

PART I CZEŚĆ I

THE PROCESS – PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCES – PLANOWANIE PARTYCYPACYJNE

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FROM PARTICIPATORY PLANNING TO COLLABORATIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE USA

Keywords: participatory planning, inter subjective understanding, and collaborative community development.

OD PLANOWANIA PARTYCYPACYJNEGO DO WSPÓLPRACUJĄCEGO ROZWOJU SPOŁECZNOŚCI W STANACH ZJEDNOCZONYCH

Słowa kluczowe: planowanie partycypacyjne, rozumienie intersubiektywne, współpracujący rozwój społeczności.

Introduction

The evolution of Participatory Planning for Community Development (PPCD) in the USA began in the 1960s with the Model Cities Program funding to neighborhood groups in large inner cities, through city planning staff assigned to specific city neighborhoods in the 70s, to the post-1970s, externally contracted planners (consulting firms) and/or pro bono university planning studio classes invited by neighborhood associations to help them with their planning efforts (usually in preparation for or in response to city-wide master planning efforts by the host city). PPCD changed during this evolution in three fashions: the planning stage in which participation was initiated, the nature of the participatory efforts, technological advances that have changed both the nature of participatory efforts, plan visualization, and democratic communication. This paper briefly recounts the history of these changes, presents examples of products developed, and develops a heuristic model of the PPCD process.

1. The Evolution of Participatory Planning

Participatory planning for community development began in earnest in the 1960s in the context of the Civil Rights Movement's empowerment of low-

income minority residents and in response to urban renewal and other inner city redevelopment efforts of the late 1950s and early 1960s. This civil unrest persuaded national politicians to create the Community Action Program¹ and the Model Cities Program which, at first, directly funded neighborhood groups in depressed inner city areas to develop and implement community controlled redevelopment efforts.

While at first city mayors and state governors clamored for these programs and their funding, they soon realized that it was counter-productive, from their perspective, to fund projects that were not in the direct interest of their patronage system and governing coalition, to further train the leadership of their political opposition, and to build alternative patronage systems that had the potential to threaten the dominance of their own governing coalitions. Thus, they convinced the federal government to route the Model Cities funding through city councils, thereby allowing the councils and local governing coalitions, with a required participatory process, to control the above mentioned political consequences. While this funding route allowed the council and governing coalition to maintain their influence over patronage and to better synergize their redevelopment efforts, the required Model Cities citizen advisory boards continued to train opposition leadership².

In the early 1970s,³ cities began to develop neighborhood planners who were to be responsible for the planning and community development efforts in particular areas (neighborhoods) in their city (Lauria, 1982). These neighborhood planners were trained in university city planning programs and tended to advocate in the perceived interests of the areas for which they were responsible⁴. As cities began planning for specific neighborhoods, bringing their analysis and plans to neighborhood associations for approval, and making these neighborhood plans consistent with their city master plans, neighborhood

¹ See Fisher (1984) for a thorough account of the politics involved in the creation of the Community Action Program and neighborhood organizing.

² Here I gloss over the black community's challenges to these programs and the many battles for community control.

³ At this point, mayors and cities codified neighborhood boundaries through both plans (in area plans rather than comprehensive plans) and in citywide community development programs. This creation of officially-recognized city neighborhoods setup formal channels for local participation in both planning and housing/community development while also providing a new framework for political patronage based on a post-civil rights era accommodation of neighborhood and community activism. See (Hallman 1974) for a conceptual development of these quasi-neighborhood governments and Stone and Stoker (2015) for political accounts in particular places.

⁴ Peterman's (1999) *Neighborhood Planning in Community Based Planning* codified much of this education and became the standard textbook used in U.S. planning schools.

associations were often disappointment⁵. Much of this aforementioned professional training was handled conceptually in planning theory courses (Klosterman 1981,1992, 2000, 2011) and planning process courses and was handled practically in housing and community development classes and planning studio project classes (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000; Higgins, Aitken-Rose, and Dixon, 2009; Powers, 2017), where professors developed a 'real-world client' relationships with neighborhood associations to develop specific community development plans, sometimes in contradiction to already existing city plans. Planning students provided the labor and their professors directed the data collection, analysis, and plan development. Students presented their plans to the neighborhood association. Neighborhood leaders used those plans to persuade cities to invest in their communities in particular ways or to counter existing private development proposals and existing city plans that the neighborhood association did not think were in the neighborhood's interests.

Regardless of whether these neighborhood plans were consistent with private proposals and city governing coalition interests, participation tended to occur at only two stages in the planning process: early general goal setting and then later by reviewing or approving action plans. It was the professional planners, either in the form of professors, students, or city planning staff, who determined what data was needed for analysis and goal evaluation and who decided on the transformation of those goals and data analysis into action plans. This level of participation would often be categorized as "consultation" on Arstein's (1969) classic 'ladder of citizen participation' because often these professional planners would unconsciously use their middle class and professionally infused-values to specify (operationalize) goals and action plans that later would not be perceived in the interest of the low-income communities for whom they were advocating (see Foley and Lauria 2000 for a later example of this in New Orleans)⁶.

As the federal funding for Model Cities ended and the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program⁷ began in the late 1970s, and as city councils became disillusioned by either community groups' dissatisfaction with their neighborhood plans or by having to fight neighborhood plans that

⁵ Davidoff (1965) provided the planning professions pluralistic political awakening with advocate planners moving to the forefront in inner-city redevelopment efforts and normative assertion of plural plans.

⁶ This account is of the dominant narrative. It does not adequately account for the long-term participation of minority planners, landscape architects, architects, and political activists in the many planning and development projects in contradistinction to this dominant narrative.

⁷ The 2014 special issue of the journal of *Housing Policy Debate*, 24, 1 (Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) at 40: Its Record and Potential) provides a detailed history and evaluation of the program.

were inconsistent with private development proposals and city-wide plans⁸, the number of city staff neighborhood planners began to decline and were ultimately eliminated during the 1980s. This trend was further exacerbated by the late 1980s' and 1990s' neoliberal public policy shift that emphasized market-based, public-private partnerships in urban redevelopment, as cities returned their attention to large scale redevelopment projects like casinos, convention centers, and sports stadiums to the chagrin of many inner city neighborhood planning activists⁹. Again in the 1990s, the need for large scale comprehensive planning rejuvenated neighborhood coalitions and their efforts at community based planning. Thus, PPCD became the purview of the non-profit sector (often with foundation or other philanthropic funding) and/or pro bono efforts from university city planning department training/classwork/community service learning projects.¹⁰

2. Participatory Planning Projects

Participatory planning projects usually included the following components:

- 1) an initial meeting with the community group and organizing strategy,
- 2) a neighborhood data base and GIS strategy,
- 3) a participatory planning process,
- 4) an empowerment/sustainability plan.

The purpose of an initial meeting with the community group was to come to a common agreement on the nature and extent of the project and to develop an organizing strategy. In early PPCD projects, the professional planner (city staff and/or university professor) would meet with neighborhood leaders to delineate the project: data to be collected, analysis to be done, maps to be made, specification of the participatory process, the final product/plan to be delivered, interest group/stakeholder identification, and the roles and responsibilities of the planners and the neighborhood leadership. The neighborhood leadership was usually responsible for developing and implementing a strategy to ensure neighborhood resident participation and the participation of the various interest groups/stakeholders. This would include a strategy to publi-

⁸ Connerly and Wilson (1997) provide a promising example of such responses in contradiction to the many negative responses throughout the U.S.A. For example, compare to Lauria and Soll (1996) or Foley and Lauria (2000).

⁹ This shift is well-documented in Fainstein's (1994, 2001) analysis of inner city real estate developments in the late 1980s and 1990s and her claim (1991) that city planners' focus, at the time, shifted from a focus on the public interest to a focus on making a deal with private interests.

¹⁰ See the Center for Neighborhoods at the University of Missouri at Kansas City: <http://info.umkc.edu/aupd/center-for-neighborhoods/> for a current example of these efforts.

cize the planning meetings, where and when the meetings were to be held, the actual logistics of the meetings, and the organizing strategy that would ensure adequate attendance at the meetings with particular attention to the different subpopulations in the community. It is this initial meeting that changed dramatically over time as community leadership would negotiate, if not delineate, the specifics of the project.

In early projects, the professional planners would develop the neighborhood data base and GIS strategy to be used to analyze existing conditions and to develop specific goals and later action plans. In these early projects, the neighborhood data base consisted of U.S. Census data at both the city and neighborhood level (see Table 1), maps of the relevant data (population characteristics, housing conditions as described in the Census, crime statistics if locally available), City Zoning maps (see Map 1), existing land use, and housing condition data collected for the neighborhood (see Maps 3). Later, as technology developed, a relational data base that allowed picture-based data to be linked and updated for each property in the neighborhood would be developed (see Figure 1). Also, with the rise and acceptance of citizen scientists collecting and monitoring environmental justice activities (Heiman, 1990, 1995), and the development mobile technology, residents began to participate in data collection, particularly for items not well covered in existing data bases such as the Census (housing condition data), crime data (e.g. street activity patterns) and city service data (e.g., sidewalk, street lighting, and road conditions)¹¹.

Usually, the participatory planning process would be composed of two series of community planning workshops. In the first series of workshops, collected and mapped data would be presented, planners would explain the trends and issues captured by the data analysis and map representations, and resident feedback would be attained. In the second series of community planning workshops, a spectrum of potential action plans would be presented, along with the specified goals they were meant to meet. These workshops would be conducted in different neighborhood venues to ensure that the various subpopulations would feel comfortable attending (e.g. a senior housing complex, churches of different religious affiliations, a community center/school, etc.). Later, as with city-wide planning efforts that require continuous monitoring and re-evaluation, planners learned that participatory planning for community development efforts also require regular meetings, perhaps monthly, for similar monitoring and evaluation purposes, but also as a means to continue the integration of neighborhood residents into the community development process.

It was in these workshops that residents, in early projects, had the most influence in this planning process. Residents could indicate which action plans

¹¹ See the participatory GIS movement Talen (1999), Elwood and Leitner (2003), Sieber (2006.) and Elwood (2008).

they would rather see implemented in their community and thus which goals they wish to see achieved (see Map 4). They could suggest which land uses they wished to see increased or decreased in their neighborhood, which crime prevention environmental design and policing strategies the city should focus on, which housing conditions should be addressed first (weatherization, paint, structural, etc.), what traffic calming strategies or transportation strategies would be appropriate, where to demolish blighted structures, which vacant lots to give to community development corporations or to develop community gardens upon, and which public spaces should be better landscaped, etc. But these resident influences were confined within the context of predefined professional planner parameters. Later, with earlier participation in the data collection process, residents would begin to influence the analytic strategies pursued, the specification of the goals, and thus the direction of the action plans¹².

Lastly in the early projects, the PPCD process would end with the professional planners using the feedback from these workshops to develop a technical report/plan for the neighborhood leadership to use in representing the neighborhood's interests in city planning efforts and/or proposed redevelopment plans. More recently, as citizen empowerment goals were accepted, the PPCD process added an empowerment/sustainability plan that included a technological acquisition plan and a training process for the neighborhood organization staff or volunteers to maintain and update data, thereby decreasing the need for external professional support in the future. Here the planning professionals specified the necessary technology, helped find funding sources for the acquisition of the needed technology, and trained the neighborhood organizations' staff or volunteers to update the data bases and to develop future community development strategies¹³.

¹² This is not necessarily a harmonious process. First, neighborhood and community leaders are pre-disposed to focus on the kinds of problems they have the skills to handle and their own values and experiences shape the agenda while neighborhood residents may disagree. These internal value disagreements are real and need to be recognized and worked through. Second, Development-oriented leaders tend to rise to the top and maintain positions of influence with city leaders that may not be supported by widespread neighborhood participation.

¹³ While some interpret this focus on data and technology by university professors and technically oriented city planners as solely a byproduct of their training and expertise and argue that neighborhood leaders need only concern themselves with the use data, information and visual graphics as a persuasive device and as a planning tool to organize attention, this misses the point that data, methods of analysis and technology can, often unconsciously, structure and point to particular issues and particular solutions and strategies for community development. Thus, an awareness of these issues and resident participation and the incorporation of local knowledge in this portion of the planning process is crucial.

3. From Participatory Planning to Collaborative Community Development

As professional planners were confronted with the realization that their professional and class values, rather than those of the residents in the neighborhood, were identifying the salient conditions in their communities and directing the analysis, proposed solutions, and strategies for community development, they began to search for ways to increase the effectiveness of residents in the planning process (See Forester 1989). It was clear that fostering participation from the very beginning and throughout the planning process would help thwart their undue coloring of the planning process. But the conundrum facing professional planners was how. Residents in low-income communities were not trained in data base development, the use of secondary sources of data, analytic methods, nor the specialized tools of plan development. While not solving all the above-mentioned difficulties, the development of mobile technology, social media, and big data analytics has facilitated resident involvement in all phases of the PPCD process (Shannon et al., 2016).

In this context, residents can participate in the data collection phase, using mobile technology and applications that place their real-time data on web platforms that instantaneously produce maps of the conditions they wish to see changed (See Jerry Shannon's work with the Georgia Initiative for Community Housing: <http://www.fcs.uga.edu/fhce/gich>). For example, Map 5 was produced with resident volunteers using a tablet application (https://comapuga.shinyapps.io/millen_flexdash_v5/). Residents can use Twitter, Facebook and Instagram to promote community workshops and more effectively encourage the participation of more segments of the community. Community workshops can be augmented with web-based collaborations, further broadening resident participation (see Stern, Gudes, and Svoray, 2009). Residents can experiment with web-based GIS (See Shannon's Community Indicators in Athens: <https://comapuga.shinyapps.io/AthensSocialAtlas/>) and thus participate in the analysis phase of community development planning (See Map 6). Here they can alter the categories and the data they helped create and generate maps for their planning purposes. They can share their maps with other participants via social media to mine different perspectives and generate further insights. With their participation in the data collection process, residents begin to influence the analytic strategies pursued, the specification of the goals, and thus the direction of the action plans. This expansion of 'what knowledge matters in planning' to locally generated knowledge, heightened both professional planners' and community residents' sensitivity to local history and focused their attention on the uniqueness of place, even in our homogenizing global capitalist context.

However, as Jerry Shannon (2016) argued, these technological fixes do not resolve social/political issues and user-friendly software and hardware does not remove the need for training. In many senses, the use of these tech-

nologies make those social/political issues more visible and the need for training more apparent. According to Jake Wagner, co-founder of UMKC's Center for Neighborhoods, Data-rich environments can be very mono-cultural, favoring certain personalities and abilities while ignoring a deep engagement with actual people in favor of databases and spread sheets. More data does not mean better information and unfortunately what we have lost in the process is attention to a robust, public sector planning apparatus that can manage citizen engagement in the context of deepening inequality, ecological crisis and the co-optation of "sustainability" by pro-growth, gentrification forces (personal communication).

Conclusions

In conclusion, the conjunction of the transformation of community development planners' ethos and technological developments allows community development planning to move further toward a participatory democratic community development process. The intensive participation involved creates the potential for intersubjective understandings of the conditions in the neighborhood and the subsequent development of plans that would be well-received and reflective of a future to which the residents aspire¹⁴.

Table 1

Selected Housing Data Comparison for A.P. Tureaud and New Orleans

	A.P. Tureaud			New Orleans		
	1980	1990	% Change	1980	1990	% Change
*Housing Units	9,463	9,203	-3%	226,055	225,573	-0.10%
*Percent Owner Occupied	37%	32%	-13.5%	36%	36%	No Change
Mean Value Owner Occupied	\$70,577	\$68,733	-3%	\$117,155	\$105,289	-10%
Mean Value Contract Rent	\$259	\$299	15%	\$313	\$338	8%

*Excluding Public Housing

**All Dollars Adjusted to the 1996 Consumer Price Index for Comparison Purposes

	% Under 18			% Over 65		
	1980	1990	% Change	1980	1990	% Change
New Orleans	29%	27%	-7.50%	12%	14%	17%
A.P. Tureaud	32%	31%	-3%	13%	15%	15%

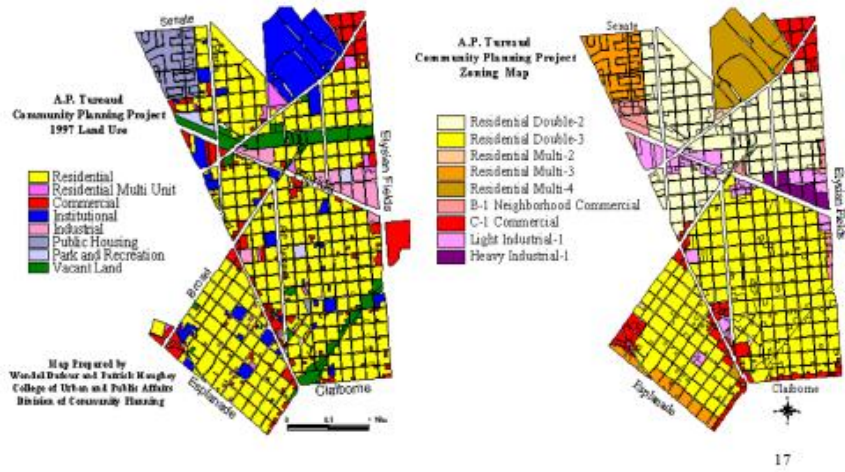
	% In Poverty			% Children of Those in Poverty		
	1980	1990	% Change	1980	1990	% Change
New Orleans	32.5%	31%	-4.60%	40.6%	41%	1%
A.P. Tureaud	43.7%	43%	-1.60%	43.7%	42%	-3.80%

Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

¹⁴ See Harper and Stein (2005) for the theoretical underpinnings of this planning process in a collaborative setting.

Map 1.

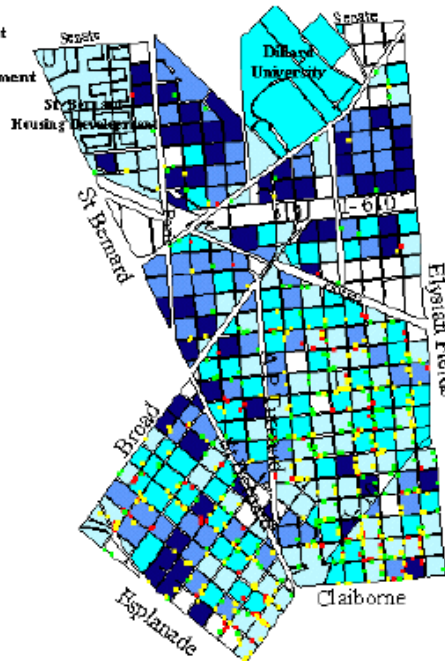
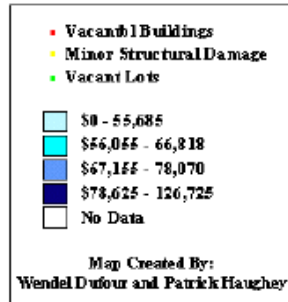
A.P. Tureaud Landuse and Zoning Maps



Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

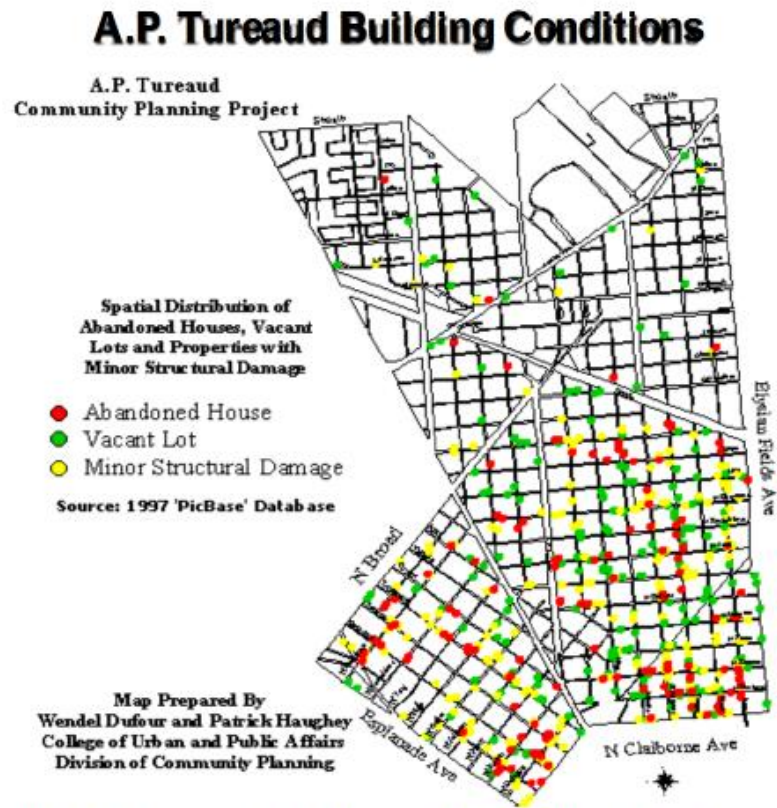
Map 2. Mapping the Data

A.P. Tureaud Neighborhood Planning Project
Partnership in Homeownership Program
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
Map Data:
Mean Value Owner Occupied Units
Source: 1990 U.S. Census



Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

Map 3.



Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

Map 4.

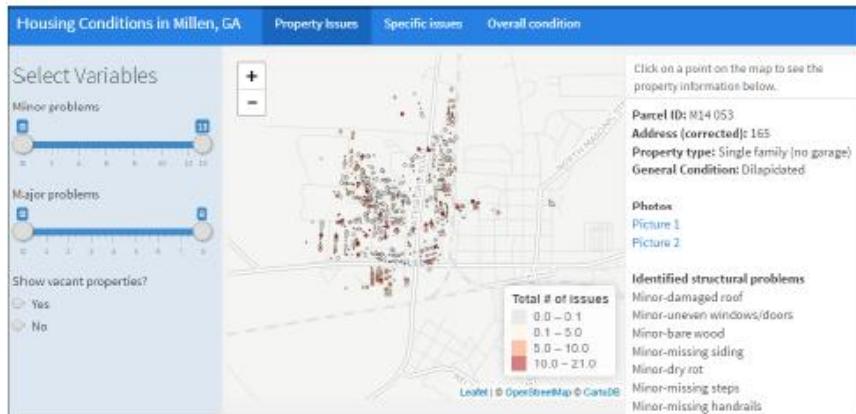
A.P. Tureaud Community Planning Map



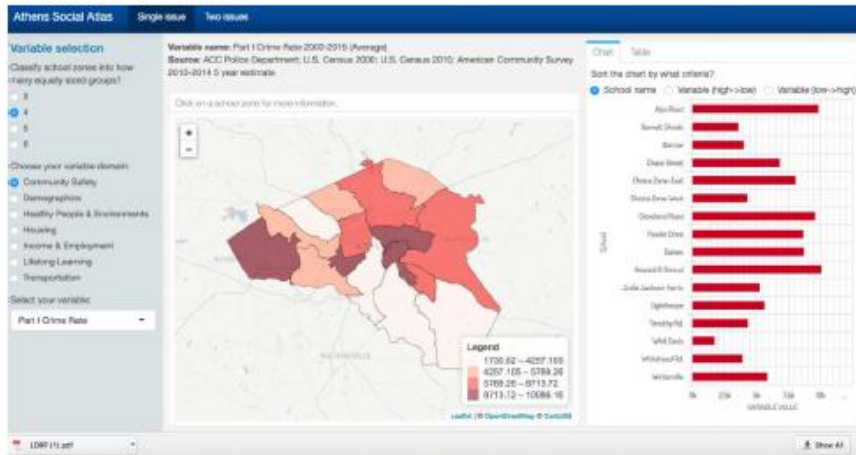
20

Source: Wendel Dufour and Patrick Haughey, College of Urban Affairs, Division of Community Planning

Map 5.



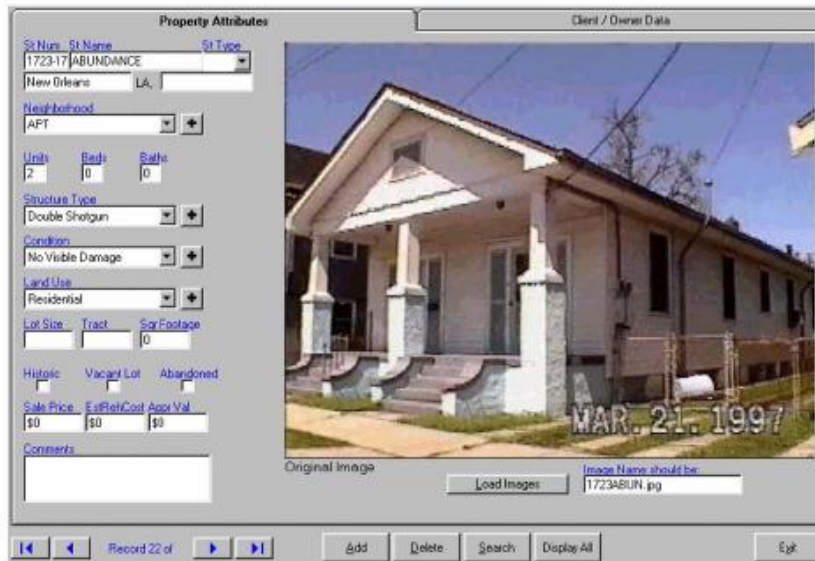
Map 6.



Source: <https://comapuga.shinyapps.io/AthensSocialAtlas/>

Figure 1.

Picture/Text Database: GroundTruth



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Streszczenie

Początki Planowania Partycypacyjnego dla Rozwoju Społeczności (z ang. PPCD) w USA sięgają lat 60. XX wieku wraz z uruchomieniem funduszu Programu Miast Modelowych dla grup mieszkańców w śródmieściach dużych miast, poprzez działania urzędników-planistów skierowanych do określonych grup w latach 70., jak również poprzez działania zewnętrznych biur planistycznych (firm konsultingowych) i/lub prace projektowe na zajęciach z planowania na uniwersytetach, wykonywane pro bono na zaproszenie stowarzyszeń sąsiedzkich jako pomoc w ich wysiłkach dotyczących planowania przestrzennego (zazwyczaj były to przygotowania dla lub w odpowiedzi na wielkomiejskie zamierzenia planistyczne – masterplany – przygotowywane przez miasto). PPCD zmieniło się na trzy sposoby podczas tej ewolucji: w fazie planowania, w której partycypacja była inicjowana, w samej naturze wysiłków partycypacyjnych, w rozwoju technologicznym, który zmienił zarówno naturę działań partycypacyjnych, wizualizacji planów oraz komunikacji demokratycznej. Ten artykuł skrótowo opisuje historię tych zmian, prezentuje przykłady wypracowanych rezultatów i rozwija model heurystyczny procesu PPCD.

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