CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN POLICY FORMULATION

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the

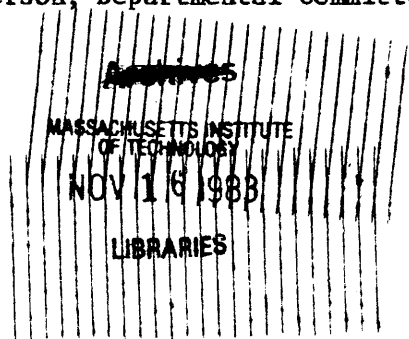Degree of Bachelor of Science

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

August, 1976

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                                        August 9, 1976

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A conceptual structure of the planning process is presented. Thoughts
about the nature of planning are discussed. The reasons why people plan are
investigated. This leads to an examination of the public interest. Efforts
at determining what is in the public interest leads to a discussion of par-
ticipation. A model of the participatory process is developed. The notion of
citizen-based planning (CBP) is drawn out of the model as a special case.

The activities surrounding the conception and inception of the Citizen
Involvement Committee in the Town of Arlington are presented as a case study.
The activities of the group relating to surveying, recommending policy, and
learning are discussed. The Arlington experiment is then fit into the model
of participation developed earlier. Finally, directions for further work are
suggested.

Presented to: Lawrence E. Susskind

Title, Thesis Supervisor: .   Associate Professor,
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INTRODUCTION

This paper represents an effort to pull together my educational exper-
iences in a meaningful way to enhance my understanding of planning. In
writing this thesis, my personal model of planning has been refined and
worked into a viable form. I have endeavored to present my present my model.
During much of the writing my thoughts were still coalescing, hence the
resulting work documents the development of a viewpoint on planning rather
than a concise presentation of a model. Necessarily, this means that certain
topics were never explored, as they proved unnecessary to the development of
the ideas in the paper. In the effort to cover a long line of reasoning, ideas
may appear to be developed too quickly, or without adequate attention to
detail. Similarly, the case study brings up many interesting, pertinent
questions that are left unanswered. I do not attempt to determine the impli-
cations of the model developed; I leave further examination of the model,
citizen-bases planning, and the Arlington experiment to others. I only
present an example and use it to illustrate the application on my model of
planning and participation.

I would like to acknowledge the contributions of numerous people to
this work. Unfortunately, there is insufficient room to list all relevant
names, but some deserve special attention. Most specifically, I wish to thank
Charles Perry, a PhD candidate at M.I.T., who filled the role of advisor more
than any other person. I also wish to thank all of the people associated with
the Arlington experience, especially those who were staff when I was, and who
attended the theoretical seminars on the citizen-based planning process:

Susan Brody

Adele Fleet-Bacow

Kate Hildebrand

Bruce Joffe

Mark Keough

Emerson Knowles

Debbie Stinson

Linda Valenstein

Mike Van Hilst

Wes Worley

Beth Zaro

Special reference must be made of William J. Grannan, the chairperson of the
CIC when I was on the staff; he was indespensible when writing the case study.
Finally, I wish to acknowledge the many contributions of Professor Lawrence E.
Susskind.

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Chapter One

A Foundation For Planning

What is planning? This is not an easy question; planning is an
amorphous concept. According to the dictionary, a plan is a scheme of
action or procedure; a project or definite purpose. To plan is to arrange a
plan or scheme; to project a plan, act, or course of action. Finally,
planning is any method of thinking out acts and purposes beforehand. These
definitions are too general to be very useful for determining what consti-
tutes urban planning. These definitions fail to illuminate the differences
between the various aspects of urban planning--between organizing a health
services center and setting a department's priorities, for example. However,
these definitions do serve to illustrate the key aspects of planning: its
future orientation and its relationship to decision-making.

Again according to the dictionary, a decision is either the act of
forming an opinion or deciding on a course of action or the determination
arrived at after consideration. Obviously, planning entails making
decisions. One must decide if planning is the correct approach, what the
plan will cover, for whose sake, and towards what end. Also, planning sets
the framework for future decision-making. Day-to-day decisions are made so
as to conform to the plan. The plan provides the criteria for determining
what a "good" decision is; decisions should be made that further the
purposes of the plan decided upon previously.

Planning is not something that is done, and once done, considered
complete; rather, planning is a process. Before going to bed each night,
I "think about" (plan) what I will do the next day. I make some specific
decisions (I have these chores to do...) and some constraints (I am busy

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tonight, so I must get so much done today). In the morning, I again plan my day (remind myself of what I have to do). During the day, as one task is completed and I have some free time, I may know (from my plans) what to do next, decide what to do, or plan what next to do. That is, I may know what to do, decide what to do to achieve my plan's goals, or set new goals and draw up new plans. Should something in my world change (a change in plans), I must replan part of the rest of the day, or maybe even further into the future. My plans depend, in part, upon the plans of those around me; my environment feeds back into the planning process. Because all planning shares the characteristics noted above, I refer to planning as a process.

Planning is a process for making decisions consistent with some set of values that are coordinated and not redundant. Planning makes decisions about future actions; this is the most important aspect of planning. Though planning is always future oriented, it can operate over several different time frames. Any plan can be classified as either short-, medium-, or long-run. In the long-run, a plan may attempt to change or control almost any factor affecting a society. As the time frame shortens, fewer and fewer factors can be altered. For example, think of the issue of integration in the U.S. In the long-run, we deem segregation to be undesirable and would do away with it. We recognize that this is an impossible goal to obtain immediately. We also feel that segregation is a social problem, and that it will be necessary to re-educate our society. It has been maintained that integrating housing, schools, and commercial and recreational life will begin the process of integration. I feel that these are medium-run goals, aimed at achieving some long-term goal, but not specific enough to guide daily activities. In the short-run, we are concerned with issues such as

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how to integrate schools and housing. Reiterating, issues such as forced bussing vs. redistricting are short-run; housing integration vs. school integration are medium-run; and integration vs. separate-but-equal are long-run.

Another way of viewing the future orientation of planning is to ask whether a plan is setting goals or trying to attain goals already set. This is a useful distinction to make for two reasons. First, the philosophical issues and practical methods are different for goal setting and goal attaining. Attainment assumes a fixed goal; an algorithm for reaching the goal is sought. Setting goals assumes a number of possible competing possibilities; a way of prioritizing these options is desired. Roughly, planning for attaining a goal will be short-run, while goal setting is long-run planning. The medium-run plan bridges this dichotomy. Here we are working on attaining the long-run goals, while setting more specific goals for the short-run. Second, this division of planning into goal setting and goal attaining closely matches the empirically observed functioning of government. This dichotomy is close to the division of power between the executive and administrative; it is also similar to the separation of planning and implementing found within a department.

Both the three time frames and the setting-attaining dichotomy can be illustrated by looking at then-president Johnson's Great Society and the poverty programs. Johnson decided that something had to be done about America's poor. This is a long-run, goal setting plan. He then consulted with the experts at HUD and HEW about what policies and programs would best attack the problem. This represents both middle-range planning and the division of responsibility between the executive and administrative branches of government. The top level administrators and their experts

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argued issues such as block grant-in-aid vs. general revenue sharing and whether or not the poor had to be dealt with differently from the middle-class. They came up with middle-range plans and goals like the Model Cities program, manpower programs, and welfare policies and programs. These medium-run plans were adopted when jointly agreed to by the executive and administrative branches. The top administrators and their experts then determined the way to implement these middle-range plans and passed down the resultant short-run plans to those who would ac' ally car y them out on a day-by-day basis.

Another obvious question is why people plan. If taken too literally, it is tempting to say that different people have different reasons for planning. People may want to know the general shape of the future for a variety of reasons: to protect themselves from unexpected change, to speculate on change, etc. Yet, in more general terms, there appear to be two major reasons why people plan. All planning around goal attainment (all short- and some medium-range planning) is primarily concerned with production. Long-range policies and goal(s) are set, even the desired program(s) are known. The planner's job is to actualize the program(s) and achieve the goal(s). This is usually considered the realm of technical planning and expertise. Techniques for achieving specific goals can be observed, refined, catalogued, and taught. Action is intended, but usually by a "third-party" implementor, as compared to the planner.

By contrast, all planning around goal setting (all long- and some medium-range planning) is primarily concerned with prediction. The proper goals, policies, and programs must be found; indeed, the proper way to find the proper plan must also be determined. In this role, the planner is akin to an explorer or research scientist. What comes out of predictive planning

is totally dependent upon the planners, their values, their views of the world, and their past experiences. There are few accepted general techniques, making it hard to teach predictive planning. Action is often necessary even to get the plan considered, and this action must usually come from the planners themselves. Implementation of the plan is often not considered or even expected.

My notions of productive and predictive planning do not form a true dichotomy. Rather, they are labels for empirically observable differences about why people plan. For example, what I have labeled "productive" planning requires prediction to the extent of knowing what a program might result in, or what a policy implies. Partly for this reason, I wish to adopt different terms for these two types of planning. Following John Friedmann's usage in Retracking America,[1] I will call the productive reason for planning "allocative" planning, and the predictive reason, "innovative" planning. The questions are: what are the characteristics of these types of planning, how do they differ, and what are their implications?

Allocative planning exhibits several distinctive characteristics, the most important being:

- comprehensiveness;
- systemic equilibrium orientation;
- quantitative analysis orientation;
- functional rationality.

Each of these characteristics, and their implications, will be examined in turn.

Allocative planning is concerned with who gets what; it attempts to match scarce resources with competing uses. If all possible users of a certain resource are not considered when planning the allocation of that

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resource, planning would appear to be a non-optimal process. Conversely, when planning for a specific user, all necessary resources should be considered. Planners would like to say that they took everything into account when drawing up a plan. This is the notion of comprehensiveness. Today more than ever, plans are made that touch upon all aspects of life; this has driven planners to search for ways to be comprehensive. In order to claim comprehensiveness, planners must be able to compare all uses of scarce resources and prioritize these needs.

To be able to objectively compare and rank these different uses requires that the decision variables be quantitatively measurable. So as not to appear to be planning for their own ends, planners have used the concept of the "public interest" to represent the socially acceptable scale by which priorities are set. Finally, in their efforts to be totally comprehensive, allocative planners attempt to model the relevant factors of the system under consideration. These models are invariably equilibrium oriented; indeed, most of them are static. Only recently, with the advent of the computer, have rudimentary dynamic models been attempted. This preoccupation with equilibrium is inherent from the strategic nature of allocative planning. Goals are laid out for many different aspects of the system planned for; the planner's task is how best to obtain all the goals simultaneously. The desire for the system to optimally move towards the set of goals requires that each component be in harmony (equilibrium) with the rest of the system.

These characteristics of allocative planning have several significant consequences. The equilibrium orientation tends to make the planner reluctant to consider changes to the system that might upset the equilibrium within the system. The planner's energy is shifted from working for

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improvements to working to maintain the system in balance. The planner tends to overemphasize the model and the factors it incorporates, and to downplay what is observed to be occuring. The quantitative orientation further inhibits the planner. Some relevant decision variables can not be readily quantified; this limits the possible complexity of a model. Planners caught up in their models tend to oversimplify both the nature of the problems and the solutions possible. The planner tends to become removed from practical considerations. Instead of concentrating on how to effect change, planners focus their attention on describing possible future system states. Action strategies are drawn from the models, rather than reality.

Many of these features of allocative planning can be seen in the field of transportation planning. Allow me to construct a hypothetical situation. It is desired to accommodate the increase in the number of people who commute into a large metropolitan center along a certain corridor. Furthermore, a shift from cars to public transportation is detired. This problem might be approached by looking at all the ways people now commute into the city, and the options that are available to them. The planner might construct a grand model that encompasses a dozen major roadways and a half dozen public options. Such measures as time to commute, cost of commuting to the commuter and the public, reduced air pollution, etc., might be incorporated.

Notice the omissions already evident. Many minor roads have not been explicitly included, and such measures as convenience, personal preference, visual impact of the solution, etc., can not be incorporated. The oversimplification of the model leads the planner to oversimplify the problem, and hence the solution. Even so, the planner can generate a host

of possible future system states. The "plan" that is "chosen" is usually just the best appearing system state. Should it be argued during the process that some of the initial assumptions were wrong, the planner would probably resist the notion, at least partially due to the fact that the whole model would have to be redone. Once the initial conditions are noted, the planner will, to a certain extent, stop thinking about the real situation, and instead concentrate on the model. Finally, the planner will tend to downplay any factors, such as personal convenience, that could not be incorporated into the model.

The notion of functional rationality comes from Karl Mannheim and his theories on the sociology of knowledge. He meant the efficient relation of means to a given end. This is the realm of the expert, and the basis for allocative planning. This works "in both directions": on one hand, how to reach a certain goal; on the other hand, the implications of a given action. In this light, allocative planners would describe their jobs as determining the practical implications of the implicit norms of a society. They take the norms as given, hence attempting to avoid the value judgments inherent in setting norms. These planners hold that the societal norms are incorporated in the public interest. Allocative planners also claim to be heirs to a rational, objective science. They maintain that they are both objective and in possession of special information about societal norms (the public interest). They therefore must hold that the public interest is scientifically determinable or logically postulated. The implications of this position will be dealt with later.

To summarize the key aspects of allocative planning, I quote Friedmann: "The desire to be comprehensive has produced the illusion of an omnipotent intelligence; the method of system-wide balances has led to

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an overemphasis on stability; quantitative modeling has encouraged the neglect of the actual conditions governing policy and program implementation; and the claim to functional rationality has made planners insensitive to the value implications of their work."[2]

Let me turn now to innovative planning. It also exhibits several distinctive characteristics, the most important being:

- long-run future orientation;

- planning and implementing as one process;

- change orientation;

- resource mobilization.

Each of these characteristics and their implications will be examined in turn.

The long-run future orientation of innovative planning has already been touched upon. This form of planning is aimed at new actions; it attempts to determine what goals should be striven for. In general, innovative planning attempts to picture the future, and to reduce uncertainty about it. Here planning is an effort to bring the future into the present by predicting future values, actions, and decisions. Since there is, in effect, a choice between many possible futures, innovative planning is obviously value-laden. The notion of the public interest is still used to insure that the planner's personal values are not substituted for the society's. These two types of planning differ on how they view the public interest. Allocative planners would have the public interest defined objectively, or at least outside of their realm, thus removing the value judgments from planning. Innovative planners, however, openly accept the value-laden character of their work. Since value judgments can not be

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made by a rational-scientific process, these planners would attempt some other method of determining the public interest.

Though implementation may not be immediately anticipated, innovative planning is action oriented in the sense that planning and acting to get the plan implemented or accepted are part of the same process. The planner does not stop work upon producing a plan, in marked contrast to the traditional notion of a planner's role. The traditional dynamics of planning in a society such as ours is as follows:

- the public interest is determined politically, usually either by the legislature or the top executives;

- planners are given the goals that they are to work on, and are given, or somehow obtain, some notion of what is held to be in the public interest;

- planners produce a plan, or several plans;

- legislators and/or the top executives decide whether to accept the plan and, if so, which one (if there is a choice); this is another political decision;

- administrative personnel attempt implementation.

Innovative planning, on the other hand, proceeds along the assumption that the process will effect the outcome. In this light, it is felt that the development of a plan or institution is an inseparable part of its ability to succeed.

Innovative planning is primarily concerned with determining future value propositions and translating them into actions. Should these future values be different than currently existing ones, changes of the structure of the social system will be necessitated. An old institution may have to be adapted or done away with, or a new institution may be called for. This

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again is in marked contrast to the conservative nature of allocative planning. Innovative planning's propensity to change brings up several important aspects of this approach.

Innovative planners propose structural changes. Since it is not possible to restructure the whole social system at once, these planners give up any claim of being comprehensive. In fact, innovative planning addresses itself to a single set of issues only. This leads to a piece-meal pattern of change for the social system. The orientation towards change is another example of value judgments being explicitly accepted by innovative planning. There are many possible futures that can be planned, and no single accepted value structure with which to judge them. It follows that a rational-scientific approach to the problem is impossible. This does not mean that the possible futures can not be evaluated. Experts can produce a picture of the future, and argue for its merits using their own value systems. Hopefully, this loss of objectivity would be made up for when the experts confront one another over their differences. Extreme positions would tend to moderate each other; since the ultimate decision on plans would be made in the political arena, there would be much bargaining and compromise, leading to the adoption of a generally acceptable version of a plan. Finally, innovative planning is reformist rather than revo-lutionary. During a revolt, information can not keep up with the rate of change, so no real planning could occur. Innovative planning operates by aggregating many incremental changes to arrive at a substantial change. The destruction or radical alteration of the sytem during revolutions would destroy most of what the planners were striving for.

The orientation towards structural change means that innovative planners are proposing new uses for some scarce resources. This is

different from the allocative planner, who is trying to distribute the scarce resources amongst a certain number of competing users. If one views the social system as a zero-sum game, innovative planners would introduce new players, making the competition more severe, to the resentment of those already in the game. This has a couple of implications. First, allocative and innovative planners are often in conflict. The innovative planner is attempting to alter the system that the allocative planner is working with. The allocative planner is usually more established, and closer to the centers of power. This puts the allocative planner in control of many of the resources that the innovative planner needs. Second, the innovative planner will tend to be opposed by the established resource users, as well as by established centers of power. These facts make innovative planning even more judgmental.

Innovative planning, then, is basically uncoordinated and competitive in nature. It is hard to determine the dynamics of this type of planning, for there is a long interim stage of action without obvious, significant results. Thus this is a frustrating type of planning to undertake. Innovative planners tend to be distant from the centers of power. This enables them to be innovative, but hinders their ability to mobilize needed resources. Fundamentally, allocative and innovative planners have different responsibilities, goals, strategies, values, and much more.

What are the implications of these two different motivations for planning? To understand better, I will return to a basic characteristic of planning that differentiates the two types of planning I have outlined. This is the concept of the "public interest." Both types of planning would use this concept in a similar way: to determine what is socially

desirable and to substitute for the planners' personal values. Yet one wants a "rational, objective" public interest, and the other insists that the public interest can not be determined scientifically. It would appear that the two are talking about entirely different ideas. What exactly is this thing—the public interest—that underlies so many of the differences between the two reasons for planning?

Chapter Two

The Public Interest

When thought about literally, the public interest appears to be close to the public's interest. The question then arises, who are "the public"? We mean more than simply aggregating everyone's personal interests, as Shelling amply demonstrated. He proposed a model of an integrated neighborhood, and attributed to everyone the desire to live in a simple, racial majority in the area immediately surrounding their home. The result of this approach was total segregation, an outcome no one person wanted. Therefore, instead of thinking of any group as "the public," one can take the society as a whole. Then the public interest becomes the societal interest. If community is defined as a group of people with shared values, the public interest can be defined as those concepts and values that protect the shared norms of the people in a community.

More can be said about the concept by observing how it is used. The public interest is a delineating concept; it is used by planners and politicians to differentiate acceptable social actions from unacceptable ones. The public interest provides an ordering of social priorities; it can be used to determine the social importance of any planned action. The public interest is a legitimizing concept; it is used in place of someone's personal value structure when making decisions that are of social significance. Finally, the public interest is multi-dimensional; many factors can be included in the concept, depending upon the perceived social norms.

Take, for example, the debate over the proposed Federal Interstate Highway system that occurred shortly after World War II. Proponents of the

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idea could have argued for it on a number of grounds: defense, improved commerce, service to the public, etc. They chose, however, to argue for it on the grounds of its contribution to the nation's defense systems. This argument was not only clearly in the public's interest, but also high on the list of priorities, especially right after a major war. This line of reasoning also served nicely to legitimize the truckers and commercial interests that were lobbying so strongly for the road system for their own personal gain.

What does this description of the public interest show? The way that it is defined in terms of the shared norms or values of a community brings up three points. First, communities are not as homogeneous as planners would define them. Even two people will not agree on everything. Second, the question of what values to consider is intimately connected with what community one considers. This is apparent in the iss of exclusionary zoning. A town, especially a suburb, may decide that limiting growth and housing development is in its best interest. However, from a regional perspective, just the opposite might be true. Third, though the theoretical issue might be which community to consider, the practical issue remains a conflict of values that must be resolved.

It is hard to compare and debate values. This is evident in the value conflicts between and within various "communities" and the non-homogeneity of the public interest. It is harder still to try and be objective about values; along which dimensions does one compare such diverse values as freedom and security? Even so, there have been many planners who maintain that their profession is an objective science. These are the same people who would "objectively" define the public interest. Other planners would attempt to elicit the public interest from the people

involved in, and affected by, a plan. This sounds more reasonable, democratic, and "grass roots." However, what will happen is that many values, some conflicting, will be received. These values must still be weighed, or prioritized. If a single planner, or small group, attempts to order the values, personal priorities will get substituted for the public interest. This form of weighting, like defining the public interest, serves to hide the act of judging values. These issues of weighting, nonhomogeneity, and judging arise whenever one attempts to determine the public interest. The best resolution to these problems seems to be to involve as many of the people affected by the planning process as possible in the act of explicating the relevant values, and to involve as many people as possible in ordering them.

The above discussion suggests to me a trichotomy of planning styles, differentiated by their relation to the public interest. As stated, there are those planners who would define the public interest. These planners believe that this can be arrived at simply by analyzing the situation. Next, there are those planners who advocate for a particular conception of the public interest. The interesting issues in advocacy planning are where and how the planner gets his clients and his notion of the public interest. Finally, there are those planners who would attempt to elicit the public interest. I do not include in this group those planners who would try to prioritize the elicited values by themselves; they are really defining the public interest. Instead, those planners who work with the public to both elicit and order values fall into this last category.

Almost enough has been said about defining the public interest; here is a summary. Some planners feel that they can define the public interest because they believe that they ply a rational, objective trade. However,

values are impossible to compare objectively. Also, which community to consider is an unanswerable question. Though these planners would define a single public interest, by considering different communities, different notions of the public interest would be arrived at. All that defining the public interest does is to hide the value judgments inherent in planning. This technique has been used extensively by comprehensive planners since planning began; it amounts to saying, "we know what is best for society."

Those who would advocate a particular conception of the public interest fit nicely into the category of advocate planners, but the notion is usually approached from a different viewpoint. Advocacy planning grew as a response to the increased pace of our lives—more decisions to be made, more people affected, and more interdependent factors and higher-order effects. The net result of this lifestyle is an unequal, unequitable social system: unequal because not everyone gets an equal chance—sex, race, and country of origin are still held against people; unequitable in that, even if we gave everyone an equal chance, those most disadvantaged, being at the bottom of the social system, would not be able to take advantage of the fact, due to a lack of technical sophistication. It is this lack of equity that initially gave rise to advocacy planning. The "advocate" would represent some "disadvantaged" group in the "greater system" and defend "their" interests. Instead of representing "everyone" as represented in the public interest, advocates represent some subgroup in a pluralistic setting—a novel clientele for a planner.

Advocating is overtly political. Advocates represent their own group or interest. The notion of a single community is done away with, as are the notions of a single "best" solution and a single public interest such a solution might serve. Another issue arises that can be worded in

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either of two ways:

- who is the group being represented?

- what is the interest being represented?

It can be argued that for any group of two or more people, it is impossible to construct a single hierarchy of values to label "the group's interests"; see Arrow's work on voting. Therefore, a group may hire an advocate, but what interests he will represent is not predetermined. Likewise, there may be a burning issue--pollution, urban renewal, a new road system, etc.-- that clearly has people in controversy, where the "group" simply becomes all those who feel this way about a certain issue. Both of these results follow directly from viewing the planner as advocating a particular conception of the public interest. Advocating will be political because determining the public interest always is. The issue of who is the group/what are the issues is exactly the problem encountered when defining the public interest. For this reason, I view advocate planning as planners developing their own conception of the public interest and vigorously defending it. I believe that a planner can not advocate for a group whose interests he does not share.

Finally, advocating a particular notion of the public interest is primarily issue oriented. When an issue arises, people band together around common feelings about the issue. Each group has its own ideas about what is in the public interest in that particular situation. When the issue changes, the people involved change, and the groups change, and notions of the public interest change. This has several repercussions:

- there will tend to be a power confrontation as each group pushes

  for its own objectives;

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- the citizen groups involved will tend to be temporary or general
  multi-purpose groups;
- the advocate will be reacting to a situation, rather than enacting
  a comprehensive plan;
- the advocate can also be viewed as a manipulator.

The key point here is the tendency towards a power confrontation. One finds
the advocate, acting as a manipulator, attempting to moderate a fight in
which the "rules" are unclear.

Those attempting to elicit the public interest are the most radical
planners in the trichotomy. Under this approach, the notion of a represen-
tative democratic decision process is either merged with, or replaced by,
the notion of a participatory process. Those affected by an action or
decision, both the participants and the benificiaries, meet to determine
what is in their mutual self-interests. This model does not necessitate
a "best" solution in any absolute sense, but rather a viable solution to
a specific situation. This approach promotes flexibility in that any
outcome is possible. There is more input into the decision-making process,
with more views represented, and a greater chance of affecting the status
quo. With more input into the plan, there is more support for it, and
hence more support for the implementation effort. The inertia of
established institutions can be challenged or disrupted by the citizens'
participation. The citizens have no particular institutions to maintain,
and much to be gained by causing institutions to be responsive.
Participatory groups can provide flexibility to a (professional) adminis-
trator in much the same way as contracting out services. Finally,
participation seems to be in the literal spirit of the public interest; it
is comfortably close to "grass roots" organizations.

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More and more planners are recognizing the benefits of attempting to elicit the public interest. Long-range, comprehensive planners are beginning to incorporate the idea into their processes. Advocates, having always been close to their clients, have always been informally eliciting values from their clients. The effort to elicit client values has usually taken the form of increased public participation. Remember that I defined "eliciting the public interest" as both eliciting and ordering values publicly. Even though the values held by the public could always be determined by a survey, the ordering of values requires a direct, open involvement of citizens into the process. This being so, the concept of citizen participation will be explored, but first some necessary terms will be introduced.

Chapter Three

Citizen Participation

In a sense, all citizens are relevant actors in discussing social

action. Usually, only a subset of the population is affected by a given

program, though the whole of society may be affected by a certain policy.

It is necessary to meaningfully divide the society into groups of similar

actors for the sake of clarity. I have chosen to consider lay citizens,

administrators, and legislators. Lay citizens are those people who are not

formally involved in government and related social work (e.g., planning,

delivery of social services). These are the masses which feel the

strongest effects of various social actions, and who traditionally were

farthest from exercising any control over the society. Administrators

run a society on a day-by-day basis; I also include in this group those

public servants who are given jobs without specific terms, whether hired

or appointed. These people wield considerable power by virtue of

administrating programs and interpreting policy. By the nature of their

hiring, they are unaccountable to the citizenry. Finally, legislators

are the politicians whose jobs have definite terms, and hence are

supposedly more accountable to the public. Note that by this definition,

legislators, elected executives, and elected judiciary are all labeled

legislators. The traditional model of the functioning of a society like

ours is:

- citizens, through voting, petitioning, writing letters, etc.,

    inform the legislators of their wants;

- legislators make the primary value decisions over what should

    be done;

- legislators convey to the administrators what to do;

- administrators interpret their instructions, and, by their
  actions, finalize policy.

The environment in which these actors operate is predominantly bureaucratic. So far, bureaucracy is mankind's best response to decision-making and action coordination for large numbers of people in increasingly complex situations in a viable manner. Some significant interactions occur elsewhere, say between two powerful people in private or "behind the scene" like in the Watergate scandal, but bureaucracies remain the only socially acceptable form of organizational dynamics. All bureaucracies share a set of basic characteristics: hierarchy, specialization, expertise, impersonality, anonymity, and uniformity. In addition, bureaucracies tend to function by the same method, namely: reliance on rules and regulations, channels, hierarchy, continuity, predictability, and stability. Both the characteristics of bureaucracies and their operating methods contribute to their image of being cold, inefficient, mindless systems. There is a mutual effect between bureaucracies and participation; the bureaucratic environment will affect the participatory process, and participation will affect the operations of bureaucracies.

The actors relevant to participation can be classified according to how they interface with a particular organization. Any institution has its supporters (including staff), its suppliers, its beneficiaries, its adversaries, and probably its inspectors. A mutual understanding of purpose and procedure appears to be lacking between these groups. More-over, there are often misunderstandings within one of these groups. Take, for example, the deinstitutionalization of the state's juvenile justice system in Massachusetts. Briefly, one man decided to close down all

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detention centers in the state, virtually overnight. Some intellectuals supporte the move for theoretical reasons, some governments supported it for economic reasons, and some suppliers supported it because their services would be needed. However, the program generated its share of academic and governmental criticism, and those suppliers whose services would no longer be needed were against it. The inspectors were of divided opinions; having never been able to agree on an evaluation of the institutions, they could not judge whether the change was for the better or not. These conflicts, adding to the confusion of politics, will be pertinent to a discussion of participation.

Participation can be viewed both as a means and an end. I have approached participation as a means of two-way communication and of eliciting public opinions. Participation can also be viewed in several other ways. It can counter institutional inertia by providing fresh input and motivation; it can enhance surface stability by acting as a sounding board for new ideas; and it can humanize bureaucracies by allowing direct citizen input and providing a feeling of personal effectiveness, to mention a few. As a means, participation can make attaining a goal easier by such means as pretesting ideas and getting citizen support. As an end in itself, participation serves to share ideas amongst people; it educates all parties involved; and it allows for more consensual decision-making. The desirability of participation must be judged in terms of its expected effectiveness. For participation as a means, this amounts to determining how much participation will help in reaching the goal. For participation as an end, this amounts to determining how much the actors and agencies involved will learn and grow.

My basic model for the process of participation begins with participation being deemed desirable. This raises the question of who opted for participation, and why? What were the espoused reasons? What were the anticipated results? What was the pre-existing environment? The answers to these questions determine the relationship between the participatory group and the powers that be—what I call the participator-institution interface. I measure this interface in terms of the degree of participation, or the extent to which power is shared. This interface is conceptually different depending upon whether the participatory group is dependent or independent from the formal government; more on this later. The degree of participation then determines the type of person who is likely to get involved, with what motives, and with what intensity. At this point, the range of possible dynamics is limited, possibly narrowed down to a single option. For instance, a blue-ribbon committee, comprised solely of influential businessmen, convened solely to inform planners on the issue of revitalizing the central business district, would probably be consensually oriented and content to merely discuss the issues. Finally, the actual outcome of a particular attempt at participation is determined by the details of the situation. Statements predicting the results of any given effort are weak and speculative at best.

Why is participation deemed desirable? There must be some reason; some action must be desired; there must be a goal. This need for a reason to choose participation means that it is impossible to institute partici-pation as only an end in itself, for at least some nominal goal is neces-sary. As long as there is a goal, it is always possible to assert that participation is just a means toward an end, a technique to be used like any other planning tool. This merely serves to hide the value-oriented

aspects of planning and participation. There are a number of goals that can be claimed, with different actors emphasizing different reasons. Possible goals of participation range from an administrator justifying a course of action to citizens controlling a program. For the sake of clarity, I will examine separately the goals supported by each of the three types of actors.

Administrators are the actors traditionally most opposed to citizen participation in their realm. These officials often perceive themselves to be experts and professionals with a special claim to knowledge. They are responsible for the daily functioning of our governmental bureaucracies, which they view as a full-time job. Consequently, administrators frequently take a dim view of lay citizen inputs into their work. Yet there are reasons for administrators to support participation. They may need to generate support or justification for some action, or appease complaining citizens. Participation may be another tool in the great game of politics. It may provide needed channels through which information can flow, particularly demands for services and feedback on the functioning of the government. Finally, it might be mandated by law.

Legislators may favor participation for many of the same reasons as administrators. In addition, legislators are sensitive to the "grass roots" nature of participation; it appears democratic and is reminiscent of large-scale public support. Again, participation may be supported because it is fashionable. The main reason that both administrators and legislators support the same goals is that both of these groups are holders of power. Their position as parts of the formal government give them similar goals, especially when compared to lay citizens.

Citizens have frequently demanded participation. This may be an expression of frustration or dissatisfaction with the way the government affects them, with the hope being that participation will affect the status quo. Citizens will possibly view participation as a way of communicating with "them," of affecting the decision-making process, of gaining and ensuring a responsive government, or of obtaining some power. When perpetuated by those outside the formal government, participation is a request/demand for a greater share of society's rewards. When viewed this way, participation is again seen to be a politically loaded concept.

Two points follow from the above analysis. First, who calls for participation, and why, determines the degree of participation that will ultimately prevail. It is the characteristics of the participator-institution interface that are maintained over time, that are repeatedly dealt with, and hence must be understood. For this reason I must stress the significance of the degree of participation; I will return to this notion shortly. Second, I have tried to show that the issue of participation, especially when advocated for by citizens, is far from value free. This being the case, it no longer seems reasonable to ask whether one favors citizen participation as an ideal, but whether one favors the particular use to which participation is to be put. To make an absolute statement is akin to making a blanket statement as to whether one supports rallies. While I am sure that some people would make such absolute pronouncements, I feel that both rallies and participation have good as well as bad points, and both have a number of not comparable goals (e.g., participation can be a delaying tactic as well as an educational tool).

I have defined the participator-institution interface as the relationship between the participatory group and the powers that be. Obviously,

all participation is not the same--there is token and meaningful participation, participation in goal setting and in the effort to attain goals, etc. A division of participation germain to this paper is into those participatory groups that are officially part of the formal government and those that are independent of the formal government. For semantical symmetry, I will refer to these as dependent and independent participation. I chose this dichotomy because this feature of participation is of paramount importance to understanding the process as a whole.

For dependent participatory groups, the degree of participation is a fairly concise concept. Depending upon what goals one pursued, the degree of input into the decision-making process allowed citizens can be arranged along a continuum. At one extreme, no direct input is allowed. A citizen's input is restricted to voting, petitioning, and writing letters. Next comes token input. Sometimes, this amounts to citizens with community visibility and tame reputations being assembled to approve politically selected ideas. Informing other citizens and informing the government are levels of tokenism. Attempts might be made to placate or co-opt influential citizens through tokenism. Finally, one moves to the far extreme, where citizens actually have influence. Power may remain primarily centralized, as when the government and citizens become "partners." An example of this would be a parent-administration group charged with setting policy for a school department. The school committee would have the final say, but if the group worked in a consensual manner, power is truly shared. Power may be decentralized, but with a vestige of central control remaining. This is exemplified by the operation of the draft boards, who were subject only to general federal regulations. Finally, power may be totally

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decentralized. A tenant group taking over the management of a housing project would be an example of this degree of participation.

For independent participatory groups, the degree of participation must be measured differently. Instead of examining the extent to which power is shared, it makes sense to observe the range of issues covered by the group, as well as how adequately the public is involved in the effort. The broader the range of issues, the more likely it would be that a large number of people would be involved. Conversely, the more issues involved, the more people the group will attract. This measure has the defect that there is no upper limit; more people and issues can always be involved. Yet at a certain point diminishing returns sets in. This seemed to occur during virtually every school take-over during the late 1960's. To cover everyone involved, the lists of demands were made too long, general, and conflicting. There was, in effect, nothing for the school administrations to react to; too many people and issues were causing a loss of group coordination and effectiveness. An example of a low degree of participation would be a citizen group that formed to stop some threatening action. A relatively small number of people are involved around a single issue. A somewhat higher degree is seen in the Cambridge Women's Center. This group addresses itself to all women and their problems. A high degree of participation is seen in the League of Women Voters, where anyone can bring up any issue of social significance.

At this point, the model is still vague and general. A participatory process oriented towards some goal(s) exists. There is a characteristic degree of participation, largely determined by who called for the process and their espoused goals. What motivates people to opt for participation has been investigated. But one must also ask, what motivates citizens to

participate? What can be said about the actors who did not opt for participation, but find themselves involved in such a process? Finally, the dynamics of the process must still be investigated.

Depending on the espoused goals and the degree of participation, different citizens will be attracted. While the specifics of the situation greatly influence who in particular will become involved, some general comments about what motivates participants are in order. I feel that citizens are drawn into a participatory situation by a commitment/ responsibility to one or more of the following:

- an ideology;

- the community;

- a subgroup (e.g., ethnic, religious, political, service club);

- a special interest group;

- one's family;

- oneself.

Generally, these factors do not operate alone; an "altruistic" as well as a "selfish" reason is necessary. On one hand, most people desire an altruistic reason to morally justify their demands and actions. This is similar to the public interest being used to legitimize the use of a state's police power. On the other hand, most citizens need a personal reason to motivate them to action. This reason can be as general as procuring an educational experience or as specific as wanting a particular objective. This is a testable proposition. When one asks someone casually, and preferably in public, why they participate, one gets the altruistic response. When one talks to someone in detail, especially in private, about what they anticipated and what they have done with participation, the personal reasons come out. This is evident when observing politicians.

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Publicly they support their positions with the public interest and the general welfare, while privately they feel the pull of numerous interests and competing demands. That they respond to these pressures is obvious, even amongst the best politicians.

The espoused goals, the degree of participation, and the motives of the citizens will determine how intensely people will participate. By intensity, I mean both the extent to which people participate and how much they learn during the process. I feel that these measures of input and output are totally correlated; the more one puts into the process, the more one gets out of it, and nothing can be gotten without some input. While it is difficult to measure the results of participation, there are several factors that can be used to assess the extent of input. Such obvious indices as the amount of time or money put into the process are easily quantifiable but do not necessarily indicate how much a person is contributing to the process. Looking at how much power or control a person has is both difficult to measure and not necessarily indicative of actual input. How much responsibility a person has assumed, as measured by leadership roles taken, the type of group decision one is willing to make, etc., is hard to quantify but is likely to indicate how much one is getting out of participation. Using responsibility as a measure, I see three general intensities of participation.

The lowest level of intensity consists of the official members. These people go to group meetings, either by choice or by virtue of being chosen or appointed. They may or may not actively participate at the meetings; however, they rarely take action, and are almost like spectators. The medium level of intensity covers those people who assume responsibility within the group. They talk and contribute their ideas, they propose and

carry out actions, and they generally strive for the group's goals.
This intensity of involvement is necessary for any participatory group that
pursues its own goals. Token groups need some people like this to move the
group, while groups independent of the government rely on their members
being this intensely involved. The highest intensity is demonstrated by
those people who assume leadership roles within the group. These people
make a tremendous investment of time and energy, and assume much responsi-
bility. For dependent groups, these leaders keep the group progressing
towards their goals. In independent groups, the leaders must also help
provide some direction for the group to go in. For example, think of an
independent citizen's "good government" group. There will be those members
whose only contribution is through discussion. There will also be those
members who help provide continuity for the group, who propose actions,
and who volunteer to do things. Lastly, there will be those members who
continually provide a direction for the group, whose commitments and
responsibilities are greater than average.

Given the goals, the actors, and the degree and intensity of
participation, there remains the issue of the actual dynamics of the
process. There are two types of dynamics to contend with: those within
the group (intragroup) and those betwen the group and the rest of the
environment of interaction (intergroup). Before investigating these
dynamics, it is necessary to examine the general orientation of the whole
participatory process. I have discussed how participation can be either
a means to a goal or an end in itself. Even more generally, the process
can be either goal or issue oriented. By issue oriented, I mean that the
whole process is focused on one particular issue. This is akin to
advocacy planning; such a focus results in a process that is short-lived,

conflict oriented, and inviting of extremes in the degree and intensity of participation. Under an issue orientation, it is unlikely that participation as an end in itself would occur, because this focus tends to make everything a means for resolving the issue. Goal orientation, on the other hand, is focused on formulating policy. While participation may still be viewed as a means for setting policy, it is only under a goal orientation that participation as an end in itself is viable. Goal orientation allows participation to be viewed as an on-going, educational activity to involve those people affected in the process of setting social policy.

The intergroup dynamics are most strongly affected by the degree of participation. For independent groups, the intergroup dynamics are virtually impossible to speculate on. Whatever relationship that develops will prevail. The relationship between an independent participatory group and the powers that be is primarily political, and hence anything is possible. For dependent groups, the degree of participation strongly determines the likely dynamics. Not allowing citizens any real power results in the participants either being rubber stamp "yes men" or frustrated dissenters. This lack of power will cause anyone who does not agree with the direction that the group is taking to quit. Token involvement leads to ineffectual, "busy work" dynamics. The main feature of tokenism is the lack of assurance of effectiveness. Tokenism is useful as a communications channel, and to placate or co-opt troublesome citizens. However, with no assurance of effectiveness, its potentials are limited. When the degree of participation allows citizens actual power, the dynamics that develop are those of social psychology and politics. When the environment is primarily political, the inter- and intragroup dynamics are the same for both dependent and independent groups.

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Before turning to intragroup dynamics, I would like to examine one aspect of the political nature of some of the dynamics mentioned above. Suppose that there is either an independent group, or a dependent one that allows power to the participants. Then citizens are being asked to help plan. On one hand, therefore, particip•tion is a means of getting a citizen involved in decision-making. On the other hand, this can be viewed as an end in itself. Participation educates the citizenry, too. This can be viewed as either an end or a means (say, of getting better articulated demands from people). However, the educational aspects remain as an end in themselves even if participation as a means of planning fails. This holds whether the process is issue or goal oriented, but note: under issue orientation, with its power conflicts, polarized atmosphere, and single dimension, there is little that is conducive to learning. It is primarily under a goal orientation that participation as an educational experience is possible. These notions of goal oriented planning and participation as an end in itself are necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for what I describe below as "capacity building."

Intragroup dynamics are always primarily those of social psychology. There will be factions according to beliefs, conflicts amongst those who hold differing views, and an attempt to reach the group's goals. For issue oriented groups, the problem might demand immediate attention by the time participation is underway. If so, the dynamics will be those of crisis management. In any case, an issue orientation means that the group's dynamics will be reactive. The process will yield a re˙ ˙tion to an issue, rather than a plan encompassing an issue. Under goal orientation, the basic intragroup dynamics are prescriptive. A planning outlook is assumed,

the time-span under consideration is longer, and a more universal outlook is evident.

The actual process by which a group reaches a decision is the paramount intragroup dynamic. There are many strategies that a group could adopt, including:

- conflict, with the winner-take-all;

- simple majority rule;

- Robert's Rules of Order, or the like;

- compromise, or the vote market;

- conflict management (minimize disagreement);

- consensus building (maximize agreement).

With the exception of pure conflict and consensus building, any strategy should be compatable with any type of participatory process. Pure conflict is destructive, hence only acceptable for a non-replicating process. Consensus building, on the other hand, demands a special attitude on the part of the actors involved. Consensus demands that everyone must at least "buy into" the group's decisions. The degree of participation must at least allow for meaningful input into the planning process on the part of the citizens. Otherwise, there would be little impetus for the amount of time and energy needed to reach consensus. Consensus demands openness, understanding, respect, and patience on the part of everyone involved; hence the process must be voluntarily acceded to and non-coercive. Consensus can never be reached unless the actors open themselves up to change and re-evaluation. These are examples of how a consensual orientation tends to emphasize participation as an end in itself.

Most efforts at citizen participation have fallen short of having the citizens work with those in power. It has been maintained that

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citizens are incapable of the long-term, goal oriented, abstract effort
needed to actually plan (i.e., recommend policy, draw programs from
policy, or implement programs). A novel approach to planning, called
"citizen-based planning" (CBP) or capacity building, posits that citizens
can, with the proper help, plan and learn to plan for themselves. The
essential prerequisite is a period of "capacity building," or a period of
professional support for the process until it is self-perpetuating. The
key aspect of this approach is that the participants get a chance to try
and do things themselves, receive expert guidance, and get to try again.
If the group was not independent, there would be little chance of it going
through enough iterations to learn much. There would either be not
enough time, money, and help available, and/or no real sharing of responsi-
bility. Therefore, the group would probably be independent of the formal
government. The group would be goal oriented, but issue attentive. By
this I mean that issues are "used" to learn on and to generate interest in
the group. However, the group's product would be a well-conceived policy
recommendation rather than merely the resolution of a single issue. That
is, the group would be problem oriented, coming up with incremental policy
proposals that attempt to be sensitive to their implications. Because of
this problem orientation, the environment is more conducive to learning
and consensus. The decision dynamic must be consensual to ensure that the
group's product is truly representative of the group's values and goals.
The concept of citizen-based planning makes participation an end in itself.

Using the ideas developed above, I will next present a case study in
which an attempt was made to implement citizen-based planning. A partici-
patory process was initiated, and I will view this in terms of the frame-
work for participation.

Chapter Four

An Example

This case study documents an attempt at implementing the citizen-based planning process in the Town of Arlington, Massachusetts. Arlington is a Boston suburb with a 1970 population of nearly 55,000. With only one intervening community, the Town is located within ten miles of Boston; it is an easy commute. This partly accounts for the existence of so few employment opportunities in Arlington. The Town Assessor's Office estimates that not more than 5% of Arlington's total property is devoted to job-producing activities. The Town is comprised mostly of one- and two-family houses, with fully 80% of the property being residential. The Town faces a common suburban financial problem: having an insufficient tax base, it is forced to rely on a property tax. This property tax has been increasing at an alarming rate, causing considerable concern for both public officials and residents. Socially and economically, the Town is predominantly middle-class. Even so, approximately 22% of all the families and unrelated individuals in Arlington have yearly incomes under $6,000. The population is of an older average age than most suburbs. Around 15% of the Town's residents are senior citizens; most of these are on fixed incomes, and one in eight have incomes below the poverty level. There is only one public high school, and it is in desperate need of rehabilitation. Many youths go to private and/or church-related schools. The government is of the Town Meeting type, which is a New England tradition. In this form of government, a large (in Arlington's case, 252) representatively elected body gets together annually to set budget and

policy priorities. This, then, is the setting in which the experiment took place.

In the fall of 1974, Arlington faced a credibility crisis. Between the war in Viet Nam and the Watergate scandal, there was a general lack of faith in institutions in our society. Locally, the Town faced a number of crises stemming from its financial problem. The property tax was increasing just to maintain the Town's existing level of activity. State and federal money was harder to obtain. Finally, there was a crisis concerning the high school that brought matters to a head. The high school building was ancient and in poor enough repair that the school was about to lose its accreditation. There was much controversy over this issue. Several of the Board of Selectmen's warrant articles concerning the school had failed to pass general referendums. There were many hard feelings, and much faith in the Town's government had been lost. The credibility crisis had been brought home. This atmosphere acted as a catalyst causing the Town, in the body of Selectmen, to re-examine its long-range policy goals. Then the Selectmen sought professional help.

At this time, Professor Lawrence Susskind and a group of M.I.T. students had just finished an experimental project in Rockport, Mass., only 45 miles from Arlington. They had successfully implemented a broad based citizen planning process at the request of the Town of Rockport. This had been Susskind's first attempt at actualizing citizen-based planning (CBP). Several reports, documenting the process, grew out of the experience. One of these publications was distributed to all municipalities in Massachusetts, and was well received. The cover letter that accompanied the Rockport report, written by the Office of Municipal Planning and Management of the Department of Community Affairs, "pushed" the idea of

citizen participation in local planning efforts. Moreover, Susskind was

interested in experimenting with a similar project in a larger, more urban

setting. Many communities expressed their interest in establishing a

similar project. Among these was Arlington, which had heard of the project's

results and was interested in the new planning concept.

Arlington's Board of Selectmen contacted Professor Susskind. Their

general goal was to "establish long-range policy goals...(to) aid in future

growth and development of the Town."[3] In addition, the Selectmen wished to

reestablish their credibility, reduce their alienation from the citizens,

and increase their effectiveness at passing their preferred legislation.

Between the tax and school issues, the Town government had lost some of its

credibility and had alienated many citizens. It was obvious that the Town

did not have viable solutions to either problem. Furthermore, the Town's

proposals in these areas indicated a lack of adequate understanding of the

townspeople and their attitudes. The School Board had proposed several

possible solutions to the high school dilemma, but each had failed to

pass town-wide referendum. The Town's officials wished to avoid the

humiliation of having their ideas rejected by the people. Finally, the

Selectmen were happy for the prestige of having "this unique community

based planning process in the Town."[4]

Professor Susskind selected Arlington due to its size, its socio-

political environment, and its convenience to M.I.T. When approaching

Susskind, the Selectmen had certain espoused objectives in seeking pro-

fessional help. When approached, Susskind had in mind a particular process

that theoretically produced certain results. It so happened that most of

the predicted results of CBP were in accordance with the Selectmen's

objectives; otherwise they would never have approached Susskind. The

Selectmen's goals of reestablishing their credibility, reducing alienation, and increasing their effectiveness at passing preferred legislation corresponds to these products of the CBP process:

- increasing the responsiveness of the Town to its citizens;
- reducing citizens' feelings of alienation and hopelessness;
- enhancing communications between the Town and its citizens;
- increasing the citizens' feelings of political efficacy.

In addition, Susskind had goals of secondary interest. He wanted a further test of CBP and viewed the whole experience as educational, both to himself, "his" students, and the Town and its residents.

Inherent in the CBP process is a subtle, but radical, change in the basic conception of planning. Traditionally, information is somehow gathered and used by planners to plan. With CBP, an autonomous groups of citizens gathers information, recommends policy, and attempts to ensure acceptance of the policy proposals via techniques akin to lobbying. The orientation of planning is slightly altered; instead of serving the Selectmen's needs (in this case), CBP serves the public's needs. The creation of an autonomous, public institution capable of learning how to plan and govern, and growing ever more competent, is potentially threatening to the formal government. On one hand, it appears beneficial to have an educated, informed citizenry, capable and willing to become involved in the processes of governing themselves. On the other hand, the fact that the citizen group is independent means that the formal government has an additional pressure group operating in the political arena. Though the new group supposedly represents "the citizens," it is potentially as threatening as any other pressure group. The group is new, has unknown goals that probably conflict with at least some of the formal

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government's, and appears to serve a function parallel to the government's. These differences between the Selectmen's and Susskind's viewpoints could lead to later conflicts.

These differences are evidenced in the documented history of the citizen involvement group that formed in Arlington. Unfortunately, there is little information about the Selectmen's side of the story. However, by examining Susskind's actions and statements, and drawing on second-hand accounts of the Selectmen's position as recounted in the Town newspaper and the citizen group, it is possible to reconstruct the interplay of ideas, expectations, and goals that surrounded the initiation of the CBP process in Arlington.

The Selectmen first heard of citizen-based planning via the Rockport report. In Rockport, a strong, autonomous citizen group, aided extensively by technical help from M.I.T., did a tremendous job of fact-finding, policy recommending, and implementation. Susskind summarized the success by observing that "programs that groups had tried to do for years finally became reality when there was support and a mandate for a program with credibility."[5] This exemplifies a basic premise underlying CBP. Since local governments are conceived as serving local citizens, a mandate from these citizens should carry much political clout. In the CBP process, decisions are reached by a large group of citizens, hopefully representative of the community, agreeing consensually. This forms the basis for a public mandate to the powers that be. The larger the group and the more knowledge it has about the public and their attitudes, the stronger the mandate. In Rockport, many people (60-70%) responded to an information-gathering survey; the mandate was quite powerful. The Rockport report should have

made it clear to the Selectmen exactly what Susskind's orientation was, and what the CBP process entailed.

Professor Susskind repeatedly downplayed this potentially threatening aspect of the CBP process. In his initial contact with the Town, Susskind "explained to officials present...a proposal for measuring community opinions on matters of public concern for purposes of assisting local public officials in the formulation of public policy."[6] Later, he credits the process as "helping to guide the policy-making and budgetary activities of the Selectmen, various Town departments, and especially Town Meeting members."[7] Finally, even when he credits the CBP process with producing policy recommendations, he limits its role to "translating the priorities and concerns of Arlington residents into policy and program proposals for the consideration of the Selectmen and Town Meeting."[8]

When not downplaying the role of the citizen group, Susskind often is general to the point of vagueness. He cites as a goal of the process: "to provide a vehicle for interested citizens, particularly Town Meeting members, to assist in improving Town policies in (problem) areas."[9] Sometimes he appears to be attempting to please both sides: "Residents would become the advocates for policy recommendations which go to the Town Meeting or other Town committees for implementation."[10] This statement is actually close to the tenets of CBP; it merely points out that Town officials retain ultimate control over implementation. When he does make reference to the citizen's role, he usually limits it to proposing policy. CBP is "devoted to public education and citizen involvement in the formulation of policies to guide future growth and development in Arlington,"[11] and CBP "creates new opportunities for interested citizens to...participate in the development of solutions (to Arlington's problems)."[12]

There are several times when Susskind comes close to revealing the full extent of power he envisions the citizen group as having. He says the group "will work within the existing framework of Town government to help translate the results of the survey into action."[13] Again, "(t)he intent is not to replace Town government, but it will put more emphasis on citizen involvement and less on official involvement."[14] His most succinct statement was directed not at the public-at-large, but at potential student staff: "Planners need to find more effective ways of enabling community residents to participate in the formulation and implementation of strategies designed to guide future growth and development in their Towns."[15]

For their part, Selectmen are credited with wanting more, and more effective, citizen input into the local planning process.[16,17] It is never explained how much citizen input is desired, nor the nature of the input desired. Moreover, all the statements accredited to the Selectmen that I could find were related through Susskind. This, when coupled with Susskind's efforts to minimize the threatening aspects of the CBP process, leads me to conclude that potentially conflicting differences in expectations were not dealt with at the inception of the process. This position is further supported by the lack of contact between the Selectmen and the citizen group, and by the lack of conflict during the early stages of the group's existence.

This is the atmosphere in which the CBP process began its second test. On Monday, October 7, 1974, the Selectmen, the Town Finance Committee, the Board of Assessors, the School Committee, and several interested Town Meeting members met with Susskind to discuss the financial pressures operating on the Town. At this meeting it was agreed that the

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professor would attempt a project, similar to the one in Rockport, in
Arlington. It was further agreed that the Town Meeting Association was
the optimal existing citizen group to help with the initiation of the
process. Furthermore, it was left to the Selectmen to convene the Town
Meeting members for the purpose of organizing a citizen group for the
process. Invitations were sent to all 252 Town Meeting members notifying
them of a meeting to be held at the end of November, at which time Susskind
would outline the CBP process.

As a result of this meeting, ultimately held on Tuesday, November 26,
1974, a group of Town Meeting member volunteers met again a week later on
Wednesday, December 4, 1974. The purpose of this second meeting was to
investigate whether the Town Meeting members desired a CBP process in
Arlington; if so, how to get it operational; and specifically, how an
initial, temporary Steering Committee was to be selected. There was
general debate over the need of such a program, but the idea was generally,
if tentatively, accepted. The conversation then turned to the selection of
members to take part in the process. Susskind presented alternative
strategies for picking the group. It was agreed that a modified system of
volunteering would be used.

The selection method employed started with the people present
examining themselves, as a group, to see how representative of the Town
they were. They decided to stress geographic representativeness, willing-
ness to make a commitment to the project, and other groups, activities,
and interests that were represented. They also agreed to consider issues
of age, class, job, and religion. Also, it was mandatory that any person
considered display a Town-wide perspective in viewing Arlington's problems

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and possible solutions. Every effort was made to exclude those people who
wished to join for personal reasons, or who had an axe to grind.

The group of Town Meeting members then divided themselves according
to the area of the Town that they represented. Within each subgroup, the
criteria were used to determine the best people to serve on a citizen group
for the CBP process. The application of the criteria was done on an
informal, intuition-aided-by-discussion basis, while decisions were
unanimous and consensual. The result of this process was an Ad Hoc
Steering Committee of seven people.

To recruit additional people, letters were sent to all Town Meeting
members, notices were placed in the Arlington Advocate, the Town's weekly
newspaper, and word-of-mouth efforts were noted. Over the course of the
next five weeks, six additional people were selected for the Steering
Committee. This gave an ultimate core gr·up of thirteen people, all but
two of whom were also Town Meeting members. The same process of insuring
representativeness was used in the selection of these new members; it was
agreed that such a procedure was necessary for the selection of any new
members. By the middle of January, 1975, the original Steering Committee
was finalized, officers were elected, and the name "Arlington Citizen
Involvement Committee" (CIC) was chosen.

The first task of the newly formed CIC Steering Committee was to
survey the residents of Arlington. A survey of citizen's attitudes was
the first step in the CBP process. The purpose of such a survey was
threefold. First was a simple informational need. Residents' attitudes
and priorities should be known to the actors involved in local government,
and reflected in their actions to a high degree. Rather than working with
guesses, stereotypes, and old information, a survey of the townspeople

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seemed in order. Second, the survey would tend to establish the credibility of the CIC with itself, the Town government, and the community at large. The fact of the survey, the information gathered, and the way it was obtained helped to build the group's reputation. Third, the survey allowed the CIC the opportunity to grow. The CIC gained experience in working as a group. In addition, it gained experience in dealing with the other groups and institutions in its environment. Experience at abstracting, conceptualizing, gaining an overview, and other planning practices was also gained.

The Steering Committee had to develop the questionnaire. Towards this end, time was spent brainstorming, or eliciting the thoughts on people's minds relevant to Arlington. The result was a list of fifty or so specific concerns, gripes, and thoughts; see the appendix. This list was augmented by suggestions from Town agencies and officials, as well as interested private organizations and neighborhood groups. In addition, all brainstorming sessions were advertised in the Town newspaper and the meetings, like all Steering Committee meetings, were open to the public. The resulting list was organized into twelve conceptual areas. These areas, in turn, were further combined into six general areas of concern:

I Land Use and the Structure of the Physical Environment

II Quality and Efficiency of Public Services

III Sense of Community/Community Identity

IV Town Finances, Taxes, and Redevelopment

V Responsibility and Needs for Social/Human Services

VI Form of Town Government and Intergovernmental Relations

For each topic of concern, the group then held further brainstorming sessions in an effort to arrive at specific informational needs. Again,

governmental and private interests were invited to become involved; their
thoughts on the specific problems and issues to be covered under the six
areas were asked for. The Steering Committee divided itself amongst the
areas of concern, with about two members taking responsibility for each
area. The student staff also divided itself amongst the areas.

The student staff was supposed to provide the technical knowledge
that the CIC needed. It was from working with the staff that the members
of the group were supposed to increase their capability to plan. Most of
the student staff were relatively unfamiliar with the CBP process. However,
the staff was assumed to be capable at planning, survey work, organizational
dynamics, and some specific planning topics (e.g., housing, municipal
finance, service delivery systems, etc.). With their background in
planning, it was assumed that the students could pick up the idea of CBP
quickly. An effort was made to place staff on surveys whose concerns
roughly matched their own. In actuality, the staff provided some technical
support. By far the biggest contribution of the staff was the time-consuming
"busy work" that was necessary to the continuity of the CIC's functioning.
This included such things as taking minutes at meetings, doing mailings,
researching, handling the returned surveys, and the myriad of menial tasks
that always needed doing.

The result of the brainstorming was a detailed understanding of the
issues, interests, and informational needs of each area of concern. The
next step was to prepare a questionnaire for each area. This effort at
surveying was quite elaborate. Possible questions were reviewed by the
Steering Committee, and numerous draft surveys were produced. These
drafts were circulated amongst the governmental sectors relevant to the

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area of concern, and feedback was encouraged. There was extensive pre-testing of all questions.

Technical issues such as survey design, sampling, survey distribution, coding, key punching, printing format, mailing, etc., were handled with the help of the student staff and professionals from the University of Massachusetts and M.I.T. Many seemingly technical problems were resolved in the Steering Committee by common sense. Initially, a single 42 page survey was produced. This proved impractical, and it was decided that six separate questionnaires would be more feasible. Each household would receive a questionnaire on one of the six areas of concern. Survey distribution was to be staggered, allowing the group the chance to absorb and manage each piece of the survey separately. The longest questionnaire was sixteen pages, the shortest, eight. It was felt that the townspeople could and would answer such surveys if the issues were phrased in everyday language and were of general community concern. All responses to the questionnaires were to be held in the strictest confidence. A cover letter accompanied each survey. The purpose of the CIC was stated, and the Steering Committee members' signatures and telephone numbers were given. This served to humanize the process, increase the accessibility of the Town's residents to the group, and provide a channel for those who had questions on any aspect of the CIC and its activities.

The CIC could have opted for a different approach. For reasons of time or money, a narrower focus or a simpler design could have been used. However, funds and technical assistance were available through M.I.T. and M.I.T.-based grants. In addition, the costs of printing and mailing the questionnaires were assumed by the Town, although the CIC theoretically retained full control over the form and contents of the survey.

In actuality, it was over the contents of one of the surveys that the differences in orientation between the CIC and the Selectmen first came to light. The survey in question was the one on Town Government. When drafts of this questionnaire were first sent to Town officials, their reactions were negative. By and large, the officials felt that the survey put them up for public review and judgment, while the information would not help plan for the future growth and development of Arlington. The CIC countered that it had the right and duty to ask questions on all phases of government, and that "growth and development" could include changes to the government. The officials contended that it was wrong to ask such questions of an uninformed public. The responses would more likely reflect people's personal feelings about an official than their feelings about an office; the immediate political climate would dictate how people would respond. This point the CIC had to admit it; it was somewhat valid against all the surveys. The CIC decided that the Town Government questionnaire was different, that it was asking about people's roles rather than the job they were doing, and that it should t↑ redone in a less threatening manner. This was only the first of many possible conflicts due to the differences in orientation. Even here the Town had no direct control over the CIC. They were not threatening to withhold funding of the surveys to ensure compliance with their views. A two-way dialogue and the CIC's desire to placate all parties involved resolved this disagreement.

A number of efforts were made to ensure a high rate of return for the surveys. The cover letter, with its signatures and telephone numbers, was an attempt to personalize the survey. In this vein, names of heads of households were used instead of the term "occupant." A "double envelope" system was used to ensure anonymity while allowing the CIC to know whether

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a survey had been returned. A special arrangement was made with the post office to retrieve all undeliverable surveys. There was press coverage of the CIC, the CBP process, and the survey effort, as well as word-of-mouth publicity. Finally, a follow-up telephone campaign contacted numerous households who had not returned their surveys. The results of these efforts were that between a quarter and a third of the 15,000 surveys distributed were returned. This is quite an acceptable return rate for a general mailing survey.

This effort at surveying took longer than had been initially expected. The tentative timetable called for the surveys to be developed in January, 1975; the surveys were to be distributed in February; the initial analysis was to be completed in May; and the policy recommendations were to be delivered in the fall. This was as outlined in the beginning of December, 1974. In actuality, the process has already gone on for twice its expected lifetime. Most of January, 1975, was spent finalizing the Steering Committee and agreeing on the methods the CIC would employ and the extent of the group's concerns. In February the process of survey writing began, and it was close to three months before the questionnaires were finished. The summer of 1975 was spent pretesting the questionnaires and getting them ready to be sent out. They were distributed over the course of three months, from September to November, 1975. The returns started flowing in in October, and continued throughout the end of the year. The telephone follow-up process began around the end of October and continued until December. The data analysis was done in December, 1975.

Many reasons account for the slow pace of the project. The over-riding factor, however, is that everyone involved with the CIC and the CBP process was learning, growing, and experiencing. Most people were being

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cast in new roles, or were having their roles altered. The citizens had the most to learn: how to work together, how to deal with the government, new modes of thought relevant to planning, etc. For most of the students the process was new. They were called upon to help construct, test, administer, and evaluate the responses to a survey. They also had to work with the Steering Committee, provide technical knowledge on a wide range of planning matters, and try to comprehend the whole CBP process. The Town's government was having its notions of planning and citizen participation altered. Even Susskind had more to learn about the process; he also had the task of trying to help coordinate a group of people cast into a new, unfamiliar setting work together and with a government acting in a new and unfamiliar situation.

The results of the surveys were tabulated and published in Feedback, the CIC's monthly newsletter. About 5,000 copies of Feedback are distributed monthly; some are mailed to people on the CIC's mailing list, while most are placed in commercial establishments in Arlington. Plans were made to begin the next stage of the CBP process—the utilization of the survey data. A Task Force was to be assembled around each questionnaire. The purpose of these Task Forces was to analyze the data, relate it to the Town, its problems, and their solutions, and then recommend policies to help improve Arlington. It was through the Task Forces that the decision-making process was to be made accessible to the public. Anyone could join a Task Force, and it was hoped that people with no previous involvement with the Town would join.

To prepare citizens for the exacting task of moderating the Task Forces, Skills Workshops were sponsored by the CIC and by graduate students from M.I.T.'s Sloan School of Management on December 10 and 13,

1975. Several dozen residents attended the eight hours of training, covering ways to improve communications, facilitate group discussions, and manage group dynamics.

A Town-wide conference was held on Saturday, January 10, 1976 to present the results of the surveys. Over four hundred people attended an extravagant one-hour multi-media slide presentation, entitled "Documenting Citizen's Attitudes and Priorities." The CIC's history, past actions, and future goals were presented, along with key findings from the surveys. Everyone present was invited to share their views and examine the survey findings in greater detail in Task Force/group discussions following the presentation.

Since their inception at the Town-wide conference, the Task Forces in each of the six survey areas have continued to meet bi-weekly. With the help of the Steering Committee, the moderators, and the student staff, each Task Force has tried to narrow the range of topics it addresses. Between meetings, the staff and leadership of each Task Force work out agendas, review what has happened so far, and plan future activities for their group. The M.I.T. staff also have the job of gathering and distributing minutes, completing background research on selected topics, and disseminating any information gathered. All members of a Task Force receive minutes of the meetings regularly, whether or not they have attended meetings regularly. Further training sessions for the leadership were held. All Task Force members have been asked to help involve more new townspeople, and have been encouraged to share their experiences with other residents. The comments and opinions of local experts have been solicited.

At this point in time (the beginning of August, 1976), the Task Forces are concluding the process of drawing policy recommendations from

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their data. When each Task Force finishes this process, the CIC Steering Committee will review each recommendation. They will check its soundness, feasibility, consistency with CIC objectives, and look for redundancies or conflicts amongst all the proposals. When a unified package of policies is agreed on, the staff will investigate appropriate implementation strategies. The CIC will work to ensure the acceptance of its policy recommendations. The first cycle of the CBP process will be completed upon the adoption or refusal of the policies by the Town. A new cycle will begin when the Task Forces identify another round of priority issues.

Chapter Five

The Model as Exemplified by the Case Study

That is the basic story of the CIC in Arlington. I will now review

the history of the CIC in terms of the model of participation developed in

Chapter Three of this paper. I will be viewing certain aspects of the

CIC's story from a different perspective than outlined in the case study.

The basic issues to concentrate on when fitting Arlington into the model

are:

- who opted for this approach?

- what were their espoused reasons? their tacit ones?

- what is the relationship between the CIC and the Town's

    government, especially as represented by the Selectmen?

    (degree of participation)?

- what is the intensity of participation?

- what dynamics has the CIC adopted?

I have already covered the initiators, and their reasons, in

detail; a summary should suffice here. The Selectmen were looking for

factual information on citizens' issues, attitudes, and priorities. Though

they invited citizen participation, they envisioned a process in which they

determined policy and retained control. The fact that they adopted the

CBP approach indicates that they were willing to try new ideas in their

effort to do "good planning." Their choice of this particular process

could as easily have been an act of ignorance or desperation as a voluntary

alteration of their basic concepts of planning. For his part, Professor

Susskind was endeavoring to implement a communal learning process. He was

trying to form a group capable of evolution and adaptation—of change and

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learning. In particular, he was interested in a group which could change its image of itself and what its goals were. The purpose of the group would be to "institutionalize a capacity for on-going public involvement in assessing trade-offs and setting local priorities."[18] Moreover, the group was to experiment with implementation strategies.

These are the motives of the people who initiated the CIC. The third group of actors--the townspeople--had their own motives for joining the process that effects its outcome. Unlike either of the other actors, the Steering Committee had some internal disagreements over what the group's goals and methods should be.

Some of the members of the CIC Steering Committee agreed with the Selectmen's view of the CIC's role. These people saw the group as passively providing information on citizen attitudes and priorities to the Town government. Supposedly, the Town government would make use of this input. This is not at all the idea that Susskind had in mind. Underlying his views was the idea that planners should recognize and accept the inherent "politicalness" of their role. As such, the professor and the majority of the Steering Committee envisioned an active role for the CIC. These people felt that they should not only conduct the surveys themselves, but should also analyze the data and make policy recommendations. It would be the citizens' policy recommendations, not merely their thoughts and feelings, that were presented to the Town. Though it was probably not what the Selectmen had in mind, it was the active orientation that the CIC adopted.

There were also some members who saw the CIC as being of limited duration. These people saw the survey, and possibly one round of pro- posing policy, as the extent of the CIC's role. Again, this is probably

in accordance with the Selectmen's expectations. Any permanent citizen group charged with fact-finding and recommending policy on any issue would be viewed as encroaching upon the Town government's authority. This was what happened when, nearly a year later, the Selectmen seemed to feel threatened by the existence and activities of the CIC. Susskind, and a majority of the Steering Committee, viewed the CIC as an on-going process. Any learning process of this type should be on-going; the longer the process, the more information and experience which would be gathered. Theoretically, t!.s would lead to a process that got increasingly better at its functioning (in this case, planning), as well as increasingly better at learning.

In the end, it was the active, long-term orientation that predominated. Susskind was the prime instigator of the CBP process in Arlington, and its mentor. As such, he had a great influence over the CIC's development. He viewed the process as being active and long-term, and the group concurred. From the citizens' point of view, this stance allowed them to moniter the Town's responsiveness to their demands, and take action if necessary. It represented an effort to decentralize power and authority, and to reestablish the basis for local decision-making with the public. Thus the process tended to reduce the citizens' feelings of alienation from "the system" and increase their feelings of political efficacy. Finally, some of the townspeople approached the process with specific gripes and issues to champion. These people, however, found the CIC, with its community-wide emphasis, closed to their personal political causes.

All three groups of actors basically adopted the goals of the CBP process, these being:

- to educate the citizenry on socio-political matters;

- to form an autonomous group capable of learning;

- to gather information, and draw policy recommendations from it;

- to lobby for these policies, hence assuring responsiveness.

Each of the groups of actors also had its own motives. Susskind wished to
further test a theory, and provide experience for some students. The
Selectmen downplayed the policy formulation/lobbying aspects of the process,
and anticipated better, "pretested" information on citizen attitudes and
priorities. They thought that this would help reestablish the credibility
of the Town government, as well as appearing prestigious to observers. The
citizens, for their part, envisioned increased involvement in the decision-
making process that constrained their lives. In conflict with the Select-
men, they expected increased power and voice within the Town's government.

The conflict between the Selectmen's and the citizens' desires is
further evidenced in examining the degree of participation. Since the CIC
was founded with the help of the Selectmen, yet independently of them, it
is germane to use both the concepts developed for independent and dependent
groups. In abstractly thinking of the interface between the CIC and the
Town government, Susskind and the Selectmen disagreed. The Selectmen
would have been content with a token relationship with the citizen group.
A fact-finding group would have been fine, but the Selectmen preferred to
retain full control over the decision-making and implementation processes.
By virtue of the fact that the Town government was free to ignore the CIC
and its products, the interaction could tend to be tokenistic. The
Selectmen's notion of reestablishing their credibility was basically a
disguise for their desire to appease the townspeople; this, too, is
tokenistic. Their desire to use the process to pave the way for action

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on the high school issue also suggests manipulation, or appeasement. Susskind, for his part, was hoping for a partnership between the Town officials and the CIC. He envisioned a cooperative planning process which involved both traditional planning actors (planners, planning agencies, implementing agencies, etc.) and the citizens actually affected by the plans. This amounted to a delegation of power to the citizens.

In reality, the CIC functions independently of the Town government. The vocabulary of independent groups must be used to describe the degree of participation. For independent groups, the relevant measures are how wide a range of issues are covered, and how adequately the public is involved, with a point of diminishing returns acknowledged as existing. The CIC covers a wide range of issues, all concerning Arlington's state of being. This common theme allows all of the issues to be fitted into a single conceptual framework, contributing to a workable environment by reducing confusion. The CIC also invites all residents of Arlington to become involved. This is a lot of people, with numerous goals, some of which must conflict. The fact that only issues dealing with Arlington will be considered and that only members of the Arlington community are involved provides a great deal of cohesion for the project. There are a common theme, a common setting, and enough common experiences and under-standings to allow the process a good chance at producing meaningful policy recommendations. The CIC covers a wide range of issues and people, but does not appear to be too expansive. There is no evidence of the CIC being overly general or vague in order to encompass many issues, nor do the CIC's goals appear to be an amalgamation of inconsistent, uncoordinated goals voiced by special interests.

The intensity of involvement varies for different groups within the CIC. To initiate the process, it was necessary for Susskind to find a group of extremely dedicated individuals. He had to convince them that the process would not just waste their time and energy, but would probably produce desired results. He had to motivate the core members to act as though they knew that the process would have its intended effects. The core had to be like a group that had the power to assure responsiveness. The core evidenced the same actions and attitudes as a group that could guarantee results. This core eventually became the leadership of the group. There are also those members of the process who merely accept responsibility within the group, without assuming leadership roles. These are the people who make up the Task Force members. Also on the Task Forces are those people who act like "official members." They attend meetings, undoubtedly learning of the process and the Town by doing so; they may interject from time to time, but do not volunteer to spend extra time and energy on CIC affairs.

Who joins a citizen group, and why, are difficult and interrelated questions. Sometimes the answers are obvious, as when there is a critical issue. Then the people affected will organize (or join existing organizations) to advocate for the outcome that they want. In the case of the CIC, the answers are quite subtle. In the absence of an overriding issue, one can only look at the goals of the group, the dynamics of the process, and, ultimately, who joins; motives can only be guessed at, or determined by polling. The CIC, with its abstract, long-term goals, its independent position, its consensual, open decision dynamics, and its community-wide, lobbying problem orientation, attracted predominantly an educated, liberal, middle-class, civic-minded constituency. The process was introduced in an

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intellectual, conceptual manner. Moreover, it was introduced through the
Town government, initially to the Town Meeting Association members. It
must also be remembered that the Town is predominantly middle-class; I feel
that this approach would not have worked in an inner city environment.

What motivates the participants is even harder to determine. I would
say that the Protestant ethic, a belief in the democratic process, and
liberalism are major factors, along with differing amounts of civic pride,
a desire to influence the government, and personal reasons. By "personal
reasons" I mean both direct personal gain (e.g., a politician trying to
make a reputation, a Town Meeting member coming so as to be in touch with
the people) and more general reasons, such as:

- making the Town a better place in which to live;

- creating the environment one wants one's children to grow up in;

- inputting one's own views into a pluralistic decision process.

The instigators of a participatory process are quite free to choose
their inter- and intragroup dynamics. The CBP process posits that the
intergroup dynamics be open communication and lobbying, while the intra-
group dynamics be consensual. This is what the CIC has attempted to do.
At this point, the conflict between the Selectmen's and the CIC's expec-
tations becomes important. Remember that the conflict was over the amount
of control of the decision-making process that the CIC would develop.
The Selectmen do not have to pay attention to the CIC's recommendations.
Undoubtedly, the Selectmen will attempt to treat the CIC's policy
proposals lightly, as a form of input data. This attitude has several
related repercussions.

First, it tends to put pressure on the CIC at a crucial period in its
growth. By the time that the CIC has produced its first set of policy

recommendations, it will have grown considerably. The group will be
cohesive, somewhat established within the community and government, and
more capable of planning than when it began. Yet all of the group's
activities are diminished in value if the policy recommendations run into
trouble. The group's self-image will worsen, as will its image in the
community and government; citizens, both supporters and especially
opponents, will be disillusioned. Second, initial members might be less
ent·usiastic about the whole process without any assurance of responsive-
ness from the powers that be. People aware of the conflict might be less
supportive of the process. Third, members, and people thinking of
joining, would be less motivated to invest the time and energy necessary
if the initial policy proposals run into opposition. With no assurance
of responsiveness and a demonstrated difficulty on this point, the process
could lose the type of support that would ensure results. Finally, the
government may over-react to the apparent usurping of "its" job. This
would cause additional opposition to the participatory effort.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

As you have seen, the citizen-based planning process represents a major new direction for local planning. Though apparently only a subtle change, the implications of CBP are far-reaching. In this paper I have only scratched the surface. I have presented a development of the idea, and have tied CBP into a more conventional view of planning. I have briefly presented one example of an attempt to implement the CBP process. Much more work is called for. What are needed are separate, detailed investigations into the implications of CBP, as well as into techniques for implementing it.

Arlington bears much further investigation. Implications and techniques can be discovered in the information already available on Arlington's experience. In addition, it will be interesting to keep observing the Town and the course of events within it. How well the first round of policy recommendations is received, and the activities surrounding their presentation to the Town, will be interesting and informative points. Also, how well the CIC can maintain membership, and how well it can initiate a second cycle of the process, warrant close scrutiny.

Beyond Arlington, the whole concept of citizen-based planning deserves further testing. The process should be tried in as many, varied circumstances as possible. Factors such as size, location, government type, age, and homogeneity should be varied. It will be a while yet before anyone can form any definite conclusions about the CBP process. All that can be said at this time is that the concept, after a few tests, still

appears worth investigating. Also, other non-traditional alternative planning styles should be examined.

Finally, CBP should be explicitly tied in with learning theory. The CBP process is aimed at educating the citizenry on matters of planning. It may be best described and understood in terms of organizational learning. This connection must be investigated and understood.

FOOTNOTES

1. Freidmann, John, _Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning_, Garden City, N.Y.; Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973

2. Ibid., pg. 59

3. Town of Arlington, _Annual Report 1974_, pg. 11

4. Ibid., pg. 11

5. _Arlington_ (Mass.) _Advocate_, 5 December 1974
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6. _Arlington_ (Mass.) _Advocate_, 10 October 1974
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7. Susskind, L.W., in draft press release, 11 December 1974

8. Susskind, L.W., in press release, 23 January 1975

9. Ibid.

10. _Arlington Advocate_, op. cit. at n. 5

11. _Arlington Advocate_, op. cit. at n. 7

12. Susskind, L.W., in press release, 17 December 1974

13. Ibid.

14. _Arlington Advocate_, op. cit. at n. 5

15. Susskind, L.W., memorandum to students in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 30 October 1974

16. _Arlington Advocate_, op. cit. at n. 7

17. _Arlington_ (Mass.) _Advocate_, 19 December 1974
    "Survey Effort for Citizen Involvement Will be Undertaken"

18. Susskind, L.W., _Citizen Involvement in the Design, Assessment, and Delivery of Public Services_, paper delivered to Workshop on Governmental Effectiveness, Annapolis, Maryland; July 13-15, 1976; pg. 3

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Appendix

Steps in the Development of the Topic Areas of the Surveys

Step 1

Goals of Arlington	Rent Control
Capability to Perform	Attitudes of Renters
Services (Municipal)	Recreation and Open Space
Parking	Business Development in Town
Zoning/Redevelopment of Center	Preserving the Tax Base
Libraries	Shopping Centers
Schools	High Rise Buildings (Physical Image of the Town)
Housing	
Rubbish Disposal	Efficiency of Town Government
	Size and Coqduct of Town Meetings
Human Services (Especially Youth Services)	Metro Sharing of Services
Health Care	Relationship of County and Town Gov't
Road Building	Population Mix
Taxes	Desired Level of Population Growth
What is Arlington?, Where is it going?	Property Owners Rights
Traffic Flow and Inpact on Business	Historic Preservation
Street Lighting	Home Rule
Vandalism	The World's Impact on Arlington
Public Transportation	Responsiveness of Town to Individuals
Welfare	Problems of Adolescence
Mix of Land Uses	Town and Community Identity
Form of Town Government	Impact of Special Interest Groups

Step 2

1. Quality and Efficiency of Public Services

2. Character and Goals of the Town

3. Town Finances and Development

4. Environment, Land Use, and Town Image

5. Impact of Special Interest Groups

6. Form of Government and Intergovernmental Relations

7. Responsibility and Need for Human/Social Services

8. Schools, Education, and Libraries

9. Identity with Town and Community

10. Quality of Education and Cultural Opportunities

11. Transportation, Roads, and MBTA

12. Recreation

Step 3

I.   Quality and Efficiency of Public Services

II.   Responsibility and Need for Social/Human Services

III.   Form of Town Government and Intergovernmental Relations

IV.   Sense of Community/ Community Identity

V.   Town Finances, Taxes, and Redevelopment

VI.   Land Use and the Structure of the Physical Environment

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