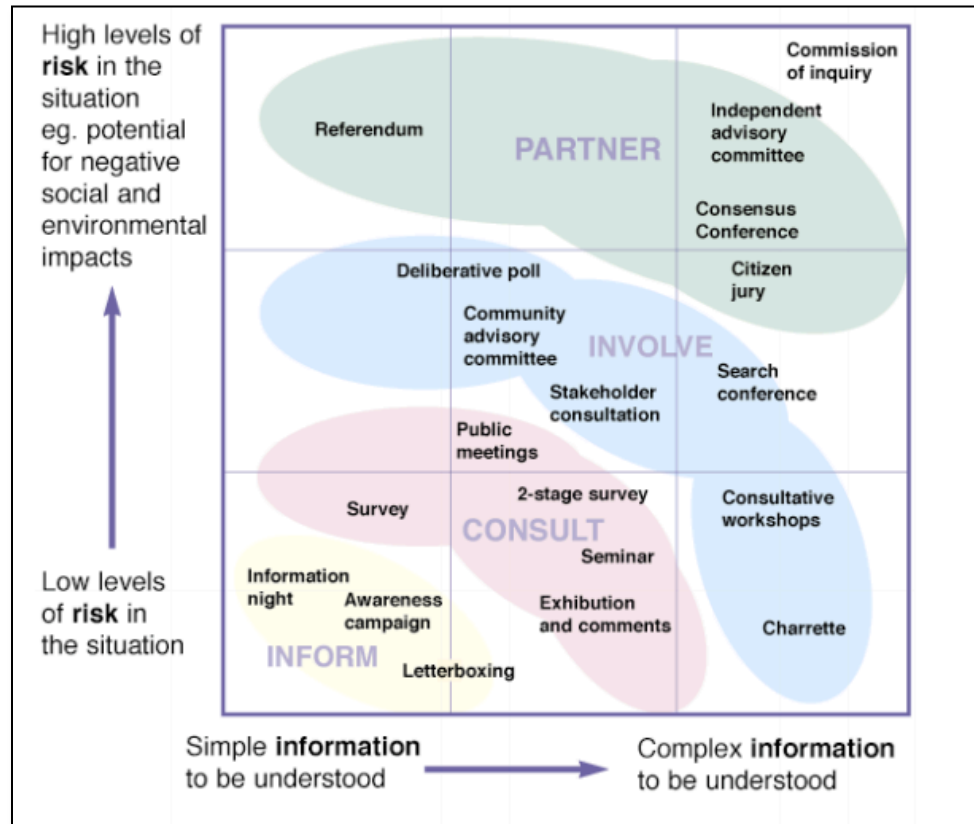
Figure 9: The Participation Matrix (Taken from Anderson 2003)

While the process of assigning numeric values for planning variables to select methods may be appealing to professionals, this type of selection system leaves something to be desired. Even the sources that present numeric systems make statements acknowledging the potential lack of effectiveness that this way of scoring methods can have. For example, The New Economics Foundation writes, "Remember, however, that participation and choosing participatory techniques, is not a science. A scoring system may help, but is not a substitute for discussion and judgment... Don't forget: this is art not science!" (New Economics Foundation 1998, 7). In The Institute for Participatory Management and Planning's handbook containing a systematic grid system for choosing methods, they write: "…the task of creating a CP program is really a *creative* effort.

And, as is the case with creative efforts in general, it's pretty difficult – if not impossible—to describe in a simple cook-book manner how to do them" (Institute for Participatory Planning and Management 1993, 8). If scoring systems help to spark discussion about methods or serve as *part* of an evaluation of what methods would be appropriate, then they are probably not problematic, but by these authors' own admission they are not ideal and should not stand alone in a decision-making process about which participation methods to select.

The New Economics Foundation's *Participation Works* (1998) emphasizes the importance of considering one's own criteria for a successful process when considering participatory mechanisms for a program and then scoring it against the methods presented in the guidebook. They suggest example criteria for methods such as *to be adapted and used with a variety of different groups* or *to be used with different sized groups* and then selecting a method based on how it meets this self-identified criteria, as opposed to having standard criteria that must be considered prior to selecting methods. The Involve Organization's *People and Participation* handbook (2005) presents a variety of different mechanisms for participant involvement and highlights various aspects of each for the practitioner to consider prior to planning their program such as the outcomes that an approach can effectively produce, resource and budgetary issues, the suitable number of participants and others (New Economics Foundation 1998, Involve 2005, Pretty et al. 1995).

Generally speaking these professional guidebooks are useful in that they offer information on various participatory mechanisms and their appropriate use, but they fall short of giving a comprehensive view of the hierarchy of participatory methods to the

planners and professionals that use them. An understanding of where methods fall in terms of the levels of participatory practice is critical to have prior to being able to utilize these texts in a meaningful and effective way.

<div align="center">**Categorization Schemes for Participatory Methods**</div>

In addition to examining the above literature on how to design participation programs and select methods, the previous chapter addressed various academic and professional resources that presented typological menus of participatory methods and categorizations schemes for those methods.   Our work highlighted five major typologies by which categorization schemes for participatory methods may be approached.   These include *level-based schemes, objective-based schemes, methods-based schemes, stage-based schemes and participant-based schemes*.   It was apparent that each of these schemes had strengths, but that in some way each of them fell short of providing a comprehensive view of participatory methods.

The strength of level-based schemes, which are explicit about the role and impact of the actors involved in the process, is that they support an ethical process and promote transparency about the level of involvement of the participants. However these schemes do not explicitly consider logistical issues such as time and budgetary constraints, which are necessary for realistically putting together a participatory program, and also do not look at the overarching objectives of the process.

The major advantage of objective-based categorization schemes for participatory methods is that they force the user to be explicit with regard to the purpose of the process. These schemes consider the goal and view methods according to that goal. Using such a

scheme helps planners to focus the scope of the process, and in turn can enable the public to feel more focused on the objective. However, advantages of objective-based schemes are also at times their drawbacks. While having a focused view on objectives create a more streamlined and focused process, using this scheme may neglect to acknowledge secondary or more subtle objectives that exist for a process. Objective-based categorization schemes for participatory methods can be subject to similar criticism or shortcomings to the Rational Planning Model, because while viewing methods in terms of the objectives that they most effectively support may be helpful to practitioners, a lack of attention paid to the human elements and dynamics of the participatory process could prove problematic.

Stage-based schemes, while considering the important factors of time in sequencing, are subject to a similar critique as objective based schemes in that they do not adequately consider the diverse views and values of people involved in the participatory process. While they bring the focus to the role the planner plays within a governmental or political process, they are not fully considering the role of participants.

Participant-based schemes, while explicitly considering participants, are subject to the critique that they may lose or dilute the objectives of the process with a lack of attention being paid to overall goals. Finally, methods-based schemes, while clear, straightforward and direct in their presentation to the user, eliminate the other previously mentioned critical parts of the process such as participants, primary and secondary objectives, and logistical issues. These strengths and shortcomings are summarized in the chart below.

Table 13. Advantages and Shortcomings of 5 Categorization Schemes for Participatory Methods

Scheme	Description	Major Emphasis/ Advantages	Shortcomings
Level-Based	Categorizes based on the level of participation of the public	Considers actor and their roles, promotes an ethical and open process	Does not directly consider logistical issues such as time and budget. Also does not directly consider the objectives of the process.
Objective-Based	Categorizes based on goals of the process and methods that support those goals	Focuses the process and isolates objectives that planners and participants can work towards achieving	Does not directly consider the role of participants and human dynamics. May not allow for focus on secondary or subtler objectives.
Participant-Based	Categorizes based on the people involved	Considers people and group dynamics, relationship of people to the planning issue and to each other	Focus exclusively on the client group could take attention away from primary and secondary objectives.
Stage-Based	Categorizes based on stage of the process	Considers time and sequencing, which is important for budgetary and political reasons	Focus on political logistics could cause planners to lose focus on the client group, depersonalization of the process.
Methods-Based	Categorizes based on categories of method types themselves	Straight forward and direct	Isolates methods from other critical considerations of the participatory process including participants and political logistics.

A New Hierarchical Model

Our work has examined both academic and practical literature that addresses the selection of participation methods, and has identified that the current body of literature lacks is a hierarchical model for the selection of participatory methods. Part of the reason

for this is the sheer number of participatory mechanisms that have been developed particularly with recent technological advances, in addition to the lack of definitional clarity when it comes to terminology related to participatory planning and its mechanisms (Rowe and Frewer 2005).

The five categorizations schemes highlight five necessary considerations in the process of selecting of participatory mechanisms, specifically the need to consider level of participation, objectives of the process, participants involved, stage in the context of the political process, and the participatory methods themselves. Yet, in schemes where these considerations are highlighted independently of one another important planning issues not addressed. Rather than using one of these elements as a basis for categorizing and selecting methods, it is necessary to consider participation level, objectives, participants and stage prior to viewing methods themselves. We propose a new model for the categorization of participatory methods that acknowledges the importance of all five elements in relational or sequential conjunction with the *Layers of Participatory Practice.*

After examining four other elements of the participatory planning process, we argue it is important to view methods in an integrative, hierarchal construct in order to understand the many different developments and innovations in participatory methods, the many different forms that methods can take, the way the various methods relate to one another, and how they can be used in conjunction with each other successfully. By viewing participatory methods relationally, as well as considering the other necessary aspects including level of participation, objectives, participants, and stage, planning professionals can understand various methods and subsets of methods that lend

themselves to supporting the unique characteristics of their community. In order for planners and researchers to understand the increasing large, varied and complex body of practices that exist for participatory planning, and utilize them effectively in a planning program, a comprehensive system of viewing methods must be developed to create some order out of the knowledge base. The following section will discuss an integrative classification scheme based on participatory *formats* and *methods*.
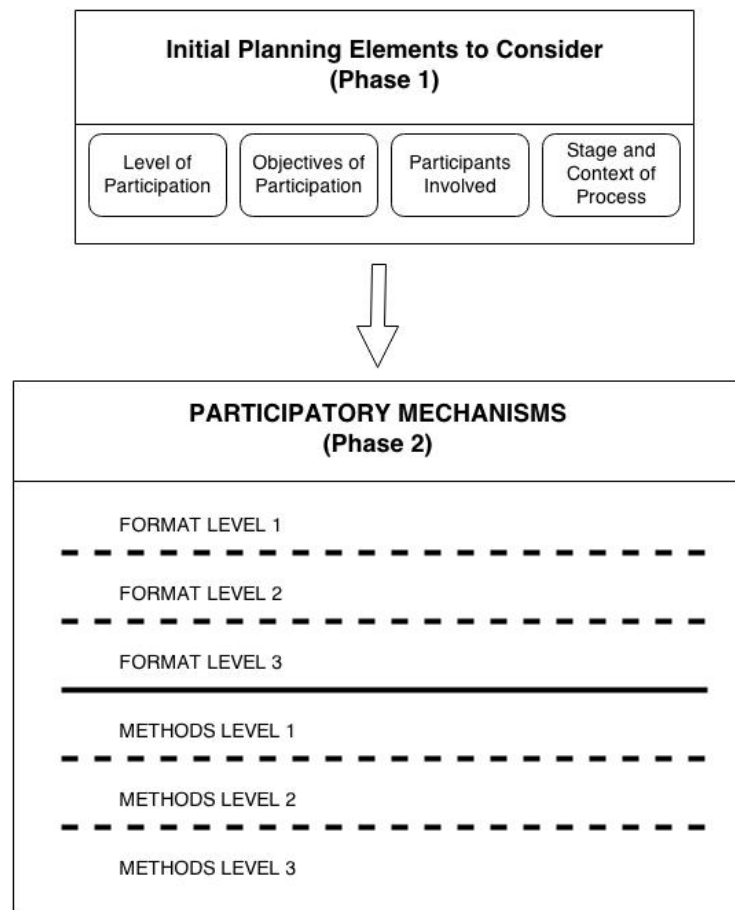
Figure 10: The Layers of Participatory Practice

The Layers of Participatory Practice

As previously discussed, the current literature routinely presents participation methods in general lists that do not organize items into clearly-defined categories in a hierarchical structure (Rowe and Frewer 2005, Quium and Moon 2003, Day, Morris, and Knight 1998, Grabow, Hilliker, and Moskal 2006). This approach has limited utility to the practicing planner who is trying to implement a public participation program. One of the common limitations of these lists is that they often lump together broader methods with specific strategies (Rowe and Frewer 2005, Alterman 1982). For some purposes this is adequate, but in other cases, there is much to be gained from a hierarchical understanding of how more specific techniques fit into broader participation methods.

The proposed way of categorizing methods addresses this issue of the broadness versus specificity of each method and where it may fits within the broad spectrum of participation actives by developing a system that divides participatory practice into two major components: *format* and *methods*.

The purpose of this categorization system is to be user-friendly for researchers as well as practitioners, and to help users to conceptualize the hierarchy of participation methods that they have to choose from to plan their public process. The idea behind this system is for the user to move from the most general to the most specific levels of the process. The user of the scheme, based on their own experience or based on new innovation, may decide to add items in levels where appropriate. For example, innovation with computer technology might result in new methods associated with participatory process, which in turn might result in adding entries to one of the levels. As long as a hierarchy of methodologies remains intact, the system can remain effective.

The concept of the Levels of Participatory Process can lead to a decision-support tree that planners can utilize to select participatory methods, while also considering the objectives of a particular type of participatory process.

The structure of this decision-support scheme is divided into two major components: *format* and *methods*. The *format* component refers to the overall approach that is being taken for the participatory process. The *methods* component deals with the specifics mechanisms that are being utilized for that approach. Each of these two components is divided into three levels (see Figure 10).

Format Level 1

This level deals with whether the participatory process will be based on *direct* or *indirect communication* with the public. This is the highest level in the hierarchy and the most fundamental way in which formats are divided.

Format Level 2

This level deals with three formats that direct or indirect communication may take. These are *public*, *group invitational* or *one-on-one*.

Format Level 3

This level represents each of the ways that public, group invitational or one-on-one communications can be achieved. For example, direct public communication can be achieved in the forms of face-to-face contact, real time technology, or non-real time technology.

Methods Level 1

This level deals with the participatory methods that support each of the entries in Format Level 3. For example, methods for direct communication with the public in a face-to-face format would include workshops, lectures, seminars and conferences.

Methods Level 2

This level deals with variations of the methods articulated in Methods Level 1. For example, lectures, which are found in Methods Level 1, have been developed in a number of different ways. Some variations of lectures found in Methods Level 2 would include oratory lectures and interactive lectures. Workshops, which are a participatory method found in Methods Level 1, have variations such as charrettes, Fishbowl Planning, and Act, Create Experience, which are found in Methods Level 2. It should be noted that in Figure 11, participatory methods that have been trademarked such as Act, Create, Experience appear in a rhombus shape rather than a circle.

Methods Level 3

This level deals with the most specific layer on the hierarchy. This layer consists of specific techniques that be used to implement methods found in the previous layers. For example, surveys can include specific styles of questions, which are found in Methods Level 3. Styles of survey questions found in this level would be ordinal questions, dichotomous questions, Guttman scale questions or contingency questions.
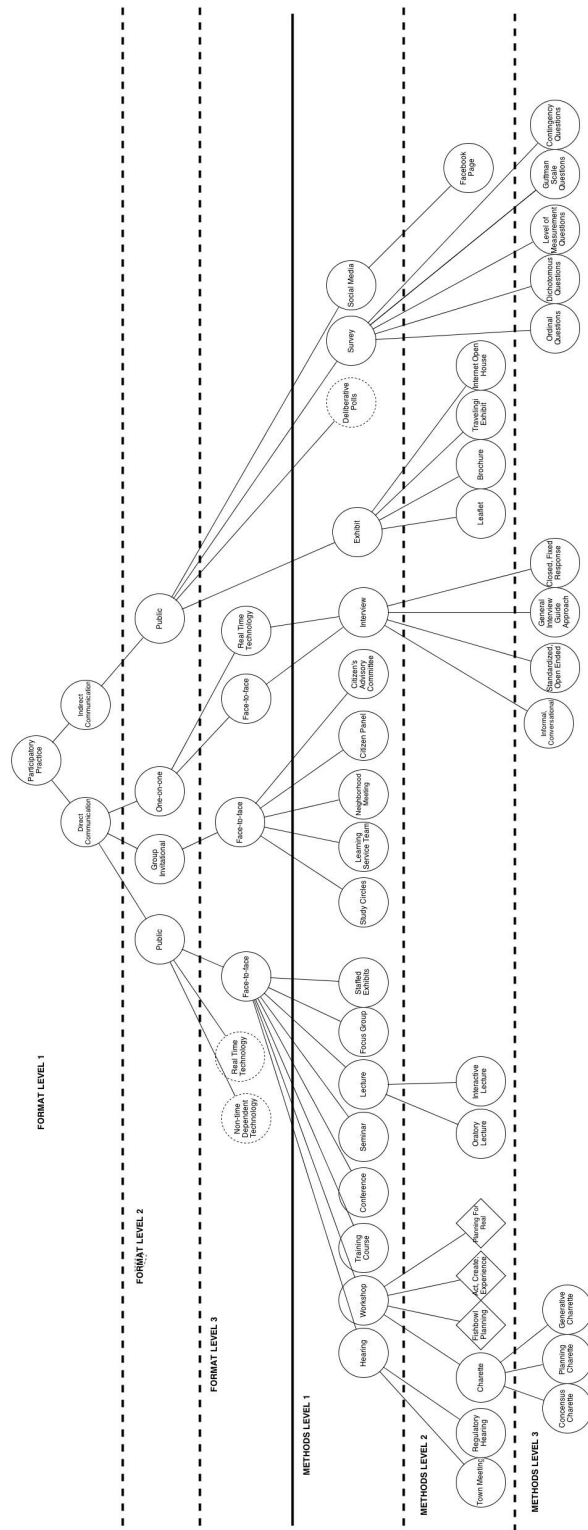
Figure 11. A sample of participatory mechanisms placed into the layers of participatory practice

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Connecting Research and Practice:

Creating a Decision-Support Resource Based on the Integrative Model

The creation of a tool for practitioners based on the integrative model above has the potential to connect the research that is being done on participation to planners and other professionals in a more comprehensive way than previous tools that have been developed. The hierarchical viewing of methods could allow both researchers and practicing planners to more accurately distinguish similar but distinctive methods from one another, thereby allowing input of information on effective use more accurately. Because of the definitional and organizational issues with the presentations of methods previously mentioned, case study information is not always clearly transferable to methods, and cannot necessarily be accurately applied to new participatory planning scenarios in a clear way. In other words, it may not always be clear whether particular attributes of one method used in a case study would be applicable to another version of that method, or the same method referred to by a different name. A relationally and sequentially designed tool could help to address some of these problems.

This idea of viewing and categorizing methods in a hierarchal format is important for integrating research on all of the initial planning elements of the process (levels of participation, objectives, stage, participants), not solely for organizational clarity of methods. For example, many different objectives have been identified for participatory processes, ranging from getting input on a plan, to more subtle objectives such as enabling personal change or more specifically encouraging a more positive self-image through self-expression and decision (Alterman 1982). As more diverse and complex research on participation methods and the objectives they best support is developed, we

need to create a way for enabling research on achieving these more subtle and specific objectives to be effectively integrated into practice, so that the participatory programs may further benefit stakeholders. In order to make a stronger connection between academic research and practical application, the research we are gaining should be placed into an integrative framework, corresponding to the methods that support them. This way, planners can more effectively design programs to meet primary objectives as well as secondary objectives that may be important in the different types of communities with which they are working.

For example, a popular example of a technique used for public meetings is a charrette, which has been identified by researchers as effective method for achieving the objective of generating new ideas and designs (Innes and Booher 2000). For planners that are looking to meet this objective, a charrette may be a useful technique to select for their participatory process. A charette can involve a number of different activities, including work sessions and field visits. During work sessions, planners could look to achieve other objectives such as using sketching to enhance to enhance communication between community members and leaders (Bulmer 2001). Part of a work session could also involve structured games to help achieve secondary objectives related to building human capital like sharing feelings, having participants feel a sense of belonging, emphasizing equality in power within a group, or encouraging honest feedback from everyone involved (Pretty et al. 1995). Integrating more specific exercises like this through an understanding of the interrelational nature of participatory methods and the objectives they best support can help to achieve these.

As another example, a number of researchers have written about topics that relate to special populations and obstacles that they may face in a participatory process. There is work that discusses the role of the minority race planner in working towards a just city (Thomas 2008), trust between planning leaders and community members (Hoppner 2009, Hoppner, Frick, and Buchecker 2007), challenges in group scenarios and particularly experiences for women and people of color (Elsass 1997), limitations for ethnic and racial groups in public participation programs (Beebeejaun 2006), and other important topics that concern social challenges in a participatory planning context. One of the advantages to the model that we propose for understanding and selecting participation methods is that it allows planners to orient not only to primary overall planning objectives, but also to other elements that could lead to improvement some of these types of challenges in the public process. This model framework presents a unique opportunity to distinguish and integrate methods that have been shown as working effectively in participatory with particular groups of people so that planners can achieve a more meaningful and representative process. As we continue to better understand these more subtle social phenomena that take place in the participatory process and research participatory methods that are effective in meeting objectives in a variety of different social circumstances, such research can be placed into the framework appropriately and by utilized by planners in a meaningful way.

Because the model allows for methods that may appear similar to be distinguished from one another, with clearer understanding of how they are distinct from seemingly similar methods, additional case study information about utilizing methods to achieve particular objectives is more effective, as compared to previous limited models that do

not make the relationship between methods as clear. This offers the opportunity for a critical interconnection between research and practice to be strengthened, allowing the lessons learned from case studies of particular participation methods to be reflected in current practices.

<u>**A Case Study for Model Application:**</u>

<u>**The Casetown Open Space and Recreation Plan Update Process**</u>

The following case study is based on a real planning process that occurred in a small town in Massachusetts. For the purposes of this chapter we refer to it as Casetown. Names of organizations and individuals have been changed or omitted to maintain the privacy of those involved in the process.

In 2011, Casetown, a small rural county seat of fewer than 20,000 residents, undertook the task of updating their 2006 Open Space and Recreation Plan. The process was led by an Open Space and Recreation Committee that included 10 members who had various levels of involvement in the town's planning and development activities on a professional basis, a voluntary basis, or both. At various points the committee included representation from Casetown's Recreation Department, Engineering Department, Department of Planning and Development, Historical Committee, and Tree Committee, as well as the Casetown Watershed Association, Northland Regional Planning Organization, Casetown Trails Council, and the Casetown Gazette newspaper. Additional support staff involved in the committee at various points included

representation from the above committees as well as the Casetown Health Department, Conservation Commission, Agricultural Commission, and the County Land Trust, among others.

One of the main responsibilities of the Open Space and Recreation Committee was to lead the public participation process for the Open Space and Recreation Plan update. The Committee was devoted to the participation process and aimed to include members of the public who were interested in the development of the plan, generally believing that, for the plan to be effective, it needed to represent the desires of Casetown residents.

There were two major forms of participatory outreach for the purpose of the Plan update. One was an Open Space and Recreation Survey that residents could opt to fill out in the form of a printed version they received as an insert in their local newspaper or that they could pick up and drop off at a variety of locations, or an electronic version of the same survey that they could fill out (using surveymonkey.com) via links on the town website and Facebook page. The other form of public involvement for the Plan update was a public meeting, at which community members had the opportunity to review the draft of the Open Space and Recreation Plan update draft and voice their thoughts and feedback. In addition, the committee posted public notices, and distributed press releases informing the public about these two participatory planning efforts, as well as informing the public that the Committee meetings were open and any resident was welcome to attend any or all of the Committee meetings.

While the committee was dedicated to involving the public in the process of updating the Open Space and Recreation Plan, it is not clear that the participatory

practices that were planned and executed for the purpose of the Plan update were necessarily chosen to support particular planning issues that were discussed both formally in Committee meetings as well as discussed informally in other settings between Committee members and the public. One of these was the issue of including local youth in participatory efforts and the other was addressing the sensitive issues surrounding use of the (free admission) Casetown Public Swimming Area by non-residents, especially those from urban communities in the region.

The two above issues are examples of participatory planning problems that could benefit from the availability of an integrative framework for selecting methods. While the members of the Open Space and Recreation Committee were committed to public involvement in the plan update, community-minded, well-intentioned, and representative of a wide range of local views, values, and capabilities related to planning and development, they were not experienced in exploring the use of new participatory practices other than meetings and surveys to meet their objectives, nor was it clear that the Committee's time limitations and resources would allow them to do so. However, in Casetown's situation, the use of a comprehensive model that illustrated a range of participatory methods may have aided the committee in effectively selecting appropriate methods that supported specific objectives such as communicating with youth of various ages and working with local teachers to gather opinions from their students. It could have also perhaps identified methods that could help meet more effectively the objectives of communicating with language barriers, building trust, including residents of other communities in local planning efforts, and so forth. Rather than trying to make the standard 'default' participatory practices work for every type of planning issue,

committee members could have explored the possibility of utilizing new methods as part of the participation plan and at least started to communicate more interactively with the public about these two issues and how to address them effectively.

The following sections will outline the issues of youth involvement in the Open Space and Recreation Plan in more detail, discuss relevant literature that has addressed these challenges in the participatory planning process, and discuss the application of the Layers of Participatory Process Model to these participatory planning situations.

The Inclusion of Local Youth in the Plan Update

At various points in the Plan update process the idea of including local youth in the participatory process was discussed formally at meetings as well as informally between committee members and other residents. Youth participation in the planning process has been addressed by a number of planning researchers in the past decades (Frank 2006, Knowles-Yanez 2005, Checkoway, Pothukuchi, and Finn 1995) and there have been calls to involve youth in planning processes, but doing so requires special consideration. Knowles-Yanez highlights some of the reasons for the invisibility of children in the planning process as assumptions about who has interest in the planning process, historic conceptualizations of youth, laws, particularly zoning, that regulates use of urban space by children, and the exclusion of children from public participation (Knowles-Yanez 2005). Frank (2006) reviews various authors have pointed out that traditional planning practices which focus on the needs and preferences of adults my result in youth experiencing segregation in public places and limitations in youth mobility (Lennard and Lennard 2000, Meucci and Redmon 1997, Tonucci and Rissotto 2001), and

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other authors have supported these assertions, claiming that many youth who grow up in cites may feel alienated from their communities (Chawla 2002), or may feel ignored (Spencer, Woolley, and Dunn 2000). Others have pointed out that we cannot assume that the needs of youth populations will be addressed in a planning process geared towards adults as their needs and preferences are different (Talen and Coffindaffer 1999), yet the lack of practice and support of youth participation in comparison to adult participation in planning suggests that, even with knowledge of its importance, there are still significant barriers to the practice of involving youth (Frank 2006, Checkoway, Pothukuchi, and Finn 1995). The marginalization of youth concerns (Knowles-Yanez 2005) and lack of commonly practiced youth participation amongst planning professionals has likely created a self- perpetuating cycle that prevents planners from having an understanding of how to go about easily and effectively involving youth in a meaningful way, particularly in light of other considerations such as time constraints and limited resources (Frank 2006).

Frank's work (2006) summarizes the findings from empirical studies of youth participation in various public planning processes. After reviewing the literature, Frank presents a number of take-home lessons for successful youth participation, presented in the following chart.

Table 14. Lessons for Effective Youth Participation (Taken from Frank 2006)

Lesson	References
Give youth responsibility and voice	(Alparone and Rissotto 2001, Baldassari, Lehman, and Wolfe 1987, Breitbart 1995, Checkoway and Richards-Schuster 2003, Checkoway et al. 2003, Corsi 2002, Horelli and Kaaja 2002, Lorenzo 1997, Schwab 1997, Sutton and Kemp 2002)
Build youth capacity	(Alparone and Rissotto 2001, Baldassari, Lehman, and Wolfe 1987, Checkoway et al. 2003, Lorenzo 1997, Malone 1999, Salvadori 1997)
Encourage youthful styles of working	(Alparone and Rissotto 2001, Baldassari, Lehman, and Wolfe 1987, Horelli and Kaaja 2002, Schwab 1997, Sutton and Kemp 2002, Malone 1999, Corbishley 1995)
Involve adults throughout the process	(Alparone and Rissotto 2001, Baldassari, Lehman, and Wolfe 1987, Checkoway and Richards-Schuster 2003, Corsi 2002, Lorenzo 1997, Schwab 1997)
Adapt the sociopolitical context	(Alparone and Rissotto 2001, Baldassari, Lehman, and Wolfe 1987, Checkoway et al. 2003, Schwab 1997, Salvadori 1997)

In the process of Casetown's Open Space and Recreation Plan Update, the committee's desire to have youth involved stemmed from the observation (and hope) that the area's youth would become frequent users of the recreation areas and with the right type of inclusion in the process, perhaps more young people and their families use the areas. The committee's motivation to seek youth input and ultimately use it to encourage youth visitation to open space and recreation sites was also echoed by the Mayor, who specifically requested that questions for parents related to the schools their children attended and what grade they were in be added to the Committee's survey to understand and encourage youth visitation more effectively.

The committee wanted information on which recreation areas the youth enjoyed and frequented, who they went with, what made these areas appealing, how areas could be improved, and what would motivate them to visit other less popular recreation areas more regularly. There was also informal discussion of the possibility of utilizing the town's open space and conservation areas for nature-based learning. However, despite this desire for various types of youth involvement in planning the future of the these open space and recreation areas, appropriate participatory planning efforts directed towards the local youth were not effectively pursued.

Even though many professionals on the committee had various degrees of experience planning and executing participation programs, various obstacles kept the committee from identifying and executing meaningful and effective ways of involving youth in the plan. The timeframe that the committee was working in to complete the plan, the resources at their disposal, and the limitations of expected and approved methods for involving the public (written surveys and public meetings) did not allow for an exploration of how to involve the Greenfield's youth in the plan. Eventually there was a consensus that high school age youth would have the opportunity to respond to the Greenfield Open Space and Recreation Survey, which would give them the chance to make comments about their favorite places in town, and parents of younger children could answer about the places that they enjoyed going most with their families, essentially answering on behalf of their children. Given the resources available for this project, it was decided that this would suffice for youth participation.

Application of Model: Youth Involvement

Reviews of youth participation studies reveal that the case studies available for review do not represent important types of youth participation, and specifically there is a significant lack case studies of youth participation led by traditional municipal planning process (Schwab 1997). This observation is not surprising given the barriers to involving youth in the municipal planning processes that have been mentioned, many of which were applicable by the Casetown Planning and Recreation Committee, including budgetary constraints, time constraints, legal and political obstacles (Frank 2006, Knowles-Yanez 2005) the challenges in sorting through an overwhelming body of participatory methods that we have discussed at length (Rowe and Frewer 2005). That being the case, to begin considering how to integrate youth into the process we can start by considering the initial planning considerations, as addressed in the model. The initial planning considerations serve as guidelines for navigating one's way through literature on potential participatory methods for youth involvement. Using research like Frank's as well as approaching the selection of participatory methods through the hierarchal model can allow planners to begin isolating opportunities for youth involvement and begin to create a body of case studies from which to learn more about the potential for youth involvement in municipal participatory planning.

Table 15. Initial planning considerations for involving youth in Casetown Open Space and Recreation Plan Update

Level of Participation	Consultation
Objective	To gain youth input on local open space and recreation areas, to encourage youth visitation and usage
Participants	Local elementary age and adult facilitators where appropriate
Stage	Mid-planning process, 6-months until desired deadline for information

Youth Involvement: Format Level 1

If we begin by starting at the top of the Layers of Participatory Practice, the first decision to be made is whether Direct or Indirect participation is appropriate for involving youth in the process the process. Because of the age of the desired participants in this case, and specifically the desire to involve younger K-6 children who require adult supervision, the majority of indirect communication methods can be eliminated. The knowledge that is necessary to navigate one's way through many indirect communication methods, and specifically the use of the internet in methods such as informational town websites, Facebook, Twitter and other online options, would in most cases not be age appropriate for the youth that the committee was attempting to target (O'Keeffe and Clark-Pearson 2011). In addition to the obvious issue of reading comprehension and writing abilities that are necessary to navigate these online tools, there are other reasons why utilizing indirect methods requiring the internet could be inappropriate with younger children. While online opportunities related to civic engagement, education, creativity and social connection can be beneficial to youth, the many risks that are involved with being online related to safety, security, and inappropriate content can outweigh potential benefits for many parents to allow their children knowledge or usage of the internet

(Livingston and Haddon 2009). For these reasons, direct communication would likely be the most effective option for Casetown youth participating in the planning process.

Youth Involvement: Format Level 2

Moving to the next Level of Participatory Practice, Format Level 2, necessitates that the planner choose between public, group invitational, and individual process. As previously mentioned, researchers have highlighted the importance of targeting a participatory process for youth, integrating particular aspects that will allow them how to participate effectively and meaningfully (Frank 2006). As in Format Level 1, when choosing an option in this layer the age of youth again becomes relevant. In the case of elementary age students, group invitational participation initiatives, and specifically, participation initiatives that are done through targeting students in schools, have been shown to be effective in a variety of circumstances (Knowles-Yanez 2005, Consortium 2001). Because many younger (K-6) children do not have access to various means of communication, technology, and transportation in the way that adults do, targeting them through their schools and teachers would be particularly effective. In addition, many schools are embracing styles of learning that involve getting young students involved in communities and doing forms of service learning to encourage them to be active citizens, which of course supports the idea of youth involvement in participatory planning process (Andolina et al. 2001, Billig 2000, Consortium 2001). In Casetown's case, it made sense to go through the areas elementary schools in order to make the process group invitational, and target children and their teachers to get involved in the process.

Youth Involvement: Format Level 3

Several authors have examined the benefits of face-to-face meetings and groups versus other indirect participatory methods in the political decision making process. It has been suggested that face-to-face, direct methods are particularly effective for processes that involve handling more complex issues as well as having other benefits such as being more efficient and cohesive (Scott 1999). In addition, it has been suggested that because of the sensitive, complex, uncertain nature of many processes related to public decision-making, they could be better suited to the natural flow of face-to-face interaction (Gastil 2000). In terms of face-to-face versus indirect communication with youth, it is apparent that the age of the youth matters greatly when identifying whether direct or indirect methods would be preferable. For example, while it has been shown that using computerized means of communication may be a preferable way for teens to communicate if they have experience social anxiety (Pierce 2009), such methods are irrelevant if the youth that are being targeted are not old enough to utilize or access a computer or cell phone. In the case of Casetown, the youth that were being targeted were elementary-aged and therefore it would not be appropriate or efficient to pursue the majority of indirect methodologies for their participation.

Youth Involvement: Methods Level 1

In moving to down the Layers into Methods Level 1, we can consider a variety of different methods that involve direct, group-invitational, face-to-face formats. Some of the options that have been utilized by planners and other professionals at this level include training courses, seminars, staffed exhibits, conferences, focus groups and other

options. At this point in reviewing the available case study literature on methods and the objectives that they can potentially support in the participatory planning process, as well as the available resources including time and money, we can begin to narrow down these choices. For example, in light of the fact that the Committee's main objective for involving youth in the process was not education, they could easily eliminate training courses, conferences and seminars from the possibilities, as education is generally the objective these methods best support. Because the committee was interested in gathering youth opinion, it would make sense narrow down methods through eliminating those that did not lend themselves to supporting this as an objective.

There are several authors who have talked about how to go about gathering public opinion effectively in community planning process and the methods that lend themselves to this objective. Several authors have discussed the importance of smaller groups when it comes to opinion gathering, and have asserted that larger meetings are not an ideal forum for this type of objective (Day, Morris, and Knight 1998), the reason being that at larger meetings the frequent separation that can occur between participants and leaders can hinder the free flow of opinion (Innes and Booher 2000). In addition to the notion of keeping groups for opinion gathering in public processes relatively small to support information flow, it is important to isolate some methods that are particularly effective for youth, and specifically, younger people whose communication skill set may be different from many adults. One of the options that has been shown as being effective in helping participants to *show* how they perceive something rather than communicating verbally through a focus group or interview, is the usage of visual participatory methods. Visual methods can aid in participation with particular groups, including children,

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because often times images are more accessible than dense text or complicated discussion. Participatory visual methods can come in a variety of forms including painting and drawing, sculpting, filming, comic creation, and photography, also known as Photovoice.

Youth Involvement: Methods Level 2

Participatory photography, also known as Photovoice, Picturevoice, or photo journaling, has been shown to be an effective tool used with youth in a variety of different circumstances. The participatory photography process usually involves providing participants disposable cameras, giving them the opportunity to take photos that represent their point of view or their community, and then discussing the photographs in a group setting. This process has been used as tool for engaging youth and giving them the opportunity to communicate concerns and point of view to policy makers (Skovdal 2011, Wilson et al. 2007), and has been shown in several case studies as a promising way to engage youth in social change, and empower them to be more involved in their community. For example, the Youth Empowerment Strategies (YES!) Program, used Photovoice as an integral part of their program to create opportunities for involving youth in civic engagement around issues of shared concern in their neighborhoods and schools (Wilson et al. 2007).

With supervision by adults, participatory photography could potentially be an effective way to gain insight into the places in a community that are important to children, and also serve as a tool for sparking discussion with children (Young and Barrett 2001). This method could also arguably meet several objectives in working with

youth as identified from Frank's lessons, including engaging a youthful style of working, giving youth responsibility and voice, and involving adults throughout the process. Used in conjunction with face-to-face focus groups, which have been shown an effective tool in meeting the objective of issue identification, participatory photography could be a great option for involving youth in a community planning project, and may well have been more effective for engaging youth in Casetown's Open Space and Recreation Plan Update process.
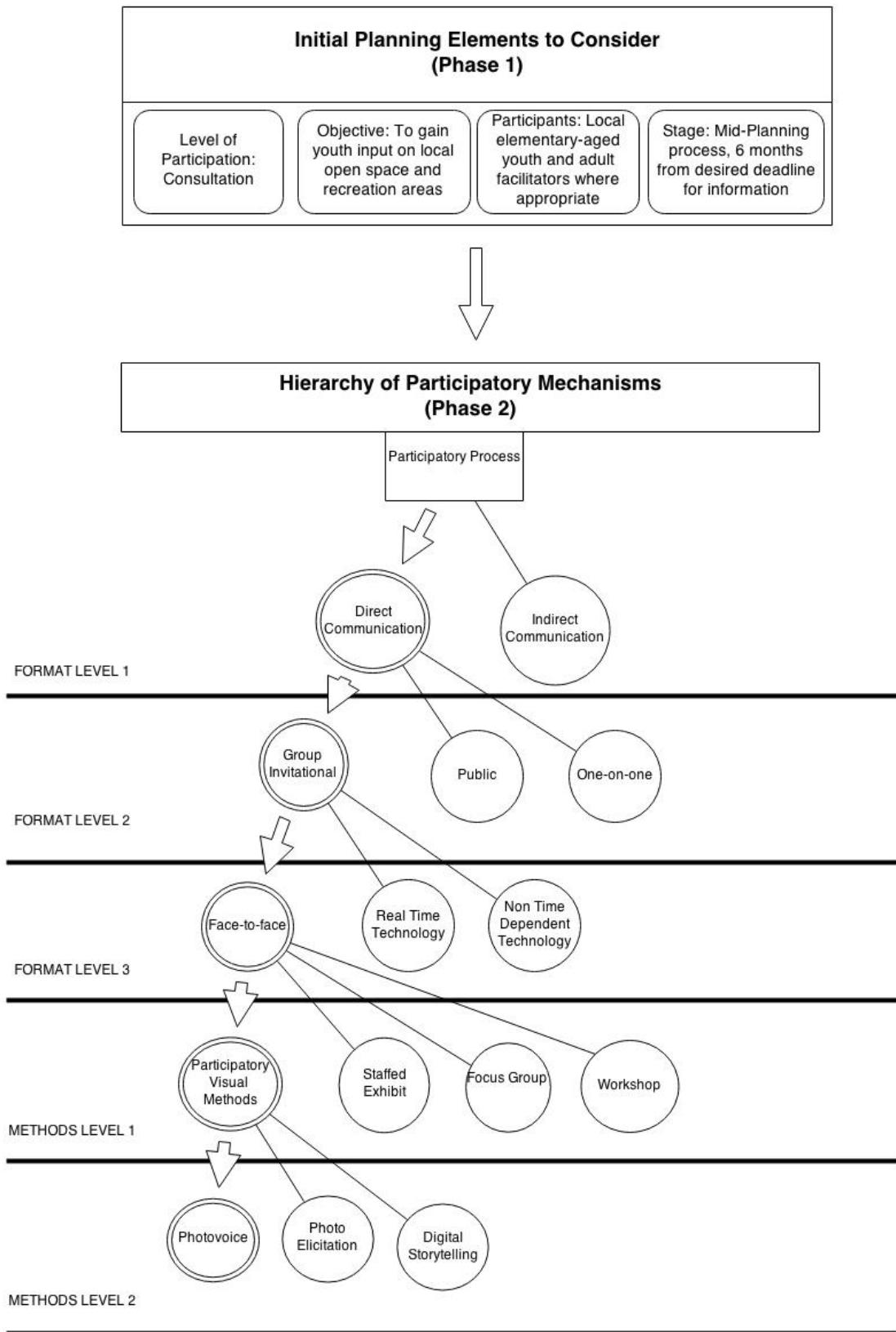
Figure 12. Layers of participatory practice as applied to youth involvement in the Casetown plan update

The Casetown Public Swimming Area

The Casetown Public Swimming Area is a widely used park that includes an in-stream swimming pool, a play area for children, athletic courts, concessions and a picnic area. It is seen by many families as an ideal place to spend many summer days. However, what makes this recreation spot a rather controversial issue is the resentment that many local residents feel because many users of this area are actually residents of Near City, often of different socio-economic and racial-ethnic status, who come with their families to frequent the area in the summertime. There is a feeling on the part of many locals that Casetown residents and their families are unable to enjoy the area because it is being 'overcrowded' with Near City residents who have 'taken it over'.

In addition to the regular challenges that the organizers of participation in municipal planning processes face, issues like this one are especially challenging to approach because of undertones (or blatant signs) of racial tension and cultural differences between members of Casetown residents and the Near City residents, as local-resident 'insiders' and visiting 'outsiders'. While the Casetown Swimming Area issues may be brought up informally among residents, there are a lot of challenges in formally addressing these types of issues in a professional context. Arguably the ideal time to talk about the use of this area is in the context of updating the Open Space and Recreation Plan, but the nature of the problems and likely their accompanying social dynamics kept them from being easily addressed. In addition, the fact that the use of the Casetown Swimming Area effects individuals that are from another municipality complicates matters further. Creating a fair participatory program that includes all those affected by a decision can be even more complicated when including participants that

live beyond the political borders of a municipality (Lawrence and Deagen 2001) and notifying everyone that could be affected by a planning decision about a participation program can be difficult in these scenarios. Differences of race, national origin, and class are often the most high-profile sources of tension, but differences of gender, orientation, age, and ability may often play a significant role as well, not to mention potential conflicts between residents and non-residents, long-term residents and new arrivals, or socially well-networked and socially-isolated. The following section will highlight scholarship on cultural differences of race, ethnicity, and national origin.

Researchers have examined the complicated aspects of dealing with issues of race and cultural difference in various planning situations. The participation of marginalized groups, including people of color, immigrants, or non-majority language speaking groups have been shown as posing a challenging obstacles in the planning process. Such groups are often underrepresented or overlooked because of cultural, social, economic, or demographic reasons. In addition, related issues such as trust between the planners and the participants when there are racial or cultural differences between them, and trust and communication between participants has also been addressed in the planning research literature.

For example, Hoch (1993) discusses that many planning professionals do not give issues such as racism a lot of thought because of the demographic makeup of the planning profession, which is predominantly white, going so far as to say that if planners forcefully pursue racial justice publically in ways that conflict with current practices and community values, their jobs could be at stake (Hoch 1993). Other authors have also discussed challenges in a participatory process involving white planners and participants

of color, specifically how distrust and uneasiness between a minority group and a white planner can go both ways. For example, Elssas and Graves (1997) note that many Americans, despite their liberal and egalitarian attitudes, feel uneasiness or fear around African Americans and other minorities. This uneasiness may come through in participation processes and unfortunately may add to a climate of distrust that may already be present (Elsass 1997, 954).

In addition to the issue of trust between planners and participants, there is the issue of trust between the participants themselves. While the matter of trust is highly relevant in a public participation process with any community, it is particularly relevant when dealing with racial minorities and other historically marginalized groups because it may cause a serious obstacle in the flow of information between planners and participants.

Other research has addressed the challenges in conducting representative participation with a minority groups, and doing participation with larger groups that are made up of both minority and majority group members. For example, planning research has analyzed the role of minority groups including women and people of color in larger groups (Elsass 1997, Beebeejaun 2006, Lo Piccolo 2008, Essed 1991). Navigating various public meetings and participation exercises can be challenging in these situations and strongly affects the information that is extracted during participation. Elsass and Graves assert that diverse decision-making groups may fail to realize their full potential because dysfunctional group processes such as conflict and miscommunication can compromise outcomes. They also note that women and people of color are especially likely to be marginalized in diverse groups. They also bring up the issue of

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categorization of group members. As participants spend time in a group setting, they often consciously or subconsciously categorize one another in certain roles. Because race and gender are often physically prominent characteristics, people use those features for categorizations. Unfortunately stereotypes of women and people of color are often negative or derogatory (emotional, lazy, unintelligent, etc) so they may be thought of as less capable than other members of the group (Elsass 1997).

Another issue that comes up with participant groups with racial or cultural differences is that often people will favor members of similar demographics as themselves.   For example, this means that although several black people in a group may favor one another's views, members the white majority will often favor each other more than others and by nature of being majority stifle and marginalize the minority group during participation (Elsass 1997, 950).   There can also be problems when members of the minority group try to bring up issues and concerns in a group setting. If such concerns have to do with racism, or sexism, not only will people who are uncomfortable dismiss such concerns, but it is possible that due to the fact that the concerns were even raised at all, those members who spoke up will be ostracized from the group and thought of as overly sensitive (963). These issues, and others, are all important for planners who are conducting public participation with mixed groups to consider.

Other relevant elements that have been shown as important in navigating participation with diverse groups include emotion and expression. While many aspects of participation can be looked at in terms of relatively concrete factors such as leadership, funding, methods, materials, and transparency, there has been research conducted on the importance of considering feelings and emotions as part of looking at a public

participation and evaluating it (Harvey 2009). This is relevant in the context of working in participatory planning situations, where issues of distrust and barriers to communication are present. This research could be particularly relevant when working with minority groups because given that these groups frequently have a history of marginalization. Harvey asserts that there are many situations in which ignoring the expression, emotions and specific interactions of participants could potentially "preclude an appreciation of the intensity of participants' experiences" (146). Even the issue of body language can be relevant in participatory processes with diverse groups, as members of minority groups have reported instances of posture and other factors indicating their feedback was as important as other white participants (Essed 1991).

Another challenge in dealing with the above issues is that the average municipal planner running participatory processes may not have meaningful exposure to these issues in their planning education. Often in the planning curriculum, justice issues are presented as part of a generalized course in planning theory and even courses that deal with public participation or planning with multiple publics may not address the above issues in detail or offer students an opportunity to get experience that will prepare them for conducting this type of participation. It is possible that a planning student will get some exposure to these issues in workshops or studios, but beyond that it is unlikely that a student's training can address the practical aspects of social justice. Additionally, issues related to racism or cultural differences can be subtle sensitive and personal, and the correct course of action with such issues is often unique to given circumstances. Learning how to deal with sensitive social issues is something that is acquired much more effectively on the job than in a classroom (Reardon 1998, Thomas 1996). While it

is agreed that dealing with issues like this in a classroom setting can be difficult, some feel that learning how to address them as a planner is a fundamental part of successful city planning (Mier 1994).

Application of the Model: Casetown Swimming Area

Table 16.   Initial planning considerations for addressing challenges related to the Casetown Swimming Area during the Open Space and Recreation Plan update

Level of Participation	Consultation
Objective	To identify solutions that will enable local residents and outside visitors to feel comfortable using the recreation area.
Participants	Local residents and outside visitors, specifically users of Casetown Swimming Area and/or those that desire to use the area more.
Stage	Mid-planning process, 6-months until desired deadline for information

Applying the Layers of Participatory Practice model to selecting participatory methods for dealing with Casetown Swimming Area necessitates examining participatory practice in the context of racial or cultural differences, as well as the potential for or appropriateness of involving people from outside municipalities in a local planning effort. As with the case of youth participation, we do not have a wealth of case studies that show participation being done under these particular circumstances in a traditional municipal planning processes, but examining previous research on related issues and similar situations may allow us to begin building a body of knowledge on how to effectively conduct participation under these circumstances.

Future Developments for the Hierarchal Model

An important step in the future development of this model would be exploring whether it can be converted from a model to an actual tool that practicing planners can use to identify methods for a participation program. While it serves an important purpose as is, creating a user-friendly version that planners can use to isolate the right methods for their process needs further exploration and research. Future developments of this model would integrate additional factors involved in the planning and design of participatory process including elements such as specific budgetary considerations, leadership, venues, and other factors and resources. Testing the framework in a number of case studies will also be an important part of future research. In particular, it is important to further understand how the model functions in circumstances with communities of color, and communities with a wide distribution of income, and how it could function better in such circumstances.

The case studies presented above, while not intended to be fully representative in terms of the wide variety of potential public participation scenarios, may nevertheless be suitably instructive and illustrative of how the Layers of Participatory Practice framework articulated in this chapter may provide effective, practical guidance to planners as well as to other community stakeholders in the process of identifying and selecting appropriate participatory tools and techniques at each stage of decision-making regarding complex, often contentious issues. A comprehensive historical review of the planning literature on participation provided the context of major long-term patterns and trends, which have been framed as a spectrum of classification or categorization schemes. These schemes in turn have required meta-level framing in terms of how each may be organized within an

integrative, interrelational decision-support model, as developed and exemplified in this chapter. The final chapter to follow presents preliminary conclusions from the research, discussion of the implications for planning practice, and potential directions for future research on the topic of public participation strategy and process.

Conclusion

Literature on selecting participation methods appears in a range of publication types and exists in a variety of forms, including academic articles and professional guidebooks. Some authors suggest practitioners should consider a number of different criteria or ask particular sets of questions before deciding on methods for their program. Other authors present detailed charts that offer a structured process for methods selection, at times even placing numerical values on criteria to help select methods. While there is literature that addresses the issue of selecting methods as a part of creating a participation plan, the literature does not include a comprehensive framework that allows planners to view mechanisms in terms of formats that participatory planning can take and methods that can be utilized in such formats. A framework must be developed that allows practitioners to comprehensively view initial planning considerations, including objectives of the process, level of participation, participants involved, and the stage of the process as well as view mechanisms in hierarchal format to accurately illustrate their relationship to one another and their appropriate use. Through the development of such a framework planners can better understand the mechanisms that will be most effective in conjunction with the characteristics of their community and the process itself. As more participatory mechanisms are developed and researched, particularly with current

advances in technology, we must develop a framework that allows for integration of research where it can be effectively adapted to planning practice for the betterment of participatory processes and improvement to plans and policies for our communities.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The practice of involving the public when they are effected by a decision or situation has long been recognized as an important (and required) element of urban and regional planning, and has also become increasingly relevant to a number of other fields related to planning. Due to its rise in popularity and relevance as a research topic across a range of disciplines including public health, public policy, sociology, environmental science and others, a broad body of research related to participatory planning has developed. This historical development has been characterized by a number of significant long-term patterns and trends, in which degrees and kinds of participation have reflected a partial relationship to concurrent disciplinary, professional, political, economic, social, and cultural circumstances.

Many benefits of public participation have been identified in this research literature, including testing the acceptability of new ideas, incorporating local values into plans, negotiating conflicts between interest groups, gaining citizen support, and others. For these benefits to be achieved, however, planners and other professionals need a clearer understanding of the participatory mechanisms that are available and how to select such mechanisms effectively for implementing a program. This is challenging, given the wide range of mechanisms that have been developed in the last few decades, as well as the accompanying challenges involved with categorizing them and presenting them in a way that can inform effective decision-making.

Years ago, understanding participatory practice did not present nearly as much of a challenge, because the range of available academic research and professional practice options were much more limited. This virtue of relative simplicity was counterbalanced by the vice of unrecognized, unaddressed issues of equity and diversity. However, in the last several decades, particularly with the emergence of various social movements and advances in technology, the number of mechanisms has increased extremely rapidly, and with their development has come a body of literature addressing their use, evaluation, the objectives they best support, how they can be taught to students, how they could be used in various social situations, and so on. As the range of methods have developed, the research questions regarding them have become increasingly more complex. Further complicating matters is a growing recognition and exploration of more subtle objectives that could be just as important as direct, policy-driven objectives. Some argue that objectives based on the idea of building human capital such as building self-esteem, getting involved in local politics, and strengthening bonds are as important as changes to policy or plans (Alterman 1982). This potentially adds even more complexity to the organization of participatory practice relative to decision-making processes.

While the rapid development of participatory mechanisms and variations on these mechanisms is critically important in that it offers practitioners new ways of creating meaningful plans and policies that are reflective of the public's priorities, the complexities associated with these developments can also make the planner's job more challenging. The sheer number of participatory mechanisms and their variations can be difficult to navigate confidently in professional planning practice. Definitional issues with divergent terminology associated with various mechanisms can further complicate

matters, and even the terms that are interchangeable for public participation (e.g. public engagement, public involvement, community involvement, community collaboration) make it challenging for researchers to organize, categorize and navigate through this large body of knowledge (Rowe and Frewer 2005) not to mention practitioners and community stakeholders.

Also critical to the study of participation is the connection between research and practice, both within the planning field itself as well as between the various fields that are related to planning and do relevant research on participation. How to connect those who are actually engaged in planning and facilitating participatory practice with research on how to integrate and thereby improve it remains and ongoing exploration that the planning field and other disciplines must undertake if research is to make an effective impact over the long term.

In order to more closely examine the issues above, we reviewed the major pathways that public participation has taken, from its inception in the planning field, to its focus in interdisciplinary research related to planning, and to its practical application through the following approaches, each corresponding to a chapter of this dissertation:

1. A meta-analysis of how public participation research has evolved in the planning literature, the diversification of research topics and how the topics and changes in focus have been influenced by historical events.

2. The ways in which mechanisms for participatory practice have been categorized and selected by planners and other professionals.

3.   The creation of a comprehensive and hierarchical scheme for organizing the various steps of the participatory planning process and to rationalize the selection of participatory mechanisms.

Our first article began by examining how public participation has been addressed in planning literature focusing on the *Journal of the American Planning Association* (JAPA) from its inception in 1935 and the *Journal of Planning Education and Research* (JPER) from its inception in 1981. We looked at publication trends of participation-focused articles, and also examined the various patterns of topic concentration and diversity within the coverage of public participation such as the evaluation of new participatory methods, national and international case studies of these methods with particular communities, and the evaluation of participation programs.

Coverage of public participation followed an apparent trajectory in these journals. The precursor to addressing participatory planning issues directly was the acknowledgement of the increasing importance of the social issues relating to planning in the 1940s, which was followed with more direct coverage of participatory planning in the following decade. In the 1960s there was an expansion of participation literature, corresponding to the expanded social programs and increased focus on identity politics and racial justice occurring at that time, and then publication slightly subsided in quantity and variety in the 1970s and 1980, reflecting the increased sense of public crisis and an emergent private-market, anti-government conservatism at that time. Starting in the late 1980s and gaining influence in the 1990s, attention to participatory process significantly increased, reflecting changes in information and telecommunication technology,

transition to a new knowledge or creative economy, return to support for public programs and broader government policies, as well as the growing importance placed on addressing the topic in the profession as well as the need to address it in planning students' education.

Our work in the first article also highlighted the importance of distinguishing research that directly focuses on public participation from other research from the broad category of social planning research, which usually includes topics such as advocacy planning, gender and race issues in planning, the role of the planner, communicative planning and others. While these topics certainly relate to public participation, the presence of these issues in the literature does not necessarily indicate a focus on public participation directly. Were we to do a review of the way that these journals addressed social planning topics more generally, our analysis would have been much different and the inventory of articles identified as relating to social issues in these journals would have been far more robust than the ones selected as directly relating to participatory practice. We also noted that future research efforts should explore the identification of other major journals that regularly cover participatory planning topics, and how their emergence may have subsequently influenced publication frequency and variety of participation research in JAPA and JPER through the years.

The next issue we examined in our investigation of public participation was how participatory methods are framed for practical use. In the second article of this dissertation, we looked at the many different ways that participatory mechanisms are categorized and presented, and the way that planners and other practitioners view and select participatory methods for their planning efforts. The analysis of our inventory of

categorization schemes for methods revealed five different types of schemes including *level-based schemes, objective-based schemes, methods-based schemes, stage-based schemes,* and *participant-based schemes.*

Once these schemes were identified and collected, they were analyzed for their comparative advantages and limitations. We found that each offered a unique and important focus for the practitioner to consider in planning a participatory program, but suggested that an effective model for practice would integrate each of these schemes to offer a more comprehensive approach. Additionally, we found that without a hierarchical viewing of methods, practitioners were unable to view the full body of methods available to them to consider their appropriate use for a participatory planning program.

Finally in the third article, we built on the research of the first two articles to establish a new comprehensive and hierarchical model for participatory practice. This model, The Layers of Participatory Practice framework, conceptualizes participatory mechanisms in a way that addresses some of the limitations and deficiencies of previously explored categorization schemes. Through the consideration of four initial planning elements, including the level of participation, the objectives, the participants, and the stage of the process, followed by a hierarchical viewing of participatory mechanisms, we suggested that practitioners can have a more effective and comprehensive understanding of how to plan their public participation. Our hope is that a more comprehensive decision-support framework of mechanisms can allow for more successful and representative participatory practice, enabling the implementation of plans and policies that are more reflective of the public's needs and priorities.

This dissertation divided participatory practice research into three articles linked in a continuum from past to future. We began by looking to the past, reviewing history and highlighting how planning has addressed participatory practice in the context of key historical events. The second article dealt with the present participatory practice, dealing with specific categorizations and analysis of the current methods utilized in the participatory practice process both by planners and other professionals. The third article built on the foundation established by the first two articles in order to develop a new model for participatory planning application. The articles of this dissertation fit together along two intersecting axes presenting a continuum from past to future and from theoretical to practical.

Future research holds many possibilities for further exploration of the topics we explored, and in particular, the development of a tool for practitioners based on the model developed in the third article. Potential topics for further investigation may include study of methods for monitoring and evaluating the relative effectiveness of participatory strategies and techniques; study of the more subtle, indirect, informal benefits of public participation and how best to adapt participatory processes to realize such benefits; study of which participatory methods may be more appropriately suited to particular cohorts within communities (e.g., based on differences of race, gender, class, age, ability, etc.); and study of reflexive practice, i.e., participatory processes for evaluating and improving the effectiveness of participatory processes. This research is the beginning of a journey towards a stronger connection between participatory research and practice, laying the groundwork for a clearer pathway for planning students and professionals, as well as community stakeholders, to integrate research on participation into their practice and

creating more effective and representative decision-making processes for implementing

plans and policies for communities.

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