

# **CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ROLES IN ORGANIZATIONAL HIERARCHY**

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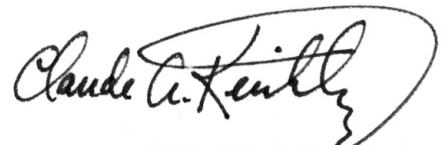
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this report is to examine the issues and constraints of citizen participation in the context of city planning at the local level. To accurately examine citizen participation at the local level one must examine it in context with the national level. The scope of this report is to examine citizen participation in the context of organizational and decision making theory, politics and power. The sources used for this report are published literature in the field of planning and political science. This report will show that there are numerous barriers erected by organizations and administrators that prohibit citizen participation. The final analysis of this report indicates that a restructuring of the organization with the authentic public participation model is a viable alternative, which could produce a significant increase in citizen participation.



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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this report is to examine the issues and constraints of citizen participation in the context of city planning at the local level. To accurately examine citizen participation at the local level one must examine it in context with the national level. The assumption of this report is that national governmental policies and procedures, as well as, its organizational structure, directly impact local governments and its agencies. A second assumption is that the concepts of democracy and representation are directly transferred from the national government to local level governments. The structure of this report is to examine the big picture (national level) and then narrow the scope to the smaller picture (local level) within each chapter.

In a democracy, citizen participation is the fundamental right and privilege of every citizen. For democracy to function properly these rights and privileges must be applied. However, as this report will demonstrate, American citizens do not participate in government for a number of reasons. To explain why there is a lack of participation we must go back to the conception of our government. The Founding Fathers established a structure of government that was not created on direct democracy but rather based on representational democracy. "The founders saw the common people as theoretically creatures of reason, but in practice driven by selfish interests, and therefore in need of representation" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 32). This concept is deeply planted within our American political system. The founders did this for a number of reasons, all of which were foundations for a lack of citizen participation. Chapter 2 will examine citizen

participation within a historical context, and apply relevant organizational or decision making theories.

Chapter 3 will examine the growth of anti-government sentiment that has grown in the last decade. Citizens generally feel distrust and disconnection to their government. There are a number of reasons for this, but the anti-government sentiment is reflected by the growing lack of citizen involvement in their government. It is essential for planning that citizens participate in the process. There are a number of reasons why citizens feel distrust with their local planning agencies. In the United States, individualistic values run strong, as well as, the *right* of property ownership. Planners deal with both of these values in very direct ways. By regulating and establishing land use laws, we have an impact on these values. The possibility of inciting anti-government sentiment runs high in city planning.

Chapter 4 will examine roles and relationships within the context of power. King and Stivers (1998), will point out that neither citizens nor administrators are comfortable with these relationships and roles. One of the fundamental reasons for this lack of cooperation comes from a gap in information and knowledge. This gap leads to a disconnection between administrators and citizens. The field of planning is complex and technical in nature; as such, planning is at high risk of alienating citizens.

The purpose of Chapter 5 is to examine the strengths and weakness of participation models and methods as they pertain to city planning agencies. Two models of participation will be examined in this report; they are authentic public

and hybrid. For the purposes of this report, each model and method will be defined and a critical analysis will be performed.

Chapter 6 will provide an analysis of all other chapters. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the reasons why citizens fail to participate and what, if anything, can be done to reverse this trend. This report does not claim to be all inclusive of all the issues and constraints affecting citizen participation. Thus, additional readings and sources will be provided for the reader for further examination. The conclusions drawn are those of the author, based upon the research contained herein and the perceptions and analysis of the author.

Chapter 7 will determine the role of the city planner, and determine how he/she can move towards authentic citizen participation.



## **CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

The evolution of participatory democracy will be examined in six stages, as follows: 1) founders, 2) gentlemen, 3) spoils system, 4) progressive reform, 5) war on poverty, and 6) reinventing government. As part of this examination, it is relevant to include the corresponding organizational and decision making theory.

### **Founders (1776-1789)**

The Articles of Confederation were drafted with the explicit purpose of limiting national governments powers; the states were to reign supreme. State legislators elected Congressmen, whose roles were essentially that of state ambassadors. Under the Articles of Confederation, the national government lacked the power of taxation. The national bureaucracy was “set up as rudimentary, with no authority to act on its own or enforce much of anything” (Henry, 1999, p. 4). The national government and the established bureaucracy were so rudimentary that they failed to be effective or efficient.

At the time of the Constitutional Convention, the founders articulated different opinions on the role and scope of government and its citizens. The federalist papers make it clear that due to the physical size and social complexity of the new country, direct participation by citizens was not feasible.

“Representation would not only make it possible to extend government over a larger area, but by restricting citizen involvement to the selection of representatives, would refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens, whose wisdom may best discern the true interest of their country” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 50).

Federalist believed that ordinary citizens neither were interested nor qualified in matters of governance.

Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, two influential leaders of the time, had conflicting viewpoints on the role of the national government and its citizens. Hamilton lobbied for a strong chief executive. Congressmen (White property owning males) were to be well educated, businessmen, entrepreneurs and from the upper class, elites of society. He foresaw the national bureaucracy as strong and powerful. Bureaucrats were to be professional and well educated. Department heads were to have tenure, possess powers and be well paid for their expertise. Government was to be dynamic in structure and scope.

“Hamilton argued that as people grew accustomed to national authority in the common occurrences of their political life, familiarity would put in motion the most active springs of the human heart and win for the national government the respect and attachment of the community” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 50).

Hamilton’s vision of a strong, vital, dynamic, elite form of national government structure was never fully realized during his lifetime.

Thomas Jefferson argued for localism, as he foresaw the strength of the national government in terms of communities. Participation by the common male (White) was central to his belief system. Any man who possessed the abilities had the right to participate and to have an active role in governance. Unlike Hamilton, Jefferson had a strong distrust of bureaucracies. In the end, Jefferson’s viewpoints like Hamilton went unrealized.



Following all of the debate, the founders established a national government that was small and weak by design. The executive and the legislative branch had limited powers. The constitution is vague in regard to the bureaucracy and to which branch (executive or legislative) ultimately has control. This will be a fundamental issue of debate for years to come.

Prior to the American Revolution, municipalities had considerable powers, such as: "Mechanism of dispersal of royal grants, independent corporation (control and dispose of land within their boundaries) and broad powers to control economic activities" (Levy, 1994, p. 29). City planners (elites) were given the power of establishing orderly and gracious land use patterns. Elites chosen by the British government ruled the municipalities. Ordinary citizens were not involved in policy making or implementation.

#### **Government by Gentlemen: (1789-1829)**

This stage begins with the inauguration of President George Washington, who had the task of establishing the first executive branch. The Constitution was vague in providing guidance for appointments to offices in the executive administration and to the bureaucracy. The pattern that Washington established remained in place until Andrew Jackson's presidency.

Society was highly stratified in the United States during the time of Andrew Jackson. There was a vast gap between those with large personal incomes (upper class) and those without substantial income (lower class), with virtually no middle class within society. "All men were far from equal in social or economic or political terms" (Moser, 1982, p. 58). The primary occupation of workers in the

country was in the field of agriculture. The “elites” in society were large landowners, merchants, exporters, aristocrats and entrepreneurs. Washington’s appointees came from this elite class.

Moser (1982) states, “the goal of the national government was for egalitarianism” (p. 58). The goal of egalitarianism is to “provide equal rights and protections for all” (Oxford, 1998, p. 183). This is an interesting goal when you consider Washington’s pattern of appointments. Egalitarianism was never fully realized during this time and it can be debated whether it ever obtained its true meaning within our system of governance.

King and Stivers (1998) state, the national government was “generally small and weak, the ambiguity of the Constitution about the proper role of administration planted the seeds of what would become a continuing struggle between the executive and Congress for control of administrative agencies, one that created a space in which agencies set about developing power resources of their own” (p. 51). Moser (1982) states that there are two broad categories of personnel: “High ranking official and workers in field offices” (p. 58). High ranking officials were appointed by the President and were from the elite class of society. Workers in the field were from the upper and middle classes of society. Workers in the field were less influential in shaping the new government. During this time, the primary role of the national government was to deliver mail, national defense, tax collection and securing new territories.

After the Revolution, the power shifted away from the municipalities to the state. Municipalities became “creations of the state, possessing, only those

powers granted them by the states” (Levy, 1994, p. 29). The Constitution, specifically the Fifth Amendment guaranteed the right of private property. “The protection of private property rights limits the capacity of a municipality to control development on privately owned land” (Levy, 1994, p. 29). City planning during this time was primarily focused on commercial land uses, with little attention afforded to residential areas. “Commercial elites of the city” (Levy, 1994, p. 29) controlled municipal planning. Citizens (White males) participated in government primarily through their voting privileges.

During this time, the organizational theory that best describes the national government is the elite/mass model. In this model, ruling elites are in positions of authority; they pass policies and laws down to the masses. Elites “share common values and it is in their interest to preserve the status quo” (Henry, 1999, p. 349). The masses typically apathetic and information passed down to them is distorted and manipulated. Preserving the status quo is a key function of the elites. Change occurs incrementally, rapid change never occurs within this model. Elites are replaced with other elites, even when values change, the system is slow to react, thus, preserving the status quo and keeping the masses from entering into the policy and decision making process. By examining Figure 1, it is apparent that information, policies, laws and input only travel in one direction, downward. Citizen input and feedback is not sought, nor is it possible.

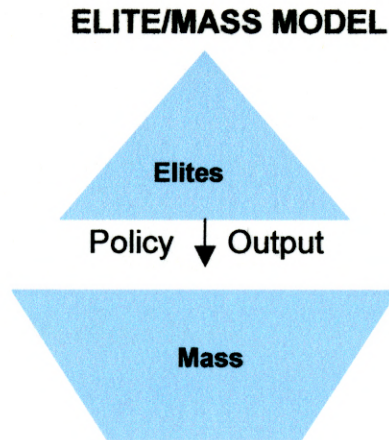


Figure 1: Elite/Mass Model

Source: Nicholas Henry, *Public Administration and Public Affairs*, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, 1999, p. 349.

### **Spoils System: (1829-1906)**

This stage begins with the inauguration of President Andrew Jackson. With his election, Jackson had the opportunity to enact his theories of democracy. He began by reforming the pattern of setting appointments, which had been in place since Washington's presidency. Moser named Jackson's new system of appointing as the "doctrine of simplicity" (1982, p. 65), which is defined as follows:

"The duties of all public offices are so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance; and I (Jackson) cannot but believe that more is lost by long continuance of men in office than is generally to be gained by their experience" (Moser, 1982, p. 65).

Jackson had in essence changed the capacities and roles of citizens and administrators. He opened the administration to public participation; however, it would be naïve to assume that all citizens shared equally in this new system (spoil system). Moser points out that there were pitfalls to the spoils system, which were: "1) Periodic chaos (which attended changes in administration); 2)



incompetence; 3) high demand on the president following an election to make multiple appointments; and 4) the growing conflict between executive and legislative branches over appointments” (1982, p. 65). “Jackson’s efforts to democratize public service were only moderately successful because the pool of qualified potential appointees was still limited” (Moser, 1982, p. 65). For all of the above reasons the spoils system failed to be effective or efficient, as it failed to be responsive to the needs and interest of the citizenry

Urban areas throughout the United States were experiencing the Industrial Revolution, with all of its consequences. City “cores” were experiencing rapid growth and due to this rapid growth, the core areas experienced many critical problems, including: “Lack of proper sanitation disposal, public health issue (disease such as malaria, yellow fever and typhus), overcrowding, high density dwelling units, lack of open space and traffic congestion” (Levy, 1994, p. 31). City planning was being controlled by the elites of society who were interested in commercial and Industrial activities and not social issues.

Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century citizens had positive attitudes toward government. However, by the end of the century, attitudes had begun to change. The key factors that led to these changes were barriers erected to limit public life to certain segments or groups of the population. Barriers included: “Jim Crow laws, literacy tests, poll taxes, voter registration and laws that barred immigrating Asians from citizenship” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 13). Other factors that impacted citizens attitudes were the collapse of the Populist movement in 1896, negative social consequence emanating from Industrial Revolution and the

development of clientele politics. In the latter half of the century there is a shifting away from broad based political campaigns to a narrower focus on interest groups and political machines. This shifting alienated and displaced ordinary citizens and hampered their ability to participate.

### **Progressive Reform: (1883-1937)**

The Pendleton Act passed in 1883, signified a change in direction for the national government, as a response to the corruption and inefficiency of the spoils system. It required new criteria for entrance into the civil service. The act required competitive examinations for entrance into civil service that were practical in nature and were politically neutral. The act embraced the concept of egalitarianism; which embodied the focus or primary principle of providing equal opportunities for all.

In 1887, Woodrow Wilson wrote an essay entitled "The Study of Administration". He introduces the politics—administration dichotomy, in which politics and administration are to be distinct and separate from each other. Elected officials and administrators have separate organizational roles, elected officials make policy and administrators implement those policies. "Insulation of administrative staff from elected officials is important both to eliminate corruption and to avoid the inefficiency that results when elected officials interfere with the details of administration" (Svara, 1995, p. 5). Wilson places "emphasis on administrative expertise reversing the viewpoint of direct involvement of ordinary citizens" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 53). Administrators were required to be professionals in their fields and use expert methods in the positions. Wilson

believed that administrators were accountable to the citizenry; however, the citizenry were not to become officious.

Efficiency became the goal of public administrators and government officials; the scientific management movement came out of this desire for efficiency. The pursuit of economy and efficiency as the key objectives of the public administration school of thought is best reflected in the work of Fredrick Taylor. Taylor focused on private industry and prescribed a science of management that incorporated specific steps and procedures for implementation. There are four underlying values: "efficiency, rationality, specialization and quantitative measurement" (Moser, 1982, p. 75). Taylor believed that there was "one best way" to perform any particular task, through scientific research, and that method could be discovered and applied. He maintained that the ideal method for performing a certain task could be taught to workers responsible for the task, and that the scientific selection of workers for their capabilities in performing the task would be the most rational way to achieve the organizations overall objectives. He relied on time and motion studies, which concentrated on identifying the most economical set of physical movement's associated with each step of a worker process. The criticism of Taylor's scientific management theory is that he views the worker as a piece of the machine. He doesn't seem to incorporate into his theory a human side. King and Stivers (1998) state, "trust in a knowledgeable elite grew out of increasing reliance on science, and on those who could practice it or apply it to address difficult issues of Industrialization and

technological progress” (p. 54). However, due to the increased reliance on science and technology, ordinary citizens were silenced during this movement.

The concept of “equality in planning” emanates back to the Industrial Revolution when conditions for living were unsafe, unhealthy, and failed to account for the general citizens best interest. Equality is not a theory or movement per se, it is a goal or the building block from which theory and movements are developed. The “Progressive Era” is the time when reform focused on the living conditions of urban citizens. During this time municipal reform concentrated on the following factors: Building codes, housing, social conditions, overcrowding, safety issues, and health issues.

Open space and parks were considered a factor for promoting a higher or better quality of life. The City Beautiful Movement promoted the concept of American cities becoming a place of beauty. The movement used artificial naturalistic landscapes and eclectic architecture. The movement was a reaction to the Industrial Revolution and an attempt to show that cities did not have to be dingy, dirty places of human habitation. The movement promoted the need for professional planners, who could plan for rapid growth and technological changes, while creating a more aesthetically pleasing environment for work and play.

Urban Planning in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century seemed to emerge as a promising field of professionalism. In 1917, the American City Planning Institute was established. This institute was comprised of landscape architects, realtors, educators, public officials, economists and private citizens. There seemed to be



a common denominator among the group, which was the “fact that cities and local communities had increasing problems which existing institutional structures were unable to deal with or even comprehend” (Levy, 1994, p. 97). A key factor to why public planning failed to meet past challenges is the fact that private developers influenced the political structure of the organization. This political influence led to public planners implementing without change or question the private developers designs of residential and commercial developments.

### **War on Poverty: (1960-1970s)**

In 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act was passed by Congress. In essence, this act established the “War on Poverty.” The act required “maximum participation by the poor in governmental programs aimed at solving their problems” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 54). One of the key issues with this act was in the way public administrators interpreted it. In many cases, it became an instrument for achieving administrative objectives rather than a tool for collaboration and citizen participation. “Generally speaking, citizens came to be seen as clients or consumers, whose needs and demands, although legitimate, tended to compromise the rational allocation of resources and the impartiality of standardized procedures” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 54). Citizen participation was seen as a “cost of doing business” instead of as a viable source of information and as an asset to the decision making process. Citizens believed that their participation was not welcome and was seen as a hindrance to the process.

In *Administrative Behavior*, Herbert Simon describes “administration as the art of getting things done” (1997, pg. 5). He introduces the concept of “bounded rationality”, which states that administrator’s satisfice rather than

maximize. Administrators do this because it is impossible for them to have all the knowledge to choose from an undefined number of alternatives in the decision making process.

Simon (1997) states, "decisions which the organization makes for the individual ordinarily, specify his function, allocate authority, and set limits of choice" (p. 23). Specialization, division of labor and a vertical hierarchy characterize the organization. This vertical structure requires coordination and promotes accountability. Simon describes decision making as to refer to the facts and values that enter into the decision fabricating process, "a process that involves fact finding, design, analysis, reasoning and negotiation, all seasoned with large quantities of intuition and even guessing" (1997, p. 33). Simon's work is significant because it provides an explanation for how administrators form their decision making skills. Since it is impossible for anyone to know all the answers and alternatives, the best we can do is satisfice.

If Simon is correct then professional planners work within the guidelines of "bounded rationality". The impact of Simon's theory on the planners is significant and far reaching. Planners will be unable (by human cognitive capacity and organizational structure) to formulate all alternatives for a given problem or issue. If the public planner is working within a tight hierarchical structure, they may be unable to see the larger picture. Since the organizational structure limits choice the city planner may not be given the alternative to solve problems and issues.

In 1957, Anthony Downs wrote *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. This is a rational approach to decision making, since it is derived from economic

models of decision making. Downs introduces us to the rational man, who has the following five key abilities:

- 1) "Can always make a decision when confronted with a range of alternatives;
- 2) Knows the probable consequences of choosing each alternative;
- 3) Ranks all alternatives in an order of preference;
- 4) Always chooses the highest-ranked alternative;
- 5) Always makes the same decision each time the same alternatives are present" (1957, p. 24).

The rational decision maker will search for all possible alternatives and objectively weigh alternative solutions before selecting the best possible one. Thus, the rational decision maker maximizes his decision making capability.

According to Down's model city planners would be able to successfully work within the organizational structure. If Down's model is correct planners are capable of knowing all the alternatives and consequences and able to focus on issues and problems concerning citizens within they're given communities. However, it is impractical to assume that city planner have the capacity, time and resources to search for all the alternatives, or to know the impact of all decisions related to implementation of the various alternatives in the future.

In 1959, Charles Lindblom wrote "The Science of Muddling Through". He describes two approaches that public administrators use in policy design and implementation. These two approaches are called the root and branch methods. The root method is described as:

- 1) "Values are ranked in order of importance;
- 2) Rank all policy outcomes: more/less efficient values; values from members of society;
- 3) Outline all possible policy alternatives;
- 4) Rank alternatives;
- 5) Make the choice that maximizes your values" (Faludi, 1994, p. 154).

The problem with the root method is that it assumes intellectual capacities and sources of information that administrators don't necessarily have available to them. It is very time and resource intensive. In the root, method exclusion is accidental, unsystematic and is not defensible. This is true because this method is very systematic and represents a complete analysis of policy design and implementation.

The branch method is described as:

- 1) "Has a principal objective;
- 2) Might be a compromise, or complicated by other goals;
- 3) You do not rank values;
- 4) Rank policy alternatives (few in numbers);
- 5) Rely heavily on your past record and experience by using small policy steps to predict consequences;
- 6) Choice among values and the instruments for policy design and implementation" (Faludi, 1994, p. 154)

Lindblom believes that public administrators should use the branch method, since it is more reasonable and more adaptive to real world issues. He

believes that public administration is best served by taking small incremental steps in policy design and implementation. Since as humans our cognitive knowledge is limited, this is the only practical way for us to resolve complex issues. Another reason for using incrementalism is that we have a two party political system that can agree on a broad policy design, however they differ on policy alternatives and implementation. Thus, by taking small incremental steps the structure of the organization is only able to make small structural changes at any given time. Radical change is impossible with this method.

During this time we have the War on Poverty Reform, and the academic writings of Simon, Downs and Lindblom. All four of these topics were trying to deal with the impacts of Taylorism. Taylorism was inhuman and as such, workers rights began to surface as a fundamental issue. Taylorism not only effected how workers functioned, it also had a social impact on society. There was a division of labor and specialization. Each led to social conditions that impacted the entire organizational workforce. Within each division of labor, you have social groupings and functions. This led to a hierarchy of social classes within the organization and a formal class structure outside of the organization. The War on Poverty addressed the issues outside of the organization, and the academic writings addressed the issues inside of the organization.

During this time there was growing distrust in all levels of government, because of events, such as Watergate and the Vietnam War. The Civil Rights movement was underway, which impacted every level of government. Local level governments were faced with the realization that citizens wanted and even

demanding to be part of the policy making process: Even marginal groups within the community demanded to be part of the process. Marginal groups such as low-income, women and minorities wanted to participate in the policy process on issues that impact their lives. Planners during this time came to the realization that all groups of citizens within their jurisdiction wanted to be heard and their concerns and values were to be considered. Citizen participation grew during this time because of current events and because marginal groups were demanding to be represented in the process.

### **Reinventing Government: (1980-Present)**

The reinventing era began with the inauguration of President Ronald Reagan. Reagan's campaign platform focused on the reduction of "big government" by privatizing many functions of government. Reagan believed that government should be streamlined to function like the private sector. He wanted to reduce the scope of governmental control on the private sector with the hope of stimulating the economy and streamlining services. In the process, many social and environmental programs were eliminated or suffered extensive funding cuts.

During this time household "incomes were stagnate, while the price of housing increased threefold, pricing many families out of the market" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 20). The financial and economic market became globalized. Globalization caused industries and commercial sectors to change the way they did business, to compete on a worldwide scale. "Low skilled jobs migrated to other countries" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 21), leaving many communities in an



economic crisis. Corporations began massive downsizing of the employee base, which became possible with the introduction of new technologies. King and Stivers (1998) stated, “downsizing effects extend beyond the immediate economic impact, no longer, does job loyalty, an advanced education, or experience guarantee improved economic well being” (p. 22). The American Dream, the “belief that in hard work lies the promise of opportunity, virtue and greater wealth, regardless of economic class, race, or sex, that nourished our market system” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 23) was beginning to fade from middle class realities.

President Clinton established the National Performance Review (NPR) during his presidency. The NPR focused on “entrepreneurialism and aimed at achieving results that cost less and worked better” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 26). One of the primary focuses of NPR was the reduction of red-tape in the bureaucracy. It didn’t take long for bureaucrats to figure out that the reduction of red-tape meant the reduction of jobs. This resulted in low morale among bureaucrats at the national and local level.

Both Presidents Reagan and Clinton used the theory of privatization to gain support of the American people. However, “changes in the attitudes of Americans toward their government have deeper roots than can be reached by downsizing, moving welfare to state level, or privatization” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 26). Many national and local level governments have discovered privatization doesn’t necessarily mean more effective or efficient ways of doing business.

In the 1990's the United States experienced an anti-growth movement, which changed the direction of city planning through seven dimensions, which are identified as: "Neighborhood activism, environmentalism, the citizen tax revolt, cutbacks in national aid, growing concern about infrastructure backlogs, proliferating national and state mandate, and new perceptions emerging from the progress of fiscal impact analysis" (Altshuler, 1993, p. 124). These dimensions led to increased public involvement in city planning and more political involvement in the process.

Gareth Morgan in his book entitled *Images of Organization* presents the political theory relevant to this era. Morgan states that all organizations are political systems (1999, p.154). He defines political systems as: "Ways must be found to create order and direction among people with potentially diverse and conflicting interest" (Morgan, 1999, p. 154). Within the public organization politics occurs on an ongoing basis. Morgan analyzed organization politics in a systematic way by focusing on relationships between conflicts, powers, and interests.

When analyzing interests "we are talking about predisposition embracing goals, values, desires, expectations, and other orientations and inclinations that lead a person to act in one way rather than another" (Morgan, 1999, p. 161). One method that has specific relevance for understanding organizational politics is to envision interests in terms of interconnected domains relating to one's organizational task, career, and personal life. The tensions existing between these different domains and how the individual pursues these interests in



relationship to their work is inherently political. As political content increase, we begin to recognize the existence of other players, each with their own individual agendas. Morgan's political metaphor encourages us to see organizations as loose networks of people with divergent interests who gather for the sake of expediency. The gathering together of employees leads to the formation of coalitions, and coalition building. "Coalitions arise when groups of individuals get together to cooperate in relation to specific issues, events, or decisions, or to advance specific values and ideologies" (Morgan, 1999, p. 169). More often than not, one dominant coalition controls policy making. All coalitions strive for a balance between the rewards and contributions necessary to sustain membership and a balance usually influenced by factors such as "position, age, education, values, and attitudes" (Morgan, 1999, p. 169).

Conflicts will arise whenever interests collide. Conflicts will always be present in organizations. They may be built into organizational "structure, rules, and stereotypes or arise over a scarcity of resources" (Morgan, 1999, p. 170). "People must collaborate in pursuit of a common task, yet are often pitted against each other in competition for limited resources, status, and career advancement" (Morgan, 1999, p. 170). Within organizations conflicts often become institutionalized in the "stereotypes, attitudes, values, rituals, beliefs, and other aspects of the organizational culture" (Morgan, 1999, p. 170).

How do public organizations resolve conflicts? The answer is with power. Power is the environment through which conflicts of interest are ultimately resolved. Morgan listed fourteen sources of power, as seen below in Table 1.

## SOURCES OF POWER

- 1) Formal authority;
- 2) Control of scarce resources;
- 3) Use of organizational structure, rules, and regulations;
- 4) Control of decision processes;
- 5) Control of knowledge and information;
- 6) Control of boundaries;
- 7) Ability to cope with uncertainty;
- 8) Control of technology;
- 9) Interpersonal alliances, networks, and control of informal organization;
- 10) Control of counter-organizations;
- 11) Symbolism and the management of meaning;
- 12) Gender and the management of gender relations;
- 13) Structural factors that define the stage of action;
- 14) The power one already has.

Table 1: Sources of Power

Source: Gareth Morgan, *Images of Organization*, 1999, p. 171.

Morgan believes that these sources of power are shaped by the dynamics of organizational life. Within an organization, all power sources may/or may not be present. The reason that not all sources of power are present will be a reflection of interests and conflicts within the organizations.

Morgan identifies three types of political systems: Unitary, pluralism, and radical. It is through the way that these political systems handle interests, conflicts and power that define them. Table 2 identifies the political system and how interests, conflicts and power are used to define their structure



## POLITICAL SYSTEMS

	<b>Interests</b>	<b>Conflicts</b>	<b>Power</b>
<b>Unitary</b>	Common object	None	Located in hierarchy
<b>Pluralism</b>	Diversity	Pervasive Conflict is good.	Medium that interests and conflicts can be resolved. Good
<b>Radical</b>	Oppositional	Permanent and inevitable	Equal distribution tending to be permanent. Not available to all. Class based.

Table 2: Political System, Interest, Conflict and Power

Source: Gareth Morgan, *Images of Organization*, 1999, p. 202.

Table 2 indicates how interests and conflicts collide and the medium by which power resolves the issues. An example of a unitary political system would be autocracy. An autocracy is defined as: "Absolute government where power is held by an individual or small group and supported by control of critical resources, property or ownership rights, tradition, charisma, and other claims to personal privilege" (Morgan, 1999, p. 157). The second type of political system can be defined as representative democracy (there are other forms of this type of political system). Representative democracy is defined as: "Rule exercised through the election of officers mandated to act on behalf of the electorate and who hold office for a specified time period, or so long as they command the support of the electorate, as in parliamentary government and forms of worker control and shareholder control in industry" (Morgan, 1999, p. 157). The final type of political system is radical, and can be defined as codetermination. Codetermination is defined as: "The form of rule where opposing parties combine

in the joint management of mutual interests, as in coalition government or corporatism, each party drawing on a specific power base” (Morgan, 1999, p. 157). Each of these political systems has a different approach to the handling of conflicts and interests and how power will be applied. The method of how these issues are resolved. Democracy can be defined as a system that favors social equality, and is a government by the people. If interests and conflicts are seen as good forces within the political structure, and the use of power to resolve them as positive, then the system is democratic.

By understanding political theory, we are armed with the knowledge of how politics influences the organization, and specifically city planners. We are able to focus in on the environment in which contemporary city planners operate, and how they resolve conflicts and opposing interests.

Conflicts, power, and interests surround all city planning issues. One way to visualize the power sources of the players involved is to compare Morgan’s 14 sources of power in relationship to the players. Table 3 indicates the potential players and their sources of power.

All of these potential players have their own agendas; however, they will form coalitions for the sake of expediency. A coalition will form when groups of individuals get together to “promote a specific issue, event, decision, or to advance specific values and ideologies” (Morgan, 1999, p. 209). Conflicts will then arise when coalition promotes their agendas against either other coalitions or city staff, which have an opposing viewpoint. To resolve these conflicts the players use their power sources. These power sources are not unknown to the



other players; they are what shape the playing field. In reality, the player who uses his power wisely and efficiently will ultimately win the conflict.

### **PLAYERS AND SOURCES OF POWER**

<b>City Planners</b>	<b>Elected Officials</b>	<b>Developers</b>	<b>Citizens</b>
Formal authority	Formal authority	Control of scare resources	Use of organizational structure
Control of scare resources	Control of scare Resources	The power one already has	Interpersonal alliances
Use of Organizational structure	Use of organizational structure	Control of counter organization	Control of counter organization
Control of knowledge and information	Control of boundaries	Interpersonal alliances	Symbolism
Ability to cope with uncertainty	Structural factors	Control of technology	The power one already has
Control of decision process	Control of decision process	Use of organizational structure	
	Interpersonal alliances		
Control of technology	The power one already has		
Structural factors	Symbolism		

**Table 3: Potential Players and Sources of Power**

Source: Interpreted from Gareth Morgan, *Images of Organization*, 1999.

### **CHAPTER 3: ANTI-GOVERNMENT SENTIMENT**

A critical issue in citizen participation is the anti-government sentiment that has grown in the last decade. Citizens generally feel distrust and disconnection to their government. There are a number of reasons for this, but the anti-government sentiment is reflected by the growing lack of citizen involvement in their government. This chapter will examine issues that are relevant in explaining why there has been in a widening of distrust and disconnection and consider the related impacts on citizen participation. The issues that will be addressed throughout this chapter are individualism, bashing bureaucrats, citizen perception, economy and globalization, and representative government.

Americans have a deep-rooted passion for individual freedom. Individualism is defined as “the belief that society exists for the benefit of the individual, who must not be constrained by government interventions or made subordinate to collective interests” (Encarta, 2000). Individualism is the belief that the interest of the individual should take precedence over the interest of the state or social group.

Individualism leads to discontent, distrust and anger when citizens believe that government is using power against them. The perception that government is exercising illegitimate power over individuals leads to a feeling that government seeks to control, not listen. Citizens are left with a feeling of separation towards their government. King and Stivers (1998) state, negative attitudes about the use of government power take two forms: 1) “Perception of a trampled United States Constitution; and 2) perception of a federal policy state (over regulation)” (p.9).

Both of these negative attitudes represent the frustration of individualists. According to King and Stivers (1998), the current situation is predictable (p. 4). The fact that Americans distrust and are angry with their government is what one would expect from a country where “don’t tread on me” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 4) has been a treasured phrase since our Founding.

Bashing bureaucrats has been a favorite American pastime since our founding. Citizen attitudes about bureaucrats have largely been reduced to negative stereotypes. In 1994, the Roper Poll stated, “2/3 of American’s picked big government as the country’s gravest peril and agreed that government creates more problems than it solves” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 6). The Roper Poll also states, “80 percent of the respondents see government as wasteful and inefficient” (King & Stivers, 1998, p.6). When government is reported to create more problems than it solves or as being wasteful and inefficient, what is really being stated is that the bureaucracy, and more specifically bureaucrats, are all of those things.

Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, Newt Gingrich and Bill Clinton all ran political campaigns on an anti-government platform. Each of these candidates included as part of their platform the promise to eliminate ineffective and inefficient bureaucrats. The irony is that the legislators and the executive branch are the architects of the bureaucracy. They pass the policies and laws that bind the bureaucrats, thus, they are ultimately the ones that create all the red-tape and establish the organizational structure. “One of the greatest paradoxes of American public service is that the citizenry, which regularly depends upon

government services, has a cynical view of government” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 7). This cynical view of government comes from a lack of knowledge.

Berman (1997), argues that citizens question their relationship with government and experience a sense of disenfranchisement under three conditions, they are:

- 1) “When citizens believe government is using its power against them or not helping them;
- 2) When citizens find policies and services to be ineffective, inefficient, or otherwise, problematic;
- 3) When citizens do not feel a part of government, feel ignored, or feel misunderstood by government” (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 105-106).

Ineffective or inefficient government policies and services are based on citizen perception. Both anti-government political campaigns and media coverage on inefficiency and ineffectness have shaped citizens perceptions. Commonly used examples of inefficiency are: Red-tape; size of bureaucracy; number of laws, regulations and policies; and the amount of capital that is spent on a yearly basis. Citizens feel that they have little if any impact on what government does. Since citizens feel that they have no impact on the system, they feel frustrated and disconnected.

The most fundamental of American’s negative feelings about government is that government has nothing to do with them. “Because they have no hand in shaping policies, they are forced to focus on who gets what and to feel discriminated against when they don’t benefit from specific programs” (King &



Stivers, 1998, p. 9). There is a perception that certain groups of people are benefiting from government services, while not contributing to their provision; this has divided citizens in this country. Apathy is conceived when citizens have feelings of disconnection. "The lack of knowledge about government is closely correlated with feelings of powerlessness" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 11). Powerlessness comes from a feeling of disconnection and disenfranchisement between citizens and their government.

Anti-government sentiment is closely correlated to the national economy. Skepticism and distrust emanate when there are stagnating household incomes and a widening disparities between the upper class and everyone else. Between "1975-1995, prices for housing increased threefold, pricing many families out of the housing market" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 20). When the American dream fades, the middle and lower classes citizens become skeptical of government. Whenever citizens experience economic hardships, they look to their government for answers.

Globalization has had a major impact on the economy. Corporations were forced to reorganize and in many cases downsize to be able to compete on a worldwide scale. The national government privatized many of its services in an effort to become more efficient. Many American's feel disenfranchised by globalization and its effects. They look to the government to provide leadership and when they don't feel that the government is doing all they can to create new jobs and services they become angered and frustrated.

There is one final issue in examining anti-government sentiment, which is representative government. "The dark side of representative government is the effort to make us formally present in the halls of legislation and in agency offices without our physically and substantively being there" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 25). The fact is that with representative government we are not there. Representatives make policy decisions and pass laws to fit all, or the average, which actual fit none of us. "Once knowledge differences are moved to the foreground of our attention, the question of representative government ceases to be a matter of how fully people's interests are represented; it becomes one of whether interest can be represented at all" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 29). It is becoming increasingly difficult to represent the average citizen. How would you define an average citizen? How many American's would fit into this category? Is the average citizen defined by region or metropolitan area? It would be unrealistic in a complex and geographically large country, such as the United States to define an average citizen. When laws and policies are crafted for the average citizen they neglect the individual, personal identification disappears destroyed by the guiding principle of equality for all.

Local level planners work directly with both individualistic values and the value of the right to property ownership. Many citizens perceive zoning ordinances, subdivision regulations, comprehensive plans and growth management plans as illegitimate use of power by the local government. As King and Stivers (1998) state, the two negative attitudes about government power (trampled United States Constitution and over regulation) definitely apply

to local level land use planning (p.9). If planning mechanism are excessively restrictive then citizens will become frustrated and feel disconnected from their government.

Dolan v. Tigard is an example of Berman's (1997) disenfranchisement conditions. Florence Dolan owns and operates a plumbing store in the City of Tigard, Oregon. Dolan went to the City and applied for a permit to expand her plumbing store from "9,000 to 17,000 square feet" (Keller, 2001), and to pave the parking that was covered in gravel. She was granted a permit under the following conditions: 1) "Dedicate all of her property lying within the 100-year flood plain; and 2) dedicate an additional 15-foot strip adjacent to the floodplain for a proposed bicycle/pedestrian pathway" (Keller, 2001).

Dolan protested the conditions, filed for a variance, stating that her proposed development was within the criteria of the comprehensive plan. The planning commission claimed that it was rational to assume that future customers and employees would use the bicycle/pedestrian pathway as an alternative mode of transportation. The planning commission denied Dolan's request for a variance. Dolan filed a lawsuit claiming that the City was taking her property without just compensation.

The United States Supreme Court held that there was an essential nexus, which meant that the City could limit new construction within the floodplain, paving the parking lot would create additional run-off, and providing for alternative transportation routes, all promoting a legitimate public interest. However, the City failed to show a reasonable relationship between the exaction

and the developments impact. The City had not completed any formal mathematical study to support the exaction. The Court applied the rough proportionality test to this case, which meant that the exactions must be in proportion to the nature and extent of the project.

Berman's (1997) three conditions where:

- 1) "When citizens believe government is using its power against them or not helping them;
- 2) When citizens find policies and services to be ineffective, inefficient, or other wise problematic;
- 3) When citizens do not feel a part of government, feel ignored, or feel misunderstood by government" (King & Stivers, 1998, p. 105-106).

In applying these three conditions to the Dolan case, it is possible to examine how disenfranchisement occurs. First, Dolan believed that the City was using illegitimate powers against her when she applied for a permit. The requirement to dedicate a significant portion (ten percent) of her property in the form of an exaction seemed unreasonable and capricious. Second, Dolan believed that dedicating a portion of her property for a bicycle/pedestrian pathway would be inefficient and ineffective as a mode of transportation. Third, after going through the review and appeals process she felt unjustly burdened by the City. Thus, she filed a lawsuit in order to gain relief from the local government. After having to go through this long and costly process, it would be reasonable to assume that Mrs. Dolan felt disconnected and frustrated with her local planning agency and her local government.

## **CHAPTER 4: ROLES, RELATIONSHIPS AND POWER**

Citizen participation revolves around roles, relationships and power. According to King and Stivers (1998), neither citizens nor administrators are comfortable with these relationships and roles (p. 1). One of the fundamental reasons for this is a gap in information. This gap has led to a disconnection between administrators and citizens. In understanding roles and relationships, there are several concepts to consider. First, can public administrators accurately predict citizen opinions? Second, who has “power” and what are the sources of this “power”.

In “What Do Administrators Think Citizens Think? (1998),” Julia Melkers and John Clayton provide a case study of municipal officials and a sampling of residents from the City of Atlanta, Georgia. The purpose of this article is to examine how accurately public administrators predict citizen opinions. Public administrators’ predictions are used in policy decisions and implementation. The impact of these predictions is significant from the perspective that administrators are making value judgments based on values that they perceive to know and understand about citizens.

Public administrators work daily to serve the citizenry with the belief that they know what citizens want of them. How the administrator perceives his/her performance is based on how they think their work is evaluated by citizens. The authors state “that surprisingly little is known about what administrators think that citizens think and how accurate administrators are in those perceptions” (Melkers & Clayton, 1998, p. 327).

In Melkers and Clayton case study of Atlanta they identified three key components to their study, they are:

- 1) "Why care whether administrators can predict citizen opinions;
- 2) Comparing citizen perceptions with administrators predictions;
- 3) Value of obtaining administrative predictions as part of future citizen surveys" (1998, p. 327).

"Why care whether administrators can predict citizen opinions?" Within the academics of public administration, it is "now accepted that administrators frequently make value judgments, rather than simply applying neutral competence as was thought to be the case" (Melkers & Clayton, 1998, p. 328). In many cases, administrators act as citizen-administrators in an attempt to make decisions at least partially based on what they believe citizens want. "How well they predict can affect how well public preferences are reflected in subsequent policy decisions" (Melkers & Clayton, 1998, p. 328). The authors state, "although there seems to be distrust in government, most data suggest that citizens feel fairly positively about their personal interactions with administrators" (1998, p. 328). The fact that administrators may hear more complaints than praise may influence their perceptions of individual and agency performance. The authors state, "there are three ways that public administrators predict citizen perceptions: 1) Volume of citizen complaints; 2) ability to resolve complaints; and 3) relevant, objective technical standards" (1998, p. 328). The administrator will take an optimistic or pessimistic outlook depending upon how well they are able to predict citizen perceptions, based on those three areas.



When comparing citizen perceptions and administrator predictions the authors found that, “the data showed that administrators are mixed in their ability to make accurate prediction” (1998, p. 329). Overall, administrators expected citizens to be more negative than they actually are. The authors state, “there are distinct patterns of variation among city departments” (1998, p. 330). As an example, the fire department consistently held higher or more optimistic predictions than were actually shared by the citizenry. The explanations for the variance in administrator predictions may be any of the following: “Perceptions based solely on volume of customer complaints; ability to resolve complaints; and function of objective technical standards” (Melkers & Clayton, 1998, p. 332). The volume of customer complaints is commonly used in determining public perceptions of a governmental service or department. There is a danger in using only the volume of customer complaints, many services and departments are more prone to receiving complaints than others, and the total amount of citizens served by a program or department is never considered. The ability to resolve complaints correlates with the perceived helpfulness and courteousness. If citizens feel that their problems are addressed by helpful and courteous administrators, whether the actual problem is resolved in their favor or not, they feel good about the interaction. There is a variance between the administrators objective technical standards and citizens who are subjective. The difference between objective and subjective standards leads to disconnection and frustration by both the administrator and the citizen.



The authors believe “gathering data on both administrator and citizen perceptions is useful for overall municipal and program management, adding a dimension to municipal managers’ ability to assess the quality of municipal services and overall citizen satisfaction” (1998, p. 333). The authors suggest using citizen surveys to examine customer satisfaction in regard to services. As part of this survey, a section should be devoted to interaction and perceptions of public administrators. This would provide feedback to public administrators on how well they predict citizen opinions.

In “The Power Game and the Players (1996),” Henry Mintzberg examines organizational power and the players who seek to control organizational decisions and actions. Mintzberg describes influencers “as those players who seek to influence the behavior of the organization” (1996, p. 412). Influencers have the ability to work alone or as part of a group depending on preference and needs. “Since the needs of influencers vary, each tries to use his/her own levers of power—means or systems of influence—to control decisions and actions” (Mintzberg, 1996, p. 412). Their ability to succeed is dependent upon the relationship of the organizational power structure.

The author states, individuals within the organization have three basic options: 1) Loyalty: to stay and contribute as expected; 2) exit; and 3) voice: to stay and try to change the system (1996, p. 412). The individual within the organization that chooses the option of “voice” are what the author terms influencers. To become an influencer there are three basic requirements: 1) “They must have some source of the basis of power; 2) there must be an

expenditure of energy; and 3) they must be politically skillful” (Mintzberg, 1996, p. 412). All three of these are the basic conditions used for the exercise of power. In order to exercise power there must be organizational uncertainty, thus, the individual has some source of power over or within the organization. Mintzberg states, “there are five bases of power, they are: 1) Resources; 2) technical skills; 3) a body of knowledge; 4) exclusive rights or privileges; and 5) access (1996, p. 413). In order for the influencer to exert power they must have one of the five bases of power and it must be essential to the functioning of the organization. This base of power must be concentrated and non-substitutable, thus, creating a dependency.

Having power isn't enough; the influencer must act or expend energy. The influencer may have formal power that does not require the expenditure of energy, or informal powers that require the expenditure of energy.

“In effect, the requirement that energy be expended to achieve outcomes, and the fact that those with the important bases of power have only so much personal energy to expend, means that power is distributed more widely than our discussions of the bases of power would suggest” (Mintzberg, 1996, p. 414).

Influencers pick and choose their battles, focusing on the ones that are important to them. In order for the influencer to expend energy, a certain level of skill is also necessary. Since resistance requires excessively more energy and leads to inefficiency.

The influencer must be politically skillful and recognize both internal and external influencers. Internal influences “are full-time employees who use their voice, those people charged with making decisions and taking action on a

permanent or regular basis; it is they who determine the outcomes” (Mintzberg, 1996, p. 415). Internal coalitions can be formed within the organization; an example is group of analysts. The external influencers are non-employees who try to influence the behavior of the organization. They generally form coalitions and are more common than internal influencers; an example would be interest groups. Both the internal and external influencers will have organizational power. “We assume throughout that each group discussed is driven to gain power in or over the organization” (Mintzberg, 1996, p. 418). The power is not equally distributed and each group struggles to gain influence over the organization.

In “Understanding the Role of Power in Decision Making (1996),” Jeffrey Pfeffer examines the concept of authority. Pfeffer defines authority as “distribution of power within a social setting, legitimated overtime, so that those within the setting expect and value a certain pattern of influence” (1996, p. 360). By transforming power into authority, the exercise of influence is transformed in a subtle but important way. The transformation of power into authority is an important process; it speaks to the issue of the institutionalization of social control. Once power has been transformed into authority then it is not seen as a contest of strength or force it is simply accepted. “Authority is maintained by not only the resources that produce power, but also the social pressures and societal norms that sanction the power distribution and which define it as normal and acceptable” (Pfeffer, 1996, p. 361).

Information and knowledge is a critical source of organizational power. “How information, knowledge, and intelligence are used, distorted, and

transmitted has considerable significance for how society assesses its organization” (Henry, 1999, p. 82). Information can and often is distorted throughout the hierarchy of the organization, caused by individuals at different levels exerting their power.

Controlling or influencing information and knowledge can lead to increased reliance on technical competence, alienation of citizens, erodes democracy and gives a false sense of security to public administrators.

## **CHAPTER 5: MODELS AND METHODS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a critical analysis of literature and models of citizen participation. The two organizational models used are authentic participation and a hybrid. These two models will be summarized and then compared and contrasted with each other. The literature that will be reviewed contains the following key concepts: Identifying relevant publics; deliberative practice; and conflict resolution and consensus building. Each article or book will be summarized and a critical analysis completed.

Douglas Morgan and Dan Vizzini in their article "Transforming Customers into Citizens: Some Preliminary Lessons from the Field (1999)," begin by explaining two traditional models of citizenship. The first model is called civic republican tradition, which "emphasizes substantive agreement through face-to-face communication, the building of interpersonal trust, and the importance of local knowledge" (Morgan & Vizzini, 1999, p. 52). The second, procedural republican tradition "emphasizes formal rules and processes to ensure access to, and fair treatment in, the public decision making processes" (Morgan & Vizzini, 1999, p. 51). This model also "emphasizes the indirect representation of interest, the crucial role of expertise, and the value of mediating processes and structures in achieving the public interest" (Morgan & Vizzini, 1999, p. 51). The authors note that these two citizenship traditions are necessary, however, they are not sufficient to make democracy work.

They believe that both models need to be supplemented by social-capital creating strategies that "emphasize institutional knowledge and skills of brokering

and partnering across organizational, jurisdictional, and sectoral boundaries” (Morgan & Vizzini, p. 51). The authors believe that administrators need to combine the two traditional models and incorporate social-capital into a new hybrid model for citizen participation.

The social-capital movement focuses on two elements of conversations regarding citizenship, which are:

1) “To broaden the notion of citizenship to include any activity that affects the well-being of the community; and 2) deepen the notion of citizenship so that it includes more than just the skills and knowledge necessary to make formal institutions of government work” (Morgan & Vizzini, 1999, p. 51).

The major consequence of this movement is to re-open the old debate as to whether citizenship is about the formal processes of governance or the larger ends that these processes are intended to serve.

The authors describe efforts by local public organizations to classify citizens as customers, with an emphasis on getting their customers involved in the system. The authors state that those efforts to find new ways of engaging the citizenry are motivated in part by a genuine desire to put the citizens behind the wheels of governance. However, they note that getting their customers involved does not result in community building. It is assumed that we need to begin with a customer-centered orientation as a starting point in the discussion of citizenship. The authors note that there are both deeper and superficial reasons why this is true. The superficial reason is that the language and practices of



private sector have overpowering influences in the public sector. The deeper reason is that customer-centered orientation results from the larger conditions of modernity. Conditions of modernity are described as self-fulfillment, which, combined with technology, disassembles individuals from time and place. This makes it very difficult to create and sustain communities and governance organizations that are time and place bound. "Traditional notions of citizenship presuppose some kind of *res publica*, a public table around which citizens can gather to conduct the public's business" (Morgan & Vizzini, 1999, p. 52). There are certain conditions associated with modernity, which make the creation of this *res publica* both elusive and problematic. These conditions are economic, political, civic and technological.

The authors introduce us to the concept of public tables. They believe that public tables create a false dichotomy between the two traditional models about what constitutes good citizenship. In the civic republican tradition, "good citizenship is measured by the extent to which each individual in the community is willing and able to sit at a public table and to deliberate with others about what constitutes the public interest" (Morgan & Vizzini, 1999, p. 52). Within the procedural republican tradition, "good citizenship is measured by the extent to which interest groups, associations, and the formal processes of government are able to reflect the interests of the citizenry and the citizenry at large accepts the results of these efforts as legitimate" (Morgan & Vizzini, 1999, p. 52).

They offer us two forms of citizenship, which are *status* and *situs*. *Status* citizenship assumes that individuals are autonomous and free agents who are

willing to give up a portion of their autonomy in exchange for a minimum threshold of equality under the law. Situs citizenship “focuses on where one is, rather than who one is as the basis for determining legal rights” (Morgan & Vizzini, 1999, p. 54). The main difference between the two are that status citizenship promotes equality under the law in the political sector, while situs citizenship promotes due process, rights of access, and fairness in the organizational sector of government. The authors believe that the governance process should be a mixture of the two forms of citizenship. The hybrid model would include this mixture of citizenship.

Cheryl Simrell King, Kathryn M. Feltey, and Bridget O’Neil Susel, in “The Question of Participation: Toward Authentic Public Participation in Public Administration (1998),” uses interviews and focus groups to look at ways to improve the process of public participation. They found that public participation requires fundamental changes in citizen and administrator roles and relationships. Citizen participation is a growing concern of politicians, administrators and the public. “As both citizens and their leaders have noticed, participation through normal institutional channels has little impact on the substance of governmental politics” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 317). The reasons why they are not effective include poor planning and execution, and administrative systems based upon expertise and professionalism which leave little room for participatory processes. They note that citizens become interested in decision making because of distrust of government and a lack of accountability by government officials.

They call for authentic public participation, which works for all parties and stimulates interest and investment by both administrators and citizens, requiring re-thinking of roles and relationships between the two.

The current public participation processes have four major components: 1) “The issue or situation; 2) the administrative structure, systems, and processes within which participation takes place; 3) the administrators; and 4) the citizens” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 320).

### CONVENTIONAL PARTICIPATION MODEL

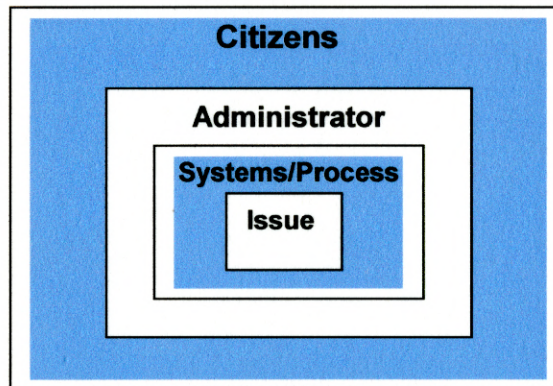


Figure 2: Context of Conventional Participation

Source: King, Feltey & Susel, “The Question of Participation, 1999, page 320.

By examining this model, we can see that components are framed around the issue, and that citizens are the furthest away from the decision making process. The administrator controls the ability of citizens to impact the issue or the process. According to this model, the administrator is separated from the demands, needs, and values of the citizens. Since citizens are so far away from the process, they are reactive and judgmental, and can often sabotage the administrators’ efforts.

The authors state, “both citizens and administrators in our study defined the key elements of authentic participation as focus, commitment, trust, and open



and honest discussion” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 320). The administrators must change their focus to both the process and the outcome. Within authentic participation, the public must be an integral part of the deliberation process from issue framing to decision making. Public administrators become interpretive mediators within this process. “They must move beyond the technical issue at hand by involving citizens in dialectical exchange and by engaging with citizens in discourse rather than simply getting citizen input” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 320).

### **AUTHENTIC PARTICIPATION MODEL**

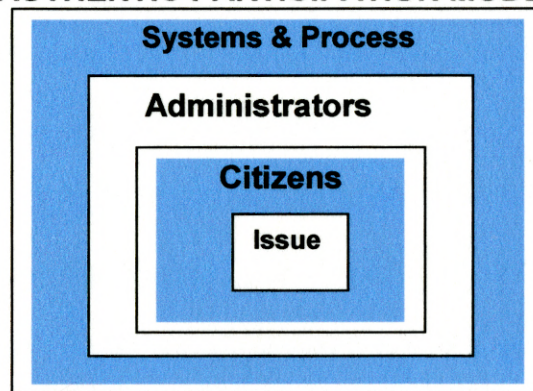


Figure 3: Context of Authentic Participation

Source: King, Feltey & Susel, “The Question of Participation, 1999, page 321.

Authentic participation places the citizen adjacent to the issue and the administrative structure and processes furthest away. The administrator still has the essential function of being a bridge between citizens and the system/process. Administrators’ influence comes from their relationships with the citizenry, as well as from their professionalism. This model wants to move the administrator away from their reliance on technical expertise, which will allow them to move toward meaningful participatory processes.

The model of authentic participation requires three elements, which are empowering and educating citizens, re-educating administrators, and enabling administrative structures and processes. Empowering and educating citizens “means designing processes where citizens know that their participation has the potential to have an impact, where a representative range of citizens are included, and where there are visible outcomes” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 322). An important component in this element is to educate citizens. The authors believe that there should be citizenship schools, which are would be established within local communities.

Re-educating administrators “means changing their roles from that of expert managers toward that of co-operative participants or partners” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 322). This will require administrators to be formally trained in inter/intrapersonal skills, and a redefining of their roles. They must also re-define their power structure, which would require a shifting of mainstream values.

Enabling administrative structures and processes requires changing institutionalized habits and practices. These changes would need to originate from within the ranks of administrators. “Systems and structures are nothing more than the habitual practices of the people involved in the system” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 325).

In “Transforming Customers into Citizens,” the authors believe that citizens need to be classified as customers to promote their value. They believe that good citizenship is characterized by the ability to participate in the process,



either as an individual or as a group. In addition, a key component is that citizenship promotes equality under the law, due process, and rights of access and fairness in the organization sector of government. They also believe that citizens must obtain knowledge, skills, and new behaviors to participate. This contrasts with the second article that calls for the old organizational structure of public participation to be torn down or eliminated, since the structure does not promote participation.

In "The Questions of Participation," the authors use focus groups and interviews. This differs with the first article, which uses the author's personal experiences as a reference point. In "The Questions of Participation," the authors describe the public participation processes and its four major component: "Citizens, administrators, systems/processes and issues" (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 320). They are concerned with how this process is organizationally structured. The two articles differ in how they believe the system should be changed to allow for valid citizen participation.

The two articles differ on how education should take place. In "The Questions of Participation," the authors believe that education for citizens is key, as does "Transforming Customers into Citizens," although, they go a step further and call for citizenship schools to be established within local communities. "Transforming Customers into Citizens," ignores the issue of how citizens are to become educated, while "The Questions of Participation," authors realize that education of citizens within the process will only occur if we provide outlets for training and education.



The articles differ in their view of administrators' role and how they believe change will occur. In the authentic participation model, public administrators must be formally trained in inter/intrapersonal skills, and there must be a redefinition of their power roles. In the hybrid model, administrators must have open face-to-face communication, organizational knowledge, expertise, and the ability to mediate the public participation process. In the hybrid model, the authors believe that administrators are brokering or partnering with citizens within the process. In the authentic participation model, the authors believe that it is only through restructuring of the process and allowing citizens to address the issues or problems directly that there can be authentic public participation. They do not want administrators to have as much power or control over information or the process, and thus call for citizens to have direct input into the discussion of what are the actual issues or problems. The authentic model calls for more than access to the political and organizational structure, access to the issues is wanted.

John Clayton Thomas in "Public Participation in Public Decisions: New Skills & Strategies for Public Managers (1995)," states that one of the critical functions of the public manager is his/her ability to identify groups and/or individuals that maybe interested in the issues and to gain their opinions (p. 54). One of the critical roles of the public manager is to determine who really speaks for the public during public deliberations. Public managers must consider all the actors (those who have a stake in the outcome) within the policy making process.

Thomas uses the effective decision model to provide guidelines for public managers. In this model, the relevant publics are all organized and unorganized groups of individuals and representatives that could provide information, and could effect the implementation of the policy. Thomas states, “there are no one set of relevant public’s for a given issue” (1995, p. 56). Relevant publics can take the form of “traditional interest groups, program beneficiaries, consumer and environmental groups, residential groups or advisory committees” (Thomas, 1995, p. 56). Public meetings are the forums in which this participation takes place. Thomas recommends that only one relevant public attend the meeting. If more than one relevant public wants to attend then an advisory committee with representatives from all groups should be formed.

One of the critical functions of the public manager is to recognize that with the growth of citizen groups there are large unorganized publics that remain unrepresented on many issues. Thus, the public manager must involve both organized and unorganized publics in the process. However, there is a danger of soliciting comments from a broader public, the organized group may feel ignored and fail to help in the implementation of the final decision. The author points out however, “that ignoring the unorganized public may be more dangerous because if they recognize that they do have an interest or stake in the decision they may stop the implementation of the policy” (Thomas, 1995, p.58).

The author states that public managers need to have the ability to identify all of the relevant publics and define the nature of public sentiment on the issue before solving the problem. There is a need for public acceptance of a decision.

However, the public manager must have some authority in the problem solving process. Thus, the public manager needs to anticipate the relevant publics opinion to retain more authority to protect agency goals.

The author believes that a combination of techniques should be used to define the relevant publics. The techniques suggested are the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach. In the top-down approach, the public manager tries to identify the relevant public before any public involvement. "Managers should begin by thinking broadly about what types of citizens are likely to be interested in the issue" (Thomas, 1995, p. 59). The public manager needs to be careful about thinking too broadly, leading to the risk of being overwhelmed. If the focus is too narrow then the manager runs the risk of being exclusive.

The bottom-up approach stems from the public. The public manager lets the public define itself. Thomas states, "the manager must let public involvement proceed and be sensitive to what it reveals" (1995, p. 63). Public managers should facilitate the structural opportunities as well as provide for a smooth operation of the process.

In "Public Participation in Public Decisions," Thomas makes several key assumptions. First, he assumes that public managers have the ability to identify groups/individuals (organized/unorganized) who are interested or have a stake in the process. The ability of the public manager to identify all interested parties would be influenced by the scope and complexity of the policy issue. It would be unrealistic to assume that public managers have the time, resources, and

cognitive ability to know all the interested parties on policy issues that are large in scope and/or complex. Second, the assumption that a public manager can always predict and anticipate opposition, before the citizen participation progress begins, is unrealistic. The fact that Thomas expects public managers to predict and anticipate opposition to protect agency goals is troublesome. If the purpose of the organization is to protect its goals and objectives then why encourage citizen participation? If citizens lack the ability to shape the policy process then what is the purpose of encouraging their opinions? Third, the author assumes that by not including all relevant publics into the policy process one runs the risk of failure during policy implementation. Un-represented individuals rarely have a voice, so to assume that policy implementation will be interrupted by these individuals is perhaps overestimated by Thomas.

Thomas does provide the reader with an examination of the multi-dimensional issues of citizen participation, in the context of relevant publics. The author is not calling for a re-structuring of the organizational structure; he is simply looking at including all relevant publics. Relevant publics are to be identified, information gleaned, and then it becomes the responsibility of the public manager to formulate the policy and develop the implementation process.

In *The Deliberative Practitioner* (2001), John Forester calls for planners to have shrewd deliberative practice. He defines deliberative as “a learning process, in which planners learn about citizens, issues, what can be done and what should be done” (Forester, 2001, p. 1). It is through deliberative practice that planners shape public learning and public action. Forester believes that

either the planner can encourage citizen participation and nurture public hope or they can deepen citizen resentment.

It is essential for city planners to work directly with public policy analysts, due to the complexities of policy issues. “Because so few political or economic actors can act unilaterally, all by themselves, planners and public policy analysts typically work in between these interdependent and often conflicting parties” (Forester, 2001, p. 2). Planners and policy analysts are often negotiators and mediators within the process. They are faced with the challenge of making policy deliberation work.

Forester believes that one of the critical functions of the planner and policy analyst is to develop skills for listening. It is through listening to citizens that planners and policy analysts can formulate sound judgments on policy issues. One technique for listening is storytelling. Forester believes that planners and policy analysts should listen to the stories of citizens. Forester offers five points of storytelling that can aid planners and policy analysts in comprehending complicated issues or problems, as follows:

- 1) “Appropriate stories: Those stories that reflect real situations and allow for knowledge, empathy, thoughtfulness and insight to bear on the situation;
- 2) Help us to see interests, cares, and commitments in new ways that we may not have considered;
- 3) No cure-all or technical fixes;
- 4) Learn by deliberation;



- 5) We learn from these stories because they present us with a world of experience and passion, of effect and emotion that previous accounts of planning practice have largely ignored” (2001, p. 33).

It is through storytelling that our emotions and passions are engaged, “allowing us to learn through whatever emotional sensitivity we have” (Forester, 2001, p. 35). Storytelling helps the planner and policy analysts to gain perspective of a situation and then to recognize relevant issues.

Forester points out that in practice storytelling has a degree of messiness. “That messiness is important because it teaches us that before problems are solved, they have to be constructed and formulated in the first place” (Forester, 2001, p. 37).

“Forester states the rationality of problem solving, and the rationality of decision making too, depend on the prior practical rationality of resisting the rush to interpretation, of very carefully listening to our telling the practice stories that give us the details that matter, the facts and values, and the political and practical material with which one has to work” (2001, p. 37).

If the planner or policy analyst interprets the story incorrectly, then the techniques used in monitoring policy progress will be inept, and citizens may perceive them as callous and insensitive, which can result in distrust.

Planners and policy analysts must make judgments based on the interpretations of information obtained from citizens.

“The power of judgment rests on a potential agreement with others, and the thinking process which is active in judging something is not, like the thought process of pure reasoning, a dialogue between me and myself, but finds itself always and primarily, even if I am quite alone in making up

my mind, in an anticipated communication with others with whom I know I must finally come to some agreement” (Forester, 2001, p. 46).

Judgment derives its validity from agreement.

Planners and policy analysts must view the deliberation process as multi-faceted. First, storytelling is used to provide the planner and policy analyst with a description of events, relevant details, organize attention, invoke or challenge norms, indicated future issues and gauge citizens passion on policy issues. Second, storytelling is a search “for value, for what matters, for what is relevant here, for what is significant” (Forester, 2001, p. 57). It is through responsive awareness that the planner and policy analysts can respond to the needs and interest of citizens. Third, storytelling is very complex because of politics, ethics and rationality. The key to understanding and interpreting stories is to examine the real moral and political implications. “Good judgment of deliberative practice reconciles day to day pragmatism with moral political vision” (Forester, 2001, p. 58).

The environment of planning and policy making is inherently political in nature.

“We know that planning is significantly political, that planners’ recommendations are interpreted and implemented for better or worse in political processes, that planners may at times study only certain options at the request or pleasure of politicians, and that the distance between rational public policy and political can be substantial” (Forester, 2001, p. 87).

Within the planning environment, several issues speak to the complexity of planning:

- 1) "Advice is never neutral;
  - 2) Decisions are made from prestructured agendas;
  - 3) Citizen access is influenced by wealth and organization, by class, race, and gender;
  - 4) Language can be politically selective, inclusive or exclusive.
  - 5) Citizen participation can be based on education and mobility"
- (Forester, 2001, p. 88).

Within the deliberative practice, it is the responsibility of the planner and policy analysts to be aware of the political implications and to respond accordingly. The planner and policy analysts need to formulate strategies that will allow for access of the citizens involved regardless of the political environment.

Within Forester's book, there are several key assumptions. First, that planners and analysts have the skills, resources and cognitive abilities to listen and interpret citizen's stories. In reality, neither planners nor policy analysts are formally trained in listening and interpretation of verbal data. Forester points out that storytelling have a degree of messiness, which must be constructed and formulated before problems can be solved. This assumes that planners and policies makers can interpret the stories to construct and formulate them in a manner that addresses a policy issue. Second, he assumes that the organizational structure will be responsive to the interests and needs of citizens. If advice is never neutral, agenda's are preset, and citizen participation is exclusive, then what are the planner and policy analysts really gaining by citizen participation? In reality, we know that he is correct in assuming that planning

occurs in a political environment. However, he offers no strategies for improving citizen participation within the established organizational structure. Improving listening skills will not solve the political implications of the policy process.

In *The Practice of Local Government Planning 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition* (2000), Charles Hoch examines the processes of consensus building and citizen participation. Hoch defines consensus building as “a process by which general agreement is reached over a period of time by people of divergent interests” (2000, p. 426). Consensus building involves the active participation and empowerment of those individuals or interest that will be most affected by the outcome. The process is directly impacted by the quality of deliberations. Since the quality of the process is significant, planners must establish an environment that promotes active participation and trust. “When participants trust each other and recognize the legitimacy of their respective goals in the context of ongoing dialogues, promises, trade offs and other actions taken to build agreement, the formal definition of agreement often proves less important than the process” (Hoch, 2000, p. 427). Hoch establishes ten principles of consensus building, as seen in Table 4. These ten principles can be used as a guide in consensus building.

<b>PRINCIPLES OF CONSENSUS BUILDING</b>	
1)	Involve interests as early as possible;
2)	Tailor the process;
3)	Be inclusive;
4)	Identify and nurture shared interests;
5)	Share credible information;
6)	Provide impartial and collaborative leadership;
7)	Consider using professional help;
8)	Maintain momentum;
9)	Validate results;
10)	Involve the media.

Table 4: Principles of Consensus Building

Source: Hoch, *The Practice of Local Government Planning 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, 2000, page 430.



In order to build legitimacy the planner should involve individuals and groups early within the process. Since these citizens are going to be the most affected by the policy decisions, they should have input into the formulation of the overall mission/vision. Citizens should be involved in goal setting, identification of policy issues and selection of alternatives.

The second principle requires that the process be tailor made to a particular set of circumstances. This principle requires the planner to invent and re-invent the process, depending upon the circumstances; thus, the process is tailored/designed to meet the needs of the citizens.

The third principle is to be inclusive. In order to establish legitimacy of the process all citizens directly affected should be involved. The author provides several tools for encouraging participation, such as information campaigns and designating advocates.

In the fourth principle, it is key to identify shared interests. Once shared interests have been defined, the planner should nurture and build upon them. The planner should be thinking about the big picture, which requires building a consensus. One way to gain consensus is through a sharing of interests in the visioning process.

In the fifth principal, the organization, specifically planning, should provide credible information to citizens. Citizens are also responsible for providing credible information. Tainted or invalid information will ruin the legitimacy of the process.



Principle six calls for impartial and collaborative leadership, including both the public and private leadership. Without impartiality, the process is restricted and fails to allow for constructive citizen participation. The key to citizen participation is to structure an environment that permits discussion and collaboration. This type of environment is best structured around impartial and collaborative leadership. If the leadership is unable to be impartial or lacks the skills of collaboration then principle seven may be helpful, using other professionals.

Once the process has begun and collaboration occurs, keep the momentum going. The planner's goal is to formulate an agreement on policy issues. By keeping the momentum going, it allows the process to move more quickly, and usually keeps citizens interested in the process. Once a policy decision is made then the next step is implementation. Monitoring implementation is key to providing feedback to the process.

The principles of consensus building are basic steps to setting up the process. The goal is to get citizens involved early in the process and to move quickly through that process, not to waste time. Legitimacy comes from impartiality and collaboration in the process. Citizens must feel that their contributions make a difference or have an impact.

There are several assumptions made by the author. First, that the organizational structures will permit citizens to be empowered. To empower citizens you must release power from the organization. This means that planners, elected officials and other city officers must be willing to give up their

power or portion thereof. Second, that the process is free of potential pressure. In order for all nine principals to be used as the author intended the system must be potentially neutral. There would have to be no hidden agendas, pressure from outside groups and no internal conflicts. This assumption is probably not realistic.

In *Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning* (2000), Henry Sanoff examines conflict resolution, consensus building and citizen participation. According to Sanoff there are five purposes of citizen participation, they are:

- 1) “To involve people in the design and decision making process and, as a result, to increase their trust and confidence in organizations, making it more likely that they will accept decisions, plans and work within the established system when seeking solutions to the problems;
- 2) To provide people with a voice in design and decision making in order to improve plans, decisions, and service delivery;
- 3) To promote a sense of community by bringing people together who share common goals;
- 4) To provide a participatory process of individual learning through increased awareness of a problem;
- 5) To maximize learning the process should be clear, communicable, and open, as well as supportive of encouraging dialogue, debate and collaboration” (2000, p. 9).

According to Sanoff (2000), there are several benefits to the community when citizen participation occurs, such as a greater meeting of social needs and increasingly effective utilization of resources (p. 10). Through citizen participation the community social needs and interests are identified, and resources are allocated accordingly. It is more effective and efficient to have specific needs and interests identified, than by using a “shotgun approach” in allocating scarce resources.

Another benefit to the community is that citizen participation increases a sense of awareness and involvement. Citizens who participate in the process feel like they had an impact on the decision making process, that their voice counted.

According to Sanoff (2000), there are four essential characteristics of participation:

- 1) “Participation is inherently good;
  - 2) It is a source of wisdom and information about local conditions, needs, and attitudes, and thus improves the effectiveness of decision making;
  - 3) Must be inclusive and pluralistic approach;
  - 4) It is a means of defending the interests of groups of people and of individuals, and a tool for satisfying their needs that are often ignored and dominated by large organizations, institutions, and bureaucracies.”
- (p. 12).

These characteristics promote utopian citizen participation. The characteristics would most certainly promote democratic values.

According to Sanoff (2000), in most communities, citizen participation is the principal source of confusion and conflict (p. 22). Sanoff identifies six barriers to citizen participation within the community and organization, they are:

- 1) "The process itself;
- 2) The technical complexity;
- 3) The professional can feel threatened;
- 4) The process is time consuming;
- 5) The lack of adequate experience by professional in working in collaboration with users; and
- 6) Often, the people involved do not represent the majority" (2000, p. 22).

All six of these barriers have consequences on the planning process. It is unnecessary for all of these barriers to be in place to hinder the process; anyone of these can negatively impact the process causing confusion and conflict.

Conflict resolution has grown out of participatory reform. It refocuses attention on the initial reasons for citizen participation and calls for citizen empowerment. Participatory reform promotes social justice and ecological vision. Its purposes are to reform the exclusionary and conservative principles of participation. According to Sanoff (2000), there are twelve stages in conflict resolution, they are:

- 1) "Initial contacts with the disputing parties to build rapport and credibility, educating the participants about the negotiation process, and eliciting a commitment to the mediation process;

- 2) Selecting as a conflict resolution strategy (competition, avoidance, accommodation, negotiated compromise, interest based negotiation);
- 3) Collecting and analyzing background information about the people involved;
- 4) Developing a detailed plan for mediation;
- 5) Building trust and cooperation;
- 6) Establish ground rules and behavioral guidelines by facilitating communication and information exchange;
- 7) Defining issues and setting an agenda, ranking issues, selection;
- 8) Uncovering hidden interest of disputing parties;
- 9) Generating alternatives for settlement;
- 10) Assessing alternatives;
- 11) Substantive agreement;
- 12) Formalizing settlement” (p. 28).

The author believes that these twelve steps are valid and useful in reforming citizen participation. The mediation process permits negotiation and clarification of the issues. However, Sanoff believes that these twelve steps aren't enough to reform citizen participation. He offers a twelve-step process that includes combining conflict resolution and public participation methods (see table 5).



<b>HYBRID INTEGRATED PROCESS (COMBINING CONFLICT RESOLUTION (CR) &amp; PUBLIC PARTICIPATION (PP))</b>	
PP	Develop a profile of the community's social characteristics, key leaders and groups.
CR	Convene a meeting.
PP	Inform the public through the media.
PP	Organize workshops to discuss issues and produce a synthesis for interest group leaders.
CR	Enable interest group leaders to review proposals and collect public responses to it.
PP	Inform the general public and media about alternatives, indicating selection criteria and their assessment.
PP	Organize workshops to respond to public concerns for group leaders to consider
CR	Convene a third meeting of interest group leaders to review
PP	Publish alternatives acceptable to interest group leaders and seek responses from the public.
PP	Organize workshops to identify preferred alternative and convey results to group leaders.
PP	Conduct surveys to broaden participation of the public and to convey results to group leaders.
CR	Convene meeting to integrate the views of interest group leaders, the interested public and the public in general.

Table 5: Hybrid Model of Citizen Participation

Source: Henry Sanoff, *Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning*, 2000, pages 31-32.

The hybrid model aims at structuring the planning process in a more democratic way. The purpose of this model is to increase dialogue between the participants. It is through open and uninhibited dialogue that interests and issues can truly be defined and addressed. All participants are to have a stake in the outcome and have equal access in the process. It is critical to the process that all participants become active, all interests and issues need to be heard.

In *Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning*, Sanoff discusses many methods and concepts of participation, such as participatory democracy, community design centers, community building, consensus organizing model, levels of participation, multiple concepts on the purposes of participation, consensus building, conflict resolution, stages of participation, and the hybrid model. As you can see by this incomplete listing of methods and concepts the authors offers many solutions, none of which are explained in depth. The author focuses on so many approaches that he only provides a vague and ambiguous analysis of those he has chosen to discuss. The author has selected all the vogue topics in planning and written about them. Unfortunately, the discussion is not comprehensive.

## **CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS**

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the reasons for why citizens fail to participate and what if anything can be done to reverse this trend. To complete an analysis six key concepts have been chosen, they are: Elite/mass rule; incrementalism; conflict, power and interest; authentic participation; collaboration and conflict resolution.

The elite/mass model (Figure 1, p. 9), represents how governments were established in the United States. The Elites held all positions of power within the government and established laws, regulations and policies for the masses, without any citizen participation. It could be debated today that the elite/mass model is still an accurate portrayal of our government system, although the model may accurately portray individual citizens and their inability to participate at the national level. Interest groups and large coalitions do have considerable access to governmental officials in modern times, thus, there is an input of information and other resources influencing the system.

The historical perspective has shown that individuals have an extremely difficult time participating at the national level. At the local level and specifically in planning citizen participation, historically citizens have been seen as a “cost of doing business.” Planning agencies have traditionally been ruled by elites from society, whose primary purpose was to promote commercial and Industrial uses. In the last fifty years, there has been a shifting to more authentic citizen participation, because of social issues and property rights. American citizens regardless of what region, urban or rural, city or town size demand equal

protection and due process under the First and Fifth Amendment of the Constitution. Local and regional governments have been forced to enact plans that consider social and economic ramifications. A component of these plans is providing mechanisms for citizen participation. Citizen participation theoretically is presumed to protect the governing body from legal recourse, as well as, provide for community building. Access and opportunity for citizen participation is primarily at the local level.

Lindblom's model of incrementalism best represents the policy decision making process, especially at the national level. Incrementalism is the process of taking small incremental steps in policy design and implementation. Since it can be reasoned that public administrators do not have the time, resources, or cognitive abilities to know all the alternatives and consequences of a particular issue, incrementalism is the best means of policy design and implementation. Experience and past policy design are used to formulate new policies. The flaw of incrementalism is that radical change is seldom possible. However, it could be debated that citizens would not support elected officials who propose radical changes in policy or the organizational structure.

What are the implications of incrementalism on citizen participation? If it is believed that the best method of policy design and implementation are best accomplished through taking small steps, then incrementalism is the best approach. However, if the issue calls for structural or radical change then this model is not the best approach. If full citizen participation is warranted or expected in the policy design process then incrementalism is not the best



approach. If we are asking citizens to participate in the policy design process from the very beginning, (issue framing) we are, in effect, making a radical change in that process. Citizens will not have past experience or past policy decisions to draw upon. However, if citizens participate under the authority and guidance of the planner, it is possible that the planner could influence them in such a way that no radical change can occur and that incrementalism succeeds. Several variables will determine if incrementalism will survive into the next generation of city planning.

Gareth Morgan provides an accurate portrayal of politics in the context of conflict, interest and power. He recognized that all organizations have a political element within their structure. Morgan analyzed organizational politics in a systematic way by focusing on relationships between conflicts, power and interests. To examine the role of city planners within the context of this model (Table 3, p. 25) the potential players and sources of power are useful.

City planners and citizens have different forms of power. Each will use their power when conflicts arise. They may also use their power to form coalitions with other sources of power, such as elected officials. By examining Table 3, it is apparent that the city planner has considerably more organizational power than citizens do. Planners control the information, decision making process, technology, and they have the authority and knowledge of how the organization functions.

Jeffrey Pfeffer's description of authority accurately defines the relationship between planners and citizens. Citizens accept that planners have legitimate



authority to act or recommend actions on behalf of the organization. The planners authority is viewed as a societal norm, where their power of recommendation is defined as normal and acceptable. Few citizens would argue that planners do not have the authority to act on behalf of the local government. By having their power perceived by the public as authority, planners have an advantage in the policy making process. They are viewed as the authority from which development policy decisions emanated. Citizens therefore have developed a reliance on planners for their technical knowledge, information and overall expertise.

What are the implications of politics and power on citizen participation? First, elected officials, planning commissioners and planners have significantly more organizational power and authority than citizens. It will be impossible for citizens to gain access to the policy making arena if they are unable to shift the balance of power, either by forming coalitions or by changing the system. Second, if politics cannot be legitimatised within the process then citizen participation is useless. Politics can determine policy decisions before and after citizen participation. In many cases, political leaders have already made decisions about a policy before the public has a chance to participate. In order to counteract politics citizens need to be knowledgeable about the system. They need to keep abreast of all decisions made during the process and counteract those decisions when they are not what they wanted. Third, if citizens view planners as having authority, they are giving planners power over themselves. In essence, they are declaring that planners have powers that they don't possess.

The authentic public participation model requires fundamental changes in citizen and administrator roles and relationships. The authentic public participation model works for all parties and stimulates interest and investment by both administrators and citizens, requiring re-thinking of roles and relationships between the two. The authors state, “both citizens and administrators in our study defined the key elements of authentic participation as focus, commitment, trust, and open and honest discussion” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 320). The administrator must change his/her focus to both the process and the outcome.

By examining Figure 3 (p. 45), citizens are an integral part of the deliberations process from issues framing to decision making. Administrators become interpretive mediators within the policy process. The administrator still has the essential function of being a bridge between citizens and the system/process. Administrators’ influence comes from their relationships with the citizenry, as well as from their professionalism. This model wants to move the administrators away from their reliance on technical expertise, which would allow them to move toward meaningful participatory processes.

The model of authentic participation requires three elements, which are empowering and educating citizens, re-educating administrators, and enabling administrative structures and processes. Empowering and educating citizens “means designing processes where citizens know that their participation has the potential to have an impact, where a representative range of citizens are included, and where there are visible outcomes” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 322). An important component in this element is to educate citizens. The

authors believe that there should be citizenship schools, should be established in local communities. These schools would provide education in organizing coalition groups and in developing supportive research for their cases.

Re-educating administrators “means changing their roles from that of expert managers toward that of co-operative participants or partners” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 322). This will require administrators to be formally trained in inter/intrapersonal skills, and in redefining their roles. They must also re-define their power structure, which would require a shifting of mainstream values.

Enabling administrative structures and processes requires changing institutionalized habits and practices. These changes would originate from within the ranks of administrators. “Systems and structures are nothing more than the habitual practices of the people involved in the system” (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998, p. 325).

What are the implications of the authentic participation model? First, it requires that the organization restructure itself to become more effective and efficient in promoting and maintaining citizen participation. Second, it represents a radical change in how the organization views itself and its role in society. In order for radical change to occur, there must be a strong impetus within the organization. The organization must have a strong commitment to citizen participation, and recognize a value/benefit to its promotion and maintenance. Third, the model requires extensive planning, coordination, reorganizing, reallocation of power and resources. In order for the model to be effective and

efficient, the organization must include a radical change in systems and structures, as well as, a change in the habits and practices of people within the organization.

Henry Sanoffs, hybrid integrated process model combines conflict resolution and public participation. By examining Table 5 (p. 64), it is obvious that this model is less radical than the authentic public participation model. The main function of this model is to increase dialogue between the planner and citizens. It requires access for all stakeholders throughout the process. It is critical to the process that all participants become active and all interests and issues need to be heard.

What are the implications of the hybrid integrated process on citizen participation? First, planners, elites and group leaders control the policy process and citizen input is required. Although citizen input is required throughout the process, the process is structured in a format that allows elites, group leaders and planners to determine the outcome. Thus, it can be argued that citizen participation is simply a "cost of doing business". Second, this model does not require any redefinitions of roles and relationships. Third, politics has not been removed from this process, thus it will continue to dominate policy design and implementation. Fourth, this model promotes incrementalism. Since local elites and organizational leaders strive to promote the status quo, the primary focus will be on making small incremental changes in policy decisions and implementation process.

To reverse the trend of citizen participation, roles and relationship will need to be redefined. Planners and elected officials will be required to relinquish some of their power in order to empower citizens. The authentic public participation model is the most viable resource to increase citizen participation. However, it requires a structural change in the organization. Structural change may be out of the conceptual realm of elected officials and administrators. It is apparent that radical change is needed to change citizens perceptions of government and their role within the system.

**Future Research Opportunities:**

There are several other key issues, theories or concepts that can provide future research opportunities, such as socialization, organizational structure, feminist theory, public opinion, politics, participation law, policy design and cultural differences. Citizen participation is a complex issue, with many interesting policy implications. There are so many factors in why citizens fail to participate it is almost impossible to comprehend all the barriers.



## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter is to determine the role of the city planner, and determine how he/she can move towards authentic citizen participation. There are several key issues that must be considered, they are: Organizational structure, constraints, politics and empowering citizens.

The organizational structure plays a significant role in how city planners function within the system. Several key factors must be considered when examining the role of the city planner within the organizational structure. First, where are the city planners within the hierarchy, and why is their position within the hierarchy important? The hierarchy of the organization is a top-down approach, which means that authority and power emanate from the top of the structure. At the top of local level hierarchy are the elected officials. Elected officials are ultimately responsible for the functioning of the organization to the public. Elected officials appoint planning commissioner, who in turn review and recommend planning policies and decisions (among other duties) to the council. City planners provide information and technological expertise to the planning commission. Because planners are below elected officials, planning commissioners and the city manager they theoretically have less authority and power. The organizational hierarchy is graphic depicted in Figure 4.



Figure: 4: Organizational Hierarchy

The planners position in the hierarchy is significant, because in order for planners to advocate for more citizen participation they must work within the structure in which they ultimately hold the least amount of power. However, as Morgan pointed out there are numerous sources of power within the organization and planners have the capabilities of increasing their power. For instance planners have the expertise and technological knowledge of planning issues, thus, they have a degree of power in the decision making process. Planners generally interpret data and in many cases design the questions to be used in policy/decision making processes. Elected officials may decide that the comprehensive plan needs to be updated, but it is the planner who determines the scope and central design features, which ultimately influence the process. In the comprehensive planning process, planners determine the questions that citizens participate in answering or debating at public forums. If citizens are not involved at the very beginning of the process, such as in the mission or vision of the plan, then a degree of power is lost to them. The ability to set the parameters of participation is significant.

Second, constraints must be addressed if authentic citizen participation is advocated. There are a number of constraints put in place by the organizational structure that limit the role of planners and citizens, including: Elite rule, politics, reliance on technology and attitudes/belief systems within the organization. Figure 5, is a graphic representation of these constraints.



## CONSTRAINTS ON CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

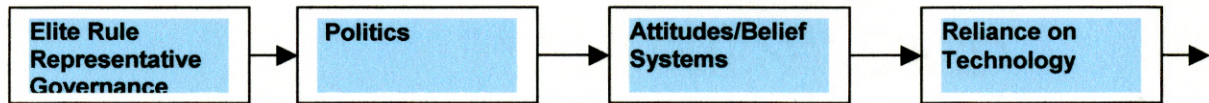


Figure 5: Constraints on Citizen Participation

Constraints on citizen participation have been established within the organizational structure, in many cases since it's Founding. Elite rule and representative governance is a by-product of our Founding. Elites within society will constrain ordinary citizens from participating to preserve the status quo. Representative governance at the local level is just one method of preserving the status quo. This impacts city planners in significant ways, in local communities, the elites try to protect their authority and power over the system. They accomplish this by making sure that the right people are elected and appointed to office. City planners are in a position within the hierarchy of having to be subordinate to these individuals. Depending upon the issue, the constraints can be severe. However, planners are aware of these constraints and can counteract them in some instances. Planners are not powerless against elites; they have their own sources of power, and an acute knowledge of how the structure works.

Politics within the organization is significant. City planners must have a firm grasp on the political structure of the organization to allow them to work successful within the system. Elected officials are ultimately responsible to citizens for decisions and policy making; they will do what is necessary (in self-interest) to promote majority decisions. In other words, elected officials will not support policies or decisions that alienate them from voters. Often times city

planners are the only voice for the un-represented publics, this is problematic, because elected officials want to establish policies and programs that preserve their status or position. Un-represented publics are not generally voters and they generally use more public services and programs than other citizens. Because they are seen as users of public services and not contributors to the community there are negative stereotypes attached to these individuals. These stereotypes lead to negative public images. In certain instances, such as an economic recession, elected officials will avoid issues involving these types of individuals. Planners on the other hand are ethically obligated to become advocates for these individuals, thus, inherently there are significant constraints placed on planners in supporting issues or causes that have political implications. Additionally, in many cases elected officials have already decided on policies before citizen participation has occurred. This nullifies the entire participation process.

Another constraint on the organizational structure is the reliance on technological knowledge and expertise. Planners generally have more expertise and knowledge on planning issues than both elected officials and planning commissioners, which gives them a significant source of power. This can be an advantage to the planner and it can be a constraint to promoting authentic citizen participation. Planners must be willing to give up some of their power by sharing information and with citizens groups.

Attitudes and belief systems within the organization are embedded and difficult to change. In order for authentic citizen participation to occur attitudes and belief systems must undertake radical change. In order for this change to

occur, a value/benefit must be shown be viable within the organization. Because a radical change in attitudes and beliefs equates to a shifting of power within the structures of the organization, individuals will have to see a value or benefit that directly impacts them.

This report is advocating authentic citizen participation, which means empowering citizens. In order for the empowering of citizens to occur, planners, planning commissioners and elected officials must be willing to abdicate some of their power. The authentic citizen participation models calls for a radical change in the organizational structure. It also calls for a radical change in how citizens view their civic responsibility. The role of the planner in this model is to act as an advocate for citizens, as well as, for the organization.



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